

Jewish Life

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ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

SEPTEMBER 1949

FASCISM INVADES THE SCHOOL ◀ *by Lester Levy*

TALE OF TWO CONGRESS ELECTIONS ◀ *by Louis Harap*

ISRAELI COMMUNISTS AND IMMIGRATION ◀ *by Samuel Mikunis*

DEPORTATION DRIVE ◀ *by Abner Green*

GREAT FUR STRIKE OF 1926 ◀ *by Moissaye J. Olgin*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

JIMCROW IN STUYVESANT TOWN was upheld by the New York State Court of Appeals on July 19 by a 4-3 decision on the ground that this housing development is private and can "exclude Negroes from consideration as tenants." The minority opinion held that "this undertaking was a governmentally-conceived, governmentally-aided and governmentally-regulated project" and therefore could not exclude Negroes. The suit ruled upon was brought by three Negro veterans. Counsel for the veterans said they would appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

FIFTEEN NEGROES in New Orleans charged in early July that they were denied employment in the post office solely because of their race. Their case was brought before the Federal Fair Employment Practices Board in Washington by the National Association for Advancement of Colored Peoples and the National Alliance of Postal Employees. Testimony showed that Negroes have been denied appointments while less qualified whites were hired and that Negro employees have for 40 years been denied supervisory appointments despite high qualifications and seniority.

AN OBVIOUS ATTEMPT to incite anti-Semitism to hinder the Brooklyn protest movement against police brutality against Negroes was made by a police inspector in July. When representatives of the NAACP and the Brooklyn Division of the American Jewish Congress protested the arrest and beating by police of James O'Neal, Negro community leader, who was arrested in a church without a warrant for having "policy slips," the inspector said that the invasion of the church was made by Jewish detectives who "could not recognize" a church. O'Neal was subsequently released for lack of evidence.

HOODLUMS ATTACKED picket lines of the American Labor Party and shouted anti-Semitic slogans recently during a campaign to break down Jimcrow in hiring at A & P stores in the Allerton-Williamsbridge area in the Bronx. While the hoodlums jeered and threw eggs and tomatoes at the picket lines, several other members of the gang distributed the hate sheets *The Broom* and *Common Sense*. The local Jewish War Veterans have joined the fight against the Jimcrow hiring.

OPPOSITION TO THE HOBBS BILL was registered by seven national Jewish organizations and 27 Jewish community councils throughout the country through their coordinating agency, the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC) on July 21. In a letter to Rep. Emanuel Celler the NCRAC urged defeat of the Hobbs bill, which "raises the specter of peacetime concentration camps."

A COMPLETE PUBLIC investigation of the administration policies of City College of New York was demanded by the Anti-Defamation League in early July.

REINSTATEMENT APPEAL of Drs. Lee Lorch and Morris Swadesh, who were summarily dismissed from the City College faculty last May without explanation, was denied by the New York Board of Higher Education by a vote of 12-1. The board denied all charges of violation of academic freedom in the cases. The Teachers Union (CIO) will continue the fight for reinstatement.



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SEPTEMBER, 1949

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

THE EDITORS.

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CONNECTICUT ENACTED a law in July to prohibit discrimination because of race, color or creed in all public places and in state and federal housing projects.

MIAMI BEACH CITY COUNCIL unanimously approved an ordinance in late June making it "unlawful to maintain or display any advertising matter or sign" which discriminates against persons on grounds of race, religion or creed.

APPROVAL OF NAZI treatment of Jews in Germany by ex-Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy was revealed in German captured documents made

public by the State Department in July. While Dr. Herbert von Dirksen was Nazi ambassador to Britain, he wrote that Kennedy had told him that "it was not so much the fact that we [i.e., the Nazis] wanted to get rid of the Jews that was so harmful to us, but rather the loud clamor with which we accompanied the purpose," as well as other anti-Semitic views. Kennedy's comment on the revelations was, "It is all poppycock."

"RABBI" BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism and one of the most vociferous of Jewish

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

BY THEIR DEEDS

OUR NATION moves each day towards a graver crisis, political and economic. And as crisis advances, so too does the campaign of hysteria which is designed to rob the American people of their sanity. An atmosphere of fear is being built up with "loyalty" laws, spy scares, Mundt-Nixon bills, communist trials, the intimidation and arrests of foreign born. Whoever dares to question the present direction of American foreign policy, the cold war strategy and our government's support of every decadent and fascist regime in the world, is immediately subjected to a treatment of the lynch spirit.

Our elder statesmen in Washington and the majority of our press shed copious tears over the need for all this. But "western civilization" is in danger, they cry. We alone, they say, can save the Anglo-Saxon world and democracy as we know it from the horrible fate of Bolshevism. In the face of governmental acts, these pretensions are exposed as a travesty of truth and as mealy-mouthed, hypocritical professions of love for democracy.

Consider two recent events. On July 21, our junior partner, Ernest Bevin, stated in Parliament that he regretted the adoption of Roosevelt's "unconditional surrender" policy towards the nazis. This great "socialist" complained that "nearly all the difficulties arising in remodeling Germany" originated from this policy, which left us "a Germany without a law, without a constitution, and without a single person to deal with, and without a single institution to grapple with the problem." And a few days earlier, the new American administrator of Germany, John J. McCloy, and his British and French counterparts agreed that west German state governors should be instructed to pay Hitler's *Wehrmacht* officers pensions as high as \$400 a month. According to these great proponents of democracy, the very least we can do, since we cannot undo the unconditional surrender program, is to recompense the leaders of Hitler's army for the temporary disappearance of the nazi regime. The next step, no doubt, is the open affirmation that it was a mistake to have fought Hitler in the first place and that the best we can do now is to revive nazism and recreate Germany in Hitler's image. These men cry that they want peace, but regret that they did not barter with the nazis, that they did not negotiate a peace with the murderers of millions of innocent human beings. They cry that they want to build democracy, but they decree pensions for storm troopers and guardians of Maidanek and Treblinka. The present day propaganda and policies of the cold war emanate spiritually, if not physically, from Berlin. The result must in-

evitably be the same, unless the American people join with the peace forces of the world in calling a halt to a program which leads to war and destruction.

A DEGRADING APPOINTMENT

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has rained many blows upon the American people and their freedoms in the past four years, but few have been so callous, insulting and dangerous as his appointment of Tom Clark to the Supreme Court. Clark has repeatedly violated the Bill of Rights in his creation of the "subversive lists," in his persecution of progressives, in the extravagant injustices of the deportation delirium, in the operation of his FBI Gestapo, and above all in his department's prosecution of the communist leaders. While progressives suffer intense persecution, anti-Negro violence runs riot over the land, lynchers carry on their murder with impunity—none have been convicted during Clark's term as defender of American liberties. And if this infamous record is not sufficient, many phases of his legal career in Texas bear close investigation, as revealed by a series of documented articles in the *Daily Worker*. For instance, in 1927 an investigating committee of the Texas Senate found that Clark "experienced a tremendous and startling increase in earnings" after his law partner became Texas attorney general. As Carey McWilliams, himself an attorney, said, this appointment is "intellectually shoddy and morally devious." Every indication points to Clark's obvious unfitness to sit on this most important judicial body in the country. His presence there increases the jeopardy in which civil liberties and democracy stand today.

The lamented loss of Justice Frank Murphy gave Truman a rare opportunity to take a step toward putting into practice his hitherto verbal adherence to the civil rights program by appointing a Negro to the Supreme Court. Such Negro lawyers as Governor William Hastie of the Virgin Islands or Charles Houston, Texas attorney, are eminently fitted for the post. The opportunity to do so still remains. At this writing hearings on the appointment of Clark are being held. Every effort should be made to smother this appointment in protest and to open the way for the naming of a Negro. "Negroes are sick and tired," exclaimed Mrs. Goldie Watson, Philadelphia Negro leader, "of appearing at only one end of the Court." Every urgent need of America today demands the rejection of Truman's extremely bad appointment and the naming of a Negro to the Court.

TOM CLARK'S KIDNAPPERS

THE deportation proceedings against Alexander Bittelman, general secretary of the Morning Freiheit Association, which were instituted last year with his arrest in Florida, went before immigration authorities on July 28. At the conclusion of the session, Mr. Bittelman was told that the \$5,000 bail posted for him last year was cancelled and that he was to be taken to Tom Clark's concentration camp on Ellis Island. Now, there is an ugly word to describe this illegal, brutal procedure—kidnapping. And Mr. Bittelman's attorneys told the authorities that this was "illegal kidnapping" and they refused further participation in the case if the government carried out its threat to jail Mr. Bittelman. Mr. Bittelman was then released on bail, but the threat of concentration camp still hangs over him, since the authorities said that he would be taken to Ellis Island at the conclusion of the hearings.

The story of this outrageous deportation drive, of which Mr. Bittelman is one victim, is told elsewhere in this issue by Abner Green. This drive is indecently gnawing away at the liberties of citizen and non-citizen alike. We urge our readers to protest not only this un-American effort to deprive Mr. Bittelman, a leader in the fight for Jewish rights, of his liberties, but to protest this whole campaign to deport non-citizens who have lived many years in this country and who are being persecuted because they are uncompromising anti-fascists.

A CLERICAL FASCIST SORTIE

CARDINAL SPELLMAN'S vitriolic attack on Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt on July 22 for her espousal of the principle of separation of church and state, is an alarming sign of the lengths to which clerical fascism is prepared to go in this country today. For daring enunciate this principle, Cardinal Spellman irresponsibly accused her of "anti-Catholicism" and of "discrimination unworthy of an American mother." The truth is that Mrs. Roosevelt is too "liberal" for the Cardinal, and this ruthless opposition to any faint suggestion of progressivism is characteristic of the clerical, as of any other variety, of fascist. The inevitable red-baiting also appeared in an attack upon Mrs. Roosevelt a few days later by The Right Rev. Msgr. John K. Cartwright, who said that she was "a little more than tolerant towards the Reds and the Communists and the friends of Russia in this country," especially in her support of the Spanish loyalists. Cardinal Spellman's attack evoked forthright and courageous defense from a few, notably Herbert H. Lehman, but on the whole few people dared to call a spade a spade. Finally Cardinal Spellman was obliged, by the unfavorable political effects of his brutal outburst, to draw in his horns and reaffirm the hierarchy's minimum position on aid to the school for "auxiliary services" only, such as transportation, health services, etc.

Cardinal Spellman's verbal retreat should not deceive

anyone. For actually he had accomplished his purpose, the killing of the Barden bill for \$300,000,000 federal aid to public education in this session. For the congressional rabbits rushed the bill back to their hutch after the roar of the clerical fascist wolf. The cause of separation of church and state has been further damaged. The most disturbing element of this whole situation is that the hierarchy is increasing its arrogance and aggressiveness in an atmosphere of rapid deterioration of civil liberties, as is evidenced by the sheer brass of the Cardinal's attack.

DEEPENING CRISIS IN ISRAEL

THE Jewish press no longer hides the fact that Israel is confronted with a serious crisis. Tens of thousands of immigrants can find neither home nor job and are forced to remain for months on end in special camps where conditions are extremely bad. Demonstrations of unemployed immigrants and veterans have occurred frequently in the past few months. Added to this, the Israeli government, with the agreement of the Mapai-dominated Histadrut, has announced a wage cut of over six dollars per week for over 150 thousand organized workers. Claims that this cut is justified by the reduction in prices resulting from the government's "austerity" program, have thoroughly been exposed by the left wing parties, the Mapam and the Communist Party. Mapam has shown that higher taxes, rents and indirect levies have nullified lower prices and that the official cost of living index is a sham. The left wing is taking the issue to the people and strikes have already broken out in protest, despite threats of discipline against strikers by the Histadrut.

Both here and in Israel, Zionist leaders are accusing the left wing of indifference to the fate of Israel and of lack of patriotism. But this is on the face of it a fraud and hypocrisy of the lowest order. No one is better aware of this than the workers of Israel who are forced to take a cut in wages in the face of their ever-mounting difficulty of making ends meet. The workers know that the capitalists of Israel are allowed to go their own merry way with no restrictions upon their profits.

Many people are beginning to awaken to the fact that capitalist development must inevitably bring in its wake a class struggle, whether in America, France, India or Israel. And equally inevitable is the fact that capitalists and their agents, even though they may call themselves socialists or laborites, will always seek to place the burden of every crisis upon the working class.

In Israel particularly it is important to bear in mind that the national struggle is most intimately connected with the class struggle. The fact is that the same Israeli government policies, which lead to wage cuts, are also responsible in great measure for the crisis with regard to the immigrants. There can be no satisfactory solution to the problem of these many thousands, who still live in camps, if the problem of housing and of industry is not removed from control by those whose only concern with

these problems is the profit to be derived from them.

Try as they may, reactionary Zionist leaders cannot hide the guilt of the present Israeli government for the inability to meet the present crisis in Israel behind the camouflage of nationalistic and highly romanticized appeals. The fact is that the coalition of social-democrats and clerical parties is by its orientation and policies helping to block the path to the full independence and security of Israel.

Devotion to and concern for Israel and its people and to those who still wish to go there does not mean devotion to the capitalist and his profits, even though some Zionist leaders may consider them identical.

INJUSTICE ON FOLEY SQUARE

THE crescendo of prejudice manifested by the court in the trial of the communist leaders in Foley Square mounts each day. As prejudice rises higher, civil liberties all over the country are more gravely endangered.

One of the most egregious manifestations in a trial bristling with them, occurred on August 9, when Henry Winston, national organizational secretary of the Communist Party and a defendant, complained that he was suffering from a heart condition. It has since become known that about a year ago he had been warned by his physician that something was wrong with his heart. And after 67 days divided between the house of detention and the courtroom, latterly in many days of the most intense heat, his heart began to trouble him again. The defense therefore asked for a recess. After an hour of argument in the judge's chambers, the judge recessed the court for the morning while Winston was allowed to be examined by a court doctor. This doctor reported that Winston was well *except* that his heart "skipped a beat." The court refused the defense requests for a recess for the afternoon while Winston rested, and for an examination of Winston by his own doctor. It is pertinent to recall that, when FBI informer John Blanc was testifying for the prosecution and appeared to be ill, Judge Medina solicitously asked Blanc if he wanted a recess and quickly granted it. But Judge Medina's prejudice has by now become so virulent that he shows no human feeling for the defendants, let alone concern for insuring conditions for a fair trial.

Flagrant displays of prejudice turn up every day. On August 4, a delegation of writers and artists requested at the courthouse that they speak with Judge Medina about the unjustified jailing of Henry Winston and his comrades Gus Hall and Gil Green. To their amazement Captain Ambler of the courthouse guard informed them that prosecutor John F. X. McGohey had instructed him that no delegations were to see Medina. This was a new low in injustice—the judge was to be isolated from protesting citizens by orders of the prosecution! Not only is this control of access to the judge in the hands of one side in the case; refusal of delegations to see the judge is a denial of the basic right to petition for redress of grievances.

Extremely serious is the judicial bias in the judge's arbitrary limitation of the defense presentation of the evidence. The indictment charges the defendants with advocacy of Marxism-Leninism, but the judge is making it extraordinarily hard for the defense to present what Marxism-Leninism really is. Medina has apparently accepted the prosecution's case, preposterously offered in Louis Budenz' evidence, that Marxism-Leninism means overthrow of the government by force and violence. The defense is being seriously hampered in exposing the contemptible Christian Front level of this thinking. Judge Medina has repeatedly shown that he is prejudiced in the case and that no evidence presented by the defense will penetrate the hard shell of prejudice he has built up against the defendants. This appears each day in his insistence upon "speeding up" the case. One would suppose that the function of a judge is to see that justice is done, not speed accomplished. Since Medina is convinced that the defendants are guilty, he is observing the minimum forms of judicial procedure and curtailing the defense in the interests of that new objective of the law, speed.

Another evidence of gross prejudice was Judge Medina's remanding of three defendants to jail for the rest of the trial. It is not enough that dubious legal procedures were involved in this unprecedented act. In the case of Gil Green, for instance, that same document which Medina refused to admit in evidence, thus causing the protesting comment from Gil Green that prompted his remanding, was a little later admitted by the judge. The comment was thus vindicated by the judge himself, yet Gil Green is still in jail. Henry Winston and Gus Hall were remanded to jail when they protested the contempting of John Gates for refusing to betray names to the prosecution. Yet in this case, too, the protest has been vindicated by the fact that the prosecutor has not called upon the judge to force subsequent defense witnesses to turn stoolpigeon on penalty of a contempt sentence. Yet the judge refuses to free these three. Their imprisonment was unjust enough in itself. But the drastic restrictions upon their movements and capability of conferring with counsel actually amounts to an infringement of due process.

