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Jewish Life

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

CRUSADE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

by Abraham Chapman

SOVIET POSITION ON JERUSALEM

by Semyon K. Tsarapkin

TOWARD UNITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

by Louis Harap

MASSES AGAINST MOSLEY

by Phil Piratin, M.P.

KOESTLER'S EVIL JOURNEY

by A. B. Magil

VATICAN OVER LABOR

by George Morris

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

FROM COAST TO COAST social workers, members of the Social Service Employees Union, UOPWA-CIO, are engaged in strikes, stoppages and protests against the union policy of Jewish social welfare agencies. In New York, over 700 workers of the United Service for New Americans and the New York Association for New Americans held a 2½-hour stoppage and all-night sit-in in mid-December and another stoppage on January 5 because of management obstructions to negotiations. . . . In St. Louis the union vigorously protested discharge for union activities of the office manager of the Jewish Vocational Employment and Vocational Service in early December. The union has been fighting and held picket lines for recognition by the agency. . . . In Los Angeles about 150 employees of the Jewish Welfare Federation walked out on strike over wage demands after nine months of fruitless negotiations. The agency has refused to arbitrate the dispute.

FEDERAL SUITS for personal injuries, property damage and deprivation of civil rights asking a total of \$2,020,000 were filed in mid-December by Paul Robeson, Howard Fast, the Civil Rights Congress and 25 victims of mob violence at the Peekskill concerts on August 27 and September 4, 1949. Named as defendants were New York State, Westchester County and Peekskill officials and leaders of veterans' organizations who planned the demonstrations which led to the attacks. In addition, claims against the state and county totalling about \$10,000,000 have been filed by 150 injured concert-goers. . . . On December 15, the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in the Westchester County Supreme Court against the town of Cortlandt, near Peekskill, on the ground that recently-adopted ordinances governing the holding of meetings in public and private places violated both the New York State and federal constitutions by interfering with free speech.

FILMS DEPICTING the nazi persecution of Jews were prohibited by the Army in December from being shown to American soldiers bound for duty in Germany. An Army spokesman said the films "might create ill-will" against the Germans. Among the banned films is "Concentration Camp Atrocities."

CLOSE FAMILY CONNECTIONS of Konrad Adenauer, reactionary chancellor of West Germany, with top American officials have been revealed. The wives of Adenauer, U.S. High Commissioner to West Germany John J. McCloy and U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, Lewis Douglas are all granddaughters of August Zinsser, German chemical industrialist who set up his business in the United States about 1860.

A NATIONAL "GOVERNING BODY" of Klans was set up at a meeting held on December 18 at Montgomery, Ala. It was claimed that 13 states were represented.

A CHICAGO POLICEMAN asked a man getting out of a car on Peoria Street, scene of the November racist riots, "Why don't you guys get up a petition to get that guy out of here?" "I'm the guy," replied Aaron Bindman, whose house was the center of the attack. "The police," commented Bindman, "have taken over where the hoodlums left off." . . . An all-day conference to End Mob Violence was held on November 26 in Chicago. One hundred delegates from 58



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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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church, veteran, Negro, Jewish and civic organizations and trade unionists attended. . . . Chicago Police Commissioner John C. Prendergast wrote a letter in December to the "White Circle League," a non-hooded klan outfit, thanking them for their offer of a corps of "2,000 able-bodied white men" to serve in case of a "race riot" in Chicago. The League's program proposes "No police protection for Negroes moving into white neighborhoods" and total exclusion of Negroes from "any white man's business."

REACTION IN CLEVELAND . . . incidents of the past few months: attempt to burn down the headquarters of the Jewish Welfare Federation;

permit given to fascist Gerald L. K. Smith to hold a meeting on city property; a Negro high school student beaten by hoodlums while witnesses fear to testify against the assailants because they have no confidence in police protection; Councilman Joseph Horowitz hospitalized after a beating on election night after his election became known.

A NEGRO SHOP OWNER, Herbert L. Jackson, who was elected to the Malden, Mass., city council in 1945 from a predominantly Jewish area and was the first Negro member of the council, was elected president of the council on December 29.

(Continued on page 31)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

WHAT PRICE PROMISES?

A NEW edition of a very old book is being written by the Truman administration—How to Make Promises and Influence Elections. A new chapter was added by President Truman in his State of the Union address on January 4. Again he mildly affirmed his belief in the civil rights program brought in by his committee just about two years ago, and he expressed the pious hope that this issue would "come to a vote." But did he suggest that he would put up any fight at all, not alone to bring it to a vote, but to assure its passage? An appeal to the people? An attempt to bring the administration majority into line? The realities of the situation were far better indicated by the comment of the Democratic Senate Majority Leader Scott Lucas. "Some measures," said Mr. Lucas, "are highly controversial. It is difficult to predict at this time what action may be taken by Congress on these measures."

If we apply the only test we know—deeds—the chances of enactment of the civil rights program are slim. But there is one way in which the people can obtain a favorable outcome. That is by the broadest mobilization of the people to let Congress know that the Negroes, the Jews, every minority and all democratic-minded people will brook no other outcome. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has thus far seized the initiative, goaded by the masses of a people who are at last demanding action instead of words. The NAACP has called on all organizations to join in the great mobilization in Washington for civil rights, which takes place as we go to press. Fortright speaking and a program of insistent action can make civil rights a reality, despite the half-hearted, oft-betrayed promises.

In accordance with the formula that the Democratic Party has perfected in the past few years, President Truman also ran through his usual set of promises for welfare measures—housing, health, education, repeal of Taft-Hartley and the whole string of social proposals. No better prospect for a fight by the administration for these measures was indicated than for the civil rights program. Words are cheap—the budget offered by the president on January 9th showed that. About six per cent of the 43 billion dollar budget was assigned to these needed welfare measures.

But where the heart is there is the treasure, and at least 47 per cent of the budget was for the prosecution of the cold war, for guns, tanks, airplanes, atom bombs and subsidies to the auxiliary undemocratic governments overseas in the cold war. Is this money being spent to promote

democracy through the world? On the contrary, it is designed to prop up tottering fascist regimes and to coddle fascist and reactionary elements all over the world. American money goes to support the reactionary and neo-nazi tendencies in Germany; to confirm fascism in Greece; to exclude the largest parties, the Communist Parties, in France and Italy from the governments; to bring the cartelists back to power in Germany and Japan. In December Rep. Jacob K. Javits complained to Secretary of State Dean Acheson that Britain was sending arms to the Arab states, obviously in preparation for renewal of war against Israel. We have not yet heard that the Truman administration has entered its potentially strong protest with Britain for this threat to Israel. Nor can we expect this from an administration whose foreign policy includes the legalization of Abdullah's (that is, Bevin's) depredations in the Arab part of Palestine.

From whatever angle one views the prospective plans of the Truman administration, the only answer is a people's fight. A majority of the people, through all their organizations united into an irresistible force, must press upon the administration to make good on its demagogic promises for civil rights and social welfare measures. Surely the Jewish people, in close unity with the Negro people and all democratic-minded elements, as has begun on a large scale in the NAACP mobilization for civil rights, should develop and enlarge and increase in militancy a people's struggle to make a real start toward the elimination of discrimination, Jimcrow, anti-Semitism and every form of racism. Fair employment practices, anti-lynching and anti-poll tax measures and legislation against incitation to race hatred, such as the Barrett bill, must arouse a mass demand for enactment.

No less urgent is a fight against the bipartisan cold war policy. For this is the policy that has seen the alarming rise of neo-nazism in Germany and the revival of the war-soaked cartels of Germany and Japan. The government must be compelled to enforce a genuine denazification program. The basic foreign policy of converting all the peoples of the world over whom we can exert financial pressure, into colonies or semi-colonies must be reversed. And this applies to our policy toward Israel, which the administration plans to make into a base for war against the Soviet Union and into the private domain of oil monopolies. The dangerous weakening of democracy in those countries under the influence of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc must be halted.

WHITEWASH AND WITCH-HUNT

FROM Dr. William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools in New York City, we can learn a hard lesson in the flagrant abuse of democracy in our time. On October 21, 1949, May Quinn, civics teacher at Pershing High School in Brooklyn, uttered anti-Negro remarks in her classroom. "The Negroes were happy before they knew about racial discrimination," she said, among other things. "Now that they know about it, are they any happier?" The incident was investigated by Dr. Jansen, who finally concluded that she had made "ill-considered statements" about Negroes and dismissed the case with a reprimand.

But it seems that "ill-considered statements" are habitual with Miss Quinn. For she had been hauled up before the Board of Education in 1946 on serious charges of using anti-Semitic material in her classes and of slandering Jewish and Italian pupils. The case aroused the entire city. Yet, in the face of widespread protest, the Board of Education let off Miss Quinn with a fine and transfer to another school. At that time James Marshall, a member of the board, commented that this light punishment "must appear to be nothing less than condoning the bigotry of that teacher."

Dr. Jansen's whitewash of this multiple offender against democracy is, however, consistent. Protection of racists goes with persecution of those who teach real democracy. Dr. Jansen and his Board of Education have been for some time conducting a star chamber inquisition against leading members of the Teachers Union (UPW-CIO). Union President Abraham Lederman and Secretary Celia Lewis Zitron have been called to hearings that pry into their private affairs. The unchallengeable teaching records of these teachers are said to be "irrelevant" to the proceedings. One investigated teacher, Mrs. Minnie Gutride, was driven to suicide by such an inquisition a year ago. And when the Feinberg Law to launch a witch-hunt in the schools was passed last year, Jansen and the Board of Education rushed with headlong speed to arrange for its implementation, until the law was declared unconstitutional by two courts. Nevertheless, the witch-hunt has continued, and the Teachers Union has had Dr. Jansen ordered to court to show that he is not in contempt for inquiring into teachers' political affiliations, since the courts had declared this procedure unconstitutional.

The whitewash of May Quinn and the persistence of the witch-hunt against teachers are a profound danger to the educational system and an alarming symptom of the deterioration of democracy in New York. In a city containing over two and a half million Jews and about half a million Negroes, a teacher who slanders these peoples is retained in the school system. One can understand why Leo Shapiro, president of the Brooklyn Division of the American Jewish Congress, said that the whitewash of Miss Quinn "gives me the chills." We must, said Mr. Shapiro, "proceed fearlessly against all manifestations of racism, discrimination and prejudice." The Quinn affair is not finished. Jewish organizations, Negro organizations, all democratic groups

must halt the disintegration of democracy in the schools of which the Quinn case and the witch-hunt against teachers are alarming symptoms.

THE WITTENBERG CASE

THE German Jewish refugees, Kurt and Steffi Wittenberg, came to Houston, Texas, several years ago after about a decade of wandering. When the German Democratic Republic was set up in Eastern Germany, they wished to return to their native land and accordingly applied for visas. They followed a series of grotesque events. The Immigration Department of the Department of Justice instituted proceedings to have them deported. The reason for this fantastic and cruel persecution soon became evident. For the immigration authorities then proceeded to let out a dragnet among Texas members and leaders of the Progressive Party, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Civil Rights Congress and the Communist Party in order to "inquire" into the "subversive" activities of the Wittenbergs and to make a case for deporting the Germans who *wanted* to go home. Curiously enough, this frenetic investigation did not start until the Wittenbergs applied for visas.

Thus far, one person has been cited for contempt of court for refusing to act as an informer under questioning by the immigration authorities. Federal Judge T. M. Kennerly ordered James J. Green, secretary of the Communist Party of Texas, to jail until he was willing to answer questions. Green is now out on \$1,000 bail pending appeal. And a number of other persons were subpoenaed for questioning.

Obviously, the Department of Justice is not really interested in the Wittenbergs, but is persecuting these Jewish refugees from Hitler in order to harass Texas progressives. The authorities are abusing the rights of non-citizens in order to deprive citizens of their civil liberties. They are exploiting a fantastic situation—"investigating" the "right to reside in the United States" of German anti-fascists who want to leave the United States—in order to stir up a red scare against labor, Negroes and Mexican Americans.

A similar pattern is being followed in other parts of Texas, too. In Dallas, the immigration authorities were contemplating the start of deportation proceedings against two Jews and five Mexicans. In the course of preliminary hearings, Fred Estes, local communist leader, refused to testify as to alleged communist connections of these seven and was found guilty of contempt. He is now out on bail.

Thus the Department of Justice is carrying on the persecution of communists and progressives under the pretense of seeking information about "subversive" non-citizens. Not only aliens, but all citizens are thus threatened with deprivation of civil liberties. This whole deportation hysteria is part of the general strategy of the Truman administration that is leading to fascism and war. Popular protest and action can put a stop to this drive. We urge our readers to act on these Texas cases by writing Attorney General Howard J. McGrath to drop the Texas persecutions.

CRUSADE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

By Abraham Chapman

THE commercial daily press didn't pay much advance attention to the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization, called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to convene in Washington, D. C., on January 15-17, but this event is of great importance. With all the "Mid-Century" consciousness promoted by the press this year, this event may well be considered the first significant Washington conclave of the Mid-Century Year. Its significance derives from the timeliness of the action and the fundamental character of the national mass demand for the enactment of civil rights legislation without further delay and doubletalk as the new session of Congress opens. It marks a forward step in the fight for the rights of the Negro people, in the struggle against discrimination and racism in our country.

There has been a lot of talk about civil rights legislation by the Truman administration. A few years ago President Truman appointed a Civil Rights Committee which issued a report embodying a limited ten-point civil rights program endorsed by the administration. Both the Democratic and Republican parties, in the last presidential elections, ballyhooed lavish promises of civil rights legislation. But all this talk and all these promises have produced no action. The first session of the 81st Congress was too busy with war appropriations, witch-hunts and service to big business even to talk about laws to defend the rights of the Negro people. Campaign promises on civil rights legislation were sold out.

Despite all the official speech-making about the rights of Negroes, 1949 was a year of intensified brutality and terror against the Negro people; of added lynchings in the South, of police brutality and mob violence in the North, as in Peekskill and Chicago; of frameups, like the Trenton Six case in New Jersey.

That is one side of the picture—the reactionary drive against the Negro people which is the fruit of the cold war and of the attempt to pave the way for the imposition of fascism on the United States. But it is only one side, and not the whole picture. Of even greater significance is the growing resistance of the people, the profound upsurge in the Negro communities reflected in the militancy of the struggles against Jimcrow and oppression that are developing, constituting a very important part of the anti-fascist resistance that is rising from the grass roots of America.

The NAACP call for this Mobilization, issued last October, reflects the upsurge of the Negro people. The initial call, echoing the sentiments of the delegates to the 1949 NAACP convention, clearly recognized that only united,

mass action could secure the enactment of any adequate civil rights legislation by the present Congress. "With the end of the first session of the 81st Congress at hand," pointed out the call, "it is now apparent that campaign pledges to pass effective civil rights legislation have been openly and flagrantly repudiated. If this legislation is to be enacted in the second session of the 81st Congress, the people of America must be mobilized as never before to this end. . . ."

Widest Unity Needed

Numerous organizations and individuals responded to the appeal of the NAACP, endorsed the Mobilization and expressed their readiness to help achieve the much-sought legislation. The prospects of an all-inclusive fighting crusade with the militancy and power to compel the adoption of civil rights legislation was frightening to the reactionary forces in American life and to timid leaders who fear the initiative of the people. The commercial daily press failed to publicize the Mobilization developments and efforts commenced immediately by some of the leaders who joined the Mobilization to limit it, to try and keep it within circumscribed bounds, to exclude the left and progressive forces from participation, to tie it to the kite of the Truman administration.

These efforts will undoubtedly be apparent in the sessions of the Mobilization itself. Yet such maneuvers are not by the wish of the majority of the participants in the Mobilization. These efforts patently violate the sentiments of the NAACP convention delegates whose initiative is responsible for the Mobilization. The NAACP delegates condemned the Un-American Committee, President Truman's Loyalty Order, the Mundt-Nixon bills, and the Ober Law. Certainly these delegates, who represent the true sentiments of the membership of the NAACP, do not favor the application of the "loyalty" witch-hunt practices and the Mundt-Nixon bill to their Mobilization.

The fact is that Congress has long been derelict in its elementary responsibility to secure American democracy by protecting the violated rights of the Negroes in the United States. The crime of lynching, for example, is so self-evident that none but a few barbarians would openly defend it. Yet for half a century the Congress of the United States has failed to adopt even such an elementary measure as an anti-lynching bill, although the first such bill was introduced as far back as 1900. Failure of Congress to act on these questions serves as a green light to the racists, fascists and all anti-democratic forces. It serves as a green light for intensified discrimination in industry, police brutality

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

against the Negro people and segregation. A Mobilization demanding action *now* on decades of promises and popular demands, calling upon Congress to move from oratory to legislation with teeth, is of vital significance to every American who wants democracy to live.

