



**JANUARY 1951 • 20¢**

**SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS**

*by Rabbi Abraham Bick*

**"AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL"**

*by the Editors*

**THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL**

*by Esther Vilenska*

**YAKOV ZUSSERMAN, SOVIET PARTISAN FIGHTER**

*by A. Fyodorov*

**RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE**

*by A. Strauss  
Rabbi Andre Zaoui  
Rabbi Asher Hananel*

---

**Book Reviews** *by Morris U. Schappes • Harry Levine • Ben Field • Louis Harap*

# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

ish defense organizations. The council's statement, issued in late November, was made in reply to a resolution recently adopted by the National Association of Broadcasters condemning the FCC inquiry into the operations of the radio stations owned by G. A. Richards as an invasion of his privacy and rights under the First Amendment. Richards is under investigation by the FCC on charges that he directed his employees at stations KMPC (Los Angeles), WJR (Detroit) and WGAR (Cleveland) to slant news in an anti-Semitic and anti-union way. *The Jewish Press*, Omaha weekly, asked editorially in its November 24 issue, if the NAB "would have been so quick to condemn" the FCC hearings if the case involved an attempt to slant the news "along pro-communist lines."

A PROPOSAL TO SET UP state-sponsored machinery to survey bias in college admissions in Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin was rejected by a regional conference of college administrators on discrimination in mid-November. A survey of this kind is already going forward in Illinois, where state commissions have power to subpoena witnesses and make recommendations to the legislature. Delegations opposing the proposal argued that they had not had enough time to consider it.

REMOVAL OF WRITTEN, restrictive membership clauses based on race and religion from the constitutions of campus fraternities by October 1, 1956, was asked of Columbia University by Columbia College's Board of Student Representatives on November 15. The 1956 date was set to allow national fraternity bodies, which do not meet often, time to act. Seven of Columbia's 16 fraternities have restrictive membership clauses.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST young Jewish accountants is so intense in the United States that it is nearly impossible for them to get jobs except in firms managed or owned by Jews. This is a major conclusion from a survey made by the B'nai B'rith Vocational Survey based on queries to 2,120 graduates of 94 accounting schools in 1946 and 1947. About one-third of those replying were Jewish. The survey showed that 95 per cent of the Jews in those classes who are now employed work for companies with all or partial Jewish management and only five per cent for non-Jewish firms.

AN FEPC LAW was passed by the Gary (Ind.) City Council by a six to two vote in late November, thanks to strong mass pressure that forced the council to approve or face defeat in the city Spring election. The law was first proposed in June 1950 by Frank Mucci, Communist Party head in the city, but a weaker NAACP ordinance was later introduced by a Negro councilman and its adoption came after great rank and file pressure from labor and other organizations.

A CULTURAL FESTIVAL of the Jewish, Negro, Mexican and Japanese American groups in Los Angeles was held in mid-November at the Jewish Soto-Michigan Community Center in Los Angeles. One night was devoted to cultural manifestations of each group and tremendous interest was aroused and further inter-cultural activities received a great impetus.

## EUROPE

ANTI-SEMITISM IS "RAMPANT everywhere" in Europe, said Rep. Thurmond Chatham, of North Carolina, in early November after his return home from a Congressional tour of Europe and the Middle East. Anti-Jewish feeling is growing especially, he said, in Scandinavia, Greece and Turkey. "The heads of governments take you into a back room to talk about it," he said.\*

ACTION AGAINST ATTEMPTS at racist and fascist propaganda was demanded of Paris police by the newly-formed French Student Committee Against Racial, Political and Religious Persecution. The committee also asked for an investigation of the source of funds of groups carrying on anti-Semitic agitation.\*

"DIE ZEIT", (Jewish Times), only Yiddish daily newspaper in England, established in 1913, ceased publication on November 17, 1950. Several days later the founding of a new Yiddish daily in London was announced, first issue expected in January. A Yiddish weekly, *Jewish Post*, is published in London by the Orthodox Agudas Israel.

NOTORIOUS BRITISH ANTI-SEMITES Arnold Spencer Leese was committed for trial in late November on the charge of libelling Sir Harold Scott, London police commissioner, whom he described in an article as "an obvious Jew." In another article Leese had written that "the police of London's East End appear to be infected by their Jewish chief to knock off any street orator who dares to mention the word 'Jew' in any derogatory sense."

"THE BEAST OF BUCHENWALD," Ilse Koch, is being tried in an Augsburg, Germany, court for crimes ranging from murder to sex sadism. Many former inmates of Buchenwald are testifying to the most revolting crimes for which she was responsible. Madame Koch denies everything, saying that she never mixed in camp affairs but stayed home and tended to her housework and her children. The trial is expected to last several months and hear testimony from several hundred of Madame Koch's victims.

RENAZIFICATION NEWS. . . . Three hundred Bavarian policemen and customs officials, acting on orders from the Bonn ministry of finance, drove to the town of Traunstein, where 20 Jewish families live, manhandled the Jews, detained them in the streets, threatened them and beat them with rubber truncheons. When one Jew protested that the police were using SS methods, a policeman replied, "I was trained in Hitler Germany. I know how to handle Jews." . . . A group of former Nazi film leaders is trying to regain control of the 50 million mark UFA film empire in Western Germany, a western film official reported on November 7. While the UFA empire was supposed to have been broken up by 1952, nothing has yet been done or is likely to be done. Among the Nazis involved are Max Winkler, Goebbels' right hand film man, and Alfred Hugenberg, financier who helped Hitler come to power. . . . Heinrich Hoffman, Hitler's personal photographer, was sentenced in his sixth denazification trial to four years in prison as a second class offender and confiscation of 80 per cent of his property. In a previous trial he had been convicted as a "major offender" and all his property confiscated. . . .

Thousands of Germans were encouraged to reapply for visas to the United States by United States Attorney General Howard J. McGrath's recent ruling that "nominal" Nazis would not be barred from the United States under the McCarran law.\*

14 NAZI WAR CRIMINALS, nine of them under life sentence, were released from jail in late November by clemency by General Thomas T. Handy, commander of United States forces in Europe. Among the freed men were former guards at the Mauthausen and Dachau concentration camps.

ALL POLISH JEWISH organizations, cultural and social, were merged into a single organization at a conference attended by hundreds of delegates from all over the country held at the Jewish House of Culture in Warsaw in mid-November. The weekly Yiddish *Naie Lebn*, organ of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, has been replaced by *Folks-shimme*, appearing four days a week.

## ISRAEL

FINAL ELECTION RESULTS of the municipal poll of November 14 are as follows: Mapai, 92,589 votes, 27.9 per cent of the total, loss of 6.7 per cent over Knesset vote in January 1949; General Zionists, 80,202 votes, 24.9 per cent of total, increase of 17.8 per cent; Mapam, 37,364 votes, 11.2 per cent of total, gain of 0.3 per cent; Herut, 33,317 votes, 10 per cent of total, loss not precisely determinable; Progressive Zionists, 15,055, practically unchanged from 4.1 per cent in January 1949; Communist Party, 7,385 votes, 2.2 per cent, loss of 0.3 per cent.\*

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS were analyzed in six points by Mapam. The election showed an increase of the "reactionary, bourgeois power that is hidden behind the General Zionist facade"; decrease in the influence of Mapai "despite its exploitation of the name, organization and funds belonging to the Histadrut as a whole"; Mapam is the "only" portion of the labor movement that retained and even increased its strength in the towns and villages and among the immigrants; the Herut's "fascist power has been hit but not yet defeated"; losses suffered by all parties in the government coalition shows that "the public confidence in the coalition is shaken"; and the increased influence of the Mapam in a larger number of municipalities where labor control is possible.\*

(See Esther Vilenska's analysis in this issue.)

"THE INVESTOR is always right," is the slogan suggested on November 24 for Israel's economic program by Yaakov Geri, Israel's new minister of trade and industry. Geri also planned that he would invite local "dollar a year" men to help him with this program. Geri is director of a chain of South African economic and development projects. When asked about trade relations with the Soviet Union, Geri replied that "No trade with any quarter would be rejected by us."

THREE ISRAELI DIPLOMATIC representatives in Poland asked to be relieved of their posts on December 6th. It is believed that their request stems from their disagreement with Israel's support of the United Nations Korea policy.

OVER 500 POLISH JEWS who registered for emigration to Israel withdrew their applications, said Jewish Agency officials in Jerusalem in early November.\*

AN INVITATION was extended to Yugoslavia to send a trade union delegation to Israel by the Histadrut in late November.\*

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



# From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

## AT HOME

A DELEGATION of 15 Jewish leaders representing leading national Jewish organizations visited President Truman in mid-November and submitted a memorandum appealing for grants-in-aid to Israel. This was a follow-up of the National Planning Conference held in Washington in October. The memorandum stressed Israel's role as "a democratic bastion" in the Middle East and delegation member Henry Morgenthau stated that the failure of Israel would cause neighboring countries to "turn to other political forms." Observers pointed out that American loans to such "democracies" as Franco Spain and other reactionary governments revealed another purpose than defense of democracy and warned that such loans to Israel would bring Israel knee deep in the Marshall plan system, thus depriving Israel of its economic and political independence and putting Israel in the front lines of a threatened anti-Soviet war.

JEWISH WRITER Meyer Levin charged in mid-November that "certain Jewish philanthropists" "chose" non-Jew John Hersey to write *The Wall*, best-selling novel on the Warsaw ghetto published last year. Levin said that publisher friends had told him that if *The Wall* had been written by a Jew, it never would have commanded the attention it did.

NOTES ON ANTI-SEMITISM. . . . At a meeting of the Newsdealers Association in New York on December 3 to discuss banning the *Daily Worker* from the stands, one women dealer said: "I warn you not to do this thing. You are setting a precedent that will hurt us all. The Republicans will go after you because you sell a Democratic paper. Many people who read the *Journal* [Hearst paper] say, 'Why do you sell that Jew paper, the *Post*? Take it off the stands'." . . . *Oliver Twist*, British film containing a viciously anti-Semitic portrait, which was kept off American screens for over a year by protests and which has not been passed by Hollywood's self-censoring Production Code Administration, will be released for a trial run in Texas theaters in December. If protests are not great enough, the film will be generally released. Protests should be sent to Eagle Lion Classics, Inc., 156 West 46th St., N. Y., 19. . . . Father Leonard Feeney, director of St. Benedict's Center in Cambridge, Mass., gives anti-Semitic talks weekly to 400 to 500 people every Sunday afternoon. "In Boston," he says, "the Jews run the business end of things and the Protestants the religious end, and this is supposed to be a Catholic City." . . . Adult vandals desecrated and smashed tombstones in the Jewish cemetery in Wilkes-Barre in November. . . . The word "jew" (with a small "j") was etched with acid in two places at the University of California at Los Angeles in November. The word was also etched into the sidewalk of the entrance to the Los Angeles city hall. A few weeks earlier the Star of David had been smeared on the areaway leading into the city hall. . . . New York City Welfare Commissioner Hilliard's attempt to purge "incompetents" from the agency as part of his campaign to destroy the United Public Workers in his department, was charged in November with being steered by Christian Front elements. James Healy, a member of Hilliard's review board, has been charged with having made anti-Semitic remarks against employees. Healy was recently suspended for hurling a telephone at his Jewish supervisor, after which he was transferred to Hilliard's office. Of the some 200 em-

# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

Vol. V, No. 3 (51)

JANUARY, 1951

## EDITORIAL BOARD

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

## CONTENTS

### FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE; RESIST McCARRANISM	3
JIMCROW COURTS MARTIAL; FUND RAISING CONTROVERSY	4
THE FOLLY OF "COMMIPHOBIA,"	5
SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS by <i>Rabbi Abraham Bick</i>	7
MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD	10
RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: I by <i>A. Strauss</i>	11
RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: II by <i>Rabbi André Zaoui</i>	12
RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: III by <i>Rabbi Asher Hananel</i>	14
MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL by <i>Esther Vilenska</i>	14
LETTER ON "AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL" by <i>the Editors</i>	17
YAKOV ZUSSERMAN, SOVIET PARTISAN FIGHTER by <i>A. Fyodorov</i>	19
BOOK REVIEW SECTION	
REVOLT OF THE "FOREIGNS" by <i>Morris U. Schappes</i>	23
COLLECTION OF JEWISH FOLKSONGS by <i>Harry Levine</i>	25
THE LIFE OF ANZIA YEZIERSKA by <i>Ben Field</i>	26
LUDWIG LEWISOHN: PROPHET OF DELUSION by <i>Louis Harap</i>	27
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	
SHALL GERMANY REARM? by <i>L. Zaidman (London)</i>	30
FASCIST DP'S IN CANADA by <i>J. B. Salsberg, MPP (Toronto)</i>	31
LETTERS FROM READERS	
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by <i>Louis Harap</i>	2, 32

JEWISH LIFE, January, 1951, Vol. V, No. 3 (51). Published monthly by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1950 by the Morgen Freiheit, Inc.

ployees fired in the purge since Hilliard took office, 98 per cent were Negro, Jewish and Puerto Rican.

DETROIT'S 500- NEGRO churches condemned and called for investigation of the invasion and devastation by police on November 19 of the home of Charles M. Gordey, Sr., Negro Ford worker. In an attempt to arrest Gordey's son on suspicion of robbery, 200 steel-helmeted, heavily-armed "commando" policemen invaded the area of Gordey home, where about 2,000 Negroes had gathered. One policeman was killed in the melée attending the police attempt at illegal entry into

Gordey's home. A statement signed by Carl Winter, chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan, supported the Negro ministers' petition and demanded the removal of the "un-American Klan-like code followed by the Police Department against our Negro citizens."

THE RIGHT of the Federal Communications Commission to inquire into allegations of anti-Semitism and news distortion in the operation of radio stations was defended by major Jewish organizations in the National Community Relations Advisory Council, coordinating body of Jew-

(Continued on page 32)

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## THE PEOPLE WANT PEACE

NO SINGLE declaration or act in recent times gave humanity more ready opportunity to crystallize and give vent to its deepest sentiments than the Truman declaration on November 30th that he was considering use of the atom bomb. The reaction was electric and immediate. The world said no in unmistakable terms. Despite confusion and in many cases lack of knowledge of the basic facts as to the cause for the present war in Korea and the world crisis, the people responded with a clear-cut rejection of the use of the atom bomb and of the steps which would lead to the outbreak of World War III. President Truman had afforded the world, as one correspondent put it, the opportunity to engage in an international Gallup poll and the people took advantage of it.

The Truman declaration also gave us the opportunity to prove how farcical was the attempt to libel the Stockholm pledge as a "communist deception." The millions of people who had signed their names to the protest against the use of the atom bomb and for branding those who would use it first as criminals, were not fooled into signing their names. They had had enough of war and wished to express their unequivocal opposition to it.

Many millions of Americans are now in a better position to re-evaluate the path which the Truman administration has taken and the inevitable tragedy and destruction that lies at the end of it. Far from attempting to resolve the economic and social problems which confront the American people, the Truman administration has involved us in warfare not only with the people of Korea but with all of Asia. It has attempted to deceive the American people into believing that the working out of our destiny demands that American boys die 5,000 miles away from our shores; that the right of China to regain Formosa, always an integral part of China, is inimical to our national defense; that the right of the other colonial peoples of Asia to be rid of colonial masters would create a threat to American interests. All this is of course argued on the grounds of safeguarding democracy. And yet it is becoming ever clearer that the use of the atomic energy for destructive purposes with which President Truman is constantly threatening the world, rather than using atomic energy for the advancement of humanity, is very much part of a strategy to destroy, rather than strengthen and preserve democracy.

Extremely fearful that the overwhelming demand of the people for peace might force a reversal or at least a modification of the war drive, the pro-war forces immediately undertook a campaign to convince the people that any concessions made would in fact constitute a new Munich and a policy of "appeasement." The very use of these terms is

itself an indication that the sentiments of the people are basically anti-fascist. By resorting to such demagoguery the warmakers are in fact admitting the deceptions in which they are engaged. Yet it is evident that unless the people really begin to fathom the true nature of appeasement and of Munichism, they will fail to break through the wall of lies erected to confuse them. In what way is it "appeasement" to allow a country of 450,000,000 people to be represented by a government that is both *de facto* and *de jure* in control of that country? By what stretch of the imagination does support of a corrupt, decadent and fascist clique such as that headed by Chiang Kai-shek constitute grounds for averting a "new Munich"? And how does the attempt by Washington to prevent the Chinese people from regaining part of their own territory constitute a strengthening of the democratic process? Many governments, it now is revealed, warned Washington of what would happen if General MacArthur marched American troops past the 38th Parallel on toward the Manchurian border. Was it opposition to "appeasement" that determined this arrogant refusal by Washington to listen to reason? The truth is that the administration is trying to put over the greatest Munich the world has ever witnessed by gathering to its side every single force throughout the world that was an integral part of the real appeasement policy which led to World War II.