The phases of judicial prejudice in this case could be piled as high as one had time and space and patience to analyze the court record. But the significance of this farcical trial extends far beyond the defendants themselves, or even the Communist Party as a whole. This trial threatens to be the largest break in the dike of civil liberties for all Americans. This danger can yet be averted. But there is only one way to do this. *The people must be aroused to call a halt.* The truth of what is going on at Foley Square must become known to the masses of America. Judge Medina must be told by the people that Winston, Hall and Green must be set free at once. This in itself will help stop the mad career of injustice at Foley Square. And finally, an aroused, informed people must realize that they can save their liberties, if the whole frameup at Foley Square is thrown out of court.

FASCISM INVADES THE SCHOOL

By Lester Levy

DRASTIC thought control is about to be imposed on the educational system of New York State. In April the state legislature passed the Feinberg Law in a hurry. No public hearings were held. Only a few Democrats dared to oppose the bill. In order to forestall the growing public protest, Governor Thomas E. Dewey signed the law less than 48 hours after passage. Although the law is ostensibly directed at teachers, it actually will terrorize the entire educational system, straitjacket instruction of the children and thus poison democratic thinking at the source. And, as we shall show, this measure will make the schools a fertile breeding ground for anti-Semitism.

The Feinberg Law is the joint product of various reactionary forces in the state. Governor Dewey, who has repeatedly expressed his hatred for the "teachers' lobby," cooperated. The law has the imprint of the Catholic hierarchy, which has long been trying, with increasing success, to bend the school system to its will. The law is the brain child of all the agencies, clerical, business and military, that wish to turn the schools into a propaganda mill for the cold war.

The law calls upon the State Board of Regents to issue regulations, binding on school officials throughout the state, to enforce two statutes already on the books. One of these, section 3021 of the Education Law, requires the dismissal of teachers who make "seditious and treasonable utterance." The other, section 12a of the Civil Service Law, provides for the dismissal of teachers who "advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence." The new element added by the law is that the Board of Regents shall make a list of organizations which in its judgment advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence and dismiss teachers who are members of these organizations.

The Board of Regents, which administers the Feinberg Law, is a body of men elected for a 12 year term by the state legislature. Almost all board members are Republicans, big business men and corporation lawyers. Several years ago the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise sharply criticized the board for refusing to adopt regulations "prohibiting institutions of higher learning from requesting applicants for admission to furnish information concerning race, religion or national origin. . . . The Regents thus threaten to undermine in its entirety the operation of the Fair Education Practices Law."

The Cold Terror

A perfunctory hearing was held by the Board of Regents on July 14. Five organizations, including the Communist

Party, were given four hours in which to show that they did not advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence. On the basis of these "hearings" a list of proscribed organizations will be issued by the board on September 15. Then, on July 15, the board issued the regulations for execution of the Feinberg Law. The "loyalty" of every one of the 80,000 teachers and other school employees in New York State must be certified by school officials *each year*. The insecurity of teachers is further aggravated by the provision that the list of organizations "may be amended and revised from time to time," thus making teachers apprehensive of possible future listing of any organizations they may want to join. And since the Feinberg Law includes "seditious and treasonable utterances" as ground for dismissal, the past of any new appointees, including their college and employment records, will be thoroughly checked.

The menacing implications of the law were further spelled out on July 22 when State Commissioner of Education Francis T. Spaulding sent to school officials a memorandum interpreting the regulations. Said the memorandum: "The writing of articles, the distribution of pamphlets, the endorsement of speeches made or articles written or acts performed by others, all may constitute subversive activity." To put it briefly, teachers must now watch every word or act in their professional or private life for fear it might be labelled "subversive." Fascism is at the doorstep of New York's schools.

Imagine the reign of terror that Spaulding's regulation will institute. Only the most courageous teachers will maintain any sort of integrity in their private life or teaching. They will fear to give anyone cause to suspect them of harboring or teaching any idea that does not conform with reactionary ideas. Free discussion in the classrooms will be stifled. How will the teacher express any non-conformist idea, no matter how mild, without laying himself open to the charge of "subversion"? Criticism of our foreign policy, opposition to discrimination, a pro-labor viewpoint, the mildest criticism of the monopolies—all these are liable to be construed as "subversive." We know that the FBI already regards anti-discrimination as subversive, as has been revealed in many loyalty investigations. More and more teachers will take great care to express only the most reactionary positions in order to "cover themselves."

Inciting propaganda for World War III will be the daily diet in the classrooms. Conversation and discussion among teachers in corridors, rest rooms or cafeterias will be shadowed over by an aura not too different from that which prevailed in Nazi Germany. Stoolpigeons will flourish, for these will undoubtedly be widely used in systematic fashion by the authorities. And this is the atmosphere in which our

children will receive a "democratic" education! This is a prospect that must alarm every parent and citizen. It is the logical and deliberate outcome of the witch-hunting Feinberg Law.

Breeding Ground for Anti-Semitism

That the application of this law will promote anti-Semitism in the schools cannot be doubted. For obvious reasons, Jewish teachers are especially sensitive to questions of discrimination. To a narrow-minded or bigoted supervisor, a teacher who raises the issue of anti-Semitism or anti-Negro discrimination is immediately suspect as a "radical" or subversive. There are groups in New York City, who are not without influence, who some time ago expressed their opposition to Jews entering the school system. The American Education Association, a teacher organization with a Christian Front viewpoint which had as its president the notorious May Quinn, some years ago expressed its "shock" over the kind of names, many of which were Jewish, appearing on school eligible lists. Only recently Assistant Superintendent of Schools Frank Whalen, in a speech before students at St. John's Teachers College, deplored the "imbalance of faiths" among teachers in the schools and called upon Catholics to enter the teaching system in order to restore the balance. There is no doubt that the application of the Feinberg Law will intensify rumormongering and false charges of subversions by bigots like May Quinn against their Jewish colleagues.

Further, one can expect that anti-Semites will be encouraged to advance their racism more boldly in the classroom. When Welles V. Moot, chairman of the Board of Regents subcommittee to draw up the regulations, was asked whether anti-Semitism came within the purview of the Feinberg Law, he indicated that it did not. It is thus officially declared that the spreading of race and group hatred is not to be construed as "treasonable or seditious." Surely this is a green light to the anti-Semites. And as the Hierarchy's control over the school system becomes stronger, Christian Fronters will feel more secure than ever. The reactionary atmosphere engendered by the Feinberg Law will create the most favorable conditions for more open and bolder manifestations of anti-Semitism.

The very presence of George Timone as chairman of the Law Committee of the Board of Education, is an ominous sign pointing in the same direction. Timone was exposed as an associate of Christian Front elements in a meeting to support dictator Franco in the late 30's, and he recently even reaffirmed his support of the Spanish fascist dictator. It was Timone who spearheaded the Catholic hierarchy's drive in the schools to censor books and other teaching materials. It was he who worked for the removal from school buildings of classes of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and he has pressed the attack on a number of teachers already questioned by school authorities about their political views. It is not without significance that all but one of the teachers called for questioning by the Superintendent of Schools

are Jewish. They include Abraham Lederman, president of the Teachers' Union, and Celia Lewis Zitron, secretary of the Union and the teacher responsible for the introduction of the study of Hebrew into the New York City schools in 1929.

The anti-Semitic dangers of the law are not lessened by the fact that the president of the Board of Education, Maximilian Moss, is a Jew. The selection of Moss was deliberately engineered by Mayor O'Dwyer as a convenient way to divert attention from the anti-Semitic dangers in the schools and to provide him with an alibi. Significantly, the press reports that one of the men being considered to carry out the witch-hunt, is Associate Superintendent Jacob Greenberg. Reaction likes nothing better than to have its bigoted campaign carried out by a Jew.

Save the Children

Anyone who supposes that the Feinberg Law is merely directed at teachers alone—bad as that is—is the victim of a dangerous delusion. For the primary victims of the law are the children. Any kind of objective and mildly progressive teaching becomes more difficult than ever. As a substitute for many-sided free discussion of current issues the children will get propaganda for the cold war. The end product of this new pro-fascist dispensation is to convert New York's public school children from thinking human beings into nazi-like robots.

How is it possible that a state with such a liberal tradition as New York could pass the pro-fascist Feinberg Law? How is it possible that tolerance for anti-Semitism can prevail in a city like New York with so large a Jewish population? The truth is that there is a dangerous apathy towards and even a lack of awareness of the terrible dangers of this law among progressive organizations, some with large Jewish memberships. This was manifested in the failure of these organizations and of Jewish organizations to mobilize mass opposition to the bill.

While the Feinberg Law is now on the books, there is still time to save democratic education in New York. A broad campaign for repeal of the law is now under way. Among those involved are conservative and liberal educators, ministers and other public-minded citizens who have grasped the menace of the law. More urgently immediate than the movement for repeal, however, is the fight to keep the law from being put into effect in September. The Board of Regents must be told that the law is unconstitutional and that the regulations under it must be rescinded. Particularly in New York City, where the law will undoubtedly be invoked on a large scale, the Board of Education must be flooded with demands that they refrain from any attempt to enforce this unconstitutional law. The voice of progressive New Yorkers—particularly among the Jewish people—must be raised in defense of the freedom of teaching. And most of all, the people of New York must rise to prevent the children from stultification at the hands of a terrorized teacher staff.

ISRAELI COMMUNISTS AND IMMIGRATION

By Samuel Mikunis

The following speech by Samuel Mikunis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel and Communist member of the Knesset, was made on July 18 in the Knesset in reply to the campaign of calumny instigated against the Communist Party of Israel, especially with regard to the problem of immigration. The campaign was set off by a statement in the Knesset by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett to the effect that Mikunis had publicly stated in Bucharest that his party was opposed to immigration to Israel until a people's democratic government was established there. Sharett denied that the government was considering any restriction on immigration. Mikunis contended that the bourgeoisie of Israel was responsible for the immigration crisis. It was the government, rather than the Communist Party, he maintained, that favored restriction of immigration. This has since been confirmed by a statement of the Jewish journalist, William Zukerman, who wrote: "Immigration has already been drastically cut. Only 16,400 immigrants arrived in June, as against 20,000 who entered in May and 30,500 who were taken in in March. The quotas for July and August are 14,000 and 12,000 respectively. It appears that immigration will be put on a permanent basis of 10,000 a month and will be regulated in accordance with the absorptive capacity of the country and not for political effects as a member of American Jewish editors have demanded recently" (Chicago Sentinel, July 28).—Editors.

UPON returning from my trip abroad, I learned with pain and bewilderment of the slanderous campaign against me personally and against the Communist Party of Israel. This hysterical episode was initiated by Foreign Minister Sharett and was sustained by the kept press, which has sold itself to the Wall Street money magnates.

The accusations against me and my party left me speechless. For they are figments of the imagination and do not contain even a kernel of truth. *I never made a speech in Bucharest, never gave any lectures there.* Quite obviously I could not have made the remarks attributed to me by Mr. Sharett. The cynicism of this attempt by Mr. Sharett who helped himself to a "quotation" of words supposedly spoken by myself, are indicative of his reliability. Such words were never uttered by me in Bucharest or anywhere else and are in total contradiction to the views of my party and to its world outlook.

We never said anywhere that the state of Israel is a vassal of America. It is a fact, however, that the Ben Gurion government is tying itself ever more closely to the chariot of American imperialism and thus puts the independence and sovereignty of Israel in danger. This is our firm conviction. The Ben Gurion government is steadily

making American political and economic penetration and intervention more real. The state of Israel and the Ben Gurion government are not identical. Governments come and governments go but the state of Israel will live forever. I believe that the working class and the masses of the people will fight against the policy of becoming a vassal of American imperialism, as they fought against their British oppressors in the not too distant past.

Furthermore, I never made the statement, attributed to me by Mr. Sharett that "There should be no *aliyah* (immigration) to Israel until a real democratic regime is established." It is totally irresponsible for an Israeli minister to indulge in hysterical and lying propaganda of this sort. Our opinion is that *aliyah* is not in contradiction with the struggle for a real democratic regime in Israel. What is clear, however, and this is becoming ever clearer to the broad masses of the people, is that the policies of the government, which are strengthening the bourgeoisie and Anglo-American capitalists in Israel while they cut down the workers' bread and living standards, necessarily aggravate the tremendous difficulties of providing for immigrants and do inestimable damage to the potentialities for housing and employment. These policies rob the working class of the gains it has won in the past few years.

Early in 1948, the leadership of the Jewish Agency forbade, on the basis of an order from Truman, the departure of 15,000 Rumanian Jews who were ready to leave for Israel. Only the democratic forces against whom the Americans are ranting, made it possible for these people to go, even though Truman and his friends in the Jewish Agency opposed this.

Representatives of the Israeli consulate, as well as the Israeli government itself, sabotaged the immigration agreement arrived at in Bucharest in August 1948. In accordance with it, thousands of young people could have come to our country. When 5,000 Jews arrived from Rumania at the end of 1948, they were given a cold and unfriendly reception by official circles. "Pauker-agents," they were called. Why? For the sin of having registered with the agency of the Rumanian Jewish community rather than with the Israeli consulate.

And who is calling for the haking of immigration, if not the bourgeois press in Israel? It is in government offices that plans are assiduously being worked out to restrict immigration. The regular attacks on Rumania, on myself and on the Communist Party of Israel are nothing more than an unsuccessful attempt to conceal the failures of the policies of the Ben Gurion government.

By throwing dirt at Israel's friends in the world democratic camp, by idiotically attacking my party, an attempt is being made to cover up the Anglo-American imperial-

ist blockade of our country, to conceal Israel's lack of talent in mobilizing friends throughout the world and in the Middle East, to divert public attention from the increasingly worsening economic situation, the sufferings of the new arrivals and the unemployed, to cut wages and lower the living standards of the masses, to raise taxes persistently at the expense of the broad masses of the people.

The American scribblers in the Israeli press are trying to persuade public opinion that we are opposed to immigration, and even more, that we are actively trying to halt immigration from a number of countries. It gives me great satisfaction to affirm that this lying propaganda against us did not succeed. The fact is that the *aliyah* from eastern European countries was not cut off. *Aliyah* continues and will continue despite the despicable campaign of calumny against the new people's democracies and despite any fantastic "quotations" that Mr. Sharett may dream up.

I believe that the *Knesset* is duty bound to reprimand the foreign minister. For his misquotations opened the door to an anti-communist devil's dance, which serves the interests of American imperialists and Israeli capitalists.

The working class and the masses of Israel know that the Communist Party of Israel contributed much toward winning our war for independence. My party mobilized substantial aid from the world democratic camp for the

struggle. We have not changed our orientation in the face of new responsibilities and tasks.

It is well known that, wherever we have appeared at international forums of the freedom loving and peace forces of the world, we have never failed to bring forward the heroic struggle and creative efforts of the Israeli working class and youth. We have always emphasized the need to strengthen friendship and solidarity of our country with the democratic world forces.

The Israeli working class and masses know that gigantic forces and true and devoted friends throughout the world stand at their side in their struggle against the penetration of American imperialism and to guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of our country, in our struggle for peace and a democratic regime. The entire anti-imperialist and democratic camp, at whose head stand the Soviet Union and the new people's democracies, are ready to help us. Israel came into being with their help. And we shall be able to achieve full national and social liberation with their help and through fraternal ties and cooperation with them.

No amount of anti-communist hysteria, of attacks against the left section of the working class can halt the great historic forward march of working and creative mankind for a world free from capitalism and war, for a socialist world, including Israel.

TALE OF TWO CONGRESS ELECTIONS

By Louis Harap

AT A CONFERENCE held in Philadelphia in 1916, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise discussed the need for an American Jewish Congress. "We have chosen the name Congress," he said, "... because no lesser name would measure the significance of an assembly of democratically chosen representatives of the Jewish people of the land."

Although Congress never fully achieved this ideal, it was justly considered an organization for mass democratic action. The oft-repeated challenges hurled by Rabbi Wise at the self-appointed hierarchy in Jewish life and his many calls for the participation of all Jews in shaping and carrying through policy on Jewish affairs, evoked a warm response in the Jewish community. No doubt the overwhelming majority of those who joined Congress did so because they felt that this was one organization where they could enjoy full participation in a militant program of action in behalf of Jewish survival. The many Jewish people who were repelled by the hush-hush attitude and the pervasive effort of the leading Jewish organizations to prevent mass action, felt that Congress was the one organization where mass action and militant expression would be encouraged.