Significance for Jewish People

To the Jewish people, this Mobilization and the struggle for the rights of the Negro people, that must be still further developed after the Mobilization, has special significance. In the past few years the Jews have increasingly realized their common cause with the Negro people. Organizations of both peoples have engaged in many united actions. And now a large number of national Jewish organizations have joined with the NAACP in sponsoring the Mobilization. For both peoples have a common vital concern for an America free of racism. This must lead to a conscious alliance between the Jewish and Negro peoples as a basic part of anti-fascist unity in our country. Even though not all Jewish organizations in the Mobilization share the same approach to or display the same degree of understanding of the fight for the rights of the Negro people, agreement on a number of urgent bills is present. But more is needed—Jewish-Negro unity calls for a deepening of our understanding of the meaning of this unity.

There has long been a tradition among a small number of wealthy American Jews of philanthropic aid to Negro institutions. This is a part of the tradition of paternalism which is part of the white supremacy pattern, of the so-called "superior" white man contributing money to "elevate" the Negro. Certainly this is no basis for Jewish-Negro unity. Nor can Jewish-Negro unity be conceived as a humanitarian action, as something removed from the vital self-interest of both Negroes and Jews.

Anti-Semitism in the United States is linked in practice with the primary system of national oppression of the Negro and with the racist theory of white supremacy, as we have seen most clearly in recent months. Hence the fight for the rights of the Negro people is an organic part of the fight against anti-Semitism.

Why do most discussions of anti-Semitism either ignore or belittle the organic relationship of American anti-Semitism to the system of the national oppression of the Negro? The fact is that the development of anti-Semitism as a weapon of reaction in our country has been fed and conditioned by the primary source of racism in the United States, white supremacy and the national oppression of the Negro. Many of the forms of anti-Semitism in the United States, such as discrimination in industry, residential segregation, the segregation of Jewish Greek-letter societies on the campuses, are derived from the primary system of Jimcrow which is the mold in which discrimination against all the national groups has been shaped. This phenomenon has been inadequately explored because of white chauvinism, which is imbedded in the context of American scholarship and plays a special role in the Jewish community by promoting

a false and dangerous feeling of Jewish superiority to the Negro. Until white chauvinism is consciously and systematically rooted out among the Jewish as well as the American people generally, the alliance between the Jewish people and the Negro people will be weakened.

Under the impact of white supremacy the special oppression of the Negro is sometimes pointed to, to demonstrate the "superior" position of the Jew in America and to try and prevent an alliance with the Negro people. Yet the most important feature of anti-Semitism in the United States *today* is the fact that the anti-Semitic and anti-Negro drive are united in the trend towards fascism. Peekskill and the organized mob violence in Chicago's South Side were anti-Negro and anti-Semitic at one and the same time, and white supremacy plus red-baiting were the ideological sources of the fascist action. The violence in Peekskill and Chicago demonstrated the combination of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism that have existed separately for a long time, but were never before united so brazenly.

Jews Must Fight White Chauvinism

The lessons of racism that the Jews learned so bitterly during the ascendancy of Hitlerism must be applied to the problems we face in America today. As progressive Jews we emphasize the fact that the fight against anti-Semitism is not the task and responsibility of the Jews alone, but of all democratic people. German fascism could not be properly fought without the proper understanding of the special role that anti-Semitism played in its drive. The drive towards fascism in the United States cannot be properly understood and combated unless we fully recognize that white chauvinism and the oppression of the Negro are primary characteristics of American fascism and are not the concern of the Negro alone, but of all Americans and certainly of the Jewish people. The NAACP Mobilization is evidence that this realization is making headway.

The overwhelming majority of the Jews in America undoubtedly oppose lynching and the more brutal features of anti-Negro oppression, but a large section tolerates or practices discrimination and white supremacy against Negroes. This is a hindrance to the fight against anti-Semitism, to the fight against the drive towards fascism in the United States, to Jewish-Negro unity which assumes such crucial importance in the fight against the ideology and the practice of white supremacy and racism in our country.

The Mobilization is one link in the growing Jewish-Negro alliance. We must find the means and forms of developing cooperation and united action with Negro organizations and individual Negroes. This requires a continuous fight against the poison of white supremacy in ourselves and in all the organizations of the Jewish people, a positive fight aimed at cementing the natural bonds of common interest between the Jews and the Negroes in the United States.

THE "CRIME" OF REUBEN BRAININ

By Joseph Brainin

In commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the death on November 29, 1939, of Reuben Brainin, distinguished Hebrew and Yiddish writer, publicist and critic, we publish the following article by his son, Joseph Brainin, Anglo-Jewish journalist and executive secretary of the Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists.

The article is significant in several respects. It gives an insight into the outlook of one of the most distinguished Jews of the recent period. Although Reuben Brainin was bound to a Zionist outlook, he grasped the meaning of the Soviet Union and its significance for the Jewish people. He consciously joined his energies to the progressive forces in the thirties in the movement for peace and in the struggle for friendship with the Soviet Union. His activities give us the occasion to re-examine the tremendous opportunity to create a broad unity among the communists, socialists, Zionists, religious groups and others among the Jewish people today.

At the same time this article affords us an insight into the role of many top Zionist leaders who, whether or not they will it, utilize the honest and sincere sentiments of the Jewish masses to divert the masses from cooperation with the progressive and working class forces which are their best allies. So greatly do these top Zionist leaders fear genuine unity, that they do not hesitate to attack such a devoted follower of the Zionist cause as Brainin was.

Although we do not agree with the Zionist position taken in this article, we believe that the points made in it are worth serious study. And we join with Joseph Brainin in this tribute to a noted figure in Jewish life.—Editors.

TEN years after the death of my father on November 29, 1939, I see his figure and personality more clearly than ever before. Time has smoothed off the rough edges that obscured the broad sweep of the outline. The years have cut away superfluous ornamentation and washed away the shadows of temporary moods. Today a massive figure remains, a monument that might have been hewn by a master like Rodin, who pays no attention to details that encumber but do not change human nature.

In a progressive Israel this anniversary would have been observed with public commemoration. It would have served as a significant reminder that the destiny of the Jewish people is inextricably bound up with the fate of progressive forces everywhere. But as things are in Israel today, the tenth anniversary of Reuben Brainin's death received but scant public notice in the Jewish state.

This could hardly be otherwise. My father belonged to no party in the Zionist movement. His Zionism was

only part of his great love for the Jewish people everywhere. Until his 60th year he had been immersed in literary labors and in activities related to the cultural and national renaissance of the Jewish people. In his youth he had passionately embraced Zionism as an expression of that renaissance. He had worked intimately with Theodore Herzl and Max Nordau in bringing about the first World Zionist Congress at Basle, which he of course attended. Palestine and Hebrew culture were part and parcel of his intellectual and emotional being. I mention this here for the record, because there came a time when a ruthless conspiracy on the part of the Zionist leadership attempted to ignore and distort the tremendous role Reuben Brainin had played in shaping the Zionist renaissance movement. Sometime I feel that I, as his son, should not be writing about his greatness but should leave it to those who are only too well aware of it but for reasons of expediency remain silent. But then I remember that I promised my father to keep the record straight.

What was Reuben Brainin's "crime"? Why was he excommunicated from the Zionist movement? Why did the Zionist propaganda machine institute a world-wide smear campaign against him? Now that the Jewish state is a reality—an achievement brought about in no small measure by the consistent support given to Jewish national aspirations by the Soviet Union and the other progressive states behind the so-called Iron Curtain—it is most appropriate to remind the Zionist leaders, several of whom are leaders in the government of Israel, of the Reuben Brainin story.

1926 Visit to the Soviet Union

It was in 1926 that Reuben Brainin—then a vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America, the editor-in-chief of the Hebrew monthly *Hatoreh* (partly subsidized by the ZOA), the dean of Hebrew writers and unquestionably the outstanding Hebrew man-of letters living in America—journeyed to Palestine for a visit. In that land, where his literary work was well known (selections from his writings were used in school textbooks), Brainin received an enthusiastic welcome. The people flocked to see and hear him. His brief stay in Palestine strengthened his faith in the validity of the Jewish claim to a homeland. He was profoundly impressed and thrilled when little children spoke to him in the language he had helped revitalize.

From Palestine, Brainin went to the Soviet Union. He came to the then comparatively new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as an old Zionist and a Hebrew writer who

in his youth had suffered under tsarist anti-Semitism, and as one who had tasted life behind tsarist prison walls.

As soon as it became known that Reuben Brainin had gone to the Soviet Union, the Zionist leadership manifested a great deal of uneasiness. In official Zionist circles little understanding existed for the magnitude and historical significance of the Russian revolution. To the majority of Zionist leaders the Soviet Union was merely the land where Zionism and the Hebrew language were proscribed. They also resented the successful colonization of Soviet Jews in the Ukraine and Crimea and regarded the rehabilitation of Russian Jewry as competition to the up-building of Palestine. Besides, large sections of Zionists maintained that Zionism and communism were incompatible. A free Russian Jewry did not fit in with the Zionist plan.

The Zionist leadership viewed Russian Jewry as the reservoir for the *Halutz* movement to *Eretz Israel*. When world Zionist leaders—especially Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow and Vladimir Jabotinsky—urged recognition of Jewish political claims by imperialist governments, they used the argument that, if Palestine were not given to the Jewish people, its members everywhere would be drawn into the Communist Party, and that the only way to avoid this calamity would be to make Palestine a Jewish bastion of imperialism. This orientation, which most Zionist leaders will deny today, was predominant 25 years ago. The circumstance that Zionism, like any other political movement, was prohibited in the Soviet Union, made it expedient for Zionist leaders to play the anti-Soviet game in England, France and Germany, and in the United States as well.

These facts are well-known and undeniable. I mention them here because they are the essential background of the Brainin story. They are part of the record.

After Brainin's triumphant reception in Palestine the



Reuben Brainin (left) with Sholem Aleichem

Zionist leadership expected him to assume an important role in the Zionist anti-Soviet campaign. But with intellectual integrity Brainin evaluated the Jewish position in the Soviet Union not from a narrow Zionist standpoint, but from that of its historical importance for Jews everywhere. He recognized that the capitalistic countries, home and pattern of the Zionist leaders, had woven and wrapped a tissue of lies around the new Russia.

A Zionist Defends the Soviet Union

Brainin saw in the Soviet Union a free Jewish population to whom the Soviet government had granted full equality. He marvelled at the generosity of the Soviet government when, although plagued by untold difficulties, it gave substantial aid to Jewish settlers on the land in the Ukraine, Crimea and Birobidjan. He was enthusiastic about the powerful legal protection that government afforded its Jews against anti-Semitism. He was full of praise for the Soviet government for having opened up all institutions of learning and the entire civil service to the Jewish youth born under the reactionary regime of the tsar. Before he undertook the trip he had been told by his Zionist colleagues that, as a known Zionist and Hebrew writer, he would be watched at every step while in the Soviet Union and that his words would be censored. But what happened was just the reverse. Reuben Brainin, whom the Soviet press described as a Zionist and Hebrew literary figure of distinction, was given every possible opportunity to see conditions for himself, and he addressed large meetings without the slightest censorship.

The revitalized Jewish life in the Soviet Union captivated him completely, and he felt very close to the Jewish community there. He also had occasion to converse, off the record, with a number of high government officials, and from these talks he carried away the firm conviction that Soviet official circles were not antagonistic to the idea of a Jewish state in Palestine, provided such a state would not become an appendage to British imperialism. As a result of his studies and observations in the Soviet Union he made a statement in Moscow which received world-wide publicity and which was the signal for the beginning of the Zionist anti-Brainin smear campaign. Yet what he said in this statement was simple and truthful in every respect.

Condemnation of Zionist Slanders

What did Brainin say in his Moscow statement? He branded as criminals the Zionists in the United States and elsewhere who opposed Jewish colonization in the Soviet Union and failed to recognize the outstanding friendship and generosity of the Soviet government toward its Jewish population. The Zionists, more than any other element, he added, should be grateful to the Soviet government for its recognition of Jewish national aspirations. Later, in a series of articles, he expressed the conviction that the Soviet government would support Jewish national aspirations for

a homeland if the Zionist leadership would re-orientate itself and give up playing the stooge for British imperialism.

The Zionist machine wasted no time after my father's return to the United States. Its campaign of slander against him reached fantastic proportions. He was charged with having betrayed "the Zionist martyrs in the Soviet Union." The Zionist press heaped cruel insults on him in every language, including Hebrew. It was intimated that Brainin had become senile—that, in other words, he was no longer competent. In America the Hebraists, led by a mediocre writer whom my father had refused to recognize as a man of letters, outdid themselves and clamored that Reuben Brainin no longer belonged to Hebrew literature and that his works should be taboo thenceforth.

The "Trial" of Reuben Brainin

In Tel Aviv the association of Hebrew writers, under the leadership of the poet H. N. Bailik, issued a statement calling my father a traitor to the Jewish people. Intimate friends of yesterday, colleagues of long standing, joined in the anti-Brainin hysteria. Even the very few who abstained were afraid to whisper a word of comfort to a man who before his visit to the Soviet Union had been one of the most beloved and respected standard-bearers of modern Hebrew literature.

Strange to say, my father, although deeply hurt, was not surprised. The savage attacks against him confirmed his views on the narrowness and provincialism of the Zionist and Hebraist leadership. He fought back with all his might. He was then at the height of his creative genius and, for his age, very strong physically. He refused to abandon his Zionist faith, but he devoted most of his energies to tearing down the web of lies about the Soviet Union. He traveled far and wide in the interests of Jewish colonization in the Soviet Union, and at the advanced age of 67 visited South Africa to obtain support for the Jewish colonies in the Ukraine, Crimea and Birobidjan.

He suffered a great deal because of the intolerance of the Hebrew writers, and summoned H. N. Bailik before a Zionist Court of Honor, charging him with libel. I remonstrated with my father and tried to dissuade him, telling him that he was naive to expect vindication from a Zionist court. But he was adamant.

I shall never forget the scene of the Brainin-Bailik "trial." In retrospect it reminds me of the tragic farce at Foley Square this year.

The "trial" took place in the fall of 1929, at Berlin. While on street-corners outside nazi storm troopers hawked anti-Semitic newspapers, while their voices shouting "*Die Juden sind unser Unglueck*" [the Jews are our misfortune] came through the open windows, the "court proceedings," presided over by Judge Gronemann, were held at the Zionist headquarters. Because of my fluency in the German language I acted as my father's defense counsel. In my opening statement I charged Bialik with being a

narrow-minded, reactionary chauvinist who was ready to sacrifice all the Jews of the world for the sake of Palestine Jewry, then less than three per cent of the earth's total Jewish population. In my youthful wrath at the injustice done my father, I called Bialik a traitor who would rather see Russia tsarist than free because it served Zionist politics better to have an anti-Semitic Russia. The German Zionist judge cross-examined my father about reports that anti-Semitism was again rampant in the Soviet Union. Was it not true that Zionism was forbidden in that country? Was it not true that Zionists were being persecuted? What guarantee did my father have that Russian Jews would not be slaughtered some day by order of the Soviet government?

As he spoke, the anti-Semitic slogans of the nazi newspaper vendors could be heard distinctly—an ironic commentary on the proceedings.

My father, in a lengthy address, pleaded with the Zionists assembled in the room. He told them they were being fed lies, that he felt considerably safer in Moscow than in Berlin. He pointed out rather sharply that as a Jew he preferred a government that prohibited anti-Semitism and suppressed Zionism to a government that permitted Zionism and allowed anti-Semitism to flourish. "The day will come," he concluded, "when you and Bialik will thank God for the existence of the Soviet Union and when you will feel ashamed for what you have done to me."

The court deliberated for hours and then brought in a verdict in favor of Bialik, justifying his statement against my father and reprimanding him only mildly for the language used in the statement.

I shall never forget the pallor of my father's face as he heard the verdict and then said to the assembly: "Regardless of your decision, the future of the Jewish people is bound up with the existence of the Soviet Union, whose government is the first in modern history to have freed the Jew completely and recognized him as a national entity. As a Zionist and a Hebrew writer I shall be grateful to the Soviet government to my dying day."

When my father and I walked back to our hotel through the deserted streets of Berlin it was already past dawn. He was tired, his steps dragged, and he remained silent for a long time. Then he turned to me and gravely said: "You will live to see the Jewish people reverse this verdict and realize that the Soviet Union is our best guarantee for survival as a nation. Until that day comes, I want you to keep the record straight."

That is why I am retelling the Brainin story on the tenth anniversary of my father's death.

REUBEN BRAININ MEMORIAL MEETING

TO HONOR THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH

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III: TOWARD UNITY IN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

By Louis Harap

IN THIS series we have thus far shown how organized German Jewry failed to meet the fascist challenge with resistance and dignity; how the predicament of American Jewry in the face of a comparable threat is more complex than that which faced German Jewry.

