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Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

“COMMIPHOBIA” AND THE AJ COMMITTEE ➤ *by Louis Harap*

LETTER TO A PROGRESSIVE IN FLIGHT ➤ *by Jack Green*

CONFLICT IN MAPAM ➤ *by S. Zachariash*

FREE EDUCATION ON TRIAL ➤ *by Morris U. Schappes*

AL JOLSON AND HIS TIMES ➤ *by Nathaniel Buchwald*

MURDER OF A JEWISH BOY ➤ *by Leo Kruczkowski*

Review of Schappes' “Documentary History” ➤ *by Herbert M. Morais*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

MAJOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS meeting in convention or executive session during October, expressed strong opposition to moves for German remilitarization, among other aspects of domestic and foreign policy. . . . The American Section of the World Jewish Congress ended a two weeks conference in late October at which it condemned the policy of rearming Germany "as likely to revive and strengthen" military elements who would menace peace; viewed with the "gravest disquiet" the collapse of denazification policy, the failure of the Bonn government to suppress anti-Semitism and "the restoration of known and former nazis to positions of authority and the liberation of convicted nazi war criminals"; was gravely concerned over the "deepening international tensions"; and stressed world Jewry's stake in the maintenance of peace. . . . Repeal of the McCarran law was demanded by the national executive committee of the American Jewish Congress in early October because the measure creates the fear that freedom to hold "views which may border on the liberal or unorthodox will become an extremely dangerous adventure." AJ Congress President Irving Miller pledged support to the 10 senators who will seek repeal when Congress reconvenes. The executive also resolved that "Militarization of Germany at the present time, however limited and in whatever form, must inevitably mean the revival of the German military caste, whose thinking and ambition have twice unloosed on our generation war and human destruction unparalleled in history." . . . The Jewish War Veterans at their 55th annual encampment in early October opposed the creation "now, or at any time in the future, of a new German army under independent German command." The veterans also declared that the establishment of an independent West German government had failed to eradicate nazism from Germany's political, economic and educational life. In an address before the meeting, Admiral William F. Halsey pointed out that there is no bigotry in America's national cemetery where the war dead are buried. . . . Progressive observers, noting the strong sentiment expressed at these meetings as a reflection of mass Jewish opinion, expressed the hope that the organizations would undertake active campaigns among the Jewish masses for the implementation of these anti-fascist policies.

JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH children on their way to the Hecht Neighborhood House in Dorchester (Boston) on November 3, were attacked by a gang of Christian Front hoodlums. The next day 25 Jewish youths got some cars together and went in search of the hoodlums. At pistol point police held up the youths and arrested 25 of them. Police claimed to have found an unloaded revolver in one of the cars. None of the hoodlums was arrested. There had been frequent attacks on Jewish youths in this area before without any arrests by police.

THE DP COMMISSION announced on September 13 that ex-members of the Baltic-SS Legion would be included in the DP program. The ruling of the commission stated that "The Baltic Waffen-SS units (Baltic Legion) are to be considered as separate and distinct in purpose, ideology, activities and qualifications for membership from the German SS and therefore the commission holds



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

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them not to be a movement hostile to the Government of the United States under section 13 of the Displaced Persons Act as amended." Each case will be decided individually.

FIVE RABBIS, a war veteran and Joe Cummins, editor of the Los Angeles *B'nai B'rith Messenger*, testified in October in defense of G. A. Richards, owner of radio station KMPC in Los Angeles, now going through hearings for removal of license after it had been charged that he had ordered broadcasts to be given an anti-Semitic slant. One of the station's former employees had testified that Richards once asked him "whether Americans

would really object if Jews were all stood up against a wall and shot." Cummins thought that Richards' reference to "kikes" in his letters was no reason to deprive him of his property. Rabbis had been invited to give five minute speeches on Richards' radio after the station had got into trouble with the Federal Communications Commission for anti-Semitism.

200 WORKERS at the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, central fund raising agency for Jewish charities in New York, won raises of \$3-5 in October as a result of negotiations conducted by (Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

REPEAL THE McCARRAN LAW

THE attempt of the Justice Department to use the McCarran law to violate the right to bail in the case of non-citizens is foundering on the rocks of unconstitutionality. Since October 22, when Attorney General Howard J. McGrath sent his agents to arrest non-citizens in the dead of night, 47 foreign born persons in 11 cities were held without bail for deportation hearings on the presumed basis of the McCarran act. But already ten federal judges in various parts of the country have granted bail to 18 of these. In releasing three of the Chicago victims, Federal District Judge William J. Campbell said, "I can't see anyone, even one belonging to a party that I despise, being denied privileges that anyone else is entitled to under the Constitution, unless for good cause shown, because today maybe we can do it to the Communists because we have the right to do it. Then tomorrow we can do it to a Republican or, what is worse, a Democrat. . . . The attorney general has abused his discretion in refusing bail." But 29 non-citizens are still held in jail at this writing by this "abuse of discretion." The Justice Department has gone even one step further. It has scheduled 19 deportation hearings in ten days, which means a completely inadequate time in which the fate of these 19 and their families will be decided. The Justice Department is violating elementary rights under the giant umbrella of the infamous McCarran law.

The real import of this fascist legislation appeared very quickly in other applications of it. At first, the Justice Department made a grandstand show of excluding everyone seeking entry into the country who had ever been a member of a nazi, fascist or Communist party. But on October 31, McGrath "relaxed" his interpretation of the law to allow the entry of aliens with only "nominal membership" in nazi or fascist parties. As the denazification farce revealed, there were very few nazis indeed whose membership was not "nominal." In other words, the McCarran law is to be enforced strictly against progressives and anti-fascists only, as was intention of its pro-fascist framers.

If he would follow the great democratic tradition of America, President Truman would refuse to enforce this unconstitutional law, as Thomas Jefferson refused to enforce the Alien and Sedition Acts. But the people should make known their abhorrence of the law's attempt to stifle democracy. An opportunity for the trade union movement and the American masses to fight for repeal of the McCarran law will be offered when Congress reconvenes. The ten senators who voted against the law have indicated that they will propose revision of the law, particularly to remove the "registration" provisions. But this is not enough. For the

law in its entirety threatens our country with fascism. The immense forces that have expressed their opposition to the law, especially the CIO and AFL, should grasp this opportunity to impose the will of the people on Congress. It is not enough, as these organizations did earlier, to limit their opposition to executive statements. The only way to defeat the law is to enlist the masses, the rank and file, to action. Mass delegations, a flood of letters to representatives and senators and every sort of mass action must be carried out by these organizations for a successful fight against the law. This applies with especial force to Jewish organizations. And great responsibility rests with progressives to take the initiative in mass action in the coming weeks and months to repeal the law.

ELECTION LESSONS

ALTHOUGH reaction scored a victory in the elections, valuable lessons can be learned from the result. The Republican gains will make for increased rightist pressure in local and national government in the days ahead. But the vote showed a confused dissatisfaction with the Truman policies, the preparations for war and the Korean adventure. This was true in the victory of Everett M. Dirksen over Scott Lucas in the Illinois senatorial race, the defeat of Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas in the California senatorial contest, in Chester Bowles' unsuccessful bid for re-election as governor of Connecticut, and in other contests. While the Republican victors played on the fear of war among the people, they themselves in effect supported the bellicose MacArthur position of a more aggressive war policy. In New York City the voters also showed a profound dissatisfaction with political bossism and the corruption of the old two parties by electing Impellitteri, who was himself different from the Republicans and regular Democrats only in the identity of his bosses. In other words, the people are profoundly disturbed, but they were demagogically deceived into voting for the opposite of what they really wanted. Where the issues were realistically drawn, as in Vito Marcantonio's district, only a three-party gangup could defeat this great voice of the people.

Main responsibility for this tragic confusion of the electorate lies with the leaders of the CIO and AFL and "liberals" of the Americans for Democratic Action. Instead of placing the election issues squarely before the people—repeal of the Taft-Hartley and McCarran laws and furthering of peace by negotiation—these issues were either ignored, placed in the background or even argued against by the "labor" candidates. Instead, labor's political efforts were largely devoted to outdoing their opponents in communist-baiting. So slavish were these labor and liberal

"leaders" to the Truman war policy, that they fell into the trap of allowing the Republicans to exploit the war fears of the people by confusing, two-faced anti-war demagoguery. As Jack Kroll, director of CIO Political Action Committee admitted, the people's fear of war was responsible for the defeat of the CIO and AFL-supported candidates.

The fact that the anti-war feeling and revulsion from the corruption of the two parties were the basic motivations for so much of the voting throughout the country, offers an opportunity for action. The trade unions and progressives must now try to clarify and enlist these war fears into channels for peace negotiations in Korea and a genuine peace settlement of outstanding differences between the

United States and the Soviet Union. This can be done by organizing the broadest unity wherever possible in the trade unions on local, state and national levels on bread and butter issues. It means that progressives must demonstrate that red-baiting is disastrous to labor's interests. Anyone who will unite against the McCarran law or anti-communist measures is a potential ally of labor in the fight for the welfare of the people and must be worked with. And the Negro people, the American Labor Party, the rank and file of the Liberal Party and similar groups throughout the country should build unity movements which alone can save America from threatening fascism and war.

A "SOLUTION" FOR ISRAEL?

GENUINE concern for the people of Israel imposes great demands upon us. It is not enough to read headlines, to be swept away with an emotional sympathy for the new Jewish state and to contribute money unquestioningly. Jews are obliged to understand what is going on in Israel, to know where their money is going and to satisfy themselves that the use of funds and the policies of the Israeli government are really leading to the construction of a country where the majority of the people can live in peace, security and abundance. American Jews must therefore try to look for the realities behind the National Planning Conference for Israel and Jewish Rehabilitation, held in Washington on October 27-29. They should examine its relation to the economic crisis in Israel that the conference was designed to alleviate.

Was Cabinet Crisis Solved?

It was no coincidence that the Israeli cabinet crisis occurred during the conference. For both events were brought on by the economic difficulties that had been building up since the establishment of the state. To the economic problems bequeathed by a Palestine whose economic development the British mandate had distorted, was added the enormous burden of transporting and assimilating hundreds of thousands of immigrants from many parts of the world. But the main responsibility for the crisis rests with the Ben Gurion government which has, since Israel was proclaimed, been appeasing the industrial and large agricultural interests as well as foreign investors, to the detriment of the working people of the country. Main responsibility lies with the "socialist" Mapai, which formed a coalition with the right wing and did not plan the economic life of the country but allowed "free enterprise" to exact its toll on the working masses and the Israeli economy.

An Editorial Article

The policies of the Ben Gurion government brought to a head the cabinet crisis that followed the rationing decree in August of clothing and leather. In October the resignation of the Ben Gurion government was precipitated by the refusal of the clerical bloc and business partners of Ben Gurion's government to accept a non-party minister of trade and industry. Ben Gurion also refused to accede to the clerical bloc's demand for commitments on laws for Sabbath observance, rabbinical control of marriage and divorce and other issues. Basically, however, Mapai and the clerical and business forces in the government coalition were jockeying for power. The crisis offered the occasion to the latter to gain more direct business and clerical influence in the government. For Ben Gurion succeeded on October 30 in re-forming the same coalition government with minor concessions to business interests and a few shifts in personnel. But the basic policies which were responsible for the crisis remained unchanged.

The left-wing parties, Mapam and the Communist Party of Israel, both fought against a renewal of the coalition. The impasse facing Israel, pointed out *Kol Ha'am*, Communist daily, on October 17, was a direct result of the anti-labor internal policy and "anti-Israel" foreign policy of the coalition government. The government had failed to solve the country's main problems, the development of agriculture and industry, the absorption of immigrants and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. And *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, pointed out that what was needed was a common labor front in a new government with a new policy.

One of the major plans which the Ben Gurion government sponsored for meeting the crisis was a billion and a half dollar bond drive, a billion of which was to be raised by American Jewry over a period of three years. The Jerusalem meeting in early September of about 50 Ameri-

can Jewish business men and Zionist leaders approved this plan and projected the conference which met in Washington in October. The Jewish masses of America have the obligation to inquire if the plan drawn up by the conference will help or hinder Israel.

False Unity

Over 1,200 delegates from 44 national Jewish organizations attended the conference, which has been hailed as the greatest manifestation of Jewish unity in American history. It is true that the conference was probably the most inclusive ever held. But equally important as the external fact of inclusiveness is the question, *unity for what, unity with whom?* It is an open secret that there was intense antagonism behind the scenes between the representatives of the American Jewish Committee plutocrats, led by Jacob Blaustein, and the Zionists, led by Benjamin Browdy. The Zionists feel that they are being ousted from the control of funds by the non-Zionist plutocrats. And with good reason, for Ben Gurion cleared his plans for American aid to Israel with Blaustein before the Jerusalem meeting took place.

But these antagonisms are essentially a struggle for power over control of communal funds which was won by the American Jewish Committee group. Unity there was on the basic issues. And it is here that the Jewish workers and masses must be wary. For who are the leaders? When the American Jewish Committee plutocrats assume leadership, the Jewish masses must look more deeply at what they are getting into. And when the Jewish Labor Committee, which has sabotaged every move for unity among the Jewish people, as in the case of the American Jewish Conference a few years ago, joins in such unity, the Jewish masses should take thought. The Jewish Labor Committee did not send 25 delegates to the National Planning Conference without assurance of wielding considerable influence in their specialty—arousing the Jewish people in the campaign to combat “communism.”

The preparatory phases of the conference were significant. The leaders of the two factions in the struggle for control of American Jewry's relations with Israel, Jacob Blaustein for the American Jewish Committee and most powerful Jewish business interests, and Benjamin Browdy, president of the Zionist Organization of America for the Zionists, both indicated several weeks before the conference that emphasis in the conference would be shifted away from the billion dollar bond drive. At a press conference in mid-October, Browdy called upon the United States government to give Israel a grant-in-aid of \$500,000,000 over a period of three years. He said it was anomalous that, while the American government was pouring billions into Europe, the Far East and the American hemisphere to fight the “threat” to the “democratic way of life,” no such aid had been extended to Israel. Yet, he said, Israel was the “only citadel of democracy in the Middle East” and that “Israel will rather fight than be communized and that with

the possible exception of Turkey, it is probably the only country in that area which can be relied upon to offer armed resistance to aggression.” Put in realistic terms, this is a callous offering up of the Israeli population as cannon fodder for an aggressive anti-Soviet war. As for Blaustein, in customary American Jewish Committee fashion, his operations consisted in closet discussion of the matter. In mid-October he conferred with Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee, State Department official in charge of the Near East. This had been preceded by two meetings with President Truman after Blaustein's return from Israel in August.

Marshallization of Israel

Surely enough, this aspect of “aid” to Israel turned out to be first on the four-point program decided upon by the conference. “We urge the Government of the United States,” read point one, “to help Israel through grants-in-aid, loans and other forms of financial support that have been mobilized by our government to further the cause of democracy everywhere.” The main speaker at the final conference session was Leon Keyserling, chairman of President Truman's Council of Economic Advisors. He emphasized that, to quote the JTA report, “America should welcome participation in the effort to build up the economic strength of the Jewish state so that it may make its most effective contribution to the preservation of the free world. He said in the struggle to strengthen democracy, Israel should be considered ‘our junior partner.’” And Jacob Blaustein called such aid to Israel “both justified and necessary. . . . As Americans and Jews we are gratified to observe that Israel is building a genuine democracy and that the Israel people will not accept any dictatorship or totalitarianism from either within or without.”

The meaning of this is abundantly clear—the conference was urging that Israel be Marshallized. This means two things, as experience with the Marshall plan all over the world has shown: frustration of economic recovery by control of the economy in the interests of American business, instead of the masses of the country; and second, alignment with the anti-Soviet military bloc and preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The people of Israel know these things and therefore their government leaders have not themselves dared to proposed Marshall Plan aid for Israel. Besides, the Israeli people will not allow their country to be used as an anti-Soviet military base because they know only too well that the creation of their state was made possible only by the help of the Soviet Union and the new democracies. And to convert Israel into such a war base would doom Israel to destruction. Israeli advocates of American government loans therefore refrain from identifying such loans as part of the Marshall Plan system, but the effect is the same. The price for this deception is that, while only about 20 per cent of Marshall loans have to be repaid, American loans to Israel must be repaid in full, plus interest. But the conditions of such a loan place Israel

no less in subjection to American capital. For these loans are actually credits for goods to be bought only in America, even if the same materials could be obtained more cheaply elsewhere. And Israel must make a quarterly report on her economy to the United States. In other words, the loans called for by the conference will make Israel not even a "junior partner," but the vassal of American business men. Nor will such loans help to put Israel on a sound financial basis, as experience of the past five years with American loans quite clearly demonstrates.