Since the end of the war, however, and particularly in the past year, Congress leadership has been hard at work to destroy the democratic tradition of Congress. The crisis in

the American Jewish Congress is very real. It has been precipitated by the ruling group, dominated by Dr. David Petegorsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, and Shad and Justine Wise Polier. This group is choking off militant mass activity in the Congress program and has gone on a rampage to expel the most militant individuals and groups in Congress. As a result, the Detroit Metropolitan Chapter, one of the most militant and energetic in the country, as well as the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council, have been expelled.

Morris Gleicher, president of the Detroit Metropolitan Chapter, placed the question squarely when he said: "The problem is whether the American Jewish Congress is now to retain the militant, mass-action character developed under the great leadership of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, or whether the organization is to be transformed into a research, statistics-gathering body of top professionals." The Congress national office, continued Mr. Gleicher, has "fallen prey to the tremendous, fearful pressure of an hysteria which has swept the country and which has already taken a terrible toll in lost civil liberties." (*Nat. Jew. Post*, July 22.)

But the situation is even more serious. Congress is not merely on the road to becoming a "research" organization. It is rapidly being diverted into anti-democratic channels

and will quickly become a replica of the American Jewish Committee if the ruling group has its way. All this is of course being done with some ingenuity. The facade of a mass-democratic organization is being maintained and for very obvious reasons. It would do the leadership no good nor would they have any assurance of retaining their offices for long if they were to publicly proclaim their real intentions. This explains why all the expulsions to date were executed under a camouflage of procedural and technical questions. Up to now every effort to frustrate mass action is accompanied by high-sounding and demagogic contentions of good faith. There is growing evidence, however, that the membership and local leaders see through this demagoguery and are not passively accepting this attempt to destroy the democratic Congress tradition.

On June 1, over 100 Congress leaders, including several members of the national executive committee, regional, division and chapter chairmen, national administrative committee members and local officers from Atlantic to Pacific, issued a letter calling for a convention to select a president to fill the place left by the late Rabbi Wise. This group emphasized that "at this convention the will of the membership will be democratically expressed and the choice that is made will express their wishes." A convention has been planned for November.

What assurance is there that the convention will truly represent the will of the Congress membership? None—unless the membership determines to make it so by militant struggle. For it would be naive to suppose that the top leadership is unaware of the growing opposition to its present course and that it is not making its own preparations for the convention. Certainly the series of expulsions, manipulations and intimidations, whose purpose is the emasculation of the Congress program and suppression of militancy among the membership, clearly indicate the type of convention that the Congress leadership would like to see. Unless the Congress membership are informed about and alert to the moves being made by the top clique, they will be unprepared to meet their responsibilities.

Case of Concourse Chapter

The case of the Concourse chapter in the Bronx is further indication of the direction in which the top Congress leadership is moving. This chapter, with over 550 members, is the largest, most active and most militant in the Bronx Division. There are some 15 chapters in the division, nearly all inactive. It is instructive to note that none of the inactive chapters has incurred the wrath of Congress leadership. Only the most active, the Concourse Chapter, has set the top leaders into a frenzy of action.

In recent months, the Concourse Chapter, in line with declared Congress policy on denazification, organized a mass meeting and enlisted the cooperation of several chapters of Bronx Women's Division. When the national office and the Bronx Division learned of the meeting, they tried to sabotage it. A week before the rally the Bronx Division

executive condemned it and even proposed that it be called off. Though the chapter proceeded with the meeting, much of its effectiveness was negated because of the paralyzing prohibition against action by the division executive, which also forbade the circulation of post cards printed by the chapter petitioning President Truman to do something about denazification.

As time went on, it became clear that the national office, with the full cooperation of the Bronx Division leadership, was determined to get rid of the progressive, militant leadership of the Concourse Chapter. And this became particularly evident as the time for elections in the chapter drew near. In April, a chapter nominating committee drew up a slate of candidates for office. Steps were taken, however, to see to it that an opposition was formed and that a slate favorable to the national office and headed by Rabbi Herman W. Saville was put forward. The day before the election, S. Loewenberg, executive secretary of the Bronx Division, a paid national official, refused to permit chapter representatives to see the records on which the list of qualified voters was based. The chapter officers noted that the names of many qualified voters were omitted from the list. The next night, Loewenberg turned up early at the election meeting and, without consulting the chapter chairman or the nominations committee, set up a credentials committee to decide who was qualified to vote. Due to the charged atmosphere and the bedlam that prevailed, it was obvious that an election could not be held that night. The Bronx Division president therefore proposed that a committee of eight, four from each side, be appointed to set a date for an election. This met with unanimous approval.

Shortly afterward the election committee of eight met. The progressives proposed that elections be held at a membership meeting at which the floor would be open for nominations in addition to the slates offered by the nominations committee and the opposition. Candidates and issues would then be fully discussed and a vote would follow. The opposition proposed that only two slates be offered, that no meeting be held and that balloting take place on a given day at the Bronx Division office. The opposition wished to avoid any discussion of candidates and issues, because they knew that such acts as Rabbi Saville's prayer for Mindszenty and sabotage of the denazification program would be disapproved by the membership. The election committee could reach no agreement and the chapter chairman then called a second meeting to discuss the matter further.

In the meantime, however, the Bronx Division executive sent telegrams to the elections committee notifying them that only two slates would be offered, no meeting held and declaring the committee dissolved. Considering this decision a violation of the mandate given by the membership meeting, the progressive members of the election committee decided to go through with democratic election procedure and held a meeting with more than 120 members present. The progressive slate was elected overwhelmingly. But the opposition designated a time for balloting at the Bronx Division office and elected its slate. The opposition officers

elected by the divisional procedure were declared the legal officers. The election held by the chapter was declared illegal. And there the matter stands at this writing.

Eruption in Chicago

At the same time one thousand miles away in Chicago similar efforts to destroy progressivism in Congress were under way in the opposition to the candidacy of Fred Ptashne, a vice president of the division for several years and one of the most active Congress leaders. The nominations committee appointed by the Chicago Division president, Rabbi Morton M. Berman, excluded Fred Ptashne's name from the slate. A Committee to Elect Fred Ptashne was promptly set up and his name placed in nomination for vice-president by a petition signed by 179 Congress members. A campaign of personal abuse was then loosed against Ptashne. Rabbi Berman sent a letter to every Congress member urging a vote against Ptashne and hurling a series of charges against him. In reply, the Committee to Elect Fred Ptashne detailed his record: he had spoken on the Chicago *Sentinel* libel case to over 40 groups in Chicago and had been instrumental in raising over \$10,000 for the defense fund. The committee showed that while Ptashne was chairman of the Commission on Law and Social Action and head of the Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, he had led the fight against Gerald L. K. Smith and Arthur W. Terminiello; he had led the fight for the national Commission on Law and Social Action to offer an effective law against anti-Semitism; he had organized local movements for the passage of FEPC legislation as well as other issues on the Congress program.

This Berman letter aroused resentment in many rank and file Congress members, who sent protesting letters. The sequel of this whole campaign was a disgraceful show of hoodlumism. The incident can be best related by the Congress member who was victimized. Here is a letter by Mandel Terman published in the Chicago *Sentinel* of June 2.

"I am taking this means of raising my voice against the undemocratic attitudes creeping into Jewish life as a result of our failure to practice the principles we are always preaching to others.

"I refer specifically to the Annual Convention of the American Jewish Congress, Chicago Division, held two Sundays ago. In my opinion this was the most disgraceful exhibition of lack of democracy I have ever seen.

"For example, during the debate preceding the election of officers, I rose to read a statement given by a Mr. Morris Dolin, whose name had been used as a sponsor on a letter sent out by the 'machine' in their attempt to defeat the independent candidacy of Fred Ptashne. Mr. Dolin, unable to attend the convention himself, had authorized the members interested in Ptashne's election to state that he had never authorized the use of his name in connection with the letter, and that in fact, he had nothing against Ptashne's candidacy.

"Imagine my shock at having this statement torn out of my hand right on the platform by a member of the 'machine' and then having the presiding chairman, Leo Lowitz, accuse me of being an 'imposter,' charging me with 'fraud,' demanding an apology, and actually insulting me as if I had committed a crime. Several other members interested in the same candidacy, attempting to defend me, were refused recognition. Mr. Dolin was called by phone a few minutes afterwards and affirmed the statement I had read, but no opportunity was given to make this clear to the delegates. By sheer physical force people were kept from speaking and one delegate who had spoken personally to Mr. Dolin was practically carried out of the room.

"The tragedy is that this whole disgraceful affair took place on the very day that Congress was holding its memorial meeting for Dr. Wise, whose life was devoted to establishing a movement in which Jews of every type could come together and democratically decide their own destiny. The spectacle at the convention besmirched this memory. If the American Jewish Congress is going to become undemocratic, what hope is there for ever achieving Jewish unity? After listening to the brilliant address of Dr. [Robert] Marcus revealing the terrifying re-growth of nazism in Germany, one would think we have more to fight than each other."

Elections were held on May 22 at the convention so vividly described by Mr. Terman. As was to be expected, convention rules were manipulated so as to insure the defeat of Ptashne. The credentials committee ruled that delegates from *landsmanshaften* which had not paid dues would nevertheless be allowed to cast a full vote. Another ruling *unheard of in democratic and parliamentary procedure* was that votes for vice president (three to be elected) could be valid only if the voter cast a ballot for three candidates. In other words, those who wished to vote for Ptashne alone were obliged to vote for two other candidates in addition, thus preventing those who favored Ptashne from weakening the opposition to him by refraining from voting for other candidates. The final vote showed that Ptashne had lost with 65 full votes. Ptashne had received 34 full delegate votes. His remaining 31 full votes were cast by 155 non-delegate members each casting one-fifth of a vote. In other words, 189 of the 400 to 450 who attended the convention, voted for Ptashne.

Organizing for Action

In these two election fights in the Bronx and in Chicago we see the same undemocratic pattern as appeared earlier in the JPFO, AJLC and Detroit chapter cases. The national office and its sympathizers in the localities are using every means, from a flouting of democratic procedure to red-baiting, the weapon of the enemies of the Jews, to eliminate the most energetic members and groups.

But local Congress leaders have increasingly realized that as isolated groups they could do little to halt, let alone reverse, the present trend of Congress. The need for a na-

tionwide, unified campaign, particularly in connection with the forthcoming national convention in November, could no longer be delayed. A Committee for a Democratic American Jewish Congress has thus been formed to unite and coordinate the work of democratic and progressive forces in Congress on a national scale. The committee is issuing a bulletin, *Spotlight*, to help rally the membership on the basis of knowledge of the pertinent facts and a program of action. The leading article of the first issue, "We Accuse!" states some of the charges against the top leadership, as follows:

"The Committee for a Democratic AJCongress charges the present Congress leaders, the Poliers, Rabbi Irving Miller and David Petegorsky, with:

"1. Gagging Congress members whose views do not coincide with the administration and refusing to clear them as speakers.

"2. Censuring the president and executive board of Queens' Women's Division for daring to ask Mayor O'Dwyer to act against the revival of pro-nazi groups in Yorkville.

"3. Revoking the charter of the largest and most active AJCongress chapter in Detroit on most flimsy grounds.

"4. The expulsion of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council at a time when Jewish unity is more essential than ever and in clear defiance of the decisions of the last convention.

"5. Attempting to keep the staff in line through intimidation, firings, and grossly anti-union actions.

"6. Placing the president of the Washington, D. C., chapter on the national payroll and having him vote at national administrative committee meetings in open violation of AJCongress constitution.

"7. Failure to conduct a nation-wide membership drive despite the clearcut mandate of the convention and the deplorably low state of Congress membership.

"8. Forbidding California members to carry on local CLSA campaigns without permission from the national office.

"9. Invading and interfering with the election in the largest AJC chapter in the Bronx."

Spotlight further proposes the following program of action for the coming convention:

"The convention will offer the liberal forces in the AJCongress an opportunity to replace the handful of autocratic leaders who are attempting to throttle the progressive and democratic traditions of the Congress.

"We must guard against any attempt to deny the membership full and proper representation. This means:

"1. That in accordance with the 1948 Convention Rules all Congress chapters, including chapters of the Women's Division, having a minimum of 25 members in good standing, should be entitled to elect one delegate for every 25 members up to 100 members or major fraction thereof. Chapters having more than 100 members should be entitled to elect one delegate for every additional 50 members or major fraction thereof.

"2. That the membership records should be open for inspection to insure that every chapter or area is given the representation to which it is entitled—no more and no less.

"The national administrative committee meets on September 8th to determine the rules for the election of delegates to the convention. We call upon every member of the administrative committee to support these two basic provisions.

"We urge the membership to contact the administrative committee representatives from their area and obtain their support for rules that will guarantee a democratic convention.

"We know this will not be an easy fight. Every indication points to a determined effort on the part of the present leadership to keep the number of delegates at a minimum and to prevent the checking of the accuracy of the membership records.

"Only an all-out campaign and constant vigilance will bring about a democratic convention."

MAPAM PROTESTS

The following is a statement issued by the Mapam (United Workers Party) group of the World Jewish Congress and published in Al Hamishmar, Mapam organ in Tel Aviv. This statement was sent to all sections of the World Jewish Congress executive.—Eds.

THE Mapam group in the executive of the World Jewish Congress demands the immediate convocation of a plenary session of the World Jewish Congress.

2. The Mapam group makes the following demands on such a session of the executive:

a) A fundamental change in the present policy towards any orientation upon a consistent war against any manifestation of anti-Semitism, race hatred and fascism and the rallying of the masses for such a struggle.

b) The active participation of Congress in every international democratic action and initiative to guard the peace and to prevent war. And above all else, withdrawal of the negative decision regarding participation of the World Jewish Congress in the World Congress for Peace.

c) Condemn the American Jewish Congress for its expulsion of progressive workers' organizations [Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Labor Council—Eds.] from its ranks and demand their immediate reinstatement.

d) Give full representation to the left and the Jewish communities of the people's democracies in the world executive and in the American, European and Israeli sections, in harmony with the stated demands which were not resolved in Montreux.

e) To convene the World Congress executive in order to democratize the Congress politically and organizationally and to assure representation to all democratic groups in Jewish life.

THE KIBBUTZ AND SOCIALISM

By A. B. Magil

DAVID MANDELL ran out to greet me as our truck clattered into Negba Kibbutz. For a moment I didn't recognize him because of the steel helmet he was wearing. But the flash of his eyes and the bronzed smile brought him back to me, and I grasped his hand. Only six weeks before we had loafed together on the ship that brought us to Palestine—he, a *kibbutznik* (communal farmer), returning home with his wife and two children after visiting relatives in America; I, an American Jewish journalist, on my way to report the birth and agony of the new Jewish state. It seemed as if a lifetime had passed since those peaceful days aboard ship. And Negba, which had been just one out of some three hundred agricultural settlements, had in the intervening weeks become saga and symbol in a great liberation war.

It was a bright June day, only two hours after the start of the first truce. The ordeal was over—for a while. I looked at the water tower with great gaping holes torn through it. In the air hung the odor of dead horses and cows lying unburied in the fields. Every building had been riddled by shells (made in England); roofs were caved in, large chunks of the cement walls had been pounded off.

A greater ordeal was yet to come. In the fighting which followed the first truce Negba was surrounded on three sides and the two wells that supplied it with water were wrecked. Planes, tanks, armored cars, artillery and infantry hurled themselves against the small band of defenders. And in that trial by fire Negba won for itself the proud name of Negbagrad. When the second truce came, the Egyptians held only the police station at Iraq Suweidan about a mile away. And Negba stood unconquered.

The story of Negba was in one form or another repeated over and over during Israel's war of liberation. Wherever the enemy attacked the agricultural settlements, he was met with the determined resistance of men and women who were defending the homes they had built with sweat and courage.

Often I am asked: do the cooperative farms constitute socialism? The question is important and concerns fundamental problems. Let us try to find the answer.

Types of Cooperative Farms

The cooperative farms of Israel are of three main types:

1. The *moshav*. This consists of individual farms of uniform size, generally on land owned by the Jewish National Fund. Self-labor is customary, though not obligatory. In most cases marketing and purchasing are cooperative.