Like all Americans, the Jews must realize that no one group by itself is strong enough to turn back the fascist trend. *The masses of the people*, the overwhelming majority, including the Jewish masses, must band together to prevent a fascist catastrophe in our own country.

Identification with Jewish Masses

The forging of a united front among the Jewish people absolutely demands that unobstructed contact be established with the sentiments of the Jewish masses. This implies an identification with the feelings of the rank and file and complete avoidance of pat formulas and categories. The people must be involved in actions on issues which they feel immediately and forcefully. Only in actual struggle by the people at those points which correspond to their level of understanding, can the people sharpen their grasp of what needs to be done. Issues must be presented in terms that the people understand, in the idiom, so to speak, in which the people themselves deal with the issues. The leaders must base their tactics and program on the genuinely anti-fascist sentiments that actually exist among the rank and file.

In other words, any united front is based on a genuinely common program, one on which otherwise diverse elements may unite because they are convinced that the common goal can be most effectively pursued by a maximum of forces. In a broad united front on denazification of Germany, for instance, many components may not agree on the character of the Marshall Plan, but such disagreements need not weaken unity, if the common goal is kept firmly in view. If an effective protest is made on denazification, then the consequences will either strengthen or weaken the views held by the respective participants on other aspects of American foreign policy.

Since American Jews today sense the danger facing them, wide unity of the rank and file is possible. But it is a fact that such unity is today being held back by the leadership that dominates most Jewish organizations. For this leadership, from liberal to reactionary, agree either completely or in part on support of the cold war and nearly all employ red-baiting to hold back the rank and file from militant action on such issues as Israel and denazification.

At all times and certainly now the united front among Jewry must be promoted primarily by working among the rank and file. Too often, however, such work reduces to a vendetta against the leadership, instead of action on the issues.

But it is only in the course of struggles that masses of people can really begin to understand the role of many of their leaders. The leadership discredits *itself* by its refusal to carry on those struggles which the rank and file have grasped as urgently needed.

Furthermore, the leadership of some organizations may be pressured into acquiescence with a rank and file program, if the members insist strongly enough. Although the democratic process does not prevail effectively in Jewish organizational life, the leaders in many cases would be forced to accede to the demands of the membership, if these demands are made insistently enough.

Although the basic necessity is to achieve unity on the lowest levels of an organization, attempts must also be made at all levels of leadership to reach common—or, at least, parallel—action on issues. While united action at the highest levels is just now not always likely, much greater opportunities exist on the intermediary levels. Some local leaderships in the American Jewish Congress, for instance, have joined with many other organizations, some of them on the left, on specific campaigns. Together with the effort to enlist the rank and file must come attempts to convince intermediary leaders that they should cooperate. In other words, *progressives must be alert to possibilities of unity wherever the opportunity may present itself, at the same time that major attention is given to the rank and file.*

Let us see how the principles we have developed in these articles apply to several of the largest Jewish organizations.

ADL Roadblock

The B'nai B'rith, a fraternal organization, which announced a membership of about 306,000 in 1948, is one of the largest Jewish bodies in the United States. It draws its members mostly from the petty bourgeoisie and middle class, with some elements from the big bourgeoisie stemming from Eastern European immigrant stock. But the national organization is dominated by the wealthiest elements whose substantial agreement with the policies of the American Jewish Committee is most clearly evident in the Anti-Defamation League, which is the "defense" arm of B'nai B'rith. Like the Committee, the ADL is an influential hush-hush element in the Jewish community and is

very energetic in keeping mass action in check. An irrefutable pile of evidence exists to demonstrate this fact. A typical instance will be given here.

One of the most shocking of recent instances is that of the libel action against the Anglo-Jewish Chicago weekly, *Sentinel*, brought by ten of the fascist defendants in the wartime seditionist conspiracy case. The Anti-Defamation League, which receives its money from Jewish communal funds, agreed to finance the defense on condition that the case would receive no publicity whatever. As a result, the community learned about the trial only after it was over. The trial had been replete with the most disgraceful anti-Semitic filth freely spouted in court by the fascist litigants. Four of these were awarded \$24,100 by the jury. In November 1949 the Illinois Appellate Court unanimously remanded the case for retrial and the court opinion scathingly criticized the conduct of the case by the judge (see *Jewish Life*, January 1950, p. 23). An editorial in the December 8, 1949 issue of the *Sentinel* reveals the scandalous conduct of the ADL (as well as the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee) in connection with the affair.

The *Sentinel* had to post a bond for \$24,100 before the case could be appealed. The ADL refused to help in posting this bond on the curious ground that the ADL could not "pay a judgment against a private business operated for profit." But the Chicago Jewish community, excluding its wealthy element, as the *Sentinel* shows, saw this case as a critical problem for the Jews as a whole. Only after the *Sentinel* was in danger of being forced out of business to post bond for the awards to the fascists, was the money loaned and finally paid back through meetings of the Jewish rank and file throughout the city. A special committee, "Defense Against Anti-Semitism," had to be formed to carry through the appeal. "Notwithstanding our four 'defense agencies' and millions of dollars we raise every year to carry on their 'work'," said the *Sentinel* editorial, "there would have been *no bond* posted, it would have been impossible to carry the appeal to the higher court, *the verdict would have stood*, and the slanderous attack on our Talmud, our Torah and our people would have remained unchallenged in court."

B'nai B'rith and United Action

In important respects, however, the ADL must be sharply differentiated from the B'nai B'rith. The ADL is virtually an autonomous body entirely manned by paid professionals who function under rigid control so that deviation from the hush-hush policy or the effort to apply the brakes on Jewish mass action is possible only under terrific pressure from the community. But the B'nai B'rith is a membership organization and hence the leadership is more directly subject to pressure from the rank and file. Although the top leadership is conservative and generally agrees with American Jewish Committee policy, even they can be forced to action by the membership. As it is, the national leadership

take positions on such imminent dangers as renazification, but do not carry on mass action. If the membership were insistent, this leadership could be forced to take such mass action. Hence the possibility of moving the top leadership should not be discounted.

The local leaderships of the B'nai B'rith in many places, however, often break with the hush-hush policy. Local units of B'nai B'rith have in fact participated in mass defense actions. The most recent instance occurred in Chicago, when the B'nai B'rith Women's Organization directed its members to put pressure on Mayor Martin H. Kennelly to investigate the Peoria Street riots and to act quickly and decisively against mob violence. Such actions by local B'nai B'rith groups offer a tremendous potential for Jewish mass action. Before this can happen, however, progressive individuals in the localities must serve as catalytic agents to precipitate the militant sentiments of the membership into organized action.

Besides the local community bodies in B'nai B'rith, there are 190 colleges and universities in which there are branches of the Hillel Foundation, the college affiliate of B'nai B'rith. On a number of occasions local branches of Hillel have participated in mass student actions. A recent outstanding instance was participation of the Hillel Foundation of City College of New York in the fight to oust anti-Semitic instructor William E. Knickerbocker. Although Hillel's record in this matter is by no means above criticism, especially in its reluctance to join the Knickerbocker case with that of William H. Davis, anti-Negro instructor at the college, Hillel played an important part in the fight at several stages.

ZOA Leaders and Mass Pressure

Let us turn to another very large group, the Zionist Organization of America. The top leaders of the ZOA are on the whole politically conservative men with close ties to the Republican or Democratic Parties. This leadership exerts a certain general political influence because Zionist political support in some parts of the country, especially in New York City, is sought by politicians. The Zionist leadership has tended to support the cold war policy, even at the cost of deceiving the Jewish people about the real significance of American imperialist policy towards Israel and the consequent dangers for the Jewish state. Consequently the Zionist movement has on the whole yielded to the policy of subjecting Israel to the anti-Soviet war drive and the hacking away at the security and independence of Israel that this implies.

But the popular upsurge among the Jews in the past few years of crisis in Palestine has at times compelled the Zionist leadership to put up some opposition to United States policy on the question. Mass pressure has at times been so great that the leaders were unable to resist it and were obliged to engage in mass action. At several stages of the problem, mass action on the left pressed the Zionist leadership into activity. For example, the great protest parade

organized by the left in New York on March 11, 1948, forced the Zionist leadership to organize similar actions from which they excluded the left. Action begets action, and militants must understand that they can move the Jewish community only if they themselves start a chain reaction of mass activity.

How little the ZOA leadership is disposed to put up a fight for Israel is indicated by the subservient attitude displayed by Daniel Frisch. Upon his election to the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America, Frisch's first act was to send a telegram to President Truman on May 30, 1949. Said Frisch: "I beg to extend to you my heartfelt thanks and appreciation for your singular contribution to the establishment of the state of Israel. American Jews and Jews all over the world will never forget the noble part you have played in the great drama of the rebirth of the Jewish state." Sycophancy could hardly go further. For if anything is clear from the past few years of American-Israeli relations, it is that the Truman administration has consistently and blatantly betrayed the struggle for Israeli independence.

Another instance of the Zionist leadership's sycophancy before the cold war administration was the cablegram sent by Daniel Frisch to Israeli Premier David Ben Gurion on December 11, 1949, after the UN vote on Jerusalem was taken. "Heartened by the stand of our American government, which led at Flushing Meadows the opposition to the internationalization of Jerusalem." Yet anyone with the most superficial acquaintance with the problem knows that the United States was from first to last an explicit, unyielding protagonist of internationalization. Why then did Frisch make this preposterous statement? Because, like most of the Zionist leadership, Frisch is an apologist for the Truman administration and the cold war.

The Dulles Incident

Some Zionist leaders have even on occasion given aid to sinister reactionary forces. A recent case was the disgraceful endorsement of John Foster Dulles by many Zionist leaders in the 1949 New York senatorial campaign. Dulles' racist and bigoted statement during this campaign in Geneseo, New York, on October 5, 1949, is well known. In order to counteract the shocked outcry that arose from all decent people at Dulles' open appeal to racism and anti-Semitism, Dulles contrived to get some Jewish "leaders" to repudiate the accusation. The aged Bernard M. Baruch gladly "exonerated" Dulles of the charge of bigotry. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Republican bigwig of the ZOA and its former president, professed to be "amazed" at the charge of bigotry and pointed to Dulles' presumed aid to Israel. Harry Torczyner, president of the Manhattan District of the ZOA, presided at a testimonial luncheon for Dulles at which 200 Zionist "leaders" were present, and confirmed the endorsement. The *Jewish Morning Journal* printed a full page advertisement on November 4 "refuting" the

charge of bigotry. Dulles' picture was flanked by those of Bernard M. Baruch and Rabbi Silver.

The overwhelming anti-Dulles vote in New York showed how little these leaders share the healthy understanding by the rank and file of the menace of Dulles and men like him. But why did not the support of Dulles by the 200 Zionist leaders call forth an immense wave of protest from the rank and file? Because protest is rarely spontaneous; generally it arises from an awakened, alert and progressively *organized* membership. It would be folly to underestimate the magnitude of the problem of providing anything like progressive leadership here. Yet the problem must be tackled in the localities primarily. One important contribution that can be made by the Jewish left is, as in the case of the early stages of the struggle for Israel, to initiate mass actions in defense of Israeli independence, thus forcing the leadership to take action under the penalty of losing leadership and the initiative to the left.

Inner Differences in JWV

Although the Jewish War Veterans is smaller than the ZOA or the B'nai B'rith (it has over 40,000 members) the JWV can be extremely influential. To a far greater extent than in the above organizations, one must be careful to observe that a wide gap exists between the national and local leaderships in many instances, and an even wider gap between the national leadership and the rank and file membership.

On a national scale the JWV is largely under the thumb of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, a coordinating "defense" body, which is dominated by the American Jewish Committee and the ADL. And like other Jewish organizations the JWV has joined the red-baiting pack by excluding communists from membership. Like the Committee and ADL, also, the JWV includes some constructive measures in its program such as resolutions protesting the failure of denazification. Yet on this issue it has not engaged on a national level in much action to implement this position.

Local JWV groups in various parts of the country have engaged in anti-fascist action. Picketing of the concert of nazi pianist Walter Gieseking in New York in 1949 helped insure his being sent back to Germany without performing here. However, the problems of militant anti-fascist action in the JWV were highlighted by the Peekskill riots. As everyone knows, the Peekskill JWV post joined other veterans' organizations in sponsoring and participating in the Peekskill "picketing." It is also known that they were paid for their pains with Jew-baiting and even attacks by some of their non-Jewish fellow-veterans. Popular revulsion against the affairs caused the national JWV to examine the policy questions involved. A JWV national policy committee meeting was held to consider the action. In the meantime, serious inner differences appeared. Arthur J. Aaronson, New York State JWV commander, issued a strong anti-fascist statement. He condemned the Peekskill

Post for its participation and was in turn threatened by them with court martial.

On the other hand, the Virginia Department of the JWV at its annual meeting on September 10, 1949, passed a resolution thoroughly endorsing the action of the Peekskill Post. The *Southern Jewish Outlook* for October 1949 editorialized on the resolution as follows: "But it is hard to read this resolution without astonishment. Is this what the Jewish veterans really meant to say? It is true that the resolution condemns mob violence. But its unmistakable approval of something it calls 'publicly expressed opposition,' places the Virginia JWV in a position, which, considering eye-witness accounts of the riots and weight of respectable opinion in this country, is an embarrassing one for a Jewish organization to be in."

Retreat Is Not Resistance

When the national policy committee of the JWV finally issued its statement on Peekskill, its domination by the hush-hush tacticians in Jewish life became apparent. It is known that this policy was finally reached after consultation with the National Community Relations Advisory Council. A timid, red-baiting, retreating line was laid down for the JWV. All JWV units, said the statement, were directed to apply the "quarantine treatment to public appearances by communists, fascists and all other subversive elements." The directive further prohibited all units "from initiating or participating in any public demonstration which poses a potential consequence of riot or other public disturbance." In other words, avoid resistance, even if made necessary by fascist hooliganism. The JWV was telling its units not to defend freedom of assembly or speech even if fascists threatened the violent abridgment of those rights.

The national leaders apparently construe the best "defense" of the Jewish people as retreat. The *American Jewish Daily* on October 17, 1949, rightly characterized this policy, which "recklessly suggested," says the editorial, "that the Jewish War Veterans take themselves out of community activity." After reminding readers that Jewish veterans and Jewish home owners at Peekskill were attacked, the editorial asks, "Is this the time to impose a quarantine? . . . Peekskill is a challenge to all decent Americans." The national JWV did not meet this challenge: it retreated from it. Do the rank and file of JWV agree that we must retreat before the fascists because the communists, Jews and Negroes are the specific targets of the attack? This is not resistance.

The answer in the JWV, as it is everywhere, is assiduous activity primarily on the lowest levels of the organization. For the rank and file of the Jewish veterans and non-veterans are responsive to a sound presentation of common dangers to the freedom and security of all of us. In the various issues surrounding the maintenance of peace and the prevention of fascism here, proposals for action on issues that are perceived by the rank and file and that trouble them, have a good chance of being accepted, if properly presented and if a basis for support has been won among the rank and file. If this were not so, the future would be dark indeed for Jew and non-Jew. But people will not voluntarily go to their doom, and it is the responsibility of all progressives to present the issues so that the masses are able to understand what is happening and to join in actions to prevent war and fascism.

In the next article in this series, we shall discuss the problems of the anti-fascist struggle as they relate to the Jewish elements in the trade union movement, in the left and in the pseudo-left organizations of the Jewish people.

(To be continued.)

MURDER IN TENNESSEE, 1868

By Morris U. Schappes

THE town of Franklin is the seat of Williamson County in Central Tennessee. At about midnight on Saturday, August 15, 1868, a masked mob of some 25 to 30 Ku Klux Klansmen tore into the center of town just as the audience at Robinson's Circus was leaving the grounds, drove the people in terror into their homes, and proceeded to do their bloody business. S. A. Bierfield, a Russian Jew, was murdered outright. His Negro clerk, Lawrence Bowman, was shot and died the following morning. Another Negro who was with these two, Henry Morton, escaped from the lynchers and lived to give his eye-witness evidence to an official investigation made by the Tennessee Legislature.

The *New York Times* reported the outrage on its front page on August 19, 1868, and the *New York Daily Tribune*, Greeley's militant republican paper, carried ampler ac-

counts both that day and the next. But the two New York weeklies, *The Jewish Messenger* and *The Hebrew Leader*, whose sympathies and connections were with the Democratic Party, ignored the incident, although it was their practice to play up, or at least to report, many a lesser attack against a Jew. In Philadelphia the *Telegraph* published a dispatch on the lynching from Nashville, but *The Occident*, a Jewish monthly which had been "neutral" in the Civil War, was indifferent to the event. Only in Cincinnati did a Jewish periodical, *The Israelite*, Democratic in its politics but too close to the western site of the crime to neglect it, report "the fiendish outrage" in its issue of August 28, 1868—and then forgot about it.

