

Jewish Life

ISSUED MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

MAY 1950 • 20¢

2nd Anniversary of Israel

Asbury Park to Moscow

by Ted Tinsley

Union-Busting in Jewish Agencies

by Samuel Cohen

Socialist Traditions of Jewish Labor

by Morris U. Schappes

Handbook on Hush-Hush

a book review by Louis Harap



Esther Valenska
Labor Secretary
CP of Israel

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

JAMES CAREY, CIO secretary, reaffirmed his position, stated at the All-American Conference to Combat Communism, that "Yes, we would join with Fascists in order to fight, in a war, Communists," at a hearing before the Phila. CIO Industrial Council on March 21. Carey had been called to the council meeting on the motion of Fur and Leather Workers delegate Ike Freedman. The rightwing council voted confidence in Carey with only Freedman dissenting. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers delegate was among those voting confidence.

A PERMANENT ORGANIZATION was formed by the leading committee of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism on March 25 under the wing of the American Legion. A second conference was projected for Chicago on May 13 and 14. "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, was named to the executive council.

THE FOLLOWING REVEALING facts have been disclosed about Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, rampaging witch-hunter. He was active in the movement last October to save the SS men convicted of slaughtering American war prisoners at Malmedy during the Battle of the Bulge. He was one of six Senators who wrote to the federal parole board last December urging parole for seditionist William Dudley Pelley. In his early years the Wisconsin Supreme Court charged him with "violation of oath . . . as circuit judge" because he ran for office while a judge. And a close parallel has been discovered between the specific points made in hate peddler and anti-Semite Joseph Kamp's pamphlet, *America Betrayed*, and McCarthy's charges. The Michigan Department of the American Legion recently bestowed its annual Americanism award on McCarthy.

CHICAGO MUNICIPAL COURT Judge Joseph H. McGarry dismissed charges in mid-March against 24 alleged rioters in the anti-Negro, anti-Jewish Peoria Street riots last November. McGarry denied that the riots were serious but called them the result of "a miserable conspiracy, hatched and put into effect by a small but highly organized and highly vocal band of subversive agents, professional agitators and saboteurs." The judge was severely condemned by the Chicago division of the American Jewish Congress. The Chicago *Sun-Times* editorially characterized the judge as "deplorably ignorant" and said that the judge's statement "betrays a reckless disregard for the public welfare."

HEARINGS BEGAN in March at the Federal Communications Commission on the charge that George A. Richards, owner of radio station KMPC in Los Angeles, ordered his station's news broadcasts slanted in anti-Semitic fashion. Richards, who is also the owner of stations WJR in Detroit and WGAR in Cleveland, is applying for renewal of his license. The hearings brought out that Richards ordered his newsmen to slant broadcasts against Jews, Negroes, the Roosevelt family, labor unions and progressive legislators. Newsmen were to "couple Jews with communists," and several anti-Semitic booklets were to be copiously quoted in broadcasts. Richards was



VOL. IV, No. 7(43)

MAY, 1950

EDITORIAL BOARD

SAMUEL BARRON

PAUL NOVICK

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

SAM PEVNER

MOSES MILLER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
RESIST THE MUNDT BILL; THE COURTS AND FREEDOM	3
B'NAI B'RITH AND NEGRO RIGHTS; BIROBJAN BIRTHDAY; MAY DAY	4
ISRAEL—SECOND ANNIVERSARY, <i>an editorial article</i>	5
AN HOUR TO REMEMBER, <i>a radio documentary by Leon Goldstein</i>	7
PEACE FRONT IN ISRAEL	10
UNION-BUSTING IN JEWISH AGENCIES <i>by Samuel Cohen</i>	11
ASBURY PARK TO MOSCOW <i>by Ted Tinsley</i>	13
JEW AMONG 1949 STALIN PRIZE WINNERS	15
OUR MAN, <i>a shdr story by Ben Field</i>	17
SOCIALIST TRADITIONS OF JEWISH LABOR <i>by Morris U. Schappes</i>	21
FOUR YIDDISH PROLETARIAN POETS: POEMS BY MORRIS WINCHESVSKY, <i>with introduction and translation by Aaron Kramer</i>	23
HANDBOOK ON HUSH-HUSH, <i>a book review by Louis Harap</i>	26
BOOK REVIEW	
WORKING CLASS NOVEL <i>by David Alman</i>	29
LETTER FROM ABROAD	
OUTLOOK FOR MAPAM	29
DOCUMENT	
LETTER ON ANTI-SEMITISM <i>by Cincinnati Jewish Community Council</i>	30
MOVIE REVIEW: GHETTO RISING IN FILM	31
THEATER REVIEW: JEWISH FAMILY ON STAGE <i>by Harry Taylor</i>	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, <i>edited by Louis Harap</i>	2, 32
DRAWINGS <i>by George Orban</i>	19, 24

JEWISH LIFE, May, 1950, Vol. IV, No. 7(43). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1950 by the Morning Freiheit Association.

quoted as having said that "there is a great plot for the Jews to take over this country." Evidence showed that Richards had worked directly with the Republican National Committee in the 1948 election, which he characterized as a conflict between "Marxism vs. Christianity." The CIO was never to be referred to favorably.

AN ACTIVE QUISLING and collaborator with the nazis during the occupation of Norway, Mrs. Solveig Normanson, at present wife of an Iowa man, was allowed to enter the United States by a special law passed by the House of Representatives on March 8. The Senate must yet pass on the matter.

THE AFL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL at its Miami meeting in February, refused for the sixth time to designate to the council Hugo Ernst, president of the 400,000 member Hotel and Restaurant Alliance, third largest per capita union in the AFL. Instead William McPetridge, president of the much smaller Building Service Employees, was elected. In the March issue of his union's paper, *Catering Industry Employee*, Ernst wrote: "looking behind these successive affronts to the dignity of our union, we found ugly rumors to the effect that the church affiliation of your general president [Ernst is Jewish] was not accept-

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

RESIST THE MUNDT BILL

SINCE the Senate Judiciary Committee slid through its nearly unanimous approval of the Mundt bill in February, the country has roused itself to the mortal danger to American democracy involved in the bill. Tens of thousands of letters and telegrams swamped the desks of senators. Organizations all over the land, in cities and towns, poured their alarmed opposition into Washington. The people are beginning to discern the ugly face of fascism in this bill. The language of the bill is so broad and vague, noted a statement by 18 conservative national organizations, that many people might be "afraid to join with their fellow citizens to seek any form of change, progress or reform which is or might be supported by the communists. . . . [The bill] would inflict serious penalties on individuals—criminal sanctions, social and economic ostracism and character assassination—merely on the ground of association with certain organizations whose natures are not themselves defined with sufficient precision, and would thus inevitably restrict inquiry and thought, belief and expression." In short, the bill would make America a police state.

Together with the CIO, the AFL, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, innumerable local trade union bodies, church groups and organizations of the American people, the Jewish people have begun to recognize the menace of the bill. Rarely has organized Jewish life come out with such unanimity on any issue, short of the anti-fascist war itself. The National Community Relations Advisory Council, coordinating body of the major Jewish organizations, has joined in protest. The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Association of Jewish Center Workers have condemned the bill. What is more, Jewish organizations at the grass roots have stirred to opposition. From California, where the local American Jewish Congress organizations have categorically expressed their repugnance, to the call of 25 presidents of Brooklyn Congress chapters, to individual rabbis and Hadassah and other local Jewish groups in various parts of the country, the clarion call of resistance has been sounded. The mere enumeration of protesting organizations would take more space than several of these pages.

The general alarm is easily understood. Auschwitz and Buchenwald are fresh in our memories. There Jew and non-Jew, trade unionist and churchman, professor and politician felt the ignorant, inhuman hand of fascism. And

the American people are determined that this shall not be repeated here.

But not enough people have made known to their elected representatives their abhorrence of the police state bill. The hour is grave indeed for American freedom. Every man and woman who treasures democracy and human values must *act* now. Write to your senators, to the president, to Senate administration leader Scott Lucas that the Mundt bill must never reach the Senate floor.

THE COURTS AND FREEDOM

TO the legislative threat of the Mundt bill must now be added the reality of a cascade of court decisions which undermine civil liberties and place the Bill of Rights in the most precarious position in our history. On March 27, the Supreme Court in a five to two decision, upheld the conviction of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, for contempt of the House Un-American Committee. The court majority denied that under present conditions government workers could not properly discharge their duty as unbiased jurors. Dissenting Justices Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter pointed out the obvious fact that in the midst of the present hysteria such jurors could not have that "disinterestedness essential to complete impartiality." Then, on April 10, the Supreme Court in effect upheld the lower court decision against John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, two of the Hollywood Ten, and thereby approved governmental censorship and thought control that is at the heart of this case. Other decisions contribute to this gradual breakdown of all constitutional safeguards. On March 22, the Court of Appeals in Washington by a vote of two to one upheld the firing of Miss Dorothy Bailey from the federal government for "loyalty" reasons, even though no proof of her imputed "communism" could be offered by the court. The opinion of dissenting Judge Henry W. Edgerton states the alarming nature of this decision. She was discharged, he said, "for thinking prohibited thoughts. . . . Without trial by jury, without evidence, and without even being allowed to confront her accusers or to know their identity, a citizen of the United States has been found disloyal to the United States. . . . We cannot preserve our liberties by sacrificing them." According to the majority opinion, under the cold war anything goes. Further, it has been revealed that one of the questions which Miss Bailey was asked by the loyalty board, presumably as a "test" of loyalty, was whether she wrote a letter to the Red Cross about segregation of blood.

These decisions emphasize that on every front the danger to freedom is mounting. A supreme effort of the masses of

the people is absolutely essential if the Bill of Rights is not to be utterly discarded in the hysterical attempt to silence all resistance to the offensive for a police state and to stifle the seething disquiet of the masses at the threat of a hydrogen bomb war. Utmost support of the great popular campaign of the newly formed committee of the 25 courageous victims of the Un-American Committee, should help to arouse the American people to the profound danger of the trend to the police state. Defense must be organized in every corner of the country.

B'NAI B'RITH AND NEGRO RIGHTS

THE triennial national convention of the B'nai B'rith held in Washington in March in several respects signalized the high level which the struggle for civil rights has achieved in this country. Resolutions were passed affirming full support of the movement for civil rights, deploring the enactment of the ineffectual FEPC bill, denouncing restrictive covenants, calling for a housing program barring discrimination for creed and color, demanding equal educational opportunities in all states and favoring withdrawal from the American Bowling Congress if that body persisted in its policy of exclusion of Negroes. But more than this, the convention squelched reported threats from some Southern B'nai B'rith groups to secede if the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith did not limit itself to advocacy of Jewish rights alone and did not stop promoting Negro rights. Although the conclusions of the convention left much to be desired, they did demonstrate that no national organization, particularly of the Jewish people, can in these days of heightened determination to eliminate Jimcrow and all minority oppression take any stand that separates these problems.

But B'nai B'rith did not, so far as we know, deal with several other disturbing situations. It was scandalous to learn from the Anglo-Jewish weekly, the Atlanta, Ga., *Southern Israelite*, that one of the most dangerous racists of the South, Governor Herman Talmadge, had been invited in March to be the principal speaker at a joint meeting of the Southwest Georgia B'nai B'rith lodges. The same journal also reported that the Southern section of the ADL proposed to advocate a bill that defined discrimination as unequal treatment to any person "not otherwise prohibited by law," which obviously leaves existing Jimcrow laws untouched. This appeasing approach by the ADL in the South should not be tolerated by the national body. For Jews who are infected with white supremacy notions are not only weakening democracy, but are also abetting the plans of the enemies of the Jewish people. Certainly the Anti-Defamation League, which receives hundreds of thousands of dollars annually from the Jewish community, has no right to follow an appeasing policy.

Only an uncompromising struggle against every form of oppression will give any assurance that the Jew will be freed from discrimination and anti-Semitism. It is essential that close Negro-Jewish unity be maintained on these

issues. This unity must be realized in constant, close coordination of activity. Although some progress in this direction has been achieved, as in the tremendous Washington mobilization for civil rights in January, the process has only begun, and unity must be accelerated. This is especially important in these days of hysterical development towards fascism in this country. The Jews of America and particularly the membership of B'nai B'rith, must see to it that the national body and the ADL carry on unrelenting struggle against Jimcrow and discrimination in every form and that the closest unity with the Negro people be established for the most effective prosecution of this struggle.

BIROBIDJAN BIRTHDAY

THIS May we celebrate the sixteenth anniversary of the founding of the Jewish Autonomous Region in Birobidjan. On the occasion of the establishment of the region on May 28, 1934, the late Michael I. Kalinin, president of the USSR, said, "In the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidjan, there will develop a great socialist construction hand in hand with a genuine Jewish socialist culture." As one sign of this development one may recall the telegram prominently displayed on the front page of *Pravda* on October 1, 1949, in which the Jewish leaders of the region affectionately notified Premier Stalin that the collective and state farms of the region had "completed the plan for the grain harvest ahead of schedule."

The occasion is being marked this year by a conference on May 6-7 at the Barbizon-Plaza Hotel in New York under the auspices of the Birobidjan Committee and the American Committee of Jewish Writers and Artists. This conference, in the words of the conference call, is designed "to consider means of helping in the furthering of international friendship and peace, and to decide upon appropriate measures to counteract the cold war against the Jews." It is appropriate that in honoring Birobidjan and also the anniversary of Israel, serious thought should be given to the peace and friendship of peoples, since the very survival of the Jews is at stake in these issues. For the destiny of the Jewish people is tied to the winning of peace for the common people of the world.

We extend our cordial greetings to the people of Birobidjan on this anniversary.

MAY DAY

IF there is one day in the year that belongs to the working class of the world, it is May Day. By the same token May Day has the highest significance for the Jewish people. For total emancipation of the Jewish people, as of every oppressed group over the world, is linked with the welfare of the working class. Where the working class has taken power, as in the Soviet Union and in the new democracies, the Jews have for the first time in modern history achieved fullest equality in actuality.

This year, May Day has special significance. For the

common people of America are threatened with an ominous trend toward fascism and hydrogen bomb warfare. The labor movement is under the deepening shadow of Taft-Hartleyism and of depression. Anti-Semitism is increasing and oppression against the Negro people becomes more intense. The necessity for militant and effective unity of the labor movement and of all oppressed groups

to ward off the approaching perils was never greater. May Day offers the opportunity for an immense manifestation of determination and unity of all forward looking and oppressed elements in America. Participation in May Day demonstrations all over the country can be a warning to those who would lead America into war and fascism, that the American people will not follow.

ISRAEL—SECOND ANNIVERSARY

An Editorial Article

ON May 14, Israel celebrates its second birthday.

Two memorable years have passed since the days when British tanks and armored cars rode through Palestine, since the days when the rising Jewish national liberation movement in Palestine, aided by democratic peoples everywhere, forced the British to get out. No single act or event gave such inspiration, none so clearly showed that the moment was opportune for the liberation struggle as the historic UN decision of November 29, 1947. That decision, achieved through the consistent efforts of the Soviet Union the new democracies and democratic people throughout the world, signaled the end of the British mandate.

But the efforts of the British ruling class to maintain their hold over Palestine did not end. Even as the formalities of withdrawal were being carried out, British agents were mobilizing their feudal vassals for war against the newborn state.

Imperialist strategy was diabolically simple and, as it seemed at the time—was foolproof. The British would arm the enemies of Israel, while Washington, through an embargo policy, would keep Israel unarmed. And both would meantime seek to destroy the November 29 decision through maneuvers in the UN. The strategy would have succeeded if it were not for the efforts of democratic allies who supported Israel's struggle for independence both on the political as well as the military front. The Soviet Union frustrated all attempts to destroy the November 29 decision and was the first to give de jure, that is, full and unequivocal recognition, to Israel. And despite angry protests from our State Department, Czechoslovak arms kept pouring in for Israeli fighters.

Taking advantage of this favorable international situation, Israeli men and women waged an inspired and heroic struggle. The enemy was halted.