The people dare not let up on their pressure to force on the Truman administration a policy of negotiating peace. This demands insistence on withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and permitting the Koreans by themselves to decide their own destiny, admission of China to the UN and calling off of American intervention in Formosa. *End the blood-letting in Korea! Remove the threat of world catastrophe from the common people of all nations! Negotiate peace!*

## RESIST McCARRANISM

THE McCarran machine to grind down American freedoms has begun on its destructive course. The arrest and of bail of 48 non-citizens whom the Department of Justice is trying to deport as one phase of its effort to still opposition to reactionary Truman administration policies, was slowed down a bit by decisions of judges all over the country to release 40 of them on bail. As Federal Judge Sylvester J. Ryan said on November 15, when he decided to allow 17 of the New York victims released on bail, the denial of bail to the non-citizens "was arbitrary and an abuse of discretion on the part of the attorney general." Eight



of the victims, however, still remain jailed in Los Angeles, Seattle, Detroit and Duluth. The Department of Justice is now trying to ram the deportation cases through hearings with indecent haste and has in some cases deprived the accused of due process by changing the "charges" against them in mid-stream in direct contravention of a Supreme Court decision that due process must be observed in these deportation cases.

A further step was taken by the Truman administration through Attorney General Howard J. McGrath on November 24 when he submitted his petition to the "Subversive Activities Control Board" to compel the Communist Party to register under the McCarran act. This document is unprecedented in American history. So far has the erosion of traditional liberties gone that, for the first time, a *political party* is being put up to trial. The charge is that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign government and hence subject to registration under the McCarran act. What is the real charge, however, as may be gathered from a reading of the petition? That the Communist Party has on many occasions in the past differed from the policy of the national administration, and more specifically, that the party is in strong opposition to the warmongering drive of the present administration. Many of the positions cited in the McGrath petition were also held by non-communist people of good will in this country and all over the world.

Why this sudden discovery that the Communist Party is a "foreign agent"? There were laws on the books to deal with unregistered "foreign agents" before the McCarran act, yet the party was never prosecuted under these laws in its 31 years of existence. The reason is clear: the charge could not be proved. It was not even made at the Foley Square trial. Nor does the McGrath petition offer any proof of the charge that could stand up in a court of law. In other words, the Department of Justice and President Truman, who piously issued statements about the unconstitutionality and unworkability of the McCarran act before its passage, is now only too willing to fabricate a case to implement the unconstitutional law. The reason is that the bipartisan warmakers are trying to suppress criticism of the disastrous policies they are following. The administration is determined to quiet the campaign for outlawing the atom bomb, against renazification and rearmament of Germany and the various pro-fascist policies as they arise in the wake of the drive towards war with the Soviet Union. Consequently, the McCarran law is not aimed at communists alone, but also at every element which dares to contend against these pro-fascist policies.

This attempt to stigmatize communists and progressives as belonging to an "international conspiracy" directed from Moscow should remind Jews of another "conspiracy" of which Hitler spoke, that of "international Jewry" directed from Jerusalem. The consequences to all democratic people and especially to the Jews of action flowing from agitation about those "international conspiracies" is now a matter of tragic history. Let us not allow this chapter of history to be repeated. President Truman and Attorney General

McGrath should be told by the trade unions, Jewish organizations and all democratic organizations and individuals that the McCarran law must be repealed.

## JIMCROW COURTS MARTIAL

ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1950, a young Negro officer, Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, Jr., of the jimcrow Negro 24th Infantry Regiment, which has fought in Korea since early in the war, was scheduled to die for misconduct before the enemy. But investigation of the circumstances surrounding the all-white court martial by which he was sentenced, brought out some shocking facts. Competent medical testimony as to the condition of Lt. Gilbert and his men when the order was issued, was rejected; defense witnesses were not released from combat service to testify in his behalf; and it was discovered that white army officers had said that they wanted to "make an example" of Lt. Gilbert before Negro soldiers. The National Association for Advancement of Colored Peoples took up the case and tremendous mass protests arose among the Negro people and progressive white groups. The case was reviewed by the Judge Advocate's Office in Washington and in late November it was announced that President Truman had signed an order commuting Gilbert's sentence to 20 years.

In the meantime it became known that similar treatment had been suffered by a number of the jimcrowed Negro soldiers of the 24th Regiment. Fred Covit, 23-year-old Negro soldier from Richmond, Cal., wrote his family that he was sentenced in Korea to 20 years in prison, and that "it seems to me that all this was done because of prejudice. . . . There are many more fellows who are being caused to suffer from the injustices practiced in Korea." The NAACP has said that it has received scores of requests for legal help from Negro GI's in Korea. Thurgood Marshall, NAACP counsel, states that "preliminary study indicates that these men were accused and sentenced under unbelievably prejudiced conditions."

A campaign is getting under way to obtain justice for these Negro victims of the jimcrow system. The reduction of the sentence of Lt. Gilbert to 20 years is a shocking face-saver for the army brass. As Rep. Vito Marcantonio said, "The fight will continue until Lt. Gilbert has been set free and the unjust sentence has been completely and unconditionally reversed." The Progressive Party has demanded that "the president order an immediate investigation of the army's scandalous sentencing of scores of Negro soldiers in Korea revealed recently by Negro correspondents." The Civil Rights Congress will aid in the campaign. Jewish organizations should add their voices and resources for the redress of these jimcrow injustices.

## FUND RAISING CONTROVERSY

FOR several years the struggle for control of fund-raising in the Jewish community in the United States has been



going on between the Council for Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds (CJFWF), composed of over 255 welfare funds that serve more than 800 cities, and the United Jewish Appeal, whose emphasis is on funds for Israel. The CJFWF is in the hands of the wealthy group of Jews mostly associated with the American Jewish Committee and those of a similar viewpoint, who are largely non-Zionist. The UJA, of course, is controlled by Zionists of the General Zionist political persuasion. The latter held undisputed sway over collection of funds for Israel in the period of most intense involvement of American Jewry in Israel, immediately following the war. But in the past three years this intensity of interest has waned considerably and it has become considerably harder to raise even a portion of the multi-million dollar campaign objectives of the UJA. During this period the non-Zionist group, headed by American Jewish Committee President Jacob Blaustein, has become stronger and has tried to take over complete control of fund-raising for Israel, as well as for welfare purposes in the United States.

In preparation for the annual meeting of the national CJFWF, a blueprint was presented for replacing the United Jewish Appeal with a "Central Israel Fund" under CJFWF auspices which would eliminate the separate campaigns of Hadassah, the Histadrut, the Hebrew University and other organizations which collect about 20 millions annually outside the United Jewish Appeal. This brought down a clamorous protest from Zionist elements, who denounced the

CJFWF for its attempt to usurp the UJA and thus to threaten collection of funds for Israel. Harry Lurie, executive director of the CJFWF, called the charges "nonsense," pointing out that the blueprint was intended to be offered only when the United Jewish Appeal was not reconstituted, as it must be each year. Whereupon the reconstitution of the UJA for 1951 was hastily announced and the present phase of the conflict was ended.

The Zionists have hurled the charge of "lack of democracy" at the CJFWF. This is true. But the Zionist organizations themselves are hardly more democratic. Their objective is not greater democracy but, as one Anglo-Jewish weekly put it editorially, "to replace Zionists with non-Zionists on the Welfare Funds." The fact is that neither side of this struggle for power has asked the real questions about the Jewish fund raising apparatus in the United States—how can the Jewish masses, who provide the funds controlled by the bureaucrats in the highest circles of the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist organizations, be given their proper voice in the disposition of these funds? What is needed is genuine democracy in the Jewish community, so that no group of wealthy and bureaucratic Jewish leaders shall presume to speak for the Jewish community without any warrant by democratic process. This means a change from "philanthropy" to responsible political and social participation by the givers of money in the democratic disposition of funds in the best interests of the Jewish people.

## THE FOLLY OF "COMMIPHOBIA"

**P**RONOUNCEMENTS by many Jewish leaders on "communism" continue to exhibit the deepest confusion. Consider, for instance, Judge Meier Steinbrink, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In a speech made in November, Judge Steinbrink asserted that "The moral leadership which won the war is in danger of being lost by the United States on the domestic scene," because of the attempt of neo-fascists to advance the fight against communism by the use of mass hysteria and fascist methods. He went on to urge "liberals" in this country to "retain their grip in the fight against communism" and to prevent the "neo-fascists from seizing control of the struggle." What Judge Steinbrink, like so many other leaders in Jewish life, have not learned from the Hitlerian experience is that *anti-communism is a fascist technique*, because its effect is to undermine and finally to destroy the democratic process.

No one accuses Judge Steinbrink or the many other Jewish leaders who are now conducting an anti-communist campaign of being fascists. But this is not the first time that Jews, no matter what their intentions, have aided and

abetted their murderers by succumbing to anti-communist hysteria, as the recent history of German Jewry shows. The moment is too critical to allow of any but the plainest speaking. Those Jews who are falling for the anti-communist line—no matter how much they assert their loyalty to "liberal" principles, as Judge Steinbrink does here—are falling in with those "neo-fascist forces" to whom he referred. While Judge Steinbrink realizes the danger of losing the perspective gained in the anti-fascist war, his own anti-communist agitation is evidence of that very loss of perspective.

Or let us consider Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, who has descended even more deeply into the anti-communist morass than Judge Steinbrink, as might be expected from the head of Amoco, the oil firm over which Blaustein presides. Said Blaustein: "One has only to examine communist appeals everywhere in the world to realize that racial and religious [campaigns] play only technically different roles in the propaganda of fascism and communism. The fascists promise to maintain and sanctify these prejudices. The communists promise to

eliminate them. In each case, they are exploiting them." Note that Blaustein ignores the fact that wherever the working class takes power, they actually do eliminate religious and racial oppression. Blaustein also ignores the fact that the communists in this country to the best of their powers combat religious and racial hatred and oppression, wherever they occur. The uncompromising pursuit of this principle, the fight against Negro oppression in the concrete, in every single case, is disconcerting to Blaustein. When he identifies communists and fascists, he is simply flouting all reason: he would have us believe that two and two do not make four. To this hysterical unreason has "Commiphobia" brought Blaustein and the American Jewish Committee. This organization is however, not "innocent." Its official adherence to the All-American Committee to Combat Communism is congenial to the men of Big Business who control the committee.

Another evidence of the "Commiphobia" into which so many Jewish leaders have plunged in recent months, is the new line that many Jews have taken towards meeting the economic crisis in Israel. The National Planning Conference in Washington at the end of October, attended by representatives from 44 national Jewish organizations, decided that one method of meeting the crisis was to obtain American loans for Israel. Since the conference many Jewish leaders have reiterated this position.

This new line was followed by the delegation of 15 national Jewish leaders to President Truman on November 15 to urge grant of a loan on the ground that Israel was a "democratic bastion" in the Middle East—that is, according to the strange language of American imperialism, a possible base of military operations in a war against the Soviet Union. At about the same time Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said at its biennial meeting that Israel was the "most dependable ally of the United States in that critical area of the world, the Near East." "It is high time," he continued, "that the ironic contradiction cease between our government's generous assistance even to fascist Spain and to other reactionary governments the world over and its patent and inexcusable failure to allocate out of the billions that we have expended, such sums as are desperately needed by the lone bastion of democracy in the Middle East, which is Israel."

The confusion to which "Commiphobia" has led the Jewish leadership is here apparent. What Dr. Eisendrath regards as ironic is not "ironic" at all. The support of reaction all over the world is a deliberate policy of the Truman administration, a technique for anti-communist strategy on a world scale. If and when the Truman administration gives a loan to Israel, it will be because Israel has committed itself to subjection to this world anti-communist strategy, with the attendant reactionary effects in Israel, including subjection of Israel to American dictates in domestic, as well as foreign policy. The record in this regard is too obvious all over the world to be argued here. One would think that the renazification of

Germany would be enough to open the eyes of Jewish leaders. Yet many Jewish leaders fail to draw logical conclusions from the patent facts because they have succumbed to anti-communist hysteria. These leaders bear a terrible responsibility to the Jewish people and to democracy. The danger is too serious for us to condone misleadership.

Another variety of "Commiphobia" among the Jewish leadership is represented by the "liberals" in the leadership of the American Jewish Congress. In *Congress Weekly* for November 20, 1950, the leading editorial sadly notes that "the spirit of McCarthyism" has won a victory in the elections. Apparently, says the editorial, McCarthy "succeeded in persuading large sections of the public that Stalin's cohorts had entrenched themselves on Capitol Hill and that he was engaged in the holy task of saving the country from communism." The consequence, it goes on, is that the "outlook for the 'Fair Deal' in the next two years is none too bright."

These "liberals," however, combine this condemnation of McCarthyism with tenacious adherence to the Truman administration. Yet that administration has amply shown itself to be a possible Hindenburg regime for the United States. As that regime facilitated the coming to power of Hitler and finally turned power over to him, so the Truman administration is yielding to pro-fascist pressures on both the domestic and foreign scenes. Instead of defending American democracy against the onslaughts of the McCarthys, the Truman administration is softening the people with pious liberal statements, does absolutely nothing to implement their professions and then follows the opposite policy in practice. One need only point to the brave words uttered against Taft-Hartley and latterly against the McCarran act; in both cases the campaign for repeal has in effect been dropped by the administration. Repeal of neither law appeared in President Truman's recent message on "must" legislation. And in foreign policy, the Truman administration operates on the same basic strategy as the MacArthur-McCarthy pro-fascists. The only difference is that these pro-fascists push the administration toward a quicker tempo. Furthermore, the Truman administration has itself been the author of a good part of the corrosive "anti-communist" measures without which the present grave danger to democracy would not have been possible. AJ Congress leaders refuse to participate in an effective unity with all who are ready to fight for civil and democratic rights regardless of party affiliation and political differences. This refusal inevitably leads to a weakening of the struggle which Congress itself proclaims as its own.

We have indicated briefly some of the varieties of "Commiphobia" that have gripped many Jewish leaders in the recent period. As Americans and Jews, the Jewish community is imperiled by this capitulation. These leaders should study once again the history of Hitlerism and learn that anti-communism leads to the destruction of the Jewish people. The Jews need a leadership that will fight "Commiphobia" with clarity and without compromise.

# SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

By Rabbi Abraham Bick

**P**RAGUE, Nov. 13.—I write these lines about an hour after getting off the plane from Paris. I am on my way to the Second World Congress for Peace, which was to have taken place in Sheffield, England, and which, on the proposal of the Polish delegation, has been transferred to Warsaw. The airfield in Prague is full of airplanes that have just arrived from all parts of Europe, North and South Africa, and Asia, bringing delegates to the Warsaw peace congress. At the moment I wish to tell you of the infamous treatment to which our American delegation was subjected when we arrived in England.

On Friday night, November 10th, half of the American delegation, which consisted of six Protestant ministers, a number of prominent American trade unionists, intellectuals and representatives of local peace groups from 16 states, and my humble self—33 delegates in all—left La Guardia Field for London. We arrived eight hours late because our plane had to make a number of stops in Canada and because there was a thick fog over London. At 11:30 PM our plane came through the fog and landed. As we got off, we were met by a torrential downpour.

American citizens, as is well known, need no visas in the Marshall Plan countries. Since we were rather tired and exhausted after the long journey, we were glad that the stamping of our passports would not take too long and that we would quickly be able to leave for London and get some rest. That's what we thought. But as we opened the doors to the immigration office, we came face to face with a host of secret police from Scotland Yard. They surrounded us and notified us that, since the British government had refused entry to such leaders of the congress as the world-renowned scientist Frederic Joliot-Curie and a number of delegates from the Soviet Union, the congress would surely not take place in Sheffield. They therefore advised us to return. We asked permission to telephone the arrangements committee of the congress in London. Instead of granting this request, the police began to question each one of us on why he was going to the congress, what was his past, his connections, his ideas, his religious and political beliefs.

It was done like this. Each one was taken to a separate room with four members of the secret police, who asked questions and wrote everything down. Some of the inquisitorial questions: whom do you represent, to what party do you belong, are you a communist, did you ever belong to the Communist Party, whom did you vote for in the last

election, whom are you going to get in touch with during your stay in London. A Negro representative of the Farmers' Union in Iowa was asked if he was a follower of Paul Robeson. I was asked if I had read Howard Fast's books, whether I knew him personally and whether I had ever characterized Bevin in an article as an "arch-imperialist and a colonial oppressor."

AFTER THIS THIRD DEGREE, WE WERE TAKEN INTO BARRACKS and ordered to wait. These barracks were at one time a military installation but are now used as a detention camp for unwanted immigrants. We sat in these barracks till early morning, sleepy and extremely hungry, while the police deliberately and calmly analyzed each case as they had already done with hundreds of delegates from 79 other countries, representatives of millions of people whose present crime is that they desire peace, that they wish to save London and New York, Tel Aviv and Prague from total destruction.