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2. The *moshav ovdim*. This is similar to the *moshav* except that self-labor is obligatory and the principle of cooperation is extended to include credit, the ownership of large equipment and to some extent cultivation of the land.

3. The *kibbutz*. This eliminates individual holdings and extends the cooperative principle to include production. The individual household is also abolished and is replaced by the communal household embracing the entire farm. Payment to the members is in kind instead of in money.

The *moshav* and *moshav ovdim* consist of small individual farmers in varying stages of cooperation. The *kibbutz*, on the other hand, is a cooperative of agricultural workers in which communal principles govern all activities. In recent years a fourth form has appeared, the *meshek shitufi*, which is a cross between the *kibbutz* and the *moshav ovdim*, the land being farmed collectively, but each member having his own house and a small plot of ground. Nearly all these cooperatives except those in the *moshav* group are affiliated to the Histadrut, the Jewish trade union federation. The greater part of Jewish mixed farming is concentrated in these settlements. A large number of cooperatives in industry, trade and finance are also affiliated to the Histadrut.

While the cooperatives of Israel have a number of unique features, in principle they are no different from those in other countries. Cooperatives originated in England during the rise of industrial capitalism at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. They were an effort on the part of workers or small producers to combat high prices and the domination of the market by private capital. It was inevitable that their practical value in adding to consumers' real income should have made them a fertile field for reformist illusions that the evils of capitalism could be eliminated without eliminating the system. It was likewise inevitable that since they provided, as Frederick Engels said, "practical proof that the merchant and the manufacturer are socially quite unnecessary," they should have given rise to utopian illusions that through the mere accretion of cooperatives, capitalism could be overcome and socialism established. The cooperative farm colonies which were organized in the United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century—the most famous was Brook Farm—were inspired by the ideas of the great English and French utopians, Robert Owen and Charles Fourier.

The cooperatives in Israel differ from those in other capitalist countries in a number of important respects:

1. They originated not as a consequence of the rise of capitalist industry, but, on the contrary, because of a lack of it. The dearth of private capital for the development of agriculture and industry, especially the former, compelled

the mobilization of public capital and its cooperative utilization by groups of workers or workers' organizations. This process began in the years just before World War I.

2. Instead of being formed to mitigate some of the evils of capitalism, the cooperatives in Palestine have had as their purpose the development and settlement of a backward, pre-capitalist country. Thus they actually helped pave the way for private capitalism.

3. Instead of operating chiefly in the field of distribution, these cooperatives were first organized in production and continue to have their primary emphasis in that sphere.

4. Palestine has achieved the only successful agricultural producers' cooperatives on an extensive scale in the capitalist world. It is in regard to these and especially the *kibbutz* type of farm cooperative that the question of socialism is usually raised.

Non-Socialist Origin of "Kibbutz"

Contrary to general impression, the *kibbutz* developed not because Palestine's pioneers believed in socialism, but out of practical necessity. Agriculture in Palestine was too unprofitable to attract private capital. The first attempt to create a Jewish farming class therefore took the form of philanthropy. Baron Edmond de Rothschild used his millions to organize colonies of individual farmers. These were established in the eighties and nineties of the past century along traditional capitalist lines. They soon degenerated into a kind of plantation system with Jewish landowners cultivating a single commercial crop, usually grapes, and employing cheap Arab labor. Such farms, however, concentrated for the most part on the fertile coastal plain, could not serve the Zionist purpose of staking out claims over the entire country and settling immigrants on the land.

When the World Zionist Organization turned actively to promoting colonization, it had to do so along other lines. Utilizing funds contributed by world Jewry through the Jewish National Fund, Dr. Arthur Ruppin, head of the



Courtesy of Israel Speaks

Yaakov Dori, Israeli army head, attends kibbutz inauguration.

Palestine Department of the World Zionist Organization, found that the cheapest, quickest and most efficient way of settling immigrants—and settling them where Zionist plans required, without regard for profit or loss—was through the organization of farms run by the agricultural workers themselves. Thus nationalist, rather than socialist, considerations created the first cooperative farm in 1908. At the same time this rugged pioneering tended to attract the most idealistic elements, those who had determined to devote themselves to a life of labor and were imbued with vague socialist hopes within a Zionist framework.

It is no exaggeration to say that these cooperative farms planted the seed of Jewish nationhood in Palestine. They fixed its territorial framework and created the domestic market for its future industry. In other words, they became the foundation on which a *capitalist nation* arose. This is the objective role they played. Subjectively, however, in the minds of the cooperative farmers and their ideologists this appeared as a process of building socialism.

There is of course a historic link between cooperatives under capitalism and the future socialist society. The chief architect of scientific socialism, Karl Marx, pointed out: "The cooperative factories of the laborers themselves represent within the old form the first beginnings of the new, although they naturally reproduce, and must reproduce, everywhere in their actual organization all the shortcomings of the prevailing system. . . . The capitalist stock companies as well as the cooperative factories may be considered as forms of transition from the capitalist mode of production to the associated one, with this distinction, that the antagonism [between capital and labor] is met negatively in the one, positively in the other." (*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 521.)

Israel's *kibbutzim* and *moshvei ovdim* have also demonstrated the superiority of cooperative over individualistic methods in agriculture and have served as examples of the still greater achievements that would be possible in a socialist society. And they are examples in another sense: of how human beings, freed from the competitive struggle for private gain, can live in comradeship.

Ties to Capitalist Economy

But all this by itself does not constitute socialism. More than once during six months in Israel I was assured that the communal farms are more advanced than the collectives in the Soviet Union. Superficially and in the abstract this may appear to be true, but once we look into the actual social content of these settlements, any comparison with the Soviet collectives becomes absurd. Do the *kibbutzim* really stand outside the capitalist system that is dominant in Israel? Let us see.

The members of the *kibbutz* do not get wages, but receive food, clothing, housing, medical care, education for their children, etc. from the collective as a whole. Where does it all come from? Only a small part of it is produced in the *kibbutz* itself. Most of the consumption goods have to be bought with money in the capitalist market. Where

does the *kibbutz* get its money? By selling the greater part of its products, agricultural and industrial (many *kibbutzim* also operate workshops) in the market. Thus the *kibbutzim* are an integral part of a profit economy. In fact, the "socialist" Jewish farms are more deeply involved in the capitalist market than are the semi-feudal Arab farms which produce largely for their own consumption. And the elimination of money from the relations between the *kibbutz* as employer and its workers only serves to conceal the domination of money over the activities of the *kibbutz* as capitalist entrepreneur.

The *kibbutzim* are further tied to capitalist economy through their heavy indebtedness. In 1946 their debts totaled £6,264,000, which was nearly one-half the total indebtedness of Jewish agriculture with the exception of citrus production. Part of this debt is to Jewish national institutions, but a large part is owed to banks and other private creditors. Thus a considerable portion of the surplus value produced by the *kibbutz* members goes to pay interest and the amortization of principal on these debts—that is, into the pockets of private capitalists.

It is often claimed that in place of wages, the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" operates in the *kibbutz*. This too is more apparent than real. Marx pointed out and the Soviet experience has confirmed that under socialism payment must be unequal in accordance to work. Only in the higher stage, communism, after the distinction between manual and intellectual labor has disappeared and the productive forces have increased to the point where abundance for all becomes possible—"then and then only can the narrow bourgeois horizon of rights be left far behind and society will inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his capacity, to each according to his need.'" (Karl Marx, *Critique of the Gotha Program*, p. 31.)

Need for Unity With City Workers

But in Israel's communal farms today the satisfaction of need is severely limited first of all by the fact that the country's productive forces are still relatively undeveloped and are prevented from attaining their full potentialities by the capitalist ownership of the major means of production. Satisfaction of needs in the *kibbutzim* has shifted with fluctuations in the market. For example, before World War II *kibbutz* life was on the poverty level and the diet was of the subsistence variety. The war boom enabled them greatly to improve the diet and expand the satisfaction of other needs. But *kibbutz* life is still austere and its rewards are largely moral and cultural.

All this points up the fact that the social content of co-operatives is determined not primarily by their internal setup, but by the class nature of state power and the character of the entire economic and social development of the country. The experience of Jewish Palestine serves to confirm Lenin's statement that "under the capitalist state the co-operatives are collective capitalist institutions." (*Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 406.)

Circumstantial proof of this is the fact that the *kibbutz* has proved to be a bottle into which any kind of wine can be poured. Communal farm settlements have been organized not only by workers' organizations with left tendencies, but by conservative religious groups that are hostile to socialism. Much therefore depends on the political side of *kibbutz* activity. In the past they have served not only as channels for utopian ideas, but often as instruments of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and of national collaboration with foreign imperialism. At the same time they are mass people's organizations which have helped notably to build and defend the nation.

Today the cooperative farms of Israel, particularly the *moshvei ovdim* and *kibbutzim*, face a new challenge of a two-fold character. First, are they proving adequate to the task of absorbing a considerable part of the large influx of immigrants arriving each month? This is a different type of immigrant from the pioneers who built Israel's farm settlements. Not many of the newcomers wish to go into agriculture, and few of these have had any experience at farm work. At the same time it is also true that the agricultural cooperatives have revealed certain shortcomings. Utopian aspects of their setup, which in an earlier period may have had a certain practical value, today act as obstacles to providing work for masses of immigrants. For example, the ban on hired labor has prevented the employment of immigrants at wages and also deprived the farms of much needed workers. Particularly in the case of the *kibbutzim* has the rigid structure and the exacting demands made on the individual members created formidable bottlenecks in the settlement of immigrants on the land.

As a result of both the character of the present immigration and the shortcomings of the cooperative settlements, only about 8 percent of the new arrivals are being absorbed by agriculture. This compares with an agricultural population that previously had been about 25 percent of the total. Should this trend continue, together with the continued failure of industry to employ an adequate proportion of the immigrants, it would recreate in Israel the evils of the Jewish social structure in other capitalist countries. Recently efforts have been made with some success to modify the proscription of hired labor. However, the more drastic modifications that are necessary encounter the resistance of that utopian thinking which permeates Israel's labor Zionist movement as well as the religious groups.

The second part of the challenge is political. The problems of Israel's people cannot be solved only by concentrating on the tasks of economic reconstruction and military defense. The political struggle is decisive. Only by bridging the gap that still separates them from the city workers can the cooperative farmers fight effectively against the twin forces of foreign imperialism—chiefly American—and native capitalist reaction that seek to undermine national independence and social progress. And only in this way can the cooperative farms eventually, when conditions in the Middle East are ripe, become factors in the socialist transformation of the country.

GREAT FUR STRIKE OF 1926

By Moissaye J. Olgin

In times of stress like those in which we live, much inspiration and fortitude can be gained from recalling courageous struggles in the progressive movement among the Jews of America. We hope from time to time to bring back moments of this tradition. Below is an article on the great strike waged in 1926 by the Furriers' Union, most of whose members at the time were Jewish. The author, the late Moissaye J. Olgin, was an outstanding Marxist scholar and writer, who was editor of the Morning Freiheit for many years until his death in 1939.—Editors.

ABOUT four years ago, a group of young workingmen entered the office of a labor paper, in New York, requesting that a vigorous stand be taken editorially against sinister practices in their labor union. They were young, strong and impetuous, and there was in their expression that peculiar earnestness, almost gravity, almost painful concentration, which so often marks deeply convinced rebels. Still, the editor hesitated. The practices referred to in the workers' statement were too appalling to be taken in a matter of fact way. The editor demanded proof. The workers produced a number of witnesses, eye-witness depositions and other evidence to the effect that beating, slugging, and otherwise maltreating recalcitrant union members was a day-by-day practice of the union administration. The boys who came to the editorial rooms were headed by Ben Gold and Aaron Gross. The union referred to was the New York local of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada. The paper was the Jewish daily *Freiheit*.

Further insight into the affairs of the union disclosed that the Furriers' Union was a name rather than a reality, a group of offices and office-holders rather than a phalanx of organized workers. The average union member had no chance to express his opinion. The duty of the average member was to pay dues and keep mum. Union meetings were held on very rare occasions and only to ratify actions of the administration where ratification was unavoidable. The opposition was completely stifled. The strength of the union leaders lay in a group of professional sluggers paid from the union treasury to "keep order." The prevailing formula at union meetings was "Sit down or you will be carried out." And they did "carry out" more than one dissatisfied member who dared to ask pertinent questions.

Several months later, that same Gold who was known as a representative of the opposition enjoyed wide recognition among the mass of the workers, was attacked by union sluggers, slashed, cut and bruised severely, and thus warned to refrain from "subversive activities." Gold had to be removed to a hospital whence he emerged weeks later.

This, then, was the picture: A hidebound bureaucracy above, heedless of anything but its own maintenance in office; a disgruntled but intimidated and almost wholly unorganized mass of workers below; a class-conscious rebellious opposition full cognizant of the harm done by these far too typical methods of union "activities," painfully conscious of the necessity of reorganizing the union on a fighting basis, full of courage, daring, ability to sacrifice, yet powerless and helpless in the face of a sheer physical force which struck out recklessly, giving no quarter.

Thus the very aim of union organization was defeated. Where there is no union, there can be no fight for better conditions. Nobody felt it with more gratification than the fur manufacturers' associations who slowly but consistently lowered the standard of labor conditions and the wages of the workers. The agreement was flagrantly broken, the pledges brazenly violated, and as time passed the workers realized that their seasons became shorter, their asthma and other occupational diseases more devastating, their spirits in consequence, lower.

Fighting Spirit Was There

But was there enough fighting spirit, enough class consciousness, enough cohesive power, among those coughing, spluttering, wheezing workers to break out of this lethargy? This is commonly asked not only in relation to the furriers, but of every group of workers throughout the United States. Isn't it true that the American worker is backward, that he has not developed that peculiar hate and mistrust towards capitalism which marks the labor movement of the European countries? Developments within the Furriers Union answered these questions, at least as far as the fur workers of New York City are concerned.

A wise man said that one may gain a victory by means of bayonets, but they are inconvenient to sit on. Notwithstanding the iron rule of the bureaucracy, notwithstanding the rare ability of the administration to count ballots in a manner that would perpetuate its own tenure of office, the rank and file rebellion became so sweeping, so universal and so vehement that the old administration in the New York Joint Board was overthrown, and the outstanding figures of the rebels, the same men and women who had been excluded from the union by the old administration, were placed at its head.

The new union organization that emerged from the New York *coup d'etat* exhibited another precious side of the official American union system. There are some thirteen-odd thousand furriers throughout the country; there

are 12,000 of them in the city of New York. The New York furriers had put into office left wing class conscious leaders; the New York furriers voted for class conscious delegates to the International Furriers' Convention. Still, when that convention gathered in Boston in October, 1925, the one thousand odd members outside of New York were represented by a number of delegates far in excess of their numerical strength. A central group which hitherto marched in line with the New York left wingers was persuaded to move to the right, and the convention constructed one of the most bizarre pieces of union machinery: a reactionary national administration over a union in which at least 90 per cent of the membership are progressives.

All these antecedents are necessary to understand the strike that has just been concluded after 17 weeks of unmatched struggle.

It was imperative for the union to check the encroachments of the bosses, to regain part of the territory relinquished by the old administration. That meant strike. The New York Joint Board was compelled to take a stand against the manufacturers' associations not only for the purpose of improving the workers' lives, but also to make it clear to the employers that a new force had come into being. Perhaps it was most important to convince the workers themselves, by deeds rather than by words, that things could be achieved through united conscious action to bring forth the *fighting morale* without which no working class organization can live and thrive either in

times of actual struggle or in periods of truce. A strike became a prime necessity, an almost elemental demand, having its origin not only in reason but in the dark roots of the workers' existence.

A Rank and File Strike

The struggle started some five months ago.

Behold the setting. An international office, located in Long Island City, not only hostile to the leaders of the New York fur workers, but actually afraid of being ousted from comfortable posts at the next national convention, and therefore determined to do everything possible to help the New York left wing (communists they called them) to break their necks.

How these worthies scoffed at the attempt to organize a strike! Who shall lead it? Those "coffee-and-cake" boys? Those "communist henchmen?" Those impractical untrained rebels of yesterday? How absurd! And who was going to back them up in this crazy undertaking? The communists? But they are known as disrupters of the labor movement. Their task is to break the unions in order to please Zinoviev! Will they be able to lead a movement of 12,000 workers?