Independence Still the Issue

Two years have passed. The democratic forces of the world, headed by the Soviet Union, have remained steadfast in their resolve to ensure the freedom and independence of Israel. But the imperialists have remained firm in their aim of destroying Israel's sovereignty and of "inte-

grating" that country to their imperialist, cold war plans.

Thus the issue of national independence continues to be the central issue confronting Israel, regardless of new forms the problem may assume.

What was the essence of the problem on the eve of statehood? Two peoples, Jewish and Arab, were living in Palestine under British imperialist rule. National consciousness and the desire for freedom were growing among both peoples. But side by side with common national interests there existed mutual distrust and antagonism. The need for a common struggle against those who were basically responsible for having inflamed and intensified antagonisms was weakened by the absence of a strong and powerful progressive-national movement among either people. Thus, the anti-imperialist struggle which led to the creation of Israel was accompanied by strife between the two peoples; rising national consciousness was accompanied by chauvinism which necessarily hampered the development of a powerful progressive movement and gave imperialism greater maneuvering power.

The circumstances under which Israel was created were far from simple. The existence of Anglo-American antagonisms weakened the British regime and was a factor which the Jewish national liberation struggle was able to take advantage of. At the same time—and most decisive—was the aid given by the Soviet Union and the role played by that country in international affairs. This help made possible the transformation of the dream of freedom to reality.

The objective conditions which affected Israel at its birth have not disappeared. What has changed is the subjective element—the readiness of Israeli ruling circles to continue the struggle for full independence and security.

We would do well to remember that such elements as the Mapai leadership joined the battle in a faltering and vacillating way and even then only when confronted with the overwhelming will of the masses. Even at that time and indeed until the very last moment this leadership did everything to check and hold back the movement for independence. The most that such people dreamed of was some sort of *formal* independence conveniently fitted to continued British rule and therefore *in practice* was the status of a semi-colonial country.

It is not so strange, therefore, that today, since Britain is forced to give ground to America in the Middle East, this leadership should accommodate itself very easily to the concept of Israel as an American protectorate. This narrow, anti-national concept not only disregards the historic opportunities which Israel has been afforded, but actually endangers the very existence of Israel as an independent state.

The Ben Gurion Orientation

The evils and burdens that weighed so heavily on the masses during the reign of Britain, could not be liquidated merely by the transfer of power to Ben Gurion. If Israel was to achieve independence, security and full industrial development, the social realities established by the mandatory power had to be liquidated. But the Ben Gurion group did not undertake this. There was clear indication that this group would not do so, since it chose to join hands with the right wing capitalist and clerical parties instead of creating a government of the working class parties.

As a result class antagonism sharpened. The Ben Gurion government circumscribed the economic development of Israel, undermined the unity of the people and created defeatist moods among the people as to the possibility of retaining the independence won during the war.

Nor were national antagonisms resolved. From the birth of the state the Jewish and Arab working class was confronted with the alternatives of striving on the one hand, for an internationalist solution to the problems of the peoples of Palestine; that is, for national independence through ever greater unity of Arabs and Jews and, on the other hand, of a nationalistic and chauvinistic approach, which identified the solution of the national question with the annihilation of the other people.

Failure to encourage and develop an internationalist approach led to the sharpening of national antagonism and to an unfolding and continuous conflict between Israel and the Arab states without any perspective for a solution. For, though bourgeois nationalist bravado may satisfy chauvinist sentiments, it cannot lead to stability and peace. Treaties of friendship and agreements with Abdullah or with other feudal lords and imperialist hirelings cannot by the wildest stretch of the imagination be anything but an ersatz for a real and enduring peace.

Many Zionist leaders in reply to such considerations have argued that those who really want peace must deal with political realities and concrete facts. Abdullah is master of Transjordan and controls the Arab sector of Palestine. Peace, they argue, can be achieved only through agreement with Abdullah. Those who reject this, they insist, are utopians, idealists or trouble-makers not really concerned with the fate of Israel.

According to these Zionist leaders, their approach constitutes political realism. Such people have tragically short memories. They seem to forget that in the name of this

kind of "political realism," the Jewish masses were told for years that Jewish aspirations in Palestine could be fulfilled through cooperation with Britain. The tragic consequences of that orientation have certainly been pretty well exposed by now.

True and False Realism

The proponents of this view are, however, far from discouraged. Today, in the name of the same kind of "political realism" they argue that a deal with Abdullah (read Bevin) is again possible and necessary. Thus, the very same approach, whose bankruptcy was so clearly exposed yesterday and whose consequences were so tragic for the Jewish people, is now being held forth once again as the only road to security for Israel.

This is not realism but suicide, not peace but capitulation. This is betrayal of the struggle for a free and independent Israel.

The questions of enduring peace, immigration, economic planning are recognized by all to be of most decisive consequence to the future of Israel. But those concerned with aiding Israel will hardly be able to do so unless they are clear as to the *real* causes for the absence of peace, for the critical economic situation, for the tragic plight of the new immigrant, for the increasing attacks and discrimination against the progressives and communists in Israel.

The pressure of the masses in Israel has forced the Ben Gurion government to proclaim itself "neutral" in the major struggles for peace. But no one is fooled by this pretense of "neutrality" as to the real direction of Israeli ruling circle policies. Subordination to Anglo-American imperialist aims is the real content of present day activities of the Ben Gurion government. Consequently, the people of Israel are confronted with the increased threat of war, with growing economic crisis and with the continued subordination of their economic and social development to imperialist dictates. Thus, the masses of Israel, who so heroically gave their lives in anti-imperialist struggle to achieve freedom and independence, are today confronted with the increasing colonialization of their country.

This is the situation two years after the creation of the state of Israel. Friendship for the people of Israel and sincere concern for their future welfare and happiness make it necessary that these facts be made known and not remain obscured. For only knowledge of these facts and action based upon such knowledge can help us to carry on the kind of struggle that will help the Israeli people in their struggle for full freedom and independence.

On this second anniversary, we send our warmest greetings to the people of Israel, heroic fighters and builders of a free and independent state. We send our assurance that the progressive forces of America, like the progressive forces throughout the world, stand firmly at their side in the struggle against imperialist intrigues to rob Israel of its independence, in the struggle for peace and friendship of nations.

AN HOUR TO REMEMBER

A Radio Documentary
By Leon Goldstein

Note: Statements of UN delegates in this script are direct quotations from the Verbatim Report of the UN General Assembly of May 14, 1948.

SOUND: AS IF INSIDE A LARGE MEETING HALL . . . CRACK OF GAVEL HEATEDLY OFF AND MINGLED WITH LARGE CROWD OF DELEGATES FILING TO THEIR SEATS . . . CROWD HUBBUB . . . ALL UNDER:

NARRATOR: (LOW, AS IF REPORTING ON SCENE) The day is May 14. The year—1948 . . . ; the place—United Nations General Assembly meeting hall at Flushing Meadows, New York.

SOUND: GAVEL RISES UNTIL GROWD SUBSIDES . . . THEN:
PRESIDENT ARCE: (DELEGATE OF ARGENTINA) I declare the one hundred and thirty-fifth meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations open!

MUSIC: UP . . . UNDER:

NARRATOR: Mark the date and the place and the time well: *May 14, 1948, at exactly half-past four on a Friday afternoon!* Keep it in mind, for in a very short while—at one minute after six, to be exact—for one moment at least the landscape of “diplomacy” will be revealed, laid bare and visible as a star-shell might reveal a battlefield.

SOUND: CLICKING OF TYPEWRITERS IN PRESS ROOM:

REPORTER: (TYPING) For four weeks the General Assembly has been debating a United States trusteeship proposal which would in effect destroy the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947, establishing independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine. . . . The atmosphere is tense in these halls. Heavy pressure had been brought to bear by the State Department to put off the proclamation of the State of Israel. . . . It is well known that the Zionist Actions Committee in Tel Aviv had bitterly debated the question of proclaiming the Jewish state. Hesitancy and fear had gripped the hearts of many Jewish Agency leaders, who were terrified at the thought of disobeying the imperialist governments. . . . But pressure from the masses of Israel forced the proclamation of the state. Meanwhile, here at Flushing Meadows the United States delegation is leading the battle to push through its plans before the six o'clock deadline when the British mandate is officially dead.

MUSIC: STING . . . BUSY AND CRACKLING UNDER:

SOUND: MEETING HALL UNDER:

SAYRE: (DELEGATE OF THE UNITED STATES) The time is very short. If a trusteeship agreement for the government of Jerusalem is to be set up, it is necessary that it be set up before the expiration of the mandate. That will take place one hour hence. Therefore I should like to move that the General Assembly should proceed first with consideration of the trusteeship agreement. . . . I urge that particularly because of the realization by my own country of the importance of providing some government, some form of law and order for Jerusalem at the present juncture, in view of world interest in the protection of the people and of the Holy Places in that sacred city. . . .

MUSIC: ACCENT . . . UNDER:

NARRATOR: The sentiments of the delegate from the United States were noble . . . “protection of the people” . . . “Holy Places” . . . “sacred city.” But not noble enough to hide the edge of duplicity sticking out between the tender sentiments on that May 14th when Israel had not yet become a state. And there were those at that memorable session of the General Assembly who did not hesitate to point a finger—

GROMYKO: (DELEGATE OF THE USSR) The United States and the United Kingdom have done their best to wreck any and all proposals designed to put an end to the struggle between the Arabs and Jews in Palestine. *Not a single one of the proposals* which were least significant but a little bit effective enjoyed the support of the United States or of the United Kingdom. As a result of this, Palestine is the scene of carnage.

MUSIC: ACCENT . . . UNDER:

NARRATOR: The delegate of the USSR spoke with anger. It was an anger which dated back to November 29, 1947 when under the pressure of world opinion the United States was forced to join with the Soviet Union in approving a United Nations resolution setting up a Jewish state in Palestine. Part of Palestine was to become an independent Arab State—the only way in which a solution of the fratricidal war might be achieved. The anger dated back to November 29 and all the days following, during which

the United States tried, through one scheme and another, to subvert the very resolution it had supported. This latest scheme of the United States for a mediator was the one they hoped to achieve. But time was running out. Only one hour remained now before the British mandate ended in Palestine. The United States feared history . . . feared that the Jews in Palestine might take matters into their own hands . . . feared that a new Jewish State might arise free of Washington! For weeks now Washington had prepared for this moment in Flushing Meadows. It had exerted pressures of all sorts throughout the world. . . .

SOUND: UP WITH TICKING OF TELETYPE

VOICE I: (COLD) Washington, D.C., May 10, 1948. While the United Nations General Assembly sits in session in Flushing Meadows, rumors are flying thick and fast through the nation's capitol. One report is that our government has asked the Attlee-Bevin government to maintain its mandate over Palestine and not to leave that country for a while longer.

MUSIC: STING . . . UNDER:

VOICE II: (COLD) Tel Aviv, May 12, 1948. United Press Dispatch. . . Secretary of State George Marshall has sent a personal note to David Ben Gurion, who is to be the premier of the Jewish State, it was reported here today. The message was brought by Moishe Shertok, who arrived by plane from America last night. Although the contents of the message are being kept secret, there has been talk during the past few weeks about attempts to put off the proclamation of the Jewish state.

MUSIC: STING . . . UP . . . OUT TO:

SOUND: CROWDED HALL . . . VOICE HEARD SPEAKING IN BACKGROUND UNDER:

NARRATOR: (LOW, AS IF REPORTING ON SCENE) The time is now a quarter to six on that memorable afternoon. For weeks, the United States has tried to stall the declaration of a Jewish state in Palestine. But the Jewish masses of Palestine would have none of that. For the United States there is only one recourse left: in the next 15 minutes, before the fateful hour of six, to jam through a resolution for some kind of trusteeship, some kind of mediator who could be controlled from Washington. . . . The Washington machine had worked smoothly, day and night. Cuba and the other Latin American satellites were ready and willing to support the American proposal. . . . Hurry, *Hurry!*

MUSIC: UP: . . . DOWN UNDER:

NARRATOR: What's this?! Has the delegate from Yemen gone mad?!

ABDALLAH-EL-ERIAN: (DELEGATE OF YEMEN) Palestine, as we all know, is a territory which is still under

the United Kingdom mandate, at least until six o'clock tonight. Let me therefore remind the Assembly of Article 79 of the Charter. This provides that: "The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system . . . shall be agreed upon by the state directly concerned, including the mandatory power."

MUSIC: HORSE-LAUGH:

NARRATOR: Well, everything's still all right for Washington. For a moment there it seemed as if the delegate from Yemen had gotten out of line but—not really. Only trying to hold Palestine for the British imperialists! All that talk about getting the agreement of the "mandatory power." Since when does Washington need England's agreement for *anything?*!

MUSIC: UP . . . DOWN UNDER:

NARRATOR: It's now two minutes to six! Hurry! Hurry! Let's get to a vote! The satellites are all lined up! Everything's ready to roll!

GONZALEZ-FERNANDEZ: (DELEGATE OF COLOMBIA) Mr. President!

NARRATOR: (LOW, WORRIED) That's the delegate from Colombia! Something's wrong! *He* shouldn't be the one asking for the floor now! We had it all arranged! The Cuban delegate is supposed to speak now—in favor of the American proposal for a mediator and a trusteeship over Palestine!

PRESIDENT: The chair recognizes the honorable delegate from Colombia!

NARRATOR: (REAL FEAR) He's up to something! I can see it on his face! What can it be?! There's no time left now! *It's already a minute after six!* The American proposal must go through—

GONZALEZ: (CUTS HIM OFF AS HE SPEAKS) I am not going to discuss the question on which we shall presently vote.

NARRATOR: (LOW) Why not?! He was all lined up to vote for it! Why not?!

GONZALEZ: I simply wish to have information from the delegation of the United States concerning the truth of the information which has been distributed in the press room in regard to the recognition of the State of Israel by the United States Government!

MUSIC: STING . . . UNDER:

SOUND: VOICES OF DELEGATES RISE IN CONSTERNATION UNDER:

NARRATOR: Mr. Francis Sayre, the United States delegate, sits bolt upright in his chair. He stares wildly about him! What sort of joke is this! What can he say? The sky is where the earth should be! What—sort of—nonsense can this be? Truman recognizes the State of Israel! At the very moment when the United States delegation

has lined up all its satellites to support a delaying action!

PRESIDENT: Does the representative of the United States wish to reply to the question of the representative of Colombia?

MUSIC: STING . . . UNDER:

NARRATOR: And the United States delegate sat there, red-faced and embarrassed, double-crossed by his own government which, for the sake of political expediency, rushed in with de facto recognition. There he was, out on a limb, just as he had left the Cuban delegate on a limb.

SAYRE: (LAMELY) I—regret that we—have no official information. Such a report has come over the ticker, I have just been told, but we have no official information.

SOUND: DELEGATES' VOICES RISE:

NARRATOR: Lame! Very lame! What will happen now?! Cuba?! The Arabs?! They've been left out on a limb! Harry's double-crossed them! What will Cuba say?!

PRESIDENT: The honorable delegate from Cuba.

BELT: (DELEGATE OF CUBA) (ANGER AND BITTERNESS) Unfortunately, during the entire time that we worked for the resolution under discussion, doubtful maneuvers were taking place. And a little while ago this was confirmed! We have really heard a most extraordinary thing. A moment ago, the United States representative stated that he has no information that his government has granted recognition to the government of the Jewish people in Palestine. . . . I think we must tell the world clearly that nobody can expect peace and security from the United Nations. In the light of this situation, we have now become only a very elegant international club!¹

MUSIC: ACCENT . . . UNDER:

NARRATOR: A man who has committed himself to do another man's dirty work—and then finds himself abandoned . . . such a man is liable to become very bitter and angry. Further, he begins to mistake the wreckage of his own petty schemes for the wreckage of the hopes of the world. And so, the Cuban delegate—in the moment of betrayal by his fellow-conspirator against the interests of the people of Israel—cried out that the United Nations was finished!