At six AM we were told that we would not be allowed to enter the country. With a group of French and Italian delegates, I took a plane to Paris. We then went to the permanent headquarters of the World Congress for Peace, where we met thousands of delegates from other parts of the world who were also making their way to Warsaw.

The disgraceful anti-democratic action of the British government provoked resentment in many European circles. Even the conservative London *Daily Mail* condemned the action of the government. At a press conference arranged by the office of the World Peace Congress, an Episcopalian minister from Boston, Reverend Robert Muir, who was the secretary of the American delegation, protested that the anti-humanitarian treatment of the delegation, among them



Frederic Joliot-Curie

RABBI ABRAHAM BICK is a noted Yiddish writer and scholar who is active in progressive Jewish cultural activities.



older men and women, by the British secret police in herding them into these freezing barracks, violated the most elementary principles of justice. Many delegates who were born in America and had believed that England was a model of freedom, characterized this treatment as an act of cowardice and of fear at the very mention of the word "peace." In commenting on the situation, *L'Humanite* editorialized: "Even as it is unavoidable that those who seek world domination, follow in the footsteps of Hitler and take over his racist ideology, slogans and methods, so also is it avoidable that secret police should use gestapo methods against legitimate travellers on their way to an international meeting."

On Monday night, November 13th, we were on our way to Warsaw by airplane in groups of 50.

WARSAW, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 19.—"NEVER HAVE I BEEN AT such a gathering in all my life," said an old delegate from Algiers. Together with 3,000 delegates from 70 countries travelling through Czechoslovakia and Poland, he began to understand how great is the will of the people for peace.

The best representatives of humanity, who were not allowed to stay in England and who were provided with transportation by the Czechoslovak government and are now the guests of the Polish government, are assembled at the peace congress. A spirit of unity animates all these fighters for peace. Among the delegates are representatives of science, of various churches and religious institutions, of workers, peasants and even of the Conservative Party of England; working class leaders from Czechoslovakia and Hungary; peasants from Rumania and Bulgaria; a Catholic bishop from Genoa, Italy; the world-famous poet from Chile, Pablo Neruda; the east German writers Arnold Zweig and Johannes Becher; fighters from Vietnam and Korea; church dignitaries from the Soviet Union; a leading rabbi from France; Chinese delegates Lin Ming Yee and Methodist minister Willard Uphaus of New Haven.

Tens of thousands of Polish citizens have come to greet the delegates. All the trains were decorated with slogans for peace. Hundreds of flags and bouquets of flowers added brilliant color to the great historic occasion. The unbounded enthusiasm of the entire Polish population for the congress



and their warm reception of the delegates surpassed anything that I could imagine. From the faces of all of the delegates who thronged the streets shines forth the joy informed by a deep understanding of the workers and common people of the people's democracies, who are completing the task of reconstruction and are marching forward to a system of real social security. All Warsaw, which suffered more terribly than any other city in Europe from the war and where the people are feverishly rebuilding, breathes the spirit of peace.

The hearts and eyes of the entire world are turned to the greatest hall in Warsaw, which was finished only three hours before the congress opened. This magnificent building, which will house the largest printing plant in Poland, is decorated with the flags of all countries and bedecked with flowers. At 8 PM on Thursday, a storm of applause greets the appearance on the platform of the leaders of the World Partisans of Peace, Professor Frederic Joliot-Curie, Madame Eugenie Cotton, Alexander Fadeyev, Pietro Nenni, French priest Abbe Boulier, and many others.

THE DELEGATES WERE WELCOMED BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF the Warsaw Municipal Council, Jerzy Albrecht, who declared that the citizens of Warsaw, who had lost a half million of their relatives in the last war, are living witnesses to the horrors of war and are determined never to permit another war.

The first session Friday morning was opened with a two hour report by Professor Joliot-Curie. His speech electrified the audience of 10,000 delegates and guests. Joliot-Curie did not try to create any oratorical effects. His voice resounded through the hall with warmth and sincerity.

Joliot-Curie spoke of the unparalleled human energy that has been harnessed in the cause of peace in order to prevent the imperialists from carrying through their designs. He called upon every scientist to set himself with his whole heart against the criminal minority that wishes to pervert the highest achievement of science, atomic energy, against the interests of mankind and for the destruction of humanity. The audience was deeply moved when this great scientist declared, "He who propagandizes that the two systems, capitalist and socialist, cannot co-exist in peace, is himself a partner to the greatest crime."

The congress gave a tremendous ovation to the noted leader of the international women's movement, Madame Eugenie Cotton, who spoke on behalf of the millions of mothers who did not wish to sacrifice their sons and daughters on the altar of war.

WARSAW, NOVEMBER 22—I WRITE THIS HALF AN HOUR AFTER the Second World Congress for Peace had ended. My ears still ring with the sound of thousands of voices, the magnificent mass singing of the youth and the tremendous enthusiasm of the congress delegates. Still fresh in my memory are the deeply moving moments of the congress, when the faith of all delegates and guests was strengthened immeasurably in the belief that the most worthy of all

capital is the human being and that a great and living international bond exists among all peoples, regardless of language, color, religion and even political beliefs. The unifying thought—peace—was expressed in the warmest and most wonderful symphony of language and dialects.

For five days, from November 16 to 21, the representatives of 70 countries dealt in deep earnest with the threat of war. When the great fighter for peace, Joliot-Curie, cried out, "Those who will drop the atomic bomb will have to reckon with the masses, who will make their own just judgment," the delegates demonstrated their full agreement and conviction in 70 languages.

The Second World Congress was much larger than the earlier congresses in Wroclaw and Paris: larger, first of all, because it was based more broadly by the participation of over 300 progressive religious delegates, by the presence of representative leaders from all branches of science and art. It was also broader in the diversity of problems and approaches that it dealt with.

I ATTENDED THE RECEPTION TENDERED BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION to the American delegation. Sitting side by side were the American and Soviet delegates, drinking toasts to the America of Lincoln and Roosevelt and the America of tomorrow. The veteran of Soviet journalism, David Zaslavsky, was there, and Alexander Fadeyev, Alexander Koreichuk and the young writer Boris Polevoy. We were all deeply moved when the young and spirited Boris Polevoy took a fountain pen out of his pocket, telling that it had been given to him by an American soldier when they had met on the day of victory at the Elbe. Polevoy exclaimed, "No power in the world will efface that warm handclasp of the American soldier from Colorado with a Soviet writer, who travelled from Stalingrad to Berlin, from the Volga to the Spree."

This same thought was also expressed by the great Soviet tribune, Ilya Ehrenburg, when he declared, "Is it conceivable that the superiority of any philosophical system can be decided by war? War will not save capitalism, but neither is war the path to socialism. I favor peace not only with the America of Paul Robeson and Howard Fast, but also with the America of Truman and Acheson. We have only one planet on which to live and this one must not be destroyed. We call upon everyone to take steps against the aggressors, not of this or that state, not against this or that idea, not against this or that party or against this or that person, but against war."

WHAT ROLE DID THE AMERICAN DELEGATION PLAY AT THIS CONGRESS? First of all, it is necessary to emphasize that not all those who wished to come to the congress and who wholeheartedly sympathize with the program of the Partisans of Peace were able to come. But from the other side of the ocean one could hear the voice of that great American and Negro, Paul Robeson, and of the anti-fascist writer, Howard Fast. Despite their absence, the congress elected them to the praesidium. They had not been allowed to come but they

were with us. In all discussions and in all committees American trade unionists, Negro leaders, clergymen, intellectuals and housewives participated in this great undertaking for peace. The very fact that over 60 delegates did participate, despite tremendous difficulties, was in itself a great achievement.

Another important point in relation to the peace congress was the attitude of the Israeli government, and I stress *government*, not of the people of Israel, not of the best intellectuals in Israel. Proportionately more signatures for the Stockholm appeal were gathered in Israel than in many of the larger countries. Dozens of partisans of peace from Israel would have come to the congress if the Ben Gurion government had not refused them permission. Nevertheless a number of representatives from Mapam and the Communist Party and a number of non-party intellectuals did come. The poet Abraham Shlonsky, the noted Tel Aviv lawyer and Mapam deputy speaker of the Knesset, Nahum Nir-Rafalkes, Mapam Knesset member Bar Yehuda and the Hebrew scholar Dr. S. Eisenstadt were there. Speaking in the name of the Israeli delegation were the Arab Communist Knesset member Tewfiq Toubi and Mapam Knesset member Meyer Yaari, who spoke in moving terms of the desire of the Israeli people for peace.

This Second World Congress for Peace was most effective in organizing and mobilizing the forces for peace at this critical moment. The delegates were conscious of their strength. Behind them stands the magnificent success of the Stockholm appeal and through them speak millions of men and women who cry out in 70 languages—"We want peace!"

### *At the Warsaw Ghetto Monument*

AT THREE o'clock of the afternoon of November 20th, the entire delegation from Eastern and Western Germany at the Warsaw Peace Congress visited the Warsaw monument to those who died in the great uprising of the ghetto. The Germans left a wreath with the inscription, "The German Partisans of Peace, to the Jewish victims of Hitler, in deepest respect."

Half an hour later a British delegation of over 200 arrived to pay their respects. They were divided into a youth group and a group of older people. Each group laid its wreath at the foot of the monument. The Dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, then knelt before the monument and said, "With the most profound humility of spirit I bow my head before the millions of Jews who were sent to their death by the Hitlerite murderers. I hope that never again will the pages of history be stained with such crimes." Each delegate then filed past the monument and left his own individual wreath. Then the Communist leader, Phil Piratin, former member of Parliament from Whitechapel, said, "I speak as a Jew. The whole Jewish tragedy of the countries occupied by the nazis is well known to me and its significance is deeply etched in my heart."



# ***MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD***

**W**AR THREATENS MANKIND; every child, every woman, every man. The United Nations is not fulfilling the hopes placed in it by the people to ensure peace and security.

All human life and mankind's cultural heritage are in peril.

But the people would cling to the hope that the United Nations will return resolutely to the principles upon which it was founded after the Second World War, and which consisted of securing freedom, peace and mutual respect between all peoples.

More and more the peoples of the world are putting their hope in themselves — in their determination and in their good will.

Every thinking person knows that he who says that "War is inevitable," slanders mankind.

You, who read this message proclaimed in the name of the peoples of 80 nations, represented at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, must never forget that the fight for peace is your own fight. You should know that hundreds of millions of defenders of peace join in stretching out their hands to you. They invite you to take part in the noblest battle ever engaged in by a humanity confident of its future.

We cannot wait for peace. We must win it.

Join your will to ours in demanding the cessation of the war which rages in Korea and which may set the world ablaze. Stand up with us in opposing the attempt to resow the seeds of war in Germany and Japan.

Together with 500 million human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, we demand the abolition of atomic weapons, general disarmament and controls to accomplish this. The strict control of general disarmament and of the destruction of atomic weapons is technically possible. What is needed is the will to do it.

We demand the outlawing of war propaganda.

Let us press before all parliaments, all governments and the General Assembly of the United Nations for the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the forces for peace throughout the world is great enough, the voice of free men is strong enough, for us together to secure a meeting of the representatives of the five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides, with unprecedented force, the proof that men and women, gathered from the five continents of the world can agree, despite great differences of opinion, in order to dispel the scourge of war and maintain peace.

Let the governments follow this example and peace will be saved!

(Adopted by the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw, November 21, 1950.)



# RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: I

By A. Strauss

## Cleveland

**L**AST October one of America's leading rabbis, Abba Hillel Silver, delivered in his Cleveland temple a series of four lectures on the world crisis. These lectures, which were heard by many thousands, reflected the profound disquiet of the Jewish masses. It is not surprising that the position taken by Rabbi Silver on crucial issues, provoked widespread discussion.

The first three lectures were concerned mainly with foreign policy while the fourth was devoted to the domestic situation. In his first lecture Rabbi Silver pointed out that the East-West conflict is no chance affair, but a consequence of deep-going historical changes. When this struggle is resolved, he pointed out, the world will have undergone profound changes. Rabbi Silver sharply attacked the warmongers and their plans for preventive war. He advised them to analyze the reverses in the Korean war in the short space of three months and he called for the mediation of the Korean conflict through negotiations with the Soviet Union and New China.

## Conspiracy Against the Left

The second lecture was even more incisive than the first. Rabbi Silver adduced a mass of facts and quotations from conservative sources to prove that the West has, since the Soviet Revolution, devoted itself to the destruction of the "dictatorship on the left" and that for this purpose the West has built up and encouraged the development of fascism and the "dictatorship of the right." The second world war and the destruction wrought by fascism, he said, were the direct result of the western program for the destruction of the "dictatorship on the left" and this same policy of building up rightist dictatorships is still being pursued and leading to a third world war.

In the second and third lectures Silver developed the ideas that war is not inevitable and that world peace can be achieved only on the basis of the recognition of the possibility of the coexistence of both systems. Thus the world must recognize that there can be room for socialism, communism and capitalism, since for a long time they will have to live together and compete in a world at peace. Rabbi Silver extended this point in his third lecture. He brought out many facts concerning the development of the Soviet system and concluded that, although "they" (Stalin and the Soviet Politburo) are dedicated to world revolution as

their final goal, they are not dogmatists. They have maintained and continue to maintain a policy of adaptability and adjustment to historical situations and conditions. Rabbi Silver quoted from recent dispatches of Harrison Salisbury, Moscow correspondent of the *New York Times*, to the effect that there is not the slightest sign of war hysteria in the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union is absorbed in building for a peaceful existence.

The fourth and last lecture of the series, devoted to the internal situation, was a sharp condemnation of hysteria, anti-red witchhunts and the McCarran law, which Rabbi Silver attacked as attempts to destroy the Bill of Rights.

## Who Is Responsible?

The lectures caused great consternation among those elements in Rabbi Silver's temple allied with the Council for Judaism and the American Jewish Committee, as well as among the preventive war advocates in the community. It is not difficult to understand why the Cleveland press, which generally reports all of Rabbi Silver's appearances at great length and which quoted large sections of his first lecture on October 8th, completely ignored the following three lectures.

In his introductory remarks to the third and fourth lectures, Rabbi Silver manifested a tendency to appease the pro-war elements both inside and outside his congregation. He defensively stated that he did not favor appeasing the Soviet Union—an accusation which had been levelled



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

A. STRAUSS is the Cleveland correspondent of the *Morning Freiheit*.

against him—and he criticised the leaders of the Soviet Union for their attacks on Truman and Acheson, who, he said, are sincerely interested in peace. Rabbi Silver came to the unfounded conclusion that the Soviet government attacks *all* of America as imperialistic, whereas the Soviet Union limits this characterization to controlling elements in economic and political life.

If Truman and Acheson are sincerely interested in peace, who are the architects and organizers of the cold and hot wars of which Rabbi Silver spoke? Who is supporting fascist dictatorships for the purpose of destroying the Soviet Union? Who spoon-feeds the Franco, Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee regimes? Who is recreating Hitlerism in Germany? Who authored the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan? Who leads the fight to deny New China its rightful place in the UN? In the course of his lectures Rabbi Silver himself pointed to the responsible parties. How then can he justify his statement that the leaders of the administration are spotlessly innocent and that their race for world domination and a third world war stems from a sincere interest in peace?

One ordinary person who attended the lectures—and there were many ordinary people present—put it this way.

“One Silver opposed the other Silver. But the victorious speaker in the four lectures was the Silver who masterfully attacked the warmongers for trying to halt the advance of the subject peoples to their national and social liberation.”

Although we disagree with some of Rabbi Silver's conservative and anti-communist opinions, these lectures nevertheless contained the vital and healthy kernel of a program for peace. This program is based on cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union and the new democracies. This program can save the world from destruction. The dangers which Dr. Silver so strongly underlined are the dangers which are profoundly disturbing to every sincere Jew. Rabbi Silver, who sees these dangers, should take steps to help mobilize the Jewish masses for defense against the threat which hangs over their heads. For there can be no doubt that speeches alone, no matter how great a contribution they can make, cannot dispel the threat.

Whether Rabbi Silver will take these steps still remains to be seen. At the same time it is clear that the masses cannot and dare not wait. The most important task at the present time is the mobilization of the Jewish masses to fight for a program of united action against war and fascism.

## WHAT RABBI SILVER SAID

**F**OLLOWING are excerpts from the lectures delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver in Cleveland in October 1950.

“The Satan of the Gestapo witchhunt which is embodied in the notorious McCarran law is haunting the country. It represents the greatest threat to our democratic traditions since the birth of the Declaration of Independence.”

