

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the
Morning Freiheit Association

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JUNE 1949

"SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM": THE BIG LIE

An Editorial

ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: II

by Moses Miller

STUDENTS STRIKE AT RACISM

by Robert Fogel and Jack Cohen

JEWISH CHARACTER IN SEARCH OF A NOVEL

by Louis Harap

ANSWER TO A LETTER

by Ilya Ehrenburg

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

by G. Koenig and Meyer Yaari

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

MEMBERS OF THE CUTTER, operator, finisher and nailer locals of the Furriers Union voted overwhelmingly in early April to send two union leaders to Israel with \$50,000 in relief funds for a project to be built there in the union's name. Union leaders Joseph Winogradsky and Joseph Morgenstern went to Israel to determine on what projects the money will be spent. Furrier leader Potash stated that the project would include all shades of political opinion represented in the membership.

THE GERMAN INDUSTRIES FAIR opened in New York on April 9 with a heavy picket line organized by the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. Many Jewish organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress and others protested the fair, but urged against picketing. Nevertheless several divisions of the American Jewish Congress organized a picket line on April 18. A study of German fair personnel showed that many were well-known and important nazis. One of the products displayed at the fair had a German inscription, "Best wishes from Nuremberg, City of Reichsparteitage (nazi party days)."

A ROPER SURVEY on prejudice in this country completed in March showed that 40 per cent of Americans think that "the Jews are acquiring too much economic power"; almost 20 per cent thought the Jews had "too much influence in our political life"; 56 per cent said "they'd rather not have Negroes in their homes as guests. Bunched in second place were Mexicans, Filipinos and Chinese. . . . And just behind these groups came Jews and Italians"; nearly 50 per cent said "they'd be against marriage with Jews."

A SHARP ANTI-SEMITIC attack was made by Rep. Ed Gossett (D., Tex.) during a speech delivered in April before the D.C. chapter of the American Association of University Women on a new DP bill. He asserted that the bill "rewards the least deserving and least desirable," that he would like to bring into the United States "a better stock of people," ethnic Germans, as contrasted with the "dregs of the DP camps." "Most of the Jews in DP camps," he said, "are not those who felt persecution, but are Communistic Russian and Polish Jews" who are "too lazy to work."

WILLIAM O. NOWELL, government witness in the trial of the 11 communist leaders, admitted under cross-examination that he had been a paid worker for fascist Gerald L. K. Smith. Nowell admitted that he had spoken at meetings with the fascist in 1940 and 1941, that he had done research work for Smith and as a Negro had served as his "race relations director."

H. R. KNICKERBOCKER, who broadcasts regularly over WOR on the trial of the 11 communist leaders in the name of "Americanism," was revealed as having had five books published in Germany during the nazi regime in editions totalling 121,000 copies. One book on the Mosley fascist movement was never published in English. The books were favorably reviewed in the Third Reich.

THE FIRST TWO NEGRO professional case workers to be hired by the United Service for New Americans, a Jewish organization, were

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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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taken on in April as a result of an anti-discrimination fight put up by the Social Service Employees Union (Local 19, UOPWA-CIO).

AT LEAST THREE films are currently being made in Hollywood on the problem of the Negro in American life. They are *Pinky*, *Lost Boundaries* and the *Home of the Brave*. The last was originally a play by Arthur Lawrents on anti-Semitism in the army during the war.

DR. FRANCIS TAYLOR and Dr. Thomas Monro, directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cleveland Art Museum, respectively, in April declined invitations to speak at

a spring art festival at the University of Alabama because Negroes would not be allowed to view the exhibition. Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Talladega (Ala.) College, a Negro institution, refused an invitation to send art work of Negro students from the college to the show because his students would not be permitted to attend.

ABOUT 1000 PROTESTORS against British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's anti-Semitism picketed the pier when Bevin arrived in New York on the Queen Mary on March 30. The picket line was organized by the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, defense agency of the

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

"SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM": THE BIG LIE

THIS is the story of a BIG LIE. Caesar used this technique in ancient Rome. Hitler used it. Tell the lie over and over again. But make it a whopper. Although some people may discount some of it, a little will stick.

The Big Lie turned up in *Newsweek* on April 4. "A widespread official anti-Semitic campaign clearly emerged for the first time last week as one of the chief reasons for the current Soviet 'cultural' offensive against Western 'decadence' and 'cosmopolitanism.' . . . A campaign to eliminate Jewish intellectuals from cultural life is now underway in the Soviet Union." The proof? A number of Jewish intellectuals have been attacked in the campaign against cosmopolitanism. And horror of horrors—"Where the Jewish origin of the accused is obscured by an adopted Russian name, the original Jewish name is quoted by the Soviet press in parenthesis. This is unprecedented in a country where anti-Semitism is a criminal offense."

Newsweek had a field day. It cited names outside and inside of parentheses, the criticisms made against those individuals, etc. The technique was clever. Nor did the writer forget that to some it might seem incredible that the one country in the world that had taken the lead in outlawing anti-Semitism was suddenly developing "a widespread official anti-Semitic campaign." There was need to soften up such misguided souls. Undaunted by the obvious contradiction with the first paragraph of the story, the writer adds, "Western observers in Moscow hesitate to assume that the present campaign is deliberately designed to arouse this latent anti-Semitism. But they feel it may be intended as a stern warning that only by strict adherence to the precepts of the Soviet state can the Jew hope to survive." So, from "a widespread official anti-Semitic campaign" in the beginning of the article, the matter becomes "a stern warning" at the end.

The ink had hardly dried on this article when the pack set out in full cry. For 30 years they had been trying to find anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union but, alas, to no avail. But now they had the goods. On April 3, the *New York Post*, that great liberal newspaper which was so tolerant of other people's opinions that it fired its editor, T. O. Thackrey for daring to disapprove of American foreign policy, got permission from *Newsweek* to reprint the article in full. On April 6, again in the *Post*, George Fielding Eliot wept bitter tears over the "deadly peril" of the Jews in Eastern Europe. "Once more," mourned Eliot, "the handwriting appears on the wall—the ancient, terrible wall, stained with Jewish blood through the centuries." In the same issue columnist Frank Kingdon de-

clared that "the facts are all too clear. The only point in dredging this sewer again is that its fumes have risen foully once more in Russia."

The *New York Times* then picked up the campaign. The *Times*, which had not been much concerned when Bevin was attacking Jews in Palestine and which was even ready to accept the Bernadotte plan, which would have meant a death blow to Israel, suddenly became profoundly disturbed. A certain Harry Schwartz broke out with stories that anti-Semitism was appearing in the Soviet Union and that the anti-Zionist stand of the Soviet Union was one aspect of this anti-Semitic campaign. On April 20, Schwartz contributed to the campaign by charging that "Meanwhile, observers of the Soviet press have noted that the cartoon campaign against 'cosmopolitanism' in *Krokodil*, the lavishly illustrated Soviet humor publication, has been marked by the use of hooked noses on the figures used to represent 'cosmopolitanism.' One cartoon on the front page of *Krokodil* juxtaposes the name Lippman—which is usually Jewish in the Soviet Union—with the word 'Zhid,' a derisive Russian term for Jews used by Russian-speaking anti-Semites."

The Lie Is Exposed

On March 20, the *Daily Worker* exposed this part of the faked anti-Soviet campaign by reproducing the cartoon from *Krokodil* which the *Times* had asserted to be anti-Semitic. On page 5 we reprint this cartoon with an arrow pointing to the word supposed to have been a slur upon Jews. Without any knowledge of Russian one can see that there are two words, not one. And it turns out that the words are "Andre Gide," the French novelist. When transliterated into Russian, "Gide" would appear as "Zhid." As a matter of fact, the cartoon as a whole is a caricature of those supra-national intellectuals who are attempting to destroy true love of one's nation and to substitute for it a phony cosmopolitanism, which facilitates a people's betrayal by imperialism. Named in the cartoon are Andre Malraux, Jean Paul Sartre, Somerset Maugham, D. W. Griffith and "Lippman"—obviously Walter Lippmann.

So obvious and blatant was the lie, that the *Times* was forced to retract it. Characteristic of the *Times'* methods, while the accusation was given prominence, the retraction was buried in a short item towards the back of the paper and did not mention the writer of the original article. The purpose was obvious. The campaign must be sustained but, if the readers were told that Harry Schwartz had authored the lie, his future writings would be discredited.

Newsweek, however, that new champion of the Jewish cause, was still unhappy. Still shedding bitter tears, it exclaimed on May 2, "Even anti-communists found it hard to believe the first reports that the Soviet Union had deliberately launched a large-scale and officially inspired campaign on 'anti-Semitism.'" Had the *Newsweek* new evidence? Surprise of surprises. The very same cartoon which the *Times* had been forced to repudiate appears once again in *Newsweek*, and for good measure, a few more cartoons which depict the "cosmopolitans" as *birds* with long beaks. After all, long beaks are long noses and long noses mean Jews, so there you have it. "Curiously enough," adds *Newsweek*, "the cartoons were drawn by a Jew, the well-known artist Boris Efeimoff."

Harry Schwartz, that great authority on anti-Semitism, who never before, so far as we know, worried too much in public about the resurgence of anti-Semitism in Germany or about the growing tide of anti-Semitism in England, must be aware that many Jews received Stalin prizes for 1948. On page 5 we reproduce excerpts from a cablegram from the internationally famous artist, William Gropper, from Moscow. He tells us how the Soviet people feel about anti-Semitism and also that more than 80 Soviet Jews received the Stalin prizes. Amazing indeed for a country that is bent on an official campaign of anti-Semitism! This doesn't faze Schwartz, however. The fact that Jewish names appeared in parentheses is proof absolute of the emergence of anti-Semitism. He further asserts that "this is unprecedented" and never happens in the Soviet press with anyone else. Now this great scholar obviously reads Russian and keeps up with the Soviet press. If Schwartz had the slightest respect for fact, he would have pointed out that the custom of printing original names in parentheses is not limited to Jews and has occurred time and again, particularly in official decrees.

On page 5 we reproduce part of the April 10 issue of *Pravda*. This issue officially announces the recipients of Stalin prizes in literature and art. We have underlined instances where pseudonyms of creative workers are followed by real names in parentheses. Thus you will find among the fiction writers: Boris Nikolaevich Polyevoi (Kampov), Elizaria Yurevich Maltsev (Pupko), Anna Ottovna Saksa (Abzalon); among the poets: Mikola (Nikolai Platonovich) Bazhan, Rahim Mamed (Mamed Rahim Abas Oglu Gusenov), Yakub Kolas (Konstantin Mikhailovich Mitskevich); among the dramatists: Sandro (Alexander Ilyich) Shanshiashvili; and documentary film worker Roman Gregorevich Katsman (Grigoryev).

Obviously most of these names are not Jewish. Obviously, also, these artists are not being condemned by being awarded the Stalin prizes, but on the contrary are being offered as outstanding artists. Yet both their real names, as well as their pseudonyms, are given—with parentheses.

This, then, is the technique of the big lie against a country and a system which from the first day began a final struggle against racism and anti-Semitism, which gave equality to the Jew in actuality and not alone in words and which, under the leadership of Stalin, proclaimed anti-

Semitism to be "cannibalism." William Zuckerman, a well-known Jewish writer, with whose views we often disagree, delivered a warning which brought a note of sanity into this hysterical campaign. In the *Jewish Review* of March 17, he wrote: "The attempt which is already being made to present these restrictions [again Zionism] as a new anti-Semitic movement by pro-communist countries, is as untrue as it is dangerous. . . . It must be made clear to every Jew and non-Jew that anti-Zionism does not mean anti-Semitism; nor does it even mean anti-Israelism. . . . It [communism] does not single out Jews, or a section of Jews, as its special target. Those who are now trying to utilize the charge to raise a hysteria about communistic anti-Semitism are not only confusing the issue, but are doing the cause of the Jews and of Israel an incalculable harm." The *OJI Newsletter* of the American Jewish Congress, which itself very often engages in Soviet-baiting, does so even when it is nevertheless forced to point out that: "These reports have been carried under New York datelines, and have not been transmitted directly from Moscow. They are based on anonymous 'diplomatic sources.' . . . Reports of Soviet anti-Semitism crop up whenever Communist Party purges in the USSR begin. These reports have not been confirmed in the past. . . . Dispatches will have to come directly from Moscow or be written by authoritative American correspondents who have just left Moscow, before credence can be given to a repetition of charges about official anti-Semitism that crop up whenever purges take place and have never before been confirmed." Had the *Newsletter* been concerned with telling the people the whole truth, it could easily have discovered that what is involved here is not a "purge" but a critique of every field of endeavor in the Soviet Union.

Aim of the Lies

What is the purpose of this despicable campaign of calumny, slander and lies? We believe that George Fielding Eliot expressed this aim clearly in his article of April 6 in the *New York Post*. Said he: "The blind and stupid support of the Soviet Union by many American Jews who could see only that 'Russia voted for partition' must come to an end." This, then, is the purpose of this filthy campaign, to alienate the Jewish people from the Soviet Union, since they look to this land with gratitude for its consistent support of Israel and for its glorious record of struggle against anti-Semitism. Eliot and his pack may consider the Jews "stupid and blind." He knows that it is necessary to arouse hatred to a hysterical pitch, since preparations are being made to plunge the world into a war against the Soviet Union. Those who know that there is no cause for war against the Soviet Union and who may even feel that the Soviet Union is a great friend of the downtrodden and the oppressed, have to be deceived into rejecting these ideas, if they are to be won over to the war camp. To this end every technique will be used, including the big lie. And of all of the big lies, the one about anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is one of the dirtiest and foulest ever spewed out by minds distorted by venom and hatred.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1968

Soviet Anti-Semitism

The Soviet Union has adopted anti-Semitism as a weapon in its international games. There is no way of determining how deep the pool is, but the bubbles that rise to the surface are undeniably damning.

For a long time now, reports trickling out of Russia have indicated that discrimination against Jews still flourishes in the country once identified with pogroms. But this was brushed aside, even by non-Communists, as a minor detail.

Now, however, the evidence rolls out in black and white to confound the unbelieving. Now the virulent anti-Semite strikes in pain. And in the land of the government-controlled press, this reports similar significance.

Although Russia's consistent support of Israel in the United Nations is well known, it is important to highlight our own

R COBE

О присуждении Сталинской премии в области литературы

Совет Министров СССР постановил наградить Сталинского про-
заика за выдающиеся работы 1948 года в области

А. Художественной прозы
100.000 руб.
Безналичный

[illegible]

ВТОРОЙ степени в размере 60.000 рублей —

1. Состояние здоровья: удовлетворительно — 20
2. Состояние питания: удовлетворительно — 20
3. Состояние сна: удовлетворительно — 20
4. Состояние настроения: удовлетворительно — 20
5. Состояние памяти: удовлетворительно — 20
6. Состояние мышления: удовлетворительно — 20
7. Состояние речи: удовлетворительно — 20
8. Состояние поведения: удовлетворительно — 20
9. Состояние деятельности: удовлетворительно — 20
10. Состояние общения: удовлетворительно — 20
11. Состояние адаптации: удовлетворительно — 20
12. Состояние саморегуляции: удовлетворительно — 20
13. Состояние самооценки: удовлетворительно — 20
14. Состояние самодисциплины: удовлетворительно — 20
15. Состояние саморазвития: удовлетворительно — 20
16. Состояние самовоспитания: удовлетворительно — 20
17. Состояние самонаблюдения: удовлетворительно — 20
18. Состояние самонастройки: удовлетворительно — 20
19. Состояние саморегуляции: удовлетворительно — 20
20. Состояние саморазвития: удовлетворительно — 20

1. Третье место — 25,000 рублей

Персона ТРЕТЬЕЙ

1. Гусак-Бергман	Защитнику, мар-	4. Сидоркин	Друга тайна, мей-
2. Гусак-Бергман	Защитнику, мар-	5. Сидоркин	Друга тайна, мей-
3. Гусак-Бергман	Защитнику, мар-	6. Сидоркин	Друга тайна, мей-

№	Имя	Фамилия	Отчество	Пол	Возраст	Место рождения	Место жительства	Состояние
1	Иванов	Иван	Иванович	Муж	35	Москва	Москва	Жив
2	Петров	Петр	Петрович	Муж	40	Ленинград	Ленинград	Жив
3	Сидоров	Сидор	Сидорович	Муж	30	Новосибирск	Новосибирск	Жив
4	Климов	Клима	Климович	Муж	25	Воронеж	Воронеж	Жив
5	Васильев	Василий	Васильевич	Муж	45	Самара	Самара	Жив
6	Попов	Попов	Попович	Муж	38	Казань	Казань	Жив
7	Морозов	Мороз	Морозович	Муж	32	Омск	Омск	Жив
8	Соколов	Соколов	Соколович	Муж	28	Томск	Томск	Жив
9	Березин	Березин	Березинич	Муж	33	Иркутск	Иркутск	Жив
10	Волков	Волков	Волкович	Муж	37	Хабаровск	Хабаровск	Жив
11	Александров	Александр	Александрович	Муж	42	Владивосток	Владивосток	Жив
12	Кузнецов	Кузнецов	Кузнецович	Муж	36	Кемерово	Кемерово	Жив
13	Лебедев	Лебедев	Лебедевич	Муж	31	Новгород	Новгород	Жив
14	Зинченко	Зинченко	Зинченко	Муж	29	Днепропетровск	Днепропетровск	Жив
15	Борисов	Борис	Борисович	Муж	34	Хмельницкий	Хмельницкий	Жив
16	Воробьев	Воробьев	Воробьевич	Муж	39	Львов	Львов	Жив
17	Смирнов	Смирнов	Смирнович	Муж	35	Закарпатская обл.	Закарпатская обл.	Жив
18	Павлов	Павел	Павлович	Муж	30	Черновицкая обл.	Черновицкая обл.	Жив
19	Иванов	Иван	Иванович	Муж	27	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
20	Петров	Петр	Петрович	Муж	24	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
21	Сидоров	Сидор	Сидорович	Муж	21	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
22	Климов	Клима	Климович	Муж	19	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
23	Васильев	Василий	Васильевич	Муж	18	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
24	Попов	Попов	Попович	Муж	17	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
25	Морозов	Мороз	Морозович	Муж	16	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
26	Соколов	Соколов	Соколович	Муж	15	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
27	Березин	Березин	Березинич	Муж	14	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
28	Волков	Волков	Волкович	Муж	13	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
29	Александров	Александр	Александрович	Муж	12	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
30	Кузнецов	Кузнецов	Кузнецович	Муж	11	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
31	Лебедев	Лебедев	Лебедевич	Муж	10	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
32	Зинченко	Зинченко	Зинченко	Муж	9	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
33	Борисов	Борис	Борисович	Муж	8	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
34	Воробьев	Воробьев	Воробьевич	Муж	7	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
35	Смирнов	Смирнов	Смирнович	Муж	6	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
36	Павлов	Павел	Павлович	Муж	5	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
37	Иванов	Иван	Иванович	Муж	4	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
38	Петров	Петр	Петрович	Муж	3	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив
39	Сидоров	Сидор	Сидорович	Муж	2	Винницкая обл.	Винницкая обл.	Жив
40	Климов	Клима	Климович	Муж	1	Хмельницкая обл.	Хмельницкая обл.	Жив

11. Получено Фонд Министерства
по делу о смерти Августа Михайловича.