Is the Program Good for Israel?

As for the second aspect of such loans, the coordination of Israel into the anti-Soviet military bloc, this too is unpopular with the Israeli people. About 320,000 Israelis, 40 per cent of its adult population, have signed the Stockholm peace appeal. To say that the peace appeal "fizzled" in Israel, as Benjamin Browdy did in the press interview mentioned above, is cruelly to deceive the Jews of America and does no good to Israel. The masses in Israel, many of whom were direct victims of nazism, must be only too well aware of the fact that the Truman administration is giving support to the very forces in Germany and elsewhere in the world which were responsible for the world catastrophe which they barely survived. Alliance with fascist forces in Germany and all over the world, which are now supposed to be defending "the democratic way of life," actually spells the most profound danger to the Jewish people and to Israel in particular.

The second point in the four-point plan is the intensi-

fication of the philanthropic United Jewish Appeal; the third is a pledge of "fullest cooperation for the success of any effort that will be made by the Government of Israel to float a public loan in the United States." The final point urges encouragement of private investment in Israel.

Thus, like the so-called solution of the cabinet crisis, this program of the National Planning Conference had nothing essentially new to offer in program. But the attempt to unite American Jewry more inclusively than ever on this program presents Israel with new dangers. The only prospect of the plan is to continue and intensify the same measures which have heretofore not succeeded in solving Israel's problems. In other words, the old policies are urged more strongly and on a larger scale than ever.

The Jews of America have given and will give money to Israel. But their motive for giving, to further the welfare of Israel, should also entail the obligation to ask the further question, how will the money be spent. This is the key question. Heretofore the millions given to Israel have not solved Israel's problems. In fact, the policy behind the use of funds is the very one that has produced the crisis, and American Jewry should consider if this same policy will not deepen the crisis. The Jewish masses need to be vigilant concerning the methods of aiding Israel and the assignment of funds. The Jewish masses must therefore fight for a share in the control of funds in such a way as to help the genuine industrial development of Israel, and for the adoption of a program that will not make Israel even more subservient to American capital and its war plans, as the conclusions of the National Planning Conference threaten to do.

"COMMIPHOBIA" AND THE AJ COMMITTEE

By Louis Harap

"NON-JEWISH liberals in high government circles are asking if Jewish organizations are beginning to succumb to 'Commiphobia,'" wrote Milton Friedman, Jewish Telegraphic Agency Washington correspondent in October. "Are Jewish organizations showing symptoms of the same sort of hysteria which caused the passage of the McCarran concentration camp bill—the bill these organizations opposed?"

Mr. Friedman's questions are timely and highly relevant. For there is abundant evidence, unfortunately, to show that many Jewish leaders have decided that the most critical task now facing the Jewish community is not to fight against a threatening fascism, but to combat communism. The most alarming aspect of this situation is that ordinary Jewish people may fall for this suicidal policy and thus retrace the path of German Jewry.

It is most urgent that we get down to the real significance of this new trend and its tragic implications.

In the past few months, signs of an apparently coordinated drive against communism by certain Jewish leaders began to accumulate. It was, of course, nothing new when the Jewish Labor Committee, organization of virulent anti-communist Jewish "labor" leaders of the *Forward* persuasion, devoted their annual convention in October to a declaration of war against "communism." This was only a reiteration of what can be said to be the central reason for being of the Jewish Labor Committee. But at about the same time Oscar Cohen, a leading official of the Anti-Defamation League, disclosed that Jewish "defense" agencies were taking steps to deal with "communism" and to expel all communists from Jewish organizations. In mid-October the national committee of the Anti-Defamation

League passed a resolution calling for the combating of "the menace of communism to the constant development of American democracy and the security of the Jewish community." Later in the month the annual meeting of the B'nai B'rith, largest Jewish fraternal organization in the country, passed a resolution condemning "communism."

AJC Jumps on Anti-Communist Bandwagon

Typical of this new trend was the meeting of the national executive committee of the American Jewish Committee in Chicago on October 14-15. The meeting was almost exclusively devoted to discussion of the "menace of communism." The meeting concluded that the "protection and advancement of civil liberties and civil rights cannot be accomplished without combating and eradicating the 'menace of communism' in the United States." It is to be expected that a Jewish "defense" organization which recognizes, verbally at least, that the fate of the Jews is tied to democracy, should base its anti-communist campaign on protection of "civil rights and civil liberties." As Irving Engel, chairman of the AJC executive committee, expressed it, "active support of democratic ideals and principles requires forthright actions against the threatening menaces to these very principles, namely communism and the tactics of the Communist Party members and fellow-travelers." This is, of course, also the position of the McCarran law and of all red-baiters; it is the view that has been hammered into the American people in a million forms and guises for the past five years through every means of communication. It is significant that Mr. Engel includes "fellow-travelers" in the scope of the witch-hunt—thus giving it explicitly a McCarran-like scope of including those who fight for progressive measures. Mr. Friedman's questions on the "Commiphobia" of Jewish leaders are well founded.

At the same meeting of the AJC, Mrs. Caroline K. Simon, chairman of the New York chapter of the AJC and a member of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, made more detailed charges against the "communists." "It is the purpose of the communists," she said, "to exploit the hostility aimed at so-called minority groups, thus increasing social strife, inflaming racial and religious antagonism and thereby weakening this country's resistance to the Soviet's drive for world power. . . . The myth that the communists are trying to sell is to delude the American people that the so-called minority groups are with them and against the rest of the country." Does Mrs. Simon dare to say that campaigns conducted by communists and progressives—like the Scottsboro, Trenton Six, Willie McGee cases, the fight against discrimination in Stuyvesant Town—"weaken" democracy? Even many leaders of the American Civil Liberties Union and of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, who disapprove of the "tactics" of the communists, have had to agree that, without the prompt action of the communists, such cases might have been lost. Or does Mrs.

Simon say that the "communists" are responsible for the intensification of attacks on minority groups? The vicious absurdity of such a charge is like saying that fascism is brought on by resistance to it. There is a small group against whom the communists are fighting—the Big Business men, among whom are some AJC leaders, who are responsible for the nurturing of Jimcrow, anti-Semitism and discrimination because minority group oppression is necessary for the maintenance of their profits.

Why has the AJC chosen this moment of crisis and grave danger of fascism to come out into the open with an anti-communist campaign? Thus far the AJC had been restrained by the fact that Hitler's anti-communist technique was too fresh in Jewish memories for a Jewish organization to use it openly. The affinity of anti-Semites and fascists was too close to permit this. But the AJC has for years been operating, without public fanfare, as an anti-communist agency in the Jewish community. The AJC has been restive at this undercover method. For the past few years the AJC oligarchy has been deliberating over ways and means of fighting "communism," that is, the progressive movement, in the open. The Korean war and the McCarran law pressures, as well as the more insistent demands of the FBI, Wall Street and the Pentagon for active opposition to "communism," provided the atmosphere in which the AJC could announce a public campaign.

Red-baiters' Progress

The handle by which the AJC could justify its attack on the progressive movement was its professed concern over the tendency to identify Jews and communists. As a Jewish "defense" organization, the AJC determined that it must try to dissociate Jews from communists in the public mind. But the AJC was reluctant to carry on a general anti-communist campaign which, as more level-headed people in the agency pointed out, was too obviously a dangerous tactic for a Jewish organization. At last the executive committee hit upon a method, according to a secret AJC memorandum of May 1947: "an educational campaign designed to acquaint American Jews with the facts concerning Jews and communism, and especially the realities of Jewish life in communist countries. Underlying this recommendation was the conviction that the most effective method of dissociating Jews from communism is for Jews to assert their opposition to communism."¹ The memorandum goes on to note that the eradication of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union has made a deep impression on Jews and that the way to alienate the Jews from the Soviet Union was to show that the condition of Jews under communism was bad. The AJC therefore undertook to make a "study" of the "realities of Jewish life in Iron Curtain countries."

What the AJC really wanted, was to stifle any friendly feeling among American Jews for the Soviet Union and

¹ Quoted by Tom O'Connor, *The Truth About Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union*. Reprinted from the *Daily Compass* by the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, p. 18.

communism, which had decisively dealt with anti-Semitism and had given Jews genuine equality. A group of obsessively anti-Soviet "specialists," mostly of the *Forward* variety, turned out a series of bitterly anti-Soviet "studies." These were then made available to journalists and to the public. As everyone now knows, this initiated a slanderous public campaign about Soviet "anti-Semitism." The spurious nature of the so-called evidence has been sufficiently exposed in the pamphlet by Tom O'Connor, cited above, and by Moses Miller in *Soviet "Anti-Semitism": The Big Lie*. The AJC achieved a certain success in alienating many Jews from the Soviet Union. Under post-war conditions, the central aim of the Big Business AJC was to do its share in defaming the rising people's movements by intensifying the anti-communist hysteria among the Jewish people.

But the AJC was not yet reconciled to an all-out general anti-communist crusade. This position was only reached by gradual steps during a period when a fascist police state loomed in America. The attempt of communists and non-communists in the Peckskill affair to reassert freedom of speech and assembly was characterized by the AJC, echoing the pro-fascist line of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, as a "trap laid by the communists in their attempt to stir up discord and anti-minority feeling for their own purposes." Another long step was taken with the acceptance of the invitation to attend the All-American Conference to Combat Communism in the fall of 1949, which was in reality an attempt to get a mass base for the advance into fascism. Despite the shocked disapproval of the Jewish community, the withdrawal from the conference of B'nai B'rith and the CIO, the AJC stayed in. Together with the Jewish War Veterans and the notorious American Jewish League Against Communism (with whose tactics the AJC disagrees, but not its aims), the AJC took an active part in the conference. At the Chicago meeting, the AJC finally decided to make its membership in the conference official and permanent. The AJC was now openly allied with the American Legion and the National Association of Manufacturers in the assault on the progressive movement.

After the outbreak of the Korean war, all restraints were dropped. In August the New York chapter of AJC issued a statement condemning the Stockholm Peace Appeal. Blaustein further misrepresented the Stockholm appeal by the lying assertion that the appeal "is in reality an instrument for confusing peoples of the free world and making it appear that, were our nation to destroy our atom bombs even without adequate international controls, we would thereby be serving the cause of peace." By what process of reasoning Blaustein arrives at this conclusion from the appeal's call for "strict international controls," is his own secret.

Finally, the Chicago meeting gave full official status to the all-out campaign against "communism." All the energies of the AJC—and they are not inconsiderable—are now to be thrown into an assault on communism and the attempt to expel all progressive thought from organized Jewish life.

What does this mean? The truth is that the AJC is doing its best to lead American Jewry down the same path taken by German Jewry, with all the frightful implications of this suicidal procedure.¹ We should ponder the following statement made by Paul Einzig, a German Jewish financial writer, in 1933. "The overwhelming majority of German Jews are hostile to communism and socialism," he wrote. "They should be, therefore, natural allies of a political party [that is, the Nazi Party] whose aim is to save Germany from the danger of communism." Under American conditions, this is what the AJC is saying in its anti-communist campaign. For the Hitler technique of agitating for fascism on an explicitly anti-democratic platform could not succeed here because of the strength of the democratic tradition. Hitler's technique of anti-communist hysteria could, however, be used here—but in the name of the "democratic way of life." Huey Long, who should have known, shrewdly prophesied that if fascism came to America, it would come under the guise of democracy. And today we are seeing this in danger of being realized. The McCarran law is only too plain a sign of this American adaptation of the Hitler technique. It tries to legislate fascism by a blinding hysteria of "anti-communism" in the name of defense of democracy.

The AJC is following along the same path. Although the AJC took a stand against the McCarran bill (while it did nothing to mobilize the people against the bill), it now proposes, by joining in full cry in the witchhunt, to follow a course whose ultimate conclusion is fascism. This is the American equivalent of Einzig's pathetic plea that the Jews can help to "save Germany from communism." That plea ended in death chambers for German Jewry. Where will it end for American Jewry?

There is another deadly parallel, of the many that can be drawn between German Jewry and the line followed by many Jewish leaders today. In November 1933, when a "referendum" on Hitler's policies was held, the Central Union of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, largest Jewish organization in the country, urged all German Jews to vote in favor of Hitler's foreign policy. "In spite of all that we have experienced," said the statement, "the vote of every German Jew can only be a hearty 'Yes' in favor of the government." (*New York Times*, November 4, 1933.) By falling in with the bi-partisan foreign policy of "containment of communism," the major Jewish organizations are urging a similar course upon American Jewry. For it is only too obvious that the bi-partisan foreign policy is bringing to power and supporting fascists everywhere in the world—in Greece, China, Korea and, above all, is encouraging the creation of a renazified Germany, all in the name of "saving the world from communism." While the AJC has issued memoranda criticizing renazification, it has given its complete approval to the

¹ For a documented account of German Jewry during the first few years of nazism, see my article, "German Jewry Under Hitler," *JEWISH LIFE*, December 1949.

basic foreign policy of which renazification is an integral part. Further, the "guns not butter" (even the nazi phrase is being used) bipartisan foreign policy is a deliberate preparation for aggressive war, this time with atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and bacteriological warfare. There is widespread fear in Jewish life of another war, for it is now realized that Jews stand especially to lose by war. Yet the AJC urges American Jewry to vote *Ja* to the bipartisan war policy.

Hysteria Against DP's

In other words, by its all-out plunge into anti-communist hysteria, the AJC is leading the Jews down the same suicidal path taken by German Jewry. One indication of the effect of this hysteria is given by William Zukerman, Anglo-Jewish journalist, who relays a report from Munich (Chicago *Sentinel*, September 14, 1959). "Since the outbreak of the Korean war," he writes, "American immigration authorities in Germany have practically discontinued issuing visas to Jewish DP's who were fully entitled to them on the wholesale suspicion that all Jewish DP's are communists. Every Jewish DP who applies for a visa now is subjected to an inquisition by the Counter Intelligence Service (CIS) which would be comical if it were not so terribly pitiful. Applicants are asked: Why don't you immigrate to Israel instead of the United States? What would you do in case of war between the United States and Israel? Who do you think will win the war in Korea? Who is the greater statesman, Stalin or President Truman? Even if an applicant succeeds in convincing CIS that he is not and never has been a communist, he is refused a visa on the grounds that for that very reason he was chosen by the Comintern to go to the United States. Another unfortunate aspect of the new situation is that the CIS now has a number of Jewish spies in the DP camps who inform on the prospective applicants. This has demoralized the atmosphere in the camps, apart from the fact that it has practically suspended Jewish immigration to the United States."

Does the AJC really believe that by joining full blast in the anti-communist hysteria, it will avoid this identification of Jews and communists? Did the passionate assertions of German Jewry that they were anti-communist and as German as the Germans, save them? No, there is one, and only one way out for Jews, as for all democratic-minded people. That is the formation of the widest possible united action against the encroachment of fascism and war. As Marvin Lowenthal observed concerning the failure of German Jewry's refusal to join in an anti-nazi front, the only means of preventing fascism, "What if the Jews, who stood to gain most . . . by such a union [of liberals, socialists and communists], had used their energies and resources to bring it about while there was still time?" At least, continues Lowenthal, this "would have been an intelligent effort."²

There is still time in America to stave off the same fate as that of German Jewry by joining in a tremendous effort

to achieve unity in the face of the growing fascist trend. This means total abandonment of the public witchhunting campaign upon which many Jewish leaders have recently embarked.

Resistance Against Fascism

There is some awareness in the Jewish community that the course undertaken by the AJC is on the path to the destruction of American democracy. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, with whom we disagree on many issues, nevertheless did some plain talking in October that the Jewish people should heed. As if in answer to the recent decision of certain Jewish leaders, like the AJC, to join the anti-communist wolf-pack, Rabbi Silver said, "The Satan of the Gestapo witchhunt which is embodied in the McCarran law is haunting our country. It represents the greatest threat to our democratic traditions since the Declaration of Independence. As a result of the Korean war and the election campaign, a flood of loyalty oaths and anti-communist laws has swept the land and threatened to destroy the Constitution and the Bill of Rights." Rabbi Silver called attention to the speech of President Truman on April 8, 1950, in which the president declared that there is no threat of communism to America. "What has happened since April 8?" Rabbi Silver went on. "Has there been an increase in such a threat? Of course not! Why then this Gestapo witchhunt which has already crept into every nook and corner of our economic, intellectual, political and social life?"

Then, as if speaking directly to the Big Business leaders of the AJC, Rabbi Silver continued, "It is not the historic mission of our people to destroy our liberties in order to preserve a certain economic system. Those 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."