“As a result of the Korean war and the election campaign a flood of loyalty oaths and anti-Communist laws have swept the land and threatened to destroy the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.” Rabbi Silver asserted that McCarthyism and Francoism are threatening our country and that “the halls of Congress are terrorizing the American people.”

Quoting from the speech of President Truman on April 8, 1950 before the American Bar Association to the effect that there is no threat of communism to America, Rabbi Silver asked: “What has happened since April 8? Has there been an increase in such threat? Of course not! Why then this flood of anti-communist hysteria? Why then this Gestapo witchhunt, which has already crept into every nook and corner of our academic, intellectual, economic and social life?”

“The McCarran law is aimed at thought con-

trol and is intended to stop any and all opposition to the ruling circles in this country. It will punish anyone who will fight for new and progressive ideas such as housing projects, slum clearance, and other projects which are included in the program of the Communist Party.”

Rabbi Silver paid special tribute to the 31 professors at the University of California “for their patriotic act in refusing to sign the loyalty oath.” He declared: “I express my personal opinion that these 31 American professors thereby demonstrated a shining example of loyalty and devotion to the true principles of the highest American ideals. We live in a time when all those who are today fighting for the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights are threatened with the loss of their careers, freedom and liberty.”

“It is not the historic mission of our people to destroy our liberties in order to preserve a certain economic system. Those of us who have studied history know that economic systems come and go—they are not immortal. During our own lifetime we have witnessed changes in the economic systems of various countries. What is important are the high ideals of liberty and freedom which have been written in the blood of our forefathers and the builders of the American Republic.”

# RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: II

By Rabbi André Zaoui

*The following plea for peace on religious grounds was made by Rabbi André Zaoui, of Paris, who signed the Stockholm peace appeal. Although we may disagree with Rabbi Zaoui's pacifism and his ideas about the ultimate solution of human problems, we believe it most urgent that all men of good will, no matter what views they may hold, can and must unite to impose peace upon the world. Rabbi Zaoui's statement appeared in Droit et Liberté, November 17-23, 1950, and is here translated from the French.—Eds.*

## Paris

**W**E believe it necessary more than ever in our troubled world today to affirm the principles of Judaism on peace in society and peace among nations.

Our wise men have taught us that one of the ten principles which elevate man and assure him of eternal life, is the establishment of peace between man and his neighbor, for peace is to be desired above all dissension. The sages have told us: "Peace is a great thing. . . . While Israel lives united for peace and by peace, even when it abandons itself to idolatry, God can do nothing against it." The same is true for all nations. We can even say, "When nations live united for peace and by peace, even if the several nations owe allegiance to different ideologies, war can not be saddled upon them and lead them to destruction."

The Jewish people have throughout their history and again in recent years borne witness to the Law of Justice, of Love and of Peace. For bearing witness they have suffered martyrdom. Yet they did not cease to hold firmly to the eternal values embodied in the message of their religion: respect and love for every human being because every human being is a child of God.

No one on earth has the right to take the life of a man when this man seeks the good and practices justice and, above all, when this man meets together with nearly the totality of nations—I mean dozens of millions of men of good will, old people, women, children and youth, whom God has created for his glory.

The nations, yesterday united for victory, should not today consider themselves as the enemies of tomorrow, nor should they embark upon the mad course of destruction and annihilation.

But universal peace does not depend solely on governments or peoples. I am firmly and absolutely convinced

that it also depends, above all, upon each one of us. And it is also important that no individual should do anything whatever, even in the most trivial acts of daily life, that may stir up hatred and division among men. On the contrary, each one of us should devote himself, if he wishes to be alive tomorrow, to striving for unity, harmony and peace. Each one of us should subdue any resentment in his heart that might cause him to hate his neighbor, because the path of security lies only in thoughts of peace and in the abatement of all dissension.

Every one of us should consider in his heart the misery and injustice of which only too many human beings are the victims and should sincerely work for justice to them, for the betterment of their living conditions and the enrichment of their souls. Every one of us should in the nakedness of his spirit and in the seclusion of his conscience have the courage to recognize that above all forces in the world, above the Russian and American giants, is the creative spirit of God, of God living and eternal, who loves equally all men, his children.

We, the Jews of continental Europe, cannot forget that about five years ago, after we suffered the most horrible torment that humanity has ever known, our lives were saved by the liberating armies of the East, as well as of the West. Nor should we forget the innumerable sacrifices voluntarily made by the Russians and the Americans, as well as of the English and French people, for the common victory. Neither can the world forget the millions of those who were shot, deported and massacred, our defenseless Jewish and non-Jewish brothers who weakened the barbaric forces of nazism.

In the name of these dead and in homage to their memory, humanity today should choose to live in peace and constantly to strive for a peace which unites all men in brotherhood, no matter what their political or religious views.

It is without doubt simpler to decide matters by force and war than to persuade the world that no one wins a war. But even if it is hard to reach an agreement, a truce and peaceful formulas in all matters which separate individuals and peoples, do we not wish to make an unceasing effort to devote ourselves indefatigably to building at last an imperishable unity of humanity in brotherhood?

Surely, the answer is yes, for then humanity will be blessed by peace and joy for everyone.



## RABBIS APPEAL FOR PEACE: III

### *Sofia*

**T**HE place of all religious Jews is in the camp of peace, Asher Hananel, chief rabbi of Bulgaria, stated at the Bulgarian Peace Congress held in Sofia prior to the opening of the Second World Peace Congress.

In a significant statement, Rabbi Hananel said: "In the name of the Jews who have remained in Bulgaria and who have joined with the Bulgarian people in the building of socialism in our country, I greet the Second National Congress for Peace." Quoting the famous remark of Joseph Stalin that "to avoid war we have to expose and harness the warmongers," Rabbi Hananel declared:

"The honor and conscience of the peoples of all the world demand that the inhuman propaganda for a new war be stopped. The American State Department has completely adopted the slogans of the Hitlerites, and the anti-Semitic terminology of Streicher. . . . We firmly stand for peace, because we are convinced that victory is ours."

Coincident with his participation in the Bulgarian Peace Congress, the chief rabbi of Bulgaria issued a statement to "All Jews Wherever They May Be" in which he called on the Jewish people to take up the cudgels against war.

Recalling what had happened in the second world war, he said: "We have witnessed a cruel, rude war with

cynicism and savagery never before known in the history of mankind, and which ended with the defeat of the fascist beasts. Humanity lost 30 million in this war among whom not less than six million were Jews, our brothers and sisters."

Stating that Bulgarian Jews are happy to live in a country which stands resolutely in the front ranks of the partisans of peace, Rabbi Hananel warned that preparations have begun for a war, "which promises the annihilation of human culture." The world has been divided into two camps. One is that of the grasping imperialists "for whom war means money, the murder of children and old people means profits, for whom the atomic bomb is an instrument for the subjection of small nations. Those, who shower thousands of tons of bombs on the innocent Korean people, boast of the burning of the country of a people who have no other fault than they wish to be united, independent, like all free people on the surface of the earth."

The second camp, which stands in opposition to the unscrupulous friends of Mars, is that of "peaceful labor, of those who have declared war on war, and who want fraternity among all peoples in the world."

For Jews, said Rabbi Hananel, there can be no choice. "Anyone who sympathizes with the camp of instigators of a new war cannot be a Jew."

## THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL

*By Esther Vilenska*

**A**S a result of the municipal elections held in Israel on November 14, 1950, the big bourgeoisie strengthened its position in the large cities of the country.

The election program of the General Zionists (party of the industrialists and landlords) had an unmistakable class character: annulment of all price control, unfettered freedom for the big capitalists, legalization of the black market, raising of profits, lowering of wages. The percentage of votes received by the General Zionists in cities was as follows: in Tel-Aviv, 31 per cent (seven per cent in January 1949); in Ramath Gan, 38 per cent; in Petekh Tikva, 30 per cent; in Haifa, 22 per cent; in Nathanya, 22 per cent; and in Jerusalem, 16 per cent. The General Zionists made

their biggest advances among the small merchants, the artisans and the small producers. These groups had been hard hit by the shoe and clothing rationing decree, which caused a sudden and drastic cut in their income. This decree aided the big bourgeoisie in removing small producers and artisans from competition in the market. The big bourgeoisie was strengthened tremendously by this decree. Yet, the middle class groups that revolted against the decree made the mistake of supposing that the bourgeoisie could save them from ruin.

The growth of the General Zionists was also a consequence of the pro-American orientation of the Mapai leadership. This leadership had consistently fostered the conviction that dependence on the American government is both desirable and necessary. It convinced many that the country's economic difficulties could be solved not by

ESTHER VILENSKA is the labor secretary of the Communist Party of Israel and a member of the Knesset.

struggle against the big bourgeoisie and the levying of heavy taxes upon them, but by freeing them from heavy taxes and by American loans. The Mapai leadership furthermore tried to persuade our people that the outrageous terms which accompanied these loans (such as restrictions upon native industry, colossal increase in unnecessary imports, granting of military bases, paralyzation of our natural resources, support of American aggression, etc.) are necessary and unavoidable in meeting the economic crisis. The petty bourgeois groupings of the urban Israeli community logically concluded from this pro-American policy that the big capitalists, who are partners in American firms or the agents of American companies, are in a good position to curry favor with the American government.

It is no coincidence that the Washington conference for a billion dollar loan to Israel devoted a great deal of attention to the strengthening of "free enterprise" in Israel. United States Secretary of the Treasury John Snyder, who spoke at the conference, deliberately hammered away at the point that American capitalists must change the relationship of forces in the world. *Davar*, Histadrut organ, made no effort to conceal the fact that strong pressure was exerted at the conference to strengthen capitalist political influence in Israel. *Haaretz*, spokesman for the industrialists and generally expressing General Zionist views, declared on November 16 that "there was marked satisfaction in Western diplomatic circles over the victory of the General Zionists. These circles had feared growth in the strength of Mapam and the Communists."

### **Mapai Losses**

Thus it is evident that the pro-American policy of the Mapai leadership, as well as the pressure of American capitalists, contributed directly to the strengthening of the big bourgeoisie in Israel. Mapai leaders had paved the way for the victory of the big bourgeoisie by their policy of splitting the working class and their continuous acquiescence to the demands of the big bourgeoisie. By splitting the labor front the Mapai leaders sowed defeatism among many circles of the workers, artisans and petty bourgeoisie. On the other hand, these leaders strengthened the economic position of the bourgeoisie, enlarged its political influence and made its future growth easier by regularly agreeing to the demands of the big bourgeoisie on the issues of increasing inflation, elimination of price control, smuggling of foreign currency out of the country, etc.

The Mapai leadership carried out an historical mission for the bourgeoisie by convincing certain parts of the working class that acquiescence to the speculative demands of the bourgeoisie and lowering of the standard of living were "helping the people."

The Mapai leaders suffered a severe defeat in the municipal elections. In the Knesset election in January 1949, Mapai received 34 per cent of the total vote. Now, less than two years later, Mapai lost 11 per cent of its support in the city of Tel Aviv and received only 23 per cent of the total

vote there. This loss of over 10,000 voters is serious. Mapai lost heavily in other cities as well. In Haifa, for example, the percentage of Mapai votes fell from 39 to 33. The gravity of the situation for Mapai becomes still clearer when we consider that Mapai ran under its own party name in the Knesset election, while on November 14th it covered itself with the cloak of Histadrut, thus receiving some votes from the "religious workers."

The elections exposed the worthlessness of the empty phrases of Mapai leaders about their "stable strength," which wilted at the first breeze of the bourgeoisie. While in power the Mapai leadership betrayed the interests of the working class and fought against the left wing workers, who defended those interests. Mapai leaders split the labor front in the hope of strengthening their own positions at the expense of the left forces. As it turned out, the Mapai leaders decided their own fate and the fate of their party by sharpening the axe which has now fallen on them.

The Mapai leadership alienated the petty bourgeoisie, as well as certain labor circles. The Mapai leadership also supplied the reactionary front with demagogic arguments in the fight against socialist ideas. In contradiction to the indisputable facts about the lands of socialism and people's democracy, namely that *socialism leads to the liquidation of the exploiting classes and to abundance for all the people*, the Mapai leadership attempted to spread the idea that socialism means scarcity of goods for the worker and profit for the manufacturers. The Mapai leaders thereby made it easy for the bourgeoisie to win over certain labor circles, artisans and small producers with promises of prosperity and guarantees against shortages.

The loss of Mapai strength to the big bourgeoisie is typical of the development of right wing social democratic parties in the Marshallized countries, thus paving the way for the forces of reaction and fascism. For the Mapai leadership has throughout its period of dominance pursued domestic and foreign policies conforming with the interests and desires of the big bourgeoisie. Together with the big bourgeoisie the Mapai leadership is responsible for acquiescence to the enslaving conditions of the American loan. When this question was discussed in the Knesset, Mapai Finance Minister Eliezer Kaplan and the big bourgeois leader Israel Rokeach alike defended the conditions of the American loan.

### **Decline in Herut Vote**

The lowering of wages and restriction of production, on the one hand, and support for the American aggressors in Korea, on the other, were also approved, thanks to agreement between the Mapai and bourgeois leaders. Is it then any wonder that the big bourgeoisie has succeeded in receiving support from the petty bourgeoisie and manages to deceive the middle class groups?

Another result of the municipal elections is the strengthening of those sections of the big bourgeoisie which cloaked themselves in the mantle of opposition to the government.

On the other hand, other sections of the bourgeoisie, which collaborated with the government coalition, were considerably weakened. The religious parties made no effort to continue the unnatural alliance of the "religious front." They appeared split before the voters and were unable to obtain the same percentage of the vote as before. The Sephardim lost over half their previous vote and the "Progressives" [so-called left wing of the General Zionists] also lost considerably.

One heartening result of the election is that the Herut, which goes in for the utmost theatricality and demagoguery, not only failed to hold its own but even lost some strength. But this does not mean that the danger of fascism has lessened, nor that it is no longer a threat to the community in the future. The American circles, who pulled the strings so as to change the situation in our community, learned from the fact of the "Altalena" uprising in 1948 (when the Irgun, predecessor of the Herut party, briefly precipitated a civil war) that fascism cannot triumph in our country by a mere wave of the hand. These circles know that our community has strong forces, based on the democratic tradition, which hate fascism. That is why these circles chose the method of strengthening "the center party," the General Zionists, and thereby made the position of the Herut secure in certain cities. The basis was thus laid for the creation of bourgeois blocs that will bring the General Zionist and Herut leaderships to the fore as a unified whole.

### **Mapam Right Wing and Workers Front**

Many workers were lulled into the illusion that in the state of Israel the Mapai majority would reign forever. But on November 14, 1950, it became clear that the lack of working class unity, the lack of a strong political force of workers and other democrats, has inflicted a serious blow upon the working class. If splitting tactics within the ranks of the working class are persisted in, not only will the workers' parties be weakened. This might also result in a serious catastrophe to Israeli democracy and the coming to power of Jewish fascism. We warn our Mapai friends that they dare not be indifferent to these possibilities. They should not permit their leaders the opportunity of continuing splitting policies. They must prevent reaction from becoming stronger or else it will dig a grave for the masses in our country.

Before the election the right wing of Mapam circulated the legend that it alone was able to change the relationship of forces in the cities. This was said in opposition to the urging of many Mapam friends for cooperation of the left wing forces in order to erect a barrier to the bourgeois forces straining for power. The right wing of Mapam rejected a common slate for the elections and is therefore responsible for the fact that increasing penetration of our country by American influences occurs while the left wing parties are disunited and have thus far failed to mobilize the masses to the workers' banner. This could have been achieved if the left wing working class front were united.

The Mapam right wing is responsible for the fact that the left-over votes (which did not count under our proportional representation system) of the two slates were not utilized to increase the representation of the working class forces in the municipal councils. Thus, lack of an agreement in Rishon Le-Zion between the Communists and Mapam on uniting their left-over votes prevented the securing of a working class majority in the council there.

The realities of the post-election situation have shown many sincere Mapam friends that Mapam alone cannot combat the reactionary majorities in the cities or rally a larger vote than Mapam obtained in the Knesset elections in 1948. In some places Mapam increased its vote because the central committee of the Communist Party called upon their comrades and friends to vote for the Mapam candidates where the party did not offer an independent slate. This happened in Ramath Gan, Nathanya, Khoulloun and B'nai Brak, and in such settlements as Givatayim, Kfar Sava and a number of others. These facts should make our right wing Mapam friends a little cautious about the "up-surge of their forces" and to evaluate their allies and working class cooperation more responsibly.