Of course not. Yet no chances must be taken. The national officers sent out emissaries to snoop among the workers, to spread among them the idea that the demands were excessive, to disrupt their unity, to break their morale. If



Moissaye J. Olgin

these machinations have failed, if the fur workers have secured a substantial victory which enables them to begin a new era in their struggle, it is due to the entirely unexpected reserves of power, endurance, cohesion, sacrificing spirit that the strike revealed in the mass of the workers, and to the resourcefulness, flexibility, untiring energy and devotion of the left wing leaders, back of whom were the left wing of all the needle trade unions in New York.

National Officers Hamper Strike

Let us consider a few of the high lights of this spectacular struggle. There was the national officers' attempt to hamper the struggle by attaching the strike fund and depriving the leaders of this most essential weapon; and accompanying this, the attempt to drive a wedge between the strike leaders and the mass of the workers, by carrying on through the Jewish daily *Forward* a campaign of denunciation repeatedly asserting that the strikers were dissatisfied with the "communist" leadership.

Then came the revelation of the plot of the national officers to settle the strike over the heads of the strikers' representatives. They had been secretly meeting with the bosses, they had gained the official cooperation of the American Federation of Labor, and they had drawn up a set of terms on which they would end the strike. In short, they had completed all arrangements to sell out the workers, and one fine morning the strikers were notified by a bulletin that they were to meet President Green of the A. F. of L. at Carnegie Hall to discuss settlement terms. A ballot was distributed among the strikers with a request to vote on the strike settlement proposed. It was a magnificent gesture. The existence of the General Strike Committee elected by the strikers was ignored. Of what importance was a Strike Committee? The strikers were to meet the big chief of the American labor movement and be instructed by him.

But the national officers failed to realize that it was a new fur workers union with which they were dealing. The officers were used to a body of members who did what they were told and asked no questions. But the striking fur workers of 1926 were of a different breed. They went to Carnegie Hall. They went with a very definite purpose in mind.

"We Want Gold!"

Perhaps President Green had a premonition. Or perhaps he waited developments behind the scenes. Anyway he did not appear on the platform to instruct the furriers. In his stead came Hugh Frayne, New York organizer for the A. F. of L., and by his side were the national officers of the fur workers' union. Very evidently they had a program in mind; very evidently this meeting was a perfunctory step in a well-arranged plan. But there was a hitch. When the chairman rose to open the meeting, someone shouted "We want Gold." This was most embarrassing.

According to orders, Ben Gold, the strike leader, had been forcibly barred from the hall. The chairman tried to speak. "We want Gold!" "We want Gold!" The call was taken up all over the house. "We want Gold!" shouted the stormy human sea. "We want Gold!" echoed through the hall and out into the street, to be caught up by the thousands outside.

Gold did not speak this time. But neither did anyone else. No terms of settlement were proposed, and nothing was voted upon. After two hours of this call for "Gold," the officers gave up. The meeting was closed. Attempt to override their own strike committee was squashed by the workers themselves. Talk of the backwardness of the American working class . . . at least among the furriers in New York City!

There was a day when Mr. Frayne and also Mr. Green did address the fur strikers. But it was at a meeting arranged by the strikers' own leaders, and held in a great armory where the whole 10,000 strikers could be present. It was a meeting held after the abortive terms of settlement had been thrown in the discard; when the A. F. of L. had decided to cooperate with the strikers' own representatives; when Gold was present to be greeted with enthusiastic joy by the great mass of the strikers; and where a very nervous international president was allowed to speak only because Gold urged the workers to give him a hearing. No, the old line labor leaders did not fare well in this strike.

What the Strike Showed

Neither could the police and the courts intimidate the strikers. Police activities in connection with this strike were intense and variegated far in excess of the practice prevailing even in our land of the free. There were nearly 700 arrests. Dozens of strikers were sentenced to months of imprisonment. Fines were numerous, and as to the number of skulls crushed and ribs bruised, there are no adequate statistics available.

In spite of this the union led the strike to a successful end. What made this strike a red chapter in the history of the American labor movement may be summed up as follows:

1. *Complete understanding and mutual confidence between the masses and the strike leaders.* There was nothing the leaders concealed from the rank and file members of the union. There was no motion from the ranks that the leaders were loathe to consider. From the very start the members were made to understand that it was *their own* fight in which they had to rely on their own powers.

2. *The strike apparatus,* consisting of the general strike committee, the shop chairmen meetings and the "halls." The general strike committee was the executive organ—planning, supervising and executing the major steps of the strike. The shop chairmen meetings, a novel institution hitherto almost unknown in this union, was the leg-

islative body deciding on the most important issues, every shop chairman being in close contact with the members of his shop. The "hall" was the meeting-ground of the strikers. Each shop and each cluster of shops housed in the same building were assigned a definite space in one of the halls. Each shop chairman had to keep tab on his own men. Should anyone be missing the union would immediately send a watchman or a committee to trace his whereabouts so as to prevent him from scabbing. There was almost military discipline introduced in the union from top to bottom, yet it was a splendid manifestation of *democratic centralism*.

3. *A general picketing committee* from among the most devoted union members. Wherever a check had to be put to strike-breaking activities, it was done by the members themselves and not by any professional outsiders.

4. *An ideological foundation*. A campaign of enlightenment made it clear to the workers that it was more than a question of temporary gain, that their fight was part of the historic struggle of the working class against capitalist rule. The incidental and often trifling occurrences thus achieved a new significance. The whole struggle was put in historic perspective. Whoever still believes that only on the basis of very narrow and immediate practical demands can a union conduct a struggle, let him look at the fur workers' strike.

5. *A left wing leadership* consisting of men and women mostly young in years, people who had shared with the workers their daily hardships, most of them firm believers in the class struggle, some of them members of the Workers Party.

New Spirit Is Born

The strike had not reached all its objectives. Of the three major demands, the 40-hour week, equal division of work throughout the year, and a 25 per cent increase in wages over the minimum scale that prevailed before the strike, the union won the 40-hour week and a 10 per cent increase in the minimum wage scales, the 40-hour week plan having a proviso that during September, October, November and December work may be done Saturdays for four hours at a special rate of payment to be agreed upon between the union and employers. Largely because of the strike-breaking activities of the international officers, it is not a complete victory, but it is, nevertheless, a substantial gain. The 40-hour week, i.e., five days' work and two days rest, has been recognized in principle and made obligatory for at least eight months a year. In the remaining months, the workers may refuse to work without infringing upon the agreement. The significance of this strike, however, cannot be exhausted by the enumeration of purely material gains. Its importance reaches far beyond immediate achievement.

The strike has proven that a heterogeneous crowd of workers belonging to various nationalities and various age



Ben Gold

levels can be welded into a strong unified force capable of withstanding the most sinister attacks from within and without and capable of making inroads into the enemy's camp.

The strike has proven that there is a *fighting soul* hidden in the working class, a readiness to stand firm in defense of proletarian class interests the like of which reactionary labor bureaucrats never dreamed of finding among the workers.

The strike was an illustration of the fundamental truth advanced by communists for the last few years, that the many labor union office holders are enemies of the class struggle, who will resort to any tactics against the rebellious workers in order to maintain their positions.

The strike was an excellent manifestation of what can be done by a leadership that is in close contact with the masses of the union and at the same time guided by the ideology of the class struggle.

The strike has realized a new demand of the working class, *an eight-hour day and five-day week*, a demand which marks a new step in the history of the labor movement.

Last, but not least, the strike has given the 12,000 fur workers of New York a new confidence in themselves, a new outlook, pride in their own achievement, disdain for their masters. It has given them that boldness, that light-hearted aggressiveness which makes new struggles and new victories a certainty.

This new spirit is perhaps the most precious item on the balance sheet of the strike.

In the full story of the labor movement, this red chapter may be only a small paragraph. Yet it is an heroic and colorful one.

DEPORTATION DRIVE

By Abner Green

DURING the Battle of the Bulge in World War II, Isidore and Bernard Saltzman, twin sons of a Lithuanian-Jewish immigrant, fought side by side. During the battle, Isidore and Bernard were separated. Later, Bernard was told that his twin brother had been wounded. After he was honorably discharged from the armed forces and returned to his home in the Bronx, Bernard learned that his twin brother had died in battle—a hero's death—on that afternoon in Europe. Bernard went to work as a plumber's helper. Then, one day, returning home from work, he found that his father had been taken to Ellis Island for deportation.

Benjamin Saltzman is 53 years old and has lived in the United States for 36 years. He is married to an American citizen and has had an application for American citizenship pending for several years. Having given one son to this country, he now faces deportation and separation from his wife and two remaining sons, Bernard, 24, and Max, 15. Benjamin Saltzman is only one of the victims of the deportation hysteria, of the Justice Department's attempt to use non-citizens in the United States as a scapegoat for establishing the legal and political basis for the imposition of a police state for all Americans.

Consider what has happened during the past two months.

About two months ago, Attorney General Tom Clark called on Congress to enact the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, HR 10. This bill would give the attorney general authority to hold non-citizens arrested in deportation proceedings without bail, to order non-citizens facing deportation to report regularly in person and to give detailed information concerning their activities and associates, and to imprison for life without trial (concentration camps) certain non-citizens ordered deported whose deportation cannot be carried out because their countries of origin no longer recognize their citizenship. Congress has not passed this vicious bill. It has been reported favorably by the House Judiciary Committee and is now before the House of Representatives. But the Justice Department acts as though this bill has been passed by Congress and is now law.

Almost 25 non-citizens in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Washington, Texas, Pennsylvania, and California have been ordered to report in person once a week. *This is completely illegal.* However, some deportees have been forced to comply against their will in order not to jeopardize their jobs or their families or their freedom.

In San Francisco, New York City and Philadelphia, test cases have been brought in Federal courts to challenge

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the attorney general's right to impose this fascist-like procedure on the American people. In New York City (in the case of Dora Lipshitz) and in Philadelphia (in the case of Frank Hellman), Federal District judges have held already that it is illegal for the Justice Department to demand that non-citizens report in person once a week.

In addition, the Justice Department has ordered arbitrary increases in bail in many cases from \$1,000 to \$5,000. And these have not been the only illegal actions ordered by the Justice Department.

Clark Violates the Law

On July 6, two FBI agents knocked on the door of Beatrice Siskind Johnson's home in New York City at nine o'clock in the morning and took her to Ellis Island. The following morning, George Pirinsky, executive secretary of the American Slav Congress, was also seized in his office. Both of these arrests were illegal and in open violation of American law. Mrs. Johnson, mother of a five-year-old daughter, was first arrested in deportation proceedings on February 18, 1948 and was released at that time on \$1,000 bail. Mr. Pirinsky, husband of an American citizen and father of a one-year-old son, was arrested in deportation proceedings on September 23, 1948 and was released at that time on \$1,000 bail. Neither Mrs. Johnson nor Mr. Pirinsky violated in any way the conditions of their release on bail. They were arrested with the original warrants of arrest, which legally were null and void once they had been served in 1948.

Another illegal arrest, on July 6th, was that of Ferdinand C. Smith, former secretary of the National Maritime Union. In December 1948, the Justice Department accepted \$3,500 in bail for Mr. Smith's release, pending the disposition of deportation proceedings in his case. But, on July 6th, the bail in his case was cancelled and new bail of \$10,000 was demanded for his release. In addition, the Justice Department demanded that Mr. Smith sign away all of his rights before they would release him from Ellis Island.

At this writing the Pirinsky, Johnson, and Smith cases have been pending in the Federal district court for more than three weeks, with the court stalling a decision in their cases—while all three are held without bail on America's first concentration camp—Ellis Island.

The forced weekly reports, the arbitrary increases in bail, the sudden seizure of non-citizens are all part of a developing pattern that spells *fascism* in the United States. If non-citizens can be forced to report once a week—citizens can, too. If non-citizens can be held without bail—citizens

can, too. If non-citizens who have violated no law can be seized in their homes and offices—citizens will be seized next. This is one of the basic lessons the American people must recognize. This is the way fascism and reaction test their strength and, using minorities as scapegoats, establish political and legal precedents to be used against all of the people.

Another example of this developing pattern is to be found in Pittsburgh. On July 11th, Frank Borich was arrested and held for deportation. The Justice Department demanded \$5,000 for his release. It took five days to get the \$5,000. When Mrs. Borich appeared to post bond for her husband's release, she was given a form to sign. This form guaranteed that the bail would be forfeited if Frank Borich attended a meeting of any organization on the attorney general's so-called subversive list or wrote any articles for any newspaper listed by the attorney general as subversive.

Protest Movement

These lawless and illegal acts of the Attorney General are being fought vigorously in the courts. They are also being condemned by prominent individuals as well as organizations throughout the country. Hundreds of organizations and thousands of individuals are demanding the defeat of the Hobbs Concentration Camp Bill, HR 10. Among the organizations have been the National Lawyers Guild, American Civil Liberties Union, Civil Rights Congress, Americans for Democratic Action, American Slav Congress, six CIO International Unions and seven national Jewish organizations and 27 Jewish community councils through their coordinating body, the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Individuals have included Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, Charles Houston, Yehudi Menuhin, Bishop Walter Mitchell, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Prof. Oswald Veblen.

Paul Robeson condemned Ferdinand Smith's illegal arrest. The National Convention of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union in San Francisco, as well as the United Public Workers of America also came to Mr. Smith's defense. The Progressive Party, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Congress of American Women, and many other organizations condemned the illegal seizure of Beatrice Siskind Johnson and George Pirinsky.

These are only a few of the general activities organized under the initiative of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in the recent fight against the deportation hysteria. We have fought also with the organization of picket lines, delegations to Washington, telegram campaigns, meetings, petitions, and in many other ways.

In still another way, the Justice Department undermines our democracy when it stoops to outright bribery to get certain people to appear as government witnesses in political deportation cases.

Bribed Stoolpigeons

On June 28, Charles Baxter admitted under cross-examination that he had been *bribed* by the Justice Department. Mr. Baxter admitted that the Justice Department had given him a job as a "clerk" with the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Cleveland. Mr. Baxter stated on the stand that, if he had not been given a job, he would not have testified and that government officials knew that fact when they offered him employment. As a result of Baxter's testimony, Leon Callow, steel worker of Niles, Ohio, and father and sole support of a family of eight American-born children, may be deported to Greece where he would be murdered.

Two other professional government witnesses—and there may be more—are now working for the Immigration and Naturalization Service—Maurice Malkin as an "interpreter" in New York and William Nowell as a "clerk" in Washington, D. C.

Another phase of this corruption was exposed in Seattle, Washington, on July 14th, when David G. DeLeon, another professional government witness, admitted under cross-examination that on five different occasions, he had sworn falsely in applications for government employment. DeLeon admitted that he could be put into prison for two years and fined \$5,000 for swearing falsely but that the Justice Department had promised to prevent prosecution if he were to appear as a government witness in the deportation case of Boris Sasief.

These developments reflect the corrupt nazi mentalities that have master-minded the deportation drive. They are becoming constantly more desperate as their efforts to terrorize the foreign born meet with ever greater resistance.



Ceremony honoring Emma Lazarus Centenary on July 23 at the base of the Statue of Liberty held by the Emma Lazarus Division of the IWO. In background is the plaque with the famous poem, The New Colossus. Left to right: June Gordon, Emma Lazarus Division president; Professor Gene Weltfish; Olive Spaulding, Negro leader of Eastern Council of IWO; Esther Spickler, Jewish Young Fraternalists leader, who portrayed Emma Lazarus because of her close resemblance to the poetess.

All of these recent developments we have just reported are a part of the Justice Department's deportation drive and subsidiary to it since they are intended to stimulate hysteria and mold public opinion to influence the courts as well as the American people—setting the stage—for the success of the deportation drive.

While we fight against weekly reports of non-citizens, or arbitrary increases in bail, or the illegal seizures of non-citizens, we are not diminishing in the slightest our fight against the deportation drive itself.

Since October 1946, more than 97 non-citizens have been arrested in 15 states and held for deportation because of their political opinions. These 97 non-citizens come from all walks of American life. Among them are leaders of trade unions, the Negro people, the Jewish people and all foreign-born communities in the country. Two are war veterans who served in the armed forces of the United States during the second World War. Eighteen are women—mothers of war veterans, wives of American citizens, grandmothers. Most of those arrested had applications for American citizenship pending at the time of their arrest. All of them want to become American citizens but have been prevented from doing so by the Justice Department. Almost all of them have American families from whom they would be separated, if deported. All of them have lived in this country many years—some for 45 and 50 years—and are a part of the American people.