The Jewish people must realize that the Big Business men who form the hard core of the AJC are trying to lead them to self-destruction by trying to enlist the Jewish people in the anti-communist crusade. The interests of the AJC as men of Big Business are paramount and they are leading the Jewish people down the same path as their counterparts in Germany did. Resistance of American Jewry against fascism must now aim at resistance against the Jewish misleaders as well. This means that in every locality, any effort of the AJC to implement its anti-communist witchhunt must be resisted. This can be done only by arousing the rank and file of the Jewish community to action in concert with all democratic-minded forces in the community, especially the trade unions. Only by such a broad united movement based on common anti-fascist principles will American Jewry escape the fate of German Jewry.

² *The Jews of Germany*, by Marvin Lowenthal, New York, 1936, pp. 388-89.

LETTER TO A PROGRESSIVE IN FLIGHT

By Jack Green

DEAR E.

I heard that you were in the city and wished to see me; that you were preparing to leave for Israel with your wife and family and wished to say "goodbye." Our mutual friend told me that you "did not wish to live under fascism," and therefore you were leaving America to "build a new life."

If I were to see you, it would not be a pleasant meeting; for I am angry and indignant that you, a progressive, should be taking such a course.

This news about you made my mind jump back more than a decade to Warsaw where I also heard these words: "to go to Israel . . . to build a new life." On that day a little, bowed man, still young but with the marks of age upon him, waited for me in a hotel room while I changed clothes to go and meet my uncles, aunts and cousins. My little uncle hurried along the visitor from America. Hard-pressed and groping for words, I talked to them in Yiddish, deeply moved at seeing so far from home a young woman who was the startling image of my dead mother, and others seated around me whose eyes and features recalled my family in America.

On the table before us was a plate of potatoes, a bit of herring (how often had I heard of this!) and a sliced tomato. From the glances of my close yet strange relatives, I could see that a tomato on the table was as unusual a visitor here as myself. They pressed me to eat; but I insisted they have the tomato. They partook of it with attention and care; it was painful to see.

Later, I took my uncle, over his protests at the unheard of expense, to a cafe for some coffee "*Warszawa*." There he questioned me about my trip, about the Soviet Union, but soon sighed and said: "Ah, if we could only go to Israel . . . a new life. . . ."

They are dead, that family I visited in the Warsaw ghetto, all of them dead. Into what pits or oven doors they vanished none of us knows, nor what sum of misery and horror was theirs before the end. But I have always hoped that somewhere in that ghetto, at one moment during its immortal resistance, my little uncle hunted the nazi with a stone or a gun or a kitchen knife.

Perhaps you can appreciate my anger and indignation and why I have no wish to see you off to Israel. No one, and least of all the Jews, can buy the way to peace and a new life with a steamship ticket. Surely you have read, in Morris Schappes' "Resistance Is The Lesson," (JEWISH LIFE, April 1948) dealing with the Warsaw ghetto uprising, how the nazis lulled the Jews with illusions about being transported to Israel, even getting thousands to register (for

gas chambers!) on this pretense. There you may also read how the psychology of individualism, of "*sauve qui peut*," of each running alone to save his hide, worked havoc with the chance of the Jews to organize for their preservation but led instead to their mass extermination.

You have a thousand, a million times the better opportunity for victorious struggle over fascism here than the Warsaw ghetto Jews. The terrible lessons of the world struggle against aggressive imperialism and fascism have not been lost to hundreds of millions of people. The legions fighting for peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, now have inexhaustible strength. The American people have seriously upset the time-table of fascistization of our country, with the unflinching struggle of the Communist Party and its leaders playing no small role in this.

Yet, because we have a McCarran Bill passed and a thousand and one forms of daily persecution of communists and progressives, you decide to take flight to Israel. What an example! What a delusion!

Do you think, perhaps, that the McCarran Bill cannot be translated into Hebrew or Yiddish? Could not the pipe-lines of American oil monopoly suck all the democracy and freedom out of Israel, together with the oil? Or are you thinking to fly for safety from atomic war by leaving America for Israel, which lies at the hub of an empire of oil? Do you conceive that war would spare such an area?

I care deeply for the realization of security, independence and abundance in Israel. I appreciate the motives which have taken hundreds of thousands to build a new, democratic state for Jews there in a world at peace. But woe to Israel if America is abandoned to fascism! Woe to the American Jews if they "seek refuge" instead of fighting fascism, allying themselves with the multi-millioned trade unionists and Negro people in the fight!

As compared to those who, like yourself, are simply taking to their heels, there are many, many more who take to flight in their minds. They also seek to evade life and reality: "It's only the communists who will have trouble," "Anti-Semitism in America comes from a few crackpots, pay no attention," etc. In these and other ways they flee from the facts; but facts always overtake illusions.

When General Lucius Clay, patron of Ilse Koch, sponsors an anti-communist "Freedom Crusade," it is time to shed all illusions. When General Anders is given official welcome to our shores and is greeted by the major senatorial candidates from New York, including a Jew—it is time to rally for our lives and future. When the United

States State Department presses feverishly for the establishment of a new Wehrmacht in Western Germany, commanded by Hitler's old generals, it is time to unite our ranks to defeat such a policy.

I am not speaking to you of a struggle "glorious but doomed"—though history knows examples of such struggles and their value to humanity—I am speaking of struggle

under circumstances where the objective possibilities of glorious victory do exist, while at the same time there is no refuge in the world from the consequences of defeat.

To run away is stupid and unforgivable. Redeem your ticket, friend. We need Maccabees in America, not refugees in Israel.

JACK GREEN

CONFLICT IN MAPAM

For several months the sharp differences between the right and left wings of the United Workers Party (Mapam) of Israel have been receiving intense discussion in the press. We print below a consideration of this conflict by S. Zachariash, head of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. The article was translated from the Yiddish.—Eds.

WE have had occasion many times to comment on the absence of genuine unity in the ranks of Mapam (United Workers Party of Israel). Actually, the "unity" and "monolithic" nature of Mapam is only an empty phrase. How can any movement be monolithic when it is in reality three parties, each of which itself has three factions? How could there be political unity, if none of the three parties [Hashomer Hatzair, Achdut Avodah and Left Poale Zion] underwent basic analysis and modification of its orientation prior to amalgamation? Each group went into the so-called United Workers Party with its own political baggage intact.

A party so constituted cannot be fully equipped politically to do battle. Nor has such a party anything in common with that party of a "new type" described by Lenin and Stalin. For the kind of unity exemplified in Mapam can be more strongly welded only by intensifying national aloofness and separateness, by a policy of subordinating the class issue to the "national" issue. As a result the "national" issue becomes nationalistic and anti-working class.

On this question Stalin wrote: "It may seem to some that the Bolsheviks devoted far too much time to this struggle against the opportunist elements within the Party, that they overrated their importance. But that is altogether wrong. Opportunism in our midst is like an ulcer in a healthy organism, and must not be tolerated. The Party is the leading detachment of the working class, its advanced fortress, its general staff. Sceptics, opportunists, capitulators and traitors cannot be tolerated on the directing staff of the working class. If, while it is carrying on a life and death fight against the bourgeoisie, there are capitulators and traitors on its own staff, within its own fortress, the working class be caught between two fires, from the front and the rear. Clearly, such a struggle can only end in defeat."¹

By S. Zachariash

If we apply these words of Stalin to the political and organizational structure of Mapam, we find that under no circumstances can Mapam be considered the party of the working class, even though it is active among workers. Instead, Mapam is a party of political eclecticism and hence neither is nor can be a party united in will and deed.

The recent controversy between the left and the right wings of Mapam is perhaps the best proof of this. Just now the discussion is raging between Jacob Riftin on the left and P. L. Goldman and A. Tarshish on the right. A recent article by Riftin has given the Mapam membership an opportunity to become familiar with the true character of their right wing leaders, whose un concealed anti-communist and anti-Soviet positions were revealed in the Mapam press.

The right wing cries, the communists want to devour us. Riftin does not consider himself a communist but the right wingers have already denounced him as a communist and have even gone so far as practically to label him a traitor to the Jewish people.

It is not our job to defend Riftin or to take up the cudgels in his behalf. Undoubtedly Riftin can take care of himself and will give his own answers to the right wing. But what concerns us is to show the lengths to which the right wing in Mapam has gone in the recent period. The controversy has clearly exposed the anti-communist and anti-Soviet character of this right wing. The right wing is consequently very unhappy over the fact that the left has forced these political differences out into full view of the public.

Right Wing Fears Public Discussion

"I admit," wrote P. L. Goldman in the August 1950 issue of *Unzer Veg*, Yiddish Mapam organ published in New York by the left Poale Zionists, "that I do this unwillingly. In our movement it has not been the custom to air our inner differences in public. We have a tradition of discussing these matters first among ourselves." Naturally. Why should anyone know that such basic and serious differences exist in Mapam? Why should ordinary workers

¹ *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Publishers, N. Y., p. 360.*

know that there are rabid anti-communists and anti-Soviet-cers in Mapam? "It is a shame," writes Goldman, "that Rittin broke with this tradition. I say it is a shame because it forces those of us who disagree with him not only to polemize with him but also publicly to differentiate ourselves from him."

It was not Rittin alone who forced the right wing into the open. Left wingers among the workers helped. The issue was forced by the dissatisfaction of thousands of workers and common people arising from the intensification of the class struggle in Israel. And as the Israeli masses begin more consciously to recognize the realities of capitalism, Mapam will be under increased pressure to bring differences over basic questions out in the open. Groups with basic differences will move further apart and this will lead to a crystallization of respective positions within Mapam. It will then be easier to discern who is on the right and who on the left.

The Mapam right wing has chosen this moment, when communist parties all over the capitalist world are being attacked and persecuted, when reaction is riding high, to add their bit to the attack against the Soviet Union and the communist movement. "Yes. Now is the time for Zionist-socialist to come to their reckoning with the Communist Party," writes Goldman. "We left Poale Zionists, for example, never kept quiet about the crimes perpetrated by the communist movement against us and our people. At the time of the Moscow trials (read, Trotskyite espionage trials—S.Z.) we did not remain silent but openly expressed our uneasiness and concern."

"Sins" of the Communists

Exactly what are the crimes of communists against the Jewish people? The sacrifice of millions of souls by the Soviet Union in order to save millions of Jews and non-Jews? The fact that only the Soviet Union and the new democracies, where the Communist and Workers' Parties lead, gave full moral and material support to the struggle of the Jews against the armed Anglo-Arab reactionary forces in the fight to create the state of Israel?

Where would the world, and particularly the Jewish masses of Israel, be if not for the help of the communists of the Soviet Union? Where would the world be today if the fifth columnists had not been cleaned out of the Soviet Union, if the trials had not purged Hitlerite agents and therewith made possible the victorious march of the Soviet Army against fascism?

The Mapam right wingers are angry because the left does not speak up against the suppression of Zionists in the peoples' democracies. The left workers in Mapam offer no arguments on this point because they know that the Zionist movement in the new democracies liquidated itself. The workers of the left wing know that only those were prosecuted who acted as spies, like a group in Hungary, that only those were suppressed who worked with foreign agencies. Only those who tried to undo the realities of the peoples' democracies were brought to justice.

No, the Mapam left is not concerned with these matters. But they are concerned with the crimes against the Jewish people perpetrated by capitalism, fascism and the war camp. They are concerned with Ben Gurion's crimes against the Jewish masses and the Arab masses. Zionism is in contradiction and in conflict with the building of socialism in the new democracies. Many Mapam people in Poland understood this. They recognized the fallacy of sitting on two stools in the countries where socialism is being built. Many who did not perceive this while they were in Poland, understand this now that they are in Israel. They are discarding Zionist "socialism" and demanding real struggle against the reactionary elements in their own ranks.

Goldman tries to frighten the Mapam left by shouting, what do you think will happen to you if you enter into a united front with the communists? "What happened to those socialist parties and their leaders with whom the communists had established united fronts?" shouts Goldman. What did happen? The left socialists merged with the communist parties and formed united workers' parties. That's horrible, cry the right socialists, the Bundists and the right wing of Mapam. But the left socialists and their leaders feel somewhat differently about it. The left socialists and their leaders are enthusiastic over the fact that united working class parties now exist in Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia and that they are a part of these parties. The Italian Socialist Party under the leadership of Pietro Nenni, in united front with the Italian Communist Party, strengthens the hand of the working class in the great struggles ahead. The Italian people were not chewed up as a result. Quite the contrary, the left socialists in the capitalist countries are in danger of being ground to dust unless they recognize their responsibilities in these historic times. This is a real and serious danger for those who allow themselves to be chained to the plans of the imperialists. And precisely those who do not want to undergo "national demise" find their way to the camp of peace.

Right Wing and the Soviet Union

Goldman and the Mapam right wing set forth in great detail other sins. "Today," shouts Goldman, "Jewish life in the Soviet Union has become a wilderness. No longer is there a communist alternative to a Jewish national existence." Goldman continues: "This has not been the path of our movement up to now and this must not become our approach in the future."

We have long been accustomed to the ravings of the Dubinsky's of the *Forward* and the Ben Gurions of *Davar* [Mapai organ], who see the Soviet Union as a desert. Yet, here we read this same stuff in the Mapam *Unzer Veg* in August 1950! But the fact is that the Soviet Union transforms deserts and barren steppes into orchards and gardens for all its peoples and for the Jewish masses as well. In the eyes of the *Forward*-Mapamite, the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies are a desert, while hundreds of

millions of oppressed people under capitalism have great respect for the Soviet Union for its contribution to the struggle for social and national liberation. In the eyes of the Mapam right wingers capitalist America, England, France and Israel are not a desert for national life while the Soviet Union and people's democracies are such a desert!

Goldman rejects the program of the Soviet Union and the communist movement. "It was the historic achievement of Zionist-socialism that it did not allow anyone else to write the program for our people. The Jewish state stands as a monument to this achievement." Not the Marxism of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin but "Zionist-socialism" is the program of the Jewish people. Why? Because, replies the right winger Goldman, "as an exceptional people which does not fit into any universal framework of national problems, we have our unique concept." This Zionist idea of the right wingers, this separation from the communist conception of the national question, is not peculiarly Jewish, but can be found among every people and is the creation of the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents. The bourgeois "socialist" conception of the national question has become bankrupt along with the bankruptcy and decline of capitalism, and is a source of racial hatred and adventuristic war.

Nationalistic "Socialism"

In Poland this conception was supported by the right wing of the PPS (Polish Socialist Party), in France by the Blum socialists, in America by the right wing Dubinsky "socialists" and in tsarist Russia by the Russian Mensheviks. Nor is it unique among the Jews, either. This notion was originated by the bourgeois Zionists and taken over by the Ben Gurion Zionist-"socialists." This is a Zionist conception irrespective of political hue or party.

The Lenin-Stalin conception, that of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, has triumphed over a third of the globe. The working class of capitalist countries is fighting for it and the masses of Israel, Jews and Arabs alike, are fighting for it under the leadership of the Communist Party of Israel. The opponents of the Lenin-Stalin doctrine go so far as to pose the "socialists" of present day Israel against the socialism of the Soviet Union, as is also being done by the Tito clique in Yugoslavia.

In the same issue of *Unzer Veg* we read, "We also succeeded in creating in Israel the unique beginnings of a socialist economy, which in many instances is superior to all other examples in the world." But in capitalist Israel the "supreme" achievement of which they can boast is a Ben Gurion clerical-bourgeois Israel. This notion of building a "socialist" economy under the leadership of a bourgeois government, within the framework of capitalism, is not uniquely Jewish or Israeli.

The anti-Stalin theory of "building" socialism in the absence of the leadership of the proletariat (dictatorship of the proletariat) is not new. This is also the conception of Blum, of Bevin. This conception is also represented by



S. Zachariash

the Mapai socialists, who may even have created it.

The right wing of Mapam rejects the united front based on the ideological and organic unity of the communist movement and the left wing socialists. It rejects the socialist party of Pietro Nenni in Italy which participates in a united front with the communists. The real socialist party, says the Mapam right wing, is "simply" Mapam under the leadership of right wingers and not, Heaven forbid, under the leadership of Riftin, not to mention the Communist Party. "It would be tragic if the left winger Riftin were to succeed in dissipating everything by attaching himself to a force (read, communists—S.Z.) which would stifle all that is creative in us (that is, Zionism—S.Z.)."

"Marxism" of the Right Wing

The Goldmans in America are not obliged to quote from Lenin and can write more unrestrainedly than in Israel. But in Israel, where the Jewish worker is face to face with the Zionist bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents, one cannot write in quite the same anti-Soviet and anti-communist terms as in America. In Israel one must cover up one's anti-communist position with Marxist phrases. And if one's position does not fit into the classical formulas of Lenin and Stalin, one can conceal this by resorting to the ideas of the "uniqueness" of the Jews and of the special nature of their problem.