Б. Позин

1. Наименование организации, осуществляющей деятельность в сфере...
2. Сумма... КОТОРОЙ стоимость в размере 50.000 рублей

1. Министерство Государственной безопасности

1. Членство в Союзе
2. Членство в Союзе
3. Членство в Союзе
4. Членство в Союзе
5. Членство в Союзе
6. Членство в Союзе
7. Членство в Союзе
8. Членство в Союзе
9. Членство в Союзе
10. Членство в Союзе

П. Драматургин 100.000

Принимая ПЕРВОН стилизм в расчете

Принимая ЕГОРОВ старшим в редакции МОЮ



БЕСПАСПОРТНЫЙ БРОДЯГА

а. Признания, даваемые и принимаемые при совершении преступлений, связанных с терроризмом, являются обязательными для признания виновности и наказания.

КРОКОДИЛ

№ 2 МОСКВА 20 МАЯ 1940

Received at
WICC 16 INTL VIA AIR RDX

ZL MOSCOW VIA WUCABLES 601 MAY 5 (1949)

WAS HIMSELF ON TRIAL VISITED CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL OF ART A MOST UNUSUAL SCHOOL FOR TEACHING ART STUDENTS FROM AGES TWELVE TO EIGHTEEN ARE GIVEN ROOM BOARD SUPPLIES FREE ALL DURING WAR THE SCHOOL CONTINUES UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF TOP REALIST PAINTERS OF SOVIET UNION OUT OF FORTY INSTRUCTORS TEN OF THEM ARE JEWS WHEN I MENTIONED THAT THE AMERICAN PRESS ACCUSED THE SOVIET OF ANTISEMITISM THEY DENIED SUCH SHOCKING LIES THE FOLLOWING ARE JEWS WHO WON THE STALIN AWARD 1948 SAMUEL MARSHAK FOR POETRY WOLF RAPPAPORT ALEXANDER STOLPER MARK WAGIDSON MICHAEL ROSEN

FOR RESEARCH FOR MATH AND PHYSICS SOLOMON KANTOR FOR TECHNICAL SCIENCE
MICHAEL YANOFFSKY FOR TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS ABRAHAM KAMARÉZ FOR
ACHIEVEMENTS IN AGRICULTURE AND OVER SEVENTY OTHERS TOO NUMEROUS TO
MENTION.

PROFESSION

3208 MAY 6 1949

THE NORTH ATLANTIC PACT

THREE hundred prominent Americans recently signed an open letter to President Truman protesting that the North Atlantic pact would "irrevocably commit us to a fatal two-world policy." An editorial on April 29 in *The Reconstructionist*, semi-monthly Jewish magazine, takes issue with the signers. The editorial expresses grave alarm at the present world situation but asserts that America has no alternative but to endorse the pact. Conscious, however, of the weight of evidence that the Soviet Union does not want war, the editorial rationalizes: "Neither did Hitler. He would have much preferred to defeat one neighboring country after another without our intervention. But can there be any doubt what the ultimate result would have been, had not that absorption of neighboring areas been checked? It can hardly be denied that, by conspiratorial and violent methods, Soviet Russia has extended the area of communist control. Can we afford to ignore the aggressive expansionism of the Soviets?"

But tremendous power of fancy or perhaps complete mental paralysis is needed to equate Soviet communism with Hitlerism. One need not be an adherent of communism or of Marxism to recognize the gulf that separates these two ways of life. Who does not know the history of the recent tragic years and of the role of the invading nazi hordes as they moved into country after country or the role of the Red Army as it marched to liberate many countries from the slavery to which the nazis had subjected them? One must indeed have lost all sense of reason to equate the Soviet system, after 30 years of consistent struggle against racism and a national policy which has given equality to numerous nations and peoples, with the nazi system of barbarism, chauvinism and a racist policy unequalled in the annals of history.

The Reconstructionist speaks of Soviet aggression. The truth was rather stated by Professor Frederick Schuman in a speech on March 20. "Communists," he said, "are not in control of Eastern Europe and the Balkans by virtue of successful Soviet aggression against these countries or Germany, but by virtue of unsuccessful aggression against the Soviet Union."

The Reconstructionist finds it difficult to comprehend this historical fact. But the peoples of Eastern Europe grasp it quite well. For centuries they were oppressed. Feudal lords wallowed in luxury while the people lived in misery, poverty and disease. Land was denied to the peasants while nobles and barons used thousands of acres for sports and fox hunts. People were incited against each other and lived in constant fear of pogroms and riots. Their lands were invaded by the nazis. In almost every case the rulers of these countries collaborated with the nazis. But it was the people, led by the communists, who fought and died and built up the anti-nazi resistance. Liberation came to these countries with the conquering Red Army and the Soviet Union helped them to rise out of ruin.

The war ended and new people's governments sprang

up. They hanged the collaborators and began the super-human task of rehabilitating their economy. They gave land to the peasants and proclaimed an equality of which the people had only dreamed. But our State Department does not like this. Neither does Wall Street. Standard Oil is angry because it can no longer exploit the oil fields of Rumania for its own profit. But what does *The Reconstructionist* want to happen? The return of the Mikolyczys, the Anders, the Denikins, the Becks, the pogromists and the scum of Europe that did Hitler's bidding? True, such men are today welcomed by our State Department. But are we serving our own national interests or the advancement of our prestige throughout the world by such acts? Is it so hard to realize that the people of Europe who have come into their own can only interpret these acts as hostile to their freedom?

Who Weakens the UN?

The Reconstructionist regards the North Atlantic pact as designed to advance the cause of peace, maintaining that the Soviet Union has weakened the authority of the United Nations. But how can the United Nations be more seriously weakened than by this pact, which undermines every principle upon which the United Nations was built and on which the Charter was based? For precisely treaties of this type are prohibited by the Charter. *The Reconstructionist*, of course, does not mention this. It merely states that the Soviet Union's "excessive resort of the veto sabotaged that 'collective security' reliance which was the basic assumption of the UN Charter." This argument may appeal to the uninformed. But anyone familiar with the principles of the United Nations, knows quite well that this argument is hogwash. The United Nations was a compact of sovereign states and not a super-state or a world government. From the beginning the founders of the United Nations recognized that the only basis for success was Big Three unity and not imposition of one's own demands upon any other country. To quote Professor Schuman again: "In sober fact when an agreement calls for 'joint assistance' and refers to 'joint responsibility' to be discharged 'when in the opinion of the three governments, conditions make such action necessary,' all logic and law prescribed that the action in question is to be taken when the three governments are agreed and that none can be properly taken when they are not agreed. Not so, however, with Mr. Byrnes and the State Department. Under the Truman dispensation, such pledges mean that when there is no agreement Moscow must do what Washington and London demand—and if it refuses, it is guilty of a breach of faith."

What is most revealing, however, and at the same time alarming, is the complete failure of *The Reconstructionist* to indicate even by inference the direction that American foreign policy is following today. Is it the desire for peace that has led us to free nazi bankers and storm troopers, to our failure to break up even a single German cartel, a com-

mitment which we had solemnly undertaken in 1945 at Potsdam? Is it not a matter of record that 19 AMG officials were branded "disloyal" for having revealed that they had been ordered not to break up any of these cartels?

Is it the quest for peace that has led our government to support and to arm fascists in Greece, Turkey and China, to give funds to Britain so that she could arm Arab feudal lords in the Middle East? Is it the cause of democracy that inspired us to send millions upon millions of dollars to the decadent, corrupt and rotting regime of Chiang Kai-shek? Are the recent steps of the American delegation in the UN to bring Franco into the family of nations aimed at spreading democratic ideas throughout the world?

On May 13, 1948, Paul Hoffman, Marshall Plan administrator, stated before a Senate Committee hearing: "We are like a banker. We can say we will not place our dollars here unless you do this and this." Hoffman, at least, does not try to cover up the expansionist plans of American imperialism with sanctimonious phrases. He knows what he is about. He will tell, as indeed he already has told France or Italy or Britain or whoever comes under American domination, what they may or may not do. And if they are not ready to abide by his terms, then of course he can always shut off the flow of dollars. If *The Reconstructionist* were responsibly seeking the road to peace, it would have studied such speeches and documents and told its readers that the real threat to peace springs from the combination of bankers and industrialists who today determine the foreign policy of our government and who have launched a campaign of terror, fear and intimidation against every progressive-minded person in America who dares to expose their intrigues.

Study the record and you will find that every peace move made by the Soviet Union has been met with a rebuff. Study the record and you will find that any talk of peace has immediately sent our high officials into a frenzy. The willingness of Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov in December 1947 to make concessions on the disarmament program was declared to be "embarrassing." And in the headlines in *PM* on December 8, 1947, we read: "They Had Hoped for Delay with Blame on Russia." In May 1948, when Molotov, in a reply to a note from Ambassador Bedell Smith, declared that the Soviet Union was ready to accept an American bid for talks, panic ensued in Washington for fear that such talks might actually lead to peace. The American government has rejected every offer to negotiate a peaceful settlement of problems. And only recently, when the Berlin blockade was lifted, indicating that vexing problems and differences could be amicably settled, officials and the press joined in a campaign of hysteria to destroy any hope in the minds of the American people that peace might be achieved.

Wall Street fears peace talks because, as its organs have so often pointed out, it fears that without the billions being spent for armaments, America would head straight for a crisis and economic collapse. As far back as December 15, 1947, *Moody's Stock Survey* warned that a "serious slump" was in the making. "There is only one development, not

remote to the imagination," said *Moody's*, "that could modify the outlook as we see it. This would be the rapid crystallization of all the vague but persistent fears of war with Russia into a dynamic rearmament program." And the *Journal of Commerce* stated on the day after President Truman called for a compulsory military training and a great increase in arms expenditures: "As far as business is concerned, any sizable increase in military expenditures would provide a shot in the arm which, in the opinion of most economists, would be needed to offset the probability of a 1948 business slump."

Our people are being dragged down the road to war, leading to national disaster, to the accompaniment of a campaign of hysteria such as this country has never seen. Those who lend themselves, either consciously or unconsciously, to support of this war drive, join in a course which can only lead to the destruction of the security of the American people and our democratic heritage. Our shores and our lives are being threatened today only by those who are in the seats of power in America and who are determined to don the mantle which Hitler dropped.

RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

THE death of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise came as a profound shock to both Jews and non-Jews throughout America. For almost a half century this illustrious name had been identified not only with almost every significant movement in Jewish life, but with the cause of liberalism generally.

There is room and need for an extended study of this man's life and work. It is no secret that we disagreed with his stand on many issues and with many aspects of his philosophy. Nor had we hesitated to express our disagreements as the occasion arose. Nevertheless, we had always recognized a hard core of democratic thinking and tradition that manifested itself throughout his life. His stand on labor and his defense of working men's rights was consistent from the day in 1919 when, as a young rabbi, he denounced Judge Gary and the steel barons during the great steel strike. His espousal of the cause loyalist Spain, his famous attacks on Tammany Hall and his efforts on behalf of Soviet-American friendship during the last war were evidence of a progressive spirit.

Rabbi Wise was the founder of the American Jewish Congress, of the World Jewish Congress, as well as an initiator of the Zionist movement in America. We did not, nor do we today, share his views on Zionism or his insistence upon making this cause an integral part of Congress philosophy. We did recognize, however, that under his leadership Congress very often became a tribune against the oligarchy in Jewish life and the wealthy Jews who sought to dominate the Jewish community.

JEWISH LIFE joins with all democratic Americans in paying tribute to his memory.



WORLD CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

I: TOWARD FRIENDSHIP OF PEOPLES

By G. Koenig

Paris

April 18

IT is difficult to describe the tremendous preparations for the World Congress for Peace, to be held here in Paris. The greatest names of French science, literature, theater and art have joined in this great struggle for peace. Professors, writers, priests, artists are appearing each day at mass meeting where the intellectuals are forging unity with the workers, farmers and many of the middle class. In many cities, the municipal councils themselves have affiliated with the congress by unanimous decision of communists, socialists, Catholics and right wing councillors.

Throughout the country millions of people are signing a "Letter to President Truman" saying that the French people do not feel themselves bound by the North Atlantic Pact. Everywhere are tremendous posters bearing the drawing of "The Dove of Peace" by Pablo Picasso, the greatest artist of our time.

It is quite natural that the Jewish community of France should be an integral part of this march for peace. The overwhelming majority of the Jewish community has always stood on the side of democracy. In the last years the progressive character of the Jewish community became even clearer after the heroic role played by the left under nazi occupation in the struggle to save thousands of Jews from death and to organize the armed partisan struggle of the Jewish masses. These masses see in the left movement the real defender of its interests, both in France and in the struggle for the Jewish state in Israel; they are keenly aware of the threat to their existence in the policy of rebuilding a nazi Germany.

Upon the initiative of the Organization for Resistance and Mutual Aid, the largest mass organization of the Jewish community in France, a fighting group was formed a few months ago entitled Movement Against Anti-Semitism and for Peace, which now includes the overwhelming majority of the Jewish community. Affiliated to it are 70 Jewish organizations and societies, among them the left Poale Zion, the Hashomer Hatzair, *landsmanshaften* and veterans' organizations led by Zionists, communists, socialists and many unaffiliated with any party. This movement

is participating energetically in the preparations for the World Congress for Peace.

Of course Paris has some Jewish writers who have sold their conscience and pen to the warmongers. But they are a small minority. The majority of the Jewish intellectuals are conscious of their duty to our people and our culture at this grave hour. Jewish workers and intellectuals are mobilizing so that the Jewish community of France may take its place among the hundreds of millions of fighters for peace.

April 20

Salle Pleyel, beautiful concert hall in Paris, is majestic today. Stretching round the building is a tremendous banner which reads, "World Congress of the Defenders of Peace." Inside the hall are the national flags of the 69 nations represented at this mighty world conference. And here too, together with the flags, are the representatives of the peoples of the world, delegates of all colors and races. Here one hears languages familiar and unfamiliar. Though one may not understand them all, one somehow feels close to them. For in all the talk and in all the faces one feels a single great word—PEACE.

The organizers of the congress show the press representatives around. "You seem to be more highly organized than the UN," a correspondent of a big American newspaper remarks. "In the UN only 58 nations are represented, but here you have delegates from 69 nations."

"You forget," replies the great poet, Louis Aragon, with a smile, "that while certain countries are represented at the UN by delegates who express the sentiments and the interests of a very small minority of the people, the delegates assembled here express the sentiments and the interests of the overwhelming majority of their people."

As we continue to walk about, we see many distinguished delegates. We hear excited exclamations as somebody notices one of the distinguished guests.

"There's Pablo Picasso," says a Bulgarian delegate to one of his friends. "And there's Zilliacus," says one Italian delegate to another. And there stand Ilya Ehrenburg, surrounded by a group of French delegates of metal workers and coal miners. And his French is as sharp, as biting as his Russian. And here is Wanda Wasilewska, noted Polish writer and author of *The Rainbow*. And there is the great

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Brazilian writer, Jorge Amado. There are two bishops from Hungary. And standing nearby is the Metropolitan of the church in Moscow.

Particular attention is paid to the American delegation. There stand Albert E. Kahn, president of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, who is quite well known in France for his book, *The Great Conspiracy*, and for his testimony at the Kravchenko trial in Paris. And there is Howard Fast and the great towering figure of that world famous and beloved Paul Robeson.

Renowned personalities mingle with simple, ordinary working people, white, black and yellow. All are equal. No higher races and no lower races. No rich uncles and no poor relatives. All are brothers of one great family. All equals in one humanity that strives for peace.

Among the delegates are representatives of Jewish communities. There are Joseph Brainin and Gedaliah Sandler of the American Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists. Ber Mark of Poland would have been here if the French government had not allowed only eight visas for Poland instead of the 70 requested. The Israeli delegation is a special center of interest.

The great Jewish artists, Marc Chagall, a participant in the congress, gave one of his works for exhibition at the congress. Said Chagall: "Who can be against peace? I greet this congress of peace and wish it the greatest success."

Among those at the congress is Pietro Nenni. I approached him for a statement. These are his words: "The Atlantic Pact will make Germany a great menace to peace. The aid which America is giving to Germany bears with it the danger of a rebirth of nazism and racism. All the forces represented here are anti-racist. They are determined fighters against anti-Semitism and race discrimination. Italy expects this congress to make the world front for peace mightier. Eight hundred delegates have come from Italy in three special trains. They represent millions of Italians of the cities and the villages of Italy."

April 22

It is a pity that every Jewish democratic leader and intellectual throughout the world could not attend this great Congress for Peace. What one experiences here above all else is the colossal and dynamic power emanating from thousands of people gathered here and of the many hundreds of millions of fighters for peace whom they represent. One senses that here is a force mightier and in the last analysis more decisive than the atomic bomb and all military weapons. For this is the united will of the overwhelming majority of mankind that want no war.