The charge in each case, based on a 1918 law as amended in 1940, is that the non-citizen is or was a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States by "force and violence." The organization, in each case, is the Communist Party of the United States. The government rests its case on quotations out of context and distortions of documents distributed by the Communist Party. In each case, evidence is presented by the defense to show this charge to be a Hitler lie.

Deportation Delirium Is Illegal

Our basic defense of those non-citizens held for deportation, however, rests on the proposition that non-citizens in the United States are entitled to freedom of speech and freedom of belief, to the protection of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution and that they cannot be deported for exercising those freedoms. It is our position also that the law under which these non-citizens are held for deportation is clearly unconstitutional and a menace to all Americans, citizens as well as non-citizens.

It is important to emphasize that the Supreme Court of the United States has never ruled on this issue. The Justice Department acts as though it has the right to deport non-citizens for their political opinions. But, we do not concede them that right. Indeed, we feel that it does not have that right and that these deportations will be defeated.

There are many indications that the current steps in the deportation drive are a part of a developing campaign that has as its objective the total obliteration of the rights and

liberties of the American people. While 97 have been arrested, the Justice Department is preparing more than 3,000 other deportation cases. It has been announced also that the Justice Department will try to revoke the citizenship of 238 naturalized American citizens because of their political opinions.

This deportation drive—its intensity and its fury—reflects a desperation in the hearts and minds of the attorney general and his advisers who find it necessary to destroy the allegiance of the American people to the democratic institutions on which our country is founded. It is these hirelings of American fascism who are using their high offices in government to plot force and violence against the people of this country in an effort to destroy the democratic spirit which has always guided the American people.

The Justice Department falsely charges Alexander Bittelman, Claudia Jones, Peter Harisiades, and others with advocating "force and violence." But, it is the Justice Department which *uses* force and violence against Peter Harisiades, his wife and two children when it holds Peter Harisiades a prisoner without bail on Ellis Island for 64 days.

It is the Justice Department which *uses* force and violence when it illegally seizes Beatrice Siskind Johnson and prevents her from seeing her five-year-old daughter.

It is the Justice Department which *uses* force and violence against Leon Callow, his wife, and eight children when it tried to deport him to Greece, where he would be murdered as an anti-fascist.

What You Should Do

It is true that many of these issues are being fought in the federal courts. But, it is equally true that they must not be left to the courts to decide. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born feels that, when issues as crucial as these to the existence of American democracy are at stake, then it is the responsibility of the American people—and only the American people—to decide them in keeping with our democratic heritage.

We have dedicated ourselves to the development of that kind of public understanding and public atmosphere that will make it impossible for any court to rule against the people or in any way to undermine the people's rights or liberties.

At this time, we appeal for the following emergency action:

1. *Defeat the Hobb's concentration camp bill, HR 10.* Write to your congressmen and senators demanding the defeat of this vicious bill.

2. *Defeat the Justice Department's police-state measures.* Write to the Attorney General of the United States, Washington, D. C., condemning the attempt to force non-citizens to report weekly, to increase bail in deportation cases, and hold non-citizens without bail.

Individuals as well as organizations are urged to act immediately on these two emergency issues.

ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: V

By Moses Miller

IN OUR last article we indicated that knowledge of the background out of which the national question arose in Europe is necessary for a basic understanding of the problems and status of the Jewish people. We therefore analyzed the basic features of feudalism. Those which reflected the dominating position of the church were *supra-national*, while others which resulted from the isolated, self-contained nature of the manor economy were *anti-national*. We then showed how the growth of trade, the rise of the bourgeoisie and the development of the town gave rise to increasing conflict within the feudal order. This conflict initiated the process of welding peoples with all sorts of differences into nations.

"Throughout the world," writes Lenin, "the period of the final victory of capitalism over feudalism has been linked up with national movements. The economic basis of these movements is the fact that in order to achieve complete victory for commodity production the bourgeoisie must capture the home market, must have politically unified territories 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 or little, seller and buyer.

"Therefore the tendency of every national movement is toward the formation of national states under which these requirements of modern capitalism are best satisfied."¹

Bourgeois Struggle for Political Power

Thus, in the early stages of capitalism the urge of the bourgeoisie to achieve the broadest and speediest development of capitalism is the driving force in the struggle for the formation of the nation. In its quest for economic power and expansion, however, the bourgeoisie is constantly harried and restricted by the fact that the feudal lords still hold political power. In France, for example, the clergy and the feudal lords constitute the First and Second Estates, which are the ruling classes, while the bourgeoisie is lumped with the peasantry and the working class as the lowest class, the Third Estate. "What is the Third Estate?" cried Sieyes, one of its eighteenth century French leaders. "It is everything. What has it been hitherto in the political

order? Nothing! What does it desire? To be something!"

The struggle for economic power is thus transferred to the political arena. But the bourgeoisie cannot succeed in its bid for political power by itself. It needs allies in this struggle. It begins, therefore, to appeal to the other groups within the Third Estate, the peasantry and the working class. To these groups the appeal of the bourgeoisie is powerful. For in the first flush of these struggles in the days of rising capitalism, the bourgeoisie poses the question of political emancipation of all who are oppressed by feudalism. It speaks not of bourgeois rights but of human rights. It proclaims itself the champion of the "rights of man."

"Who would dare to maintain," declared Sieyes, "that the Third Estate does not possess all that is necessary to form a complete nation? It is a strong and robust man, whose one arm is still in chains. If the privileged order were removed, the nation would not be something less, but something more. So what is the Third Estate? Everything, but an everything that is fettered and oppressed. What would it be without the privileged order? Everything, but an everything that is free and prospering. Nothing can go on without it, everything would go much better without the others. . . . The Third Estate consequently embraces everybody who belongs to the nation; and everybody who does not belong to the Third Estate cannot regard himself as belonging to the nation."

Sieyes' contention that the ruling class is not part of the nation and that the defense of the nation necessitates a struggle against the ruling class is a most revolutionary concept. Sieyes here suggests a basic Marxist precept, namely, that the national question is not an independent question and can never be posed apart from the class struggle. And when one examines the rise of nations in Western Europe, one finds that the national struggle was in every case an integral part of the class struggle. The English and the Dutch nations were formed during the revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the French nation was unified during the revolution of 1789.

Limit of Bourgeois Struggle

Most bourgeois historians and ideologists are always extremely vague in their analysis of the rise of national movements and in their definition of the nation because they are unable or are afraid to face the facts of the relationship between the development of the nation and the class struggle. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the few bourgeois historians who have been able to achieve some understanding of this relationship, go off the track in another respect. The well known historian, Carle-

¹ *Rights of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 10.

ton J. Hayes, for example, points out: "It is the bourgeoisie that start the revolutionary cry of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' and it is this cry in the throats of the masses which sends terror to the hearts of nobles and kings. . . . Yet the triumph of the bourgeoisie is not assured. The Revolution has been but one battle in the long war between the rival aristocracies of birth and of business—a war in which the peasants and artisans now give their lives for illusory dreams of 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,' now fight their feudal lords and now turn on their pretended liberators, the bourgeoisie. For already it begins to dawn on the dull masses that 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' are chiefly for their masters."²

Hayes is quite right in asserting that the struggle is essentially bourgeois and that, although the bourgeoisie proclaims liberty and equality for all, it is really concerned with achieving these rights for itself alone. The working class learns this very quickly, particularly when it takes the bourgeoisie at its word and moves on to attempt to win social equality for itself. But Hayes sees only one side of the picture. He fails to take into consideration the historic advance achieved by the working class as a result of this essentially bourgeois battle. The struggle for democracy, for the destruction of feudalism, for turning the mass of the people into free citizens of the nation rather than subjects of the feudal lord is a prerequisite for any further progress.

In addition, Hayes confuses the "patriotism" of the bourgeoisie, which is concerned mainly with the development, the unification and the growth of the nation only insofar as it serves to advance its own interests and its own profits, with the patriotism of the working class and the mass of the people who, as a result of the historic process of the formation of the nation, begin to develop love of their country and of the people with whom they have become one united national whole and of the whole cultural development flowing from their struggles. It is quite true that the working class, the "dull masses," recognize very soon that the bourgeoisie is betraying its interests. But this recognition does not lead the working class to go against the nation or to deny its validity. On the contrary, the working class begins to recognize that together with the mass of the people, it constitutes the nation and that the bourgeoisie, which in its early days was the defender of the nation, has now become the enemy of the nation. The battle to defend the nation, to maintain democratic traditions and democratic culture, now rests with the working class. Here too the national struggle is not isolated, but an integral part of the class struggle.

The process we have been describing constitutes the classic pattern for the formation of nations as they developed in all of western Europe, in France, England, Italy, Germany, etc. With but few exceptions (Ireland, for example) this process of unification, although involving the assimilation of various peoples, was a democratic one. Linguistic and cultural differences existed in every

country, as we have previously shown. But the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the ever growing unity arising out of joint struggles cause differences to tend to disappear. The people tended to become a unified mass.

Pattern in Eastern Europe

The pattern we have sketched applies to western Europe. But another pattern emerged in eastern Europe. In western Europe the creation of centralized states coincides on the whole with the development of nations. Hence the typical situation in the west is that each nation takes on state power: one nation—one state. But in eastern Europe the situation was quite different. It is important to trace this development, if only in bare outline, if we are to understand why the "multi-national states of the east were the birthplace of that national oppression which gave rise to national conflicts, national movements. . . ." (Stalin.) Russia, for instance, was a vast country populated with a host of peoples of different historic backgrounds, with different cultural and linguistic traits, in varying stages of development. Some of these people still lived in a primitive patriarchal form of society while others were feudal.

Beginning approximately with the seventeenth century, Russia entered upon capitalist development, a process which had begun in most of western Europe much earlier. The growth of exchange and of commodity circulation led to the breakdown of the local, isolated markets and the gradual emergence of an all-Russian market. This process led to the formation of the Russian nation. Yet, despite the fact that the general development of capitalism in Russia followed the same general pattern as in the west, certain special conditions gave rise to important differences in the form of capitalism in Russia. Whereas in the west the developing bourgeoisie very quickly came into conflict with the feudal lords and early made its victorious bid for political power, the rising bourgeoisie in the east was far less combative. This bourgeoisie emerged when capitalism had already passed beyond its initial formative period and it feared the inevitable consequences of its bid for power more than it feared coming to terms with the feudal lords. In December 1825, the bourgeoisie had its opportunity to break the hold of the tsar and the feudal lords. The uprising which they began was well on its way to a victorious conclusion. But at the last moment, the Decembrists, as they were called, faltered and allowed the tsar to take advantage of their hesitations and thus to defeat them. One of the Decembrists, Steinhil, accounted for their reluctance to seek an alliance with the serfs, as follows: "A republic is an impossibility in Russia, and a revolution with a republic for its end would be a disaster; in Moscow alone 90,000 domestic serfs are ready to draw their knives, and the first victims would be our grandmothers, aunts and sisters." Because the bourgeoisie feared to accept the serfs as allies, feudalism remained an important political force up to the very eve of the October Revolution. But the fact that the Russian bourgeoisie (particularly the merchant class) was willing to come to terms with feudalism had

² *History of Modern Europe*, p. 594.

a profound effect upon the development of Russia, particularly in relation to the non-Russian peoples of the land.

Russian Bourgeois Development

The Russian people were strategically located most closely to the trade routes and means of communication of the time. A merchant class and trade therefore first developed among this people. But there was another important reason for this primacy. Historical circumstances, particularly the threat of invasion and the "exigencies of self-defense" (Stalin), made it necessary that a centralized state appear before feudalism was destroyed. The subsequent development of Russia was dominated by these two facts: first, that the ruling class of the emerging Russian nation already had complete control of its own state apparatus; and second, that the Russian bourgeoisie was incapable of challenging the political form of feudalism. While the western bourgeoisie eliminated feudalism in the course of the creation of a market, the Russian bourgeois drive for an all-Russian market rather led to the perpetuation of the peoples of Russia in a patriarchal-feudal status. This was the Russian bourgeois method of keeping all Russia subservient to it. This tsarist policy was so successful that many areas, particularly the border regions, remained extremely backward until the October Revolution.

Nevertheless the spread of trade and commerce inevitably had an effect upon many of the people of Russia. Consequently, as the process of capitalist development unfolded and the growth of trade proceeded, national sentiments and ties began to develop among many of the peoples. But the rising bourgeoisie in each of the various nationalities was confronted from the very start with the fact that a centralized state was already in existence, that this state was in the power of a dominant nationality, the Russian, which sought to conquer the whole of the market for itself and did not intend to share it with the bourgeoisie of the many nationalities. As much as the bourgeoisie of these subject nationalities might try to create national states and achieve independent existence, they were unable to do so. The territory in which they lived was part of the already organized Russian state. The local bourgeoisie was too weak to challenge the oppressing Russian nation with its full fledged bureaucracy, far flung state apparatus, army and police force.

We saw above how the very process of the formation of nations in western Europe was in fact one of breaking down barriers, of destroying differences and of uniting peoples into one common language and culture. This process was a democratic one. Out of it in each country emerged the creation of a single nation, the formation of a national bourgeoisie and a working class. But in Russia, Austria and Hungary the process was quite different. Here the process was not the democratic assimilation of all peoples and nationalities into one organized nation. What happened in eastern Europe was rather a process

of colonization, that is, the forcible repression of all nationalities by the dominant nationality. In Russia this was known as the policy of Russification. The dominant nation did not attempt to integrate and merge all peoples into a single nation, but rather to subjugate and enslave all peoples under its power. The dominant nation worked to prevent the emergence of a bourgeoisie among the subject nationalities so as to prevent competition. Thus the subject nationalities were forced into the condition of serving as a market for the commodities produced by the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation.

This struggle in its early phases is essentially economic, reflecting the struggle between the ruling class and the bourgeoisie of the dominant nations, on the one hand, and the oppressed nations, on the other. Before very long the struggle inevitably moves from the economic to the political level. "Limitation of freedom of movement, repression of language, limitation of franchise, restriction of schools, religious limitations, and so on are piled on to the head of the 'competitor.' . . . The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation, repressed on every hand, is stirred into movement. It appeals to its 'native folk' and begins to cry out about the 'fatherland,' claiming that its own cause is the cause of the nation as a whole. . . . Nor do the 'folk' always remain unresponsive to its appeals, they rally around its banner: the repression from above affects them also and provokes their discontent."³

National Instability

There is yet another peculiarity in eastern European development. In western Europe migratory movements reached their culmination very early in its development. Furthermore, the fixing of boundary lines and the achievement of geographic and territorial unity had also been achieved soon after the bourgeoisie gained power. The unification of peoples in western Europe despite various differences was not such a difficult process, especially since economic development operated favorably toward unification. In eastern Europe, however, the situation was quite different. Migrations continued right into the twentieth century. Borders continued to shift, thus preventing territorial stability, with the exception of the Soviet Union, up until World War II. Added to this was the fact that economic influences were deliberately exerted to frustrate unification of peoples. It is therefore understandable that the national question became extremely acute in eastern Europe.

Lenin gives us a vivid description of this problem as it existed in Russia. "Russia," he said, "is a state with a single national center—Great Russia. The Great Russians occupy a vast, uninterrupted stretch of territory, and number about 70,000,000. The specific features of this national state are, firstly, that 'alien races' (which, on the whole, form the majority of the entire population—57 per cent) inhabit the border regions. Secondly, the oppression of these alien

³ Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 15.

racism is much worse than in the neighboring states (and not in the European states alone). Thirdly, in a number of cases the oppressed nationalities inhabiting the border regions have compatriots across the border who enjoy greater national independence (suffice it to mention the Finns, the Swedes, the Poles, the Ukrainians and the Rumanians along the western and southern frontiers of the state). Fourthly, the development of capitalism and the general level of culture are often higher in the border regions inhabited by 'alien races' than in the center. Lastly, it is precisely in the neighboring Asiatic states that we observe incipient bourgeois revolutions and national movements, which partly affect the kindred nationalities within the borders of Russia."⁴

The situation in eastern Europe is thus so different from that of western Europe that one can easily see why the national question in the former should have become so troublesome. The Ukraine in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, for instance, was a feudal domain dominated by Russian princes. In the fourteenth century the country was divided. The western portion fell into the hands of Poland and the eastern part was conquered by Lithuania. Very shortly thereafter Poland and Lithuania merged and the Ukraine was once more reunited, although still a conquered territory. In the seventeenth century the Ukraine was divided again, this time half remaining with Poland and half under Russian domination.