Despite his attempt to drape himself in Marxism, the right wing Mapamite A. Tarshis of Israel forgets himself from time to time. On one occasion he wrote, "As is well known, there are those who consider themselves the 'possessors of a monopoly' of the concept of Marxism-Leninism, who condemn our activities and our work as 'un-Marxist and un-Leninist,' as being in contradiction to these teachings. Among the Jews of Israel there are orthodox interpreters of this teaching who never troubled to consider how to apply this theory to the problems of Zionist fulfillment. They have taken the easiest and most convenient path despite the fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, according to their poverty-stricken thinking, do not support the fulfillment of Zionism. Consequently they negate

Zionism at its very foundations." Tarshis believes that the general Marxist-Leninist concepts are inapplicable to the Jewish reality. He echoes the same theme as Goldman: "We have more than once seen to what degree general revolutionary slogans create a spiritual rift in our social vanguard."

Since Marxism-Leninism creates a rift in the Poale Zion-ist movement, it is not acceptable to Zionist-socialists. They must therefore "deepen" Marxism-Leninism by considering themselves Zionists first and socialists after that. Tarshis wants to accommodate Marxism to the Mapam ideology in Israel. Hence Tarshis berates Riffin and exclaims: "He who accepts it (Marxism-Leninism) as basic teaching, as the center of and guide to our activity, must answer clearly and precisely how it should be applied in practice for the upbuilding of Israel and the ingathering of the exiles."

Yes, A. Tarshis, one must really be a Zionist to attempt to adapt the teaching of Marxism-Leninism to the doctrine of the upbuilding of a capitalist Israel through the ingathering of the exiles. For in practice this signifies, among other things, trying to take Jewish workers away from the people's democracies, which are building socialism. It even means, as indeed all Zionists desire, to take Jews from the Soviet Union.

It is the custom among some Mapamites to wrap their nationalism in phrases buttressed by quotations from Lenin. It is true that Lenin and Stalin warned against the mechanical application of Marxism-Leninism from one country to another. Lenin warned against any attempt to apply the experiences of the Russian revolutionary movement mechanically to the conditions and realities of another country. But when A. Tarshis quotes Lenin, he tries to pull the little trick of dropping out the heart of Lenin's teachings—the evaluation of the *international* significance of the Russian revolution.

International Ties of Right Wing

A. Tarshis asks in *Al Hamishmar* (Feb. 6, 1950): "If today we conceive our party as not being a communist party, do we not then place ourselves in the camp of social democracy?" Then he answers: "Our party has no ties, no ideological, spiritual or organizational connections with the present-day socialist parties in the western countries." So Tarshis wishes his party to be neither a communist party nor an ally of the social democrats of the west. Then whom does he favor? He wants Mapam to be transformed into an independent, revolutionary center "that marks out a path for itself and for others." This is an attempt by the Mapam right wing to revive the old bankrupt theory of a fourth center of the working class movement. Tarshis has no apprehensions about the present situation in which the crystallization of the working class movement makes possible only two wings. "We are not so isolated," he says. "There are many other socialist parties and groupings which have not finally decided where they

belong." The right wing of Mapam wishes to mobilize and organize all socialist groups which, with phrases about their "independent" role or their special characteristics, desire not only to separate themselves eternally from the communist movement but actually to conduct a struggle against it. How else can one interpret the statement that we "have the power to go our own way, to express our own aspirations and to create an Israeli socialist revolutionary center which will assume a worthy position in the lives of the Israeli people and even possibly in international socialism." This means creation of a third or fourth force which must necessarily hinder the cementing of a real revolutionary workers' movement. In practice this means in Israel moving closer to Mapai and on an international scale to right wing social democracy.

History has shown what happened to those who went their own "independent" way, who had their own notions about exceptionalism and uniqueness, who were not satisfied with the communist movement but verbally expressed their discontent with social democracy.

Everything both ideological and organizational in the articles of Tarshis and Goldman is nothing but the purest social democracy. The Mapam refusal to vote with the communists on the American loan, sabotage of the united front, refusal to vote with the communists on the budget, voting against the acceptance of Arab workers in the trade unions on an equal basis with Jewish workers, refusal to establish united lists for the municipal elections—are not these policies of Mapam stations on the classical path of social democracy? But is this not social opportunism? This path is familiar. So is its ending.

In the main the articles of Goldman and Tarshis cast aside socialism and subordinate the principle of internationalism to nationalism. Tarshis does not feel that his concern for the "national" aspect of the problem conflicts with internationalism. "Our party," he writes, "needs theoretical, political and organizational independence, even though this means that we are placed in the camp of 'the reformists.' Call us reformists, if you will. That doesn't trouble us. We will not retreat from our nationalism."

Leave Social Democracy Behind!

Perhaps we have quoted too much from the writings of these two gentlemen. We did so to indicate that the right wing of the Mapam never expressed its anti-communism as openly and frankly as it does now. Right wingers had always paraded under the flag of internationalism. But their current writings put an end to the legend of their internationalism and reveal them as spokesmen of social democracy. For example, Tarshis has written in *Al Hamishmar*: "As long as we are faced with these responsibilities (Jewish colonization, ingathering of the exiles—S.Z.), our party must not become a territorial party, a Jewish-Arab party, whose responsibilities are limited only to problems on an Israel territorial basis."

In another article A. Tarshis wrote: "Is it our responsibility at this moment to make a final decision or definitively to stabilize the character of our party as an international party?" Of course this is a completely anti-Marxist, anti-proletarian policy. Nationalists of all peoples speak in the same terms. This was the attitude of the PPS in Poland toward Jewish workers. This was the attitude of the Bund toward Polish workers. This was the position of the French Bundists toward French workers. This is the language of the Arab reactionaries with regard to the Jews. And this is the attitude of the right wing of Mapam. In fact, this is the view of Kautsky, Bauer, Vandervelde and all other

social opportunists. This is not a Marxist-Leninist position, which recognizes that all questions are subordinated to the class problem, that the social and national liberation of both the Jewish and the Arab peoples in Palestine demands a monolithic proletarian party in which Jewish and Arab workers are joined.

Riftin was quite right when he declared in his polemic with the Mapam right wing that refusal to come closer to and work more intimately with the communist movement necessarily means a closer approach to Mapai and reaction generally. Genuine left wing socialists must work against such a right wing policy.

QUESTIONS FOR A RABBI

An Open Letter to Chief Rabbi I. Brodie of Britain by Professor Hyman Levy

THIS letter is an appeal to you on behalf of simple human beings, millions of innocent people who would be blown to radiant dust should an atom war break out. It is true that I hold a communist outlook, and therefore in the partisan judgment of some, anything I say must be discounted from the beginning. Today, however, surely too much is at stake, the world position is too precarious, with peace and war balanced on a needle point, for decisions to be reached merely on political dislikes.

You, who are chosen to wear the mantle of counsellor and guide to Jewry, with all the scholarship, learning and intellectual capacity that go with that choice, must surely look objectively at a matter that, at the very least, means life and death to our people. Scholarship, as you well know, is not enough; with it must go intellectual honesty, moral courage, imagination and deep compassion for one's fellow men. It is to these qualities in you that I appeal to discount my political affiliations and to examine with sympathetic understanding the problem itself.

I need not waste time telling you what an atom war must mean for us, alike for the weak and the strong, the adult and the child, the good and the bad, the Jew and the non-Jew, everyone indiscriminately. If Nagasaki and Hiroshima do not lie heavily on the consciences of us all, it is surely because in a subtle way we have come to see Japanese men and women and children as sub-human. We ourselves as Jews experienced that same attitude during the days of Hitler when so many of our people were swept into the incinerating chambers. For the color bar and anti-Semitism are twin evils. To perpetrate these two deeds, Hiroshima and Maidenek, was to give the lie to every

professed human value. With that, I feel, Rabbi Brodie, you must agree.

We were not consulted then. The bombs had been dropped by the time we had heard of them. Today we can measure and influence in advance. We know now what was not known then, that these bombs not only mutilate those on whom they are dropped, but physically, mentally and morally distort generations yet unborn.

I ask you, Rabbi Brodie, a direct question, which every one of us must ask himself: are you amongst those who are prepared to assert, as I, a Communist, am prepared to assert, that the dropping of such bombs is an essentially evil thing? The question cannot be evaded. The helpless victims stand mutely by awaiting the judgment and action of their moral leaders.

Is history to relate, if indeed written history survives, that the chief rabbi of Britain refused his adherence to a great international public gesture denouncing the use of this evil creation, because the gesture was a "communist plot"? How can a great moral truth be a "communist plot"? Does two and two cease to be four because I, a Communist, assert that it is? Of course, in the atmosphere of today it requires great moral courage to stand side by side with communists and others, even on such a straight issue—almost as much moral courage as to be a communist today, Rabbi Brodie.

LET ME PUT A PROBLEM IN ETHICS TO YOU. WHAT KIND OF moral principle, professed by human beings, can be so fundamental that it can justify the destruction of mankind, the very beings for whom these principles have meaning for whom these principles have meaning and value?

You abhor communism, you think it is an evil thing and you have said so. Naturally I think you are wrong and that

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you have not really understood what it stands for. But suppose it were so, what are you saying? You are asserting that it is better that mankind should perish by atom war rather than that it should find its way to salvation through the perils of communism. What is this but the blankest of pessimism about humanity and its capacity to learn from experience? What is this but seeking a refuge in armaments and in carnage?

Perhaps it is your view that by condemning the Stockholm Peace Appeal for the banning of the atom bomb you are refusing to be duped, because the possession of the atom bomb by the United States of America is for you a bulwark against "Soviet aggression," and the Soviet is exploiting a natural craving for peace and survival in order to disarm the West. Is this a fair statement of your case? May I look at it from your standpoint?

The piling up of atom bombs by the United States and the establishment of launching sites for such bombs in this country and elsewhere in a ring round the Soviet Union can only be seen by you as having one or more of three purposes: for actual aggression against the Soviet Union, as a mere threat against aggression by the Soviet Union, or as an actual weapon against aggression.

I feel certain you would not subscribe to actual aggression against the Soviet Union for this would mean the very catastrophe of world destruction.

As for the threat, you know well that a threat is meaningless unless one is prepared to carry it through. Thus your standpoint must allow the atom bomb threat against aggression to become, if circumstances arise, active atom bombing against aggression. I have to conclude, and so must you, I fear, that in condemning the Stockholm Peace

Appeal root and branch as a Communist plot, you are signifying your belief that there are circumstances in which it is right to indulge in atomic warfare with all that this means.

How, then, in the name of common sense, in the name of common humanity, is your standpoint an escape from the moral issue that has been posed to you? I repeat my question: Are you amongst those who are prepared to assert, as I, a communist, am prepared to assert, that the dropping of such bombs is an essentially evil thing, and that there is no principle professed by human beings that can justify the plunging of mankind into its consequent horrors?

IN PUTTING THIS CASE I DO NOT ASK YOU TO SUBSCRIBE TO A single iota of the policy of the USSR, although I think I am entitled to expect you to attempt to understand it. One requires only to look at the voting structure of the United Nations to satisfy oneself that on every vital issue the dollar-dependent countries command an absolute majority. Was it reasonable to expect the Soviet Union to place its present and its future in the hands of the United States, at a time when the latter was using its atom bomb monopoly as an item of power politics? That is precisely what the Baruch plan implied. Was it reasonable to brand resistance to such pressure as obstruction any more than, say, British opposition to the Schuman plan? We in the West have little to preen ourselves over, poised as we are on the verge of utter calamity. If the peoples of the East decide to take action for their own emancipation, what moral right have we to interfere? Must we perpetually use the excuse that it is "communist aggression" and "Russian-inspired" in order to find a justification for flattening out the towns and villages of Korea and decimating its population?

If the press of the USSR incited its people to war against the United States and Britain as the press of the so-called democracies are doing against the USSR, what would our reaction be? Does it require an impossible effort of the imagination to suppose yourself on the other side of the so-called Iron Curtain, watching the public and private manifestations of the insanity that has seized us? In these circumstances would you be prepared to place your present and your future security in the hands of such people?

You need not answer because I wish to leave the issue as simple and as direct as possible. It concerns only the Stockholm Peace Appeal and its condemnation of atom warfare. In making your public pronouncement on this matter you have repeated the ordinary formal case as offered by the government. That case implicitly and explicitly accepts the view that atomic warfare may be justifiable. I ask you now, do you or do you not actually subscribe to this? You are the moral leader of the Jewish community. Moral leadership demands that you make your position clear.

Yours faithfully,

HYMAN LEVY

JEWISH LIFE

MURDER OF A JEWISH BOY

By Leo Kruczkowski

Below is the first scene of Act I of a recent play, The Germans, or the Sonnenbruch Family, by Leo Kruczkowski, formerly minister of national education in the new Poland and now president of the Polish Dramatists' Association. The play was given in practically every theater in Poland and at the Reinhardt Theater in Berlin. It will be presented by the Independent Theater in Paris this winter. It is also being prepared for production in Yiddish by the Yiddish Theater Ensemble in New York this season.—Eds.

The action takes place towards the end of summer 1943. Occupied Poland. A German police post in a small village. Table, chairs, cupboard. On the wall: a portrait of Hitler, a map of the world, a propaganda poster. A solitary gun on a rack. A dish of apples on the table. On a chair, a big suitcase. Gendarme Hoppe is having a lot of trouble shutting it: it is stuffed so full that it is impossible to do it up.

The door opens. Enter Schultz, the miller, cuffing a boy about ten or twelve years old. It is a Jewish boy, ragged and wretched. He is not so much frightened as just indifferent to everything.

Schultz: Heil Hitler!

Hoppe (*busy with the case*): Heil Hitler!

Schultz: On duty all by yourself today, Mr. Hoppe?

Hoppe (*undoing, then fastening the case*): As you can see. They're all out on their rounds. But they'll be back. They'll be back by tonight. . . .

Schultz (*coming nearer*): Off on a trip? Leave, perhaps?

Hoppe: That's right. You've hit it. Leave. Three whole days, not counting travelling time.

Schultz: Congratulations. It's not so easy to get leave these days.

Hoppe (*straightening up*): It's very special leave, Mr. Schultz. Have you heard of Sonnenbruch, Professor Sonnenbruch? A very famous scientist, the glory of German biology. The day after tomorrow he is celebrating 30 years of scientific work. It's a great occasion for us in Goettingen. Did you know that I am the senior beadle of the faculty? I have worked for 20 years alongside Professor Sonnenbruch. It was the professor who got me this three days' leave, plus travelling time! Just think of that! He's really somebody, the professor. It's on account of the contacts he's got that he was able to give me this surprise. He wants me to take part in the celebrations. You've no idea what a man he is, Mr. Schultz.

Schultz (*mocking*): I see you're making the most of your chances to take a few odds and ends home. Just look at that: the case is so full that it's groaning. (*He digs Hoppe in the ribs.*) And you'll be able to sleep with your wife, eh, Mr. Hoppe?

Hoppe: Well, well, it will certainly be something to get away from this putrid hole for a few days.

Schultz: Oh, so you don't like your job, eh? The service stinks? You'd rather have had a nice clean cushy job in the science line, like at Goettingen. Ho, ho! But that's the very reason we were sent here, you know, to the East—to make everything clean and pretty? Isn't that so, Mr. Hoppe?

Hoppe: I'm not saying anything against. . . . But if you knew Goettingen and Professor Sonnenbruch. . . . (*His tone changes.*) Is it business brings you here, Herr Schultz?

Schultz: Yes, it's business. You know me. I don't come for pov-wows. It's nothing important. (*He points to the child.*) That's it. Over there. (*Hoppe just looks.*)

Schultz: A Jewish brat! I found him under a bush in the copse near the mill. I brought him here so that you could do what you think fit with him. (*To the child.*) What are you looking at, you lousy little skunk? Up against the wall! Face about! (*The child obeys.*)

Schultz: I could have dealt with him on the spot myself. But I said to myself (*pronouncing each word very distinctly*): Mr. Hoppe should have his share of the fun. It's very boring in our little village. . . . Mr. Hoppe must . . . anyway we have to follow the rules.

Hoppe: Follow the rules, as you say. . . .

Schultz: That's right. That's all. I'll leave this bit of vermin with you. I advise you to deal with him quickly so he doesn't get a chance to clear out. (*He makes for the door, stops, turns, to look at Hoppe.*) Ho, hum, it's dirty here in the East—and it stinks. . . . I hope you have a good holiday at Goettingen, Mr. Hoppe. Heil Hitler! (*He goes out.*)

Hoppe (*watches the door shut behind Schultz, then slowly his gaze turns to the child standing with his face to the wall. A second later, in a severe voice*): Well, don't just stand there like a tone. Let me look at you. (*The child turns round.*)

Hoppe (*goes up to him*): Jewish? (*The child nods.*)

Hoppe: Why were you born?