Why Bierfield was sought out and murdered will become clear as we examine the evidence, but the lynching of Bier-

field and Bowman was by no means an isolated incident at the time. For Tennessee was in a turmoil, with the Ku Klux Klan, organized just two years before in Tennessee itself and spreading from there to other states, riding high, wild, and masked throughout the state. *The Memphis Post* summarized the situation thus, late in August: "Democrats have now in the South two organizations, the one open [the Democratic Party] the other secret [the K.K.K.]. . . . Within a short time these masked Democrats in the State of Tennessee have beaten many whites and hundreds of black men. . . ." In Overton County, the Klan murdered Mr. Francis and whipped Mr. Winton "almost to death." In Lawrenceburg, "they threatened death to those who dared to carry a Union flag." In Madison County, the "masked Democrats" desecrated even the dead, and "strewed briars over the graves of Union soldiers." At Franklin, Bierfield and Bowman were lynched. In Memphis and Brownsville, Confederate General Nathaniel B. Forrest, Klan leader, was cheered when he "threatened to kill all white Radicals." The "masked Democrats" have "driven hundreds of industrious colored men out of Maury, Giles and adjacent counties; and they have a reign of terror in Obion, Weakly, Lincoln and other counties."

Such was Tennessee in the summer of 1868. Even the *New York Times* on August 19 called editorially on Republican Governor William G. Brownlow to use the State Militia to enforce law and order or else the Klan would throw the state into civil war.

Rising Klan Terror

Why was the wave of Klan force and violence rising? This was a presidential election year, the first after the Civil War, with Grant carrying the banner for the Republicans. As a Border State, it had not been easy for the plantation owners to take Tennessee out of the Union into the Confederacy. Tennessee was the *last* state to secede, and although the legislature's action was unanimous, the popular vote showed 104,019 in favor of and 47,238 against secession. Of course the Negroes had not voted. But when the Union forces occupied Tennessee, the Negroes in 1863 expressed themselves politically in a different way: six regular Negro regiments and two garrison and hospital regiments were recruited for the Union Army. And after the war, Negroes continued to serve extensively in the militia.

By February, 1867, the pressure of the Negro people became so strong that the Radical Reconstruction legislature, by a none-too-great majority, enacted a law declaring the Negroes had the right to vote. In March, the State Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of that law. In the 1867 elections for governor, with the Negroes voting for the first time, Brownlow defeated his former slave-owner opponent by the overwhelming vote of 74,000 to 22,000. Now, with the crucial presidential elections approaching, the unreconstructed Confederates unleashed the Klan terror "to prevent the Negro from voting at all."¹ In this attempt the Klan was only partially successful, although it did cut the Republican vote by almost 20,000, "due in large measure

to the fact," Dr. Patton writes without disapproval, "that great numbers of Negroes remained away from the polls."

The Radical Republican

But who was Bierfield, and why was it necessary to kill him as part of this campaign to terrorize, disfranchise, and repress the Negro population of Franklin, Tenn.? The facts are pitifully few, but essentially revealing.

S. A. Bierfield was a Russian Jew. His mother was probably not in Franklin with him, for Bierfield, as he was being shot, asked the lynchers, since it was not robbery that was their purpose, to be sure to *send* his money to her. Who she was, where she lived, and whether she received her son's bequest are not known.

When Bierfield came to Tennessee is not known. But he had not been in Franklin very long, for the *Nashville Daily Press and Times* reported that Bierfield had "some months since" been driven out of Pulaski, Tenn., "by the same sort of fellows" as later lynched him. Pulaski is 50 miles south of Franklin. Pulaski is also the town where, in May, 1866, the Ku Klux Klan had been organized!

The Nashville correspondent of the *Philadelphia Telegraph* (Nashville is 20 miles from Franklin), said of Bierfield that he was a young man who kept a store, and that "although an earnest Union man he was an inoffensive gentleman." From the Nashville correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, however, we get the opinion that Bierfield "was extremely radical in his political views, and very bold in expressing them. He kept a small dry-goods and clothing store, and it is said that his customers were almost exclusively" Negroes. But in a letter to *The Israelite*, a "gentleman from Franklin," perhaps a Jew, declared that "Mr. Bierfield was an active and prominent Republican, having considerable influence with the colored people." The Official Report, made after an on-the-spot investigation and public hearing by Capt. George E. Judd, sub-commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau in Pulaski, concluded that "there was abundance of proof that Mr. Bierfield was an uncommon good business man, that he attended strictly to it, and was establishing an unprecedented trade."

Of course there was no contradiction between Bierfield's radicalism, expressing itself in a democratic attitude to the rights of the Negro people, and his apparent economic prosperity. Why should not Negroes prefer to buy their goods, at the same if not lower prices, from a Radical Republican, one whose store-clerk was a Negro, and whose personal attitude was markedly different from that of merchants trained in Southern reactionary ways of contempt for the Negro? Even today, a Southern conservative historian like Professor E. Merton Coulter cannot hide his disgust with Jews who went South after the Civil War and, "sticking to their business and treating the freed man as an important businessman, not eschewing to call him 'Mister,' they secured . . . a great amount of the Negro's trade."² What

¹ James Welch Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee, 1860-1869*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1934, p. 142.

² *The South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877*, La. State U., 1947, p. 202.

would Prof. Coulter think if he knew that the Jew, Bierfield, ate watermelon with Negroes?

Those who tried to justify the murder of Bierfield invented a variety of lies about him that were disproved by the official investigation. A few weeks earlier, for instance, a Klan mob had dragged a Negro from the Franklin jail and hanged him for the alleged "rape" of a white girl. But the Negroes in Franklin were armed; two days later they waylaid some members of the mob and killed the brother of the girl. The rumor was spread that Bierfield had supplied ammunition to the Negroes and encouraged them. But testimony during the investigation revealed that what had been reported as a wagon-load of arms seen going to Franklin was actually a load of furniture. And a letter presumably connecting Bierfield with the affair was proved to have been forged.

What, then, are the facts of the lynching itself? Since the newspaper accounts contain minor errors of fact, it is best to rely on the report of the official investigation. This investigation was one of many undertaken in order to ascertain whether Governor Browlow's request that a special militia be organized to cope with the Klan terror should be granted. All the reported depredations were studied by a Joint Military Committee of both Houses of the Tennessee Legislature, which presented its Report No. 15 on September 2, 1868. A week later, the Militia Bill passed.

Murder of Jew and Negro

According to this report,³ Bierfield was in his store, with his clerk, Lawrence Bowman and another Negro, Henry Morton. It was nearly midnight, and they may have just returned from Robinson's Circus, the big event of that Saturday evening. "They had just begun to eat a watermelon when some one rapped at the back door. Bierfield asked who was there? They answered, friends, and told him to open the door. He told them if they were friends to go to the front door. They answered, open this door, or we will break it down. Bierfield said you had better not, you might get a ball through you. Upon this, the door was broken down, and five men, masked, rushed in. Bierfield ran to the front door and threw it open, but found a crowd of men there ready to receive him."

Thereafter, the end came quickly, although not without a struggle on Bierfield's part. The report continues: Bierfield "cried out, 'I surrender,' but immediately ran past them and went into a stable close by, pursued by his captors, who caught him and dragged him out. During this time, two of the assailants had taken the two Negroes,⁴ who were with Bierfield, in charge, threatening to kill them if they made any disturbance. Morton made his escape through a house near by." The clerk, Bowman, told the doctor as he



was dying that he had been shot in the street; "it was purposely done."

As for Bierfield, "he was dragged about the streets, screaming and begging that his life might be spared, if not for his sake, for his mother's. The heartless villains would not listen to him; but after they had tortured him to their satisfaction, killed him by shooting four balls through him, any one of which would have killed him; the pistols were held so close as to burn his clothes and skin. His body was left lying in the street, at the corner of Indigo and Main streets."

Captain Judd, the investigator, was critical of the local civil authorities for their failure to question Bowman before he died as to the identity of some of the lynchers, and also for their inactivity in ferreting out the criminals.

Bierfield's body was taken to Nashville, and there buried probably in the Jewish cemetery. Where Bowman is buried is not known.

Even the new militia, however, was not sufficient to cope with the Klan, and Federal troops had to be called in to assist. But in 1877, when the northern industrial capitalists decided that democracy in the South under reconstruction was going too far and might become a threat to their own rule, they formed a coalition with the remnants of the old Southern ruling class and turned against both the Negro and the poor white. The heirs to the Klan lynchers of Jew and Negro in 1868 now run the state, and enforce Jimcrow and poverty against the mass of the population.

It will be the working-class progressive and Negro national liberation movements that will jointly have to free Tennessee and the whole South, and the whole country, from such oppression. Within this coalition, the united action of Jews and Negroes is necessary and can be powerful. This unity has not only a future but also a history. In it, the dim figure of a young Jew who found his way from Russia to Tennessee, and became so conspicuous a radical Republican as to be driven from Pulaski, the birthplace of the Klan, to Franklin, to be murdered by the Klan, deserves not to be forgotten. The double-lynching of Bierfield and Bowman can be a torch on the path to unity of the Jewish and Negro peoples.

³ Senate Journal of the Extra Session of the 35th General Assembly of the State of Tennessee . . . Nashville, 1868, pp. 158-160, "The Outrage in Franklin—Official Report of the Testimony."

⁴ The small "n" used in the report, and common at that time, has been changed to the capital "N" in accordance with proper and respectful modern practice.

VATICAN OVER LABOR

By George Morris

THE exhibition of hysterical intolerance at the 1949 CIO convention in Cleveland was more than a red-baiting spree. It brought forth inevitable consequences that left a mixed feeling in Jewish or Negro delegates even in the right wing camp.

Most people know the Cleveland convention only for its moves to expel the left unions. But few are aware that the convention also advanced the forces of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to a new position of power and influence in the American trade unions. The results of that convention were immediately registered in the role of the American delegates at the London conference which launched the misnamed International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in December 1949.

Intolerance inspired by the Vatican's forces carries more than the usual danger. The pattern is quite familiar from the experience in the past decade in Spain, Portugal, Vichy France and Austria and Slovakia when they were under clerical fascism.

The key to that pattern is the concept that the Roman Catholic Church must have religious supremacy and "is the only true church," and that its hierarchy has a right to interfere in the affairs of trade unions as their "spiritual and moral" guide. That is the essence of the theory as outlined in the Papal encyclicals on labor, notably those of Leo XIII (1891) and Pius XI (1931). It is on the basis of the latter encyclical that such organizations as the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists (ACTU) have been launched. And it is on the basis of that very encyclical that the door was opened to a temporary united front with the traditionally hated socialists—but only with the right wing elements among them—for the fight against communism.

The pressure of the Vatican's forces has been felt for some time, especially in the CIO. It may appear a small matter, but is nevertheless indicative of the line followed, that the actual keynoter at CIO conventions with a full fledged political speech, especially on foreign policy, is the Catholic archbishop of the host city. This clerical interference had gone as far as the 1948 Portland convention as a formal introduction by the Portland archbishop of the ACTU's seven-point program as the "admirable" program for labor. Murray replied to him that "this is the program of the CIO."

The operation of a "Catholic" caucus in unions and in their election campaigns has naturally led to sowing dividing lines in unions on religious and racial grounds. It is becoming increasingly apparent that the so-called "spiritual and moral" guidance is essentially an effort to exploit the

GEORGE MORRIS is labor editor of the *Daily Worker*.

Catholic Church as a disciplinary weapon for a reactionary political objective. This is not a religious question but one that is entirely in the realm of political struggle. The Vatican simply seeks to mobilize the Catholic workers against their own interests and against the very forces in the labor movement who best express the welfare of the workers of Catholic as of all other faiths.

Divisive Influence

The complete removal of left leadership from the CIO saw the friends of the Vatican strongly entrenched with only the rabid right wing "socialist" elements to share in the partnership. As a by-product a stifling atmosphere has already developed in which anti-Semitism and Jimcrow thrive. Symbolic of the situation is the wind-up speech of George Baldanzi, one of the top right wing leaders and executive vice-president of the textile union, who said that he looks forward to a world in which "we can live in peace and happiness as Christian people in this Christian world were intended to live."

The same spirit was revealed when Baldanzi, Murray and other top leaders burst out with pathological passion against two Negro delegates who cited evidence of discrimination in the CIO.

Both CIO and AFL leaders play a very demagogic role on the "Jewish question." They go out of their way to appear in public as the epitome of tolerance towards Jews. A resolution against anti-Semitism or goodwill towards Israel is usually passed at conventions. But how much good is all that, if the atmosphere in which anti-Semitism thrives is whipped up to a frenzy?

At the 1948 Portland convention of the CIO, when one of the delegates of the Fur and Leather Workers spoke, a right winger was heard to remark "Why doesn't the dirty Jew sit down?" It was the Catholic president of the United Electrical workers, Albert J. Fitzgerald, who heard the remark and condemned it on that convention floor.

But most manifestations do not yet show themselves as brazenly. As one Jewish delegate (a right winger, too) told me during the Cleveland convention, "You can feel the anti-Semitism around you." The capitulation to Jimcrow is more open with some CIO affiliates whose convention calls carry notations that colored delegates should register with so-and-so for hotel accommodations.

Second class citizenship is inevitable for minority groups in a union when dictatorship and intolerance are the rule—especially a dictatorship inspired by a force that takes on the covering of a church. The inevitable tendency is to

build power on the basis of co-religionists and political associates. The resolutions on discrimination against minorities, their exclusion from certain industries and other forms of discrimination, just remain in the files.

An illustration of how this works is the elevation of Joseph Beirne of the American Communication Workers to the vice-presidency left vacant with the expulsion of Fitzgerald and the UE. Beirne was in the CIO only six months after a company union career of some 15 years under cover of "independence" for the Bell Telephone system. He hardly qualified for so high a post either on the basis of trust, seniority or elementary ability, not to mention the spirit of the CIO's own constitution.

But long before the convention he was boomed for the post. At the convention Murray and the others extolled Beirne to the skies and the entrance of his union into the CIO was viewed as the greatest event in years. The telephone union overnight became one of the main props of the CIO hierarchy. The union and its company-union leaders have throughout their history been under "moral and spiritual" guidance of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the ACTU or Jesuit schools. And it is under that "spiritual and moral" guidance that the organization never lifted a finger in opposition to the notorious policy of the telephone companies against hiring Jews or Negroes. The same can be said of the Utility Workers, which is based largely on the clerical-influenced former company union in Consolidated Edison in New York.

"Tablet" Approves

What role do our Jewish leaders of labor play in this picture, especially those of them who nurse a "socialist" reputation and hobnob with the upper crust of the labor bureaucracy? What part do men like David Dubinsky and Jacob Potofsky play?

The Brooklyn *Tablet* (Dec. 17, 1949), notorious organ of the "Father Coughlin of the East," Father Edward Lodge Curran, provides the latest and clearest example. Dubinsky, along with Walter Reuther, are singled out for extraordinary commendation for their part in launching the International Conference of Free Trade Unions at the London conference on a "Christian" basis, rather than the "socialist atheism" sponsored by the British and most European unions.

The key issue, in the estimation of the *Tablet*, was whether the usual socialist influence of Europe would prevail over the newly formed right wing-dominated organization and whether the clerical-dominated Catholic unions of Europe would be invited to be part of it.

Enmity towards clerical intrusion in union affairs is so traditional in Europe's unions that even the Marshallized right wing socialist leaders were not able to swallow the proposal of the American delegates that the Vatican-controlled outfits be invited to participate. The Europeans know well that this is equivalent to inviting the Vatican to take an official and inevitably a dominant hand in the newly-formed outfit. Even the so-called "compromise" pro-

posal on the invitation did not satisfy the European socialists and they cast their votes against it.

Estimating the significance of this, the *Tablet* writes that "two elements" stand out:

"First is that American labor has succeeded in obtaining a position of supremacy in the new organization. Second is that it seems to have used this strong position to favor the Christian rather than socialist trade unions.

"Both these facts will prove of decisive influence for the future policy of the newly created anti-communist labor front."

The *Tablet* then describes how the initial leadership of the ICFTU was in the hands of British laborites, "who had ample reason to believe that they would succeed in becoming the principal 'experts' in the organization with American blessings." But, adds the *Tablet*, these "experts" overlooked "dynamic leaders such as Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky." Once the main segments of American labor united on international relations, observes the *Tablet*, they showed a "power that has no match in the world" and "they indeed made this power felt in the London meeting."

Both Dubinsky and Reuther boasted in Europe of their major part in the maneuvers in London. And with good reason. It took the hand of men, preferably not Catholic, with a "socialist" reputation in Europe, to cram American supremacy, Marshall Plan style, into the socialists abroad.