In this case, one can see how acute a national problem would arise from a situation in which one section is cut off from another section of the same nationality. Each section naturally considers itself not as part of the nation that dominates the state within whose boundaries it lives and which constantly seeks to deprive it of its identity, but as part of that group with which it is historically, culturally and linguistically associated and with which it is constantly seeking to become reunited. Multiply this case by the dozens of such nationalities and one begins to get some notion of the tremendous problems that followed the successive annexations and expulsions of various historically developed cultural and linguistic groupings different from the dominant nation.

Oppressed National Minorities

It was thus inevitable that in the east European countries there should arise the problem of oppressed nations, that is, of peoples having a common territory, economic life, language and culture. Similarly these countries were plagued with the problem of oppressed national minorities, that is, groups of people within the boundary of a given state who are ethnically, culturally and linguistically different from the main national mass of the population.

In the case of the national state, it was the development of the national market where economic, political and strategic considerations operated, that led to the creation of natural boundaries and the delimitation of territories.

⁴ *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 22.

Such was not the case with these national minorities. Their territorial delimitation bore no relationship to economic and strategic considerations. The process of annexations and migrations created an ethnic crazy quilt. Peoples were arbitrarily split up, whole groups being separated from each other and very often redistributed in such fashion as to make any natural reunion impossible. Such national minorities were thus scattered islands of people having no independent economic or territorial existence but which were nevertheless separated off from the main national mass by the fact of their own language and national characteristics.

The various national minorities fall into two main categories. There are national minorities that arose as a result of being cut off or separated from their main mass which existed elsewhere in a state form. In other words, this type of national minority is a grouping stemming from a nation. This is not the only type of national minority however. For there is also that type of national minority which has, as a result of historical circumstances, developed its own language and some national characteristics. It may be an individual group having no relationship to and deriving from no other group. Or it may be a group having certain characteristics in common with groupings in other parts of the world. In either case, however, it derives from no group having its own state form.

The former category, that is, those who derive from a national mass having a state form elsewhere, are such groups as the Ukrainians in pre-war Poland or Rumania or the Magyars in Rumania. Examples of the latter type, that is, groups constituting a national minority who do not derive from a mass which has state form elsewhere, are the Catalonians and the Basques in Spain and the Jews in the Pale of tsarist Russia.

No entity, not even the nation, is a static community. And this is certainly true of the national minority, which, owing to the fact that it has but restricted and limited characteristics in common, does not have the stability even of the nation nor very often the objective possibilities and perspectives that the nation enjoys. We must also bear in mind that there are differences in perspective even with regard to the different categories of national minorities that we previously outlined. This aspect of the problem and particularly as it relates to the Jewish people will be discussed in our next article.

(To be continued)

A DOCUMENTED EXPOSE

"SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM": THE BIG LIE

by Moses Miller

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Book Reviews

TRAVAIL OF POLISH JEWRY

By Carol Stuart

In Search of a Lost People, The Old and the New Poland, by Joseph Tenenbaum, The Beechhurst Press, New York, 1948. \$4.50.

The Stars Bear Witness, by Bernard Goldstein, translated and edited by Leonard Shatzkin, Viking Press, New York, 1949. \$3.50.

Two recently published books, by Joseph Tenenbaum and Bernard Goldstein, tell of the great epic of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The former tells of it simply, honestly and with pride, while the latter is so enmeshed in the misdirected prejudices of the author, that his book is a disservice to those who lived and fought in the uprising.

In any comparison of the two books, one would expect Goldstein's to be the more revealing, since he lived through the days of the ghetto and the uprising. But he fails because he does not want the world to know the whole story. Through insidious omission he reveals his social democratic, right wing Bundist contempt for the real anti-fascists who participated in and gave leadership to the organization of the uprising. In the same way he reveals his hatred for the Soviet Union and his sympathy with those of his friends who conducted proved acts of sabotage against the Soviet war effort.

What is important in the book arises not out of Goldstein's reportage or his relationship to the events he relates, but out of the events themselves: the brutal terror, the disease and starvation under which the ghetto dwellers lived; the periodic rounding-up of Jews for "deportation," which was the nazi word for Treblinka, Oswiecim and death, which many Jews failed to recognize as such until too late; the acts of great heroism during the uprising and the epic resistance.

But it is Goldstein's deliberate omission of the whole truth of the uprising that makes this book a defamation of the struggle. He conceals the valiant role played by the democratic "People's Guard," which actively supported the ghetto fighters by smuggling arms and ammunition to them and staging diversionary acts against the Germans at the gates of the ghetto.

Who were Goldstein's heroes? He found them in the London government-

in-exile, which did nothing to aid the cause of the Jews in the ghetto. When the Soviet armies were approaching the gates of Warsaw and driving the nazis out of Poland, this government only then decided to send in their Anders-trained army in order to prevent the formation of a really democratic Polish government. Goldstein found his heroes in Alter and Ehrlich and the 16 Poles who were found guilty of spying and sabotage against the Soviet Union, when that country was in the throes of battle against the nazis. And he found his heroes in the most reactionary section of the Bund, of which he was a leader and which he unwittingly portrayed more as a social service agency whose duties lay chiefly in aiding the sick, rather than in forging a unified, militant fighting anti-fascist organization.

The real heroism is deliberately concealed, for the author knows that the final insurrection of the ghetto had incorporated into practical life the ideas and concepts promulgated by the left wing, anti-fascist elements of the ghetto, composed of many parties and groups with which he and his friends refused to cooperate. His fanatic hatred of these fighting forces, which fought the enemy with courage and dignity, belies even the supposed purpose of his book, to give testimony "not alone to the millions who were dragged to death in crematoriums and gas chambers, but to all our fellow human beings who want to live in brotherhood—and must find a way." The logic of his own distorted ideology then has led him to finding his way with the Dubinskys, with the enemies of humanity and peace, rather than with the anti-imperialist forces which today are fighting to insure the impossibility of a future Warsaw ghetto.

In sharp contrast to *The Stars Bear Witness*, which concludes with the defeatist thought that the Jews as a people are finished, Joseph Tenenbaum declares in his book that "their [the ghetto heroes'] death leaves a challenge to all the people of the world and lays a great moral obligation on them." He has met that challenge in his sympathetic and honest portrayal of the five years of Polish struggle against the nazis. The

reader comes away with a burning hatred of fascism and with great respect for and pride in those who resisted and fought so valiantly.

His book encompasses a great deal more than Goldstein's. It treats of the liquidation and struggle of the Jews all over Poland, in the Bialystok ghetto, in Lodz, Lemberg and Krakow and in the bestial death-house of Oswiecim. But, as Tenenbaum puts it, "although all of Poland suffered. . . it was Warsaw whose saga of gallantry won the admiration of the world." And although he was not an eye-witness, his description of the ghetto and the uprising is far more complete than Goldstein's.

He honors the heroic organization of the Jewish underground, which he traces back to the beginning of the German occupation and which fought the enemy with indomitable courage against almost impossible odds. We are given a picture of the great work of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Bloc, organized in March 1942, how it secretly trained fighting cadres, published illegal newspapers and organized secret universities within the ghetto walls. He tells us that until the organization of the democratic "People's Guard," the fascist, anti-Semitic Polish home army, organ of the London government-in-exile, refused armed aid to the ghetto fighters. He tells us of the cooperation between Jews and non-Jews, thus putting the struggle in proper perspective.

Among some of his most informative chapters are those dealing with the history of the Jews in Poland and the fascization of Poland between the two wars. The fascist character of the government-in-exile and of the Anders army, which

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refused to join the Red Army in fighting the Germans, is exposed. There is an illuminating chapter on the various underground armies: the Home Army, which turned to the sabotaging of the Soviet liberation troops and of the new Poland after the Warsaw insurrection; the neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic Nationalist Armed Forces which were the "nemeses not of the Germans but of the Poles and the Jews"; and the People's Guard, later the Polish People's Army, which, unlike the others, "had but one front and one enemy, the Nazi invader." And in answer to the Soviet-baiting antics of the Mikolajczyks and Goldsteins he gives the lie to their claim that it was Soviet policy to loot, rape and pillage the Polish countryside.

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He quotes Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky's order that "decreed the death penalty for infringement on the life or property of Polish citizens."

Tenenbaum sheds light on the invidious role of the Catholic church in Eastern Europe today in his report of his interview with the late Cardinal Hlond, Vatican representative in Poland. Tenenbaum questioned the silence of the Church with regard to the post war anti-Semitic outrages committed by fascist and terrorist underground groups. To the author's assertion that a thousand Jews had been killed since the liberation by these elements, the cardinal first denied knowledge of this fact, then asserted that the killings were political rather than racial and, according to Tenenbaum stated: "Jewish Communists are running the country. Why does world Jewry allow them to take over the government and oppress the Christian people?" And in justification of the murder of Jews the cardinal said: "They do not murder Jews as Jews. They just retaliate for the murder of the Christian population by the Jewish Communist-run Polish government." In an interview with the press on July 11, 1946, after the Kielce pogrom, Hlond remarked that he had recently been requested by American Jews to issue an appeal for an end of anti-Semitism, but that he had decided not to do so be-

cause the facts did not justify such a proclamation from the Church.

The major shortcoming of Tenenbaum's book is the contradiction between the author's claim that Polish Jews for the first time have the opportunity of building a new life for themselves in Poland, with his Zionist views, which lead him to the claim that only in Israel can Jewish culture survive and thrive. For he describes in some detail the advantages and benefits now enjoyed by Polish Jews. That anti-Semitism is a crime punishable by law and that the Polish government protects Jews from pogroms perpetrated by the few remaining terrorists is indeed historic.

Tenenbaum fails to recognize sufficiently that it is only in a socialist society that a people's culture can live and grow, that it is only under socialism that chauvinism in general and anti-Semitism in particular ceases to be a weapon of a ruling class. Notwithstanding its ideological weaknesses, Tenenbaum's is a fine book and contributes much to our understanding of the old and the new Poland. It instructs and inspires and should be read by all who wish to make a peaceful and democratic world, a world in which ghettos and those who would create them belong to an infamous, shameful and past chapter in history.

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NEW HISTORY OF THE JEWS

By I. B. Bailin

Story Without End, by Solomon Landman and Benjamin Efron, Henry Holt and Co., New York. \$3.00.

The recorded history of the Jews goes back further than that of most peoples. To pack this account into a single small volume is therefore like trying to fit the Empire State building into an eye-glass case. Yet Landman and Efron have written a short work that does succeed in illuminating the course of that history, if not its details. They compress the most important elements of Jewish history in an extremely well-written book of 279 pages.

Although a number of short histories are available, this one is outstanding in its emphasis on the social and historical forces operating during the 4,000 years of Jewish life.

In some respects the authors apply a materialist approach. They have tried to exemplify the dual aspect of history—fully to explain the past and to help guide the forces shaping history in the present. In addition, the sympathy of the authors is largely with the disinherited and the exploited. An example of this is their deglamorized account of King Solomon's reign of "peace and plenty."

While they describe the magnificence of Solomon's building spree in Jerusalem, they go on to reflect that "somebody had to pay for all this magnificence. Most of the materials used in the building had to be brought from distant lands, a very costly undertaking in those days of hard labor. Solomon had to use thousands of skilled craftsmen, besides some 175,000 unskilled laborers. Where did the money come from?

"Like the Pharaoh who had enslaved the Hebrews of Goshen before the time of Moses, Solomon reduced to forced labor various Palestinian tribes, and also ordered thousands of Hebrews to give him labor service for four months of the year without pay. . . . It was the people who paid for the magnificence Solomon prized and they didn't like it. . . . From Solomon's reign on the number of landless and enslaved people grew larger; and the wealth of landed aristocrats increased."

The authors are largely free from the mystical conceptions that pervade most Jewish histories. Their interpretation of the past few decades of Jewish life is liberal in outlook. They have not fallen for such reactionary, anti-Soviet "facts" as have been smuggled into Jewish history

by the late Dr. Isamer Ellenbogen, whose final volume to the classic history of Heinrich Graetz has given "authoritative" sanction to anti-Soviet lies about the Jews in the Soviet Union. Landman and Efron, however, stick to the facts when they deal with anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, as in the following:

"The communist leaders of the Soviet Union regarded all movements of racial and religious hate as being against the best interests of the country. They characterized them as weapons manipulated by the propertied and privileged classes in their drive to maintain control over the government for the purpose of protecting their wealth and power. The Soviet government therefore prohibited racial and religious hatred, including anti-Semitism, by declaring such activities to be crimes against the Soviet system. The Soviet courts enforced the laws against anti-Semitism, and a well-organized campaign was undertaken throughout the country to teach the people to respect the cultural rights of all minority peoples. The Soviet leaders fostered cultural activity among all national groups within the country."

Although this book is far in advance of most Jewish histories, it does have weaknesses. For instance, in their account of Amos' fight against the rich exploiters of Israel's northern kingdom, the authors say that Amos came from that section of Judah "where the Hebrews were wont to help one another rather than profit from a neighbor's temporary difficulties." There, they say, "the simple *mishpat* [tribal justice] of early Hebrew pastoral life still obtained. But in Israel the poor man had no place to go for justice. . . ." For "the judges of Israel in the time of Jeroboam II were using their positions to feather their own nests. They demanded bribes before they made decisions; and since the wealthy alone could afford to pay them, most of the cases were settled in favor of the rich and powerful."

This is an oversimplification. For it is more accurate to point out that the entire state had already become the in-

strument of the rich and mighty, of their own class dominance. Hence the explanation does not lie in the behavior of the judges and the law alone, for the whole state apparatus was already directed against the poor to the advantage of the rich.

In some places the authors reverse cause and effect. In discussing the role of the social prophet Hosea in the 740's B.C., the authors write: "Like Elijah, he opposed Baal worship, for with Baal worship had come the Palestinian practice of private ownership of land, cattle and slaves; with it had come the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, and the resulting impoverishment of the Hebrew peasantry." But the truth is the other way around. With the beginning of private property there also emerged changing conceptions of the gods. Baal worship was not the cause but the effect of private property. The word "Baal" means a property owner in Hebrew.

One unfortunate consequence of the book's brevity is the omission of some vital moments in Jewish history. Such a milestone as Samuel, for instance, is not mentioned. Yet Samuel's denunciation of the monarchy was effectively used against absolutism through the ages, especially by the republicans at the time of the American revolution. Another missing event is the "blood ritual" slander that was charged for the first time in Blois, France, in the twelfth century and has recurred up to the present century. Thus the book makes no mention of the ritual murder cases such as the Damascus affair and the Baylis trial.

The book is also uncritical at some points, as in the treatment of theocracy in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. A critical attitude here would be enlightening in connection with the dangers of clericalism in Israel today.

The authors of this work have labored to give a rational and socio-political interpretation of Jewish history. Although they have not completely succeeded, this book marks an advance over the many mystical, religious and super-nationalistic histories available in abundance.

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Letters from Abroad

OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS IN BRITISH JEWRY

London

Although British Jewry lived close to the European battlefields and the massacre of European Jewish communities, it suffered relatively little during the Second World War. The Jews in London suffered most from the effects of the last war. Two thirds of Britain's approximately 260,000 Jews live in and around London. About 100,000 lived in the East End of London, which suffered heavily from bombing. Exact figures are not known but many entire Jewish families were lost in these air attacks. Properties and businesses established over many years were lost in the havoc, but adequate compensation was given for such losses.

The war resulted in a permanent geographical rearrangement of the London Jewish population. Stepney, previously the largest center of Jewish life, has now given way to the neighboring Borough of Hackney, where 40,000 Jews, it is estimated, nearly one quarter of the borough's population, now live. The North West districts of London, the pre-war preserve of the well-to-do Jews, have also greatly increased their number of Jews and new centers of Jewish life are evolving there. A similar geographical redistribution is occurring in other large Jewish centers. The Jewish population is generally moving into higher-priced, more modern districts, a redistribution made possible largely by the improved economic position of the Jews.

This improvement is owing to an increase in employment and to the fact that the trades in which Jews are habitually employed yield exceedingly high rates of pay. But the present threat of an economic crisis in Britain will severely test the ability of the Jewish population to maintain its present standard of living.