The Child: I don't know.

Hoppe: What am I to do with you?

The Child: I don't know.

Hoppe: You don't know? You don't know anything. (*He shouts.*) And me! I have to know. Do you understand? I have to. . . . (*calmly*) But there is one thing you must know: you're in a bad spot.

The Child: Very bad, sir. They've all been killed already—mummy, grandpa, little Esther. . . . I'm the only one left. . . . (*He has been looking hungrily at the apples on the table.*) Give me an apple. . . .

Hoppe (surprised): You want an apple? (*He shrugs his shoulders, picks up an apple and tosses it to the child.*) There you are! Eat it. (*The child bites into the apple greedily.*)

Hoppe (sits down again, drums on the table with a pencil. A moment later): What the devil sent you here, today of all days. . . .

The Child: Don't get cross. I'm all by myself. For a fortnight now I've been lucky. I hid in the forest and in the potato fields. Sometimes peoples helped me. But now it's the end. (*A moment later:*) The other man, the nasty one, hit me. But you're not like him, you're good. . . .

Hoppe: Don't be stupid! I'm not a bit good. This is war. Nobody is good. Do you understand? (*He rises and paces heavily about the room. The child goes on eating the apple and looking at Hoppe. Jurys comes in quietly, hesitating a bit, slightly drunk. He shuts the door and takes in the situation.*)

Hoppe (annoyed): What's the matter?

Jurys: Just came in to look around. Do you want anything? If not, I'm off to bed. It's like an oven in here.

Hoppe: You've been drinking already, you pig! You're drunk even in the morning.

Jurys: Just one little glass, Mr. Hoppe. I swear, just one little glass. (*Pointing to the child.*) A Jewish kid? (*Hoppe nods his assent.*)

Jurys: I noticed Mr. Schultz bringing something dark back from the forest. But I wasn't sure. (*To the child:*) Don't be scared, chickabiddy. Mr. Hoppe is a nice chap. He won't hurt you. . . .

Hoppe: Shut your trap, Jurys!

Jurys: No offense meant. It's not an insult to be called a nice chap. (*He looks more closely at the child.*) It's really one of God's miracles that such a creature can still walk in this unhappy world. How old are you, little Jacob?

The Child: Ten. But my name's Isaac.

Jurys: One is as good as the other. Neither is anything to boast about. Is it, Mr. Hoppe?

Hoppe: You've talked enough rubbish, Jurys. (*He looks at the child.*) But all the same something has to be done with him. . . .

Jurys: Of course! Come on, no nonsense—(*He laughs dismissively.*) What! Doesn't Mr. Hoppe know how? To the wall and—rat-tat—it's over. (*He is shaken by a noisy hiccup.*) What a horrid world!

Hoppe: Yes. . . . But. . . . (*He looks around him, glances toward the window.*) You know, Jurys, I have children: two sons and a daughter. The eldest is ten, the same age as this kid. . . . And tonight, I'm going on leave to Goet-

tingen. . . . Home, man, you understand?

Jurys (he speaks softly edging towards Hoppe): Well, then, Mr. Hoppe, you could let him go. . . . a bit of bread in his pocket and he could clear out and go back to the forest. . . .

Hoppe (very softly): Yes. . . . just think of it, man. . . . When one has children, it seems a bit stupid. . . . After all Germany will not collapse if I. . . . Hoppe. . . .

Jurys: You're right—Germany won't collapse on account of one Jewish kid. . . .

Hoppe: After all one is human, isn't one?

Jurys: Something like that, to my mind. . . .

Hoppe: Specially if you're a father. (*He stops.*) Sh! (*He listens, then a minute later:*) Jurys, go over to the window and have a good look around. (*Jurys goes.*)

Hoppe (motionless, back to the window): Can you see anything?

Jurys: The same as usual: the yard, the well, the hedge. . . .

Hoppe: And beyond? Have a good look.

Jurys: Beyond? No, nothing. Just the same as usual. Only Mr. Schultz on the little bridge near the main road. Damn! He's looking our way. . . .

Hoppe (Still in the same attitude, his back to the window): Are you certain it's Mr. Schultz? You're not mistaken?

Jurys: The little bridge is not far away. Mr. Schultz has his eyes fastened on us like a hungry dog watching a bone. (*Hoppe sits down in silence, his fingers drumming on the table.*)

Jurys (He comes back from the window. In a low voice): Now what?

Hoppe: Eh?

Jurys: What are you thinking of doing with this kid now? (*He points to the child.*)

Hoppe (a glance): The kid? (*He gets up slowly, avoiding Jurys' eyes.*) What. . . . well. . . . we'll have to. . . . follow the rules. . . .

Jurys: What a queer kettle of fish! Just a moment ago you said it was a bit stupid. . . . that way. . . .

Hoppe: Yes, that's what I said. And it's true. . . . but. . . . Schultz. You know as well as I that he's a bastard, a filthy cur! There he is, planted on that little bridge, with his eyes glued to us. I'm well aware of why he's there and why he's watching.

Jurys: And conscience, Mr. Hoppe,, what about a man's conscience?

Hoppe: For a German, conscience is another German. Just remember that. There's Schultz, on the little bridge. . . . watching. I know what he's thinking. (*angrily*) And I have children, children you understand, you fool! A wife and children! (*He stiffens abruptly, goes over to the gun-rack, picks up the gun and walks toward the child.*) Come on, boy. (*He goes out pushing the child in front of him.*)

Jurys (For a minute he looks through the open door, growling to himself): He's got children. It makes him sick to do it because he's got children. But because he's got children he has to. . . . what wretches men are! (*He goes into the corner of the room, turns his back, pulls a bottle of brandy*

out of his pocket and takes a long swig. Outside there is the muffled echo of a gunshot. Hoppe comes in, puts the gun on the rack, goes slowly towards the chair with the suitcase on it. He seems to have forgotten Jurys is there.) Jurys (From the corner. He has hidden the bottle and is watching Hoppe): So that's that. No nonsense. Hoppe: Hurry up! Take the body away. (He bends over the suitcase. Jurys goes slowly towards the door.)

Hoppe (Calling after him): When you've done that go down to the town hall and get them to send a car up for me. My train leaves at six.

Jurys: (Turns on the doorstep, looks at Hoppe with a slight smile): Oh yes, of course. You're going home on leave—you'll see the children. . . .

Hoppe: Get out! Go to the devil! (He turns back to the case, undoes it, rearranges and finally shuts it.)

FREE EDUCATION ON TRIAL

By Morris U. Schappes

THE whole atmosphere changed when the Negro mothers, some 15 of them, walked into the chamber. Alice Citron was on trial, and the mothers had come to see for themselves. Their beloved Alice Citron, who had taught their children in Harlem's overcrowded and dilapidated schools for 19 years, who had respected, loved, and developed their sons and daughters, had been suspended as unfit to teach and was being fired, so the mothers came to speak for themselves, to speak for Alice, to speak for their children, to speak for all Harlem and the Negro people.

Some of them were working women who were losing a day's meager pay to come that Monday, October 16, from Harlem to the New York City Board of Education building at 110 Livingston Street in Brooklyn. A few days earlier, in the same chamber, there had been other witnesses like Louis Budenz and Joseph Zack Kornfedder, who had been paid \$25 a day and expenses of \$10 a day for their oft-told lies now retold in the trial of David L. Friedman, chairman of the English Department at Junior High School 64, Manhattan. But the reward of the Negro mothers was to be only that they told the truth, that they were here too, as they had been elsewhere, fighting for a better education and a better life for their children.

When the mothers entered, Assistant Corporation Counsel Michael A. Castaldi was sounding off with a random and irresponsible opening address about Alice Citron. After admitting that he was not going to introduce any evidence of misconduct, indoctrination, the subtle or overt preaching of communism or anything like that in the classroom, Castaldi had the insolence to wind up with the slander that Miss Citron "cannot masquerade as a patriot inside the four walls of a classroom" and outside of them "be a traitor." The mothers were shocked by the shamelessness of the lie.

But the mothers brightened when one of Alice Citron's lawyers, Mr. Thomas Russell Jones, young Negro attorney, opened for the defense. The mothers nodded, and other spectators sat up and listened in wonder as Mr. Jones reported that of all the teachers who had begun to teach in Harlem 19 years ago, Alice Citron was one of three who

remained; how she had introduced the study of Negro history into the public schools; had freely given after-school coaching to slow learners; had bought eye-glasses, books, shoes and food out of her own small salary to help needy pupils; how she had gotten toilets repaired, walls painted, badly soiled text-books replaced and some prejudiced books removed; how she had led movements of teachers and parents to challenge the unspeakable conditions of Harlem schools. And why was she suspended on May 3, 1950? For the one and only "crime" of refusing to permit the superintendent of schools to pry into her political opinions and associations, for refusing, with seven other teachers, to answer the illegal questions, expressly forbidden by Section 25 of the Civil Service Law, as to whether she was now or ever had been a member of the Communist Party.

Dr. Jansen on the Stand

Castaldi calls to the stand Superintendent of Schools Dr. William Jansen, tall, heavy, gray, poised, with a thin smile, glittering eyes and a brass tongue. The mothers examine him shrewdly: Dr. Jansen, the man who in June 1949, helped prepare a document calling on the schools to develop "healthy young people to wear uniforms." Dr. Jansen, the man who, before he suspended these eight Jewish teachers for "insubordination" and "conduct unbecoming a teacher," had banned from the schools of New York two novels that opposed anti-Semitism, *Gentleman's Agreement* and *Focus*, as well as a book, *One God*, stressing the equality of all religions.

On the stand, Dr. Jansen explains to Castaldi that his attention had been called to Alice Citron's politics by testimony late in 1949 given before a Congressional sub-committee on immigration. That testimony had been given by Howard Rushmore, who sat at the press-table as reporter for Hearst's *Journal-American*. There are titters in the audience. Dr. Jansen looks bland. Then a wire-recording is played back to prove that Alice Citron had really refused to answer an improper question about her political affiliations. Then Dr. Jansen identifies the Ives Loyalty Oath

signed by Alice Citron in 1934, swearing to uphold the Constitution of the United States and of New York.

Under Mr. Jones's cross-examination, Dr. Jansen admits amazing things. Neither before, during, nor after the suspension of Alice Citron had he investigated her school record in the classroom or in the Harlem community on school matters. He did not know of her special work on Negro and Jewish history. He did not know (he is probably the only one in the school system) that she was an active member of the Teachers Union. He did not know of her special work with the children. When teachers were charged with anti-Semitic and anti-Negro conduct in the classroom, he did not suspend them pending investigation of the charges (he had suspended without pay these eight Jewish teachers although their classroom conduct was not in question). He did not know that the eight teachers were Jewish and did not infer it from their names (Alice Citron, Abraham Feingold, Mark Friedlander, David Friedman, Louis Jaffe, Abraham Lederman, Isadore Rubin, Celia Lewis Zitron), although on the same stand he later "inferred" that one Thomas Lawlor was not Jewish because of his name! Furthermore, Dr. Jansen swore he did not know what the Christian Front was! All in all, the Negro mothers found the cross-examination very revealing.

Negro Mothers Testify

And then it was their turn to take the witness stand, and to be sworn in by the trial examiner, Theodore Kiendl, specially appointed in circumvention of the Education Law, as is charged by the defendants, to conduct these eight administrative hearings. The first of the ten Negro mothers to testify, some of them mothers of four, five and eight children, was Mrs. Edith C. Joell, excited, spirited, but composed. I look at Kiendl, and at Mrs. Joell. Kiendl is dignified, measured in speech, but I know that he would not allow Mrs. Joell to go by railroad into Georgia without compelling her, in violation of our Constitution, to change to a segregated Jimcrow car at the Mason-Dixon Line. For Mr Kiendl is of the firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland and Kiendl, the firm which represented the Southern Railway Company when it was being sued for discrimination against Negroes; member of the firm whose clients include J. P. Morgan & Co., Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York, American Telephone and Telegraph Co., U. S. Rubber Co., the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and Texas & Pacific Railroads.

In his summation later Mr. Jones said that "a very torrent of praise and adulation" of Alice Citron burst from these mothers. Mrs. Joell: "I know her to give her time unstintingly both in the classroom and outside, to any betterment of the community. I know her to be a person that wants you to know yourself as a person, especially if you are a minority." Mrs. Ida Jackson: "I know her as a fine, outstanding woman, no discrimination. She is not prejudiced, and she is the best that anyone could wish for." Mrs. Imogene Ellis's boy of 13 had been given special attention by Miss Citron and Mrs. Ellis testified with quiet passion:

"I appreciated that very much, because we, ourselves, cannot teach our children and we do need a teacher that is interested. The time has passed when we black people do not want education and do not seek for the better things. . . ." When Mrs. Ellis finished, Castaldi, to create a temporary diversion and to dispel the mood of homage, turned crudely to her and asked contemptuously, "Do you know what this proceeding is all about?" Had Kiendl observed what others of us observed, that Castaldi's manner and question were disgusting examples of that very contempt for the people of Harlem that an Alice Citron had been combating for 19 years?

The testimony continued. Mrs. Pearl Messiah, after describing vividly the broken toilets, peeling paint, "ugly, nasty books" and the general dilapidation of Harlem schools, explained that Alice Citron "inspired us and showed us that we could get these things changed," she taught pupils and parents Negro history, and therefore "Everybody loves Alice. Everybody loves her, even the children. People who have not got children know she is for us." Mrs. Rose Scott Gallant almost summed it up by her inarticulacy, when she said, "We can't just say what she is because she is everything to our neighborhood, to the community as a whole, the Negro people who are so oppressed, and when we have people like Miss Citron in our community, there is nothing to say. We show ourselves by the people that are here."

Kiendl's Notions of "Relevance"

I gazed at Alice Citron with blurred but proud eyes. Hers was an example that would re-animate the determination to serve the people endlessly. In fact that is what Alice Citron had promised the parents the day before the hearing, at a moving testimonial reception in Harlem: "This is my home. No matter what the outcome of the trial, you will always see me in Harlem." Thus Alice Citron is the very embodiment of Negro-Jewish unity, the very model of how a progressive Jew fights for the confidence, the cooperation, the alliance of the Negro people.

There wasn't much more to this "trial." In the afternoon the principal of P.S. 184, Mr. Abraham D. Gold, appeared under subpoena and firmly reaffirmed all the superlative evaluations of Alice Citron's teaching and extra-curricular activities in the school. We heard, this time in professional terms, of "a most beneficent effect upon your children," of her "splendid work," her "consistent insight and help," of "nothing but the highest praise," and of "appreciation of your warm concern." The last phrase had to do with an unusual situation: in March 1950, a terrible fire razed a couple of tenement buildings on Lenox Avenue in Harlem. Alice Citron had prodded her school principal into seeing to it that the police precinct and welfare department were more responsive to the needs of the burned-out victims. That was the "warm concern" that Mr. Gold had praised. But Castaldi was bored. He protested to Kiendl that "an accumulation of such documents, no matter how many,"

are all irrelevant to Miss Citron's misconduct in refusing to answer Jansen's question about political affiliation. Kiendl icily commented that he was inclined to agree with Castaldi, but he would take the documents into the record anyway. That, I suppose, passes for judiciousness.

At the very end, arguing with Nathan Witt and Thomas Jones, Miss Citron's attorneys, about the relevance of questioning Jansen as to teaching fitness, Kiendl revealed his astounding premise, which makes all the trials superfluous. Kiendl declared that he was bound by the decision of Medina and the Court of Appeals in the case of the 11 communist leaders to consider the Communist Party not a political party but a conspiracy aimed at the violent overthrow of the government! He did not explain why he had allowed the testimony of a Budenz and a Kornfeldler, if he felt bound by this court ruling. Kiendl's theory is that Miss Citron and the other seven teachers are not guilty of misconduct in the classroom, but at some time in the future they might be, so they ought to be fired now before they can be guilty! This theory of preventive dismissals of teachers is of course kin to the theory of preventive arrests and preventive concentration camps, and all of it is geared to the theory of preventive war, advocated by Secretary of the Navy Francis P. Matthews.

Militarization of the Schools

I thought of the mother of 10 and 12 year old boys who had told me her sons had come home from two different classes with the same idea, that a war is not a bad thing because it prevents a depression. I remembered the letter sent to parents of pupils in P.S. 11 in Brooklyn by the principal, Mrs. Anna E. McNeely, instructing each parent to equip her child with white sheets "large enough for him to curl up under . . . in case of direct exposure to an A-bomb" in the school, and to "equip children with long stockings instead of snow suits" because there will be no time to put on snow-suits when the bombs fall. I thought of the circular sent to teachers at the Central Needle Trades High School with instructions that "a military discipline should prevail" in the classroom, that inspection of the physical appearance of students "should be done with military precision," that instead of announcements, there should be "Orders of the Day," that class officers should not be called president, secretary, and so forth, but "captain, lieutenant, sergeant," that in the gymnasium the Marine Handbook will be used and "formal drills and military exercises will take the place of the informal game period."