Yet, *instead of reaching an agreement on the left-over votes and maximum utilization of all votes of both parties*, right wing Mapam leaders carried on anti-communist propaganda and thus helped fragmentation of the working class vote. Not only Mapai leaders, but also those Mapam activists who hate the communists more than reaction and the bourgeoisie, will have to answer to history for the failure of cooperation in the workers' movement. One narrow-minded writer of *Al Hamishmar*, for instance, was content to console himself with the fact that the Communist Party lost several tenths of one per cent of their previous vote, instead of going in for a little self-criticism, analyzing working class potentialities and the effect of splitting tactics. Thus the lack of political maturity of right wing Mapam leaders before the elections persists in spite of the results. We believe that the masses of ordinary people in Mapam will not allow their party to descend into anti-communist and splitting ways.

### **Communist Party Holds Its Own**

The Communist Party put forward an independent slate in only 16 places. Thus the assessment of the vote on the Communist ticket cannot be a general one but can apply only to certain regions. One of the main planks of our platform is the struggle for the unity of the working class. We fought with all the resources at our command for a left wing united front with Mapam. We are confident that the light which we shed in the course of this election campaign will yield results in the future.

An important feature of our campaign was the fact that we showed that the sectarian approach is in all respects alien to us. Wherever we had no opportunity to put forward our own ticket, we openly called for support of the Mapam slate so as to strengthen the left wing forces.



At the same time we demanded that Mapam councilmen should consistently protect the interests of the working class and of the masses.

In many places our slate showed both an absolute and a relative gain in the percentage of votes in the municipal elections as compared with the Knesset election. For instance: in Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the percentage of the vote for our slate increased from 2.6 per cent in the Knesset vote to three per cent in the municipal elections; in Ramleh, from 4.5 per cent to nine per cent; in Jerusalem, from 1.1 per cent to 1.7 per cent; in Kharderah, from 2.7 to three per cent; in Tiberia, from 1.6 to two per cent; in Lydda and Judea the vote grew to seven per cent. In Jaffa alone the Communists received eight per cent of the vote. In other places we held our positions and in still other places we must note some losses. Yet, despite the heavy economic pressure on our comrades and friends, despite continuous brutal threats of job dismissals, we maintained our position and even broadened them in some places.

The political significance of the vote for the Communist slate consists in the fact that the voters cast their ballots

for workers' unity, consistent protection of the workers' interests and for genuine independence and peace.

The lesson of the strengthening of the right wing in the municipal elections is the necessity of building a united front of the working class and middle class groups in order to retard the growth of the reactionary and fascist forces and to change the political relationships in favor of the forces of progress for protection of democratic freedoms and of independence. United action of left wing workers and unity of the entire working class can only be created by fighting for the interests of the workers on their jobs, in their guilds and crafts and in the municipalities; by a struggle against reaction, against fascism, against the Israeli agents of the war incendiaries and for peace. Working class unity can and must be brought into being by tearing away the mask of the splitters and mouthpieces of the bourgeoisie among the leadership of the working class. Regardless of their political affiliations the Israeli working masses must unite to resist the attack of reaction and to forward the interests of the masses, for the future of the people and the country.

---

## LETTER ON "AMERICANS FOR PROGRESSIVE ISRAEL"

*The editors of JEWISH LIFE recently received a letter from a reader which read, in part, as follows: "I have been approached by members of Americans for Progressive Israel to contribute money and to further their work. What kind of organization is this? Do you think that American Jewish progressives will help Israel by joining this organization?"*

*In the belief that many other readers may also be concerned with this question, we are publishing our reply.*

"AMERICANS for Progressive Israel" is an organization devoted to rallying American Jews for financial and political support for Mapam (United Workers Party) in Israel. As such it aims to build up support and strength for the political ideology and program of the Mapam. In other words, the API leadership is trying to create a strong political and financial center in America which will strengthen API influence in this country, as well as to serve as a support of the Mapam in Israel.

Mapam is a Zionist party and advances its own brand of Zionism. Mapam even argues that its brand of Zionism is fully in harmony with Marxist principles. We cannot here enter into an analysis of the incompatibility between Zionism (any sort of Zionism) and Marxism, between nationalism and internationalism. Yet it is clear that anyone who joins API is in fact helping to build one section of the

Zionist movement. And Mapam is a section which is even more reactionary on certain aspects of Zionist ideology than any other Zionist groups: on the issue of "negation of the diaspora," the theory that it is impossible for Jewish communities to continue to exist outside of Israel, the Mapam insists categorically that no Jewish communities can survive outside of Israel.

Does it follow that there is nothing progressive in the Mapam program, that progressives have no basis for cooperation with members of Mapam? Not at all. Mapam has joined in the fight for peace, favors cooperation with the Soviet Union and advocates a rather progressive economic program. But it is important to realize that Mapam is far from being a homogeneous party. Very serious differences exist within Mapam on all basic issues. And these differences are becoming sharper every day and the rifts within Mapam are steadily growing deeper. (See "Internal Conflict in Mapam," by S. Zachariash, JEWISH LIFE, December 1950, and the article by Esther Vilenska above.)

If progressives carefully studied the relevant facts, instead of making judgments on the basis of a speech delivered by a Mapam leader or even five Mapam leaders, they would learn that Mapam is riven by factions. Some factions take a position bordering on that of the social democratic Mapai and propagate unconcealed anti-Soviet and anti-communist views. Other groups within Mapam are con-

sistently and sincerely pro-Soviet and advocate a real united front of the left, including the communists. When one has studied these facts, one can then understand why Mapam leaders can on the whole make excellent speeches on most issues, but can seldom carry through a militant struggle on the very issues on which they have taken a stand. This is particularly true on the question of the Arab people in Israel. With the greatest of ease Mapam can give any number of reasons why a party that claims to be Marxist can exclude Arabs from membership in the party. Yet the fact remains that it is impossible to reconcile Mapam practices respecting the Arabs with a Marxist concept of a working class party, whose keystone is internationalism and merging into a single party of all nationalities within the confines of a given state.

Thus Mapam contains within it both progressive and reactionary tendencies. It is an important party in Israel and plays an important role. The direction of its development in the future concerns all progressives. But that direction will be determined by its movement into or away from closer contact with the consistent left, by the extent to which those who are moving towards a truly internationalist viewpoint within Mapam grow stronger and become the dominant group. In other words, Mapam will gain in consistency and militancy for progress only to the extent to which Zionist ideology and the nationalistic orientation grow weaker.

Can one contribute to advancement of this objective by helping to build Mapam or its American arm, the API? Can one help to influence the development of Mapam members and followers by giving support, financial, moral and political, to Mapam without any strings attached, without any commitments by Mapam in return? Help given thus unconditionally can serve no other purpose than to strengthen Mapam as such and therefore to strengthen its position of refusing cooperation toward the formation of a genuine left front in Israel. (In the municipal elections in November, for instance, Mapam rejected the proposals for a united slate with the Communist Party.) Thus progressives who believe that they are serving the left by supporting the API are in reality helping to weaken the persistent efforts of the left in Israel to get Mapam to join in broad united front activity.

Some American Jewish progressives would do well to reexamine some elementary and yet basic principles concerning the fight for progress. We certainly welcome every opportunity to work with Mapam on any and every issue on which we can find an area of agreement, just as we seek areas of agreement with all people regardless of differences in other areas. We wish to cooperate with religious people, the majority of whom, we are convinced, genuinely desire peace and security and democracy. Suppose then, we were to find a group of advanced progressive people who believe in religion and who wish to build a synagogue in a given community? Shall we contribute toward building the synagogue and urge all progressives to attend it?

Similarly with Mapam. We are fully cognizant of, we

do not underestimate the genuinely progressive outlook of many people in Mapam, despite their Zionist viewpoint. Very well. We are glad to work with them on every issue upon which we have agreement. We are most anxious to form *united fronts* with such groups and people. But the united front is a partnership in which *we work together for the aims we hold in common*, even though we may disagree on many other questions. United front means cooperative effort. But it does not mean the building up of an organization of those with whom we cooperate, it is not the turning over of our resources and energies without reservation, since many of the organization's principles are diametrically opposed to our own. The same is true of financial contributions. It is hard to understand how progressives can persuade themselves that they are serving the left by turning over funds to Mapam without having any voice in the use of such funds. To do so is simply to abandon all ideological, organizational and programmatic positions of one's own.

No doubt some progressives, regardless of their rationalizations, so easily agree to join API because it affords a mode of apparent progressive action with the added allurements of a respectable Zionist cover. The plain truth, however, is that *this is an evasion of struggle*. API makes its strongest appeal to the left. What API does is to drain progressive people away from organizations in which large numbers of people are under reactionary leadership. But progressives should be working with and influencing and leading people in such right wing organizations. It is most unfortunate that genuinely progressive people are themselves helping to draw active progressives into this API movement and away from active contact with masses of people. Many progressives may feel comfortable in this new environment and believe that they have found a way of serving the cause of progress. But the fact is that they have isolated themselves from the mainstream, where they should be, and have in fact even surrendered their own ideological positions and are building an alien ideology.

If Mapam is anxious for cooperation with the left, areas of agreement with the left should be mapped out. Mapam should then join in a cooperative effort on all fronts, political and financial, with *joint* control and authority by *all* concerned. The fact is, however, that in the past Mapam has consistently refused to do this. Mapam usually asks the left to work with it while Mapam remains the final authority in all respects. For consistent progressives to acquiesce to this approach does not constitute united front effort, but capitulation on their part.

We do not minimize the progressive features of Mapam. We shall not refrain from cooperation with Mapam on any issue on which there is agreement, no matter how small, in which Mapam is ready to join with us. But we do not at all serve the cause of progress if we forsake our own basic principles, if we simply turn our resources over to Mapam for them to dispose as they and *they alone* decide. Progressives would do well to consider this carefully.

THE EDITORS

# YAKOV ZUSSERMAN, SOVIET PARTISAN FIGHTER

By A. Fyodorov

*It is well known that Soviet Jews played a heroic part in the underground resistance against the Nazi occupation of the Soviet Union. Below is the story of one Jewish partisan, Yakov Zusserman. It is drawn from the second volume of The Underground R.C. Carries On ("R.C." stands for Regional Committee of the Communist Party), an absorbing and illuminating chronicle of partisan activity in the Chernigov Region by A. Fyodorov, who was the leader of the partisans of this region. In the first volume Fyodorov had told about his first meeting with Zusserman in the early days of the occupation and includes a letter from Yakov telling of his determination to join Fyodorov's detachment.—Eds.*

WE were told that in the home of an old woman on the outskirts of the village of Alexeyevka, in Koryukovka District, a Jew who had escaped miraculously from the fascists lay dying of typhus. In his delirium he was said to have often repeated the names of Fyodorov, Batyuk and Popudrenko.

Could that be Yakov Zusserman?

I had made inquiries about him a long time before, immediately after coming to the regional detachment. No one knew anything about him. I had since reconciled myself to the thought that he must have fallen into the hands of the Hitlerites on his way from the Ichnya detachment to the regional detachment and been killed. This was a very painful thought indeed, but a war was on, after all, and many were meeting their death. . . .

One evening when matters were not so pressing, I took a group of men and together with Gromenko, the commander of Company One, set out for Alexeyavka, which lay 30 kilometers from our camp.

The scouts we sent ahead reported there were no Germans in the village and the *Polizei* were keeping quiet like the cowards they were. We went straight to the indicated house. A dim light was burning in the window. I told the men to take up posts around the house and then I knocked.

The door was opened by a girl of 12. She looked out and planted herself on the doorstep to prevent us from entering.

"Grandma Sidorovna's sick," the girl said. "She's shaking all over and she told me not to let anybody in. Who are you? The police?"

"We're relatives," said Gromenko.

The girl threw him a suspicious glance.

"That's not true. Sidorovna hasn't got any relatives except mama and me. You'd better not come in, there's

typhus here. My mama left me to take care of Grandma Sidorovna. I feed her, I cook porridge for her."

We went in just the same. The girl followed us steadily with her quick, unusual eyes. It was cold and dreary in the house. The moon furnished more light in the house than the lampion. The walls were smoke-stained, and the stove had not been white-washed for a long time. In a dark corner someone stirred. A senile voice queried hoarsely:

"Is that you, Nastya?"

"Some men have come, Sidorovna. They say they're relatives."

"They're not. Chase them out."

Without saying more she turned over with a sigh, rustling her straw pallet, and again either dozed off or else fell into a coma.

"See?" the girl said.

"Who else lives here?" And without waiting for an answer I sang out in a loud voice: "I am Fyodorov, Alexei Fyodorovich Fyodorov, and my comrade here is a partisan too."

A pair of thin, bare legs promptly swung down from the stove shelf.

"Oh, it's you!" I heard a weak voice say. "Alexei Fyodorovich!"

YES, IT WAS YAKOV ZUSSERMAN, THE COMRADE OF MY WANDERINGS. He climbed down from the shelf with difficulty, and supporting himself against the stove with long, weak arms, managed somehow to creep over to the bench. It was apparent the short walk had exhausted him. He gasped for breath and smiled a timid, shaky smile. His huge eyes gazed upon me with joy.

I looked at him with involuntary horror. Before me sat an emaciated old man with a long beard. And Yakov was only 26 at the time. . . .

"Alexei Fyodorovich," Yakov repeated. "So you're alive. I'd heard that, but I didn't believe it. Someone came in and said Fyodorov wasn't far from here, but I'm very sick and afterwards I thought it was my delirium."

As we listened to his words, Gromenko and I looked at Yakov as one looks at a doomed man, with sympathy and ill-concealed pity. Yakov must have noticed this.

"Don't think I'm dying," he said. "I was on the point of death twice and was almost killed about five times, but now I think I'm getting better. Typhus. And they're so kind," he went on, trying to say as much as possible in one breath. "The old woman and this girl."



He took a few deep breaths, wiped the sweat from his face with his sleeve and went on:

"I swallowed Batyuk's letter. [Batyuk, an underground leader, had asked Zusserman to take a letter to Fyodorov.—*Eds.*] There was nothing else to do. I'm very sorry it turned out that way; the guilty deserve to be punished, but I guess I'm too weak for that."

We had brought a little flour, a chunk of salt pork and some sugar, of which Kapranov still had half a sack in his storehouse.

Yakov laid out these riches on the bench, stirred his hands and then said with unexpected desire in his voice:

"May I eat a little now? You know the appetite one has after typhus. . . ."

He sank his teeth into the pork. The paper package of sugar he handed to the girl.

"Here, Nastya dear, this is for you. . . ."

I asked Yakov, if he had the strength, to tell us in consecutive order all that had happened to him. He began at once. Every once in a while he would catch his breath and get down to the pork; then he put it aside again and talked, talked and talked. . . .

GROMENKO SAID HE WOULD WAIT FOR ME OUT IN THE STREET. The room was stuffy and had the sweetish smell of a poorly-ventilated hospital ward. I didn't feel so well myself. I suggested to Yakov that he leave for the camp with me on the spot.

He shook his head. "I don't think I have the right. Now I have to support and nurse this woman who's been so good to me. Don't go thinking Yakov doesn't want to be a partisan. I want to live so that I can avenge the sufferings of the population, and my own too. I don't believe any longer that my wife and son are alive. No, don't try to persuade me they are. I'll be sure to come to you as soon as the old woman gets well.

"Anyway, I haven't the strength yet to lift a rifle, to say nothing of firing it. Now just stay and listen, if you can. This'll be a story of such suffering!"

I sat down on a wobbly stool. I had to hear Yakov's story. His garrulousness irritated me, but I realized this was a result of his illness and his long solitude.

"Isn't there any danger?" asked Yakov. "Or have you got a guard? Why any more victims? If you get caught because of me it'll be the most awful thing in my life. But of course I don't want you to go. It was like this. When I left the Ichnya detachment I happened to remember that Israel Finestein, my wife's uncle, lived in Koryukovka. He was a harness-maker at the sugar refinery. He used to come to Nezhin on his vacation, and the two of us put down a lot of vodka together. We were gay in those days. He was the picture of health and had an iron constitution. He was an elderly man. He'd taken part in the October Revolution, had seen Shchors and even helped him by supplying information. I got the crazy idea in my head that maybe my wife had gone to him from Nezhin and hadn't been captured by the punitive expedition at all. So I turned off

to Koryukovka. The peasants told me there were no Germans there and the partisans had the upper hand. That made me terribly happy. But it turned out just the opposite. Actually the partisans had been forced to retreat under pressure of superior forces. There were no fascists there, though. They didn't show up for another few hours. Maybe they were afraid to come in right away. There wasn't a soul on the street just like before a big storm when the lightning's flashing.

"I went into the drugstore. 'If Israel's still in town,' I thought, 'they're sure to know it in the drugstore.' The druggist was a good friend of his. But the druggist wasn't there. 'Hide, quick,' the old watchwoman told me. 'All the Jews are hiding at home, they're afraid of atrocities.' 'What about Israel?' I asked. 'Do you know anything about him, maybe?' She told me Israel and his wife and kids had left for Nezhin. It was just the other way around, like in a novel.