What unites these people is not only the will to struggle against war. What unites them also is the great spirit of friendship of peoples. Here all differences of race, all prejudices so ingeniously instilled into people for centuries break down. All voices here not only speak against racism and anti-Semitism. All work together as brothers and friends: the Negro together with the white man, the Israeli delegate with the Arab from Lebanon, the Indonesian with the delegate from Holland. And more than this. The

greater the persecution of a people the greater the sympathy of all the delegates, the more moving the reception it receives. The speech of French delegate Farge was one of the sharpest condemnations of anti-Semitism ever heard. The speech of Soviet delegate Fadeyev was shattering in its effective unmasking of racism. The reception to the great Negro singer, Paul Robeson, was one of the greatest demonstrations against oppression of the Negro people.

If the whole world were like this congress, all threats of war, all pogroms against Jews, all racial discrimination, all lynchings of the Negro people would immediately disappear.

It is therefore quite easy to understand why the magnates or the warmongers, those who led in the war against Israel, are not represented here. You will find neither the Mufti nor Ilse Koch, neither Dubinsky nor his friend Abramovitch represented here.

But we did see here those who saved civilization from fascist barbarism; those who saved Jewish children from the nazis; those who helped save the Jewish state and gave it material aid in those dark hours when Bevin's armies were endangering the very future of the Jews of Israel. There are no borders here between the east and the west. There is only one dividing line here; between those who want peace and those who prepare for war. Only those who fight for peace came to this congress!



Israeli delegation at the Peace Conference: first row (left to right): M. Yaari, A. Yaari, R. Warszawiak, M. Oren.

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR PEACE

II: WE ARE NOT ALONE

By Meyer Yaari

APPEARING on this platform as spokesman for the united delegation of the Israeli progressive forces, which represent the broad masses of the people and the intellectuals of our country who are so eager for peace, I am deeply cognizant of the historic nature of our mission.

After the collapse of fascism and nazism at the end of the war, few of us could have anticipated that three or four years later a barrier would separate those who signed the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Yet one must add that even at that time it was necessary correctly to estimate the acts of those who delayed the opening of the Second Front at a most critical phase of the war. The same forces are today turning away from the policies of Yalta and Potsdam and are returning to the Munich policies. They are preparing aggression against the forces of progress and peace. Imperialism is unmasking itself in all its ugliness: it is resuming the political policy which goes back to 1920, to the days of intervention against the Soviet Union. The appeasement of Hitler has been brought up to date with the North Atlantic Pact.

The progressive forces of Israel are aware of the great peril facing the peace of mankind. We know very well that the forces that menace peace throughout the world are the same ones that endanger the independence and sovereignty of our people.

When Chamberlain went to Munich to meet Hitler, he posed before his people and before world public opinion as one bringing "peace in our time." Once again today the imperialists are trying to camouflage their aggressive plans. They would have us believe that the Atlantic Pact and similar activities serve the cause of peace. The terrible experiences of the past war, however, are still fresh in our memory. We are only too familiar with the camouflage and methods used by the warmongers.

Those who are rebuilding the military and the industrial potential of Germany do this in the face of six million Jewish graves and tens of millions of human victims of the Hitlerite aggression. The imperialists thereby show clearly enough in what direction they are moving. Since the sufferings of the last world war have sharpened the awareness of the people, the warmongers try to mask their devilish plans. For they know that all their war machines will avail them little if they do not succeed in conquering the spirit of the people. If we separate the masses from them, even the atomic bomb will be valueless.

The Jewish masses of Israel and the entire Jewish people stand in special danger from the menace that stalks the world. The tragic lessons of the last world war and the

bitter struggles that we in Israel carried on after the war to gain our independence, has sharpened our consciousness and militancy. The recent experiences help us greatly to determine who are our friends and who our enemies.

Menace to Israel and all Jews

When the Jews of Europe were sentenced to mass extermination during the war, they looked for any means to escape. But British imperialism imposed a blockade on Palestine and by means of their notorious "white papers" they shut the doors of our country on these refugees. It will suffice to recall the death ship, the *Struma*, which bore hundreds of Jews to Palestine, only to be sunk because the British high commissioner refused to heed their call for help and forced the immigrants to remain on shipboard in the stormy waters.

But we broke that blockade. Illegal immigration was the historic act of our resistance against the mighty Empire. The sealing off in Cyprus of tens of thousands of men and women did not frighten us. A mighty army was mobilized against us, much of it brought directly from Germany to the Palestine front. But the resistance of the Palestinian Jews was not broken. Our struggle was crowned with the historic decision of the 29th of November 1947, which recognized the right of the Jews to immigration, to the independence of their homeland and their right to a sovereign state.

I feel it necessary to emphasize that the UN decision was achieved as a result of anti-imperialist struggle and of the aid that we received in the UN from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. The Jewish people will never forget the historic declaration of Gromyko in the UN and the help given by Poland and Czechoslovakia. . . .

British imperialism did not wish to recognize the UN decision. When we decided to go on to establish our independence, imperialist reaction mobilized its vassals against us. Seven invading armies entered our country, armies commanded and led by the agents of imperialism. We resisted and broke the aggression.

I feel it my duty to point out that a large part of those who defended our country belonged to the progressive camp. They never forgot that the war was not against the Arab peoples but rather a defense against imperialist aggression. We fought for a just cause. And the glorious example of Stalingrad taught us that a people which fights for a just cause cannot be defeated even by mighty forces.

The imperialist aggressors and their Arab feudal lords only brought tragedy upon the Arab masses. And it was no accident that progressive Arab and Jewish forces were

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organized in Israel in the political front against domestic and foreign reaction. Nor is it an accident that our delegation, which stands for peace and progress in Israel, should be a united delegation of Jews and Arabs.

Toward a World Front for Peace

The sympathy shown us by the Soviet Union and the people's democracies assured us that we did not stand alone in our struggle. To the degree that we continue to fight for real independence, we shall remain an integral part of the world front for progress and peace. Our people will never forget, nor will we ever permit it to forget, who freed us from the nazi yoke and saved the remnants of European Jewry. Our people will never forget that the same forces who consistently supported our cause, did not allow the leaders of America to betray the UN decisions.

We belong to a people that does not yet know peace, though the war has formally ended. Experience teaches us that the imperialism which menaces the peace of all peoples, endangers also our security and independence and

the very existence of the whole Jewish people. We need peace and strong ties with the progressive forces of the world if we are to build our state on the basis of independence and progress, if we are to bring in hundreds of thousands of our brothers.

Our delegation represents a united front of the forces of progress and peace in Israel. We feel that our delegation expresses the basic interest of the Israeli masses and of all the Jewish people. We come here not with declarations alone but with assurances that we will defend the peace with all our devotion and with all our energy. We are resolved to fight against the intrigues that seek to draw us into the imperialist conspiracy that menaces the peoples of the Middle East. We will mobilize all of our forces to see to it that our country will not serve as a base for imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union and the democratic forces of the world. We will do everything in our power to create in our country brotherly understanding between the Jewish and the Arab peoples, so as to establish a united front in our struggle for independence to join in the closest ties with the world forces of progress and peace.

WORLD CONFERENCE FOR PEACE III: ISRAELI UNITED FRONT

The Communist Party, the United Workers Party (Mapam) and independent intellectuals and artists in Israel joined in an important united front action in support of the World Congress for Peace held in Paris in April. They issued the following call to the people of Israel to support the Congress. Of the 52 signers of the call, 17 were the Communist and Mapam members of the Knesset (Assembly), two were former members of the Provisional Government cabinet (Bentov, Zisling), one was a Jewish Agency executive member (Zerubavel), two were former commanders-in-chief of the Haganah (Sneh, Galil), one was the creator of the Palmach (Sadeh), five were Arabs, and many were leading poets, musicians and scholars of Israel.—Eds.

Citizens of Israel:

In a few days the World Congress for Peace will open in Paris. Delegates from all parts of the world, representing millions from many nations, religions and races, will gather at this conference. World famous cultural workers and scientists, writers and artists, thinkers and leaders, representatives of labor and farmers, of women's and youth organizations, of demobilized and disabled veterans will participate. This gathering will be representative of all democratic and progressive forces of the world.

The congress meets while the horizon is again clouded by the threat of a third world war. This threat evokes fear from mankind striving for peace. Feverish rearmament, establishment of military bases, signing of aggressive pacts like the North Atlantic Pact, hysterical attacks and incitations against the Soviet Union and the new people's democracies are the signs of preparations for a new war.

The Jewish people, having lost six millions in World

War II, recognizes in this new war a threat to its very existence. The young Jewish State of Israel needs peace and international cooperation and friendship of nations in order to consolidate and strengthen its independence and integrity, in order to turn its deserts into flowering gardens, to become capable of receiving the masses of Jews. A world war will place in grave danger all that we have achieved, as well as our very existence.

It is therefore the duty of every Jew, as of every citizen in the State of Israel, to stand in the front ranks of the struggle to insure peace and to oppose the warmongers.

In this struggle Jews and Arabs will march side by side. The Arab peoples have begun to see that the warmongers throughout the world are the same as those who lighted the fires of war in our own country, who brought tragedy and despair to the Arab masses. The struggle for peace is therefore of vital national interest both to the Jewish and to the Arab people. We call upon all social organizations, all trade unions, organizations of intellectuals, the press, institutions of science, culture, literature and art, and all progressive parties in the Knesset, on all who are active in the cultural and social life of our country to affiliate to the Congress for Peace with us, in order to demonstrate our devotion to the cause of peace, our readiness to stand on guard, our categorical decision to prevent our land from being drawn into the net of the warmakers.

Let us send out the great call of the prophet Isaiah: "A people shall not raise up the sword against another and they shall learn war no more."

THE SPONSORING COMMITTEE OF THE
WORLD CONGRESS FOR PEACE

JEWISH CHARACTER IN SEARCH OF A NOVEL

By Louis Harap

SCANT attention has been paid to an interesting development in recent years in American fiction, the increasing appearance of Jewish characters. Nor has the quality of anti-fascism in that fiction been subjected to careful analysis. These two interrelated questions are precipitated significantly in three long war novels published in 1948. These three novels by Norman Mailer,¹ Stefan Heym,² and Irwin Shaw³ have in fact a many-faceted significance. Here we should like to explore briefly and tentatively several problems of great complexity, the quality of the anti-fascism and treatment of the Jewish character in these three novels.

Of the three books, Heym's is intellectually and politically the most mature and therefore contains the clearest anti-fascist position. Heym is an Austrian refugee and his job in the war was itself political. He occupied an important position in the operations end of psychological warfare against the Nazi army. His story is an account of a psychological warfare unit through the French and German campaigns. From this vantage point Heym delves into the aims of the war and the realities behind it and into the anti-fascist struggle itself. Through the lives of its many characters the novel gravitates about the forces working against the realization of war aims. One of the main threads of the story exposes the linkage of international cartels with fascism and American monopoly capitalism. The whole first section of the book sets the problem of war aims through the proposal to shoot to the Nazi lines in Normandy a July fourth leaflet which would tell the Germans why the Americans had come to fight them.

Heym has experienced fascism at first hand and, judging from the novel, has learned the lesson well. He is hence able to show the fumbling anti-fascism of some Americans and the fascist sympathies of others. The book is informed throughout with an implacable and clear-headed enmity to fascism that few war novels have achieved. Although the realization in terms of art is not so successful as the truth of its social and political perception, the book remains a valuable addition to the literature of anti-fascism.

Mailer's Ambivalence

If Mailer had possessed the intellectual and political maturity of Heym, *The Naked and the Dead* might have been the greatest American novel of the century. Of the two writers, Mailer seems to me more gifted as an artist. He probes more deeply and sensitively into the lives of his

characters. It is remarkable that so young a man—Mailer was about 23 when he wrote it—could encompass such a range and depth of experience. But the anti-fascism in the novel is neither sustained nor clear. Although the novel is animated with anti-fascist feeling, this feeling is obscured by pessimism and cynicism. The positive element is buried so deep in a bog of hopelessness that one can understand why it has escaped so many readers. Mailer's philosophy is apparently expressed in Lieutenant Hearn's ruminations. "The shoddy motive. If you searched long enough, it always turned to dirt." "Everything was completely out of whack, none of the joints fitted." "In college the one axiom you seemed to have carried away is that everyone is sick, everyone is corrupt." "Leadership! It was as filthy as everything else." Yet a sensitive reading of the book shows that there is much heroism and fine action in it. But these are so submerged and underplayed as easily to pass unnoticed in careless reading. There is a repressed decency in many of the characters whom Mailer shows to have been distorted by the conditions of their lives.

This ambivalence signifies that Mailer is an artist in transition, one who has not yet reached a settled viewpoint. He is a child of the disillusionment that has gripped so many of our intellectuals and artists since the brief period of affirmation that pervaded our intellectual life during the thirties and ended for many of them after the defeat of the Spanish loyalists. This disillusionment was for a time modified with a degree of anti-fascist realism under the impact of the war. Yet the element of hopelessness persisted and after the war reasserted its dominance. Thus the novel ends by being a grand study in frustration. So frequently does the book allude to frustration (I have noted this in connection with every major character), that one is led to believe that frustration is the basic fact of human life. It is significant that only one character in the novel does achieve fulfillment. This is the stupid old army hack, Major Dalleson, who directs the winning military operation in the book like an automaton and gains victory in spite of himself. The novel ends on a note of vulgar triumph for Dalleson, thus betraying Mailer's pessimistic distortion of reality. But the military defeat of fascism is an overwhelming refutation of this pessimistic bias.

Shaw's Commercial Novel

When we come to Irwin Shaw's novel, however, we find neither intellectual, political nor artistic quality. Technically it is a series of connected short stories, each chapter ending with its surprise overturn in the concluding paragraphs. The book is riddled with fake characterization. The novel has been called "insincere" with good reason. Its cynicism does not include a hostility to reaction. Shaw's cynicism is

¹ *The Naked and the Dead*, by Norman Mailer, Reinhart, New York, 1948. \$4.00.

² *The Crusaders*, by Stefan Heym, Little Brown and Co., Boston, 1948. Book Find Club Selection.

³ *The Young Lions*, by Irwin Shaw, Random House, New York, 1948. \$3.95.

rather the comfortable, complacent, safe and in some respects sentimental cynicism of the commercially successful writer who can use his talent to turn out rapid cash successes and who has virtually abandoned the fight against reaction. It is no accident that the reader is offered an attempted rape before the book is ten pages old.

The smug sophistication of Shaw's novel is reflected in his apparent lack of understanding of fascism. Not a single character is a firm, clear anti-fascist, with the possible exception of the sketchily drawn Capt. Green. Nor is the framework of the novel anti-fascist. Shaw manages to caricature every reference to anti-fascists and communists. He puts the worst possible light on the motives of Parrish, the communist veteran of the Spanish Civil War. Through the mind of his weak-liberal Michael Whitacre every reference to the anti-fascist movement is given a snide turn. Nor are the hesitations and confusions of Whitacre counter-balanced by any focussed anti-fascist background. Certainly the treatment of Noah Ackerman doesn't supply this counterpoint. For Noah is essentially a sensitive, well-meaning person, but intensely egocentric and guided by vague feelings against fascist evils without any real understanding. It is significant that one essential element present in both the Mailer and Heym books is completely lacking in Shaw's novel. Both Mailer and Heym expose the connections of finance capital with fascism—by now generally recognized as involved in the essence of fascism—but not a word of this appears in Shaw.

The crux of Shaw's foggy conception of the world's malaise seems to me to come in Noah's deep acquiescence to the sermon by an English minister in Dover on "love" as the only solution to the world's problems. The sermon deplores bombing of Germany in the name of "love" and exhorts soldiers to "kill remorsefully," to try to regard the enemy as brothers. Although Noah felt that it was impractical for an army to carry out the minister's exhortation, the sermon "filled him with a mysterious sense of hope. . . . So long, Noah thought, as such voices could be raised in the world, stern, illogical and loving, so long might his own child live in confidence and hope. . . ." Not a specific, articulated hatred of everything fascist and a determination that fascism be expunged, but vague, abstract ideals of "freedom" and "love" to substitute for action. This seems to reflect Shaw's own evolution of surrender to reaction.

The Jew Enters Fiction

All three novels have major Jewish characters. This is true not necessarily because the three authors happen to be Jewish. The reason goes beyond this into the nature of fascism itself, which is indissolubly connected with anti-Semitism. The introduction of major Jewish characters is just as frequent among non-Jewish authors as among Jewish. For instance, see Robert Lowry's *Find Me in Fire*, Martha Gelhorn's *Wine of Astonishment*, Merle Miller's *That Winter* and many others.

The introduction of Jews is a necessary part of any treatment of fascism and recent fiction has exhibited this fact

in the rather sudden interest in Jews. Before entering on a discussion of Jewish character in the three novels, some preliminary words are necessary about this new development in American fiction.

The Jew was practically non-existent in American fiction until a few years ago except in a number of ghetto novels since the beginning of the century. There were a few exceptions such as, for example, the sympathetic portrait of the Jewish scientist, Dr. Gottlieb, in Sinclair Lewis' *Arrow-smith* or the anti-Semitic picture of Thomas Wolfe's Jewish mistress, Esther, in *You Can't Go Home Again*. But a change in world affairs ensued that made the problem of the Jew inescapable. The development of fascism confronted all writers with the inequalities of minority groups all over the world. At home the predicament of the Negro and Jew could no longer be evaded or pass unnoticed. Anti-Semitism having become a world problem and a pressing, major American issue, it could no longer be ignored in fiction. Hence both Jewish and non-Jewish writers have been faced with the Jewish question as valid and, indeed, compelling material.

Moreover, millions of non-Jewish Americans from every part of the country were for the first time brought into intimate contact with Jews in the army and became personally acquainted with anti-Semitism in an inescapable way. Merle Miller's observation in his first novel is typical: "I learned [in the army] too, in uncounted small and humiliating ways, what it's like to be a second-rate citizen; I began faintly to appreciate something of how it feels to be a Negro or a Jew; all enlisted men do."⁴ As any ex-GI knows, army experience held no more dramatic material than the violent—and the term is used advisedly—explosion of group prejudice that resulted from this involuntary association of Jew and non-Jew on a mass scale.