I thought of the statement in the nazi pedagogical journal, *Die Deutsche Schule*, September 1933, that "Objectivity in history instruction is one of the numerous fallacies of liberalism," and of the corporation counsel's charge, in opening the Friedman case, that objective teaching was a communist device to put over Marxism-Leninism. I saw the children of the schools of New York being turned systematically into an ignorant, bumptious, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro *McCarran Jugend*. All of this is involved in these teacher-trials, in this *beginning* of the expulsion of hundreds

of teachers of ability, integrity and social conscience, leaving behind only the May Quinns or those thousands so terrorized that they will not dare to distinguish themselves publicly from the May Quinns.

Feingold and Political Bigotry

On the following day I attended another hearing, this time of Abraham Feingold, for 28 years a teacher of mathematics in the high schools, a man who had enlisted in World War I, had done outstanding work in support of the war effort in World War II, had been faculty adviser of the Brandeis Club at Manual Training High School, basketball coach, dramatics coach, special tutor of slow students preparing for regents examinations, and who had served his school, profession, community, students and country in innumerable ways. He had taught Jewish history in the Sunday school of Temple Beth Elohim for five years and now was in charge of an after-school *shule* for the Jewish People's Fraternal Order in Brooklyn. Three colleagues, one principal and two department chairman who had supervised Feingold, took the stand to testify to his exceptional record of classroom and extracurricular service.

Taking the stand in his own defense, Feingold with overpowering sincerity and honesty declared why he had refused to answer Jansen's question and why he was refusing to answer the same question now that it was being put to him by the corporation counsel. "I believe that Dr. Jansen was misusing his office and violating my rights as a citizen, and that he was in the wrong, not I. I felt it was as much my patriotic duty to resist this kind of inquisition as it was in World War I to do everything I could to safeguard democracy. All my life I have been wanting and helping to build an America free of persecution of minorities by dominant groups. In my first year at college—this was at Wesleyan University—I was subjected to a little pogrom." Castaldi interrupted with an objection but Kiendl allowed Feingold to continue.

"One night, I was taken out of my room by a group of masked, bigoted students. I was beaten up and compelled to sign a statement that I would not return to the college and I would urge other Jews not to go there. That was my first major experience with bigotry and now I am being driven out of my profession by another form of bigotry, political bigotry. I felt I could not aid Dr. Jansen in changing the test for teacher competence from performance on the job to political affiliation. To thus aid him would be to give sanction to that political bigotry. It would be a disservice to my family, my school, my country. I know that in England, France, . . ." Castaldi jumped up to indicate he did not care what Feingold knew about these countries, but again Kiendl allowed Feingold to proceed.

". . . in England, France, Australia, Switzerland, thousands of teachers are accepted as good teachers and not questioned because they are members of the Communist Party. Thousands there are. And if here Dr. Jansen began inquiring, it could not be for the good of the schools. It could not be an inquiry into my fitness. It was a political

inquisition and an invasion of my rights. I would not participate in that kind of invasion."

Castaldi leaped into the cross-examination. When Feingold took the stand, I had seen Castaldi turn to Rushmore and wink broadly. Now I witnessed a cross-examination in the voice of Castaldi, but with the type of questions that would obviously come from a Rushmore! Did Feingold know this, that, or the other person, not one of whom had even the remotest connection with the school system? Such questions Feingold firmly refused to answer. On re-direct examination, Cammer asked Feingold whether he personally advocated the violent overthrow of our government? This time Castaldi objected and Theodore F. Kiendl, of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland and Kiendl, sustained the objection and did not allow Feingold to answer the question! Before one's very eyes, standards of relevance were being framed against the defendant!

By the time this report appears in print, all the trials will have ended. (For thumbnail sketches of the other defendants, see the article in *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1950.) Kiendl will hand down, or has already handed down, all his decisions at once. If he has not done so, he would be very much interested in what the public, inside and outside New York, thinks of this attack on the rights of teachers both to teach and think. And if he has dismissed them, financial and other support will be needed by the Teachers Union, 206 West 15 Street, New York 11, N. Y., both for the court appeals against Kiendl's decisions, and for the defense of the scores of teachers who will undoubtedly be persecuted by Jansen, Castaldi, Kiendl and Co. Surely no parent who wants to see his children escape the fate of the Hitler *Jugend* can hesitate for a moment to join the fight alongside these teachers, whose integrity, intelligence and courage approaches nobility.

AL JOLSON AND HIS TIMES

By Nathaniel Buchwald

BETWEEN the cantor's son, Asa Yoelson, who ran away from home in Washington to become an extra in the theater, and the famous Al Jolson, who died a multi-millionaire and whose name became a living legend, lies a half century of American life.

In his career, as well as in his style and material, Al Jolson both reflected his epoch and imprinted his personality upon the American stage and screen.

As a performer, Jolson possessed a compelling power of emotional appeal. He burned himself up in his performance and the sincerity of his expression affected his listeners much more than the content or quality of his material. As is generally the case with audiences in the presence of a strong stage personality, their identification with Jolson's performances was complete. But this meant not merely yielding to the impact of his emotional expression but also an inter-reaction between audience and performer and a mutual acceptance of the same values—even if only for the duration of the performance. Indeed Al Jolson drew much of his inspiration from his audiences, who endowed his material and style with a folk-like quality.

The story of Jolson's life is a success story with all the elements of melodrama and hokum that are so appropriate to the kind of entertainment he practiced all his life. His greatest success on the screen, *The Jazz Singer*, is based upon a theme that combines his cantorial background with a "heart-rending" and tear-jerking melodramatic situation. And the Jewish element in his life-story is bound up with the hackneyed legend of American capitalism about the

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poor boy who makes good and becomes a millionaire.

Al Jolson, while not denying his Jewish background, preferred to be known and accepted as a "melting pot" American. Yet the story of his success has a Jewish flavor and brings to mind the traditional Jewish old-country tales about the cantor's son with the golden voice who becomes a famous singer at the Royal Opera. In such wishful tales there was usually an element of Jewish fulfillment when the famous opera star ultimately returns to his home town and his people.

This element is completely missing in Al Jolson's personal career. He was never attached to his Jewish past and never returned to it. On the contrary, his entire career was from the beginning marked by revolt and resentment against the Jewish traditionalism which his father, a cantor from St. Petersburg, typified. In this respect he was no different from many other East Side boys who saw in their "greenhorn" parents the opposite of Americanism and who broke away from their home environment in order to rid themselves, once and for all, of the disadvantages and social handicaps of their immigrant background. These boys went various ways: most of them into the mainstream of American life, some to the underworld, others into the cesspool of Tammany politics.

"The Jazz Singer"

Like others of his generation, Jolson both ran away from his Jewish background and exploited professionally the profitable elements of his Jewish past. Take *The Jazz Singer*. It is a traditional Jewish folk tale. The cantor's

son becomes a famous opera star (in the American variant—a jazz singer). He comes home on a brief visit, not realizing that it is the eve of the most sacred and awesome of all holy days, Yom Kippur. He finds his father stricken by a sudden ailment, usually a heart attack, and the congregation in a state of anguish, for there is no one to lead the worshippers in prayer or to chant *Kol Nidre*. The famous opera star rushes to the synagogue, gets there in the nick of time and, wrapping himself in his father's praying shawl, pours out his remorseful Jewish heart in a superlative and inspired *Kol Nidre*.

The Jazz Singer was a great success on the screen and brought Al Jolson millions of dollars. The sentimental melodrama exploiting a Jewish folk tale was loved also by non-Jewish audiences. Hokum, as is well known, knows no territorial boundaries or language barriers.

But *The Jazz Singer* was not merely a successful screen melodrama: it was also a turning point in the film industry. It established the "talkies" as Big Business. The millions earned by Al Jolson were a trifle compared with the huge profits the firmly-established "talkies" brought to Hollywood. Jolson was to the moguls of the film industry what Babe Ruth was to the owners of the Yankees and other baseball magnates.

Master of American "Shund"

There are so many facets to Al Jolson's success story that they are hard to encompass in one picture. If the essence of his career and stage personality could be captured in one word, perhaps none would be more apt than the Yiddish term, *shund*. Defying translation, *shund* stands for a combination of hokum, drivel, bad taste, cheap sentimentality and—terrific mass appeal. That was Al Jolson. He was a master of American *shund*. He had the power and style of "reaching the heart" of his audience not by lifting them to emotional heights but by appealing to uncritical tastes.

As a singer of popular songs Al Jolson was most successful. Many of his hits became hits only by virtue of his overwhelming style of rendition. His biggest successes were the sentimental *Mammy* and *Sonny Boy*. Devotees of the Yiddish *shund*-theater recognized in them the "mamenyu" and "zunele" (affectionate Yiddish words for "mother" and "son") motifs of the tear-jerking Yiddish melodrama.

But *Mammy* was not merely *shund*, it was American *shund*. Together with sentimentality it *exploited* the Negro as a source of "heart-warming" appeal. Many Americans, Negro and white, were rightly disgusted by and resentful of Jolson's offensive *blackface* technique. He darkened his face, as the Yiddish saying goes, not only in a physical sense but also in the sense of using black makeup in order to achieve the cheap effect of a conventional stage "Negro" as a means of heightening the appeal of his spuriously "Negro" songs. Progressive Americans are indignant at such exploitation of color of skin for "stage effect," just as they



Al Jolson

are sickened by the sentimentalizing or ridiculing of "Jewish" traits on the stage. Al Jolson was a specialist in this sort of "blackface" style. It offended many people, black and white.

Whether or not he was aware of its chauvinist implications, Jolson's success in this style had extremely harmful effects in deepening this chauvinism among the people.

Victim of "Success" Morality

As a Jew, Al Jolson was a typical example of vulgar assimilationism. He adapted himself to the reactionary notions of the melting-pot doctrine; he kept his Jewish background very much in the background; he avoided contact with Jewish life, Jewish public activities, Jewish anguish and tragedy; he made a point of parading his American "patriotism" in a flag-waving sense and achieved much publicity by performing in military camps. His last such exhibition of "patriotism" in Korea earned him the praise of reactionaries as a model citizen as well as entertainer.

Undoubtedly, Al Jolson possessed a power and a stage personality all his own. Those who saw and heard him on the stage or in the films know how effective he was in his songs and sentimental hokum. His Jewish background, his childhood experience of cantorial chants and emotional outpourings stood him in good stead in his career.

In another environment Al Jolson could have become a creative people's artist. But in the environment of success story hokum, his professional work was a mixture of cheapness, opportunism and desertion of his past because it did not pay to be Jewish. Thus his great success was really a product of his failure—as an American, as an artist and as a Jew.

But let us be just to Al Jolson and his memory; after all, he only reflected the American *shund*-environment and the capitalist success morality that brought him up and made him famous. He was as much its victim as its exponent.

MY SON

By Morris Rosenfeld

I have a boy, a baby boy,
a youngster mighty fine!
and when I look at him I feel
that all the world is mine.

But seldom do I see him when
he's wide awake and bright.
I always find him sound asleep;
I see him late at night.

At daybreak I must rush to work;
it's dark when I get done.
I hardly know my flesh and blood,
the gaze of my own son.

I climb the staircase wearily:
a figure wrapped in shade.
My pale wife quickly lets me know
how well the baby played.

how cleverly he spoke, and asked:
"Oh mother—dear, dear ma—
when will he come and let me have
a penny—dear, dear pa?"

I listen, and I rush inside—
it must—yes, it must be!
My father-love begins to burn:
my child must look at me! . . .

I stand beside his little bed
and watch him sleeping there,
when hush! a dream bestirs his lips:
"Where is my papa, where?"

I kiss the little eyes of blue.
They open wide, and then
they seem to see me—oh, my child!—
and quickly shut again.

"Your papa's right beside you, son.
You want a penny? Here!"
A dream bestirs his little lips:
"Where is my papa, where?"

I stand tormented and oppressed,
and bitterly I say:
"You will not find me at your side
when you awake some day."

TO THE WIND

By Joseph Bovshover

Carry, oh wind, upon your pinions
the fevered message of my lyre—
though it is coal black on the surface,
beneath it you can see the fire . . .

Wherever human hearts are beating,
—be they the foulest or the best—
there must you bring my burning message
and blow it deep inside the breast.

And if you find the blood is frozen,
awake it, as you wake the sea;
and make it seethe, and make it angry,
and wake the flame of liberty!

THE FLOWER ISLAND

By Joseph Bovshover

When I was a boy I imagined an island,
a green-covered island where wildflowers bloom,
designed by the magical paint-brush of Nature
with many bright colors, with rarest perfume.

That dream of my childhood, aglow in the darkness,
commanded my heart like a magnet of gold;
and—seized with desire—I searched through the heavens,
I sought among clouds for my dream to unfold.

Since then I have known many summers and winters,
and now I could curse at my silly young brain—
I wasted my time in the clouds, in the heavens;
I looked for my island in vain, all in vain.

Right here upon earth, where my poor mother bore me
to bow before masters, to cringe at their power,
right here is the island of now and forever,
—if only the thorn could be plucked from the flower!

PATHFINDER IN AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

A Book Review

By Herbert M. Morais

THE idea of Jews fighting back against the forces of entrenched greed and reaction is not new in American history. It began almost 300 years ago when a handful of Jewish immigrants came to New Amsterdam and successfully challenged the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of bigoted, anti-Semitic Peter Stuyvesant. It continued thereafter at every critical stage of American history, when Jews took a stand against the enemies of human progress—in the trying days of the first American Revolution, the Federalist reign of terror in the 1790's the second War of Liberation in 1812, the anti-slavery crusade and the Civil War.

This rich tradition of Jewish participation in the glorious freedom-struggles of the American people—as well as a great deal more—is to be found in the splendidly compiled and brilliantly edited book by Morris U. Schappes.¹ This *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875* was six years in the making and stands as a testimonial to the industry, patience, resourcefulness and scholarship of its editor, who has already distinguished himself by his many contributions to American Jewish history. In his introduction, Schappes indicates that a second volume is planned to include documents from the period of Reconstruction to the present. It is to be hoped that he will find the necessary means to bring to completion a project so excellently begun.

In a judicious and lucid preface to the work, the eminent Jewish scholar, Joshua Bloch, director of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library, points out the significance of the book to both the trained historian and general reader. He concludes his appraisal by saying that Schappes' book "may well serve as a foundation upon which to rear the structure of the history of the Jews in America."

The value of the book is enhanced not only by the well-balanced preface of so exacting a scholar as Joshua Bloch, but also by the thought-provoking general introduction of the editor himself. Schappes, a student of Marxism, gives the reader some penetrating insights into the class character of anti-Semitism, the bedeviling influence of the "exclusively Jewish" school in American Jewish history and the oppressive nature of the "melting pot" theory. Incidentally, through inadvertance, the editor in his introduction transposes two events, putting the lynching of a Negro and Jew in 1868 ahead of a labor manifesto calling for unity of Jew and non-Jew, Negro and white, which appeared in 1867. ("Introduction," p. xx.)

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In addition to his valuable general introduction, Schappes has contributed illuminating prefaces to each document in the book as well as notes explaining each basic text. These introductory paragraphs and informative commentaries are designed to help both the historian and general reader. They are scholarly without being pedantic and they add to an understanding of American Jewish history and its problems. At the same time they point out present implications in events of the past. They combine painstaking research and deep social awareness—products of Marxist scholarship.

Consisting of 159 documents, the book is the first compilation of its kind in American Jewish historiography. Being a pioneer work, it can not be compared with anything else in that special field. However, there are source books in general American history which form a basis of comparison, such as A. B. Hart's *American History as Told by Contemporaries*. This popular source book, published at the turn of the century, influenced greatly the teaching and writing of general American history. Schappes' documentary history, because of its great merits, should exert similar influence upon American Jewish history. All the more so, since it contains copious notes with leads to bibliographical and other pertinent data. In fact, what Hart and two other associates, Edward Channing and Frederick Jackson Turner, did later in their *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History*, Schappes has already done in the material presented in his notes.

Brings Jew Into American History

The documents contained in the book run the gamut of Jewish life and experience in the period from colonization to the end of Reconstruction. Since Schappes is convinced that "nothing Jewish is alien, nothing done by Jews is irrelevant," he has included in his compilation documents not "exclusively Jewish," that is, documents signed by Jews and non-Jews and even documents by non-Jews. An example of the latter is one by Andrew C. Cameron who, as chairman of a committee of the National Labor Union, drafted an address in 1867 calling for unity of Jew and Gentile, Negro and white (Doc. 146).