MUSIC: ACCENT . . . UNDER:

KHALIDY: (DELEGATE OF IRAQ) There is a very important matter to consider before we proceed. The time is one minute past six o'clock. When he came to this rostrum, the representative of the United States declared, if we had not arrived at a conclusion by six o'clock, the whole game was up. I present that to you, Mr. President, for your ruling. The time is past six o'clock.

¹The last two sentences are interpretive paraphrase.

MUSIC: STING . . . HIGH . . . OUT TO:

NARRATOR: This was the moment . . . this was the lightning which struck deep and devastatingly into the meeting hall of the United Nations and revealed the anger of the dupes who had been double-crossed, the bitterness of the man who thought he was master but found only that he too could be double-crossed! All this—in the shady game of stalling a people's freedom—the freedom of the people now known to the world as the Israeli . . . freedom for the Arab people of Palestine through the creation of an independent Arab state, yet to be achieved . . . all this was bared for the world to see on that memorable Friday afternoon, May 14th, 1948! And what had made the United States government betray its own delegate at the United Nations? The same force, the only power which can correct *any* of imperialism's evils . . . the power of the people! The power of the people in Israel who took matters in their own hands and declared themselves a state, the power of the people throughout the world who cried "Freedom for Israel," and the power of the representative of the great socialist state, Andrei Gromyko, who again and again rose in the forum of nations and cried out:

GROMYKO: The Arabs and the Jews are paying with their heads and their blood for this situation, the responsibility for which weighs heavily on the shoulders, first of all, of the United States, which undertook this political game directed not only against the interests of the local population of Palestine but also against the interests of the United Nations, because the United States has placed this organization as a whole in a situation which is embarrassing, a situation which, more than that, is ludicrous. If the information which we have received to the effect that the United States has recognized the Jewish state is correct, what is the situation? With one hand, in the Political Committee and in the General Assembly, the United States is dragging through certain proposals, while with the other hand it is endorsing other plans. This, I submit, is a policy devoid of principle, and one which is directed not only against the interests of the people of Palestine but against those of the United Nations as a whole.

In this respect, the USSR pursued a consistent policy. It based itself, in the first instance, on the interests of the peoples of Palestine. The USSR has no reason to blush for its behavior in the consideration of this question—in contradistinction to the governments of some other states.

MUSIC: UP TO FINIS.

PEACE FRONT IN ISRAEL

For two days, March 10-11, Israeli citizens jammed Beth Ha'am hall in Tel Aviv to attend the first National Congress of the Peace Movement. Among the over 700 delegates from 300 towns and villages were workers from the factories, farmers from the *kibbutzim*, Arab fellahen in native costume, intellectuals, students and soldiers. Meyer Vilner, Communist Knesset member, gave expression to their passion for peace. "For the Jewish people," he said, "a new war would mean the extermination of more millions of Jews—total destruction. For the state of Israel the new war danger threatens the liquidation of the country and total destruction of its inhabitants. Therefore the patriotic interests of the state of Israel . . . demand participation in the struggle against the danger of war and the maintenance of peace."

The meeting had been summoned by the Israel Peace Committee, a broad group crossing party lines. On the congress presidium sat the three Israeli members of the World Peace Congress Continuations Committee, Meyer Yari, Mapam leader, Tewfiq Toubi, Arab Communist leader, and Yisroel

Bar Yehuda, Mapam leader. A number of Mapam and Communist members of the Knesset also served on the presidium, as did poets A. Pen and A. Shlansky, Jewish Agency executive member Y. Zerubavel and former cabinet minister Itzhak Greenbaum.

Greenbaum expressed quite simply why he had joined the congress. "If we do not wish Israel to become a momentary episode in the history of mankind," he said, "we must do everything in our power to insure the victory of the forces of peace."

Demands for peace were coupled with urging for equal treatment of Arabs with other citizens of Israel. The opening speech of Meyer Yaari set forth this demand, as well as a call to outlaw the atom bomb and the fight for self-determination of peoples. Tewfiq Toubi severely criticised the policy of the Israeli government towards the Arab states. Neither the Arab nor the Jewish peoples, he said, would be hitched to the war chariot. "This Peace Congress," he exclaimed, "representing the best sons of the Jewish and Arab peoples, shall give a clear and decisive answer. 'The

people of Israel will never consent to the conversion of their country into a war base!'"

Toubi affirmed that it was possible to reach agreements with the Arab states without imperialist intervention. He urged especially that the attempt to hand over Arab Palestine to Transjordan be resisted. Instead, a fight should be carried on to create an independent Arab state, which would be an ally of Israel in resisting imperialist encroachment.

Policy towards the Soviet Union was discussed by Dr. Moshe Sneh, Mapam leader and general secretary of the Israeli League for Friendship with the Soviet Union. "Friendship for the Soviet Union," he said, "can not be expressed better than in the struggle for peace. And there is no better guarantee for the peace and friendship of peoples than friendship with the Soviet Union. . . . We favor peace between Israel and the Arab countries with all our hearts. But we will not allow anyone to palm off on us a Middle Eastern bloc created by the Anglo-Saxons as a Jewish-Arab peace."

Some problems of the peace movement were frankly discussed by Meyer Vilner, Communist Party secretary. He warned against conversion of the movement into a corps of "article writers" instead of militant fighters "every day against every manifestation of war mongering." "There are those," he continued, "who opportunistically try to restrain the masses from demonstrations, strikes and other forms of concrete action. . . . Must we wait for new Maidaneks before we struggle militantly for peace?" Vilner called for a struggle in the Knesset for support for the outlawing of the atom bomb and for Big Five peace talks.

Finally, Vilner appealed for unity. "The Communist Party of Israel appeals to Mapam, to women's and youth organizations, to progressive intellectuals . . . to make a peace movement that will be a powerful and united peace force is Israel which will strike fear in the ruling class so that they will not dare to drag Israel into the abyss of the Anglo-American war madness."



UNION-BUSTING IN JEWISH AGENCIES

By Samuel Cohen

ALL signs point to a national conspiracy between Jewish communal organizations and the national CIO to drive progressive trade unionism out of the Jewish agency field.

The workers in agencies such as the United Jewish Appeal (New York City and national), Hadassah, Zionist Organization of America, Joint Distribution Committee, American Jewish Congress, etc., have been represented for years by the Social/Service Employees' Union, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, one of the progressive international unions recently expelled by CIO. The CIO has set up a rival local union in New York City called Community and Social Agency Employees, Local 1707. The full support which the most reactionary elements among the agency leadership are giving to the rival CIO union shows their deep desire to establish the new company union with a CIO label as a means of achieving immediate economic victory over their employees. These leaders also hope thereby to guarantee their workers' adherence to the increasingly reactionary policies of these organizations.

Jewish Agencies Vs. Union

The Social Service Employees' Union (UOPWA) has made remarkable improvements in wages and working conditions in these and other social agencies over the 15 years of its existence. The boards of directors of these organizations have always stubbornly resisted union organization and the granting of decent salary increases to the employees in this field, who are not covered by social security and labor legislation. SSEU wage gains exceeded the CIO's pattern in the first, second and third "rounds" since the war's end. As the top leaders of CIO abandoned the wage fight, SSEU continued to score substantial fourth (and even fifth) round wage increases, the determination of agency leaders to smash the union increased. The direct economic motives of the agency leaders were doubly and triply reinforced by the developing cold war orientation of major Jewish communal organizations. Consequently these leaders were anxious to have relationships with the kind of union whose national leadership was committed to the same cold war policies and which would therefore guarantee them to complete political as well as economic domination of all their workers.

The drive of these organizations to smash SSEU was presaged by such developments as a quiet but increasingly extensive "loyalty" investigation of the employees of these organizations and the weeding out on one pretext or another particularly of professional staff members suspected

of progressive or left sympathies. Such developments were symbolized in the firing of Bernard Harkavy, a leader of the union and an influential staff member of the American Jewish Congress. Mr. Harkavy is chairman of Local 19's trial committee, which recommended expulsion of certain secession leaders who subsequently became the leaders of the rival CIO union. Irving Abramson, CIO hatchet man, appeared as counsel for these defendants in the SSEU trial, but he is also a member of the American Jewish Congress' national administrative committee, the employer of Bernard Harkavy and responsible for his firing. Henry Morgenthau's statement in Israel urging that country to become an open outpost of American imperialism in its struggle against the Soviet Union, is reflected at home in the leadership which the United Jewish Appeal is taking in the drive to set up a company union for its own employees and those of other Jewish organizations.

At the national United Jewish Appeal, Henry Montor, \$40,000 a year executive vice-chairman, stalled on signing a contract under circumstances which would even be a violation of the infamous Taft-Hartley law (social service agencies like UJA are not covered by the law). The SSEU contract covering the fund raising staff had been negotiated and drafted. Columbia University Professor Milton Handler, who serves as UJA labor relations counsel, dictated a memorandum stating that he recommended that Mr. Montor sign the contract and that the latter had agreed to sign it. Mr. Montor indicated doubt that the SSEU represented the majority of the office staff, which is covered by a separate contract. His doubts were dispelled when an overwhelming majority of that staff appeared in his office demanding that he sign the field staff contract and proceed really to negotiate on their own demands. At this writing, United Jewish Appeal is still stalling on signing the negotiated contract. SSEU members report continued conferences of UJA leaders with CIO officials seeking some way of pumping life in the CIO union at the national UJA which is supported by only a tiny minority of the workers.

The CIO union showed its real colors in this situation by announcing in advance that its members would scab in any action taken by the SSEU majority to secure improved conditions and a renewed agreement!

New Company Union

In Los Angeles, management openly took over the role of becoming organizers for this new CIO union and threatened employees who refused to join, that such refusal would hurt Israel. But the Los Angeles social service workers, who had learned through their union struggles cul-

minating in their recent nine-week strike, were quick to reject the employer-organized union. And the conservative weekly, the *Los Angeles B'nai B'rith Messenger*, editorialized in March on the collusion of the Jewish agency managements with the raiding CIO union, as follows: this editorial "is written sincerely as an appeal to our Jewish leaders to keep their heads at a time when the world is upset by hysteria, and the anti-Semite is ready to take advantage of every weak spot in our defenses. Let us not help our enemies by boring holes in our Jewish, democratic and American fortresses."

The leaders of Hadassah violated that organization's democratic traditions and its long term contractual relationship with SSEU by rushing headlong into "recognition" of the CIO union even before the union was formed! This action came after negotiations with SSEU for a renewal of the agreement had been completed except for drafting. Management in New York announced its recognition of the CIO to a meeting of the staff called at a few moments notice. Hadassah sent SSEU a written confirmation of CIO recognition and then, *after* this action, offered SSEU an election to determine which union it should recognize. SSEU members at Hadassah report that top employees

were given the run of the agency to sign up workers on CIO cards on the false claim that the expulsion of UOPWA from CIO meant the termination of the contract, that non-citizens would be deported for being SSEU members, etc. SSEU members are picketing Hadassah's national office and urging the Hadassah membership to protest. SSEU leaflets call attention to the fact that Hadassah is rushing headlong into recognition of a union whose anti-Semitic cartoons in its leading organ, the *CIO News*, are becoming a national scandal.

The "new union" found the going rough even with this frenzied employer support. Its founding meeting, held symbolically in the "no-wage increase" Textile Workers' Union Hall in New York, was picketed by more than 1000 SSEU members on one of the coldest nights of the year. Inside a small group listened to speakers like Irving Abramson, Milton Murray, Pete Flynn and other CIO payrollers, extol the virtues of the new "American" union. But social service employees, even those sufficiently influenced to attend the meeting, had some sharp questions to ask. "What about the anti-Semitic cartoons in the *CIO News*?" They wanted to know. Sam Friedman, member of the Socialist Party's national executive committee and UJA employee, was quick to state that he didn't regard the cartoon as anti-Semitic but only a picture of "communist morons." Other CIO leaders were more uneasy about the flagrant anti-Semitic caricatures appearing repeatedly in *CIO News* and *IUE News*. They suggested that the SSEU leaflet reprint, which exposed this outburst of anti-Semitism, had been "retouched." The CIO leaders exposed their splitting role by urging workers to "pull out" of SSEU and join the new union even when they knew they were only a small minority. These leaders had no solutions to offer for the practical problems of speed-up and retrenchment in the social service field. Even CIO supporters left the meeting dissatisfied.

Jewish Welfare and SSEU

As the reactionary Jewish bourgeois leaders of these organizations sought a closer alliance with CIO leadership on the basis of cold war unity, the anti-Semitism of the CIO leadership began to show itself throughout the country. In Cleveland on March 1st, CIO Regional Director Sam Sponseller told the group of a few disrupters in Cleveland's UOPWA social service local, "You should join a good Christian union." In a meeting of UOPWA's Insurance Local 30 in January, elements from the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists who are backing Simon Helfgott, a pro-CIO Jewish leader of that local, urged that he be allowed to speak because he was a "white Jew"! SSEU members were not tardy in understanding the political and economic significance of the CIO-agency conspiracy. *The overwhelming majority of SSEU workers employed in Jewish communal organizations from coast to coast remain solid in the SSEU-UOPWA.*

In a long and hysterical article and editorial on March 29, the Jewish daily *Forward* demanded that all organiza-



The anti-Semitic pattern of CIO cartoons of left wing unions: cartoon at top from *CIO News*, September 5, 1949; middle cartoon from the same, Feb. 20, 1950; and bottom cartoon from James Carey's *IUE News*, Feb. 20.

tions cease dealing with SSEU, urged smashing of SSEU picket lines and attacked union security as a "communist demand." The paper commended Irving Abramson as the logical leader of social service workers because he is a representative of management in the American Jewish Congress. The article unwittingly disclosed the company union role of the CIO-Community and Social Agency Employees Union by stating that the chief concern of this union's leaders was that no harm should come to any of these agencies. The importance given to this problem by this leading organ of social democracy, should serve to arouse the attention of every Jewish progressive to the importance of the fight in Jewish communal organizations.

SSEU-UOPWA is entitled to the support of every Jewish worker, if for no other reason than that the SSEU campaign is against company unionization and for genuine collective bargaining by Jewish communal organizations. But Jewish progressives have an additional stake in the

outcome of this struggle. Jewish communal organizations achieve mass support from the Jewish people because they put forward a program which *appears* to move toward the solution of the basic problems of the Jewish people, the struggle against anti-Semitism in the United States, provision of a haven for Jews who wish to leave the scenes of their former oppression in Europe and guarantee of an independent Israel. Each and all of these aims are being perverted today by the alliance between the Jewish big bourgeoisie who are the top leaders of these Jewish communal organizations, the social democrats and Trotskyites who have infiltrated into key positions in their staffs and the ACTU-social democratic combine which dominates national CIO leadership today. The attempt to free the workers in Jewish communal organization from this conspiracy is an important part of the struggle for the mobilization of the Jewish people against the cold war and the agents of imperialism within their own ranks.

ASBURY PARK TO MOSCOW

By Ted Tinsley

TEN years ago things were simpler. You knew the Hearst press was the Hearst press. You attacked it as cheap, sensational, reactionary. Charles Beard could proclaim that a ten-foot pole always separated him from the *Journal-American*.

Today we live in a more complex period. It is indeed difficult to draw a line between the cheap sensationalism of the Hearst press and the equally cheap sensationalism of the *New York Times*, for this dowdy chaperone of journalism now spends all her time in the haystack with disreputable characters.

The following headline appeared on March 13 on the *Times* front page: "Soviet Lands Found Crushing Jews; Report Declares Culture in Peril." The article which followed carried an Asbury Park dateline. Now there are few places in this world which are further from Moscow than Asbury Park, and there have been few dispatches which are further from the truth. The source of the article was the Jewish Labor Committee. This is a committee whose policy is made in Moscow. It can not make up its mind on any subject until the Soviet Union has declared itself. Then the committee takes an opposite stand and fondly believes that this is an "independent position." The committee, which dreams of the destruction of the Soviet Union, could never survive such a catastrophe. It would be left without an opinion. The *Times* report reveals in all its ugliness and decadence the mind of the professional anti-Sovieteers. They would gladly sacrifice their fellow Jews if this could help them to pile fuel on their war-crazed anti-Soviet cam-

TED TINSLEY is a columnist for the *Daily Worker*.

paign. What wouldn't they give to have the Soviet Union undertake a tiny pogrom!