As a result of these influences the Jewish problem in American life has received increasing attention from novelists, both Jewish and non-Jewish. There were many "civilian" novels dealing with anti-Semitism, the adjustment of the Jew to American life and, in some, intermarriage.⁵ This trend saw such sensational successes as *Gentleman's Agreement* by Laura Z. Hobson, *Focus* by Arthur Miller and *Wasteland* by Jo Sinclair, followed in the movies by the enormous popularity of *Gentleman's Agreement*, *Crossfire* and *Body and Soul*. These successes confirmed the intense general interest in the problem. While none of these novels may be enduring works, they are interesting in that they reflect the general lack of understanding of the Jewish question and artificiality of approach.

The three Jewish authors of the war novels under consideration were affected by this trend, but they do not write essentially as Jews. No doubt they were sensitized to the

⁴ *That Winter*, by Merle Miller, William Sloane Associates, New York, 1948.

⁵ Here are a few examples from the 1948 season: *Not Quite a Dream*, by Kathleen Hughes, Doubleday; *This Precious Dust*, by Rita Kassin, Ziff, Davis; *The Professor's Umbrella*, by Mary Jane Ward, Random House; *Storm Against the Wall*, by Fannie Cook, Doubleday; *Eagle at My Eyes*, by Norman Katkov, Doubleday; *The Victim*, by Saul Bellow, Vanguard Press.

problem of anti-Semitism and of their Jewish characters because they were Jewish, but they do not identify themselves with Jewishness in the novels. And the reason is not far to seek. For they had little connection with Jewish life as such: their activities and interests were far from the distinctively Jewish. This is not said in judgment on them, but is stated here as a fact whose significance requires more probing than it has yet been given.

Heym's main character, Sergeant Walter Bing, is a half-Jew, but one is never sure of this until the latter part of the book when Bing returns to his native town of Neustadt and a former servant of his family refers to his Jewishness. In Mailer's case, one feels that the character who is closest to representing the author himself is Lieutenant Hearn. And Shaw seems to me far closer to Michael Whitacre than to the Jew Noah Ackerman.

The Character of Noah

Irwin Shaw's Jewish hero, Noah, is Jewish in only the negative respect that he reacts against the virulent anti-Semitism which he meets in his company. The weakness of Shaw's anti-fascism is evident from his own identification at certain points with the viewpoint of Noah, whose response to this anti-Semitism becomes his dominant motive as a soldier. Noah determines to "prove" himself to the anti-Semites, to demonstrate to them that they are wrong about the Jews. This causes Noah to engage in quixotic fist fights with ten of his fellow soldiers and later on to risk his life for one of them. At last Noah realizes that nothing he can do will compel the worst of the anti-Semites to "accept him." Thenceforth Noah decides to "travel with the tide" and not to exert himself beyond the minimum call of duty. For Noah was really fighting a personal war, not a war against fascism. His egocentrism, less objectionable than that of Shaw himself because it is disinterested and "idealistic," even if naive and ill-informed, prevents him from understanding fascism and identifying himself with the mortal fight against it.

In another passage Shaw's own deficiencies are reflected in his manipulation of Noah. At the end of the story Noah's unit liberates a concentration camp which contains a number of Jews. The horror of the camp and the anti-Semitism of some of the central European inmates shock Noah into a mental crisis. A rabbi among the inmates asks that the camp Jews be permitted to conduct a religious service for the dead. Any robust and genuinely anti-fascist Jew would have established contact with the camp Jews and offered his help to them. But not Noah, who must nurse his sensitive soul at this moment. He goes off for a walk to assuage his soul and gets killed. This hyper-sensitivity to the point of social silliness is evident also in the contrived episode of the fight with ten of his company earlier in the book. Not only does this seem to me cheap heroics on Shaw's part, but I think it is a libel on the average GI. Shaw makes it appear that these ten fights are allowed to go on without interference by the GI's. This is wildly improbable. Without indulging in any illusions about the

ordinary GI and his passivity before anti-Semitism, it seems to me unthinkable that he would allow this slaughter.

Shaw's novel contains several minor Jewish characters. The picture of Fein, the muscular Jew who refuses to resist anti-Semitism, is good. "The best equipment a Jew can have is one deaf ear," says Fein to Noah—a succinct picture of one type of Jew that we have all met inside the army and out of it. There is also a somewhat stagey vignette of Noah's father, an immigrant who attaches himself to the shady margins of American social and economic life. But the novel as a whole lacks any deep understanding of our society or of fascism—it is the work of a bright, commercially successful writer who knows how to accommodate himself to the needs of the ruling class.

Heym's Anti-Facist Realism

In contrast to Shaw's approach to anti-Semitism, that of Heym is realistic and deeper. The novel exposes the links between anti-Semitism and fascism. The vicious anti-Semite, Sergeant Dondolo, is also a fascist sympathizer and blackmarketeer. The Sergeant sells his wares through the Frenchman, Sourire, who is in turn an agent for the expatriated Russian cartelist, Prince Yasha Bersekin, who is being wooed in a business way for post-war connections by the agent of American finance capital, Major Willoughby. Thus post-war fascism is foreshadowed in its beginnings during the war itself. In novelistic terms Heym shows that anti-Semitism is part of the whole fascist conspiracy. "The conspiracy," he writes, "had several levels: Sourire and Dondolo on the lowest; Yasha and Willoughby on the highest." Thus anti-Semitism is not treated, as it is by Shaw, as an isolated phenomenon directed specifically against the Jews alone, but as part of a vicious pattern that has its roots and ramifications throughout society.

In addition to Sergeant Bing, Heym's novel does include several Jewish characters. The fullest of these is Abramovici, like Bing a refugee, a quaint individual quite sympathetically treated. His saying of *Kaddish* over the dead Bing is a moving moment in the book. Another Jew, slightly sketched, is an infantryman, "little Traub from Rivington Street," who acquits himself creditably in battle. Captain Phillipson, an intelligent army doctor, enters the story briefly and appropriately.

Mailer's Jewish Characters

Of the three novelists Mailer is the finest artist. His anti-fascist convictions are not exemplified so much in terms of a thesis as is the case with Heym. His convictions emerge rather from the unfolding and delineation of character; they emerge from more genuinely created human situations. Hence his characters are more profoundly human than those of the other novelists and in the last analysis give a more human depiction of the problem of fascism. Mailer is unequivocal in his hatred of fascism, and thus he has succeeded best with his fascist characters, General Cummings, Sergeant Croft and Gallagher. But Mailer's pessi-

mistic view of the inexorability of frustration in human life has prevented him from achieving full effectiveness. His main anti-fascist character, Lieutenant Hearn, therefore lacks the degree of definition given to the fascists.

Of the reconnaissance platoon that Mailer intensively analyzes in his novel, two members are Jewish. Goldstein is good-natured, essentially decent, sensitive and proud of his Jewishness, but possessed of a mind stored with petty-bourgeois cant and clichés. The other, Roth, is a maladroit, unsympathetic character. He has a false sense of superiority because of his college education and is a maladjusted personality. He is ashamed of his Jewishness ("Still I'm not sorry I never learned Yiddish," he says to himself). Both types are recognizable and well-drawn. There has been some criticism of Mailer for not having drawn a single good Jewish character. Aside from the consideration that this does not seem to me imperative in any case, such critics miss the point of Goldstein's real nature because they are misled by Mailer's tendency to reduce all action to the "shoddy motive." For Goldstein is in fact one of the best characters in the novel, with all his failings. He volunteers for tough assignments and his behavior in the grueling trip with the wounded Wilson is admirable.

It is interesting to note that the contrast between Goldstein and Roth at one point parallels that between Noah and Fein in the Shaw novel. The will to resist the anti-Semite is contrasted with the hush-hush attitude. When Goldstein tells Roth, "When the time comes they won't ask you what kind of Jew you are," Roth replies, "The Jews worry too much about themselves." And it is Roth who is finally killed because of anti-Semitism.

What conclusions can we draw from this brief study of the complex literary and social problems of the interrelation of fictional treatment of fascism and the introduction of the Jew into recent fiction? The acceptance of the Jew into fiction is an inevitable result of the emergence of anti-Semitism as a major problem in America and in the world because of fascism and its persistence as a profound danger in the post-war period. The literary enfranchisement of the Jew is itself one sign of the social advance that has come out of the anti-fascist war. But there is as yet no assurance that this citizenship in the world of fiction will be permanent. What is clear, however, is that these literary phenomena are an expression of social and political developments, and the future of the problem will also depend on the way in which the world situation develops.

ZIONISM AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: II

By Moses Miller

IN our last article we showed that communist support of Israel does not and never did constitute an endorsement of Zionism. We noted that Zionism is not a philanthropic movement but a political ideology and that one of its basic tenets is that Jews constitute a world-wide "nation." No matter in what part of the world a Jew may reside, he belongs to this world-wide "nation." We further noted that this view evolved out of a specific concept of nationhood based on such subjective factors as "national fate or will" or "unity of destiny and culture." These factors, according to Zionism, are the decisive and determining elements of nationhood.

Some people are completely mystified by the to-do about the definition of a nation. "What difference does it make," they ask, "how you define the nation?" But a proper answer to this question is crucial to any analysis of the Jewish, as of the national question as a whole and therefore demands further probing.

One does not need special powers of discernment to see that the peoples of the world differ in many ways. There are differences of sex, color, hair texture, etc. But there are also social differences of language, class, nation; state, religion, art, philosophy and custom. The most superficial knowledge of history teaches that the world has had different types of societies, primitive, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist. While the first category of differences lie properly within the sphere of biology and anthropology, the other differences, that is, the cultural, political, economic and

national, properly fall within the sphere of the social sciences. What accounts for these social differences? How do they arise and develop? How can we account for the birth, development and decline of societies? What forces cause these changes in human history?

Every political ideology or philosophy gives its own answer to these questions. Zionist ideology, too, gives its own answers. Of course, we must bear in mind that most Zionist theoreticians and leaders limit themselves to interpretation of Jewish history alone. Some even insist that Jews are completely different from all other peoples and that, therefore, general theories which might explain the pattern of the history of all other peoples do not apply to the history and life of the Jewish people.

"Will" Runs History

The general philosophy of Theodore Herzl, father of political Zionism, can be summarized in his own words: "If you will it, it is no fanciful tale. And if you do not will it, it will remain mere fancy." In these words Herzl was stating his theory of social action. The supreme element in social movement is for him the "will" and upon this "will" depends the course and destiny of Jewish life. Dr. Chaim Weizmann was giving his interpretation of history when he stated before the Anglo-American commission, as we pointed out in the previous article: "Some mystical force, some belief that one day the God of Israel will liberate them

[the Jews] and they will return, and it is this hope of return which has kept us in one way or another consciously or unconsciously alive." What is implied when one says that "hope of return" has kept the Jewish people alive? It means simply that the *consciousness* of the Jew, his thoughts and feelings, determined his existence, that his "inner will" was the decisive factor in determining the course of Jewish history, that the wishes of the people were the essential element in molding the objective realities of their existence.

If one adopts such a viewpoint, there is little justification for studying the inter-relationship of Jewish and general history, for trying to correlate events in Jewish history of any epoch with events and movements in the surrounding world. According to this view, any attempt to analyze problems, struggles and differences within the Jewish community on a socio-economic basis is nothing short of heresy. History, at best, therefore becomes a sort of moral judgment of whether events and epochs advanced or hindered realization of the national will or consciousness. The history of peoples and the causes of differences among them can only be explained in terms of the presence or absence of a sense of national will, of the strengthening or weakening of this sense of destiny and national fate. Although Zionists may be inclined to consider this philosophy to be unique to the Jewish people, it is in fact the interpretation of history of all nationalist movements. History thus becomes a series of struggles created by the subjective urge and inner determination for national survival.

Emancipation As Catastrophe

It is no accident therefore that, in line with this theory, many Zionist leaders and theoreticians considered the emergence of the Jew from the ghetto with the emancipation that opened in the 18th century as a great catastrophe because it weakened the ties binding the Jewish people together. Or that many Zionist historians should have regarded the Haskala (enlightenment) movement that resulted from emancipation as a tragedy. For it follows logically that, if national consciousness is the determining factor in history, all movements and events should be judged in relation to it. Dr. Weizmann was therefore quite consistent when he said that the fate of the emancipated Jew was more tragic than that of his persecuted brother.¹ Or that Ahad Haam, exponent of cultural Zionism, should have held that the plight of "unutterably poor, persecuted, ignorant and degraded Jews" of tsarist Russia was preferable to the life of the emancipated Jew in western Europe. Or that Bialik, noted Hebrew poet, should have held that Hitlerism was in one sense a blessing, since it forced Jews to return to a consciousness of their national destiny.

It should now be clear that the definition of a nation underlying one's policy is not an academic question. For this definition is based on one's ideological outlook and therefore governs one's program of action. It is therefore apparent that the Zionist view of the national question is

divorced from space or time, is considered to operate in isolation from all social, political and economic problems.

This does not imply that all Zionist theoreticians and writers deny the role of economic, social and political factors in the life of the Jewish people. Some assign an important role to these elements. But it remains true that Zionist ideologists either totally ignore them or at best subordinate them to that which the Zionists regard as decisive and determining, the national.

There is little essential difference between the Zionist interpretation of history and the religious interpretation of Jewish history. The latter ascribes Jewish survival to God's will and to the fact that Jews in all ages held firmly to their religious precepts and code of moral law. But essentially both approach history from an *idealistic* viewpoint, that is, they agree that mind or consciousness, whether divine, as in the case of the religious or theocratic interpretation, or human, as in the nationalistic interpretation, is primary and dominant, while matter, that is, the material conditions of life, have either no reality at all or at best secondary significance. Both are founded on an autonomous, self-sufficient will, divine or national, which is independent of the material conditions of life. This will molds the course of a people's history and accounts for the ability of the people to survive and adjust itself to each crisis.

The absurd lengths to which some apostles of this view can go, is exemplified by the scurrilous attack by Menahem Boraisha² on Ilya Ehrenburg's article in *Pravda*.³ In the course of his diatribe, Boraisha takes issue with Ehrenburg's contention that "Jews were compelled to live apart and isolated from the rest of the population. . . . The Catholic inquisitors created the ghetto, not the Jewish mystics." Boraisha labels this statement "untarnished ignorance" and concludes: "Had Ehrenburg wanted to be accurate, he could easily have learned that 'ghettos' were in existence long before the time when the Catholic Inquisition imposed them; that Jews *chose* to be separated from non-Jews so that they could live their own life and together resist the pull of assimilation; that neither mystics nor persecutors invented the ghetto and, finally, when walls were thrown around the Jewish quarter, the quarter had already been established by Jews themselves."

Who Is Ignorant?

An examination of history would readily show, however, that it was Boraisha and not Ehrenburg who was guilty of "untarnished ignorance." True, there are records of Jewish ghettos prior to the Middle Ages. But almost every Jewish historian has recognized that "the era of the ghetto proper begins with the sixteenth century. . . ."⁴ A. L. Sacher in his *History of the Jews* summarizes the history of the ghetto as follows: "Already in the early Middle Ages a number of cities had established compulsory segregation. Salerno had its ghetto in the eleventh century and Bari

¹ See *Zionism and the Jewish Future*, edited by H. Sacher, 1916, p. 6.

² *Congress Weekly*, December 6, 1948.

³ Reprinted on pages 25-28 of this issue—Eds.

⁴ See Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 1896, p. 62.

even earlier. In Toledo the Cortes ordained in 1480 that 'all Jews and Moors of every city, town, and place in these our kingdoms . . . shall have their distinct Jewries' and Mooreries by themselves, and not reside intermixed with Christians nor have enclosures together with them.' But the sixteenth century was the ghetto age. City by city and province by province the institution was established until there was scarcely a spot in Europe where Jews were not herded together. The ghettos were usually marked out in the filthiest and most unwholesome parts of the towns, and, though their population grew, their areas were not increased. Incredible overcrowding, with its attendant illnesses and plagues and its frequent devastating fires, made Jewish existence a torment."

So much for the theory that "Jews chose to be separated." One might add that Boraisha showed ignorance about the so-called voluntary ghettos which existed before the sixteenth century. If he had remained faithful to history instead of indulging himself in hysterical outbursts, he would have said, as Sacher points out, that "They felt more secure, too, in a ghetto, where they avoided the insults and the dangers which would be inevitable if they were scattered in a hostile community. In Majorca, in the fourteenth century, the Jewish community begged for the continuance of the ghetto as a protection against the growing intolerance of the Balearic Islands."

It does not follow that Jewish existence was the result solely of this negative element. Out of this ghetto life affirmative values were likewise strengthened, values that were transformed into cultural and intellectual creativity. These in turn promoted and influenced subsequent Jewish development.

The absurdity of Boraisha's position emerges even more clearly if one turns to the period of Jewish emancipation, when the Jew emerged from the ghetto. If the "Jews chose to be separated," why did they leave the ghetto in the eighteenth century? Why did so many Jewish communities wage such a bitter struggle for the removal of ghetto restrictions? Why did Jews, as individuals and as groups, constantly look for ways to move out of the ghetto? Nor could Boraisha explain why Jewish emancipation occurred just when it did. Or, for that matter, why emancipation came much earlier in Western than in Eastern Europe.

Boraisha approaches Jewish history from the same viewpoint as Dr. Weizmann and Ahad Haam. For them Jewish emancipation was a grim tragedy since it helped to break down the separateness and isolation of the Jew. But the Jew who had the opportunity to leave the ghetto and the many cursed aspects of that life, surely did not look on this as a tragedy.

Outer Reality Determines History

Above all, it is most important to note that this subjective and mystical approach to Jewish history fails completely to grasp that the subjective will of the Jew never was or could be the determining factor in shaping his destiny. Neither the creation of the ghetto nor emancipation from

it depended on the Jew's own choice. Forces operating independently of the Jewish will determined their destiny. In the early Middle Ages, for example, Jews lived in comparative peace and received extensive privileges from their rulers. In the later Middle Ages, however, the severest, most drastic restrictions were placed on the Jew. Can the subjective will of the Jew account for the difference in his situation during these two periods? Must one not rather analyze the history of the period and look for differences in the economic, social and political developments of the two periods to account for the greater tolerance of the Jew in the earlier period and the grave intolerance in the latter? Similarly, what sense can one make of the emancipation, unless one delves into the history of the period and accounts for it in terms of the breakdown of feudalism and the weakening of absolutism, the growing separation of church and state, the abolition of privileges of the clergy? All these forces laid the groundwork for the emancipation of the Jew, because the achievement of the free market demanded the application of the principles of equality—formally, at least—to all peoples, and therefore to the Jew as well.