The *Tablet* discovers that, in addition to the clerical unions, the American labor movement is the best world base for Christian unionism because, while some unions in America open conventions or even meetings with an invocation, "most socialist unions in Europe consider atheism as an equally important part of their program."

Dubinsky's role in London casts more light on last year's audience that the Pope gave to him and Jay Lovestone, the renegade from communism. Lovestone was also a delegate in London as executive head of the AFL's International Affairs Committee. Dubinsky's London performance also indicates why so much of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union's "Little Marshall Plan" money went to finance the Catholic split-off from the Italian Confederation of Labor. The alliance of men like Dubinsky and Lovestone with the Vatican flows inevitably from their anti-Soviet program.

Uneasy Jewish Labor Leaders

The latest phase of that program was apparently not much to the taste of the people in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Their official organ, the *Advance*, had no notice of it until long after the London conference. They had no delegate. This contrasted sharply with the other international conferences, in which the late Sidney Hillman took a prominent part and out of which emerged the World Federation of Trade Unions. The international of which Hillman was one of the founders is the international of world-wide working class unity.

The role of ICFTU as a labor face for the Wall Street-

Vatican united front is apparently too much even for right wingers Jacob Potofsky and his associates. This appears to be a continuation of the disturbed feeling they showed at the Cleveland CIO convention and a coolness to its hysterical red-baiting ovations. These people are suspended between basic support to a policy and reluctance to swallow the poison that goes with it. They have not even got up courage to give some expression of official union policy to ACW members.

The above example of leaders of the ILGWU and ACW—the two unions with the largest segments and longest organized Jewish workers in America—makes a sorry picture these days. It is especially sorry because Jewish workers and their leaders have played a great role in America's labor history. So significant was their role since early days, that it was not regarded as awkward that Samuel Gompers, the founder of the AFL and its president for some 40 years, was a Jew. This important role of the Jewish workers, and the earlier progressive role of such unions as the ILGWU and ACW, helped greatly to hold the trade union movement to a non-sectarian line and spirit. But today, on the initiative of men like Dubinsky, we see some Jewish union leaders making both their birthright and "socialist" background useful to those who would impose clerical domination over unions.

The dangerous trends described above do not affect only the Jewish trade unionists. They reflect the general influence of the cold war upon labor and the policies of those who champion it in labor's ranks.

Red-baiting, division, intolerance and dictatorial control are the result of the cold war, which sets an attractive price for renegacy and intimidates others to impotency. But those, who consistently struggle both against the dangerous source of the policy and its effects, really defend the rights of religious, racial and national minorities in these times. Jewish trade unionists must recognize that in tolerating the reactionary policy of a leader like Dubinsky, they are helping

to bring forth the snakes of intolerance against themselves as Jews and as workers.

Baited Boomerang

Ironically, Dubinsky and the leaders of the United Hebrew Trades have discovered that fact for themselves. And it came with poetic justice just when Dubinsky was at the height of his glory in the service of his Vatican friends in London. In New York, the leaders of the Central Trade and Labor Council forced Joe Tuvim, representative of the ILGWU on its executive board, to resign because his organization endorsed Newbold Morris and not William O'Dwyer, for the mayoralty race. Similar action was taken against the representative of the Hebrew Trades.

That two Jewish representatives were involved may be only accidental. But it is extremely doubtful if the Central Trades hierarchy would have tried such a move against a union of Irish-American leaders. Once political intolerance is the rule, there are no limits even when such powerfully led and "respected" minorities as David Dubinsky's are in the way.

Dubinsky was very much upset. From London he issued some very militant words on the Tuvim affair. He spoke almost the way left wingers speak of the CIO's requirement of political conformance. But the fact that he and his group, the arch red-baiters of America, suffered a similar treatment, shows what a Frankenstein intolerance in the labor movement can become.

In the light of such evidence a Jewish unionist, to be true to himself as both Jew and worker, cannot possibly have common cause with those who are turning unions into dictatorships and cold war instruments. In common with all progressives in the unions and other victimized minorities like the Negro people, Jewish workers have an interest in the fight for genuine democratic, independent unionism.

ALFRED KOHLBERG, FRIEND OF FASCISM

On the extreme right of Jewish life in this country is a certain Alfred Kohlberg, chairman of the notorious American Jewish League Against Communism. League hatchetman is "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, its executive secretary. When the American Civil Liberties Union issued its report on the Peekskill riots in December, in which anti-Semitism was considered a main cause for the outrages, the League issue a statement calling the report "harmful and confusing."

Some revealing facts about Alfred Kohlberg were disclosed by Malcolm Hobbs in the *Nation* for December 24, 1949. Mr. Hobbs reminds us that Kohlberg was the publisher of Isaac Don Levine's rabid anti-communist *Plain Talk*. And now it appears that Kohlberg is the sparkplug of the American China Policy Association, pro-Chiang propagandist group, which numbers among its members and close col-

laborators Clare Boothe Luce, Rep. Walter Judd, William C. Bullitt, Henry Luce and General Claire Chennault. Kohlberg's concern for China is not disinterested: he gets his income from a \$1,500,000 business in Chinese textiles.

Kohlberg's China Policy Association has exerted considerable influence in getting Congressional aid to the Chinese Nationalists, although Kohlberg is not registered as a foreign agent.

Kohlberg also works closely with William J. Goodwin, who is registered with the Justice Department as a paid agent of the Chinese Nationalist government and was an active Christian Front leader. Kohlberg helps distribute Goodwin's literature in Congress.

The services of Kohlberg and his "Jewish" League to the Jewish people and democracy emerge clearly enough from these facts.

STEPNEY LEARNS TO FIGHT

II: MASSES AGAINST MOSLEY

By Phil Piratin, M.P.

FROM the very first expansion of Stepney's population the housing and the surroundings were completely unplanned, and were of the poorest type and quality. The houses were crammed into the streets, and the people into the houses. By 1870 there were 275,000 people in a borough of two and a half square miles, and by 1900 there were 300,000. The population was very mixed; not only was there the usual population to be found in ports and dock areas, but many foreigners coming into this country settled in Stepney. They included Germans and French. The French Huguenots, persecuted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fled to England and a large community settled in Stepney. One of the largest of Stepney's synagogues was formerly the site of the Spitalfields Huguenot Church. The Spitalfields silk-weaving trade was developed by the French.

Towards the end of the last century, and until the outbreak of the First World War, large numbers of Jews, escaping from tsarist tyranny and from the reactionary rule in other countries such as Austria, Hungary, and Rumania, came to England and many of them settled in Stepney. By this time, however, the population began to move further afield, particularly into Essex, and others to North London. Yet the housing situation did not improve, for while the people moved out, industry and trade moved in. This was particularly so on the western side of the borough near the city.

At the turn of the century the population began to decline fairly rapidly at the rate of about 2,500 a year, so that in the thirties the population was reckoned at about 200,000. Understandably, many of those who left the borough were the younger and less conservative-minded people. In the thirties in particular there was a double attraction to leave Stepney Borough—better housing and more opportunities for work.

New industries were opening up in other parts of London, better equipped and in many cases more amenable. At the same time, industry began to leave Stepney. This was particularly so in the case of clothing and furniture, which were becoming more rationalized. In 1934 every industry in Stepney, even the breweries, was suffering from the crisis. There were over 11,000 unemployed. There was widespread discontent and bitterness.

So when I joined the [Communist] Party there were

PHIL PIRATIN has been the Communist M.P. from Stepney in London's East End since the 1945 general elections. This is the second installment of excerpts from his book, published last year in London under the title, *The Flag Stays Red*.

plenty of "mass issues" of which each party member could tell his own tale. Outstanding were the demands for work or adequate unemployment benefit, and for homes. The unemployed were active, led by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, which looked after the individual unemployed at the same time as they fought for improved conditions collectively. At work problems were arising in which communists were playing an active part and strengthening trade-union organization. Particularly was this so in the clothing industry. But the communists were not giving an adequate lead to the people of Stepney in obtaining better homes, schools, playgrounds, health facilities, etc. . . .

The Stepney Communist Party was enthusiastic and hard-working on issues that were clear, such as anti-fascism and unemployment. Complex issues, or those calling for balanced presentation, were often oversimplified, and sometimes avoided. Activity was undertaken almost solely by directive of higher organizations of the party, rarely from local initiative, and hardly ever as arising from the needs of the people. The Stepney party did not yet have its roots in the people. It had not yet "won its spurs"—in the coming years it was to do so.

THE FASCIST MOVEMENT, LED BY MOSLEY, HAD BEEN GROWING since 1932, during a period of severe crisis and unemployment, supported by many of the capitalists in their fear of the advance of the working class. The British Union of Fascists had been able to hold meetings and carry on their propaganda in all parts of the country. Everywhere, led by the Communist Party, the working class opposed the fascists. The authorities gave full support to the fascists, and were blatantly partial in every respect. Mosley himself was in contact both with Mussolini and with Hitler, and was receiving funds at least from the former.

About this time a change began to take place in the activity and propaganda of the B.U.F. More emphasis was laid on the anti-Jewish character of their propaganda, and activity was concentrated in areas where Jewish people lived. Until this period—1935—the fascists did not particularly emphasize the anti-Semitic part of the propaganda. . . .

Thus began the violent anti-Semitic campaign, modeled on the Nazi technique, and most notably felt in areas of London and the larger provincial towns where Jewish people congregated. East London was the center of Mosley's activity. Branches were opened up at Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, Hackney and elsewhere. Full-time organizers,



Communist anti-fascist demonstration through the East End of London in 1936.

well-provided premises, all these were paid for. The appeal was made to the worst elements, and the basest sentiments. Jews were "taking away your jobs." Because of the Jews "you had no home." The Jews were the bosses and the landlords. The capitalist Jew exploited you—the Communist Jew was out to take away your liberties, your freedom and your private property! It didn't make sense, but put over with flourish and showmanship, it was propaganda calculated to gull the more backward sections of the community. The B.U.F. won recruits, particularly from the younger elements in Shoreditch, Bethnal Green and Stepney. Jews were attacked every time when they were outnumbered or in no position to defend themselves, such as elderly people or children. Strife and tension characterized the atmosphere in East London in those years.

What to do about this menace? The Conservative, Liberal, and Labor Parties "deplored," but said that the authorities should be able to deal with any actions which transgressed the law (at least in those days they "deplore"—today they no longer even "deplore"): but the authorities, namely the police, did not deal with the fascists. On the contrary, they were deployed by the score and the hundred to protect them from the growing opposition of both Jew and Gentile alike. As this opposition developed, the Labor Party shrieked to their members, directly and through the *Daily Herald*, to keep away and not be misled by the communists. That is exactly how the Labor Party's prototype, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, behaved before Hitler came to power. Many Labor members and supporters did not heed this advice.

Only the Communist Party stood out as the forthright opponent of fascism, and of the National Government which supported and protected it. No one in East London

and particularly Stepney, in those days, was unaware of this fact. A number of Labor members acknowledged this leadership of the Communist Party and regretted the weakness of their own leadership. Such "premature" anti-fascists were condemned, and in some cases expelled, by the Labor Party.

While the communists were clear-cut in their opposition to fascism, the problem of how to present this opposition became more and more vexed. To expose the fascists, to rouse the workers to refuse to give them a hearing: to carry out our own propaganda, to expose the National Government as the main enemy of the people which was deliberately inflicting the fascists upon them—these activities built up the anti-fascist movement. But were they enough?

I remember well the constant discussions in the Stepney branch committee of the Communist Party. There were those who said: "Bash the fascists whenever you see them." Others among us asked ourselves: how was Mosley able to recruit Stepney workers? This, in spite of our propaganda exposing the fascists. If they saw in the fascists the answer to their problems, why? What were the problems? Did we, in our propaganda, offer a solution? Was propaganda itself sufficient? Was there more that ought to be done?

ONE EVENING MOSLEY HELD A MEETING AT SALMON LANE, Limehouse, Stepney. In order to settle this problem in my own mind I went along to this meeting, made myself inconspicuous, and watched to see the support which Mosley had. When the meeting ended, there was to be a march to Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, another of Mosley's

strongholds. I was curious to see who and what kind of people would march. The fascist band moved off, and behind them about 50 thugs in blackshirt uniform. Then came the people. About 1,500 men, women (some with babies in arms) and youngsters marched behind Mosley's banner. I knew some of these people, some of the men wore trade union badges. This had a terrific effect on my attitude to the problem, and I went back to the Stepney branch committee determined to fight this. The case which a minority of us put up in Stepney was that, while we would fight Mosley's thugs, where did you get by fighting the people? We should ask ourselves: "Why are these ordinary working class folk (it was too easy to call them *lumpen*) supporting Mosley?" Obviously because Mosley's appeal struck a chord. There were certain latent anti-Semitic prejudices, it is true, but above all, these people, like most in East London, were living miserable, squalid lives. Their homes were slums, many were unemployed. Those at work were often in low paid jobs. Therefore we urged that the Communist Party should help the people to improve their conditions of life, in the course of which we could show them who was really responsible for their conditions, and get them organized to fight against their real exploiters. This conception was not accepted by the majority of the branch committee in Stepney and it had to be fought for for months. Branch meetings were verbal battlefields but we won in the end. And because we won, this book can be written.

The epic of this fight was October 4, 1936. The fascists were claiming membership running into thousands in each of the London boroughs. As many as 4,000 were claimed in Shoreditch alone. Earlier in the year the fascists had held a march through the northern part of East London. Now they announced their intention of marching from Royal Mint Street (near the Tower Bridge, the most western part of Stepney), along to Aldgate, down Commercial Road, to Salmon Lane, Limehouse, where a meeting was to be held, and then on to Victoria Park Square, Bethnal Green, where there was to be another meeting. When the date of the fascist march was announced the London District Committee of the Communist Party gave immediate consideration to the development of anti-fascist action.

Meanwhile, however, the propaganda against the fascists had "caught on" in East London. So fierce was this that a deputation of the five East London mayors went to see the Home Secretary, Sir John Simon (now Lord Simon), to ask him to ban the march. He refused. The "Jewish People's Council against Fascism and anti-Semitism," which had been carrying on a vigorous campaign against fascism and anti-Semitism, in contrast to the passive, supine attitude of the Jewish Board of Deputies (the accredited authority for the Jewish community in the country), now organized an East-London-wide petition. A hundred thousand signatures were obtained in the course of a few days, calling on the home secretary to forbid this demonstration. He refused. East London was in a ferment. The Stepney communists sensed this. At a joint meeting with

officials of the London District Committee it was decided to devote the full resources of all communist organizations to the anti-fascist action against Mosley. Once this decision was reached, the most powerful campaign of propaganda and preparation took place, unequalled in any other action of recent working class history with the exception of the 1926 General Strike.

Scores of meetings were held in all parts of London, but particularly East London, in the days before that memorable Sunday. Thousands of posters, hundreds of thousands of leaflets, and hundreds of gallons of whitewash were employed in advertising the counter-demonstration. Approaches were made to trades councils, trade unions, and Labor Parties to participate. Many did, in spite of the counter-propaganda put over by almost every other section of the movement. The Labor Party, The *Daily Herald*, the *News Chronicle*, the Jewish Board of Deputies, all appealed to the people to stay away. Everything was done to damp down the working class anger. Communists were condemned as 'trouble-makers,' but in spite of all this slanderous misrepresentation the appeal of the Communist Party was responded to by thousands of Labor Party members and supporters. On that occasion the leadership of the Communist Party was undisputed.

The days preceding October 4 were used by the fascists to work up a terrorist atmosphere in East London. . . .

In view of the attitude of the home secretary and of the police, we estimated that the main efforts would be to carry out the route as advertised. We therefore made the main call to rally to Gardner's Corner, Aldgate. We reckoned that if the fascists should attempt to pass through Cable Street, we could handle them in a different way. We would build barricades. For the Cable Street defense we called particularly on the local dockers and other inhabitants; they rallied to a man.

It was necessary to ensure strict discipline, as we knew of the existence of many *agents-provocateurs*, and we also anticipated that all kinds of bluffs would be pulled. There was constant communication between responsible communists "at the front" and headquarters. Motor-cyclists and cyclists were organized, and were indispensable in insuring contact. First-aid depots in the care of anti-fascist doctors and nurses were opened up in a number of shops and houses near the scenes of battle. Meanwhile, we had taken steps to insure that, should, by any chance, the fascists get through, they would not be able to hold their meetings. We had comrades standing by their platforms at Salmon Lane, Limehouse, and at Victoria Park Square, from seven in the morning.

We also insured that should the fascists make some detour through the City and north through Shoreditch and Bethnal Green, we would be informed of any such move. We therefore organized a number of suitable persons to act as observers, who were constantly on the telephone to headquarters, informing us about fascist movements. Over a hundred phone calls came through in two hours from these "observers."

ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 4 THERE WAS A FEELING OF impending battle. Loudspeaker vans, organized by the Communist Party and the Jewish ex-servicemen's movement, were touring all the morning. The Young Communist League band, led by Harry Gross (later killed in Spain), marched round the streets with slogan-banners. The mood of the police was already to be seen early in the day. The Jewish ex-Servicemen's Association, composed solely of members of the British Legion, had organized a morning march around Stepney to advertise the counter-demonstration. They wore their medals and decorations. Led by the British Legion standard, they conducted their march in excellent discipline, and were very well received. At about half-past eleven they were about to pass westwards along the Whitechapel Road crossing New Road. The police had put a cordon across this and refused to let them march. New Road is about half a mile from Gardner's Corner, therefore it was evident that the police intention was to interfere with this peaceful demonstration by the ex-servicemen. A fight took place with the police for the right of the ex-servicemen to march in their own borough. Mounted police attacked. The British Legion standard was fought for; eventually the police captured it, and in front of the eyes of these ex-servicemen, tore the British Legion Union Jack to shreds and smashed the pole to pieces. The police had begun to "maintain law and order."

From an early hour people began to gather at Aldgate with the police shoving them around. Then the police really moved in. Six thousand foot police and the whole of the mounted division were on duty, posted between Tower Hill and Whitechapel. Sir Philip Game, the commissioner of police, had his headquarters in a side street off Tower Hill. Police wireless vans moved around, reporting frequently. A police "observation" airplane flew low overhead. Every chief police officer in the metropolis was on duty. Special constables had been drafted in to replace the "regulars" withdrawn from other parts of London.

After the police came the fascists. They came in coaches from all parts of London and the country. Here and there were scuffles, coach windows were smashed and some early casualties taken away. The fascists were due to march at 2 P.M. The police, aiming to keep Leman Street clear, tried to hew a path through the crowd, estimated at at least 50,000, that blocked the whole of Gardner's Corner. At the junction of Commercial Road and Leman Street a tram had been left standing by its anti-fascist driver. Before very long this was joined by others. Powerless before such an effective road-block, the police turned their attention elsewhere. Time and again they charged the crowd; the windows of neighboring shops went in as people were pushed through them. But the police could make no impression on this immense human barricade.

IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE FASCISTS AND THE POLICE WOULD now turn their attention to Cable Street. We were ready. The moment this became apparent, the signal was given to put up the barricades. We had prepared three spots.



Barricades prevent passage of Mosley marchers.

The first was near a yard where there were all kinds of timber and others oddments, and also an old lorry. An arrangement had been made with the owner that this old lorry could be used as a barricade. . . . Supplemented by bits of old furniture, mattresses, and every kind of thing you expect to find in box-rooms, the barricade was one which the police did not find it easy to penetrate. As they charged they were met with milk bottles, stones and marbles. Some of the housewives began to drop milk bottles from the roof tops. A number of police surrendered. This had never happened before, so the lads didn't know what to do, but they took away their batons, and one took a helmet for his son as a souvenir.

Cable Street was a great scene. I have referred to "the lads." Never was there such unity of all sections of the working class as was seen on the barricades at Cable Street. People whose lives were poles apart, though living within a few hundred yards of each other; bearded Orthodox Jews and rough-and-ready Irish Catholic dockers—these were the workers that the fascists were trying to stir up against each other. The struggle, led by the Communist Party, against the fascists had brought them together against their common enemies and their lackeys.

Meanwhile, charges and counter-charges were taking place along "the front" from Tower Hill to Gardner's Corner. Many arrests were made, many were injured. It was the police, however, who were carrying on the battle, while the fascists lurked in the background, protected by a "fence" of police. Mosley was late. As soon as he arrived in a car, a brick went clean through the window.

It was later rumored that Sir Philip Game had been on the telephone to the home secretary and had pleaded with Sir John Simon to forbid the march. Sir John was adamant. Sir Philip Game, however, made up his own mind. He forbade the march and told Mosley to argue it out with Sir John Simon. The fascists lined up, saluted their leader and marched through the deserted City to the Embankment, where they dispersed. The working class had won the day.

KOESTLER'S EVIL JOURNEY

By A. B. Magil

ARTHUR KOESTLER dedicated his first book on Palestine, a novel, *Thieves in the Night*, to the memory of the late Vladimir Jabotinsky, founder of Revisionism, the extreme right wing of the Zionist movement, and to two members of Ayn Hashofet *kibbutz*, a communal farm affiliated to the left Labor Zionist organization, Hashomer Hatzair. It was a characteristically even-kneed genuflection to right and left in a book whose spiritual affinity was with the right. The two members of Ayn Hashofet, after reading the book, publicly repudiated the dedication. In his second book on Palestine,¹ technically a work of non-fiction, Koestler took no chances: he dedicated it to two Irgunites, members of the terrorist offspring of Revisionism, which has now become a political party under the masquerade name of the Freedom Movement (Herut).

In *Promise and Fulfilment*, Koestler describes a visit he paid in the summer of 1948 to Ayn Hashofet, which was the model of the *kibbutz* in *Thieves in the Night*. "We had an icy reception," he writes; "in the communal dining hall all the familiar characters avoided our table. I had thought that in the novel they were rather idealized; now I began to feel like the murderer revisiting the scene of his crime."

I was in Israel at the time Koestler was there and can testify that the aversion for him was not limited to the members of Ayn Hashofet, and the scene of his crime was regarded as far more extensive than that friendly *kibbutz* in the hills of Ephraim.

Let me put it bluntly: this book belongs to the literature of crypto-fascism. It is an apology for the crimes of imperialism in general and the British brand in particular. And it is animated by contempt and hatred for people, especially those who happen to be Jews, Arabs and Negroes.

To the casual reader all this may not be apparent at first glance. He may even mistake for sunlight the harsh, distorting beam of a cold and evil mind. Koestler has perfected the technique of political and moral ambivalence: he attacks that which he ultimately defends, and defends that which he ultimately attacks. And being a skilful writer, he weaves tortuous verbal snares for the unsuspecting. Thus he builds up an impressive indictment of British policy in Palestine, documenting it with accounts of the murderous ban on those who sought escape from the nazi crematoria, the attacks on refugee ships, the brutal deportations, the police state measures against the *Yishuv*. But then he pours over this vast imperialist stench "psychological" and "philosophical" *eau de cologne*: "There was no evil intent behind these words and acts [of the British government]. The sins

committed were mainly sins of omission, prompted by the timeless curse of mankind, blindness of heart." "The timeless curse of mankind" certainly helps take the curse off British imperialism. Similarly Koestler poses as one deeply identified with the struggles of the Jewish people—only to bedevil them with the clichés of polite anti-Semitism and the demand that Jews outside of Palestine cease being Jews on pain of perpetuating that Jew-hatred whose practitioners he never condemns. All this is done with the suave arrogance, the moralistic posturing and intellectual chicanery that are the hallmarks of Koestler in his various literary embodiments.

Reactionary Theory of History

At the bottom of Koestler's views on Palestine and the Jewish people lies his reactionary theory of history. In the preface he introduces us to his "psychosomatic" approach, and states that he "stresses the part played by irrational forces and emotive bias in history." In this there is nothing new. The cult of the irrational is sickeningly familiar from the works of Joseph Goebbels and Arthur Rosenberg. Of course, Koestler, consistently ambivalent, does not "deny or minimize the importance of the politico-economic forces"—he merely ignores them. And his subjective, idealist method, his renunciation of even a limited attempt to relate political events to economic interest and the clash of social classes are most convenient for those classes that rule the capitalist world.

Since history is a product of "irrational forces," the state of Israel becomes "a freak phenomenon in history," apparently inexplicable. And British policy is similarly freakish and governed by irrational impulses. The Balfour Declaration, for example, was conceived on "the romantic plane of history." True, Lloyd George once told a British royal commission that the declaration was a propaganda move to win Jewish support for the Allied imperialists in World War I. But Lloyd George was, after all, only prime minister of the government that issued the Balfour Declaration, and the subtle Koestler isn't deceived by such admissions. Lloyd George "deliberately overstates the opportunistic motivations of the Balfour Declaration—as if trying to cover up the romantic impulses behind it."

Needless to say, Koestler does yeoman work in covering up the unromantic ugliness and mendacity of imperialism. The White Paper brutalities and the British alliance with Arab reaction were mere foibles of "men otherwise kind

A. B. MAGIL has completed *Israel in Crisis*, which will be brought out by International Publishers in March.

¹ *Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917-1949*, by Arthur Koestler. MacMillan Company, New York, 1949. \$4.

and well-meaning, who had become victims of a strange obsession, a mirage of the desert." Thus, "Britain did not sacrifice the Jews to her oil interests. The opposite is true: oil interests served as a pretext for her sincere wish to liquidate her Zionist commitments." But what caused this wish? Here is how Koestler answers—or, rather, evades, answering: "Expediency was not a prime mover of this policy but its excuse and rationalization *post factum*. Its prime mover was . . . an irrational bias of archetypal power which found its most remarkable expression in the person of the foreign secretary." In other words, six apples are a consequence of being a half dozen apples.

Lest American readers be tempted to draw from his own recital of the facts the same drastic conclusions concerning British policy that the Jewish people of Palestine did, Koestler injects the following gratuitous poison: "Compared with the gigantic scale of Stalin's pact with Hitler, and with the savagery of Hitler's massacre of the Jews, the White Paper appears as a relatively minor sin, and essentially more a sin of omission than a calculated one." The book is studded with similar anti-Soviet canards, often dragged in irrelevantly for the sake of venting spleen.

Through the Keyhole

Koestler's attitude toward Israel's liberation is a typical blowing of hot and cold. He notes the exuberance and fighting spirit of a group of soldiers he encounters and compares them to "the Spanish militiamos, the Serb guerrillas, the soldiers of the French Revolution"—then adds: "But the snag with all wars is that the phenomena which they produce are only indirectly connected with the idea or cause in whose name they are waged. Those who are in it do not think in terms of democracy, national self-determination, the succession to the Spanish throne or the abolition of slavery. They sing, yell, dream of their favorite dish, masturbate and count their lice. . . . It is not the killing aspect of war, but this inevitable degradation, the enforced lowering of the mental age, which makes all soldiery, regardless of the cause for which it fights, into such an unadult, depressing phenomenon. And the sickly heroics of the home-front are even worse." And he ends his discussion of Israel's war with: "Like all wars, this too is a pageant of half-truths in shining armor. The victor is never entirely in the right, and there are no innocent victims."

Thus Koestler transforms a keyhole into a *Weltanschauung*, dirties every noble cause, reduces good and evil to a common gutter denominator.

In Israel, Koestler naturally gravitated toward the Irgunites, in whose company he was constantly seen and with whom he had such close ideological ties. His book deals with Revisionism and the Irgun in characteristically devious fashion. He sprinkles them with a few criticisms with his customary godlike air, but only in order to enfold them in an olympian embrace. Of the Irgun, which first appeared on the scene as a terrorist band that indiscriminately slaughtered Arab workers and peasants and bombed

the headquarters of Jewish workers' organizations, he writes: "Between the hypocrisies of Haganah for which they often acted as scapegoats, and the savagery of the Sternists, they [the Irgun] succeeded to the very end in maintaining a precarious balance sustained by a complex system of moral reasoning, god discipline and a spirit of quixotic chivalry." And he presents as his own objective fact-gathering the Irgun version of its attempt at an armed uprising against the Jewish state in June, 1948—an attempt that had to be suppressed with arms. But perhaps the cream of the jaded Koestlerian jest is his characterization of the founding father of Revisionism and Irgunism, Vladimir Jabotinsky. He describes Jabotinsky, an extreme pro-imperialist and chauvinist, who admired and aped Mussolini, organized strikebreaking and incited violence against Jewish opponents, as "a National Liberal in the great nineteenth century tradition, a revolutionary of the 1848 brand, successor to Garibaldi and Mazzini." It is perhaps superfluous to add that the "National Liberal," Jabotinsky, resembled Garibaldi and Mazzini somewhat after the manner that the National Socialist, Hitler, resembled Marx and Engels.

Indifference to Fact

Several writers in the American Anglo-Jewish press have noted that *Promise and Fulfillment*, for all its pretense to scholarship, contains many factual misstatements. In any other writer who, like Koestler, had lived in Palestine in his youth and subsequently paid it extended visits, this would be difficult to explain. In his case it expresses an impenetrable and characteristic contempt for facts. Some of these errors are of no great consequence. But others distort and falsify the social and political landscape; and they occur in too many strategic places to be without design. A few examples:

"More than half of Israel's industrial enterprises are owned and run on a cooperative basis by the trade unions." Anybody who spends a day in Israel or an hour in an American public library can ascertain that considerably less than half of Israel's industrial enterprises are cooperative—the pamphlet, *Investing in Israel*, published by the American Section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, estimates such enterprises at 10 to 20 per cent of the total.

In the diary which forms the middle section of the book Koestler writes: "Watched the arrival of the Russian diplomatic mission, acclaimed by a crowd of approximately a hundred people, the majority of whom cheered, while a minority booed." The United Press story, which appeared in the New York *Herald Tribune* of August 11, 1948, described the Soviet mission arriving "to the cheers of hundreds of persons who waited most of the evening to welcome them." No mention of boos—but maybe the UP man wasn't standing close enough to Koestler and his Irgun clique.

Koestler writes about a new play he saw dealing with *kibbutz* life. He describes the heroine, Mica, as "a young refugee girl who came to Palestine a short while ago from

Poland via a Russian forced labor camp." The "Russian forced labor camp" is Koestler's own contribution to the play. The author, Moshe Shamir, a member of Mapam, was too faithful to historic truth for Koestler's taste since he made Mica a refugee from the nazis.

"The traditional opponent of Labor is Capital; but in Israel the one big capitalist trust is the Labor Union itself; compared to the Histadrut, all private employers are small fry. Consequently, there is no class struggle in the traditional sense. . . . The private industrialist can only survive in the long run by coming to terms with the Histadrut. . . . It is a kind of aseptic social operation, and as wages are pegged to the cost of living index, there is no occasion even for local strikes." The only true statement in this quotation is that referring to the pegging of wages. The rest is falsehood plus reactionary drivel. Proof that strikes not only take place, but are frequent and often prolonged, is contained in statistics issued by the mandatory government, the Jewish Agency, the Histadrut and now by the government of Israel. Strike data for 1948 and 1949—the number of man-days lost in strikes this year has been particularly high—are available in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, New York, London and elsewhere. Koestler was not interested.

Anti-Semitic View of the Jews

Koestler's contempt for facts is pretentiously displayed in his chapter on the Hebrew language and literature. He first pays his respects to Yiddish, describing it as "a strange vernacular . . . without a fixed grammar, syntax or vocabulary"—which is lie number (I've lost track). He disdains to mention that this "strange vernacular" is the second most widely spoken language in Israel and that it has produced a literature in various countries whose best works compare favorably with the best in modern world literature.

Tackling Hebrew, Koestler exaggerates its difficulties and states *ex cathedra*: "Probably the last literary works of any merit written in the ancient language are the poems of Juda Halevy (c. 1085—c. 1140)." Thus, with a sputter of his typewriter he wipes out Bialik, Tchernishevsky and the other figures of the modern Hebrew renaissance, none of whom he even bothers to mention. He then proceeds to demolish modern Hebrew drama and fiction, adding modestly: "On Hebrew poetry I do not feel qualified to express an opinion"—having only a couple of paragraphs earlier expressed an opinion on Halevy's poetry. This is on page 313. On page 314 comes the following denouement: "I have spent on and off altogether some four years in Palestine and speak Hebrew fairly fluently, but am still incapable of reading a newspaper, to say nothing of books."

And to this intellectual quackery something old has been added: racism. It appears very early in the book when Koestler takes the French phrase, "*Nègre blanc*" (white Negro) (he always spells Negro with a small "n"), and plays variations on it to illustrate the ambiguities and contradictions in British policy toward Palestine. At another point he lifts a phrase from the folklore of the American

white supremacists—that vicious one about the woodpile. From white chauvinism Koestler proceeds by easy stages to chauvinist filth about the Arabs (he writes of an old Arab refugee, riding a donkey and "sunk in solemn meditation about the lost opportunity of raping his youngest grandchild"), and finally to anti-Semitism. He listens to an Arab complaining about the treatment accorded his people in Haifa after its capture by the Israeli forces and concludes that the Arab is "behaving exactly as the Jews used to behave. It was the same mixture of sob-talk and casuistry, the same wearying relentlessness in airing complaints, in playing on the other man's bad conscience. . . ."

On another occasion Koestler observes: "The monomaniac taking to a fixed idea is the Jewish equivalent of the Englishman in the tropics taking to drink." There are more tidbits in the same vein, with much repetition of phrases like "ghetto-heritage" and "ghetto religion," as if the Jews of Israel had just stepped out of the medieval ghettos. And the term "race" is repeatedly applied to the Jewish people. Even where Koestler makes a valid criticism, as on the tyranny of organized religion over Israel's secular life, he gives it a flavor which causes an atheist like myself to hear echoes of the *Protocols of Zion*.