Also included in the volume are hitherto unpublished documents. Among these are two basic texts relating to the Damascus Affair (Docs. 83, 84), which involved the false and malicious charge that the Jews of Damascus had killed Christians in order to use their blood for ritual purposes at Passover. Similarly, the volume contains documents

¹ *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, edited with notes and introduction by Morris U. Schappes. Preface by Joshua Bloch. The Citadel Press, New York. \$3.00.



Morris U. Schappes

usually ignored so as not to offend a particular group, such as that of the Mortara Case of 1858 (Doc. 121), which involved the abduction by the Archbishop of Bologna of a Jewish child alleged to have been baptized into the Catholic faith.

The compilation of texts in this book fills a gap in American history. No longer can the American historian hide behind the excuse that he does not have material easily accessible for a presentation of the role of the Jewish people in the building of the American nation and the growth of American democracy. Here it is, spread out before his eyes and no secondary account at that, but primary source material, the stuff out of which history is written. With the publication of this work there can be no excuse for omitting references to the Jewish people in general books on American history. Neither is there any longer a reason for the misrepresentation of the role of the Jews in the history of our country in view of the editor's careful introductions and informative notes. In fact, American historians may well profit from those prefaces and commentaries.

Schappes' documentary history is also a valuable contribution to American Jewish historiography. A pioneer work in its field—it comes nearly 60 years after the founding of the American Jewish Historical Society—it lays the basis for the writing of a real history of the Jews in America. Concerned with Jews outside the synagogue as well as in it, Schappes is interested in every form of Jewish life. Above all, he is concerned with the question of how Jews have made a living, a topic usually shunned by American Jewish historians. So he included in his book almost a score of documents relating to the economic activities of the Jews. These basic texts and the prefaces and notes accompanying them reveal a considerable number of Jewish craftsmen, artisans and laborers alongside of tradesmen, merchants and land speculators.

Especially interesting and informative are such source materials as the indenture of apprenticeship of Solomon Marache to Isaac Hays of New York in 1749 (Doc. 23), the advertisement by a Jewish craftsman of his wares in a colonial newspaper (Doc. 26), the election of a Jewish

shoemaker as constable in New York City during the Revolutionary era (Doc. 31) and the objection of a Jewish shade painter in 1849 to discrimination in employment (Doc. 101). The inclusion of these and other documents on the economic activities of the Jews underlines the importance of this field of investigation to future American Jewish historians. For if they are ever to get out of their swaddling clothes, they will have to do what American historians have done for the last 30 to 40 years: investigate the material basis of American development.

New Perspective

Schappes' documentary history renders still other services to American Jewish historiography. In his notes and prefaces he repeatedly emphasizes the fact that American Jewish history is no isolated phenomenon but is part and parcel of American history. And he offers a mass of material underscoring this point. In addition, his well balanced judgments put events and persons into proper historical focus. Take, for example, his treatment of the renowned Haym Solomon. Basing himself on the solid work of Max Kohler and Samuel Openheim and making additional investigations on his own, Schappes differentiates between fact and fancy in the career of this patriot of the American Revolution. He corrects the accepted notion that Haym Solomon lent large sums of money to the American revolutionary government. Yet, he makes amply clear Solomon's patriotic contribution in other ways and brings forth other Jewish heroes of the American Revolution. His notes on this and other subjects show with what painstaking care he puts to rest errors on the part of less careful American Jewish historians and those others whose popularizations give greater circulation to these errors.

The fact that Jews are to be found on both sides of great American issues has caused American Jewish historians either to vulgarize history or to remain indifferent to the essential task of evaluating such issues and the role of Jews in relation to them. In the first instance, Jewish historians have gone so far as to exclude from their accounts as "bad" Jews those who have taken that side of the question of which these historians disapprove. In the second instance, they have made their accounts so "objective" become chroniclers of meaningless facts.

Schappes rejects both of these approaches to the writing of American Jewish history. He is fully aware that the consciousness of Jews, like that of other peoples, is determined and molded by the relations of production prevailing at the time, modified by political, legal and cultural factors. Accordingly, he has included in his compilation documents showing that there were American Jewish Tories at the time of the American Revolution (Doc. 37) and American Jewish Confederates at the time of the Civil War (Doc. 130). However, in his notes and introductions he clearly takes the position that such Jews were fighting against human progress and therefore against the best interests of the Jewish people, regardless of motives.

Schappes' documentary history is more than a book for

the student and scholar in the field. Designed to meet the needs of a wide reading public, it is a work that can be read by all. Regarding history as "not a toy but a tool," the editor has conceived the book as a weapon to be used in the struggle for the full equality of Jews "at all levels, economic, political, social and cultural."

In times such as these when the ghost of Hitler stalks the land, the general reader will find the materials contained in this volume helpful and useful in the fight against reaction. Particularly is this true in regard to the specter of anti-Semitism which haunts the consciousness of Jews throughout America today.

Despite the bright democratic promise of American life, anti-Semitism has been with us from the beginning of American history, Schappes shows us. Those who came to the New World in the seventeenth century brought with them from Europe their baggage of skills, habits, beliefs and prejudices. Consequently, the anti-Semitism of the Old World—the Jew as a usurer, tricky trader, burden to society and blasphemer of Jesus—was transplanted in the New World and given classic expression quite early.

However, in America, the old feudal patterns of anti-Semitism underwent some change for two reasons: first, the hammer blows of Jewish and non-Jewish progressives who, in the words of Jacob De La Motta, "panted for liberty and the enjoyment of equal rights" and who fought to realize both of them in the New World; second, the development of American society along capitalist lines, virtually without a feudal past and monarchical traditions. Under the circumstances, the old stand-bys of medieval anti-Semitism—enclosed ghettos and recurrent pogroms—never gained a foothold in the New World.

But given the class structure of capitalist society, new patterns of anti-Semitism were created and new rationalizations developed. Restricted residential areas, quota systems, discrimination in employment—these and many other subtle anti-Semitic manifestations made their appearance in American life. And all this, despite federal and state constitutions and bills of rights proclaiming equality.

Early Beginning of Anti-Semitism

On numerous occasions, as the basic texts in this book show, the minority in power has used anti-Semitism to divert social unrest or to gain partisan political advantage. Peter Stuyvesant and his associates used it in the middle of the 1650's as a "safety valve" against the growing popular opposition to their bankrupt and tyrannical regime (Docs. 1-10). Similarly, anti-democratic forces in the 1790's, representing largely merchant capitalist interests, used it to stem the rising tide of Jeffersonianism (Docs. 51, 52, 54).

In addition, other documents are included in the book which amply illustrate how persistent and widespread anti-Semitism has been in our country. Two basic texts relate to the era of the American Revolution (Docs. 35, 39), seven to the Civil War and Reconstruction (Docs. 136, 139, 143, 147, 149, 158, 159) and many others to the years in between these two historic events. For lack of basic material

Carey McWilliams and other writers on anti-Semitism begin their studies with the 1870's. It is Schappes' contribution to have made available texts from the beginnings of American history.

There is a real need today for an evaluation of this body of anti-Semitism. To Schappes the evidence points to one "fundamental, irreducible cause: in any society so class-structured that a minority economically exploits, politically dominates and culturally controls the majority, the usefulness of anti-Semitism in all its forms and verbalizations is assured and endless because it helps keep that minority in power." ("General Introduction," pp. xii-xiii.)

The persistence and wide circulation of anti-Semitism in the history of America are matched by the equally persistent and widespread fight against it by Jewish and non-Jewish progressive-minded men and women. The militancy of Asser Levy, Benjamin Nones and others, as shown in these documents, should give heart to those engaged in the struggle against anti-Semitism today.

Negro-Jewish Relations

Also of importance in the current fight for full equality are those documents relating to Jewish and Negro relations. For an alliance between Jewish workers and middle class elements facing all kinds of discrimination and the oppressed Negro people would do much to stop the drive of reactionary groupings to foist fascism upon America under the guise of "saving" American democracy.

Throughout American history the problems of the Jewish and Negro peoples have overlapped. Both have suffered—the Negroes infinitely more than the Jews—at the hands of nativists, jingoes and racists. Accordingly, it is not surprising, although deeply shocking, to run across a document relating to the double lynching of a Negro and a Jew by the Ku Klux Klan in Tennessee in 1868 (Doc. 148). Other basic texts show how Jews often aided the Negro people in their struggle for freedom by helping the escape of fugitive slaves, by condemning the institution of slavery and by fighting in the Union armies during the Civil War. However, to infer from this that all Jews fought as allies of the Negro people would be not only misleading, but false. As the documents in this book show, Jews were not infrequently on the other side of the fence. In fact, there were Jewish slave traders, slave dealers, slave owners and soldiers and officials among the Confederate gentry. In short, all Jews did not take the same stand on the basic issue of slavery, their position being determined and molded by class, political and social considerations, as was that of the rest of the American population. Knowledge of these facts will help rather than hinder the growing movement for cooperation between Jews and Negroes.

A contribution of the first rank, a pioneer work in a sorely neglected field, Schappes' *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875* is a book to possess and to read over and over again. By putting present events in historical perspective, it gives inspiration and courage in the current struggle against anti-Semitism and reaction.

Letters from Abroad

STUDENT UNITY IN PARIS

Paris

Early in October, a De Gaullist "Film Club of the Latin Quarter" announced a showing of *Jew Suess*, anti-Semitic film made by the nazis in 1941. But public protest was so vehement that the police banned the film. Instead, the film club announced the showing of a substitute film. But even this was not shown, thanks to a splendid broad, united demonstration held by the students of Paris which had been called jointly by the Movement against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace and the Jewish Student Union of France.

On October 6, at 4:30 P.M., Boulevard Saint-Germain seethed with excitement. In front of the Cluny-Palace, movie theater where *Jew Suess* and now the substitute film were to have been shown, and of the iron fence in front of the garden of Cluny, hundreds of students were gathered. The cry, "Fascism will not pass!" was heard as the crowd, gaining in numbers all the time, pressed around young orators perched on the wall of Cluny.

Students of all shades of opinion were here, all aware of the necessity of uniting in a common front to bar the path to fascism in the Latin Quarter, as everywhere else. Although mass action had forced banning of *Jew Suess*, disturbing facts remained. Some people had tried to show this hateful and criminal film amidst a blare of publicity and with the support of the police, who had at first promised to give the organizers a hand.

There was the fact, also, that the Prefecture of Police had permitted sandwich-men wearing armbands with a yellow Star of David to walk through the Latin Quarter advertising the picture and is still allowing them, after the banning of the film, to pass out handbills announcing its showing. The fact remains that *Jew Suess*, a film forbidden since the Liberation, was arranged to be shown by the "Film Club of the Latin Quarter" through a high functionary of the ministry. Preparations are being made soon to show a film glorifying the *Hitlerjugend*, a film whose scenario was written by Mussolini and a fascist Japanese film, which, as the poster says, exhibits a "strange sadism."

These young men and women, who assembled despite opposition by the police,

had been called together by an appeal signed by the following youth organizations: Union of Jewish Students of France, Student Federation of France, Association of Student Veterans, Union of the Republican Youth of France, Christian Student Youth (Federation of Paris), French Federation of Christian Students, Student Members of the Communist Party, M.R.P. (Mouvement Republicain Populaire) and the National Federation of Socialist Students of the Seine (S.F.I.O.).

The first speaker was Ralph Feigelson of the Union of Jewish Students. "The Jewish students of France," he said, "thank you for the generous and unanimous support you have given against the impudence of the racists."

Then M. Sarvonat, vice-president of National Union of Students of France, got up on the improvised tribune. "They dare to try to show a film like *Jew Suess*," he declared. "It is our duty to associate ourselves with this protest in opposition to racism and nazism. We have agreed to give our word today, as we did five years ago, that we intend to do everything possible to see to it that fascism and anti-Semitism do not happen here."

A representative of the International League Against Anti-Semitism (I.L.C.A.) emphasized, "We here are communists, socialists, Christians, people of all shades of opinion, united against racism as we were during the time of the Resistance."

Then Charles Hutman, member of the secretariat of the Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism and for Peace, declared amidst warm approval from the crowd, "With its customary diligence, the M.R.A.P. led in alerting public opinion against the scandal of exhibiting *Jew*

Suess. This demonstration shows that only public pressure can make the perpetrators of scandals and crimes retreat. We are proud to affirm unity here. Communists, socialists, M.R.P. and Christians have come here to demonstrate with the same spirit, the same heart. We all still remember the horrors of war, which no one wishes to break out again. I ask, in the name of the M.R.A.P., that you join with us, you who oppose the showing of films inspired by racism, like *The New Masters*, which we drove off the screens of Paris. If all of us unite, we can check racism and fascism."

With the enthusiastic approval of the assembled students, Oscar Rosowsky, of the Union of Jewish Students, read the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"The students of Paris;

"Protest with all their might against the reappearance of nazi propaganda on the walls of the Latin Quarter;

"Are astonished that the public authorities were not aroused sooner against the arrogant publicity that attended the projected showing of the anti-Semitic film *Jew Suess*;

"Demand that the ministers of national education and of the interior take every necessary step to stop nazi propaganda once and for all and to bring the instigators of it back to their senses;

"Affirm that we shall always remain united against racist barbarism."

The demonstrators then marched past the Cluny-Palace and turned toward the Hotel de Ville (City Hall) where the resolution was to be left. The police, who had stood by quietly up to then, stepped in to disperse the peaceful parade. At the Hotel de Ville the police took the same unjustifiable attitude. For nearly half an hour the military police refused to admit the delegation which included, in addition to the organizers of the demonstration, the youth representatives of the M.R.A.P., I.L.C.A. and of the Cadets of the U.J.R.E. Municipal Councillors Mmes. Diquelou and Marin and M. Boisseau had to intervene personally to get authorization

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for the delegation to appear before different groups.

The delegates were received successively by MM. Bastian, chief of the office of the presidency of the Municipal Council, and Boisseau, of the communist group; and by the representatives of the M.R.P. and of the R.P.F. [Rallié du Peuple Français, the De Gaullist party]. The representative of the president of the Municipal Council insisted throughout that he was unable to do anything about the matter and stressed the difficulties that would arise, according to him, if any attempt was made to prohibit the showing of fascist films.

M. Boisseau, after the details of the affair were explained to him, promised to submit a written question to the council as to how *Jew Sues* was permitted to be advertised on a poster and on the activities of the "Film Club of the Latin Quarter." The representative of the M.R.P. also promised to submit a written question. The R.P.F. councillor was evasive and pretended to be astonished that Gaullist students were not represented in the delegation. But the contrary would have been most surprising in view of the political connections of the "Film Club of the Latin Quarter."

The fine demonstration on the Boulevard Saint-Germain and the delegation to the Hotel de Ville participated in by students of all tendencies show that the fascists must reckon with the will of republican and patriotic students, if they plan any further evil actions.

One outcome of the demonstration is the formation of a "Students' Committee Against Racism and Fascism."

ALBERT LEVY

FUTURE IS SECURE FOR CZECHOSLOVAK JEWRY

London

Councillor A. Wolfe, Grand President of the Grand Order Sons of Jacob, recently spent a holiday in Czechoslovakia. Knowing his interest in communal affairs, I discussed the situation of Czechoslovak Jews with him. Had he experienced any difficulty in meeting and talking with their representatives?

"The very reverse," reported Councillor Wolfe. "Having heard and read so much about isolation of Czechoslovak Jews from the rest of the world, as soon as I arranged

my holiday I wrote to the Jewish Committee and the chief rabbi in Prague asking to meet them. Within a week I had a reply from the Jewish Committee welcoming the chance to meet me and arranging that either the chairman, Dr. Unger, or the secretary, Mr. Kohn, or possibly both, would see me.

"Dr. Sicher, the chief rabbi, replied later, stating he would be pleased to see me if he was available, but he was about to take a holiday at Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad). As it happened my visit coincided with his holiday and so we did not meet."

Speaking about his meeting with the secretary of the Jewish Committee in Prague, Councillor Wolfe said it was most interesting and informative.

"All my questions were answered frankly. As Mr. Kohn spoke both English and Yiddish, it was not necessary to use an interpreter. He told me that there were now 21,500 Jews in the country. There is no distinction between Jew and non-Jew. All have equal rights and responsibilities."

"How does this show itself in practice?" I asked.

"As an English Jew," replied Councillor Wolfe, "with experience in Jewish defense work, I was particularly impressed by the fact that the Constitution makes racial discrimination a criminal offense—something we have so far been unable to obtain here. But the equality of Jews with other citizens is also seen in the fact that the state maintains and supports Jewish institutions just as those of other groups. I think there are many Jews who would welcome this sign of equality between Jew and non-Jew in this country."