For those who do not yet know that the *Times* is no longer finicky about fishing for journalistic tidbits in the gutter, here are the claims which the article makes:

Jewish life behind the "Iron Curtain" is "steadily being liquidated";

The Jewish population in Eastern Europe faces a "huge moral catastrophe";

The Soviet regime saddles Jews with "impoverishment, slavery and moral degradation" and "spiritual annihilation";

Jewish writers have "disappeared"; others have been accused of "cosmopolitanism";

Jews in the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia "have been subjected to a 'ruthless' campaign to eradicate their culture, language, literature, religion and national consciousness."

You will notice that a Wall Street loan has automatically absolved Yugoslavia of all such charges.

On goes the report until it reaches its climax in a statement by Charles Kreindler, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, who claimed, in the words of the *Times*, that "the condition of Jews in Western Europe had improved materially, culturally and economically" in 1949.

Jewish Stalin Prize Winners

This is not the first time the *Times* has rubbed its front page in this kind of thing. Unfortunately for Mr. Sulz-

berger, the publication of this article almost coincided with the announcement of the Soviet Union's 1949 Stalin Prize Winners. Among them we find Grigori Abramovich Shein, who won a 200,000 ruble prize for his work in mathematical physics; and Mikhail Vladimirovich Belkentshtein, who won a 100,000 ruble prize for work in the same field. And who is this Yusik Yakovlovich Pomeranchik, who won a prize in electrical theory? A Soviet Jew, is he not, Mr. Sulzberger, Mr. Jewish Labor Committee?

Here also we find the names of Natan Borisovich Vagrofik, winner of a 100,000 prize in chemistry; and Samoel Lvovich Sobol, awarded a prize in technics. Both, you will notice, have Jewish rather than Russified first names as well as last names.

More? Well, here is Arkady Samsonovich Erusapinsky, winner of a prize in philology; Motel Kalmanovich Grodzovsky, winner of a prize in chemistry; and the Soviet Jewish women Hannah Teitelbaum, Sofia Rozensweig, and Emma Khaiah, who won prizes for work in industrial technology. And many other Jews, too numerous to name. In fact, a count of the prize winners in science and technology shows that 110 out of 1241 awards went to Jews.

In the arts we find prizes awarded to the cartoonist, Boris Yefimovich Yefimov; the prose writers, Emmanuel Henrichovich Kazakevich and Natan Samoelovich Ribak; the poet, Alexander Yakovlovich Yashin (Popov), and the Jewish poetess, Agni Lvovne Barto; the motion picture photographer, Eduard Kasimirovich Tisse. And many others in painting, literature, criticism, sculpture, movies, music, architecture, drama and opera. Here again, a count will show that 44 of 319 prize winners in literature and art are Jewish.

The Stalin prizes are an institution in the Soviet Union, a means of honoring outstanding citizens. Do the Jewish



Emmanuel Kazakevich

names on this list mean to the *Times* that Soviet Jews suffer "impoverishment, slavery and moral degradation?" Is the fact that the Jews, who comprise one per cent of the Soviet population, win about nine per cent of the prizes, proof of this assertion?

Yes; individual Soviet Jews have been criticized for "cosmopolitanism" or nationalism, as Jews may be criticized on any other social or political question. But the Stalin prizes stand as irrefutable proof that such criticism, when it is directed against individual Jews, is directed against their role as Soviet citizens and not as a minority group. Not that those who really seek the truth would have had to wait for the Stalin prize announcement to verify the fact that in the socialist state Jews have achieved complete equality. Even a superficial study of communist theory and practice would show that the eradication of anti-Semitism, race hatred and chauvinism does not depend for its fulfillment upon the whims of any individuals, but is a cornerstone of the socialist state, one without which the socialist and finally the communist edifice cannot be established.

Religious and Social Equality

But what of the "spiritual annihilation," the "huge moral catastrophe" that face the Jews of Eastern Europe? One part of the answer can be found in an article in the Jewish *Morning Journal*, hardly a source friendly to the Soviet Union. Israeli correspondent S. Yitzhaki reported on February 26 an interview with a Jew newly arrived from Rumania. "In eight large Russian cities and in many smaller towns there are *Yeshivas* [religious schools] and older Jews feel as comfortable in them as they did in the good old days.' This news was given to me by a well-known Jewish personality of Rumania who recently arrived in Israel . . . and who was in the Soviet Union a few months ago.

"He himself studied *Mishnayis* [portion of the Talmud] with Jews in Moscow, Zhitomir and Odessa. It is no secret that there are *Yeshivas* in Grodno, Kiev, Tiflis, Baku and Kremenchug and that the Soviet power doesn't interfere in these purely religious Jewish affairs." The writer goes on to bemoan the fact that these religious places are not at all frequented by young Jews reared under the Soviet regime. Nevertheless, "this Jew is categorically certain that there is no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. In the past year he saw masses of Jewish officials in government offices, masses of Jewish engineers and doctors and a great number of Jewish workers in all branches of economic life. He does not believe that Jews are now regarded 'any differently than before' in Soviet schools or universities. He knows of instances where people were punished by imprisonment and in a number of cases expelled from the Communist Party, which is the extreme punishment in Russia, for insulting Jews."

Now let's go to Wroclaw for more light on the question. There the first national congress of the Jewish Cultural Society took place on October 14 to 16, 1949. It was reported there that the society had arranged 375 lectures by writers

and artists, 598 theatrical performances and concerts and 756 cultural gatherings. Attendance at these affairs was over 334,000. Yiddish was the language used, except where non-Jewish artists or writers were involved. Poland's Jewish community has two Jewish people's theaters, 68 cultural homes, 43 Jewish libraries, seven choruses and orchestras and 12 dramatic circles. Does this sound like a "ruthless campaign" to rob the Jewish people of their identity?

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported from Poland on March 24 that an official of the Commission for Work and Public Welfare addressed a meeting of Jews who had been employed by private firms which have gone out of business. This official said, "Anyone who loses his employment because the enterprise for which he worked was privately owned will receive full opportunity for employ-

ment in cooperative establishments or in government-operated industries."

No Discrimination In Employment

"Full opportunity for employment" is not something that Mr. Sulzberger would be rash enough to promise Jews who answer help-wanted ads in his own newspaper. Amazing, is it not, the ease with which the *Times* and the Jewish Labor Committee interpret "full opportunity for employment" to mean the "liquidation" of Jews!

The *Times* has put itself in a peculiar position with this article, which talks of "the remaining tens of thousands of Jews who are compelled to remain under Soviet Communist domination in Poland today." What is the *Times*

JEW S AMONG 1949 STALIN PRIZE WINNERS

From among 110 Soviet Jews who were awarded Stalin prizes for 1949 in science and technology and 44 in literature and art, a representative selection follows:

Science and Technology

Shein, Grigori Abramovich, director of Crimean Astrophysical Laboratory: for spectrum investigations of the stellar atmosphere.

Loktiev, Lev Abramovich, and *Rosenberg*, Mikhail Mikhailovich, construction engineers: for work in the field of armaments.

Kreitser, Viktor Leonidovich, and *Braud*, Baruch Vulfovich: for discoveries in television.

Rabinovich, Abram Mikhailovich, and *Peretz*, Ruvim Yosefovich: for work in the techniques of war.

Rabinovich, Abram Mikhailovich, *Goldat*, Sofia Yulievny, and *Trakhtenberg*, Dmitri Mikhailovich: for work in medicine.

Fridshtein, Ilya Leibovich: for work in chemistry.

Lurye, Yuli Sergevich: for technological discoveries in the cement industry.

Seltser, Grigori Samoevich: for work in metallurgy.

Grozovsky, Motel Kalmanovich; for theoretical and experimental work on coal burning.

Litvinov, Viktor Yakovlevich and *Zak*, Benyamin Davidovich: for work on the production of airplanes.

Shpilman, Ilya Abramovich: for contributions to the discovery of new oil fields.

Umansky, Moise Yakovlevich: for work in radio.

Dumer, Abram Ben-Tsionovich, and *Shilkret*, Meyer Moisevich: for contributions to turbine production.

Teitelbaum, Khamne Yakovlevich: for aid in the development of a Diesel tractor.

Yerusalimsky, Arkady Shimshinovich: for his book on German imperialism at the end of the XIX century.

Sandler, Samoel Emmanuelovich: for contributions to communications.

Sobol, Samoel Lvovich: for work on the history of the microscope.

Aronov, David Ilyich; for discoveries in aerial photography.

Fuchs, Shloime Aranovich: for building new types of ships.

Frankel, Abram Semyonovich: for developing machines for pouring steel.

Khmenitsky, Yulius Lazarovich, and *Yudin*, Vassily Lavrentovich: for contributions to the production of aviation gasoline.

Shaffer, Yuri Georgovich, and *Grigorov*, Nakhum Lvovich: for building new machines to investigate cosmic rays.

Rogelberg, Yosef Lazarovich: for new methods in the production of rare metals.

Literature and Art

Kazakevich, Emmanuel Henrikovich: for his novel, *Spring on the Oder*.

Ribak, Natan Samoevich: for a novel.

Yashin (Popov), Alexander Yakovlevich: for a poem.

Dolmatovsky, Yevgenia Aronovich: for a poem.

Elsberg, Yakov Yefimovich: for a study of Herten.

Kenigson, Vladimir Vladimirovich: film actor.

Aretsky, Abram-Ber Zalmanovich: film photographer.

The brothers *Tur* (Tubelsky), Leonid and Pyotr Davidovich: scenario writers.

Tisse, Eduard Kasimirovich: film photographer.

Feintsimmer, Alexander Mikhailovich: film director.

Manyevich, Alexander Mendelovich, composer: for his cantata, *For Peace*.

Katz, Sigismund Abramovich, composer: for his musical settings of famous Soviet songs.

Yefimov, Boris Yefimovich: for political cartoons.

Fridman, Pavel Zakharovich, sculptor: for his monument to the fallen Red Army heroes in Berlin.

Rosenfeld, Zinovy Moisevich, and *Suris*, Arnold Davidovich, architects: for design of Moscow apartment house.

Gabovich, Alexander Markovich, theatrical director.

Sazhin (Schneerson), Solomon Abramovich: for acting in children's theater.

Faier, Yuri Fedorovich, ballet director.

doing here? Simply lying? Or is this world-famous newspaper abysmally ignorant of common facts?

The very first statement made at the congress of the Jewish Cultural Society mentioned above came from a representative of the Ministry of Public Administration, who said: "The Polish Government has consented that those Polish citizens of Jewish nationality who wish to leave for Israel may do so. The government is facilitating their departure by simplifying and speeding up formalities, and by organizing transportation through the travel office, Orbis."

A representative of the United Polish Workers Party, K. Witaszewski, reiterated this statement, and added that "we underscore at the same time that every Jewish worker or intellectual—who together with Polish workers builds the foundation for socialism—has every right and opportunity for economic, cultural, and social life."

Emigration to Israel

Now let the *Times* answer the *Times*. Following are excerpts from a Prague dispatch in the *Times* on March 26 by correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt: "The first of 3,000 Jews whom Hungary will allow to emigrate under an agreement concluded with the Israeli Government three months ago will leave Hungary for Israel April 10. . . ."

On official policy in Eastern Europe, Mr. Schmidt writes: "The official policy; however, has remained vigorously opposed to all manifestations of anti-Semitism. Restrictions imposed on Jewish rabbis are the same as those imposed on the Christian clergy." Rumania, declares Schmidt, has allowed 800 Jews per month to leave for Israel since last November. And in Bulgaria, "42,000 have emigrated, leaving only 4,000 or 5,000 most of whom want to stay in Bulgaria." Finally Mr. Schmidt comments that "Communist governments have been reluctant to lose those among the Jewish intelligentsia who have technical and scientific training needed for the fulfillment of their economic plans."

Lo and behold—reluctance to lose the services of Jews is metamorphosed into "anti-Semitism" in the *New York Times*!

Improvement In Western Europe?

Now let us consider the *Times* report that, according to brother Kreindler, the condition of Jews in western Europe has greatly improved during the last year.

Off we go to dear old Bavaria, snuggling securely in the Western Zone of Germany under the kindly eye of Mother McCloy. There we find Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's banker, who has instituted a law suit against Dr. Philip Auerbach, Bavarian Commissioner for Persecutees. Dr. Auerbach called Schacht a "war criminal"—and Schacht is suing for libel in the western "democratic" courts!

Here is a headline from the *New York Daily Compass* (March 27, 1950): "Jews Fear Day Armies Leave." The headline refers to Jews of Western Germany, and the article which follows, written by James Waterman Wise, tells

of the desecration of Jewish tombstones; of Jewish GIs assaulted on the streets at night; of public anti-Semitic insults in the cafes of Bavaria; of "humorous" postcards sent to Wurtemberg Jews, ordering them to report for "delousing and cremation"; of an Offenbach Jewish gynecologist removed from his post—won through competitive examinations—because the deputy mayor did not think him fit to treat German women; of undeclared boycotts against Jewish stores; of signs actually reading, "We Do Not Sell to Jews." This is only a partial list of the crimes of anti-Semitism that James Waterman Wise lists.

This, to certain self-appointed guardians of the Jewish people, represents material, cultural, and economic improvement!

What's eating the *Times*? Does it really hope to turn all Jews against the Soviet Union? Will the Jews do as no other people in the world have done and declare themselves 100 percent for "aryan" capitalism? Not a chance, Mr. Sulzberger, not a chance!

And what's eating the Jewish Labor Committee? Is it disturbed because no Jews won Stalin prizes for anti-Soviet activities? But the Jews of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are not interested in such sport. Poor, benighted fellows, they do not read the *Times*, and are therefore ignorant of how badly off they are. They have been trapped into thinking that laws against anti-Semitism are a good thing. They do not realize how nice it would be for Jewish solidarity if Jews were barred from various employment instead of welcomed into all industries. They suffer no sweet nostalgia for the ghettos from which they recently escaped. They see in the appointment of Anna Pauker as Rumania's Foreign Minister a sign of honor to the Jewish people, never realizing that it is a deep plot against John Rankin.

The *Times* and the Jewish Labor Committee know very well that the Jews in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are living a life free from bias and persecution for the first time in centuries. True, the Jews are doing this at the expense of capitalism. Under capitalism, of the non-fascist variety, of course, all roads are supposedly open to the Jew. He may be a Morgenthau, supporting the Marshall Plan—a success in a capitalist sense. Or he may be a David Dubinsky—also a success in the capitalist sense. But an Einstein must suffer the stupid remarks of a Navy officer who refers to him as "Mister" Einstein and of a John Rankin who calls him an "old faker."

Let's ask some questions of Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, the boss of the *Times*, who keeps himself in splendid, but imaginary isolation from the filth his paper prints. Does the *Times* object to the world's greatest FEPC in effect in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union? Does it show the same eagerness to legislate against discrimination here in the United States?

Perhaps it is too much to expect common decency from the *Times* on matters involving the Soviet Union. The *Times* prefers the luxury of being as cheap as Winchell without using Winchell's expensive name.

This is a small luxury designed for small people.

OUR MAN

A Short Story

By Ben Field

"AND what will you do when you grow up?" asked the shoemaker.

"I'll be a man."

The shoemaker looked up from his work. "A man?"

Moishie nodded.

"And what kind of work will our man do? If you cut with a tool, if you turn a wheel, there is a man in your shoes. The worker is the man. What kind of work will our man do?"

"I'll be a soldier."

"Sol"

"I'll fight Fishy then. I'll fight and lick him until he stops bothering me, until he stops chasing and bossing and stealing and not — not —"

"Not letting you live."

"Yes!"

Gravely the shoemaker stared at the boy whose face had become white with anger. "At least you see that you must face that brigand, that *momser*. Good, that's man's work. But if you push it off, day after day, you will grow foul with waiting, and then where will mankind be?"