If one attempts, like the Zionist theoreticians, to remove the national question from its actual social and economic framework and to set it up as a development operating independently of time and space, one's attempt to explain any period of Jewish life raises insoluble difficulties. Why, for example, did political Zionism arise in the late 1880's and not earlier? Or how explain the Zionist thesis that the homelessness of the Jew is responsible for his sufferings when it is a historical fact that the Jew could live in comparative peace for many generations in certain countries at the very same moment that Jews in other countries were subjected to persecution and pogroms?

The "Ingathering" Panacea

Or let us note another aspect. According to Boraisha, as well as many other Zionists, Jews chose to live apart "so that they could live their own life and together resist the pull of assimilation." Once the ghetto walls were broken down and Jews were granted a degree of political, social and economic equality, Jewish ties began to dissolve. It follows therefore from the Zionist viewpoint that the greater the opportunities offered to Jews to participate in all aspects of a country's life, the greater will be the danger of assimilation. Hence, say the Zionists, the only hope for Jewish survival rests in the "ingathering of the exile" to the national homeland.

The Zionists advance still another argument. The Jew is a stranger everywhere. Anti-Semitism, according to Weizmann, is a mystical phenomenon which the Jew carries with him wherever he goes. So strong is antipathy to the Jew, that a cure is impossible. Whatever the Jew may do to overcome anti-Semitism will be of no avail. Take the case of the German Jews, the Zionist says. Did any Jewish community ever try harder to identify itself with the cultural and social life of their country? The German Jew, cries the Zionist, was more German than the Germans.

And what was his fate? The Zionist therefore concludes that the Jew is the scapegoat of history and little can be done about it. The only hope for the Jew is return to his own homeland.

Because communists dare to oppose such ideas as these, reactionary Zionists and the reactionary Jewish press have hysterically accused the communists of lack of concern for the fate of the Jew. Yet, what greater indifference can there be to the fate of millions of Jews all over the world than is inherent in the logic of these two Zionist arguments? For the Zionists maintain that anti-Semitism is inevitable and will of necessity increase wherever the Jews reside. Therefore, there is hardly any likelihood that the Jew will ever assimilate. At best the Jew can look forward to a return to the ghetto. On the other hand we are told that even if real equality could be achieved by the Jew, it would be undesirable. For freedom would automatically lead to assimilation. These arguments leave the Jews in a hopeless situation. What alternative is then left for the Jew? To go to Israel? But this is certainly no solution. For even the most irresponsible Zionist would not dare to assert that approximately eleven million Jews throughout the world could go to Israel—even if they wanted to. But the fact is that millions of Jews consider the country in which they live as their home and they have no desire to leave.

Hopeless Zionist Conclusion

Zionist ideology is thus at an impasse. And what is more important, the Zionist leaves the Jewish people at this impasse. Consider the implications of the Zionist ideology for the American Jewish community. America's five million Jews form the largest Jewish community in the world. Should the Jews of America consider themselves as living in outer darkness because they do not live in Israel? Are they second-class Jews whose energies, creativity and effort are meaningless except as directed toward the upbuilding of Israel (and this, incidentally, only in terms of money-raising)? Is the Jewish community of America to resign itself to the Zionist thesis that disaster and destruction must ultimately overwhelm it? Certainly there are forces in America determined to destroy civil liberties, trample democracy underfoot and embark upon a drive for world domination which, if unopposed, can lead to another world war, with its particularly dire consequences for the entire Jewish people. But there are other forces in America, too, forces that fight for the expansion of democracy, for the broadening of civil liberties, for a program of peace. Can the Jew be indifferent to the outcome of this fight? Has the Jew no part to play in this struggle? For that matter, if the progressive forces in America do not succeed in halting the tide of reaction and fascism, if war should break out, is there any greater guarantee of safety for the Jew in Israel than for the Jew in America?

We can now see clearly that the Zionist idea that Jews all over the world make up a single nation, has immediately practical and serious consequences. For, under this theory the fulfillment of the Jewish "national will" becomes the

decisive task of Jews everywhere. And since the fulfillment of the national will can be achieved only in Israel, it necessarily follows that all Jews must view Israel as the fulcrum around which all Jewish communities must revolve and to which all Jews must dedicate their lives.

Few Jews in America will deny the urge and the need to help Israel and its people achieve security and independence. Although the American Jewish community has contributed greatly, both materially and politically, to the cause of Israel, few will deny that much more remains to be done. Does this oblige us to accept the Zionist thesis that our tasks and program are determined by some mystical "national will" unrelated to and independent of the concrete political, social and economic environment of which we are a part and which molds our lives? To accept such a thesis is to tear the Jew away from reality. Above all this means divorce of the Jew from those general political struggles upon whose success depend the well-being and the security of the Jew. All people of one nation have common tasks which grow out of their common life on a common territory and in a common economy. From such struggles grow not only a national consciousness and a national culture, but also struggles which decide the course of the nation. Hence, can we say that the Jews in America, in Poland, in the Soviet Union, in Israel, in Brazil face the same economic, social and political problems?

Karl Marx once wrote: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted by themselves." This profound truth must be heeded in any analysis of the Zionist concept of the Jews throughout the world as a single nation. Certainly Jews, like all other peoples, make their own history. But they do not make it by their "will" alone, independently of time and space or of the concrete circumstances in which they live. Since the Jews of any given country are confronted by different circumstances from those of the Jewish community in another country, the tasks that confront them differ accordingly. Jews in any country will either be guided by the problems in which their own country are involved, or they will dissipate their energies in tilting at windmills. They will, consciously or not, either completely refrain from participating in those struggles upon which depend the extension of democracy and therefore their own well being, or they will at best subordinate these questions to the so-called struggle for "national fulfillment," which in the final analysis means subordinating reality to illusion.

Jews Are Not an Exception

The situation will become clearer if we see how the problem operates among other national groups or minorities.

Take the case of the Italians who have emigrated to America. In Italy they were part of an Italian nation. There they participated not only in a common cultural life, but also in a common economic life. Their thinking, customs and outlook were molded by the conditions and

struggles within the common and unified territory of Italy. But if we accept the principle that nationhood is dependent upon the subjective factor of national will or consciousness, we must conclude that Italians, whether they lived in Italy or not, are still members of the Italian nation. It is true that the Italians in America have certain things in common with the Italian people in Italy which make for continued interest in and concern for what is happening in Italy. Certain limited common actions by Italians all over the world in relation to Italy are possible and legitimate. But in the final analysis these common actions of Italians all over the world are subordinate to the objective political, economic and social conditions under which the Italians live in America. For the subjective will and consciousness of Italians here necessarily undergo a transformation and are molded by their life in America.

Similarly with the Jew. Of course there are certain differences in the situation of the two peoples in America which we must note and which we shall discuss in detail in the next article. But it is absurd to maintain that there exists an eternal national consciousness independent of time or space and of the concrete political, social and economic conditions under which the Jew lives. Certainly, anyone with any knowledge of Jewish history can verify that Jewish cultural development in different countries, while having certain features in common, nevertheless underwent most important changes in the concrete conditions of their existence. The Jew in Spain created a different Jewish culture from that of the Jew in Babylonia, the Jew in Poland from

that of the Jew in America, and so on through history.

Our Fight Is in America

The fate of the Jew in America, for example, who has certain common ties with Jews throughout the world, is, in the final analysis, determined by the concrete social, political and economic conditions of life in America. His struggle for survival, for security, for cultural achievement will therefore be dependent upon his struggles here. And for that matter, the efforts he will make on behalf of Jewish communities elsewhere are equally determined by his life in America. The American Jew who is concerned with the independence and security of Israel, fights best for Israel by applying his energies to the political arena in America, by joining with the progressive forces who struggle for democracy and against imperialism and who are therefore waging the only struggle that can assure the independence of all peoples.

Therefore the Zionist attempt to define the Jewish people as a world-wide nation, when objective factors independent of his wishes have given different roles, different problems and therefore different programs of action for each Jewish community, can only lead the Jew into confusion and to futile action inimical to his own interest.

What, then, is the character of the relationships among Jews throughout the world? And what are Jews throughout the world, according to the Marxist viewpoint? This we shall discuss in our next article.

(To be continued.)

THE TWO ZAYDAS

ONCE upon a time there was a little boy who had two zaydas. What's that? What is a zayda? A zayda is a grandfather. But it isn't the same thing. That is, it is, but it isn't. A grandfather is a father's father or a mother's father. You see, already you've got me talking like a dictionary instead of telling a story. A zayda, too, is a father's father or a mother's father, but a zayda goes to a synagogue religiously, when a zayda kisses a grandson on the brow his beard tickles pleasantly and his kiss is a benediction. But there are few zaydas left. Now we have grandfathers.

So let's begin again. Only remember, everytime I say grandfather, I mean zayda.

Once upon a time—some 30-odd years ago, to be exact—there was a little boy named Berel who went to public school and had two grandfathers. One was a chubby, black-bearded grandfather, with a kindly smile and twinkly eyes, and when he would come to visit, Berel's mother used to set the table and serve him a meal through all the courses from chopped liver to stewed prunes, for the old man en-

joyed good cooking, and a shnapps too, for that matter. He was a religious Jew, but it was a kosher house, and where in the Torah does it say a man shouldn't eat if it isn't a fast day? Sometimes, after he had finished the glass of tea and honey cake which topped off the meal, he would tell a story to Berel. There was one about Joseph and his brethern, and another about Solomon and how he solved the case of the two women who claimed the same baby, or the one about David and Goliath. He seemed to have an endless stock of stories to tell the boy.

The other grandfather didn't go in for frivolous things like story telling. He was a tall, thin, white-bearded patriarch with deep set eyes and a stern face. When he came, it was as if God himself were in the house; if not God, Moses anyhow. And when he said something, it was said. He would ask questions of Berel's mother, about the family, about Berel's Hebrew school, and if she tried to explain something or make excuses, he'd stop her.

"Don't talk like a woman," he'd say. "Answer my question."

And when he gave his opinion on any subject, which

***A Short Story
By Will Hayett***

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he usually did, it was clear that there was no maybe, or perhaps, or who knows, like with the other grandfather. Wrong was wrong, and right was what this grandfather said.

So tell me, which one do you think was Berel's favorite grandfather? I can see you're going to guess wrong. Either you don't understand little boys, or it's my fault the way I've told you the story so far.

LET'S BEGIN AGAIN. ONLY REMEMBER, WHEN I SAY IT'S MY fault that we have to begin again, I mean it's your fault. If you understood the difference between a plain grandfather and a zayda, you would understand right away which one Berel admired the most.

When the other little boys on the block used to boast, my cousin can lick your cousin any old time, or, my uncle's house in Boro Park is bigger than your uncle's house, Berel had very little to say. He didn't have an uncle who owned a house. And his cousin could lick nobody. But when it came to boasting about grandfathers, Berel's eyes would shine. My grandfather is smarter than your grandfather. Well, what could they say? Everybody knew Berel's grandfather—the one with the long white beard—was smart as a rabbi. Maybe smarter even. He could have been a rabbi in Poland; and to be a rabbi in Poland, that was something.

When his grandfather came, walking down the street, on one of his visits, Berel would run to meet him, proud of the dignified old man in his long black coat and his beaver hat and his snow white beard. And the boy would raise his head and be filled with a sense of goodness and holiness as the old patriarch kissed his brow like a blessing.

Together they'd go upstairs, and the neighbors on the stoop would whisper reverently, "That's Berel's grandfather!" And the way they said it, you could feel they recognized that there was a man who was as close to God as a mortal could be. Later, Berel's mother would tell them boastfully, "Imagine! Even in my house—and you know how kosher it is—even in my house my husband's father won't eat anything but a hard boiled egg!"

The old man never stayed very long like the other grandfather. Always he had to rush off to the synagogue. But the little while he sat in the kitchen, he was like on Old Testament king. Naturally, a king isn't very easily satisfied. In fact, he used to spend a good deal of his time on his visit complaining about his wife—Berel's grandmother, who of course, was at home, cleaning or cooking or whatever it is a woman wastes a day doing. "What can you expect from a woman?" the old man used to say bitterly when he'd get to talking about his wife. The fact is, Berel wasn't sorry his grandmother didn't usually come along, for every time he saw her he thought of the things his wonderful grandfather had said; so how could he like her if she was extravagant, and a nag, and difficult to get along with?

ONCE AT SCHOOL, DURING LUNCH HOUR, BEREL WAS EATING his sandwich when a boy from his class came over and sat

down on the bench next to him.

"Watcha got?" the classmate asked.

"A sandwich."

"What kind?"

"Salami."

"Hm."

They are in silence, but to Berel it seemed as though his friend had sneered at his salami sandwich.

"What's in yours?" Berel asked between mouthfuls.

"What's it to you?"

"You asked me, dincha?"

"I got ham."

"Ham?" There was alarm in Berel's voice, and he edged away from his classmate.

"Wanna swap?" the boy teased.

"Me?" Berel looked around as though an unseen power might have heard the awful suggestion.

"Watsa matter, afraid?" the boy taunted. "I betcha never tasted ham."

Berel didn't answer.

"It's good." The tempter circled his hand over his stomach.

"What's it taste like?" Berel ventured cautiously.

"I'll swap you." He pushed the forbidden morsel toward Berel with an I-dare-you challenge.

And the deed was done.

It was only a half sandwich, and the familiar taste of bread and mustard overwhelmed the ham. It didn't burn, it didn't sting, in fact, the ham didn't have any taste as far as Berel could make out; nevertheless, he was stricken with guilt.

The zeros and demerits he got from his teacher that afternoon he interpreted as the beginning of his punishment for his sin. The thought that plagued him most was that maybe his parents would find out what he had done, or still worse, what would his grandfather say if he knew? And then came the awful realization that there would be no maybe's or if's—his grandfather would know. Yes, somehow his grandfather would surely know of this sin.

The next time the white-bearded old man came to the house, Berel stayed in his bedroom, for it seemed to him that God's deputy had arrived to mete out justice. But when his mother called him to come and say hello, he had to face the inevitable.

The grandfather was sitting at the kitchen table eating his hard-boiled eggs, and the boy expected him to rise in wrath and cry out accusingly: "It's your fault that this kosher house is contaminated and I can eat only eggs here!"

To his surprise, the old man greeted him in his usual holy way, and then ignored him.

"What do you pay a dozen for eggs?" he was saying to Berel's mother.

And when she told him, he snorted disapproval and remarked bitterly that his wife paid even more. "After all these years in America, she still doesn't know how to shop." And he closed the subject with his usual, "What can you expect from a woman?"

To Berel it was a narrow escape he was thankful for, but he never really understood. Apparently God had been too busy to tell his grandfather about the ham sandwich. Or could it be that his grandfather wasn't really in communication with God as directly as he had imagined?

WELL, AS YOU CAN SEE, THE BOY WAS GROWING UP. SOME people think it takes a Bar Mitzvah to make a man of a boy. In Berel's case it took a pair of shoes.

It was a pair he had seen in the window of Adler's shoe store. Not elevator shoes. In those days they didn't have such modern inventions. This was a pair of thick-soled, heavy shoes made of coarse, scotch-grained leather, and decorated all over the toe with little holes. To Berel they seemed wonderful right down to the style name on the little display tag: *The Collegiate*. How he wished he could walk into the store with the money in his pocket and say, "I'd like to try on *The Collegiate*, please." But that's not the way twelve year old boys buy shoes. At least, not in those days.

When it was time for Berel to get a new pair of shoes, his mother took him shopping. In spite of his subtle coaxing, she expressed past Adler's and made her first stop Friedman's where they had the best shoes for boys in the Bronx.

But Berel wasn't interested in the best shoes in the Bronx; he was interested in *The Collegiate* at Adler's.

The salesman at Friedman's knew them, and he expected an easy sale, but, somehow, no matter what pair of shoes he brought out, the boy made a face.

"At least try it on," Berel's mother ordered impatiently each time there was a pair that interested her.

But when he tried them on, he made an even worse face.

After they had worn out the salesman and worn out their welcome at Friedman's, Berel suggested Adler's, but his mother wasn't interested in style but in months of wear to the dollar. So they went to Thom McAn's.

It seems something was wrong with Thom McAn's shoes that day, for whatever Berel tried on was "too tight" or "too big" or "it hurts when I walk, ma."

At last Berel steered his mother into Adler's. By the now tried and proven strategy of "I don't like" and "It don't fit" he finally got to the pair he had his heart set on, the wonderful looking *Collegiates*. His mother, tired and irritable, didn't think them wonderful looking at all. In fact, she thought they were clumsy. And not only that, the price was too high. And not only that, the quality was poor.

Berel came away without shoes that day, but the following week the family had a wedding to go to, a catered affair, and the boy had to have a new pair of shoes. In short, in desperation one afternoon, his mother gave him the money to buy the shoes he wanted.

When he came proudly bearing the prized box with *The Collegiates*—the first pair of shoes he had ever chosen of himself, by himself, and for himself—who should be at the house but his grandfather, the one with the white beard, of course.

After being kissed on the brow, naturally the grandson had to take *The Collegiates* out of the box and show grandpa.

Berel held his breath while the old man took one of the shoes and examined it carefully. Upside down, inside, all around. He tapped the odd looking piece of metal set into the back of the heel.

"That saves the heel," the boy piped up with a salesman's enthusiasm, for, after all, grandfather couldn't be expected to understand about collegiate cleats.

"Hm," the old man grunted dubiously, "America gonif." He ran his fingers over the rough-grained leather and shook his head.

"Stiff like a board," he grumbled.

"But grandpa, they're comfortable, and they'll wear like iron, and I like them. . . ." Fighting his resentment, the boy still strove to win approval.

His grandfather ignored him and addressed himself to the mother.

"Since when do you let a child be a judge?" he demanded sternly. "Don't tell me you're going to let him keep them?"

He didn't wait for an answer. His face had that what can you expect from a woman look. He handed the boy the shoe coldly.

"When you change them, wear them in good health," he said without enthusiasm.

Crushed and outraged, Berel went sulking to his bedroom with *The Collegiates* under his arm, but all the joy of having them was gone.