"How does the state operate its support?" I inquired.

"Through the Jewish Committee, which looks after the cultural and religious interests of the Jewish communities, although each community has local autonomy in Jewish matters," he stated.

"Are Jews allowed to leave the country?"

"Anyone having near relatives outside the country can leave. Doctors are an exception owing to the great shortage in the medical profession. I should think that any doctor possessing a social responsibility would not wish to leave while sick people need his services," replied Councillor Wolfe.

He added that there were still Zionist organizations in Czechoslovakia holding frequent meetings and that they issued their own paper.

I then came to the [London] *Jewish Chronicle* story about removal of the Shield of David from tombstones and substitution of crosses at Terezin cemetery.

Councillor Wolfe said: "This story was

branded by Mr. Kohn as absolutely false. He asked why, if the People's Democratic Government is supposed to be anti-religious, it should substitute one religious symbol for another? This story was just a contribution to the cold war. Probably Christians were told the reverse story."

[The London *Jewish Chronicle* quoted Mr. Wolfe on this point as follows: "There are two cemeteries in Terezin. One is a Jewish cemetery, the other a national cemetery. At the time the cemeteries were established the then Jewish Committee concerned itself solely with the Jewish cemetery and did not concern itself about those who were buried in the national cemetery. It was later discovered that Jews were buried in the national cemetery but no one seemed to know just where they were buried. It was therefore decided to remove all crosses from the graves in the national cemetery and to place a large plaque at the entrance of the cemetery with the names of the dead on the plaque and a crown of thorns on the top to show that they died as martyrs. This will be completed in 1951. At no time were Shields of David ever removed from graves."]

Finally, Councillor Wolfe expressed his confidence, on the basis of what he had seen and heard, in the future security of

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He urged those interested in the position of European Jewry not to let themselves be misled by calculated propaganda but to find out for themselves as he had done.

"JEWISH CLARION" CORRESPONDENT

JEWISH LIFE IN BULGARIA

Following is the great part of a letter giving first-hand impressions of Jewish life in Bulgaria written by a British author (whose name is not given) who was for one month a special correspondent of a leading London daily paper. The letter is here reprinted from the Jewish Chronicle of September 29, 1950.—Eds.

Your readers may well receive the erroneous impression that for political or other sinister reasons the 7,000 Jews in Bulgaria are "gradually" losing their connections with Judaism. . . .

But in general, let me say, I was astonished at the splendid equipment provided in Bulgaria's best hospital, the Jewish one

in Sofia; at the presence of healthy, cheerful young men and women and children at a Saturday evening service in the lovely little resort of Burgas on the Black Sea; at the care shown for the upkeep of the Central Synagogue in Sofia, one of the most imposing in Southern Europe; at the generous words used by the mayor of Sofia when he introduced me to one or two senior executives who happened to be of Jewish origin; at the pride with which one of the (non-Jewish) heads of the government reminded me; "The Jews were exterminated by the nazis in all occupied Europe—but not in Bulgaria."

. . . In Bulgaria proper the Jews were ready for the nazis' gas chambers. The trains, though fully loaded, did not leave the Bulgarian stations. Writers, physicians, lawyers, artists, scientists, the Orthodox Church—all protested, and in time, Parliament acted. Only 13,000 Jews from the Aegean coast and from Thrace had been dispatched to the extermination chambers.

But—so I was informed by a Jewish minister from a mountain village whose 20 Jewish families are descended from settlers in the fifteenth century—no Bulgarian Jews were murdered, or injured, or gassed.

As for the alleged anti-Semitism, I confess I am surprised to read of this. In the streets of Varna, Burgas, Sofia and else-

where, I saw Jewish children playing unselfconsciously with other children; when I drove round to distribute sweets to some young folk I had met previously in the day, the Gentile children remembered two little Jewish girls who looked like being left out, and ran to fetch them. Moreover, Article 71 of the new Constitution reads, "All citizens of the Bulgarian People's Republic are equal before the law. No privileges based on nationality, origin, religion and material situation are recognized. Every preaching of racial, national or religious hatred is punishable by law."

The Jewish schools, clubs and cooperatives are aided by the state; I met various government executives who seemed Jewish in origin.

Finally, I do not understand why the Bulgarians who reached Turkey had to be "refugees"—unless that be an Istanbul phrase. I attended an open meeting of Zionists and learned that there was complete freedom to emigrate to Israel. Though the Bulgarian government has precious few ships, it even leased some of those to help Jews to travel. Who has gone? The business men who cannot continue their affairs under the state nationalization laws; and the elderly with sons and daughters who ran away to Palestine during the nazi occupation or who loathed Boris dictator-ship.

Masses & Mainstream

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Book Reviews

BETRAYAL IN GERMANY

By Russ Nixon

Betrayal: Our Occupation of Germany, by Arthur D. Kahn. Published in Poland. Available at Progressive and Workers Bookshops.

No serious person today denies that the western powers have set both big and little nazis loose in Germany, reinstated cartel-banker control of German industry and set the German general staff and rearmament plants up in business again. No responsible person will claim that democracy has been established or that anti-Semitism and nationalism have been rooted out of Western Germany. These facts, although played down in the press, nonetheless are re-inforced every day in the reports that come out of Europe.

This tragic betrayal of our World War II aims is viewed differently by different groups. All who justly claim the label

"anti-fascist" fight this development without compromise or reservation. Others who call themselves "liberals" now and then utter faint words of protest, disclaim responsibility and then go on to join the cold war clamor and support the basic policies and government officials renazifying Germany. Some of them, for example, Senators Herbert H. Lehman and Paul Douglas, attempt to satisfy their constituents and their consciences even in 1950 by asking for an "investigation"—a familiar legislative action-ducking device.

Others, with little or no attempt to hide even the most obscene aspects of the fascist reconstruction of Western Germany, justify the betrayal of the Potsdam declaration by reference to the "need" of Germany as an ally against the USSR and the socialist world. Those who seek com-

radeship with Franco find it easy to justify alliance with German generals, Gestapo and Nazi Party officials and cartel chiefs. In any case they, like the "liberals," blame it all on the Russians who, they assert, initiated violations of the Potsdam accord, started the "cold war" and therefore made necessary the present alliance with Franco, nazis, fascists and assorted anti-Semites and reactionaries throughout the world.

The clearly demonstrable facts, however, prove that the United States and the British occupation officials in Germany, in response to dominating financial, industrial, clerical and other reactionary influences began renazification and laid the basis for remilitarization and suppression of the anti-fascist forces in Germany long before the Potsdam meetings in July 1945. These officials continued and completed this process thereafter, unrestrained by the fact that this meant betrayal of the Four Power agreement at Potsdam. Thus not only is it false to assert that the USSR initiated the rape of Potsdam, but the very fact of this early sabotage by western powers of the crucial agreement for an anti-nazi post-war German policy assumes prime causal importance in the rupture of relations between the World War II allies.

Crucially significant are the developments in American Military Government in the first period of occupation, especially from the capture of Aachen (November 1944) through 1946. It is precisely this period which is covered by Arthur D. Kahn in *Betrayal*. For a time Mr. Kahn was chief editor of intelligence, Office of the Director of Information Control, United States Office of German Military Government. Commanding the language, a keen trained observer on a job that required getting around and learning "what was what," Mr. Kahn was enabled to write this first-hand account of the roots and beginnings of the betrayal of Potsdam—or perhaps as it should be put—the betrayal of 22 million victims of the Axis powers.

A major contribution in *Betrayal*—not generally dealt with in AMG accounts—is Mr. Kahn's description of AMG suppression of the potential core for a democratic, anti-fascist Germany that existed in the "Anti-Fas" (German anti-fascist groups), the "Kzlers" [pronounced Kah-tset-lers] (freed concentration camp inmates) and trade unionists. Enough of these forces survived to salt German society and post-war government with genuine anti-fascism. Because these forces were leftwing—socialist and communist—AMG systematically prevented their emergence to influence and, going further, actually discriminated against and persecuted

"Anti-Fas" and "Kzlers" to favor the bankers and "only nominal nazis" of the German "respectable" upper and middle classes. As Mr. Kahn reports an AMG officer saying to one of the "Anti-Fas" groups in Leipzig: "I wish we had fought for this city. We would have shot you people along with the SS. You bastards are no better than the nazis."

A further special contribution made by this valuable book is the account of reactionary pro-nazi machinations of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Germany. Some of the Church leaders who had accommodated themselves to the nazis under Hitler proved the best and most devious apologists and defenders of reaction after the shooting stopped. Mr. Kahn spells this out, as with all the rest of his account, with names, dates and places. The tie-in with the big industrial and financial barons is clearly outlined. The entire political spectrum is described, clarifying the role of the various German political parties in this process of securing "democratic free enterprise" (read monopoly capitalism) for Germany.

Mr. Kahn captures the flavor of those

early exciting days in Germany. He makes vivid the day-by-day process by which "betrayal" became a fact. Mr. Kahn tells a story that all apologists for German renazification and remilitarization would like to suppress—for it lays bare United States officials' own direct responsibility for this wide betrayal, including betrayal of the American people who fought and sacrificed for something entirely different.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

the Social Service Local of District 65 of the new independent Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America.

AMONG THE SEVEN vice-chairmen appointed for Brotherhood Week (February 18-25), sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, were Gen. Lucius D. Clay, pardoner of the Koch, Allen W. Dulles, brother of John Foster Dulles and until recently anti-Soviet espionage chief, and James A. Farley, pro-Franco enthusiast.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS SYNAGOGUE in upper New York City joined with a number of Harlem churches in organizing a campaign to demand the freedom of Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, Negro officer facing death in Korea after a trial by a Junction court martial.

JACOB BLAUSTEIN, president of the American Jewish Committee, conferred in mid-October with Assistant Secretary of State George C. McGhee, who is in charge of Middle East affairs in the State Department. This followed two meetings Blaustein had had with President Truman since his return from Israel. Observers believe that means of drawing Israel closer into the American bloc in return for financial aid were among the topics discussed. . . . At about the same time House Democratic leader John W. McCormack declared that "Israel should be included in our defense program along the lines of the Marshall Plan in the same manner as other democratic nations who are receiving assistance to resist aggression. Israel is the only land in the Near East the United States can rely on."

EUROPE

A LIBEL SUIT in Vienna against Erwin Rollett, president of the Organization of Democratic Journalists, by Herbert Kraus, chairman of the Austrian neo-Nazi League of Independent Voters, because Rollett called Kraus a "neo-fascist," evoked the statement from Kraus that the League favored "moderate anti-Semitism." Kraus said that while he was "opposed to the Nazi form of anti-Semitism," he favored "a milder form such as exists in the United States." . . . Recent elections showed a large gain for this neo-Nazi group in the Salzburg area.

NEARLY 1500 VIENNESE JEWS have been re-fused priority in housing and are living in shelters despite the fact that no move has been made to restore the more than 60,000 homes taken from Vienna Jews by the Nazis. Only 61 apartments have been allocated to Jewish applicants in the past year.

BARON ERNST VON WEISZSAECKER, former Nazi ambassador to the Vatican was released from Landsberg prison because of "good behavior" by order of United States High Commissioner John J. McCloy after he had served about three years and three months of his original seven years sentence, which was later reduced to five years. He had been convicted at Nuremberg of deporting 6,000 Jews from France to Auschwitz. After his release Weiszsaecker immediately went to Landsberg Cemetery and knelt at the graves of Nazi war criminals.

CRIMES AGAINST THE JEWS by General Alexander von Falkenhausen, Nazi military governor of Belgium and Northern France from 1940 to 1944, were given a minor place in his trial for war crimes at Brussels in October. Emphasis is being placed on murder of 250 Belgian hostages. About 24,000 Belgian Jews were deported to death camps and murdered. There were also two concentration camps in Belgium itself and hundreds of anti-Jewish decrees were introduced into Belgium under his administration. Van Falkenhausen pleaded complete ignorance of what was happening to Jews in the camps.

A JEWISH CEMETERY in Niedergrenzbach, Hesse, was desecrated in late October. Over 20 very heavy tombstones were overturned.*

THE FIRST PRO-FASCIST daily newspaper to be published in Italy since the war was issued in Rome in late September. Its name, *Popolo di Roma*, resembles that of the fascist party paper, *Popolo d'Italia*.

DEATH SENTENCE passed on Pinkus Chmielnycki, a former Nazi commandant of Auschwitz concentration camp, was commuted to life sentence at hard labor by Vincent Auriol, president of France, in October.

ANTI-SEMITIC PROPAGANDA based on the slogan "France for Frenchmen" is being circulated in the districts of Aveyron and Thionville in France, probably by a right wing group called "The Organization to Defend Victims of the Annexation of Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine and Moselle." Anonymous letters received by local police urge expulsion of Jews from the area.*

SOME 250 EX-NAZI ARMY officers sentenced to long prison terms in Yugoslavia on war crimes charges have been pardoned and sent home, according to reports from Belgrade. Among those released were several Nazis who had participated in destruction of Yugoslav Jewish communities. . . . A Histadrut delegation visiting Yugoslavia as guests of the Yugoslav Trade Union Congress was received for one hour by Marshal Tito in mid-October.*

NEWS FROM POLAND . . . Registration of Polish Jews for emigration to Israel expired on August 31, 1950. Although actual figures of the number who left Poland is unknown as yet, almost half of those who filed for passports did not call for their waiting travel documents at the passport offices. Some 8,000 Jews who registered failed to carry through their intention to leave. Government agencies and the Central Committee of Polish Jews have received hundreds of letters from emigres in Israel requesting aid for their return to Poland. Thousands of Polish Jews have called on the Tel Aviv consulate for legal documents for entrance into Poland. . . . The Olgin Leather Cooperative in Wroclaw, which began a few years ago in a few rooms, now occupies two large four-story buildings. Several Jewish cooperatives have over-fulfilled their production plans by a quarter to a third. . . . In the first half of 1950, the Jewish State Theater of Lower Silesia gave 94 performances to audiences numbering 337,866, including many non-Jews. . . . The ballet school associated with the Jewish Committee performed before about 100,000 in the same period. . . .

Jacob Rotbaum, now producer-in-chief of the Jewish State Theater, announced in October that he had given up his American passport and would remain in Poland. He had acquired American citizenship and had worked in the Yiddish Theater in America recently.

ISRAEL

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS took place in Israel on November 14. Esther Vilenska was the top Communist candidate. National issues were debated during the election campaign.

320,000 SIGNATURES to the Stockholm peace appeal had been reached by mid-October in Israel—about 40 per cent of the adult population of the country.

A CAMPAIGN was opened against the black market in October. In the first week alone, 377 arrests were made, including kibbutzim. About 40 special tribunals were set up to deal with offenders. Many Polish immigrants had the food they had brought with them confiscated on arrival at Haifa by the authorities. This caused great bitterness among them as well as the population and the immigrants demanded to be sent back by the same ship. The press attacked the action of the authorities. . . . *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, asked on October 11 if the black market drive was not really an electioneering campaign. The paper claimed that the government was acting only against certain manifestations of the evil of black marketing, while ignoring the root of the trouble, the import system, "import without payment," the chaotic supply system and similar factors. The paper added that so far the government had ignored the chief offenders, such as the big manufacturers, and concentrated on small fry, including kibbutzim, who had committed comparatively light offenses for which they had received heavy punishment.

UNFAVORABLE, DISCRIMINATORY policies towards the Arab minority of Israel, said *Kol Ha'am*, communist daily, on September 29, undermines the peaceful relations between Jews and Arabs and serves Arab reactionaries with a valuable weapon against Israel. The paper argued that revocation of the ban on the fifth convention of the Congress of Arab Workers in Nazareth, discontinuation of the expulsions of progressive elements among the Arab population and the opening of the General Labor Exchange to Arab unemployed are essential to the interests of both the labor movement and the state as a whole.

A NEW BARTER AGREEMENT signed by Bulgaria and Israel, announced in October, involves the exchange of about \$150,000 worth of goods. Israel will supply medicines, artificial teeth, dental drills and razor blades in exchange for carbide products, felt, chinaware and beans.*

PREMIER BEN GURION sent a congratulatory message to Premier Joseph Stalin on November 6 on the occasion of the 33rd anniversary of the October Revolution. The message expressed "the sincerest wishes for your (Stalin's) personal well-being, as well as for the happiness and prosperity of the USSR and its people." "Our people," said the message, "rebuilding their historic homeland, will always remember the part played by the USSR in the defeat of the Nazi enemy as well as the help at the time of the establishment of the state of Israel." The note concluded with the wish that the people of the USSR have "complete success in the economic and cultural spheres as well as lasting peace."

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