Moving uneasily in the shoeshine chair which stood high like a throne in the corner of the shop, Moishie knew the answer expected of him. He had tried again and again to screw up courage against this Fishy, and at the moment that his voice had rung with his determination to fight, a hand had grabbed him by the throat like a mugger's and everything seemed to get dark around him. Shamefacedly he looked away from the old man who continued pounding, his big bald head as shiny as the iron last, the gray claws of his moustache hanging down over his thrust-out chin. Moishie got up, stole down and peeked out of the door—Fishy and his gang were still waiting for him at the corner. Pretending that nothing had happened, he climbed up again to the shoeshine chair and gathered his legs under him.

The shoemaker pounded in his last nail, dropped the hammer, and took up his pipe. "I see you took a look at the world," he said.

Moishie flushed.

"Clear weather?"

The boy nodded.

"I thought so. We will have clear weather for a while now, weather where men will be able to give blows and take them, fighting weather." With this the shoemaker cleared his throat with such a loud noise that he himself was startled, and then pulled a long face, angry that anybody

BEN FIELD is the author of numerous short stories and four novels.

could frighten him, reached for his hammer, and gave such a bang that the floor shook.

Moishie's faint smile vanished; he ran his eyes miserably around the shop, tried to gather up something pleasant in his mind, and still unable to calm himself, slipped off the chair and tiptoed into the backroom. There on a table near a glass with a slice of lemon lay an open book. He studied the book's cover which bore a picture of a hand clutching the ball of the world. With such a hand one could give it to that Fishy straight in the mug. He heard the shoemaker's thunder in the shop, compared his hand to the one on the book, and asked himself if it wasn't a book to teach fighting.

Moishie started reading. Like most of the shoemaker's reading it was about workers, with the meaning tacked in so deep that he had to back away, try again, digging in so hard that his eyes blurred, a blackness pawed the book. He looked up quickly: like an alley cat night had slunk in between the bars of the window. Up on his feet, he remembered that his mother was home from work now, worrying because Fishy was keeping him.

HE DARTED OUT OF THE SHOP WITH A GOODNIGHT TO THE SHOEMAKER. The corner was free. He raced toward the tenement. As he reached the stoop, a chunky figure charged from behind a can. It was Fishy. Digging his fingers into Moishie's neck, he dragged him through the gutter, banging him on the neck with the edge of his hand as if he were a fish which had just been hooked. He got him into the store where he threw him into the arms of his lieutenants and sergeants.

"Mr. Fisher, Mr. Pisher. Stop squawking or I'll mopelize you, Mushhead. Telling that old smeller the shoemaker on me!"

The sergeants and lieutenants sat on Moishie waiting for their captain to give his orders.

Fishy swaggered between the vegetable bins and the fish tanks. "I got an idea," he barked. "We're going to have a pea race. Here comes the rest of the caboodle with something pussy forgot to bury."

Snorting and puffing and pummeling away, a bunch of his men yanked into the store little Harry, the janitor's boy. They threw him on the floor beside Moishie, and then piled up heaps of rusty peas, rotten cabbage leaves and carrots, old fish guts, and forcing the heads of the kids into the refuse, started the race.

Fishy was a wizard: he flipped a handful of good peas to the ceiling and snapped them up with his teeth, bom-

barded at the same time the kneeling, gulping kids. "Come, curly *chnyok*. Come, *chnyok*."

After winning the race, Fishy announced that the losers would have to pay him two bits each. When the janitor's Harry said he couldn't get a penny out of his father, he got such a root in the tail that he ran howling into the street. Staggering under a load of potatoes, guarded by a detail of Fishy's gang, Moishie had to lug the order to a customer next block.

On the way back he escaped through an alley and made his way up the tenement, stumbling into the flat where his mother was scrubbing clothes. Catching himself in time, he washed face and hands, but he could not get rid of the guts taste. He gagged, shuddered, and finally toed his way to her. "Mama, what is a *chnyok*?"

Her bones cracked as she leaned against the wall. "Where have you been? You dropped in like a crumb and almost frightened the sense out of your mother. Will you eat?"

As he shook his head, she turned to her work again. He yanked at her dress impatiently. "But what is a *chnyok*?"

"How you pick up names. It means a good-for-nothing." She felt his forehead with the softness of her upper arm and bent over the tub again.

He went to his room and lay down. He was deserving of the most forbidden of words, letting that Fishy say he had never had a father, that his mother had slept with another woman to have him, that the shoemaker played with him. As he brooded, he began to feel heavy-headed and his mouth filled with bitterness worse than the pennies had given him after he had swallowed them to keep Fishy from stealing them. And suddenly it was as though Fishy were chasing him again—into the cellar, around the cans. Behind the engine which pounds water to the roof, into a tomcat with yellowish eyes which exploded, scratching, between his legs, while his heart punched into his throat and fiery little shells screamed before him. With a mighty effort Moishie had flown around the street corner into the shop, keeling over into his own vomit, the shoemaker carrying him to his cot, wiping the sweat and froth off his face, promising again and again that he would never tell this to his mother.

Moishie raised his leaden head to see where he was, and then the peas and fishguts burst from him onto the floor in a horrid stool. Hearing his vomiting, his mother ran to him. She put hot towels on his stomach and, desperate and white-faced, sat up with him all night.

THOUGH HE FELT BETTER NEXT DAY, HE HAD TO REMAIN IN BED while his mother went to work. She came home with a gift for him, a little red book with Liberty stamped on the cover, holding up her torch like a hammer. The first half of the book was for writing. The rest consisted of pictures of Americans at work: Washington surveying in Indian territory, Franklin setting type in his printshop, Jackson balking at blackening the shoes for a British officer

and getting a sabre cut across his face, and Abe splitting the mighty rails.

Harry, the janitor's boy, came up to see him. He, too, had been sick. He went wild over the book and wished that his mother could go off to work and bring presents. "Fishy and his gang's looking for you. Yesterday they made them German swarsticker signs all over the shoemaker's door. One of them crooks a lot of big bags off the bakery. He fills them full of water and rocks and chucks them off the roof. He almost hit my father on the head. Fishy says he's getting ready for bombing for the next war."

Moishie cried, "We got to get him, that Fishy, we got to get him, Harry."

"I tried once."

Moishie reddened in shame. "Next time I'll get him," he faltered.

Little Harry nodded doubtfully.

For a long time after he had left him, Moishie lay on his back staring up at the ceiling. Then steeled with a sudden determination, he got dressed and went out.

"*Sholem Aleichem*," said the shoemaker when Moishie walked into the store after eluding the gang. He wiped his hands on his apron before taking the book and examining it. "Ach, you have a little masterpiece here with men who did a day's work in their time. But where is the pencil? What is a writer without a pencil? He is a worker without a tool, a fighter without a gun."

He came from behind his bench. "Sit here and watch. See that those boots in the window don't run away, bandits that they are. You don't know what a time I had with those rascals."

He left the boy and crossed the street to the stationary store, and when he returned, he asked for the book and slipped something between the pages. A golden pencil with a cartridge of leads.

Moishie gaped at the gifts, he gaped at the old man.

"It is all yours, my friend."

The boy seized the black fist and kissed it.

"Ho," growled the old man, "what is this? Am I the Tsar or Field Marshall Pototzky that you are fawning at me? King or worker, never get down on your knees to anyone!" The claws of his moustache bristled, but a smile spread over his face, and he pulled the boy's ear.

They sat down together, put lead into the pencil, and studied the book.

"You take to a book like a bird to air and a fish to water. You are teething to be a writer. There are writers and writers. I grew up on Gorky and Sholem Aleichem. Gorky writes about workers, bakers and shoemakers like this one." He thumped his chest. "Sholem Aleichem writes about Jews, pieces of mankind also. Now a writer is like a shoemaker. He helps mankind walk. How? A writer goes out into the street and sees a painter painting the wall of a house, laboring all day in the sun. He sits down and writes a story, and when we read it, he brings us to the painter and his sweat mingles with ours. Or he writes about a farmer working with an old horse, it could

be on the other side of the world, in China or in Africa, and we groan with both of them for the same little loaf. . . . Write, practice, work, and the world will be ours." "I'll write, I'll write," sang Moishe, leaping up and laughing, and away he flew.

HIS MOTHER LEFT HER WORK WHEN HE BURST IN ON HER AND looked at the golden pencil. "It is beautiful, but you shouldn't have taken. The old man works for his bread." "I didn't ask. He said I make it, I helped him in the store."

"Then keep it, son, and treasure it like your life."

He slept with the book and pencil, safe under his pillow. He hid them in a closet when he went up to the roof to help his mother hang the clothes. He stayed in the flat reading and writing and seeing himself as Washington surveying in Indian territory, Franklin printing, Lincoln splitting his rails, and old Hickory throwing off like thread the sabres whistling down on him.

While the factories were piping their whistles, his mother returned from work. "I saw your friend the shoemaker. 'Where is our man?' he asked. I told him. 'That is good, but a writer must not be too much with himself. He must go out into the world also. Otherwise he will write only about the matter that gathers in his *pipik*.'" [navel—Ed.] She smiled and kissed her lean, long-legged one.

Moishie turned away to hide his fear from her. Outside the window the day hung like wash with the last light dripping from it. He went into his room to look over his book, and as he studied Jackson, his chest swelled, back went his shoulders. He whirled around and walked out. Down the stairs he went boldly. The door to the backyard whined, and out shot Fishy. Moishie stood his ground.

Fishy planted his fists on his hips. "Where's the two bits you owe me, Mush?"

"Even if I had the money, you wouldn't get a cent!"

"Say, you're getting too snotty for the world. Then give's the book and pencil. I know all about it. I got my spy system working."

Like two little mothers, Moishie's hands flew to his blouse, and that was just what Fishy was looking for. Clamping a headlock on the kid, Fishy got him down, ripped open the blouse, found the book and pencil, and beat it upstairs to his flat, hooting. Moishie bounded after him.

In the doorway stood Mrs. Fisher, a woman with a big belly and a mouth like a red rip, and lurking behind her was Fishy snickering, "That's mushhead. He's going to snot I gyped something from him. Let him come search me."

Moishie marched up and began frisking him.

"I'll crown you yet for this," whispered Fishy.

The big blonde woman watched the boys peevishly for a moment, and then she shrieked, "Give him back what you took, hoodlum."

"I took nothing," muttered Fishy, tap-dancing out of her reach.



"But he did, Mrs. Fisher. He did." And Moishie leaped to get at the boy who had embittered his life for so long.

Mrs. Fisher caught Moishie and spun him headlong out through the doorway. "You heard him. You ain't clean oil yourself." She slammed the door shut.

Thrown against the bannister, Moishie stumbled down the stairway into the street, stopping in front of the stationary store where he leaned his head against the window. Above the clang of the street the shoemaker's rumbling bass called him. He crossed the gutter and stood in the shop with lowered head.

"Why does our man stand there like a leaden tombstone?" The shoemaker put his hand under the child's chin and looked down on the tear-swollen face.

"Fishy took my book and—and—"

"So! And now? Do you expect me, an old man, to go fight him? Or your mother to lose a day's work to defend you?"

Moishie shooed his head and sobbed.

"Good. You can do it for yourself. If he knocks you down, get up, you have legs. If he has a fist, you have one, too. If he licks you the first time, you lick him the second time. Must we run away and let them tear us like herrings?"

There was a war between the Tsar and the Japanese, the long-eyed ones, remember I told you, and I ran away. So here I am, an old Torah patching old shoes while there they are building a new world. Go, and don't let us be ashamed of you." He gave Moishie a push and took his rasp and bore down on the shoe so hard that the bench groaned.

THE BOY WENT INTO THE DARKENED STREET, AND LOOKING neither left nor right, labored up the steps of the tenement.

His mother came to meet him. "What happened? Did you fall? Tell me."

Again his eyes filled with tears, and tight-lipped he pulled away from her, and lay down in his room. Like a pin quivering in his brain was the memory of the fight little Harry had put up for him the time that Moishie had found a picture of his dead father and brought it to Fishy to prove that there had been a man in the family and Fishy had torn it. The gang with all the sergeants and lieutenants dancing around, Fishy rushing, slashing, smashing, gashing, knocking a tooth out in a gush of blood wearing it later on a string on a watch which he had stolen from another kid. And like mush he had run away to let Harry fight for him. . . .

All next day he moped indoors while the boys shouted in the street, the factories whistled, Maxie the iceman came up with the good smell of his horse and his cool brown fist, and Harry kept popping in to get him to come out.

"Why do you sit there as if you were sewed with iron thread?" asked his mother.

He was on a chair near the window, his long legs under him, his fists sunk into his cheeks.

"If it's that Fishy again, I shall have to move from the neighborhood. Enough is enough."

"No, Mama, no! I ain't scared of him no more."

"What then?"

"I'm thinking."

"And will you be through soon so that your mother can go to work with a whole heart?"

"Yes."

Her face puckered the way her hands did after a long day in the tub. She got his milk. His teeth knocked against the glass. "Mama," he asked, "do you think I'll ever be a man for myself?"

"For yourself and for all of us. Yes, dear one. You're a man now. My man. The only man I have left." She looked into his eyes, kissed them, and pressed him to her breasts.

He gave her the empty glass and again he knuckled his forehead.

"Still thinking?" asked his mother.

He nodded.

"Think only those thoughts that will make you grow in the length and breadth, my man."

HE SMILED FAINTLY. HE WAS THINKING AND THINKING HARD. To make up for the janitor's little Harry and for his own

father, for the shoemaker and his mother so that she stop worrying, for all the indignities heaped on him. For the book and the golden pencil. If knocked down once, to rise again. To go back again and again and again, and he caught his breath and rose, and as his mother nodded encouragingly, he left, terrible in his determination. At the landing well, however, he hesitated and switched to the roof.

The gangway to the roof was covered by what looked like a red sentry box. Next to it squatted the huge water tank with rusty hoops of iron. The light cut at him blinding him momentarily. He climbed the rampart from which the broad tinkering city was visible. Over distant roofs pigeons floated like flakes and pinches of pepper, scared by boys with long poles tipped with flags. Spanning the river were the crossbows of bridges. A hot breeze played with the papers and other refuse on the roof. Cries ascended from the street: "Hellosir, hellosir, I'll meet you at the grocer."

Moishie got on his knees and raked the street. A bunch of girls were skipping rope. He wondered where that Fishy was, and then saw somebody shoot out of the alley with the gang after him. The gang chased around the corner and disappeared and a wailing shriek followed, and then they hustled back to the alley. Moishie rounded the rampart and squinted down into the alley.

A fire was burning against the side of the house. The gang was roasting mickies and fish, stolen from the tanks. Standing over the pot with a wooden ladle, Fishy threw back his head and bawled out orders.

Moishie crouched, his breath pumping, his brain in a whirl. A paper bag, the kind the baker used for Sabbath loaves, rustled near the tank. He pounced on it, filled it with gravel, and wrenched at the tap under the tower. At last he had it filled, and with a grunt he dragged it across the roof. He peered over the cornice of the rampart, screwed the top of the bag tight, and with a gasp, got the bag as high as his belly, then on the hot tile, then aimed and let go. The bag whirled round and round. With a loud explosion it burst in the alley, bombing water and stones on the fire, upsetting the pot, hitting the boys who scattered like jacks, tripped and stumbled on their behinds, and rushed together again.

Moishie stood on the rampart, one leg over the cornice, for all to see. Fishy leaped to the other side of the street shaking his fist, yelling, "Moishie Rabenoo kocks on all the stones," and then barked orders to his gang. They separated and ran up the adjoining tenements to box Moishie and Fishy yanked something out of his pocket. The book! He tore out a page, wiped himself with it, and chucked the rest into the fire.

Moishie hurled himself off the rampart. With a cry of rage, he tore from one end of the roof to the other, and then gritting his teeth, his body bunched behind his head, he plunged into the sentry box, flew headlong down the stairs into the street where, throwing the sergeants and lieutenants aside, he hurled himself on his enemy.