Anti-Semitism merges with historic falsification in Koestler's thesis of the 2,000-year "gap" in Jewish history and political tradition before the birth of Israel (the gap is actually in Koestler's knowledge—and honesty). Because of this "gap" Israel's leaders lack "statesmanship" and the "civic virtue" which "is unconsciously absorbed by the individual growing up in a civilized community." To be sure Israel's leaders certainly deserve criticism, but on almost directly opposite grounds: that they are too attached to the barbarous Anglo-American imperialism which is Israel's worst enemy.

In the diary part of his book Koestler, disturbed by the warm sympathy toward the Soviet Union among the people of Israel, asks almost in desperation: "Why can't they [the American Embassy] get over a few bright young publicists from the *New Leader* or *Partisan Review* crowd, to counteract the Russian propaganda which is blowing in from all sides in this draughty corner of the world?" The American hollow men who ride existentialist nightmares, the cynics and snobs, the Trotskyite procurers, the social democratic hate-Russia racketeers, the parlor fascists who swarm around Ezra Pound, all the hideous flora and fauna of the American intellectual underworld—these are Koestler's comrades. None of them has achieved his mastery of the art of converting the half-truth into the total lie. But he shares with them a common hatred of humanity, a common identification with the paladins of atomic war, a common treason to every democratic value. And there is a more elemental affinity. Between Koestler and a Ku Klux klegle there is a difference as to means, not ends. The Ku Kluxer lynches his victims physically. Koestler castrates them spiritually, shrivels heart and mind into a void of cynicism and chill despair. These victims and accomplices, the heartless and mindless intellectuals, may be found among the corporals of the cold war.

Book Reviews

IT MUST NOT BE AGAIN

By Moishe Katz

The Root and the Bough: the epic of an enduring people, edited by Leo W. Schwartz. Rinehart, New York. \$3.75.

This book, ably edited by Leo W. Schwartz, is a well-chosen collection of notes, memoirs, diaries and tales by Jewish men, women and children, who were miraculously saved from the German death-camps in Oswiecim, Dachau, Buchenwald and from the ghettos of Poland.

I thought it would be comparatively easy to review this book: haven't we all in the past five years read hundreds of books and thousands of articles describing the martyrdom of the Jews under the nazi beast and the rescue of their scant and pitiful remnants by the end of the war? Would it not be enough simply to glance through this collection to recognize the familiar pattern of the terrible, inhuman destruction of our people?

Well, just try and begin to read *The Root and the Bough*, and you will find yourself unable to tear yourself away from it. You'll read chapter after chapter with a sinking heart, deep pain and often a feeling of shame for having been spared all this suffering and degradation (death was the easiest part of it), when millions of our people, innocent children, women and men were being exterminated, looking vainly for hope and succor and crying in the wilderness, without being heard by the world, even by us.

The terrible thing is that now, when another war—a third and probably a very last one, if it comes—is being prepared before our own eyes, and West Germany with virulent anti-Semitism still prevailing, led by its neo-fascists and old experienced nazis, is being rehabilitated and strengthened under American leadership for a front role in a new war. Yes, and most of the leaders of the Jewish world still meet the new dangers "with indifference, with disbelief" and prefer to remain "cynical and suspicious" at all the warnings.

Will they ever learn?

Each chapter of this book adds something new, if not to our knowledge of how this all happened, then to the better understanding of how people felt and lived through the unbelievable hell of a daily race with violent death and how some few of them saved themselves. Instead of general descriptions dealing with

the sufferings and death of millions—something which too often hides the agony of real people behind figures of statistics—we have here the actual, personal stories of people who lived to tell the tale.

Take the case of Henry Lilienheim, born in Poland, trained as an engineer in France. Separated from his young wife, he goes through the extermination camps expecting death every day. But at the same time he not only hopes to survive so as to find his wife, but he manages (in the slave camps) to save some money and buy a string of pearls. He hides the pearls in the heel of his shoe, hoping against hope and logic that some day he'll be free, meet his wife again and present her with the pearls. And the strangest thing is that he finally survived, got his freedom, found his wife and gave her the pearls!

Ernest Landau, born in Vienna, survivor of the extermination camps, tells in his chapter about the last fight of "men versus supermen." The men—a pitiful

group of Jewish prisoners, mercilessly and senselessly dragged in the wake of the fleeing German armies in the last days of the war. The "supermen"—"the blond beasts," armed to the teeth and guarding their Jewish prisoners to prevent the Jews' escape from death. What can the tired, hungry, unarmed, beaten prisoners do against the "supermen"?

But in the last moment when the guards, terrified by the approach of the American army, discuss among themselves what to do with the prisoners, "a feeling of resistance is suddenly awakened in us—a plan suddenly initiated. We are to form groups and overpower the SS guards. . . . The plan is executed according to schedule. A signal to attack is given. After a few blows the leader [of the SS] is knocked out, gagged and tied up. One man seizes his gun. Before us we see the same picture repeated again and again. All the SS are overpowered. We are now the possessors of their guns and ammunition." And soon after that came freedom.

To be sure—this happened in the last days of the war when the "supermen" were already on the run. But we may be sure that if not for the act of resistance all the prisoners would be shot in cold blood, as unfortunately happened all too often in those fateful days. The will of men to live, their decision to resist triumphed over the "supermen."

The tales of the children, young boys and girls in their early teens, who went through the fire and hell of the ghettos and the death-camps, are unforgettable and form an especially valuable part of the book. You read and don't know what to admire first: the stamina and resourcefulness of the children, the limitless endurance of young living beings in the presence of fantastic monsters, or the vision and understanding of those Jewish children, the clearness and essential simplicity with which they put down their experiences in writing.

The theme song of all the stories in the book is this: the men, the women, the children, who were caught in the nazi

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jails, wanted to live and that's why they did live to tell the tale. All the nazi victims, of course, wanted to live, but not all of them were ready and able to fight for their lives, individually or collectively. Those who fought—survived. Many of them, at any rate. Especially those who fought in an organized way, who showed an organized resistance.

Part of the story of the resistance is told in the chapters about the "Epic of the Warsaw Ghetto" and especially in the chapters about the truly heroic fight of the Jewish partisans in the White Russian forests. Some of the stories, like Abraham Sutzkever's "Never Say This Is the Last Road" are quite well known from other publications. Others, like Moses Mayer-son's "No Surrender" (about the Jewish partisans near Horodak, between Vilna and Minsk), or Shlomo Kozan's "The Long Road," which tells about the sufferings of the Jewish partisans at the hands of the reactionary Polish and Ukrainian so-called partisans (mostly bandits who collaborated with the Germans, especially in the extermination of Jews), are, to my knowledge, here published for the first time.

In most of the stories of the partisans and of the ghetto survivors we find terrible accusations against Poles, Lithuanians, Letts and Ukrainians, who robbed and betrayed, hunted and murdered Jews, even children, to the Germans for the reward of German bounty or the booty taken from their victims. But on the other hand, almost all writers, particularly the children, bear witness of the kindness of many Poles, especially women and workers, who risked and often sacrificed their lives to feed, hide and save the Jews, who asked their help.

One more remark: the book, made in the United States and mostly for English-speaking readers, is composed mostly of materials written or published in the Jewish DP camps of Western Germany under American jurisdiction and under a prevailing Zionist influence on those who saw their only hope in leaving the camps for Palestine. Many of the stories therefore have a distinct Zionist coloring and underscore the special role of the American army in saving the inmates of

On the other hand, the large and important role which the progressive forces and especially the Jewish communists played in all forms of the resistance to the nazis in the ghettos, concentration camps and as partisans is almost completely ignored. This may not have been the intention of the editor, but it shows that the heroic participation of the communists in the Jewish struggle under the nazis is still a tale that will have to be told.

Theater Review:

REVITALIZED YIDDISH STAGE

At a time when anyone with a concern for Jewish culture is heavy with sadness over the low state of Yiddish theater, it is a pleasure to report that the Yiddish Theater Ensemble, maintained under the sheltering wings of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, has lifted our spirits high with its new production. The Ensemble has boldly offered the English playwright J. B. Priestley's play, *They Came to a City*, in Yiddish translation. This play was seen in this country only in the British movie version a few years ago and is receiving its first American theater production in Yiddish. And we should say at the outset that, if Mr. Priestley knew Yiddish, he would be proud of the fine and thoroughly satisfactory Yiddish version by the distinguished writer, N. Buchwald.

Priestley's play concerns a group of English people from the several classes of society. All have found themselves before a strange city after each suffered a black-out in an accident.

After the doors to the city are opened and all the characters spend the day there, they return to the threshold where they divide on class lines in their opinion of the new socialist society they have momentarily glimpsed in the city. Dramatic conflict in the play is provided by the expression of clashing class viewpoints in the development of the relations of the characters. Priestley has succeeded in investing the characters with a warm individuality that presents class conflict through the problems of real people.

The Yiddish Theater Ensemble has thus achieved a many-sided success: it has presented a vital play for our time at the same time that it has revealed the vitality remaining for Yiddish theater with its uniformly excellent performance in the vari-

ous departments of production. The direction of Paul Mann is thoroughly competent and the set suggested by Ralph Alswang for the small stage provides an appropriate background for the action. All the players, except for Miriam Laserson, a guest artist who has acted with the Habimah and plays a charming disillusioned daughter of the aristocracy, are from the original Artef company. Luba Eisenberg wins the audience with her engaging rendering of the old washerwoman who is full of folk wisdom; Zelda Lerner plays the class-conscious working girl with spirit; Abraham Hirshbein gives a credible performance of the disillusioned revolutionary worker whose faith in socialism is revived by his brief contact with it in the city; Abraham Sandroff reveals the philistine business man so as to give full rein to Priestley's satire; Goldie Russler does the embittered petty bourgeois housewife well, in some ways the most taxing part of all because of the temptation to fall into a mannered interpretation; and Lyuba Rymer as the aristocratic lady, Leib Freilich as the petty bourgeois socialist sympathizer dragged back into capitalism by a frustrated wife, and Hyman Lowenstein as the old sporting aristocrat fill out this excellent cast.

It is fitting that this new hope for the Yiddish theater should come from the successor to the old Artef, whose dissolution some years ago was a tragedy of the American theater. For the Artef produced some of the greatest theater that America has seen, particularly its memorable production of Sholem Aleichem's 200,000 in the thirties. Artef players are now gathered under the able directorship of Paul Mann, this time following the Stanislavski rather than the previous Vakhtangov technique and they acquit themselves as we should expect from this fine group.

The Yiddish Theater Ensemble is presenting the play each Sunday afternoon through April 9 at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater. This is as good theater as can be found in New York today.—L.H.



Director
Paul Mann
discusses the play
with the cast.

Documents

SOVIET POSITION ON JERUSALEM

By Semyon K. Tsarapkin

The Soviet position on Jerusalem is stated in the following speech delivered before the UN General Assembly on December 9, 1949, by Semyon K. Tsarapkin, Soviet delegate to the United Nations.—Eds.

The history of the discussion of this question [of Jerusalem] which has taken place for more than three years, has eloquently proved that the former mandatory power has not abandoned the idea of maintaining its control over Palestine. Having been compelled to abandon direct control over Palestine, which country it had under mandate, the United Kingdom has endeavored to maintain her control in a new form which would replace the former direct control by way of a mandate which became obsolete and inapplicable, as the result of a long and bloody struggle waged by the Arab and Jewish peoples in Palestine for their independence. This new form of British control over Palestine has found its expression in the occupation of the Arab area of Palestine, and in the occupation of parts of the City of Jerusalem, which city was invaded by the armed forces of King Abdullah who, as you know, is a pawn in the British game and an obedient weapon of British policy in the Middle East.

You also know that immediately upon the acceptance by the General Assembly of the resolution providing for the creation in Palestine of two independent states, a Jewish and an Arab state, and for the application to Jerusalem of an international regime under the aegis of the United Nations, the United Kingdom, in a conspiracy with the United States of America, embarked upon a course of sabotaging this resolution.

Wanting to stay in Palestine by hook or crook, the United Kingdom, with the full help and support of the United States of America, carried out a series of maneuvers aimed at undermining the above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly. The United States worked hand in glove with the United Kingdom in this question, a country with which the United States is connected by various imperialistic plots. By intrigues, threats, military, economic and political pressure,

these two countries succeeded in slowing down the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947. As you know, even before the mandate came to an end, at a time when Palestine was still under the official control of the United Kingdom, the armed forces of the Transjordan Arab Legion penetrated into Palestine under the command of British officers. Before withdrawing their armed forces from Palestine, the United Kingdom occupied important strategic points with units drawn from the Transjordan Arab Legion.

In fact, the British never left Palestine. They merely replaced their own troops from the United Kingdom with troops from Transjordan known as the "Arab Legion." In order to hinder and hamper the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 1947, the Government of the United States came out with an open proposal to place the whole of Palestine under a trusteeship, and thus to maintain there British rule and mastery, and to take part, at the same time, in this rule.

At the insistence of the United States of America, the Security Council, in April 1948, decided to convene a special session of the General Assembly in order to consider the United States proposals providing for a trusteeship regime over Palestine, proposals which ran counter to the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples. On April 16, 1948, a special session of the General Assembly began to work and, as the members know, the United States plan for trusteeship over Palestine was rejected by the General Assembly. The Resolution of November 29, 1947, therefore, retained its full force. The implementation of the Resolution was entrusted to the Special Palestine Commission. The government of the United Kingdom, however, not only refused to cooperate with this commission, but spared no effort to undermine its activities. The United Kingdom Government refused to have power in Palestine transferred to the commission gradually, and did not permit the entrance of this commission into Palestine until two weeks before the end of the Mandate. Thus, the Palestine Commission was deprived of the possibility of

carrying out even preliminary spadework in order to prepare the building up of an Arab and Jewish state in Palestine.

After the special session of the General Assembly had rejected the Anglo-American proposal for trusteeship over Palestine, the United States and the United Kingdom, on May 14, 1948, imposed on the General Assembly their proposal to cut short the activities of the Palestine Commission and to transfer the whole Palestine issue to the Mediator. By this decision, the United Kingdom and the United States liquidated an organ on which the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947 devolved. Thus, these two governments succeeded in stopping in its tracks the implementation of this resolution.

The Palestine Commission was disbanded. A Mediator was appointed with new functions and new powers and, on the same day, May 14, 1948, the creation of a Jewish State was proclaimed in Palestine, and Israel came into being. Thus, one of the main decisions of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, was carried out.

With a view to liquidating this new country, the United Kingdom provoked an invasion of Palestine from abroad, thus attempting to preclude by force the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947. Through the channel of the Arab League from Transjordan, the British seized a substantial area of Arab Palestine, including a substantial part of Jerusalem itself.

By the force of arms of their puppets, the British created conditions in Palestine which, as the representatives of the United Kingdom said in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, now make impossible the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947. At the same time the Mediator was drawing up plans to legalize and legitimize the British plans for control over Palestine, in June 1948 the Anglo-Americans, through the channel of the Mediator, came out with new proposals which simply amounted to the unification of the whole of Palestine with Transjordan. Had this proposal been accepted, it would have spelled the transformation of the whole of Palestine into some puppet of the United Kingdom, as Transjordan is a puppet. This proposal was rejected then both by the Jews and by the Arabs.

The recommendation of the Mediator, however, addressed to the third session of the General Assembly, gave the Anglo-Americans the possibility of altering their plan to a certain extent. It was suggested that two-thirds of the territory of Israel

be cut off and this area, torn away from Israel, together with the Arab part of Palestine, be handed over to Transjordan, thus ensuring the establishment of British control over this whole area. As is known, in the course of the third session of the General Assembly these imperialistic maneuvers of the United Kingdom and of the United States of America were exposed and the General Assembly rejected these proposals. . . .

This, however, did not stop the attempts of the United Kingdom and of the United States of America to achieve their expansionist goals in Palestine. These powers, in the course of the third session of the General Assembly, succeeded in imposing on the General Assembly the creation of a new organ, the so-called Conciliation Commission, with three countries represented thereon, the United States of America, France and Turkey. . . .

So far as Jerusalem is concerned, the United Kingdom and the United States of America spared no efforts to hinder the implementation of the decision of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947 to establish an international regime in Jerusalem under the control of the United Nations. Violating the Resolution of the General Assembly, the Trusteeship Council in April 1948 arbitrarily stopped the work which had been entrusted to it by the General Assembly and which called upon it to prepare a statute for Jerusalem. This arbitrary action taken by the Trusteeship Council in April 1948 was a direct result of the maneuvers of the United Kingdom and the United States of America, who hoped that in the course of the second special session of the General Assembly they would succeed in achieving a new decision with regard to Palestine; in other words, a decision which would put the whole of Palestine, including Jerusalem, under trusteeship.