"Just as I was thinking that, motorcycle troops came down the street. You know, at that time I didn't have a beard yet, and with my moustache I looked more like the Ukrainian type. I remembered from Nezhin that the motorcycle troops race along to make a lot of noise and scare people, but they don't stop for trifles. So I stepped right out into the street again. Where should I go? I wondered. I went to Israel's house. It's right next to the hospital. Are you listening to me, Alexei Fyodorovich, or have you gone to sleep already?"

"You'll get tired, Yakov," I said. "Eat, and don't hurry."

He wiped the sweat from his face again, then chewed on the pork for a long time. Sidorovna groaned in her corner. The girl placed a few sticks of wood in the stove and asked me for a match. I gave her my cigarette lighter. When she got the fire going, she stretched out her hands toward it and stood that way for a long time without looking around.

"The terrible thing is that the landlady's caught it from me," Zusserman said. "She's paying a big price for being kind. She's over 60, and what kind of a heart can she have! There's nothing worse than a bad heart when you have typhus. She may die. That's some sacrifice on her part. But you note, Alexei Fyodorovich, that I warned her. But she said only God knew the answer to such a problem. If he wanted to take her soul, then it couldn't be helped. I'd have gone away, only I couldn't move because of the fever."

YAKOV TALKED FOR NO LESS THAN AN HOUR. HE DIDN'T OMIT a single detail. In brief the rest of his story is like this:

The very next day the invaders posted an order for all the Jews to gather at an appointed place, taking all their valuables with them. A lot of troops had arrived, and getting out of the town was extremely difficult.

The drugstore watchwoman's sister, who was an attendant at the hospital, persuaded Doctor Bezrodny to let her put Zusserman into the hospital. At that time he was still entirely well.

But it so happened that that night the fascists decided to inspect the hospital with a view to turning it into an army hospital. They pushed aside the man at the door and started going through the wards. Zusserman heard them questioning the patients in the neighboring ward:

"Where are you from? What's your nationality?"

Running away was impossible. The window opened onto the street, and the door led into the corridor, where Hitlerites were milling around.

"I'd already said goodbye to life for good, because I knew what appearing for registration meant. I quickly ran my eyes over Batyuk's letter to remember what he wrote you and then hurried to chew it and swallow it down. I choked over it but the Germans didn't hear. Just then, in comes the relative of the drugstore watchwoman with another attendant and a stretcher. 'Get on, you're a dead man now!' they whispered. I did. They covered me with a sheet and carried me past the Germans and the policemen. 'Who's that?' I heard a voice ask. 'Just died of typhus,' one of the women answered calmly, just as if she was speaking to somebody at home. A policeman lifted the sheet. I was so pale I must have really looked like a corpse, because he said 'Ah,' indifferently, and I was carried out into the yard. There were soldiers there too. The women lugged me into the morgue and put me down on a slab next to three corpses.

"I lay there quiet as a mouse among those dead men, worse off than they, I lay there like that more than an hour. And for nine days after that I made a dash for the morgue and lay down there in that horrible company every time Germans came near the hospital. Nights I sometimes managed to get into town and urge the Jews to run away instead of registering.

"On Shevchenko Street, in house No. 19, I think it was, I found good people. They were in touch with one of your partisans, a girl named Marusya Chukhno. She told me I must have patience. Meanwhile I helped her write leaflets. One day when I came to that house from the morgue after a nap I found it in ashes. People told me the fascists had taken Marusya Chukhno down the street together with the Jews. Three hundred Jews and the Russian girl Marusya Chukhno were shot.

"That evening my temperature was 39. I decided that nothing mattered now. I got the courage of desperation. The next morning I went openly into town with a grenade in my pocket and my finger on the trigger of my revolver.

"Right on the outskirts I met two mounted policemen. I let them come up close the way we were taught in the army and then fired at one of them. The other fired at me. He missed. I ran to the side and flung my grenade at him. At any rate, the horse galloped off without a rider. Maybe the patrolman jumped off out of fright. I ran out into the field too. No one came after me."

ILL AND RUNNING A FEVER, ZUSSERMAN WANDERED ALONG THE road and in the forest without knowing where he was going. Finally he lost consciousness and collapsed in a

ditch. Passing peasants put him in a cart and took him to their village. When he came to, he was in Sidorovna's cottage.

"She fed me milk and she fried potatoes for me. And now she's caught it. Ah, Alexei Fyodorovich, I know I'm to blame all around. When I get well and join the detachment you'll give me a talking to, or maybe something stronger."

He told me the contents of Batyuk's letter.

"Yasha, that is, Comrade Batyuk, dictated it in front of me. His sister Zhenya took it down. She told me it would be better if I could learn it by heart, like an actor, but there wasn't time then. While I was on the way I really did try and I managed some of it but not all. Before I got sick I knew the beginning like I know the multiplication table, Wait a minute, Alexei Fyodorovich, maybe I'll recall it."

Zusserman closed his eyes and was silent for a long while. I sat there in silence too. The girl continued to stand with her back to us, warming her hands over the stove. We could hear her sucking on a lump of sugar. Nothing seemed to concern her.

Zusserman still said nothing. I was already wondering whether he hadn't fallen asleep when suddenly Nastya turned, hastily swallowed her sugar and said in a calm, businesslike tone:

"It begins like this: 'Comrade R.C. secretary, our organization is in the embryo stage. . . .'"

Zusserman sprang from the bench and stared at Nastya with unconcealed horror.

"What?" he exclaimed. "How do you know it?"

Nastya immediately saw the reason for his fear.

"Uncle Yakov," she said hastily, "you've forgotten. When you were sick and thought you were going to die, you yourself asked me to learn it by heart. You said it out loud so that either I or Grandma would remember it and then would try to pass it on to this uncle in the detachment." She pointed to me.

Yakov sat down again and smiled faintly. With a sigh of relief Nastya sat down beside him.

"Poor girl," said Zusserman. "You can imagine, with two sick people in a row. At least Grandma's quiet, but I was violent."

"Just like you were drunk," Nastya confirmed. "You wanted to run away, but I put you to bed."

"So I read the letter out loud, did I?"

"Yes, you did. And then once you went on as though Uncle Fyodorov was here in the house and you read it out loud again. I wanted to write it down but you wouldn't let me, you said I was a fool. But one mustn't get angry at sick people."

"Well, thanks, Nastya, thanks. That's right, it does begin like this:

"'Comrade R.C. secretary.' At first Batyuk dictated your name, Alexei Fyodorovich, but then he had her take down the letter from the beginning again. He said mentioning it was dangerous. 'Our organization is in the embryo stage. So far there are 12 Komsomol members and other young



people in the group. There are older people too. They are all burning with a desire to work. Unfortunately we have lost touch with the district committee of the Party. We take down and distribute Soviet Information Bureau bulletins, print leaflets and carry on agitational work—among our acquaintances for the time being. We feel this is not enough and hope that soon we shall be able to do more. We sincerely ask the R.C. of the Party to count on us for anything it may need. Only death can halt us. . . .”

Zusserman fell silent.

“I don’t know any more by heart, Alexei Fyodorovich,” he confessed.

“Do you remember what it was about?”

“Batyuk asked me to tell you that you should absolutely take his physical condition, that is, his blindness, into consideration. No, he’s not asking for easier work. Just the opposite. He says he’s got an advantage in secret work. Because he’s blind they think he’s a helpless invalid. ‘Let the R.C. give me any assignment,’ he said. ‘I’m young and strong and I’ve got stamina.’”

“But what else was there in the letter? Only what you recited and nothing more?”

“Oh, no, Alexei Fyodorovich, of course not! There were important questions. It’s hard for me to recall them but I’ll try. Here’s one thing that comes to mind, for example. The first question was like this. The Germans are letting people go in for handicraft industry: all kinds of artels—food products, woodworking and things like that. The army supply department and the commandant’s office promise orders. So Batyuk asks if they should make use of these workshops. He himself wants to organize an artel so as to group his people around it. Would that be the right thing to do? Especially because after all they’d have to turn something out and hand it to the Germans.”

“In other words, should legal forms be used for rallying our supporters? Is that right?”

“Exactly. Then there’s another question. They, that is, Batyuk’s group, could carry out terrorist acts against the commandant, the burgomaster and other German henchmen. But Batyuk said in his letter there were comrades who objected to this. They pointed out that Marxists-Leninists are against personal terror.”

“Individual, you mean?”

“Yes, that’s right, that was the word. And at the end Batyuk again says that he’s waiting for your instructions. They’ll do everything the Party orders them to do.”

THE OLD WOMAN STIRRED IN HER CORNER.

“Water, Nastya dear,” she whispered. Nastya jumped up and handed her a cup. After swallowing noisily a few times the old woman muttered in a fairly loud voice:

“Third time you’ve woken me up. Is that proper? Let me die in peace at least. . . .”

“Forgive us, Grandma,” I said. “We’re leaving right away. Maybe you’ll come with us after all, Yakov, eh?” I proposed again. “It’s not bad at our place. We’re staying in a village. Our feldsher’s got a whole cottage. When you

get well we’ll fight the enemy together. For we may pick up and leave one of these days—and then just try and find us.”

“I really do want to, that’s my dream, but you understand. . . .” He nodded toward the corner where the old woman lay.

She could not have seen his nod but she guessed what we were talking about.

“Go, go, Yakov. You’ve lain around here enough. Go off with the partisans. Take him, chief, we haven’t got anything to eat ourselves.” After these rude-sounding words the old woman added in the same tone of voice, “Only you have to wrap him up. His coat’s too thin. Yakov’ll catch cold in the frost.”

I said I had a long sheepskin coat in my sleigh.

“Then go, and God be with you. Give him his cannon, Nastya. It’s wrapped in a rag behind the icon of the Chernigov Virgin.”

The girl brought a pistol from a dark corner, handed it to Zusserman and helped him put on his coat. He pulled down his garrison cap with trembling hands and took several steps toward the old woman.

“Don’t come close, no need to,” she warned him.

“Praskovya Sidorovna!” Yakov exclaimed. “You’ve been a mother to me! I’ll never forget—”

“All right, Yakov,” answered the old woman. “I’m not your mother and you’re not my son. I did what I could. But not for you—for our country it was. Keep well, don’t fall ill, and if you fight the Germans let them have a bullet apiece for me and for Nastya.”

The girl came outside too to help us get Zusserman into the sleigh. But the men came up, and she stood silently on the steps, shivering in her shawl.

“Goodbye, sister of mercy,” I said.

“Goodbye, Nastya dear, thanks again. And if we meet again, whatever I have is yours!” Zusserman said with feeling.

Nastya shook hands ceremoniously with Yakov, myself and all my companions. Then she said softly:

“Uncle Fyodorov. . . .”

“Speak up, speak up,” Zusserman said encouragingly.

“You’re in the woods. . . . If you can only send Grandma in a little firewood. ‘If only,’ she says, ‘we could have it warm once before I die.’ I’d go myself but it’s not good to leave her alone.”

I promised to send some firewood the very next day, of course. But it so happened that the next morning the occupants went at us hot and heavy. We fought them till late at night. The day after was a very tense one too. I was able to send some men with firewood only two days later. Besides the wood the men took her half a sack of flour, some rusks and some meat.

On their return, they reported that the old woman had died and her house was boarded up.

And so I never had a chance to see her. I had only heard her hoarse, senile voice. I was terribly conscience-stricken at not having carried out her last wish on time.



# Book Review Section

## REVOLT OF THE "FOREIGNS"

By Morris U. Schappes

*The Proud and the Free*, by Howard Fast. Little, Brown, Boston. \$3.00.

THERE was a moment during the Revolutionary War against British colonialism when the coalition of classes in this united front snapped. Had the breach not been promptly repaired, the entire Revolution might have collapsed into a civil war of American against American, with only the British emerging triumphant. But the historic coalition was rebuilt in time, swept on to victory and independence and opened up new arenas of conflict for the people on the march to their ultimate and permanent liberation from all class oppression.

This rift in the Revolutionary united front came in January 1781. On New Year's Day the entire Pennsylvania Line, over 2,000 veterans of several years of warfare, rose in rebellion and drove their officers from the encampment at Morristown, N. J. Loyal to the Revolution, these men were goaded to the rising because for years they had endured insufficient food, insufficient clothing, infrequent payment in inflated currency, and especially the insolence, arrogance and indifference of their officers, who abused, insulted, caned and whipped them in the manner of a gentry lording it over their serfs or servants.

The organization, staging, and liquidation of this uprising, as well as its critical significance, were ignored by American historians, conservative, liberal and even Marxist, until in 1943, Carl Van Doren brought out *Mutiny in January*, "The Story of a Crisis in the Continental Army now for the first time fully told from many hitherto unknown and neglected sources both American and British." It is this volume that has provided Howard Fast with the broad and sure historical foundation for the best of his four novels of the American Revolution (*Conceived in Liberty*, about Valley Forge, *The Unvanquished*, about George Washington, and *Citizen Tom Paine*). Literally thrilling and fascinating in the reading, *The Proud and the Free* signals the appearance of new elements of maturity in Fast's understanding of the American Revolution in particular and of the progress of history in general.

That Howard Fast is a superb narrator who can pace a tale and make it zip like an arrow, is not news. That he is a zealot of the people and a partisan of the Revolution, is also not news. That both these qualities are present in his new novel in fine fusion is good news, but there is much more than that to add stature to the book. For it seems to me that here Fast has produced in terms of historical fiction a new type of tragedy, the historical tragedy.

### *New Type of Tragedy*

In classic Greek tragedy, the downfall of the "hero" is caused by a single personal but fatal weakness in a high-born character otherwise admirable and noble. In Elizabethan tragedy, it is still the exaggerated deficiency of character that causes the debacle. But Fast provides us with a tragedy caused not by personal weakness, small or great, but by a historical situation that permits no other resolution of the conflict. And since history does move, Fast projects the process and the motion that will lead to the liberation of humanity from all oppression and to its liberation simultaneously from all such historical tragedy.

First Fast shows us movingly the condition of the Pennsylvania Line, these battle-seasoned brigades of "foreigns," Irish, Scottish, Germans, Poles, French, Portuguese, Jews, Negroes, indentured servants, artisans, and small farmers who had left their masters and work-benches and farms to enlist in the liberation war. We see the hunger, the tatters, the cold and the bitterness of the men, a bitterness directed not at the unavoidable hardships but at the fact that the officers flaunt their superior station and superior living in the eyes of the ragged Pennsylvanians. The "foreigns" had fought wherever the fighting was toughest, in Massachusetts and New York as well as their home state; they were the most experienced troops in the entire Continental Army! And yet, because they had a higher percentage of foreign-born than other regiments, they were mistrusted by the officers, even by Washington, even by Lafayette, fresh from France. The "foreigns" knew and the knowledge rankled.

Sparked by a Committee of Sergeants from each regiment of the Line, the rising gets under way. "You ask who is the Revolution?" one of the leaders declares. "We are the Revolution—we are! And if we should cast out the gentry who have made this noble thing into a pigsty, who is traitor to who?"

### ***The Impasse***

With the officers driven from the camp, the brigades find a new discipline and pride in that discipline, a discipline born from within and not imposed from above by an officer's bark or a swinging cane. Marching from Morristown to Princeton to present their just grievances to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, the men arouse the admiration and practical support of the people, who bring them food and stores in unprecedented abundance. At Princeton they organize a well-protected and orderly encampment. British spies bringing dishonorable proposals that they desert to the enemy are dealt with summarily. There is no treason in *this* mutiny. We see the rising at the very height of its success, but it is at this very height that the Committee of Sergeants realizes that they are at an impasse. For they begin to see that, with Washington and the other officers beginning to bring up regiments from Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Jersey against them, persistence in the rising is bound to lead to civil war!

With the British still the main enemy, the Pennsylvanians perceive the historical impasse in which they are trapped: "Guns we had, and powder and shot, and almost 3,000 of the best troops in the world—but we had nothing to fight for except what we had fought for under our officers." Their officers—the gentry, the landowners, the

merchants, even the slaveowners—were part of the historic coalition necessary to win independence. The men see it, and seeing it, accept it as necessity. The fight against the gentry is postponed, and will be fought on other fields, in later times. With the best of intentions, the Committee of Sergeants had led them "into a future that wasn't." They had marched from Morristown to Princeton, but they had really "marched into nowhere."

Fast entitles one chapter, "Wherein we discover that roads must be made before men may travel." This is the heart of the matter. The road to the future had to be built through this and similar coalitions. The brigades and the Committee of Sergeants, after a few concessions, surrender, accept the officers, hated though they still are, and, when the regiments are disbanded and then reorganized, almost half of them *re-enlist*. As Jamie Stuart, the chief character, puts it to the girl he loves as he is about to re-enlist, "so I will follow them and fight for them and take their lashes across my back—because now it is their turn and I move a step with them, but someday it will be my turn, even if I am dead and rotten in the earth, someday it will be my turn."