When his mother called him in later to have some bread and jam, he sat sullenly at the kitchen table unwilling even to look at his grandfather.

"How about you, grandpa," his mother was asking the old man, "shall I boil you some eggs?"

. . . Boiled eggs . . . boiled eggs. . . . Why can't you eat anything but boiled eggs here? . . . the boy thought angrily. It's a kosher house, isn't it? It's good enough for my other grandfather, why isn't it good enough for you? . . .

He was popping questions at the old man like a prosecuting attorney. Only silently, of course. And he smiled in triumph as he realized that if he had asked the questions out loud, the old man wouldn't have been able to convince him anyhow.

. . . He just doesn't trust my mother, that's what it is. He doesn't trust anybody, not even God, I bet. . . .

He finished his bread and jam feeling better, and strode off to his room, without a word.

He was reading when his grandfather came in to say goodbye. "Good-bye, Berel."

He looked up from his book slowly.

"Good-bye, Grandpa." The voice was flat and indifferent, and he raised his brow mechanically, like a dutiful grandson, but there was no magic in the kiss anymore.

And I'll tell you a strange thing. After that he liked his grandmother more and more each time he saw her, even if she was extravagant and a nag and difficult to get along

with—which he didn't believe anymore. And as for grandfathers, the one with the black beard may have been an ordinary grandfather like anybody's grandfather, but Berel always remembered him with a warm and tender feeling—especially how he used to enjoy his mother's cooking.

Kosher cooking, it was, believe me. How do I know? Let's begin again, and I'll tell you.

Once upon a time—some 30-odd years ago, to be exact—I was a little boy, and I had two grandfathers. One had a black beard, the other a white beard. . . .

STUDENTS STRIKE AT RACISM

By Robert Fogel and Jack Cohen

ON April 11, over 8,000 day and evening session students at the College of the City of New York began a five-day strike against anti-Semitism and white supremacy that was the most far-reaching democratic student action in the last 10 years.

The City College strike was more than a blow against two bigots. It indicated that thousands of students and large masses of the American people are ready to resist attempts to impose racism on America. The strike ripped through the cynical illusion of many liberals that the will to fight for democracy is waning.

The strike aim was the suspension, pending trial and ouster, of William E. Knickerbocker, chairman of the Romance Languages Department (charged with anti-Semitism in hiring and promotion of teachers, anti-Jewish remarks and with discriminating against a Jewish student), and William C. Davis, economics instructor (who was found guilty by a faculty committee of segregating Negro and white students when he was in charge of a veterans' dormitory at the school). The open, active fight against Knickerbocker, which the Hillel Foundation was among the first to stimulate, has been raging for four years and that against Davis, which was initiated in its early stages by the Frederick Douglass Society, an interracial group, for two years.

Between last October and the end of February there was little public activity on the issue. At the beginning of March student leaders, headed by Edward Sparer, vice president of the Student Council, charged that the school administration, and particularly President Harry N. Wright, had sabotaged the efforts to oust the bigots. Two weeks later a group of students, many of them members of the Young Progressives of America, staged a demonstration at a City College basketball game in Madison Square Garden against the continued retention of Davis and Knickerbocker. These actions reminded the student body that the bigots would be removed only if it acted.

The Lid Blows Off

Then came the incident that blew the lid off the school. Judge Hubert T. Delany, chairman of an alumni committee investigating the cases of the two instructors, resigned.

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He charged the administration not only with obstructing attempts to rid the school of the men accused of racism, but also with protecting and supporting them. When President Wright attempted to defame Judge Delany and stubbornly clung to his reactionary position, student sentiment for mass action rose to a new pitch. Progressive student leaders in the American Veterans Committee chapter at the college called for a sustained strike starting April 11 to oust the bigots. Under this pressure, together with a presentation of the facts of the case by Judge Delany to a student mass meeting, the Student Council of the day session held a referendum on the question. The vote was 2797 for the strike and 1885 against. The evening session also voted to strike.

The first pickets arrived at 7 A.M. on April 11th. They were greeted by a small army of police. As the picket lines grew, the police, who had been summoned by President Wright, became menacing. At 9 A.M. police tried forcibly to break the lines, which by then had about 300 students. Pulling students off the picket lines, the police threw them into a station wagon. At this point some 1500 students, who had been side-line observers, broke into a spontaneous roar of protest. Showing that they would not be intimidated, as one man they moved against the police, called on them to stop the arrests and joined the picket lines. Seeing this mass support, the police satisfied themselves with those they had already got in the wagon and retreated. From that point the success of the strike was guaranteed. The intimidation of the police proved to be a boomerang and crystallized student resentment. Seventy-five per cent of the students stayed out of classes, according to the students, while the administration itself admitted 55 per cent. This action on the part of the police was unanimously condemned by the Sociology Department in a letter sent to President Wright. President Wright's reply condoned the police action.¹

The next days of the strike saw a return of freedom of expression to the campus despite disruptive police tactics. Students broke censorship restrictions imposed by the administration in past years in an effort to halt student democratic action. Leaflets which previously had to be submitted for approval were this time handed out uncensored by student organizations from left to right giving their position on the strike. Dozens of uncensored meetings ranging in size from a few score to 1500 and 2000 took place on

¹ See the student publication, *Main Events*, May 2.

the campus. Previous to the strike only administration-approved meetings could be held on the campus.

During the strike a delegation of 1000 students headed by five leaders of the Strike Committee went to City Hall to see Mayor William O'Dwyer, who is an old hand at refusing to see delegations protesting discrimination. O'Dwyer was not available to the strikers. But later that day he issued a strike-breaking statement that, if he were a member of the Board of Higher Education, he "would bar from all future classes any student strikers who upset 'the orderly fashion' of the school system" (*New York Times*, April 14). Delegations also visited State Commissioner Spaulding and the Board of Higher Education.

The aid from student, labor and civic groups to the strike was of great importance. Three and one half million students throughout the world sent full support to the strikers through the International Union of Students. Students from all over the country sent messages of support: the Student Council of the New York University School of Education, Sarah Lawrence Student Council, 1001 students from Chicago University and many others sent messages. Students from metropolitan colleges, Brooklyn, Hunter, Queens, Columbia, New York University and a band from Juilliard School of Music joined the picket line.

Labor and Civic Aid

Immediately following the sit-down demonstration last fall, a delegation of trade union and civic group leaders visited President Wright. During the April strike a major delegation of civic and labor leaders again went to President Wright. The delegation was organized by the Joint Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism. Representatives from Furriers New York Joint Council, the Teachers' Union (CIO), Local 65, the Jewish Young Fraternalists and others were in the delegation. Support was given to the strike by the International Ladies' Garment Workers. The Emma Lazarus Division of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order distributed lunch to the strikers on one day and the Young Jewish Fraternalists of the JPFO on a second day. Some local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples and the American Jewish Congress sent messages of support and participated to some degree in the public protest. Congress leadership however, concentrated mainly on pressing legal action against Knickerbocker. Among the first to support the strike was the American Labor Party.

The *New York Post*, *Daily Worker* and *Morning Freiheit* gave press support to the strike. Despite the distortions by the rest of the press of the issue and character of the strike, the case of the City College students was effectively put before the country. Sufficient pressure was built up for the students to win some of their demands and on April 20th (the strike had been recessed during the Passover and Easter holidays) the strike was suspended. At a rally of some 1500 students the president of the Strike Committee, William Fortunato, pointed out

that the moment of maximum effectiveness of the action had been reached. David Tyson, a Negro strike leader, told the students that they had won concessions in the form of getting a date set for a hearing on Knickerbocker by Spaulding² and for a hearing on Davis by the Board of Higher Education. But Tyson emphasized that the students could guarantee complete victory only by continued efforts in new forms and he outlined a program centered on obtaining support from the community and labor.

*Thus, although the strike phase of the struggle against discrimination at City College has ended, the fight continues and will continue until complete victory is won.

Education Through Struggle

For the thousands of City College students who participated in the strike, it was more than a demonstration. It was an education in democratic struggle. The students and many others are drawing lessons from the strike.

The resistance put up by Wright, the Board of Higher Education and O'Dwyer show that the Davis-Knickerbocker case has far more than local importance. These men realize that the student strike was an attack against the whole rotten practice of jimcrow and anti-Semitism that dominates the educational system as part of the pattern of discrimination in the country at large. The men who rule education fear that a victory on Davis and Knickerbocker might destroy these degenerate practices by leading to the development of similar irresistible struggles throughout the country. Only thus can one explain the police brutality and other intimidation used by Wright's and O'Dwyer's police, which can only be characterized in the last analysis as activities prompted by fear.

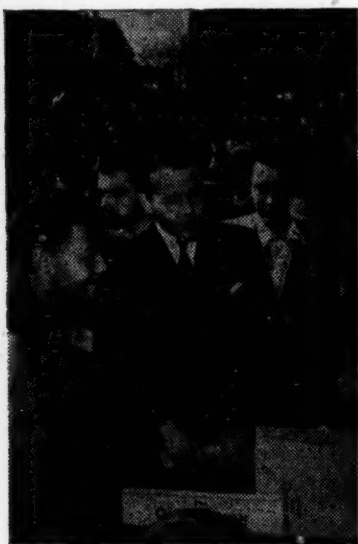
Resistance to the students' demands was so intense because the students' fight against jimcrow and anti-Semitism was a blow against the drive towards war and fascism, although to most of the students the connection was not made explicit. For these two ideologies are among the main instruments of the war forces to guarantee the success of their plans. The past three years have increasingly shown that the imperialists are trying to win white and non-Jewish workers to the war program by feeding them the poison of supremacy. Hence the strike advanced the fight for peace.

When one fights to oust bigots one also disrupts the attack on civil rights. At City College Wright's plans called for attacks not on racists but on defenders of democracy and peace. This is the meaning of his frequent "anti-communist" tirades. Dr. Lee Lorch, a mathematics instructor and scholar, is being ousted from his position for no other visible reason than that he has been a prominent fighter against segregation as vice-chairman of the Town and Village Committee to end jimcrow at Stuyvesant Town. The student fight upset Wright's planned attacks against democrats for it has exposed his strategy of supporting racists

² On April 29 a hearing on Knickerbocker was held by State Commissioner of Education Francis T. Spaulding. The decision has not yet been handed down at this writing.—Eds.

and ousting fighters for equality. The strike cut through the anti-communist hysteria waged in the capitalist press against the strike, and put the spotlight on the real menace, the bearers of fascist ideology.

The strike showed that the fight against jimcrow and the fight against anti-Semitism are one fight. Both have the same roots and are fostered by the same elements in our society. For a time the forces on and off the campus interested in quelling the fight were able to mislead the students who were sincerely interested in getting Knickerbocker out. When both cases were coming to a head last semester, these reactionary forces were able to split the struggle against Davis from that against Knickerbocker, thereby seriously weakening both fights.



But progressive students on campus led the victorious fight against this dangerous division. They fought for and won the inclusion of Negro students in the Strike Committee. Joe Galiber, basketball star, and Dave Tyson, of the Frederick Douglass Society, played outstanding roles and helped deepen understanding on the Davis fight. Now there is no longer any question of separation.

This significant achievement is perhaps best symbolized in the change in approach of the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at City College. During the September sit-down demonstration Hillel had not taken a stand on the Davis case and had in fact resisted attempts to draw it into the anti-Davis fight. Two Hillel leaders were prevented by the executive from joining the anti-bigotry coalition. Last fall Hillel even permitted itself to be separated from the student body by becoming an intermediary between the administration and the students during the sit-down demonstration and consequently lost prestige and membership.

Changes in Hillel

A sharp internal struggle in Hillel which was reinforced by an overall growth of student understanding during the following months resulted in important victories. It was Hillel that brought the climactic letter of resignation from Judge Delany before the student body. Hillel was among the first of campus groups to call for an immediate, prolonged strike. And Hillel offices served as headquarters for the Strike Committee and all its facilities were brought into play in mobilizing its membership behind the strike.

Hillel's entry into the united struggle could have come much sooner than it did if the progressive forces on campus had understood the nature of the reactionary pressures on Hillel stemming from the hush-hush policy of B'nai B'rith. Hush-hush was responsible for the failure of Hillel chapters of other colleges to support the strike. As a result of the strike, hush-hush lost prestige that can be lowered even more, if the progressives continue to expose it unremittingly in the Hillel Foundation. broad united front possible.

Strike Lessons

As a result of the strike the effectiveness of red-baiting was considerably weakened. While the red label had earlier been successful in stalling student action, the red-baiting cries of "communist inspired" from the lying press, Knickerbocker, Davis and Wright, were seen by the students in their true light as a diversion from the real issue. In addition, the strenuous efforts of the communists and progressives over a period had exposed to many students the falseness of red-baiting, and this helped to make a

The students learned other things from the strike. There is among them a growing recognition that they must combat those who wish to keep the issue an intra-campus affair. For the students are realizing that ultimate victory can come only by an alliance with labor and community organizations. The student body is also beginning to recognize that it must combat the tendency completely to separate the faculty from the student body. For student-faculty unity is needed to rid the school of the intimidation which kept many faculty members from taking a forthright stand on the strike. Student-faculty unity is also needed to support those faculty members who came forth as democratic allies of the students during the strike, when some of the faculty demanded of Wright that no reprisals be taken against the striking students.

Among the students also the attempt to divert the struggle into nice "legal methods" in order to "keep the name of the school clean" has been substantially discredited. For the students are learning that only militant mass action can successfully combat the undemocratic tactics of the administration and the Board of Higher Education. For the students now realize that it is bigotry, not democratic action against bigotry, which hurts the name of the school.

Perhaps the most significant lesson of the strike is the readiness and courage of the students to strike back at the signs of rising fascism. These future lawyers, teachers, engineers, whose future employment is in part determined by their school records and the recommendations of such men as Wright, knew that the additional cuts incurred during the strike would mean, and in many instances have already meant, failure in and dropping of important courses, and in some instances even expulsion. These Jews, Negroes and others, mostly sons and daughters of working parents, recognized that their immediate and most important task was the guarantee of their future in a democratic America free of police brutality, jimcrow, anti-Semitism and fascism.

Documents

ANSWER TO A LETTER

By Ilya Ehrenburg

The article by the Jewish Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg published in Pravda, September 21, 1948, has aroused much heated discussion and has been the occasion for a mass of misrepresentation of the Soviet position on the Jewish people and on Israel. We are glad to make this article available.—Eds.

I have received a letter from one Alexander R. in Munich. He writes:

"It may surprise you that I am writing to you, but I have read some of your books and I turn to you as a writer to help me solve what is to me a difficult problem. I am a German Jew, a medical student, and of course, an anti-fascist. In 1938 I managed to get away to France. When the nazis invaded France, I went into hiding, then fought for two years in the ranks of the Maquis, in the Gabriel Peri partisan detachment. I returned to Munich after the victory. I confess I was naive—I thought that fascism had been wiped out. Now I am daily subjected to insults. When Hitler was in power, I believed it was a temporary eclipse, I regarded anti-Semitism as one of the features of the 'brown plague.' But why must I still read disgusting inscriptions on walls? Why must I listen to fellow-students telling me, 'Get out of here, go to Palestine'? Why was my friend not given a professorship, but was frankly told: 'There's no room for Jews here'? You cannot imagine how intolerable are these insults to one's dignity. I long for a most simple thing, for the right to live without a brand of shame. The nazis made us wear a yellow patch on our breasts. Now everything is more subtle, but it is the same nevertheless. Under the protection of the Americans the same nazis are entrenched in all responsible positions. You probably know this, and I am not writing to complain or inform.

"I should like to know what is the attitude taken in the Soviet Union to the state of Israel. Can we see in it a solution to the so-called Jewish question? To me, these are not abstract reflections, but a matter of life. In your novel, *The Storm*, I read gruesome descriptions of the murder of Jews at Oswiecim and other places. My entire family perished at the hands of the nazis. What is to be done to prevent a repetition of those horrors? Yesterday I heard a colleague of mine say loudly: 'The Jews ought to be finished off.' I have never been a Zionist, but I am

beginning to believe in the idea of a Jewish state. I am expecting an answer from you—for you are a writer of the country in which I believe with all my heart. . . ."

I think the question posed by my unknown correspondent is of interest not only to him, and not even only to Jews, but to all people of intelligence and conscience. I have therefore decided to answer, not in a private letter, but in a newspaper article.

Alexander R. wants to know what is the attitude taken in the Soviet Union to the State of Israel. This question can be answered briefly: the Soviet government was the first to recognize the new state, it protested energetically against the aggressors, and when the armies of Israel fought to defend their land from the Arab Legionnaires commanded by British officers, the sympathies of our people were all for the wronged, not for the wrongdoers. This is as natural as the fact that the Soviet people sympathize with the patriots of Viet-Nam and not with the French suppressors, with the patriots of Indonesia and not with the Dutch punitive forces.

However, Alexander R.'s first question may be answered at greater length. The representatives of the Soviet Union in the United Nations have said that our people understand the feelings of the Jews who have experienced the greatest tragedy and have at last obtained the right to exist on their own land. Wishing the toilers of Israel success, Soviet people do not close their eyes to the trials in store for all honest people in the young state. In addition to the invasion of Anglo-Arab hordes, Israel is exposed to another invasion—not so conspicuous, but no less dangerous—namely, the invasion of Anglo-American capital. To the imperialists Palestine is, first and foremost, oil. The competition between marauders—Standard Oil on the one hand and the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company and Shell on the other—intrudes in the life of the still frail state. Israel is threatened not only by King Abdullah's cutthroats, but by the interests of the Palestine Potash Company, the question of the Kirkuk-Haifa pipeline, American designs for concessions and military bases. The state of Israel is not headed by representatives of the working people. We have all seen how the bourgeoisie of European countries, with their longer traditions and older states, have sold out the national interests for the sake of dollars. Is there any reason why Soviet people should expect the bourgeoisie of Israel to

have more scruples or display greater foresight than the bourgeoisie of France or Italy? Hardly. We trust the peoples. But the fact that the people in Israel are fighting, and that they are fighting bravely, does not mean that the people there are in power.