SOCIALIST TRADITIONS OF JEWISH LABOR

By Morris U. Schappes

WHO suggested the changes is not known. It may have been the members of the Constitutional Committee or it may have been the delegates, all ten of them, who had on October 9, 1888, founded the United Hebrew Trades of New York and Vicinity—total union membership, less than 100. But a constitution was important and every word had to be examined. For a model the committee had brought in the constitution of the New York Central Labor Union. This was the mainstream of the New York labor movement, a powerful organization of some 50,000 members. There were white and Negro American-born as well as foreign-born workers among its affiliates—Irish, German, Bohemian, Jewish, Scandinavian and so on. Its leadership, like the American-born Peter J. McGuire, was socialist, its principles radical. Surely its constitution would be just the kind needed by the United Hebrew Trades, organized on the direct initiative of a handful of Jewish members of the Socialist Labor Party on the New York East Side.

So the delegates gathered at the Labor Lyceum at 25 East 4th Street—delegates from the Yiddish typographical union, the actors' union, and the union of choristers who sang in the Yiddish theater, from the two Jewish branches of the Socialist Labor Party (No. 8 was Yiddish-speaking and No. 17 was Russian-speaking), and from the United German Trades. The last-named had had the practical sense and socialist comradeship not only to lend their organizational support to the Jewish workers, but to bring a contribution of ten dollars that now constituted the entire treasury of the United Hebrew Trades.

Anti-Capitalist Constitution

The Central Labor Union constitution was on the whole good enough, but the Jewish workers found some fuzziness of expression in it that they preferred to change. After all, the members of Branch 8 of the Socialist Labor Party had spent many a meeting during the summer just past reading and discussing Abba Braslavsky's new Yiddish translation of Karl Marx's classic pamphlet, *Wage-Labor and Capital*. They knew the value of precision. Therefore when the C. L. U. model spoke of "prevailing system," the Jewish socialists changed it to "capitalist system." The Preamble of the C. L. U. began well enough with the need for "unity . . . to combat . . . organized and consolidated Capital," but then the phrasing sort of got diffused, so the Jews thought, into the value of "one Brotherhood for the defense and protection of the laboring masses." So the delegates revised the wording to read that the affiliates of the organization would "resist oppression and support each other in the

struggle against capitalist exploitation." Was not the process of capitalist exploitation exactly what Marx had described in his pamphlet?

Thus they went through the Central Labor Union constitution line by line, striking out a word here, changing a phrase there, rewriting a clause elsewhere. In each case they made the meaning clearer, showing the operation of the class struggle more accurately, projecting their socialist ideals more fully. Some sentences they agreed with completely, like this one: "The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves, as no other class has any interest in improving their condition." The delegates also knew that in working class hands "rests the future of our free institutions, and it is in their destiny to replace the present iniquitous social system by"—by what? The C. L. U. said, "by one based upon equity, morality, and the nobility of all useful labor." But the United Hebrew Trades decided that capitalism should be replaced "by a new order founded on justice, freedom, and the solidarity of all the workers of the world."

The "immediate demands" too had to be examined to see how they fitted the needs of the Jewish workers. The eight-hour day? Why of course, that applied to everybody, Jew and non-Jew. But how about "discontinuance of the contract system on public works," when the Jewish workers were not so much on public works as in sweatshops. Therefore that demand was revised to read, "the abolition of the contract and sweating-system." Another C. L. U. plank, having to do with currency reforms, was stricken out altogether as having nothing to do with a working class movement with socialist ideals.

Finally, the document was finished. This is not the place to analyze the changes in detail, nor to set forth at length the way in which many Lassalleian formulations were changed to Marxian ones (while other Lassalleianisms were overlooked). The important thing is that now the United Hebrew Trades had a program which was in a broad sense and to the best theoretical understanding of the delegates socialist. Now they were ready to go out and organize Jewish workers into trade unions, into "struggle against capitalist exploitation," into the fight for socialism. That was the evening of October 16, 1888.

Growth and Struggle

Four months later the United Hebrew Trades had grown to 11 unions with 1200 members; a year after that, in March 1890, there were 22 unions with 6,000 members. The cloak-makers were being organized. It was in December 1889 that

the organizers of the United Hebrew Trades set to work building Operators' and Cloak Makers' Union No. 1, on the request of some workers in the big A. Friedlander & Co. shop. Beginning late in January 1890, a series of successful strikes won recognition for the union, and sent the membership figures zooming to 3,300 by the end of April. No wonder! For in his Official Report for that year, the New York State Commissioner of Labor was to remark, "There is not a worse paid set of artisans than the cloakmakers. Distress is chronic, and no one enters upon cloakmaking unless constrained by dire necessity."

Then came May Day, 1890, and the cloakmakers marched with the Socialists. Thirty years later one of the marchers remembered that 7,000 cloakmakers marched that May Day—and even if there were a thousand or two less than that, it was still enough to alarm the bosses of these cloakmakers. The bosses decided to break the union by locking out their workers. On May 19, 1890, the lockout began in two big companies and by June 14th the ten biggest employers in the field had locked out 4,000 workers. It was Meyer Jonasson & Co., A. Friedlander & Co., Farkin & Co., Friedman Bros., Blumenthal Bros., Louis Graner, Julius Stein, Oppenheim Collins & Co., Goldsmith and Platt, and Rothschild Bros.—Jewish capital—against 4,000 Jewish workers.

The lockout was turned into a strike. What the state labor commissioner half-wittily called "the policeman's rough and ready argument" was swung against the heads and backs of strikers, but they held their ranks. Even a couple of capitalist newspapers raised some money for the hungry strikers, and one Jewish congregation fed dinners at a nickel each to strikers showing union cards. After eight weeks, at least the leaders of the strike had reached an agreement with the manufacturers' association, but the workers balked at two crucial elements of that agreement: there was no provision for the closed shop, and the bosses were to be allowed to retain the scabs they had hired. On July 16, a mass meeting of cloakmakers at New Everett Hall, 31 East 4th Street, repudiated the agreement by the vote of 1536 to 20! The "friendly" capitalist newspapers promptly stopped raising funds for the strikers, and denounced them instead as—socialists and anarchists. But a week later, the bosses were ready to sign a better agreement, which included the firing of all scabs, and the recognition of the closed shop. Gathering in the same hall, the workers sing the *Marseillaise* and wave red flags.

Strike Lessons

The full meaning of the strike was set forth in a brilliant editorial in the Yiddish weekly, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, on August 1, 1890. This was the official organ of the United Hebrew Trades and the Socialist Labor Party, and had encouraged and guided the strikers during the entire bitter struggle. Now came the editorial, "The Great Victory and What It Teaches Us." The first lesson was that it was not the soon exhausted support of capitalist newspapers, but "that powerful solidarity and class consciousness" that

would have no truck with scabs. The second lesson was that "the Jews of America have understood their position and have correctly gauged their duty in their new homeland. They do not consider themselves God's chosen people; they come forward as workers, as members and allies of the American working class. Therein lies the solution of the entire Jewish question in America." Are there anti-Semitic forces in this country? Yes, indeed, but: "This struggle of the cloakmakers will shut the mouths of more anti-Semites, and accomplish more toward enhancing the name of 'Jew,' than all the charities of philanthropic bankers, and all the fawning of Jewish patriots who sing of the piety, orderliness and subservience of the Jewish people."

Then there was a third and a fourth lesson. The third was to "unite with your brothers in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and all other places where cloakmakers are to be found, and build a strong *National* Cloakmakers Union." The fourth dealt with the direction and goal of all struggle: "the ultimate *liberation* of the working class, and the complete *annihilation* of the domination of capital. Do not forget that just as you strive for *bread* you must also fight for *freedom*; that such spirit as you display in your *unions* you must also show in the ranks of the *workers' political party*. Go forward, hand in hand with your progressive brothers and help to smash the rule of the money-bags! Remember the immortal words of our teacher, Karl Marx, that 'the economic liberation of the working class is not possible without its political liberation.'" Thus the future was made visible in every present struggle.¹

International Solidarity

While the militant and socialist-minded Jewish workers were steadily becoming a more and more active detachment in the general American labor movement, they also strengthened their ties of international solidarity. It was not only that the United Hebrew Trades sent delegates to the congresses of the Socialist (Second) International. More continual in its impact was the fact that most of these workers were recent immigrants who still had personal ties and correspondence with their families and fellow workers in the East European countries of origin. Then, also, the stream of immigration continued to pour in, bringing, as the underground trade union and labor movement in these countries developed, more and more workers with contact with these movements. When Jewish workers in the early 1890's staged strikes in Bialystok, Vilna, Warsaw and Minsk or took part in illegal May Day demonstrations, Jewish workers in the United States were quick to learn of these new signs of struggle against tsarism and capitalism.

Of special interest, of course, was the fact that in September 1897, at a convention in Vilna, there was organized the General League (Bund) of Jewish Workingmen in

¹ On the same page as this editorial there appeared a stirring poem by Morris Rosenfeld, "*A Zieger-Lied*" (A Victor's Song), "dedicated to all Jewish cloakmakers of New York."

Russia and Poland (Lithuania was added to the name in 1901), popularly known as the "Bund." Later that same year, the American Jewish socialists took the occasion not only to extend hearty fraternal greetings to their embattled brethren under tsarism, but also to give them certain lessons on the meaning of democracy under capitalist rule and to admonish them to fight primarily on class lines. The occasion was a national conference of Yiddish-speaking socialists that met in New York, beginning December 24, 1897. The resolution adopted on the second day of the conference declared that "wherever capitalism develops, class differentiations and class conflicts come to the fore and push into the background all racial differentiations and racial conflicts." On the one hand, it was pointed out, Jewish capitalists unite even with anti-Semitic capitalists in supporting tsarism, "a government which is the greatest persecutor of Jews in the entire world," simply because tsarism helps the Jewish capitalists oppress their workers, Jew and non-Jew alike. On the other hand, Jewish workers are uniting with non-Jewish workers in struggle for their daily bread and freedom from oppression.

Then the resolution turned to another problem, and reported on "the experiences which we have had in this free country. These experiences have proved to us that bourgeois equal rights for Jews under a republican form of government are not the main foundations for the freedom and happiness of the people. Here we have these rights and freedoms, and yet we still have to fight against the greatest of tyrants, capitalism." Then the American Jews went on

to advise their Russian brethren to take to heart the experiences of the American Jewish workers, and not to "waste any energies in a separate Jewish struggle for Jewish rights against oppression," since oppression of the Jews is just one branch of the whole tree of oppression. Instead, the Jewish workers under tsarism should "devote all their energy and attention to the root of all kinds of oppression, inequality, and injustice—the capitalist system of robbery. United with all the oppressed of all races, and in the name of all the advanced workers of America, we promise our brothers in Russia and in Poland to assist them in every way possible."

Not only was the resolution passed for consumption here, but the conference voted to print 10,000 copies, which were to be sent to the London and Zurich offices of the Russian social democratic organizations and the Polish Socialist Party for distribution among the Jewish workers of Russia and Poland. Thus the international exchange of working-class experiences was effected among Jewish workers.

This fragmentary silhouette of how, during one decade from 1888 to 1897, Jewish workers initiated the traditions of socialism among the Jewish people in the United States has of course depended upon certain typical highlights. If, in the later decades, some of the early socialist leaders deserted to the camp of opponents of socialism, and if the United Hebrew Trades, before it was 40 years old, was bragging of its militant fight *against* socialism, there were always those who, in the face of open and inner enemy, took up the relay and carried the flag forward.

FOUR YIDDISH PROLETARIAN POETS:

I: POEMS OF MORRIS WINCHEVSKY

Translated by Aaron Kramer

OF the four immortal proletarian Yiddish poets, Morris Winchevsky was the first to be born and the last to die. The other three: Morris Rosenfeld, David Edelshtat and Joseph Bovshover—sprang directly from him, building upon his revolutionary themes and innovations of style, expanding the huge audience which he had helped to create. He was affectionately known all over the world as the *Zayde* (grandfather) of Yiddish proletarian poetry.

He was born on August 9th, 1855, in a Lithuanian village. Afterwards his family moved to the capital, Kovno, where he grew up in an atmosphere of extreme poverty. He received advanced rabbinical training, but rebelled against the hypocrisy around him. He became a bank clerk and in

that capacity was transferred to a post deep inside Russia (1874) where he made contact with the revolutionists who had come from the universities to carry on propaganda among the peasants and live among them.

In 1877 he had a bank post in Koenigsburg, Prussia; here he saw the first socialist newspaper for Jews, edited by Aaron Lieberman. He joined the German socialist movement. When Lieberman was arrested in 1878, Winchevsky became editor of a Hebrew newspaper. A number of his poems of protest appeared in its pages. He was soon arrested and deported. After a short stay in Paris he settled in London.

Here for the first time in his life he saw tens of thousands of Jewish factory workers—and realized that in order to reach them he would have to write in Yiddish. He was soon closely associated with William Morris in the founding of the British Social Democratic Federation. He wrote a revolutionary pamphlet, *Let There Be Light!* and put out a socialist weekly, first called *Dos Poilische Idl* (The Polish

AARON KRAMER has published seven volumes of poetry. His translations of about 100 poems of Heine were published by Citadel Press last year. His latest book was *Golden Trumpets*. His translated selections from the Yiddish poetry of Rosenfeld, Edelshtadt and Bovshover will appear in coming issues.



Morris Winchevsky

Jew) and afterwards, *Di Tsukunft* (The Future). In 1885 he was one of the founders of the first Yiddish labor daily, *Dos Arbeiter Freint* (The Worker's Friend). Here were

published his fighting songs and "London silhouettes"—immediately sung and loved throughout the world. His Yiddish translation of Thomas Hood's *Song of the Shirt* also appeared in this newspaper, which circulated as widely in the United States as in Britain.

In 1894 Winchevsky came to America, where he was greeted by many thousands of workers. He continued, in Boston and New York, to edit socialist journals. He wrote many fables, plays, feuilletons—and poems, none of which achieved the popularity of his earlier songs. His autobiography, however, was a major contribution, not only as literature, but as a history of the revolutionary movement throughout Europe in the '70's and '80's.

During the first world war Winchevsky consistently opposed the imperialists on both sides, thereby rejecting the Socialist Second International. He cheered the victory of the Bolshevik Revolution, and in 1924 paid a visit to the Soviet Union, where he received a tumultuous welcome in city after city. He was hailed as a pioneer in the war for socialism.

He contributed to the *Morning Freiheit* as long as he could write. On his seventieth birthday the *Freiheit* published his collected works in 10 volumes. His last essay was called, "My Communist Party Card."

He died on the 18th of March, 1932. Tens of thousands who had come to pay their last respects, were kept from viewing the body by Winchevsky's anti-communist children, who, together with the *Forward* editors he had hated so intensely, ordered the police to push back the crowds. But these anti-communists were powerless to bury the songs.

AARON KRAMER

I: LONDON SILHOUETTES

In Rain, in the Wind and the Frost

What can they be doing—two waifs—on the street,
in rain, in the wind and the frost?
with cold little fingers, and wet little feet,
with blue little lips, and with pale little cheeks?
How far is their home—are they lost?
Their home?—only *I* am their home, says the street,
in rain, in the wind and the frost!

And where can two children be going so late,
in rain, in the frost and the wind?
No friends? and no parents to lovingly wait?
Orphans? Too bad! Am I seeing straight?
No doubt of it—one of them's blind!
The street says, But *I'm* their friend, early and late,
in rain, in the frost and the wind.

And why are they suddenly standing so still
in rain, in the wind and the frost?
Too young to go begging, and too poor to sell;
for stealing they've neither the strength nor the will.
Who'll feed them? Who'll throw them a crust?
Ah, this time the stone-hearted street keeps still,
the rain, too, keeps still—and the frost.

Jack the Thief

Jack, being simple, could not understand,
could not see the rhyme or the reason
—that for three apples he'd picked from a stand
they put him away in a prison.

Jack had a mother—an old scatterbrain—
who clung to the foolish belief
that such a law must be simply insane,
for Jack was a child, not a thief.