### ***Continuity of the Struggle***

Jamie tells the story retrospectively more than 60 years after the events, when he, Jamie, has been drawn into the Abolitionist movement, another stage in the still unended struggle. For Fast not only underscores the historical impasse and tragedy of the successful but doomed uprising; he also urges forward the idea of the continuity of the struggle, so that the battles of the past are seen also as part of the social war of the present. Fittingly does he close his story of the Pennsylvania rising with the assuring words: "Another chapter is being written by those angry souls who call themselves Abolitionists, and I think there will be chapters after that as well. There would be no hope in such a tale as this if it were not unfinished."

And in this tale there is not only hope and courage, but also the generating of hatred for the ages and the agencies of class oppression of the people. "There will be a time for remembering," says Fast, and we are all keepers of the score.

Comparing this novel with Fast's earlier books on the Revolution, one observes an increase in depth. The former tendency to regard the Revolution as all of a piece first began to give way in *Citizen Tom Paine* to the awareness that there was another dimension, that there was a left and democratic wing to the Revolution. In the present work, Fast sees not only that there is a coalition, but that there are serious and unresolved conflicts within the coalition. In other words, while O. John Rogge tells the whole world from a platform in Warsaw that he now regrets that the Revolution went so far as it did in cutting us off from imperial England, Howard Fast proclaims that the revolution did not go, could not go, far enough—and even its achievements need to be defended, deepened, extended and made permanent.



**Howard Fast**

Historically, Fast is on firmer ground certainly than in his novel on the Maccabees and even than in his other novels on the Revolution. It has been suggested that he takes too much for granted the public's awareness of the achievements of the Revolution and should have presented more affirmatively the *common* aims of the coalition. In view of recent tendencies to question even the Revolution, this charge has point. One may also note that in his eagerness to do justice to the high patriotism of the "foreigners" in the Pennsylvania Line, he unfortunately does less than justice to the "Yankees" and natives of the Lines of other states. These elements of one-sidedness, which have also appeared in his other works, might well command Fast's special attention in his next book.

### Some Weaknesses

Another historical inconsistency is worth noting. First, as a matter of fact, it should be stated that Fast exaggerates the leading role of both Negro and Jew in this rising. There is no historical foundation for Fast's placing a Negro and a Jew on the Committee of Sergeants. There *were* a few Jews in the Pennsylvania Line, although Fast exaggerates their number, but none was a sergeant; the same is true of the Negroes in the Line. Now by elevating a Negro and a Jew into the leading committee of the rising, Fast is giving way to an unhistorical desire that there should have been Negroes and Jews in such positions. But "roads must be made before men may travel," and the

roads to such a position for a Negro in the Pennsylvania of 1781 had not yet been made. There *were* Jewish officers, however, in the Continental Army and in Pennsylvania, and there might have been a sergeant, but the fact is there was not, and nothing is gained by filling a historical gap with wishful fiction. The responsible Marxist writer of historical fiction, striving to present soundly historical content in the form of fiction, needs to fulfill both requirements scrupulously.

Fast's technical achievement is of a high order. His style is simple, eloquent, incandescent. He continues to use the slightly mannered ruminating simplicity that characterized *My Glorious Brothers*; in both cases, the effect is partially attained by having an aging man tell the tale, in the first person, of a series of events in his youth. Such a form imposes a tightness on the structure, and contributes to the narrative pace. The quality of this volume is such that it suggests the desirability of reading it aloud to mass audiences—a practice that used to be common for Dickens and other novelists close to the people. But it would be a pity if Fast were to allow the device of a retrospective autobiographical narration to crystallize into a habit or mannerism. Not all stories can best be told through this artifice.

Withal, this is a work to read with excitement and to re-read with pleasure. Our people are fortunate in having a novelist like Howard Fast, to hearten and inspire them while the McCarrans rage and wage war not only against progress today but also against the revolutions of yesterday. Throughout the world, progressive mankind has another work by Fast to translate and to enjoy.

## COLLECTION OF JEWISH FOLKSONGS

By Harry Levine

*A Treasury of Jewish Folksong*, selected and edited by Ruth Rubin, with piano settings by Ruth Post and drawings by T. Herzl Rome. Schocken Books, New York. \$4.50.

WITH the publication of this book, we have a valuable contribution to the growing collection of Jewish folksong. The book covers a wide range of songs, which are grouped into the categories of cradle songs, children's songs, love songs, songs of life and work, holiday songs, partisan songs and songs of Israel. Most of the texts are in Yiddish, some in Hebrew. All the texts are presented in English letters and all are also translated into English.

This collection is indeed a "treasury." It contains many of the standard, well known songs. The distinctive contributions of this book, however, are its presentation of less familiar and new material of high quality; its imaginative, yet practical and stylistically consistent piano settings;

and not least, the informative commentaries on the songs.

Although most of the music is derived from the Yiddish culture of Eastern Europe, its diverse roots are manifest in the influence of the oriental melodies of the Middle East and in the imprint of the folk culture of Russia, Bohemia, Rumania, Germany, etc. The long period of history traversed by Jewish culture under changing class relations contributes to the variety of content and forms of these folk songs.

In the section devoted to "songs of life and work," we find a great many descriptions of misery of the poor. In some of them, like *Tog Azoy Vi Nacht*, the singer bewails her fate, pleading to God for deliverance from the drudgery of incessant sewing. Or as in *Laytische Mazoles*, in which a man contrasts the reality of life with the lullaby promises of which his mother sang and attributes his lot to bad luck. The monotony of poverty is satirized in



*Zuntig Bulbe*—Sunday potatoes and everyday potatoes!

But among these songs are also samples of growing class consciousness. *Lomir Ale Zingen* in an amusing way contrasts the life of the rich and poor: “*lechem*” to the rich represents a “white roll,” to the poor man “a dry crust of bread.” *Dire Gelt* describes the plight of the people when rent is due; first comes the “super,” then comes the landlord; and if you don’t pay up, the cop’s nearby. But the last verse asks why pay rent when the stove doesn’t work.

In the songs of the more recent period, one can see the development of greater militancy. For example, *Ot Azoy Neyt A Schnayder* in its early version sings of the misery of the tailor, thus:

“He sews and sews the whole week long  
and earns a penny and a song.  
A tailor sews to earn his bread,  
But gets the misery, instead!”

In the verses composed after 1880, a new quality appears:

“A year ago, we all worked late,  
Never again—from eight to eight!  
But the union set us straight,  
We work no more from eight to eight!”

The more advanced workers sang songs like *Un Du Akerst Un Du Zeyst*, a song popular among the Jewish Bundists, which has its vision of socialism and calls for struggle to “break the bonds of slavery.” But the agricultural worker in the Soviet Crimea shows a real down-to-earth spirit in describing his Jewish fellow-workers:

“Who says Jews can only trade,  
Eat fat soups and not create,  
Nor be sturdy workingmen?  
Enemies can talk like that!”

Jews! Let’s spit right in their eye.”

Together with the Jew’s developing militancy, there emerged a strong people’s consciousness as exemplified in the poignant songs about the conscription of young Jews into the tsar’s army, and the fiery songs of the partisans who fought the nazis. But one is led seriously to question the omission of any songs from Soviet Birobidjan, although other Soviet areas are represented. In a song from the Ukraine, *Kegn Gold Fun Zun*, there is a new note—international unity:

“Yesterday, far neighbors—comrades near, today,  
Ukrainian peasant, you—Jewish farmer, me.”

The songs from Israel presented in this collection combine the Hebrew language with the melodies of the Sephardim, the Yemenites and the Eastern European Jews. The color and spirit of many of these songs are already known the world around. Some of them, like *Ruchot Hayam*, the song of the new Jewish fishermen and men of the sea, and *Shir Hapalmach* are expressive of the more progressive and militant tendencies in Israel.

The attractive translations are quite free, but capture the sense and style of the original language. In many cases, with a little more effort the English words could have been better fitted into the rhythm of the music. It is to be regretted that this was not done, for wider use of the book among non-Jews would have been thereby encouraged. The piano settings are simple, yet varied, and their style seems natural to the melodies. One can find several “typographical” errors in the music and one can be annoyed by the fact that often the extra verses are on the reverse side of the page of the music. However, these are minor defects in a volume of many riches.

## THE LIFE OF ANZIA YEZIERSKA

By Ben Field

*Red Ribbon on a White Horse*, by Anzia Yezierska. Scribner’s, New York. \$2.75.

OVERNIGHT in 1920, *Hungry Hearts*, a collection of stories about Jewish immigrants on New York’s East Side, catapulted Anzia Yezierska to fame. Her work was hailed by the literary critics and the newspapers called her “The Sweatshop Cinderella.” The movies bought the rights to her book and she was sucked into the arms of Hollywood.

Anzia Yezierska’s honeymoon with Hollywood, however, was short-lived. Shocked by the commercialism of the movies, she fled back to New York. She wrote five

more novels, drawing on the experiences which had gone into *Hungry Hearts*. But the talent which the critics had discovered in her did not grow big with the life they had anticipated. She sank into obscurity. As an unemployed writer during the depression days in the 1930’s, she got to work on the writers’ project of the WPA. *Red Ribbon on a White Horse* breaks the silence of a score of years.

To what can we attribute this painful silence and slack, this defeat of a writer who had flared up over the American scene during the “golden” period following World War I? Poverty, “the red ribbon”—did that strangle the writer as she struggled convulsively against it? Anzia Yezierska tries to frame this question as well as to answer it.

Anzia Yeziarska was an immigrant girl from Poland, one of a family of ten children. She never knew her own birthday, was uneducated in her own tongue. Her father, as cold a parent as the ostrich in the book of Job, had his head buried in the holy books; her hard-working mother could not give her the education for which she hungered. And so the girl was cast early into the sweatshop. She hated her job as operator, toiled and studied to smash her way out of the shop, and this loathing and struggle smolder in everything she wrote.

Anzia Yeziarska's fiction is a reflection of her inner struggles. Her central figure is invariably herself, the lonely, frustrated, half-coherent shopgirl frantically clawing her way out of the suckhole of poverty, trying to turn herself into a somebody, to knead and pummel herself into a successful "American." In these efforts she hurled herself again and again in a headlong fashion at the rich and cultured, those who belonged and had roots, the native, the Anglo-Saxon New Englander.

In *Salome of the Tenements* her heroine married a wealthy Jewish dress designer and in *Arrogant Beggar* she had a crush on the son of the Jewish philanthropist. But elsewhere her heroes, the objects of her worship, were well-to-do Gentiles. These men, sociologists, professors, settlement house benefactors, were all cultured and polished, of good breeding, who seemed to breathe confidence out of every pore, and whose Anglo-Saxon supremacy promised her that embrace in which, she dreamed, she could be happy and free.

Yeziarska nevertheless did not realize her dream. Out of her bitterness she threw up castings in her fiction again and again of her disillusioned and wretched self. The recoil from Hollywood was paralleled repeatedly by the revulsion from the type of hero who represented to her all that she could never be, who was the embodiment of the virtues that she imagined she saw in the class into which she was trying to force herself. Always unsuccessful in spite of her feverish trials, she was caught between forces she did not comprehend, the stuffings of her life were knocked out and the springs bared.

Anzia Yeziarska got her start as a writer at a time when the Jewish immigrant masses were in ferment in New York.

Fur and needle trades workers were rebelling against intolerable conditions. Strikes, the election of a Jewish Congressman and Jewish assemblymen, the candidacy for mayor of Morris Hillquit on the Socialist Party ticket were signs of that unrest. But where the workers fought inside their shops and on the street and in the voting booth to better their conditions, she separated herself from the struggle, tried to escape, conscious mainly of herself, shuddering off the filth of poverty and the men and women who crawled in it like flies. Hollywood sensed that in her best-seller and trimmed it to create a spectacle of the Jew, sentimentalized, romanticized, sweetened to hide the true face of the immigrant and the appalling circumstances of his life.

Though Anzia Yeziarska rejected Hollywood, she rejected the Jew and her class, whose true face she could not see. In her novels and stories the reader is hard put to find workers whom she really understood, had an attachment for, and accepted for themselves. Her sweatshop companions played no significant role in her life.

This separation, this innocence and limited understanding are the roots of the neurosis and failure of the writer, splitting and quartering and dicing her, the loaded fragments flying at a goal from which they bounce back with a horrible clash. Even during the period of the 1930's, when many a writer joined the progressive camp, Anzia Yeziarska's work in the WPA did not bring her enlightenment. Though she admired the "Marxists" and "political propagandists," she was drawn more to a Jeremiah Kuntzler, an anarchistic, wayward, impractical philosopher, whose life-work is a book on Spinoza which turns out after his death to be nothing but a mass of unintelligibility.

The lessons of her life proclaim that those who persist in making pretty bows of red ribbons will find life slipping between their fingers, the widow uncovered, her children crying in the streets, and themselves heaped among the slain. The lessons trumpet out that one's own personal salvation can not be separated from the salvation of the people, that one cannot reject without peril the class which is the heart of the people, which, grinding its way to its ultimate emancipation, frees the individual and lights up the future of the world.

---

## LUDWIG LEWISOHN: PROPHET OF DELUSION

By Louis Harap

*The American Jew*, by Ludwig Lewisohn. Farrar, Straus & Co., New York. \$2.50.

SINCE his fervent "return" to Judaism in 1922, Ludwig Lewisohn has in a series of books and essays exhorted his fellow Jews to return to the faith of their fathers. The

climactic statement of his credo in this little book offers an opportunity to evaluate what this 28-year-old crusade means to American Jewry.

Briefly stated, Lewisohn's thesis in this book runs something like this. The American Jew not only shares the "metaphysical anxiety" of contemporary man (under capi-

talism, it should be added, for man in socialist societies is not so troubled). He is also burdened with the "specifically Jewish disquietude" concerning his Jewishness and his relation to Israel. But the Jew has a way out of this anxiety. He can gain redemption by renouncing the "false emancipation," which Lewisohn believes to have uprooted and disoriented the Jew in "the period, roughly, from Napoleon to Hitler, from 1808 to 1933." This salvation lies in renouncing the "pagan"—i.e., non-Jewish—world and the "sordid fallacies of scientific materialism" and "moral nihilism" to which the Jews have succumbed, together with their non-Jewish contemporaries, in the past century and more. The Jew must rather affirm the absolute uniqueness of his people and negate his "exile" (*Galut*) by embracing what amounts to Jewish religious fundamentalism, since Lewisohn explicitly condemns Darwinism and biological evolution.

True emancipation for the American Jew, according to Lewisohn, is to live as a religious Jew in a "free" America. The American Jew must devote himself to "love of God and his Law" and be faithful to the forms of Judaism, such as having a *mezuzah* on his door and observing the dietary laws and the Sabbath. Lewisohn's program also calls for a parochial school structure, a clerical organizational life, distinctively Jewish cultural creation (whatever this means) and a Zionism whose chief aim would be promotion of *Halutz* (pioneer and emigration to Israel) by American Jews. Whoever does not accept this program will suffer what is to Lewisohn the ultimate evil, extinction of Jews as Jews.

### **Jewish "Uniqueness"**

The reactionary character of Lewisohn's outlook can only be intimated in this summary. It can only be described as an almost pathological concern with Jewishness which dangerously distorts the perspective on the problems facing us as Americans and Jews. Lewisohn places the problems of the American Jew in a compartment outside of history, and virtually limits his concern with contemporary life to fulfilment of a clerical Jewishness that is fatally injurious to the cause of the Jew today.

While Lewisohn's theory of the "uniqueness" of Jewry is not based on racialism, it nevertheless has some of the odiousness of the master race theory. Jewish life, unlike that of any other people, is "torn out of the context of history." As proof, Lewisohn offers the survival of Jewry in "exile." But this fact is, on the contrary, proof that Jews are human beings like every one else and subject to the forces of history, since the survival of Jewry was the resultant for the most part of historical forces and not of some mystical "will" to survive.

In this connection, it is interesting to observe that Lewisohn can take a cavalier attitude towards history only because he conveniently ignores some of its central facts or anything that disturbs his thesis. Lewisohn always refers to the Soviet Union as a land of "slave-kennels" and

identifies communism and nazism. Naturally, Lewisohn does not make any effort to explain why, if communism and nazism are identical, anti-Semitism has been effectively dealt with in the Soviet Union and the countries moving towards socialism, nor why the Soviet Union rescued hundreds of thousands of Jews from the nazis during the war. Nor does he explain why the state of Israel would never have been realized, if not for the action and policy of the Soviet Union and the new democracies in the United Nations; nor why Czechoslovakia, as every Israeli knows, saved Israel during the war of liberation by being the only country to send arms to Israel at the critical moment. But Lewisohn can cling to his theory only by systematically ignoring such facts, which are, after all, of secondary significance under his "spiritual" view of the world.