There are many workers, urban and rural, in the state of Israel. It is they who are bearing the brunt of the country's defense. Recently, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, Mikunis, stated: "We have no property tax, nor a tax on profits; it is a disgrace the way our manufacturers are piling up profits." The workers thus have to fight not only against the invaders, but also against the greed of their own bourgeoisie to whom war is, just as to any other bourgeoisie, primarily a lucrative business.

I believe that the progressive men and women of Israel, its toilers, will find the right road amidst their extremely trying conditions. I am sure that socialism will triumph throughout the world, and it will triumph in Palestine too. But though I believe in the future of Israel, I must reply in the negative to my correspondent's second question—namely, whether the creation of that state provides a solution for the so-called "Jewish question."

I have always thought, and still think, that the "Jewish question" can be solved everywhere only by general social and, hence, also intellectual progress. It can be solved, not by utopians, nor by diplomats, but by the workers of all countries. I admire the bravery of the soldiers of Israel in repelling the attacks of the British hirelings, but I know that the solution of the "Jewish question" does not depend on military successes in Palestine but on the victory of socialism over capitalism, on the triumph of the lofty international principles inherent in the working class over nationalism, fascism and racism.

Obscurantists have since long ago invented fables designed to represent the Jews as some peculiar creatures different from the people around them. Obscurantists have maintained that the Jews live a separate life of their own, that they do not share the joys and sorrows of the peoples among whom they live; obscurantists have asserted that Jews have no sense of country, that they are eternal wanderers; obscurantists have affirmed that the Jews of various countries are a unit, held together by some mysterious ties. All these inventions found their extreme expression in Hitler's foul book, *Mein Kampf*, and were repeated by the SS-men who buried old Jews alive and flung Jewish infants down steep banks and into furnaces.

Yes, the Jews kept to themselves and

lived their own separate life when they were compelled to do so. The ghetto was not invented by Jewish mystics, but by Catholic fanatics. In those times, when the eyes of people were blinded by the mist of religion, there were fanatics among the Jews just as there were fanatics among Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox Christians and Moslems. But as soon as the gates of the ghetto opened, as soon as the mist of the night of the Middle Ages began to lift, the Jews of various countries joined the general life of the nations.

Yes, many Jews left their native lands and emigrated to America. But they emigrated not because they did not love their native land, but because violence and insults deprived them of that beloved land. And, were the Jews alone in seeking salvation in other countries? That was also what Italians did, what Irishmen did, what Slavs from the countries oppressed by Turks and Germans did, what Armenians and Russian non-conformists did. Jewish toilers, like all others, are strongly attached to the land where they were born and where they grew up.

Jews live in different countries. Many of them live in lands in which their ancestors lived since time immemorial. The first Jewish memorials in Tunis, Georgia, Italy date back to ancient times. Obscurantists say that there exists some mystical bond between all the Jews of the world. However, there is very little in common between a Tunisian Jew and a Jew living in Chicago, who speaks American and thinks American. If there is a bond between them, it is anything but mystical; it is a bond created by anti-Semitism. If tomorrow a maniac appeared who proclaimed that all red-headed or snub-nosed people must be hounded and wiped out, we should see a natural solidarity of all red-headed or all snub-nosed people. The appalling atrocities of the German fascists, their proclaimed policy of wholesale extermination of Jews, a policy which they put into effect in many countries, racial propaganda, insults followed by the furnaces of Maidanek—all that gave rise to a sense of a deep bond among the Jews of various countries. It was the solidarity of offended and indignant people.

The splendid Polish poet Julian Tuwim wrote an article during the war entitled: "We Polish Jews." He wrote of his patriotism: "I am a Pole, because I was told this in Polish in my father's home; a Pole because I was fed on the Polish language from infancy, because my mother taught me Polish verse and Polish songs, because, when I was young, when I was shaken by the first tremor of poetry, it burst forth in Polish words. I am a Pole, because it was

in Polish that I confessed the anxieties of my first love, and in Polish that I murmured of its happiness. I am a Pole also because I am fonder of the birch and the willow than of the palm and the cypress, and Mickiewicz and Chopin mean more to me than Shakespeare and Beethoven—for reasons which I cannot explain. I am a Pole because I was born and grew up in Poland, because I was happy and unhappy in Poland, because it is to Poland that I want to return from my exile, even if I were assured heavenly bliss elsewhere. I am a Pole because I want Polish soil, and none other, to swallow me up when



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I am dead." Julian Tuwim then went on to explain what bound him to the Jews: "Blood exists in two forms: the blood that flows in the veins and the blood that flows out of the veins. The study of the first belongs to the realm of physiology. Those who, beside physiological characteristics, attribute to blood some other properties, some mysterious force, those, as we now see, reduce cities to ashes, massacre people, and, as we shall soon see, lead their own nation to ruin. The other blood is the one which the ringleader of international fascism is extracting from the veins of humanity in order to prove the triumph of his blood over my blood. It is the blood of millions innocently slain, the blood of Jews, and not 'Jewish blood.' Why do I say, 'We Jews'? Because of blood."

Of course, there are nationalists and mystics among the Jews. They produce the program of Zionism. But it is not they who have settled Palestine with Jews. Jews went to Palestine because of the ideologists of misanthropy, the votaries of racism, the anti-Semites who drove people from their homes and made them migrate to distant lands in search—not of happiness so much as of the right to their human dignity. We all remember the epic of the "Exodus," the ship which carried to Palestine refugees from Western Germany—people who by chance had

escaped the furnaces of Oswiecim and Maidanek and then found themselves fired on by British soldiers. The state of Israel is something like that ship—an ark, a raft, holding people overtaken by the bloody flood of racism and fascism.

Why is my correspondent, Alexander R., ready to see salvation in Israel? Because the men who robbed him of his country are still holding sway in Bavaria, because the German racists enjoy the protection of racists from New Jersey and Alabama; because to a Bavarian Jew Hitlerism is not just a terrible memory, but something that is still alive, protected and cultivated. Perhaps there remains nothing for Alexander R. under these circumstances, but to circumvent the barriers put up by various "observers" and make his way into Israel. But, while this may resolve Alexander R.'s personal drama, it cannot resolve the drama of the Jews in the various countries where money, falsehood and prejudice dominate.

Eli Migniot, Communist Deputy of the French Parliament, writes in reply to the Zionist newspaper *Gazette of Israel*: "It can only occur to reactionary Zionist circles that the State of Israel will attract the Jews of the entire world. French Jews are French citizens, they are fused with the French nation, having fought together and toiled together. To them, as to all Frenchmen, the future is in the victory over the survivals of fascism, over treason, injustice and exploitation."

The United States of America has the largest Jewish population. When I was there I saw how the transatlantic racists outrage the sense of dignity of the Jews, Negroes, Chinese, Italians. It is obvious that the growing racism in the United States is a menace to the American Jews, and it is also obvious that the salvation of the American Jews lies not in the State of Israel, which could not accommodate even a small part of them, but in the victory of progressive America over the America of the racists.

The Zionists say that the tragedy which overtook the European Jews in recent years was due to the fact that the Jews lived scattered among other nationalities. Let us go back to the autumn of 1942: Hitler's hordes had then broken into Egypt and were not far from Palestine. Even if there had existed an independent Jewish state then, it could not have stopped Rommel's armored divisions. What was it that saved the Jews of Palestine at that time? Stalingrad, the defeat inflicted on the fascists by Soviet people; for, instead of pushing on towards Jerusalem, Hitler had to turn his attention to the problem of defense.

In the fateful duel, the Soviet people

smote down the enemy of all peoples—bloody German fascism. The Soviet people thereby saved Europe, and they also saved the lives of millions of Jews. I was recently in Wroclaw. Jewish settlers there invited participants in the World Intellectual Congress to visit them. There were among us Polish scientists, Negro writers, Brazilians, Czechs. A little girl, a member of the Young Pioneers, addressed these words to the Soviet delegate: "Tell the Soviet people that we, Jewish children of Wroclaw, bring flowers to your countrymen sleeping in the common grave. Tell the Soviet people that we know who saved us from death."

Yes, there is only one solution for the "Jewish question"—the victory of the progressive forces of mankind. Suppose for a moment that the most terrible thing happens—that world reaction triumphs. In that case it is quite certain that the State of Israel would become a new Oswiecim or Maidanek.

Before the war fascism was in the ascendant in various countries of Eastern Europe and Southeastern Europe. The Jews in those countries were persecuted—we need but recall the "Iron Guard" or the pogroms in pre-war Poland. Then came the nazis. They encouraged the marauders among the dregs of society and organized the wholesale murder of Jews. But under the pressure of the peoples, aided by the Soviet Army, the fascist rulers fell. The gentlemen who expected to revive the pre-war practices, the various semi-liberals and semi-pogromists, fled across the ocean. The toilers took power into their own hands. And I have seen with what zeal and patriotism the Jews in the people's democracies are rebuilding wrecked towns, working, studying, writing books, planting trees. In Poland, where before the war the Pilsudskyites harried Jews, there is now hardly a city, I think, without a street named in honor of the "Heroes of the Ghetto"; for the heroic fight of the Warsaw Jews has become a matter of pride to the entire Polish people. When the fascist scum tried to engineer a pogrom in Kielce a few years ago, the people's government punished them as enemies of Poland. The Bulgarian people succeeded in preventing large numbers of Bulgarian Jews from being sent off to "death camps." After the 9th of September, the people's courts condemned the Bulgarian fascists whose hands were stained with Jewish blood. Today the Bulgarian Jews, among whom there are many former partisans, are working together with the entire Bulgarian people to build up their new democratic state. Their future is not overseas, but on the building sites of Sofia, in Plovdiv and Rusa.

In tsarist Russia, the government caste in order to divert the anger of the people from themselves, blamed the Jews for the country's poverty, for the strife and misgovernment. The "Black Hundreds" organized bloody pogroms. Government dignitaries invented ever new restrictions. But the Russian nation was no party to these outrages. Maxim Gorki, in his article "On anti-Semitism," rightly noted that the common people of Russia had not been affected by the frightful contagion of anti-Semitism. The finest representatives of the Russian intelligentsia always raised their voices against anti-Semitism: we need but recall Leo Tolstoy's "I Cannot Keep Silence!", Saltykov-Shchedrin's sarcasm, Pirogov's noble speech and Korolenko's hearty words. Maxim Gorki fought against anti-Semitism passionately and implacably. He called it "a disgusting abomination." The first bill providing for equal rights for Jews was introduced in the State Duma by the representatives of the working class of Russia.

The tsarist government artificially kept Jewish toilers separated from their Russian comrades. But labor, struggle, and the blood of strikers and demonstrators proved stronger than all prohibitions and all prejudices. Progressive Jewish intellectuals shared the life of all Russia, took part in the revolutionary movement, contributed to the country's cultural progress. Even in those bitter times the land of their birth was their country: they loved their native towns, verdant Byelorussia, the high waters of the Dnieper, our entire great and magnificent country.

The founder of our state, V. I. Lenin, castigated anti-Semitism in wrathful articles and speeches as a shameful thing. The October Revolution brought freedom and equality to all citizens of what is now the Soviet Union, the Jews included. Some of them regard Russian as their mother tongue, others Ukrainian, still others Jewish, but they all regard the Soviet Union as their country and are proud of being citizens of the land in which there is no longer any exploitation of man by man. In 1931, when the dreadful cloud began to form over Europe, two years before Hitler's accession to power, J. V. Stalin, foreseeing the crimes of the cannibals, said:

"National and racial chauvinism is a survival of the misanthropic customs characteristic of the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism, as an extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous survival of cannibalism."

When cannibalism set out to devour Europe, the Soviet people, led by Stalin, crushed the cannibals. Soviet Jews, along with the people of all other nationalities, self-sacrificingly defended the lofty ideals

of our society, defended their native land. Girls, youths, old men escaped from the ghettos of Vilna and Minsk to join partisan detachments. The native land has become still dearer to every Soviet Jew: he remembers the death of the innocent victims of fascism; he remembers the severe battles and the fallen heroes; he is bound to all Soviet people by the ties of friendship in battle, and dear graves bind him to every inch of Soviet soil.

Let my correspondent, Alexander R., ponder over the events of the past decade, and he will realize that there is only one way to solve the "Jewish question." It is to abolish the "Jewish question."

We sympathize with the struggle of the toilers of Israel, they have the sympathies not only of the Soviet Jews, but of all Soviet people—there are no admirers of Glubb-Pasha in our country. But every Soviet citizen is aware that a state is judged not only by its national character, but by its social system as well. A citizen of socialist society regards the people of any bourgeois country, and that means also the people of the State of Israel, as wanderers in a dark forest who have not yet found their way out. A citizen of socialist society can never envy the fate of people who carry the yoke of capitalist exploitation.

The future of the Jewish toilers of all countries is bound up with the future of progress, with the future of socialism. Soviet Jews, along with all Soviet people, are working to build up their socialist homeland. They are not looking to the Near East; they are looking towards the future. And I believe that the working people of the State of Israel, who do not share the mysticism of the Zionists, are now looking northward, to the Soviet Union, which is marching in the van of mankind towards a better future.

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Letters from Abroad

CRISIS IN THE JEWISH FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

The Jewish Friendly Society movement (the British Fraternal and Mutual Aid Orders) faces a serious crisis. People joined these organizations for mutual aid and for sick benefits. The new, compulsory Social Insurance Act had helped to undermine the basis of these societies. They were in difficulties even before this act became operative. Solvency depended on the recruitment of young people. The older the members become the greater the drain on the funds and the sooner the funds are exhausted. Failure to attract new young members is due to changes in the composition of the Jewish population in Britain.

The Jewish Friendly Societies were established when Jewish immigration was at its height. In many cases the prime motive for setting up these organizations was the desire for a center for those coming from the same town or village in Eastern Europe. Many lodges or small organizations bear the names of places in Poland, Lithuania, Russia, etc. But as years went by, fewer and fewer immigrants came in, and the urge to congregate declined. The youth who used Eng-

lish as their mother tongue could step out of the narrow confines of the ordinary Jewish Friendly Society, which concerned itself wholly with benefits and donations.

Nevertheless, in 1938 the Association of Jewish Friendly Societies, established in 1915 to promote the interests of the Jewish Friendly Society movement as a whole, represented more than 50,000 members. These were organized in seven orders or societies with branches in many provincial towns and some 28 independent societies. These organizations administered considerable sums of money. For instance, the Order Ahei Brith and Shield of Abraham, with a membership of some 7000, distributed in its first 50 years of existence about £500,000.

The Grand Order Sons of Jacob, with 28 lodges in London, 10 in Manchester and three in Leeds, comprising a membership of over 3000, in 1945 had spent during its existence over £62,000 in benefits. The Order Ahei Ameth, with lodges in London and the provinces and a voluntary membership of about 4000, has disbursed since its inception over £250,000 in benefits.

Most of the Friendly Societies have their own premises and several run their own convalescent homes. Many have had their own youth and women's sections and offer special inducements for such membership.

Most of the large Jewish Friendly Societies are represented on the Jewish Board of Deputies, where they exert little influence despite the numbers they represent.

With the exception of one of the Friendly Societies, the Workers' Circle, these organizations were interested in few activities other than those associated with benefits. In fact, the Workers' Circle came into existence as a revolt of militant working class elements against the restrictions of the existing Friendly Societies, which barred within their organizations political or social questions, however these might concern or affect their membership. Hence, only the Workers' Circle engaged in activities of a political and working class character. The most prominent and active working class elements, irrespective of political affiliation, within the Jewish community in Britain are members of this organization.

This participation in political affairs contributed towards the flourishing condition of this organization when all the

others had begun to feel the pinch. The Workers' Circle was in the lead of the fight against fascism and anti-Semitism when the Board of Deputies was afraid to move. The Workers' Circle was active in helping Republican Spain against Franco and is actively associated with movements fighting oppression and injustice. At most, other Jewish Friendly Societies have helped the Zionist Movement. But the movement's general indifference to public matters, Jewish and non-Jewish, is now having a boomerang effect. What need is there for an organization whose positive function of charity-and-benefit has been nullified by the national insurance scheme, particularly since there is no tradition of political activity and struggle?

What will happen to this movement? Should it be permitted to pass out of existence? Cannot this movement be given a new basis which will insure its continued existence as well as enable it to contribute to the fight of the Jewish masses for defense?

Certain it is that the Friendly Societies cannot continue as in the past. They must change their purpose from providing benefits to affording educational, cultural and recreational activities to its members. The new organizational forms may have to assume the character of community centers in which every facet of social and cultural activity is provided for.

Special facilities must be provided for the youth, who are keenly concerned with the problems of fascism and eager to find an outlet for their enthusiasm. Young people will not join any organization which imposes heavy financial burdens, but does not provide facilities for education and sport. Premises will have to be provided, as well as the necessary sports equipment and educational personnel. The solution to this problem may be found along such lines. The solution must come soon, for the danger of disintegration of the Societies is critical.

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Book Reviews

TEVYE SPEAKS ENGLISH

By H. Ben Elias

Tevye's Daughters, by Sholem Aleichem, translated by Frances Butwin, Crown Publishers, New York. \$3.00.

There will be a warm welcome for *Tevye's Daughters* from admirers of long standing, happy to greet imperturbable, lovable Tevye for old time's sake. There will be a joyous welcome from those numerous, more recent readers of Sholem Aleichem's stories who are finding, in the Butwin translations, access to a new literary wonderland. It is a deserved welcome to a character and story-cycle that for half a century have brought joy to Yiddish-reading Jews scattered over the face of the earth. Not a little of the joy, it should be mentioned, stems from the feeling that Tevye, himself, is a lively demonstration of the will to survive.

The first of the Tevye stories appeared in 1895. It presented Tevye the Dairyman and his perpetual problem—how to marry off first one and then another of the seven daughters whose presence proved to him that he was a favored son of God. The seven other stories, plus a brief coda not given in this translation, appeared at intervals down to 1914.

From the appearance of *Dos Groisse Gevins*, called "Tevye Wins a Fortune" in *The Old Country*, Jews recognized that they were witness to the birth of a character who was something greater than a mere fictional creation by a writer. In Tevye they saw a folk-figure, three-dimensional, true to life and their experience. In his talk they heard the speech of the people. In his humane and patient bearing they saw their characteristic attitudes and outlooks. In his problems and difficulties, they saw the experiences of a people tormented by the daily struggle for existence, repressions, and pogroms, a people stirred, at the same time, by dreams of new social developments.