Finally, in the Third Session of the General Assembly, the United Kingdom and the United States succeeded in imposing a resolution to the effect that preparation of the provisions for the regime to be applied to Jerusalem was to be entrusted to the Conciliation Commission, which I mentioned before. As I said before, this Commission was composed of representatives of the United States, France and Turkey. The draft instrument submitted by this Conciliation Commission, which outlines the international regime to be applied to Jerusalem, calls for political and administrative partition of Jerusalem between Jordan and Israel. This plan of the Conciliation Commission found ready and willing support by the United States and the United Kingdom who want to see the situation legalized by the United Nations as a first step toward the



Semyon T. Tsarapkin
Soviet UN delegate

approval by the United Nations of the seizure of the Arab part of Palestine by Jordan, that part of Palestine which, according to the former decision of the General Assembly, should have become the territory of a new Arab State in Palestine.

The discussion of the question of Jerusalem in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee showed clearly that a group of countries headed by the United States and the United Kingdom, have not abandoned their attempts to hinder the implementation of the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 1947 with regard to Palestine in general and Jerusalem in particular. The discussion which took place in the plenary meeting this morning also showed that these attempts are continuing with renewed and redoubled strength. The United States and the United Kingdom are applying all their efforts to prevent approval of the draft resolution accepted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee since this draft resolution rests fully on the Resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947.

The members of the General Assembly know that, in the course of the discussion of this question in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee, the new opponents as well as the former opponents of the Resolution of the General Assembly which I have mentioned before decided to oppose to this draft resolution a whole series of

resolutions, proposals and amendments. The draft resolution by Sweden and the Netherlands was submitted; a Cuban proposal came up; Israel submitted a proposal; an amendment was submitted by Chile, and so on. All these resolutions, proposals and amendments have much in common. They are all aimed at revising the decision of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947 with respect to the application of the international regime for Jerusalem and administration by the United Nations. All these proposals, resolutions and amendments call for recognition of the partition of Jerusalem into two areas, one occupied by Jordan and the armed forces which invaded Jerusalem from Transjordan and the other under the control of Israel.

This is a short survey of the position and of the behavior of the United States and the United Kingdom in connection with this question, as well as of the results to which their position has led.

Events have borne out the truth of the contention that the United Kingdom and the United States have viewed, and continue to view, Palestine, not as a territory with an Arab and a Jewish people, each having the right to its own, independent country, but as a territory to be used by the United States and the United Kingdom in attaining their strategic and imperialistic ends. This approach to the issue runs through the entire short but eventful history of Palestine, from the time when the British mandate came to an end.

The implementation of the General Assembly's decision of 1947 was made even more difficult by the fact that the United States and the United Kingdom engaged in a definite conspiracy with regard to Palestine. Pursuing its own imperialistic policies in the Middle East, the United States ceased to support the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947 for which it had voted, and began to assist the United Kingdom in its policy in Palestine. In this, the United States was guided not so much by the idea of maintaining the United Kingdom's position in Palestine as by the necessity of defending the interests of United States monopolies—and especially oil monopolies—and the interests of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the United States and the United Kingdom, who consider Palestine as an essential element in their plans for the Middle East.

This plot of the United Kingdom and the United States with regard to Palestine resulted in the unleashing of a war; it gave rise to a bloody struggle between the Arabs and the Jews. Hardships and misery have been visited upon these peoples, the most recent reflection being found in the serious problem of Arab refugees. The United Kingdom and the United

States must bear the heavy responsibility for the sufferings of the people of Palestine, both in the past and at the present time. No one can doubt that, if the United Kingdom and the United States had not, by various means, hampered the implementation of the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947, it could be said that there was no Palestine problem today. Not only would the State of Israel exist in Palestine, but an independent Arab State would have been born and the international regime outlined in the General Assembly Resolution would have long ago been applied to the City of Jerusalem.

Nevertheless, for almost two years the United States and the United Kingdom have expended all efforts in an attempt to undermine and liquidate the General Assembly's decision of November 1947. They have resorted to various maneuvers,

intrigues, threats, menaces, and pressures upon Arabs and Jews in order to create a state of affairs—in Palestine in general and in Jerusalem in particular—which would fully meet the interests of the United Kingdom and the United States.

On December 6, [1949], the United Kingdom representative in the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee declared that one should not speak of the responsibility for the non-implementation of the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947. That statement is incorrect; it represents a distorted approach to the issue. For the General Assembly Resolution of November 29, 1947 can be practically implemented, even now, two years after its adoption. The United Kingdom and the United States have engaged in a common conspiracy and have spared no efforts to ensure that this resolution would be still-born. They have, however, failed. A Jewish State has been created in Palestine, and the Assembly is now about to take a decision on the implementation of the provisions of the November 29, 1947 Resolution concerning Jerusalem.

We must hope that the decision of the General Assembly calling for the creation of an Arab state in Palestine will also be implemented. In spite of the police regime which has been applied to Palestine by the Jordan occupation authorities, there is a growing movement towards the creation of an independent Arab state in Palestine in full harmony with the decision of the General Assembly of November 1947. In a memorandum addressed to the secretary-general of the United Nations by an organization of Palestine Arabs, dated August 2, 1949—a document, incidentally, which was not circulated to the delegations here present—is a claim lodged by Palestine Arabs who call for the opportunity of creating their own independent state. In a memorandum from the Arab High Committee for Palestine dated December 5, 1949 and addressed to the secretary-general there was also a claim for the granting of independence to Palestine Arabs. We must hope that the United Nations will find a way to overcome the obstacles placed by the United Kingdom and the United States in the way of the creation in Palestine of an independent Arab state and that such a state will eventually be set up in Palestine.

In spite of the endeavors of the representatives of the United Kingdom and the United States to argue that it is impossible to implement the resolution of the General Assembly of November 1947, it must be said here that that resolution continues to exist and retains its full force. In spite of the maneuvers of the United States and the United Kingdom and the obstacles which they have attempted to create, that resolution is being implemented. Not only is it practicable, but it also leads towards an equitable solution of the Palestine issue.

So far as the question of the responsibility for the delay in the implementation of this resolution is concerned, the facts I have mentioned give a clear indication as to where that responsibility lies. . . .

A few more words could be added with regard to the new motives which appeared in the statement of the representative of Cuba. On December 6 the representative of the United Kingdom spoke about the policy of equilibrium in Palestine, and he said that it was intolerable to see Jerusalem become a pawn in some political game. We understand this, especially now while almost one half of Palestine is occupied by the British puppet from Jordan and when parts of Jerusalem itself are under the control of King Abdullah of Jordan. When, in other words, almost one-half of Palestine is again in the hands of the British, we can understand full well the arguments advanced by the representative of the United Kingdom with regard to the traditional policy of a balance of power.

With regard to the arguments of the United Kingdom representative to the effect that we cannot tolerate a situation in which Jerusalem would become a pawn in some political game, those words sound highly hypocritical when they fall from the lips of the representative of the United Kingdom, because it is the United Kingdom and the United States which want to transform Jerusalem into a political pawn in their political game in Palestine. It is those countries which have put obstacles in the way of a solution of the question of Palestine as a whole.

Bearing this in mind, the delegation of the Soviet Union feels now as it has felt in the past: that the General Assembly resolution of November 29, 1947 must be implemented. We shall therefore vote in favor of the resolution adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee. The Soviet Union delegation thinks that the carrying out of this resolution will ensure peace and security in Jerusalem and will safeguard the interests of the population of the city as well as the interests of all the world religions represented in Jerusalem. . . .

Masses & Mainstream

ANNOUNCES

A SPECIAL ISSUE

in honor of

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

QUESTIONS DEALING with race, color or religion have been eliminated from student applications of nearly every non-denominational college and university in New York State, according to a report of the New York State Board of Regents on December 15. However, 35 per cent of the educational units involved still ask "indirect questions" requiring photographs or place of birth of applicants.

PHI SIGMA DELTA, a national Jewish social fraternity with 6,000 members in 24 college chapters, voted in late December that "no male undergraduate shall be denied membership because of his race, color or creed." A Negro student at the University of Wisconsin is expected to be initiated into the fraternity.*

A \$140,000 **BEQUEST** for scholarships for "American-born" students, "Jews and Catholics excepted," was rejected by the trustees of Lafayette College in Easton, Pa., on January 3.

THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY student council adopted a resolution in late December banning discrimination "for race, color or nationality" in all university organizations. The resolution had been approved at a joint council-faculty committee meeting by a 7-6 vote, with three absent.*

A **PICKET LINE** sponsored by the American Veterans Committee to protest the sale of fascist hate sheet, *The Broom*, at a newsstand at 86th Street and Third Avenue in New York's Yorkville, was attacked in late December. A group of prominent German Americans issued a statement calling upon "decent citizens of Yorkville to speak out and join us in repudiating the race haters."

JEWISH HISTORY WEEK has been designated for this year from April 16-22.

EUROPE

A "UNITY SLATE" of communists, Zionists and socialists gained virtually complete control of the Vienna Jewish community in the December elections. With 58 per cent of the electorate voting, the "unity slate" received 4,996 votes against 268 for the rightist Federation of Jewish Merchants. Of the 30 seats on the council, the communists won 11, Zionists 10, socialists 8, Merchants 1. The united slate arose as a result of the rising neo-fascism and anti-Semitism in Austria.* . . . A frankly nazi party, the Union of Independents has been formed in Austria. Its members have shouted at socialists, "We'll make lampshades of your skins, too," and have said that "All Jews must be exterminated in the end." . . . United States High Commissioner for Austria Lieut. Gen. Geoffrey Keyes on December 22 denied a Soviet charge that neo-nazism was rife in Austria.

MARCH OF GERMAN NEO-NAZISM . . . German students in Munich walked out jeering in the middle of a Polish film dealing with nazi atrocities in Poland during the war, including the tragedy of the Warsaw Ghetto.* . . . Although convicted of war crimes by a British military court in Hamburg in December, Field Marshall Erich von Mannstein was acquitted of charges

that he authorized and permitted the mass killing of Jews and other groups and the transfer of Jews to Gestapo installations although he knew that they would be exterminated there. The Polish observer at the trial walked out, saying that the affair was "changing into a trial against millions of fighters of German fascism." . . . 60 German war criminals were released from jail in time for Christmas. Among them were nazi generals, industrialists and head of the nazi foreign fifth column.

THREE RIGHTIST GROUPS in the British and American zones of Germany, the German Union, the German Right Party and the Association of Independent Germans, are planning to combine, according to a dispatch from *New York Times* correspondent Drew Middleton on December 12. Together these groups, whose ideology is close to nazi, would make a formidable challenge for power. The same correspondent reported on December 22 that an official American survey showed that among Germans there is a disinclination to assume civic responsibilities, ignorance of current politics and widespread political inertia. These results conflict sharply with recent assertions of U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy that the "bulk of the German people have set their faces" against militarism and nazism and that there were "healthy liberal tendencies toward development of a liberal spirit." These tendencies, thought McCloy, "far outweigh" those toward "renazification and nationalism."

YUGOSLAVIA'S FEDERATION of Jewish Communities, which last year broke with the World Jewish Congress because of refusal of the Congress to give proper democratic representation to left-wing Jewish elements, has announced that it is ready to resume its affiliation with the Congress. Jewish communities of the new democracies have not resumed their affiliation with the Congress.

250 JEWISH STUDENTS graduated from Polish universities and colleges in the past year. The Central Committee of Polish Jews has granted each graduate a sum of 10,000 zlotys. . . . United Workers Party (Mapam) in Poland dissolved on January 1 because most of its members have gone to Israel and the rest plan to depart in the next few months.*

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT recently granted permission to 3,000 Jews, including 40 leaders of the dissolved Zionist movement, to go to Israel in the next few months. Most of the emigrants will be children or parents who will rejoin their relatives in Israel.

RUMANIAN JEWS whose vital records are incomplete or lost as a result of the war or anti-Semitic activities by Rumanian officials before and during the war, are being permitted by the Rumanian government to rectify these records at no charge merely by stating the facts to the authorities.*

ISRAEL

JORDAN-OCCUPIED PALESTINE was formally incorporated into Abdullah's kingdom of Transjordan on January 1. This area includes the Old City of Jerusalem.

SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES at the UN repeatedly assured the Israeli UN delegation that the Soviet stand on internationalization of Jerusalem in no way implied any change in Soviet policy toward Israel, said Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett during a speech before the Knesset on January 2.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY of Israel published a resolution in late December declaring that it favored adherence to the UN decision on the internationalization of Jerusalem. The resolution declared that the party had failed to realize immediately before and after the UN vote on Jerusalem that rejection of a part of the UN decision of November 29, 1947, implied rejection of the whole decision. *Kol Ha'am*, communist daily, stated in late December that under the UN resolution the city "will be given self-government under the Trusteeship Council, on which the Soviet Union is also represented, until such time as a final solution is arrived at in the interest of the two peoples of Palestine." *Kol Ha'am* stated that any final solution must take into account "the historic and living ties of Israel with Jerusalem." The paper warned against any Israel-Abdullah-Bevin agreement and declared that the expulsion of the invaders from Palestine and the establishment of a democratic Arab state in the Arab sector can promote peace and security in Palestine.

"**AL HAMISHMAR**," MAPAM ORGAN, stated on December 11 that it opposed any attempt on Israel's sovereignty in Jerusalem coupled with efforts to free the Old City from Abdullah's rule. The paper considered the UN vote on Jerusalem to be a severe defeat for Israel's foreign policy and stressed that the Soviet UN delegation supported internationalization because of hostility towards Abdullah and not Israel.

ISRAELI FINANCE MINISTER Eliezer Kaplan publicly and categorically denied in late December the rumors that the Israeli government plans to nationalize industry, or that the government had advised potential investors to seek partnership in Histadrut enterprises. Kaplan introduced a bill into the Knesset designed to encourage private investment by reduction of taxes on foreign investments. Julius Simon, American president of the Palestine Economic Corporation, on December 23 described the nationalization reports after his return from Israel as "tommyrot." "I have had," he said, "nothing but encouragement from the government and from the Association of Israel Manufacturers."

ISRAELI IMPORTS from January to December 1949 amounted to \$8,806,406 Israel pounds and exports during the same period were \$8,260,954; the United States was first on the list of importing countries with 16,300,000 Israel pounds, and Britain was second with 5,900,000; Israel exported 4,800,000 Israel pounds worth of material to Britain and 1,100,000 to the U.S.

HISTADRUT MEMBERSHIP grew from 176,000 in Oct. 1948 to 233,577 in Oct. 1949.

HISTADRUT OBSERVERS were present at the organizing meeting of the new anti-communist International Federation of Trade Unions. The *New York New Leader*, Dybinsky-subsidized weekly, commented threateningly: "U.S. labor leaders are openly irritated at the unwillingness of Histadrut to participate in the new ICTFU. Israeli unionists wanted nothing more than to 'observe' at the London organizing sessions. Much good will among AFL and CIO officials who hitherto had gone all out for Histadrut, has been lost for the Israeli Federation of Labor."

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

To Our Readers:

Do you think JEWISH LIFE is filling an essential need?

Many of you have told us you think so. Here is what Nat Low of Los Angeles wrote us:

"I have finished reading the December issue of JEWISH LIFE and feel impelled to tell you that it is simply wonderful. In its range, authority, clarity and flavor it is the most exciting magazine to come from the progressive movement in many years. I have found acclaim for JEWISH LIFE not only in progressive circles but in hitherto apolitical circles. I simply want to send my most enthusiastic congratulations to the editorial board for the most exciting magazine I've read in years."

We believe that you like JEWISH LIFE because it tries to present the clear, reasoned voice of progressive Jewry. We believe that you consider JEWISH LIFE an essential magazine because Jewry at home, in Israel and all over the world is beset with profound and difficult questions; because upon an informed, scientific answer to these questions depends the future not only of the Jews, but of all peoples; and because JEWISH LIFE is trying to make an appreciable beginning in answer to these questions.

We need hardly tell you that we have no angels who relieve us of financial worries. Wealthy Jews are not pleased at the influence the magazine exerts. And you would be amazed to learn how small our budget is. Our total expenses, for instance, could be almost covered by the salary of the editor of *Commentary*, a monthly published by the American Jewish Committee. Low as our expenses are, however, income from the sale of the magazine does not cover them.

Our only resource to make up the deficit is YOU, our readers.

Our minimum need to make up our deficit this year is \$10,000 (how fruitfully we could use more!)

We are asking you to translate your enthusiasm for the magazine into a contribution toward its existence. If each one of you contributes at least \$2.00 (more would be most welcome) and/or gets at least one subscription (or as many more as you can), we should be far on the way to meeting this year's deficit.

Will you please send your contributions and subscriptions promptly and return the form below?

THE EDITORS

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