### **Anti-Scientific Bias**

This anti-historical view of the Jewish people is part of Lewisohn's anti-scientific bias. We have already mentioned his scorn for the theory of biological evolution. "There is no bridge," he asserts dogmatically, "from the anthropoid apes to man. None. None." He is uneasy before the "so-called 'social sciences.'" because "literature alone paints the true picture of man." He rails against what he calls "scientific authoritarianism." The arch-villain of this trend, he believes, is Karl Marx, who symbolizes what he considers the erroneous "notion," shared by some non-Marxists, that human society can be changed "upon premises having nothing to do with man's spiritual and moral nature." Lewisohn is also worried about the opposition offered to religious faith by science. Social science must be wrong because it has no need of God.

The reactionary pattern of Lewisohn's viewpoint fills out. He sneers at progressivism. From his high, noble moral perch Lewisohn takes pot shots at those who are concerned with such profane problems as combatting anti-Semitism and discrimination against minorities. "People are foolishly proud of being, as the silly saying goes, forward-looking. . . . They repeat the rubber-stamped verbiage of so-called 'progressivism.'" And to answer these people Lewisohn brings on the deep thoughts of the mystical emigre Russian religious philosopher Nicolas Berdyaev, upon whom Lewisohn leans for his condemnation of modern life, especially communism.

### **No Grasp of the Concrete**

The total absence in the book of any single concrete suggestion for dealing with the problems facing humanity today, except for specious profundities of moral and religious generalities, shows clearly enough that Lewisohn has no grasp in concrete terms on the problems facing Jewry today. He holds that the Jew can survive as a Jew in America by a reasserted faith in Judaism and its formal observances, because a "dream of a free society" exists here.



"Those of us, at all events, who are convinced of the necessity of Jewish survival in the United States, must act *as though* the American dream of a free society were realizable."

But to Jews who are threatened with fascism, it is not enough to depend on an "as though" of freedom. Jews must rather do their utmost to align their program realistically to one which will lead to the actualization of the American dream. But Lewisohn is not concerned with such matters. His weak grasp on the realities of the situation can be seen from the fact that he conceives the danger to Jewish survival in America to come from the lunatic fascist fringe, such as Gerald L. K. Smith and John Rankin, and from those who discriminate against Jews (he doesn't mention oppression of Negroes here). But Lewisohn seems to be oblivious to the most imminent and gravest threat of all—especially to the Jews—of the encroachment of fascism that has taken such specific and widespread forms in the United States in the post-war years. Only a religious reactionary of the first order could write a book in 1950 that pretends to base itself on the American tradition of freedom, as Lewisohn has done, without the slightest explicit reference to the mortal danger in which that tradition stands today from the witchhunting of progressives.

Lewisohn's wholesale condemnation of "false emancipation" because it has brought with it an assimilationist tendency, is a significant part of the reactionary pattern of his ideas. Lewisohn unreservedly condemns both voluntary and forced assimilation, which was the "hope and ideal of the emancipation," because this results in the disappearance of Jews as Jews. Lewisohn then points out that this emancipation failed and ended in the death camps. The true emancipation that he holds out to the Jewish people is an "awakening from the lethargy of materialistic determinism and moral nihilism" under the guidance of a reactionary and absolute theology.

### ***Emancipation, True and False***

It is true that the emancipation following the Napoleonic wars was far from perfect. It was in fact incomplete because under capitalism the Jews remained second class citizens, even though many made great contributions to science and culture. How incomplete it was can be judged from the death chambers and the present threat of annihilation in a new war. Further, bourgeois emancipation did initiate a trend toward assimilation prompted by the desire to emulate the non-Jewish ruling class and to avoid the disabilities of the Jews in capitalist society. *But this is by no means the whole story about assimilation.* For emancipation also set in motion an inexorable social process. Once the ghetto walls were broken down and the Jews allowed to participate in the life of the nation, it was inevitable that Jewish life should draw closer to the life of the nation as a whole. Since many of the elements of ghetto existence were forced survivals of older modes of living, the influ-

ence of these elements became constantly weaker. Under capitalism, however, anti-Semitism became more virulent and discrimination was intensified as bourgeois society fell into permanent crisis.

But Lewisohn makes a further charge against this "false emancipation." Its failure he ascribes to the fact that the world has not changed since six million Jews were murdered. "Over the world in whose womb this thing [annihilation of the six million] grew no radical change has come." Thus Lewisohn seems unaware of the radical turn taken by history with the Soviet Revolution, especially as this relates to the Jews. For in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, where most of the six million had lived, a true emancipation of the Jewish people is being realized. There anti-Semitism is being drastically eliminated and the Jew is being unreservedly accepted as an equal member of society. The Jews were even offered the means to set up a socialist Jewish state in Birobidjan based on completely voluntary participation.

Lewisohn's criticism of emancipation, however, is grounded largely on theological and obscurantist grounds. He refuses to acknowledge the operation of nature in its social form among the Jewish people—and says so in so many words. "Peoples and cultures," says Lewisohn, "... are products of neither biology nor environment." In other words, he would throw our thought back to theological "science" under which human history can only be truly explained as "creative acts of God's grace," as he says. Instead of assimilation Lewisohn urges that Jews turn their communities into "centers of voluntary segregation by the reaffirmation within them of Jewish life and Jewish values."

### ***Counsel of Disaster***

Insofar as this entails the free exercise of religious and cultural practices, it is legitimate in a democratic society. But we have seen that Lewisohn would base this Jewish separatism on the absolute uniqueness of the Jewish people and upon an obscurantist view of society which denies advances in the social sciences. Lewisohn would therefore turn the Jewish community in America into a reactionary influence.

Far from leading the Jewish people to salvation, Lewisohn's viewpoint is a counsel of disaster. His thesis is a prime example of "bourgeois nationalism," that is, an ideology which distorts the position of the national group or nationality concerned so as to further the aims of the ruling class in practice. In Lewisohn's case this bourgeois nationalism takes a theological form—an absorption with glittering abstractions, contempt for the hard won gains of science and an irresponsible indifference to the concrete, specific problems that face the world today. No amount of verbiage will solve these problems, upon whose solution the survival of the Jewish people depends. By his utter distortion of the realities of life, Lewisohn is playing a dangerous game in these critical days.

# Letters from Abroad

## SHALL GERMANY REARM?

London

Every year, the Sunday after Armistice Day is commemorated in London by the Ex-Servicemen as a day of remembrance of the fallen in the last two world wars. This year the commemoration coincided with the Board of Deputies meeting to consider a resolution on Germany. Concern was expressed at the meeting over the "continuance in Western Germany of anti-Semitic manifestations, the appointment of former prominent nazis to leading positions in public life and administration, the ineffectiveness of denazification, the release of war criminals convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity, and other evidence of the resurgence of nazism."

The question of Germany has preoccupied the attention of British Jewry on many occasions. Anxiety over the nazi revival finds expression despite the rigid control by the present leadership of the Board, which is concerned to avoid anything that may be taken as criticism of the British government. This was evidenced with especial openness when the Board of Deputies discussed the above-mentioned resolution.

The resolution was presented to the November meeting of the Board following an interview with Lord Henderson, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, concerning the position in Germany, the speeding up of the procedure of a settlement of restitution claims, compensation for those who had suffered loss of liberty and of livelihood, the transfer of compensation awards to claimants outside Germany, etc. The members of the Board commended the Board's leadership for their initiative in raising the matter, although it is known that a number of resolutions on these matters had been sent to the Board a few weeks earlier.

However, the resolution was criticized for its limited character and for its omissions. Some members objected to the absence of any reference to the rearming of Germany or of any criticism of the government for its failure to take adequate steps to prevent the resurgence of German reaction.

Amendments were introduced to cover these points. The Board president, who expressed the views of the leadership,

spoke of "the hesitancy to pass such resolutions." He insisted time and again that the Board must not take sides regarding the question of Eastern and Western Germany; the Board must not be partisan on the problem of the East and West; the Board must avoid "rousing resentment" amongst members of the government by their criticisms, etc.

Many members expressed indignation from the floor at the attitude of the Board's leadership. One member, who is also a Labor borough councillor, expressed his deepest regret that it was a Labor government which permitted such scope to the renaissance German reaction because it was prejudiced against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. Another member was anxious that the concern of the Jews about German rearmament should be expressed together with that of others, including the whole of the French people.

After further protracted discussion a separate resolution in the following terms was agreed to:

"The Board of Deputies of British Jews views with grave concern the rearmament of Eastern and Western Germany. The Board records its conviction that the ex-

istence or recreation of a German army or armies is a betrayal of those millions of Jews and non-Jews who were destroyed by the nazis."

Thus a victory was obtained over the hush-hush leadership of the Board. It is true that the Board was able to include Eastern Germany in its resolution when no conclusive evidence has been produced of rearmament there. Yet the Board was obliged to go on record against rearmament of Western Germany and thus to bring its decisions closer to the needs and desires of the Jewish masses. To this extent the Board was drawn away from its position as a catspaw for views and policies which can result only in further tribulations for the Jews wherever they live. A consistent and united struggle by the progressive elements in the community can force a real program of action on German rearmament and lead to a clarification of the real differences between Eastern and Western Germany.

L. ZAIDMAN

## Masses & Mainstream

AMERICA'S LEADING  
CULTURAL MONTHLY



### December 1950 Contents

OUR TIME	Samuel Sillen
THE DREISER I KNEW	Michael Gold
"WE CHOOSE TO LIVE" (four drawings)	
THE GLORY TRAIN (story)	Lloyd L. Brown
A SOVIET DISCOVERY IN BIOLOGY	G. Krushchev
SCIENCE IN NEW CHINA	Coching Chu
THE DULLES DILEMMA	Barbara Giles
THE "NEW CRITICISM"	Sidney Finkelstein
REVIEWS by Herbert Aptheker and Howard Selsam	
DRAWINGS by Gropper, Iler, and Taller de Grafica Popular	



SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$4.00 a year;  
\$4.50 outside of United States;  
SINGLE COPIES: 35 CENTS



### New Century Publishers

832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

## Yiddish Theatre Ensemble presents

LEON KRUTCHOWSKI'S

### "THE FAMILY SONNENBRUCH" (in Yiddish)

Performances each Saturday evening and Sunday matinee

Starting Saturday, Jan. 6, 1951  
Barbizon Plaza Theater

58th St. at 6th Ave., New York  
For tickets, phone daily, 3-6:30 pm  
ALgonquin 5-6283

## RIDGEFIELD RESORT

Home of the JPFO at Ridgefield, Connecticut  
(50 miles from New York City)

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

### FOR YOUR VACATION

Open All Year 'Round

Rates: \$40 and up for JPFO members; \$50 and up for non-members

Make your reservations by calling directly Ridgefield 1180. New York Office: 80 Fifth Ave., 16th floor. Tel.: ORegon 5-1161. Four Flying Eagle buses leave daily from Dixie Terminal, 241 West 42nd St., and stop at gate of the resort.

Do not come without first making your reservation



## FASCIST DP'S IN CANADA

Toronto

**The fascist bomb** which exploded in the crowded auditorium of the Ukrainian Labor Temple at a Thanksgiving Day concert illuminated one of the most dangerous developments taking place in Canada. The cold-blooded murder of an innocent Ukrainian workman on the streets of Toronto by one who shares the barbaric thoughts of those who perpetrated the Thanksgiving Day outrage, was but a chain-reaction to larger crimes.

I desire to draw attention to the larger pattern of events, which led to the first fascist bomb explosion in the country and which is full of ominous portent for the Jews in Canada.

A significant aspect of this abhorrent development is the behavior of the Canadian press and the reaction of government authorities and "public opinion," to that horrible act of violence. There was a deliberate attempt to confuse the indignant public by describing the cold-blooded act of fascist thugs as an expression of inner-group rivalries among the Ukrainians.

**Under the impact** of mass indignation, spokesmen for municipal and other levels of government and heads of police departments assured the people that everything was being done to bring the criminals to justice. But the press, as if by arrangement, threw a blanket of silence on the whole affair. The police forces, supposed to be fully alerted to track down the criminals, did not make a single arrest.

In reality the explosion of the first fascist bomb in Canada was the initial instalment on a sinister deal made some time ago. Therein lies the cause for alarm.

All serious observers know that the Canadian government's immigration policy is based, to a very large extent, on its cold war orientation. While allowing the influx of such desirable immigrants as those from Britain, Holland and restricted quotas of anti-fascist DP's, the government is also deliberately encouraging, fostering and aiding the movement into Canada of entire blocs of pro-fascists, collaborationists and of those who actively served in Hitler's auxiliary military units during the war.

The Canadian cold war engineers who mapped this abominable immigration policy saw in it the means of establishing festering fascist pockets within our country, which were to provide anti-union detachments for anti-labor industrialists. They were also to provide storm-troopers against the progressive and anti-war sections of the Canadian people. Finally, the organized gangs of pro-fascist immigrants

were to provide a military reserve for the planned war. That is why the government recently announced its readiness to admit the notorious Halychyna Division which served under Hitler.

**This is** of course a problem for Canadian democracy at large—it is a menace to the whole country. But it is a menace of unusual seriousness to the Jews here.

It stands to reason that the class, and, therefore, political differences within the Jewish population, results in a differentiated approach to the policies of the federal government. It is, however, safe to conclude that every segment of Canadian Jewry is disturbed over the admission of these organized bands of fascists and former murderers of European Jewry.

The leadership of the Canadian Jewish Congress will undoubtedly argue that it is doing everything possible to cope with this situation. I submit, however, that it is impossible to agree with that claim.

No one will suggest that the leaders of Congress support the government's immigration policy. Nor can it be said that they have not attempted to bring their dissatisfaction to the attention of the government.

**Certainly** it would be desirable for the entire trade union movement, church or-

ganizations and democratic bodies of all sorts to take the initiative in the formation of a forceful national movement against the alarmingly dangerous immigration policy of the government and against the increasingly arrogant and menacing actions of the murderous gangs of fascists who are already in our country. Failure of those organizations to act is, of course, to be regretted. Many of them are victims of their own misdeeds—their acquiescence to and, in some cases, open supporters of the dervish dance of the red-baiters. How else can one explain the failure of Congress and the above mentioned organizations to rise up and storm for action against those fascist thugs who placed a bomb in the Ukrainian hall and who break up peaceful meetings, of those who expose their link with Hitlerism?

The Jewish community must launch its own mass protest movement against this immediate threat to our existence. We owe this to ourselves and we would be less than self-respecting if we were to fail to do that. The organs of organized Jewry in this country must assume the task of stimulating the development of the broadest, all-inclusive public expression of protest against the government's immigration policy. We must do this as Jews and as Canadians.

J. B. SALSBERG, MPP

## Letters from Readers

### On the Woman Question

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Although not Jewish, I am a subscriber to JEWISH LIFE because of its sensible, sane and broad-minded position on our present social and economic problems. So I have read Irene Epstein's masterly article in the October issue with keen delight and I am with it all the way. I am a woman in the seventies and for forty years have been interested in the woman question from every angle. . . .

How do women get like Marynia Farnham and Dr. Trude Weiss-Rosmarin? Is it to their special advantage to express such opinions or are they entirely ignorant of the complete emancipation the Russian Revolution brought to women, which besides abolished the profit system and along with it the exploitation of man by man for the first time in the history of the world?

I thank Irene Epstein for bringing this out so clearly and pointing out that it also applies to the new people's democracies and to China, where always one of the first things has been to liberate the women from centuries-old oppression not only by the system under which they lived but by the individual male. I would think that a reading of *China Shakes the World*, by Jack Belden, would convince anyone that there has never been justice for women. There is vastly more to the relations between men and women than sex and that is companionship and working together for a new and better world.

I have been an ardent devotee of the USSR for some 25 years, which began with the reading of

Maurice Hindus' book, *Humanity Uprooted*, from which I discovered what had really happened in the Soviet Union and my confidence in it has never wavered the fraction of an inch since then. I have read some 100 books about it not to mention articles in various publications.

I suppose you are acquainted with the two books by Fannina Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia* and *Women in the Soviet East*, that show conclusively what women's lot has been through the ages and were it not for the Russian Revolution, would still be.

I feel grateful to Irene Epstein for having written the article and hope it has proved enlightening to many people.

Mrs. N. J. J.

Upland, Calif.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

This is to congratulate you for publishing Irene Epstein's fine article on women in your October issue. We could do with a great deal more discussion on the subject.

I will be looking forward to the other articles you promise.

N. B.

Brooklyn

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

JEWISH LIFE is wonderful. Here is a gift subscription for my father. I'm sure he'll enjoy it as much as we do.

B. C.

Watertown, Mass.