Jack went away with a sorrowful feeling;
his mother turned paler than pale.
What can a child know of taking, or stealing?
A child—she thought—young and in jail!

Jack served his sentence—each day was a year—
at last he walked freely outside.
Ah, but the price of the apples was dear:
he learned that his mother had died.

A Little Girl in the City

Close by the Market, the temple of loot,
a poor child keeps haunting me, day after day;
stands like a little chick: motionless, mute,
beside a blind man who is feeble and gray;
 holding out batches
 of unwanted matches,
murmuring, begging the gentlefolk there:
"Two boxes a penny, one penny a pair!"

Even in rain, in the lightning and thunder,
calmly she stands and refuses to stir.
"My matches," she worries, "some rain might get under
the covers!" but nothing else matters to her;
 puts out her pale little,
 fair little, frail little
hand, and beseeches the gentlefolk there:
"Two boxes a penny, one penny a pair!"

She fears not the wind nor the lightning that flashes.
But how much storm can she weather—poor waif?
Consumption devours her lungs, and the matches
she clings to more stubbornly now than her life—
 soon, soon another
 without home or mother
will vend, as she vends, to the gentlefolk there:
"Two boxes a penny, one penny a pair!"

II: SONGS OF STRUGGLE

My Vow

A good many years ago, while I was rotting
in jail, at a tyrant's command,
and while, like a corpse, I was being forgotten
by lover, and laughter, and friend—

I uttered an oath once, the holiest oath,
to battle for truth and for rights;
to give up my comfort, to give up my youth,
to give up my days and my nights,—

as long as a man can be chained like a slave,
as long as the world is a jail,
as long as the toiler, from cradle to grave,
hears only a curse and a wail.

Yes, many years back, in the dark prison hell,
divided from brother and bird,
I uttered this oath in the gloom of my cell,
—and night was the witness that heard.

A Battle Song

Lift to the breezes our banner of red!
Get into line now, and strike up the band!
Waken the ragged half-living half-dead;
say to them: Brothers, see here's where we stand,
there stands the bloodthirsty foe.
Here marches freedom, and justice, and light;
there lurks oppression, and evil, and night;
brothers, come march with us now!

Wipe all the tears of the workers away,
tell them that now is no time to be crying;
let no lamenting be heard on this day:
this angry day when we send bullets flying,
we and the bloodthirsty foe.
We—who believe every man is a brother;
he—who would like us to hate one another;
brothers, come march with us now!

Lift to the breezes our banner of red!
Strike up the band, and alarm every street!
Keep in your memory the glorious dead—
reckon the victims of gold and deceit,
slain by the bloodthirsty foe!
Offer new blood to the pale ones, the drained ones;
offer new hope to the stooped ones, the chained ones;
tell them: Come, march with us now!

In Battle

When the drums of liberation,
shall at last begin to sound,
you may find me at my station
on the bloody battle-ground.

And my brothers, I shall lead them
not in a commander's post;
only with my songs of freedom
shall I move the mighty host.

For, beside the ammunition,
at that hour—hot and grim—
we'll be needing, in addition,
an inspired battle-hymn.

HANDBOOK ON HUSH-HUSH

A Book Review

By Louis Harap

"MILLIONS for tribute, not a cent for defense." This would seem to be the motto of the leadership of the three major Jewish "defense" organizations, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai B'rith and the Jewish War Veterans, all of which participated in the recent All-American Conference to Combat Communism. Despite profound popular revulsion at this treacherous act, the American Jewish Committee has not opened its mouth. As a result of pressure from their memberships and the Jewish community, the latter two organizations were at least obliged to make statements about their participation: the Jewish War Veterans reaffirmed adherence to the conference, the B'nai B'rith issued a bumbling explanation of its presence.

This shameful event makes even more urgent the question, what queer conception of Jewish defense do the national leaders of these organizations have? An opportunity to examine these methods is offered by the appearance of *Punishment Without Crime: What You Can Do About Prejudice*, by S. Andhil Fineberg, Community Service Director of the American Jewish Committee. Although this book is not acknowledged to be an official statement of policy, the Committee is pushing it energetically. The book does in fact constitute a statement of the approach of these "defense" organizations to the fight against anti-Semitism. If this were not so, the book would hardly merit attention, except as a case history of appeasement at its worst. Fineberg has here attempted to write a manual of advice on how to deal with "prejudice." He has interlarded the book with a tiresome string of anecdotes and he generally deals with individual situations so as to prevent the people from seeing the common cause of all the cases.

The core of Fineberg's method is categorically to oppose public, mass action. In dealing with minority oppression, "No picketings. No mass meetings." (p. 148)

False Theory of Anti-Semitism

To inhibit mass action, it is necessary to propagate a false theory of anti-Semitism, of whose nature and source Fineberg seems to have not the slightest notion. He offers instead a superficial analysis of prejudice that remains almost exclusively on the pseudo-psychological level. "The reasons for group prejudice," he says, "range from such innocent things as fumbling and unrealistic attempts at generalizing about whole groups of people to deliberate knavery on the part of provocateurs." (p. 16) This is his notion of "attack[ing] prejudice at the roots—exposing the fallacy of the bigot's *kind of thinking*." (p. 80) Or consider this gem: "The ultimate cause of residential dis-

crimination lies not with some restricted group such as realtors or financial groups. It is the result of anachronistic public opinion." (p. 98) This will no doubt enlighten those Chicagoans who know that the Peoria Street riots of last November were incited by real estate interests.

But there is no need to burden the reader with more of this specious psychologizing or with Fineberg's intent to locate the source of anti-Semitism in the people instead of the ruling class. We are dealing here with an evasion of a genuine analysis of anti-Semitism and all minority oppression. For such an analysis would reveal that minority oppression, which Fineberg so politely calls "prejudice," is an instrument of the dominant class in society. It may be used, as in the case of the Negroes in the United States, as a means for maintaining high profits through a system of discrimination throughout economic and social life. Such discrimination makes possible the extreme exploitation of the oppressed Negro people. Or it may be used, as in the case of Hitlerism, by inciting the people against the Jews as a means of imposing a brutal, dictatorial, anti-labor, anti-democratic regime in order to save capitalism from collapse. Or it may be used, as is the case today in the United States, as a twin scapegoat with communism in order to emasculate the labor movement and to destroy civil liberties so that the big capitalist may enjoy untrammelled profit-making at as a means of imposing a brutal, dictatorial, anti-labor, anti-Soviet hysteria and preparation for war. These are the sources of anti-Semitism and minority oppression today, and it is this knowledge that the big bourgeoisie for whom Fineberg works is trying to keep from the Jewish people.

Not unexpectedly, therefore, the book totally fails to relate minority hatred and discrimination to the growing danger of fascism in America. The word "fascism" is used only a few times in the book. The book treats prejudice as if it were a phenomenon on Mars. The hate groups are not shown as the advance agents of a real fascist movement, but as evil, sick, cracked individuals who erupt on the social scene out of nowhere as isolated, abstracted phenomena. Of course, the big business financing of hate groups is not alluded to. The Ku Klux Klan is profoundly described as "an aggregation of foolish men, headed by contemptible hoodlums." (p. 113) It would not do for Fineberg to probe too deeply into the sources of fascism, for his function is to immobilize the Jews before the threat of fascism. This is evident in his defense of the German Jewish failure to resist nazism. Of the charge that German Jewry took the nazi threat "lying down," Fineberg disregards the evidence and remarks: "This totally mistaken legend about the apathy and idleness of German Jewry in

the face of the nazi threat has no basis in fact whatsoever." (p. 207) Although he admits that German Jewry made mistakes in handling the nazis, he is concerned to defend German Jews not only because the American Jewish Committee agreed with their appeasement of the nazis, but also because the Committee is trying to prevent the Jews *today* from resisting the fascist threat.

Hush-Hush in Modern Dress

The technique actually practiced by Jewish "defense" organizations and given "theoretical" form by Fineberg for the fight against minority oppression is actually designed to immobilize the masses. This method is the age-old "hush-hush" tactic brought up to date. It involves avoidance of any public fight and almost complete dependence on back-room maneuvering by "people of influence." (p. 9) Don't get the masses exercised over anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism or any minority oppression. Leave the handling of the matter to the wealthy, cautious and prudent Jewish men of substance and their well-paid professional "experts." Don't get the Jews into print too much. Of course, says Fineberg, "we must blast away at intolerance with every effective means at our command. Does this mean that we seek to soften the fact that certain groups are disliked? In some respects, yes!" (p. 40) While Fineberg babbles that we must carefully choose if and when to resort to publicity, in actual practice he and the "defense" organizations keep publicity down to the absolute minimum.

Fineberg rather immodestly credits himself with having helped to devise a "new" technique (p. 133) called the "silent treatment" and later, after this was exposed as appeasement, the "quarantine treatment." The fact is that these new-fangled pseudo-scientific methods are the ancient hush-hush method in modern dress. Several years ago I analyzed the fraudulence of this method.¹ I there indicated the utter falsity of the claims of the method in stopping hate propagandists. Even when the technique does allow for exposure in cases where the hate propagandist has wide publicity at his command, the American Jewish Committee has nevertheless refrained from exposure.

Hush-hush in this book leads to several curious results. In all the 337 pages of this book, I have noted the mention of "anti-Semitism" only three times! Fineberg also tries to avoid using the word "Jew" wherever he can, by using instead his tasteless term "Victimian" or referring to people "of a certain religious group." But hush-hush ceases to operate when the American Jewish Committee undertakes to "expose" "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union.

The working out of hush-hush in the case of the Negro question is particularly disgraceful. Fineberg's outright chauvinism on this question emerges in such comments as "I prefer to leave it to the far-sighted Southerners, as idealistic as any of us, to provide the techniques and specific

¹ See this writer's article, "German Jewry Under Hitler," *JEWISH LIFE*, December 1949.

² See "American Jewish Committee 'Fights' Anti-Semitism," *JEWISH LIFE*, May 1948.

measures for eliminating Jimcrow laws and customs." (p. 86) Then follows the face-saving, hypocritical generalization, "All I ask is, 'Abolish Jimcrow completely—every vestige of it, by whatever stages will do it best.'" (p. 86) Fineberg's position is like that of Southerners who oppose militant pressure from the whole country to eliminate Jimcrow, because they believe this to constitute "blatant, abusive attacks upon the South . . . couched in intemperate, anger-provoking terms." (p. 86) And Fineberg is offensive when he makes the patronizing tactical comment, typical of his approach to cases of anti-Negroism: "The self-restraint and genuine poise of Negroes under the lash of derision and abuse have brought consistent gains in public favor. . . . They have accepted adversity with dogged patience and inexhaustible good humor." (p. 121) The National Association for Advancement of Colored People was not so patient or good-humored as to refrain from denouncing the pro-fascist conference that the Committee supports.

But Fineberg's hypocrisy is at its most brazen in discussing the role of the police. He writes that he personally investigated the brutal murder of the two Ferguson brothers at Freeport, L. I., and concluded that the policeman killed the two Negroes in self-defense in the face of the contrary conclusion reached by the NAACP and many other organizations. In his discussion of the police attitude toward minorities, he says bravely, "A policeman who is intolerant toward any racial or religious group is a menace to public safety" (p. 288) and then completely ignores the post-war wave of police brutality towards Negroes all over the country. On the contrary, he calls attention to a "new policy" instituted by former New York Police Commissioner A. W. Wallander in 1946 concerning police respect for the rights of individuals, but fails to mention the fascist-like behavior of the New York police towards Negroes.

Methods of Defense

How, then, does Fineberg propose to deal with "prejudice?" The main method, he holds, is long-term "education" in tolerance. It is interesting to note that the American Jewish Committee projected such a program at its 43rd annual meeting in January as the new emphasis for the coming period. On the whole this method consists in getting out bushels of vapid, vague, high-sounding literature that massages the feelings but does not cope with the problem in real life. The effect of this "brotherhood" propaganda is to deflect people from seeing the need to take decisive action against concrete instances of minority oppression, obscures the nature of the phenomenon and creates the illusion that something is being done about it.

A second method is anti-discrimination legislative action. At this point the major Jewish "defense" organizations come closest to genuine action against discrimination. But they do not undertake such programs out of a genuine sense of urgency for a solution. Rather, they are forced to enter legislative action on these questions because the demand for action on the part of the masses since the war has been too insistent. These organizations would risk com-

plete isolation from the masses and consequent loss of influence if they did not make a show of meeting this demand. It is also true that these Jewish leaders fear the effects of anti-Semitism upon themselves and adopt this highly respectable method of fighting discrimination.

Now legislative action is certainly a valid technique—provided it is seen in the proper perspective. It is one phase of the overall fight for genuine democracy and equality for all peoples, and must therefore involve the people in the fight. But this involvement is precisely what the “defense” organizations strain to prevent. They work almost exclusively through legal experts and try to discourage mass pressure for these measures. It is no secret that Fineberg and his species fight both in theory and in practice against mass action to get anti-discrimination laws passed.

If Fineberg is propagating a false method of dealing with minority oppression, what is the true method? We can here do no more than suggest an approach. Minority oppression can only be understood as stemming from the contradictions and dislocations of the social system. Hence, it is necessary to fight the ruling class which organizes this system of oppression. But all progressives, whether or not they agree upon this necessity to fight the ruling class, can work together on a common program against minority oppression. Here it is essential to realize what Fineberg systematically avoids, that a struggle for civil liberties and the progress of the labor movement for instance—the fight against the Taft-Hartley law or the Mundt bill—is part of one program with direct attacks on racism and discrimination. For the ebb and flow of racism are motivated basically by these underlying conditions and can be controlled by changing these conditions. Ultimately, the people will realize the need for socialism as the definitive mode of dealing with these problems.

Direct attacks against anti-Semitism, discrimination and oppression of all peoples are also essential in any effective program. Central to this fight is the maximum organization of all democratic minded people, Jewish and non-Jewish, on the basis of these agreed objectives. This requires unity of groups with the most diverse political and social views, but with at least the determination that all groups must achieve real equality not only as a measure of justice to these groups, but in the interest of democracy for the majority group as well. The most effective technique is *involvement* of the mass membership of all organizations and groups in the fight, for this is the genuine democratic process.

Polemic with the Left

It is not therefore surprising that one can only characterize as dishonest Fineberg's polemic with the left and progressive approach (which Fineberg characteristically refrains from identifying as such). It would take more space than is here available to make a detailed analysis of his gross distortions of the progressive position of these issues. A few examples must suffice. After building up a scarecrow of a straw man of the progressive approach to legislative

action, Fineberg attributes this imaginary statement to the left: “We need nothing but to pass laws against intolerance. If the public had its way, social and religious problems would be wiped out overnight.” (p. 35) Militancy Fineberg calls an “absurd fetish.” (p. 44) He triumphantly proclaims that “It was the advent of Adolf Hitler to power in 1933 which unleashed tidal waves of anti-Semitism in the United States. That *political* event sprouted more hate organizations than an economic crisis in this country ever did.” (p. 122) One need not dilate on the extreme superficiality of this view, for it is obvious that the rise of Hitler was a product of critical economic and social conditions.

Another technique used by Fineberg to distort the position of the left is to associate it with the violent methods of fascists. Those who organize counterdemonstrations when a hate peddler speaks, he says, are “extremists who do not like law and order.” (p. 130) Yet is it obvious to any honest person with the most elementary experience with such affairs in the United States, that disorder is invariably provoked by reactionaries and fascists. He gives a contemptible caricature of vigilance by the left against every manifestation of oppression and the agitation of the left press to expose such instances. “Eager to get into the limelight and appear heroic, *The Denouncer* [Fineberg's cute name for the typical left or progressive journal] exaggerates every tiff or spat into a homicidal encounter. . . . Through all this its chief labor is to advertise itself,” etc., etc. (pp. 161-2) Fineberg condemns “marches,” that is, mass delegations to legislators to press for civil rights, as an attempt of a “disorderly mob” to make legislators “forego their own judgment.” (p. 210)

The Real Premises

It would be a mistake to attribute the banalities to be met on every page of this book to a dull and pompous mind. *They comprise a carefully thrown up smokescreen to obscure the real premises behind the American Jewish Committee's approach to the problem of anti-Semitism and discrimination.* A method runs through this whole fraudulent theory of combatting anti-Semitism. This method is to prevent the application of mass pressure in a democratic working out of the problem. The effect of the book is to confine the victims of minority oppression while it permits the oppressor to advance. The method is designed to keep the people from discerning the real cause of oppression and thus to prevent them from acting effectively against it.