With Tevye they looked about them to see their sons and daughters swept from the old established social patterns and conventions by winds of new doctrine. And in the midst of these stresses that invaded folk-ways and religious practices and made harder the very actualities of daily living, there came, Tevye in his milk-cart. He was driving his half-starved nag, admiring the beauties of God's world and impishly offering his criticism of God's handiwork. All of his hopes and thoughts

he confided to his special friend, Mr. Sholem Aleichem.

The way in which Sholem Aleichem set down these thoughts and confidences proved the measure of the writer's genius and endeared Tevye to his first readers. The English version will, as surely, endear him to the great new American following now being won for him.

The traits of Tevye which attracted Sholem Aleichem are actually the traits which the writer found most admirable in the Jewish masses: tolerance, abiding hopefulness, a grasp of the realities of their relations to others around them, unyielding opposition to the Christian "friends" who wish to convert them from their ancient beliefs, whether or not they observe them; a sense of humor which enables them to laugh at their own hardships, and a ready concern for the social good.

In this newest of Mrs. Butwin's translations, we find Tevye in the flesh. Here he is, engaging, kindly, troubled and alert, with a witticism for every crisis, a *medresh* (commentary), as he says, for every situation. Golde is here, too, patient and uncomplaining, though never at a loss for a barrage of honest cursing, and with her as comely a gallery of Jewish girls as are to be found anywhere—Tzeitl, Hodel, Chava, Shprintze, and the rest. Here Tzeitl rejects wealthy Lazar-Wolf for the choice of her heart, Motel the young tailor; Hodel follows her Fefel to political imprisonment in Siberia and Tevye, pierced by sorrow, takes her to the train knowing he will never see

her again; Chava runs off to her Fyedka, a Gentile—to return when Jews are driven from the villages, once more a daughter of Tevye; Shprintze is pulled out of the pond where she drowns herself out of unrequited love.

These are pages alive with varying emotions. They stir the reader in a way different in many respects from his response to dramatic developments in most other novels. To begin with there is no centralized dramatic focus around which the novel revolves. Life is the hero, life is the *deus ex machina*, life is the villain.

Sholem Aleichem was at his artistic best in Tevye and that success in delineating the character must be laid to the fact that Sholem Aleichem decided to let Tevye move across his own landscape and play out his destiny in his own environment—without a bow to the necessities of plot construction. What happens then is what would be most likely to happen in the circumstances which are given us: Anatevka, Yehupetz, and Boiberik are the locale in which the stories are set; the *shadchan*, the village priest, the mayor, the town clerk—these and others are the figures who come in from time to time and play their un-selfconscious parts in a firm, richly-textured folk-novel.

Tevye dominates the scene—the manner of narration followed by Sholem Aleichem makes Tevye the teller of these stories about his family. It is a triumph of translation that Tevye and the others come through with such a sense of reality

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against a background of social and individual behavior made true and palpable by feeling, sensitiveness, and knowledge in the translator. Shortcomings in the translation are of a minor character, offering no impediment to the enjoyment of the general reader.

A serious disagreement with the translator, however, is over her decision to distribute the individual Tevye chapters throughout the book, instead of running them in sequence as in the Yiddish text. This is to destroy the unity of effect which is so large a part of Sholem Aleichem's artistry. And if, as Mrs. Butwin urges, *Tevye's Daughters* has the overall effect and compass of a novel, why should the first chapter, published in *The Old Country*, have been omitted from the present book?

As to the other stories in the volume, it is a pleasure to report the presence of many old favorites including "If I Were Rothschild," "The Littlest of Kings," "The Passover Expropriation," "The Little Pot," and "Gy-Ma-Na-Si-A"—that biting attack on the *numerus clausus*, the quota method of admitting Jewish students to educational institutions under the Tsars.

Commendable smoothness and fluency are to be found in the translation. But something valuable is sacrificed to smoothness when the translator has Tevye say, page 260: "You remember his great riches,

his airs and pretensions, the splendor of his mansion in Yehupetz with its dozen servants and thousand clocks and mirrors." Tevye, unspoiled and not talking to Americans who know Hollywood splendor, actually says: "You must surely remember his airs about his house in Yehupetz and his 13 servants and all the mirrors and clocks and ornaments."

It is not a purist plea that asks for greater closeness to the text of the original. It is, instead, the desire to retain in translation the important differences in language rhythms and language construction which make great Yiddish writers distinctive in their own language. Unless care is taken to retain their characteristic qualities in translation, these writers can be made to sound alike, or like any one of our popular writers. That would be a pity.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By John Stuart

In Search of a Future, by Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, New York. \$3.

By now Mr. Hindus is so much the master of the travel essay that I suppose he can fly over a country and come out

with a manuscript on landing. It would be less than just, however, to call him superficial. Up to a point his perception is good and he has that gift for seemingly random although carefully controlled conversations that add a human dimension to the parched scene which comprise most of this book. And where the eye leaves off there is always the library from which to get both background and perspective.

On this quick run through the Middle East, Mr. Hindus was appalled by the brutal neglect of the peasant. Whether it was Iran, Egypt or Iraq, the differences between the countries were crowded out by the sameness of the poverty and disease, the exploitation, the malarial pestilence, the primitive farming, the landlessness that make of the *fellah* a beast with certain resemblance to man. These are the best pages of the book, written as they are with friendship and genuine compassion and without the sickening pity which afflicts so many other travelers over international slums. Those facts are put down that unfold a social tragedy and not because they are quaint or sensational.

In Iran, "fat with oil," most peasants go to sleep soon after dark. They cannot afford kerosene for their lamps. The "garden spot of the world," Egypt, has 75 per cent of its rural population suffering from bilharziasis and hookworm. The Iraqi's average life-span is 27 years and most of them are spent in villages where only in-

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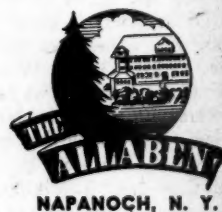
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sects can thrive. In the Arab world the *fella* is a plowman "but a plowman without land is like a plant without water." And the hunger for land, how it has been kept from him by landlord and governing caste, is one of Mr. Hindus' persistent themes.

It is Israel with its farm cooperatives, their fairly modern technology, which Mr. Hindus believes can serve as a model for the transformation of Arab agriculture. Not long ago Israel was as benumbed and stagnant as is most of the Middle East now but it has gone through a rejuvenation which catches much to neighboring countries. "There is nothing Jewish Palestine has achieved," Hindus writes, "that the Mohammedan nations of the Middle East cannot attain. Difference in historical heritage does not necessarily preclude similarity of effort and identity of accomplishment." Undeniably true. Yet it can only be a station on a longer road leading towards a system without landlords, towards the creation of a working class that presupposes industrialization for its own welfare and not for foreign investors.

Here Mr. Hindus' blueprint becomes harmful fantasy because appended to it is the concept that Washington can help meet the challenge of the landless or land-poor peasant. The history of British "beneficence" has made but the slightest impression on Hindus, and, as a matter of fact, throughout the book hardly anything is said of the thralldom in which British imperialism has kept the Middle East. There is a certain logic behind this short memory for it might easily spoil the pastoral but ridiculous picture of American financiers clearing the malarial swamps, mechanizing agriculture, helping the *fella* overcome the agonies of his landlessness—all out of compassion for the oppressed. Unintended as such, this is the only real note of comic relief in the book. When last I read the *New York Times*, it said that "While planning the betterment program Iran has begun to receive deliveries of \$25,000,000 worth of arms provided by a loan from the United States" (April 3). Mr. Hindus' idea on how the Middle East can help itself is almost as funny as an Arab sitting on a bayonet.

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Movie Review:

THE LOWEST DEPTHS

From the new Poland has come a film, *The Last Stop*, that can do much to reawaken the conscience of America to the abysmal depths into which fascism has plunged humanity and still can again. Survivors of the Auschwitz concentration camp have once more relived that horror so that the world might get an authentic picture of it. Hundreds of women inmates once again put on the striped uniforms, loaned from the museum that Auschwitz has now become, and have reenacted the unspeakable life they knew there. The film was made on the camp grounds. The result is a harrowing, numbing film that conveys as nothing else could, the horror of that experience. Every decent person is obliged to see it, but especially Americans, who may not yet have a real conception of the realities of fascism.

The film opens with a round-up on the streets of a Polish city and then takes us into the camp itself, through the bestial processing of the prisoners, some sent directly to the crematorium, others to the living death of the camp. The travail of a group of inmates is followed through the film so that it forms an artistic whole. Typical events in the camp are shown in the course of the narrative, gripping and profound in their horror. The working of the underground is pictured, the martyrdom of its leaders, the hideous cruelty of the camp administrators. One can not help thinking throughout the film of the coming release of Ilse Koch and of the lightening of the sentences of many of these beasts in recent months.

It will not be surprising if some Americans are incredulous of the events set forth. Or if many will refuse to see the film because they self-indulgently protest that they can't take it. We are a smug people because we have been thus far

spared so much of the nightmare through which the world has passed. Yet only a fraction of the truth about the camps is shown in the film: the whole truth could not be borne. Nor do we dare to doubt the picture of the underground given here, for it, too, is only a part of the truth of the transcendent heroism which has been attested many times over. Furthermore, this film differs from most anti-fascist movies in its relentless depiction of the mass horror of which the fascists were guilty. Scenes of mass punishment in the film are indelible.

For the Jews the film has special significance, since it documents the extermination plans against our European brothers and sisters. Even when the Nazi high-ups demanded that the camp inmates should not be killed, but rather supply sorely needed manpower, the procession of Jews to the crematorium went on. The film shows the heart-rending round-up of Jews for the gas chambers, the terror inspired by it, the efficiently organized loading of the Jews onto trucks for their last journey and the frantic attempts by non-Jews to save a few Jewish comrades.

The film is extremely well made. Direction of the mass scenes is first-rate and the photography is excellent. While the hundreds of women in the movie, former Auschwitz inmates, are non-actors, the main parts are well performed by Polish actors who are unknown here.

The film comes at an opportune time. For we need to put iron into our determination to realize the last words of the Jewish heroine of the film: "See to it that Auschwitz does not happen again." —L.H.

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
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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

American Jewish Labor Council and the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. About 50 youthful sympathizers of the Irgun also picketed and some hurled tomatoes and rotten eggs at Bevin. Three of them were arrested.

THE JOINT COMMITTEE to Combat Anti-Semitism has begun a campaign to press for passage of the Barrett Bill (HR-3908) to curb anti-Semitism and anti-Negro propaganda through the mails and other forms of interstate and foreign commerce. The bill has been referred to the House Judiciary Committee. Many trade unions are participating in the nation-wide campaign to obtain one million signatures to a petition, for letter-writing, holding of conferences throughout the country and wide distribution of literature.

ALL FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES of the University of Connecticut were ordered in March to revise their rules to end discrimination because of race, religion or national origin or "get off the campus." University President Jorgensen issued the order after the students voted 1267 to 210 in favor of banning campus groups which practice discrimination. Fraternities have until September 1951 to change their rules in order to allow for action at national conventions.

RADIO OWNER G. A. RICHARDS, who has been stalling off a hearing before the Federal Communications Commission to meet charges that he ordered anti-Semitic slanting of newscasts over his station in California and Michigan, was defended in ten per cent of 200 letters received by the FCC on the case. Among his defenders were VFW National Commander Lyall T. Beggs, Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Ohio Gov. Frank Lausche, California Lt. Gov. Goodwin Knight, American Legion Commander Perry Brown, Notre Dame President Father Cavanaugh, General Motors Vice-President M. B. Coyle and a group of GM executives.

EUROPE

IN THE APRIL 4 issue of *Newsweek*, correspondent Edward Weintal charged that "A campaign to eliminate Jewish intellectuals from cultural life is now under way in the Soviet Union." A few days later announcement of Stalin prize winners for outstanding work in the arts and sciences included many Jews. Among them were Prof. G. A. Grinberg, Prof. Leonid V. Kantarovich, a group including director Abram Romm, screenwriter A. P. Stein and cameraman A. V. Halperin for the film *Court of Honor*, poet Samuel Marshak, movie photographer Edward Tisse, film directors Katzman and Reisman, and inventors Lev Zakheim, Samuel Zilberglit, Isaac Faibisovich and Isosif Fridlander.

A "NEWSWEEK" ARTICLE in late March asserted that Mrs. Golda Myerson, retiring Israeli Minister to the Soviet Union, "was indignant over treatment she received during her brief stay in Moscow." Mrs. Myerson promptly issued a statement which said, "I am indeed indignant, not over anything. I have met in the USSR, but with reports of certain correspondents who, either through sheer ignorance or wilful malice, report such things which are as absurd as they are unfounded. . . . Ever since the Israeli delegation came to Moscow, we met nothing but

helpfulness and courtesy from everybody whom it was our privilege to meet. I am almost inclined to believe that it is the cordial relations between the two countries, as expressed through relations between the USSR and the Israeli delegations, that leads some who are dissatisfied with this, to publish such folly."

ABOUT ANTI-SEMITISM IN HUNGARY the *American Jewish Yearbook* for 1948-49, just published by the American Jewish Committee, notes on p. 360 the following: "Against this rising wave of anti-Semitism, which served as an outlet for misdirected hatreds, very little was done by the Protestant churches, and nothing by the Catholic Church. Whereas a few years ago they attacked the physical existence of Jews, Church authorities now offered 'spiritual salvation' through conversion."

THE HUNGARIAN ZIONIST FEDERATION voluntarily dissolved itself in early April by unanimous vote of its executive. Said the committee, "Since the state of Israel has been established, the supreme aim of the Federation has been fulfilled and normal diplomatic relations exist between Hungary and Israel."

YIDDISH WILL BE TAUGHT as a separate course in the curriculum of seven Rumanian state schools in Timisoara and Galatz, it was announced in Bucharest in late March. The decision is in line with the policy of the Ministry of Education to introduce courses in Yiddish in general state schools where the parents of the students request it and a sufficient enrollment is guaranteed.*

FOR THE FIRST PASSOVER since liberation it was not necessary for the Jews of Rumania to obtain matzohs from the Joint Distribution Committee. The local economy provided wheat ground and processed under supervision of the Rumanian rabbinate. About five pounds of matzohs were distributed to each of the 300,000 members of the Jewish community.*

BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN GERMANY have refused to allow showing of the U.S. Military Government documentary *Nuremberg* in the British zone. One British official stated: "We are no longer interested in moralizing to the Germans in this fashion." The British authorities have also banned a powerful French anti-Nazi film, *Les Maudits*, (The Accused) and have licensed some new German movies which American officials charge have "definite Nazi tendencies."

THE NAZI PAST OF EDITORS of the Anglo-American licensed Berlin press was revealed recently in Germany by journalist Albert Norden. Arno Scholz, editor of the extreme anti-Soviet *Telegraf*, under Hitler took over a Jewish printing business, fired all Jewish employees and got fat contracts from the Nazi army and Goebbels. Mueller-Jabusch, editor of *Der Abend*, was an early Nazi and expelled all democratic writers from the German Pen Club and under a pseudonym published articles in *Der Stuermer*. Erik Reger, editor of *Der Tagesspiegel*, was the author of a book glorifying a Hitler follower killed in the Munich putsch.

"NEW YORK TIMES" CORRESPONDENT Drew Middleton reported on April 6 that "Parades of jack-booted Nationalists singing *Deutschland Ueber Alles* are the most spectacular manifestation of the revival of authoritarianism in

northern Germany. Throughout this area, which includes the Ruhr, Germany's industrial arsenal, there has been a steady growth in Nationalist and neo-fascist sentiment in the last six months. . . . On the whole the revival of reaction does not seem to be as far advanced in the north as in Bavaria."

ISRAEL

DURING ASSEMBLY DEBATE at the end of March on the question of establishing a special parliamentary sub-committee to deal with the Arab minority problem, Arab Communist Tewfik Toubi backed the proposal and Mapai Arab Amin Jourjura opposed it. A Mapam delegate also supported the proposal, charging that the government had not fully carried out its pledges to the Arab minority.*

UNITED WORKERS PARTY (MAPAM) organ *Al Hamishmar* commented editorially on April 5 on the Israeli-Transjordan agreement as follows: "The first fact emerging from the agreement is our acquiescence in the presence of foreign invaders on the soil of Palestine. . . . Secondly, our government has agreed to the existence of imperialist bases in Palestine, and in fact has consented to the transformation of the whole Arab part of the country to one large political and military imperialist base. It is quite obvious that it is not Transjordan's territory which has been increased by the annexation of the Arab Triangle, but the area of British rule. . . . Thirdly, the establishment of an independent democratic Arab state in part of Palestine friendly to Israel and joined to the Jewish state by an economic alliance has been dealt a death blow. . . . Fourthly, the agreement indicates that Israel has ceased to be an independent state by agreeing to follow British-American policy in the Middle East."

A TOTAL OF 81,149 Jewish immigrants entered Israel in the first three months of 1949.*

ONE HUNDRED VETERANS of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising established their own settlement in western Galilee on the sixth anniversary of the uprising. The settlement is called "Ghetto Fighters." Dr. Adolph Berman, head of the Jewish Central Committee of Poland, who flew to Israel for the battle commemoration, spoke at the opening celebration, calling on Israel to "fulfill the objective for which the Ghetto fighters fell—namely, preservation of world peace."*

ISRAELI POLICE DROVE communists from a mosque in the Arab village of Yehidish, near Lydda airport, where the communists had tried to form a party club in April. Fifteen minutes before the scheduled opening of the club police raided the premises and confiscated furniture and decorations brought by the party members.

SINCE THE END OF FIGHTING between Israel and the Arab state, rumors of the revival of efforts to form a federation of Arab states have become more insistent. Latest plan is that of the "Fertile Crescent," a fertile area curving north and east from the Mediterranean around the edge of the Syrian desert to the Persian gulf and including Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Transjordan, to be dominated by Britain. This plan conflicts with plans of King Abdullah of Transjordan to form a "Greater Syria," which differs from the above only in that King Abdullah would be kingpin with British support. Ruling circles in Egypt and Saudi Arabia are unfriendly to the scheme because they fear the power of such a federation. The union is not, however, considered imminent.

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