Before the war a large part of the Jewish population worked in tailoring and cabinet making, many as small employers and even more as workers. But conditions for both employers and workers were precarious because long slack periods were a regular feature of these occupations. The employer often kept himself going by working into the small hours of the morning with the help of every member of the family.

This is still the case. Many demobilized soldiers invested their bonuses in such

businesses—and many have since lost every penny they possessed. Very few other industries have such a higher percentage of failures. Most Jewish workers in these industries have aspired or still aspire to become employers and the war has not changed this, even though this is not so easy now as it used to be. The overhead is high and risks are great. Recently some small employers in the tailoring trade threatened to go on strike unless the big manufacturers guaranteed a regular spreadover of orders during the whole year. Agreement was reached between the big and small employers but it remains to be seen if the terms can be carried out.

But the war brought many changes. Business and trade were disrupted and the war required large numbers of workers in the armament and engineering industries. Consequently many Jewish men and women found themselves directed into such occupations. Large numbers of tailors, salesmen, clerks and travelling salesmen became workers in heavy industries and shipyards.

The decline of earning capacity after the war has led to an exodus of Jews from these industries. Although the earnings in these new occupations were high, they were not as high as the post-war levels in the previous occupations of Jews such as tailoring and cabinet making. The war saw an end of overtime, bonuses and allowances which had swelled the wages. As a result many returned to their former occupations of tailors, cabinet makers, shop assistants, travelling salesmen, etc. The largest number were attracted to selling although tailoring was among the best paid. In the latter trade £20 to £25 [\$80 to \$100] a week was not unusual. At present both tailoring and cabinet making employ large numbers of Jews.

What does the future hold for these workers? The furniture and tailoring trades still have orders and offer steady employment but the latter trade has already had a foretaste of a slump early in 1948 and was saved only by the new fashion of long coats. The home market will immediately feel the effects of a decline in wages, of which evidence has already been seen in Britain.

These developments are reflected in new occupational trends amongst Jewish youth. Jewish boys are not crowding into tailoring and cabinet making, despite the high rates of pay which prevail. Boys who leave school at 15 are entering mainly the distributive trades. The fact that they

must enter military service at 18 influences this trend, since the three year interval between leaving school and entering the armed forces is not sufficient to permit them to become skilled in a trade. Many enter the free professions, such as accountancy, journalism, managerial jobs, etc. The number of Jewish students of both sexes at the universities is larger than ever. Choice of academic occupations is unrestricted except for the medical profession. It is difficult for Jewish students to enter the medical schools and practice at the large hospitals.

As workers, and consequently as trade unionists, Jewish workers often showed militancy and political alertness of a high order. But strengthening of petty bourgeois trends is reflected in susceptibility to anti-Soviet propaganda. Since many Jews still believe that there is plenty of opportunity to get rich quick, they have no desire to favor a society with other social values. Many Jewish youths are choosing professional careers with money making prospects. The hard working professions are avoided.

Of course, it is hard to say what may happen when the economic crisis comes. How would such a crisis affect the Jews? Would there be a return to manual occupations? One cannot answer now. What is clear at present is, that trends are unhealthy and are having a bad effect on the political and ideological outlook of the Jewish community in Britain.

L. ZAIDMAN

Masses & Mainstream

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Documents

EQUALITY COMES TO RUMANIA

Reactionary regimes have always used the Jewish problem as a diversion with which to avert the attention of the exploited masses from the real problems which torment them. Reactionaries have used this technique to hold class privileges.

Before World War I the Rumanian masses aspired to universal suffrage and the expropriation of the large estates, struggled against social evils.

In order to turn the attention of the masses from these problems, the statesmen at that time exploited the "Jewish danger" slogan. It was "dangerous," they said, to grant equal rights to Jews; it was "dangerous" for Jews to own property, to attend schools, to hold office, etc.

The present democratic regime put an end to this anti-Semitic diversion, since the working class has no need to defend privilege. The anti-Semitic diversion serves no function for them. On the contrary, the working class fights any national persecution and assures free development to the Jewish population.

In this sphere the working class, led by its Party, have achieved the following:

1. *Outlawing of racism.* A special law of August 1945 made punishable the instigation of racial hatred, insults to any racial group and discrimination in private and public employment. The new Civil Code, which went into effect March 1, 1948, designates the above as common offenses. In addition, Article 17 of the Constitution of the Republic, provides punishment for racial offenses.

2. *Trial and conviction of war criminals guilty of murder and plundering.* The reactionaries in our country, representatives of the "Historical Parties," the Tatarescu clique and particularly the late King Michael, tried in every way to prevent the trial of war criminals and especially of those guilty of the Jassy slaughter.

Only by the determined action of the Rumanian Workers Party were the criminals apprehended and sentenced to the severe punishment which they fully deserved. Tens of thousands of workers in factories and institutions passed resolutions demanding conviction of the guilty.

3. *Jews granted citizenship.* The Jewish population was always denied rights of citizenship by the Rumanian "Historical Parties." After the Berlin Congress of 1878, King Carol I and Ion Bratianu had

the famous Article 7 included in the Constitution depriving the Jewish masses of citizenship, except for some rich Jews. This policy was followed even after World War I by the "Liberal" and "Tatarescu" parties. They held back even the few rights which the Jews had won through the peace treaties and the influence of the great Russian October Revolution. This policy of racial persecution was followed by the Goga-Cuza governments down to the Antonescu militarist regime.

The ruling class deprived part of the Jewish masses of citizenship and thus the right to work so as to drive these Jews into ways of making a living that provided the exploiters excuses for anti-Semitic propaganda.

The achievement of the full citizenship law was made possible only by the setting up of a government representing the interests of the working class, working peasantry and progressive intelligentsia. The law of May 1947 completely solved this problem in a democratic way.

4. *Cultures persecuted under the fascist regime are now free to develop.* Article 28 of the present Constitution assures cultural liberty, thus abolishing past persecutions in this sphere.

5. *Jews restored to employment.* With the abolition of anti-Semitic restrictions Jews have been admitted to public and private employment from which they had been dismissed for racial reasons.

6. *Jews who suffered under the fascist regime are granted the same benefits as the disabled, orphans and widows of the war.* On the initiative of the Workers Party the government on April 1 and July 1, 1948, passed laws which resolved the claims of a significant number of Jews.

7. *State support of welfare and cultural institutions.* The government has allocated funds for the maintenance of welfare and cultural institutions. In addition to temporary subventions for schools and hospitals, not as philanthropies but as a social service, the conditions are now being created for a higher form of society, socialism, in which these schools and hospitals will have the same status as all others in the Rumanian People's Republic.

8. *Jewish population given opportunity to conduct schools in their mother tongue, whether it is Yiddish, Rumanian or Hungarian.* Recent educational reforms provide for self-determination of language in which instruction is to be conducted in the state schools. The Ministry of Education has set up schools using Yiddish in four centers of compact Jewish population. Text-

books in Yiddish are being published.

9. *Ykuf (Yiddisher Kultur Farband) cultural societies available for those who wish to pursue Jewish culture.* Those who wish to develop in a Jewish cultural direction may do so through the Ykuf. The Ykuf is now being reorganized on Marxist-Leninist principles.

10. *Jewish theater.* On the initiative of the Rumanian Workers Party the government has given support to Jewish culture by affording material and moral aid to the setting up of a Jewish theater as a state establishment.

11. *A Jewish press.* To help raise the political and cultural level of the Jewish people, a democratic press, *Unirea, Egipteg* and *Ykuf Bletter*, has been set up.

In spite of these measures the bourgeois-nationalist Jews and especially the Zionists are trying to propagate hatred between the Jews and Rumanian and other nationalities in the country by agitating for the false theory of "permanent anti-Semitism" and of so-called "National Unity" slogans. These ideas are intended to distract the Jewish poor and the working masses from the class struggle that is common to all working people.

The Zionists, who propagandize their demagogic "unity" idea, try to divert the Jewish masses in order the better to control them. In this way the Zionists are trying to prevent the Jewish masses from taking hold of the opportunities offered them by Rumanian People's Republic for integration into the productive processes of the country and thus for the establishment of a firm basis for equality in a country where they have always been made to feel like aliens.

Zionists of all types, are trying to isolate the Jewish people from the international proletariat and to distract them from the goal pursued by all working people: struggle and work to consolidate peace and to build a new world where no longer will there be exploited and exploiters. The Zionists are trying to incite the Jewish population to consider themselves forever as temporary citizens who wait the day when they will leave for other countries.

The reorganization of the Jewish Democratic Committee in accordance with the general principles set forth by the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers Party, is oriented to bringing the Jewish poor and working masses into useful and productive labor in the Rumanian People's Republic, to raising their ideological and cultural levels—in other words, to doing everything to aid in the establishment of socialism in the Rumanian People's Republic.

JEWISH DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE,
CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CULTURAL SECTION

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

red-baiters, accommodated the House Committee on Un-American Activities on July 13 by testifying before it on Jewish "communists." He fulminated that there was "a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame religious and racial minorities" not only against the United States but against each other.

MARK TWAIN'S CLASSIC, *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, has been quietly dropped from the list of textbooks approved for use in New York's schoolrooms. The book contains some passages satirizing the Catholic hierarchy. Superintendent of Schools William Jansen offered the lame excuse that the edition in use had "gone out of print." Editor of the banned *Nation* commented, "These excuses are excuses. The truth is quite obvious. There is more than ample evidence that the sources that banned the magazine are responsible."

IRA HIRSCHMAN, outspoken critic of New York's Board of Education bigoted policies, was dropped from the board by Mayor William O'Dwyer in July. His removal followed a secret conference between Maximilian Moss, newly-appointed chairman of the board, and Cardinal Francis Spellman. Reappointment of George A. Timone, Franco supporter, as head of the board's Law Committee, was announced earlier.

"THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE anti-Jewish feeling among a number of staff members" of the International Refugee Organization, said a report on the IRO by a Senate committee in late June. The feeling was manifested in relation to immigration to Israel.*

THE BARRETT BILL (HR-3908) to ban anti-Semitic and anti-Negro propaganda through the mails and other forms of interstate and international commerce was approved by the executive committee and by a membership meeting of the Philadelphia NAACP in July.

MARSHALL PLAN AID to Israel was urged in July by a delegation of the Jewish Labor Committee to the State Department. The delegation pointed out that such "aid" would enable the United States to exert diplomatic influence in the Middle East.*

LEO SHAPIRO, president of the Brooklyn Division of the American Jewish Congress, joined with James A. Powers, president of the Brooklyn branch of the NAACP, in petitioning before the King's County Court for the minutes of the grand jury investigation of the killing in a traffic dispute of William Newton, a Negro, by policeman Donald Mullin while in plain clothes and off duty. Mullin was neither arrested nor indicted.

SERIOUS CHARGES were levelled against the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, leading Jewish news service, by Allen Lesser, managing editor of the *Menorah Journal*. Lesser charged in the spring issue of the magazine that the JTA was guilty of bias and suppression of important Jewish news, of untruthfully representing itself as a non-profit communal organization, of collecting huge sums from the United Jewish Appeal and other welfare funds despite the fact that these funds are advertised as for relief, and of "conducting its affairs in a manner unbecoming a communal organization." Demands for an investigation have been made in many quarters.

EUROPE

NEWS FROM RUMANIA . . . The Ministry of Education has announced the opening of a college to train Yiddish teachers. Officials list the number of students studying Yiddish in the state schools as 6,000. . . . The Jewish community of Galasz on the Danube, with a Jewish population of 13,000, held an exhibition depicting the reconstruction program carried out in the community and the progress achieved by the community since the war's end. Government representatives attended the opening in July. . . . The Ministry of Arts has granted the Yiddish theater in Jassy the rank of a state theater. Jassy's 22,000 Jewish inhabitants warmly received the theater when it was founded last year by the Jewish Culture Group. . . . Jewish communities have been merged and reorganized under a new statute formulated by 100 rabbis from all parts of the country. The statute provides that only one Jewish community can function in each town and will be comprised of all groups which hitherto functioned separately. All religious needs are under the supervision of the central organization. Highest spiritual authority rests with the Supreme Rabbinical Council. . . . A Rumanian ship with 460 Jewish passengers left for Israel in mid-July.*

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT decreed in mid-July that Jewish small landowners whose estates (not exceeding about 12 acres), were confiscated under the anti-Jewish laws of 1942, can now apply for compensation.*

A 21-YEAR-OLD London youth, Francis William Shaw, was arrested in late June for assaulting two Jewish youths who were hospitalized as a result of injuries Shaw inflicted.*

A DEMAND TO REIMPOSE the recently expired ban on political processions in London was made on the commissioner of police by the mayor of London's Hackney Borough. The mayor charged that Mosleyite fascist anti-Jewish disturbances were continuing.*

MORDECAI NAMIR, newly appointed Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union, held conversations in late June with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky in Moscow concerning trade relations, the economic situation in Israel and the Lausanne peace negotiations. The conversation was held in an "animated spirit of friendliness and understanding," Israeli sources said.*

"RED FLEET," Soviet Navy newspaper, asserted in mid-July that the United States is negotiating a new loan to Israel. The purported deal was cited as further evidence that Washington plans to gain complete financial control over Israel, which the paper said was the keystone of present United States policy in the Middle East.*

STRENGTHENING OF JEWISH CULTURE in Poland was the chief theme of a meeting in July in Warsaw of teachers and directors of all children's homes sponsored by the Central Committee of Polish Jews. Central Committee officials and social workers also attended. A Polish Jewish leader, M. Zachariash, emphasized that children should be brought up in the "spirit of internationalism" so as "to unite them with Poland's reality against Jewish nationalism, while (at the same time) popularizing the Jewish language."*

ABOUT 10,000 JEWS still remain in Bulgaria following emigration of 37,000 to Israel in the past two years. Organized Jewish communities still exist in Sofia, Plovdiv, Russe, Marek, Yemboel, Bourgas and other towns.*

FORMER HIGH-RANKING NAZIS are openly operating in Austria to rebuild a political machine, said a World Jewish Congress memorandum sent to the army's Civil Affairs Division in Washington in July. "Authorized" negotiations were recently carried on between the Austrian People's Party and former prominent Austrian nazis in order to combine forces for the elections scheduled for the fall.

ISRAEL

WAGES OF ABOUT 150,000 industrial workers in Israel were cut about \$7.20 a week following a drop in the cost-of-living index occasioned by the government "austerity" program. The executive committee of the Histadrut approved the wage cuts over the angry opposition of the Mapam and Communist delegates. Mapam delegates said that higher taxes, rents and indirect levies nullified the saving from the drop in prices. Mapam and communists threatened strikes against the wage cut. The Histadrut executive has taken measures to curb such strikes, threatening trial by union courts in case of disobedience of the no-strike order. Several strikes broke out.

UNEMPLOYED DEMONSTRATIONS are occurring with increasing frequency. On July 18, about 1,000 unemployed immigrants living in abandoned Arab homes in Ramleh sat down outside the Labor Ministry offices in Tel Aviv demanding "work and bread." There were scuffles with the police whom the demonstrators tried to disarm. On July 26, about 400 unemployed immigrants and veterans demonstrating for "bread and work" were clubbed by police after breaking through a gate into Knesset grounds. Six demonstrators were hurt. Earlier in the month, Dr. Moshe Sneh charged that of the 200,000 immigrants expected in Israel this year, tens of thousands will fail to get jobs and at least half will be without housing.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY entered an agreement with the Israeli government on July 27 after several months of negotiations to the effect that \$4,000,000 worth of cars, trucks and parts will be imported into Israel. The cost of the consignment is expected to be paid in part by the Export-Import Bank loan to Israel. It is understood that General Motors is about to enter similar negotiations. The long-term plan is to have the parts assembled in Israel and that Israel would be the distributing center for the whole Middle East. It was said unofficially that the government is considering establishing a free port at Haifa to facilitate these operations.

JEWISH POPULATION OF ISRAEL was 861,000 at the end of May, according to official Israeli statistics, as compared with 759,000 at the end of 1948. A total of 16,373 immigrants reached Israel in June.*

EXHIBITIONS DEPICTING educational and artistic activities in the Soviet Union have been arranged in various towns in Israel by the Soviet legation.*

MAPAI ANNOUNCED its withdrawal from the League for Friendship with the Soviet Union in mid-July because of attacks by the League on the Israeli government. At the same time Mapai announced that it would form its own Committee for Cultural Relations with Russia.*

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