Only when we realize the real function of the American Jewish Committee, does Fineberg's “theory” of fighting prejudice make any sense. Men like Fineberg, of whom there are only too many in Jewish life, are not themselves economically members of the big bourgeoisie, but are well-paid professional propagandists for the moneyed men. I am not here concerned with the extent to which this functioning is conscious. But the objective fact is clear. Fineberg and his kind are agents of the Jewish big bourgeoisie. Their assignment is to keep the Jewish masses down: this is the heart of Fineberg's book.

Book Reviews

WORKING CLASS NOVEL

By David Alman

The Sidewalks Are Free, by Sam Ross. Farrar-Straus, New York. \$3.00.

Two things distinguish this novel of Jewish American life. The first is its affirmation of the dignity of labor itself, its sensitivity to a workman's attitude towards his craft and the usefulness of that which he produces. The second is the author's sensitivity to the existence of sharp class lines among the Jewish people and the closer sense of identity between Jew and non-Jew among working people than between Jews of separate classes.

Laid in the post World War I period, the novel recounts a brief time in the life of Hershy Melov, an 11 year-old who is beginning to experience the world of reality. That reality consists of the death of beloved ones, of unemployment, strikes, birth, adult love affairs, parental humiliation and quarrels and the life of a small businessman.

Hershy's father, a cabinet maker, spends the war working at an army camp. Hershy's uncle, a soldier, is killed overseas. Having no family of his own, his insurance of \$10,000 is left to the Melovs. At this point a deep split develops in the family. Mr. Melov wishes to lay the money aside for the education of Hershy and for Rachel's dowry. Another portion is to be set aside for "a rainy day."

Mrs. Melov, aided by a number of relatives, urges that the money be used to set up a business. Her husband resists this pressure until a strike develops in his industry. Unable to prolong his resistance because the few dollars he had saved begin to dwindle, he agrees—bitterly and angrily.

He forms a partnership with a relative and buys a broken down laundry business. Almost from the first day the pressure of bigger and wealthier laundries begins to destroy the business. Mr. Ross' picture of this run-down laundry, always on the verge of physical and financial collapse, is particularly good. But even better is his portrayal of the destruction of the remnants of family feeling. Subjection to the "cash nexus" throws the family into a pitiful turmoil. The laundry finally goes up in a boiler explosion. But that is immaterial—it has already collapsed financially. Gone is the \$10,000. And Mr. Melov must begin his life as a working man all over again.

All this is seen through the eyes of little Hershy, and they are very believable and sensitive eyes. The others, his mother and father and his adopted sister, Rachel, are not drawn as finely. They tend to become spokesmen for various points of view rather than real flesh and blood characters as Hershy is.

The novel is marred by two serious faults. The first is a tendency to overidealize the life of workers. Thus, we see

the terrible agonies to which the family is subjected when Mr. Melov becomes a businessman, but the hardships he experiences as a worker are not portrayed. Yes, there is poverty, but somehow it is not difficult to adapt oneself to it. As a result the story veers close to the fairy tale that money itself is a source of evil; let the poor remain poor, money will only complicate their lives and bring them unhappiness. It is true that this can be the case, but it is not true that happiness lies in poverty.

The second fault—and this criticism, perhaps, it at the same time a tribute to Mr. Ross—is that the novel is badly underwritten. Scene after scene is flashed at us and pushed aside unexplored. At times one has the feeling that one is reading notes for a novel rather than a novel itself. It is this "thinness" too that leaves many things hanging in the air. For example, the Melovs are not a family given to hatred of other peoples, yet they refer to the Negro people in the most chauvinist terms. Mr. Ross is careful to indicate how the Melovs acquire certain other "American" customs, but his insensitivity on this point is too serious not to be called to his attention.

With these exceptions in mind the fact remains that Mr. Ross has written a lively and ruggedly honest novel. It is at opposite poles to the caricaturistic works of Norman Katkov and others, who use Jewish American themes to lay bare their own anti-Semitic attitudes. Though not as rich or altogether as perceptive as Mike Gold's *Jews Without Money* and similar works, it is a product of the honest tradition they began.

Letters from Abroad

OUTLOOK FOR MAPAM

Tel Aviv

After months of negotiation between Mapai (Israel Labor Party) and Mapam (United Workers Party) over the terms on which the latter would join the Israel government coalition, the Mapam executive council voted 157 to 95 in early March to break off discussions. The council majority, particularly those from urban centers, resolved that conditions were lacking "for the participation of Mapam in the government on the basis of a joint minimum program." Among the specific Mapam

demands on which no agreement could be reached were: opposition to a pact with Abdullah so long as the Transjordan-British alliance has any application to the Arab sector of Palestine; no participation in or encouragement of a facsimile of the Atlantic Pact in the Middle East; no Marshall Plan for Israel; support of a United Nations pact outlawing atomic weapons; support for a "Big Five" pact; immediate extension of equal rights to the Arab minority in all respects; freedom of trade union action for wage raises; and placing of the main tax burden on the rich.

Mapai had hoped to use these negotiations to guarantee the continuation of its reactionary policies by a new coalition government. But it is clear that Israel, which

is at present undergoing a serious political and economic crisis and a threat to its security, needs not merely a government reshuffling, but a basic change in its political line. For many months now the Communists have warned that the policies of the social democratic-clerical government were leading to catastrophe.

Imperialism is weaving its net about us with its accustomed skill. The latest phase is the arming of the Arab countries and the threat of a "second round" of war. Now imperialism is offering us the baited promise "to send light arms" and extend a loan of the well-known Wall Street type. The Israel government appears eager to swallow the sugar-coated bait, oblivious of the hateful hook—further enslavement to aggressive American imperialism.

Certain members of the minority of the Mapam executive council urged acceptance of Mapai's argument that inclusion of Israel in the Marshall plan is merely an

"abstract hypothesis" and therefore is not worth discussing. But that very day Eliahu Elath, Israeli ambassador to the United States, openly stated that Israel is ready to accept Truman's "point four" program for backward areas. It is well known that at present Truman's plan would mean Marshall "aid," that is, economic enslavement plus military control through arms shipments plus political enslavement in the form of a Middle East bloc or "individual" pacts with the United States, or both. In brief—triple enslavement.

The negotiations between Mapai and Mapam have only served to dull political watchfulness within the ranks of labor: they have given rise to illusions and have paralyzed political struggle on the part of the Mapam. The statement by warmonger Henry Morgenthau urging Israel to join a Middle Eastern pact was an alarm signal. The Communist Party derived no satisfaction from the fact that it was the sole organized force among the people of Israel which expressed the will for peace and independence at that moment.

The Mapam executive council demand for a new government policy will now be tried in the arena of daily practice, in immediate and emergency action. No one can have the slightest illusion that the Mapai leadership will voluntarily agree to the conditions on foreign and domestic policy set by the Mapam executive. The significance of this program is not measured by its proclamation alone, but by the struggle for its realization. And the guarantee for a successful struggle in defense of independence and for social progress, economic development and ability to maintain immigration is the active unity of the left-labor forces, of Mapam and the Communist Party. Such unity will attract workers from the ranks of Mapai from among non-party workers and the working intelligentsia. The serious dangers threatening our land make this unity most urgent.

The recent peace congress in Tel Aviv, in which diverse elements, including Mapam and the Communists, participated, proves that such unity is possible.

"FREIE YISROEL" (FREE ISRAEL)

Documents

LETTER ON ANTI-SEMITISM

The following self-explanatory letter was printed in the Cincinnati Enquirer in February. Among its signers are Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and a professor at Hebrew Union College, and Rabbi James G. Heller, a past president of the Central Conference and a leading member of the Labor Zionists.—Eds.

This letter is written after considerable deliberation. Readers take issue with a newspaper at their own peril, for the last word and the setting of that word rest with the paper. Nonetheless, we must take the risk and address this letter to you and to your readers.

Several times in the past committees have visited the publisher of *The Enquirer* and protested against the biased and apparently irresponsible manner in which matters relating to Jews have been handled in the paper. These committees have always had a very courteous reception and assurances that no prejudicial treatment was intended.

But the record continues to accumulate. The first instances occurred several years ago, when the word "Jew" was used in headlines, as though it were an adjective. This practice was discontinued. Then came the Gieseck case, and a column by William Hessler, which seemed to many to rest upon misinformation and ill-concealed prejudice. In spite of various national articles giving Gieseck's background, no retraction or correction was ever published. Last year *The Enquirer* carried an editorial on a demonstration by Jewish Displaced Persons in Munich—an editorial which once again was without information as to conditions in Germany or in the DP camps. A perusal of reports

by the American Army itself might have led to a different expression of opinion.

The final instance, which has prompted us to address this letter to you, is represented by a communication printed in *The Enquirer* of December 28 last. It is eminently desirable that freedom of expression be open to all in the columns of the press. But this letter was a crude repetition of Nazi propaganda, a condonation of the incredible treatment of Jews by Hitler. Certainly there is a limit to which a newspaper should go in opening its columns. In the second place, the letter was obviously directed by a writer not frank or courageous enough to sign his own name or address. The name could be found in no authentic source in Cincinnati, and the address was fictitious. We do not know whether any effort was made to check up on these matters, but the evidence would seem to indicate that there was none.

Perhaps this letter, which we now direct to you, will come as a most unpleasant surprise. Doubtless *The Enquirer* is unaware of the impression it has made upon many of the Jewish citizens of this community in recent months and years. That impression is probably neither voluntary nor conscious upon its part.

We do not ask special treatment. We want no suppression of fact. Nor do we advocate muzzling columnists in the untrammelled expression of their opinions. We ask for no more than reason and fairness, for a careful investigation of facts before publication, for some measure of understanding of the dangers involved in instances such as those we have cited.

We feel certain that this communication will have the same courteous reception which individuals have had in the past.

JEWISH COMMUNITY COUNCIL
OF CINCINNATI, by

James G. Heller, President
Jacob R. Marcus
Jeffrey L. Lazarus
Philip Meyers
Benjamin S. Katz
Lester Jaffe

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

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

A RESORT OF BEAUTY AND DISTINCTION

FOR YOUR VACATION

Open All Year 'Round

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

Make your reservations by calling directly Ridgefield 1180. New York Office: 80 Fifth Ave., 16th floor. Tel: ORegon 5-1181. Four Flying Eagle buses leave daily from Dixie Terminal, 241 West 42nd St., and stop at gate of the resort.

Do not come without first making your reservation



Now Playing — American Premiere

"CHILDREN OF CHAOS"

The French "Road to Life"

Coming:

"The Victors" and the Vanquished"

Second Part of "The First Front"

STANLEY

Seventh Ave., between
42nd and 41st Streets

Movie Review:

GHETTO RISING IN FILM

From the new Poland has come another stirring film demonstrating that a country working toward socialism is determined to eradicate anti-Semitism. The first postwar Polish film to be seen in America was *The Last Stop*, an outstanding achievement which gives a picture of nazi subhumanism at Auschwitz. This second Polish movie to be seen here, *Border Street*, takes up the same theme in relation to the Warsaw ghetto. It tells a moving story of a group of families that lived on the same Warsaw street at the outbreak of the war and carries them through the period of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

The film is concerned mainly with the teen-aged children of these families and conveys a sensitive picture of child relations. It opens in a relaxed mood, showing the children playing soccer in the street and court yards. The background of the children, their relations and the anti-Semitism of a few of them are shown. There is the daughter of a doctor, who has concealed his Jewish origin; and a Jewish boy in side curls and kaftan, whose father is a worker and grandfather an orthodox tailor. The non-Jewish children are the son of a business man, who has taught his son to hate the Jews; the son of tavern keeper, who becomes a collaborationist; and the son of a simple coachman, who represents blunt working class antagonism to nazism.

At the center of the film is the relation between Jews and Poles during the occupation, showing how some Poles exploited nazi persecution of the Jews and how others gave underground help to the Jews. The Jewish families are forced into the ghetto, where the younger members join the resistance. Two of the non-Jewish boys help the Jews while the tavern keeper and his son became informers. The film culminates in the ghetto uprising in which the heroism of the Jews is stressed. Although most of the film's action takes place outside of the ghetto, there are several excruciating sequences of ghetto life that epitomize that horror. Most moving of all is the final sequence in the sewers. The Jewish boy, a lad with an expressive and appealing face, determines to go back to almost certain death to fight in the ghetto to the end.

While the film tells an engrossing and moving story, it is at the same time an effective weapon against anti-Semitism. Hence it can play an important part in the fight against rising anti-Semitism in this country as well as inform people about life in occupied Poland. The opening of

the film at the Cinemet Theater in New York on April 27 also coincides appropriately with the seventh anniversary commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. This film should not be missed by anyone, whether Jew or non-Jew.—L.H.

Theater Review:

JEWISH FAMILY ON STAGE

By Harry Taylor

"Take the world in your two hands and make it like new. Fix it so that life can't be printed on dollar bills." That is how Clifford Odets paraphrases Isaiah's "Awake and sing, you who dwell in dust," in the play first done by the Group Theater in 1935 and now so cogently revived in a student production by the Jefferson Theater Workshop under the brilliant direction of Al Saxe. Between these two expressions of a universal theme is the history of mankind. There was never a time when it was not pertinent; it stings to the heart today.

It was the fashion of the news critics to greet Odets' successive plays with hurrahs soured by the remark that he was a writer of "promise." But no playwright either before or since has written as eloquently or with sharper penetration of the life of the middle class in America. Neither has there been any play in English or in Yiddish on Jews in America to compare with *Awake and Sing!* or that more terrifying play, *Rocket to the Moon*.

But perhaps the critics were not entirely to blame for their lack of whole-heartedness. Harold Clurman's direction centered the play toward Hennie Berger, her accidental pregnancy, her forced marriage to a dupe, her embittered relationship to Moe Axelrod, and her tawdry flight with him to a mythical paradise. In consequence, for all its reality and passion, its social viewpoint was fuzzy. Under Al Saxe the play comes into proper focus. It centers on the mother fighting for her family's security against a predatory society whose ideals of money-success and bourgeois hypocrisy she has ironically accepted for all their violence on her profoundest needs. Now, Ralph, her adolescent son, takes his intended place as the antagonist coming worthily into being, who learns that a society which places the dollar above man must be changed and that he must help change it.

How deeply Odets knows the American Jewish family. Fleeing the poverty and persecution of Europe, the Jews poured into this country eager for the promise of full citizenship. In a trice, they learned that economic equality meant the un-

restricted opportunity of sweating it out at sweatshop wages between savage periods of joblessness or the limited competitive opportunity of becoming a little boss and sweating others.

Some, like the Bergers, set their life's course by the chart of the dollar and all their acts and aspirations were warped by it. But many, as we know by the proud roster of revolutionaries and labor leaders, artists, scholars, scientists and professionals, came out of families whose parents maintained human values above money considerations and sought always to live with a decent respect for themselves and the welfare of their neighbors.

Such families had always to contend with the withering contempt of their boss-minded relatives and the temptation to accept the destructive mores of the dollar chasers. Often insufficient struggle corrupted their children, sucking them into a neurotic morass of anti-social acts and social conscience; often enough it robbed good-natured but weak-willed men like Myron Berger, the father, of all capacity to think or act, stealing away their manhood.

It is symptomatic of the decay of the Yiddish theater that, having no repertory of plays on American Jewish life, it has thus far failed to avail itself of Odets' work. Perhaps the Yiddish Theater Ensemble, which made so pertinent a start with Priestly's *They Came to a City*, will undertake their production. It could not find a better way to mature and at the same time capture the attention and heart of an undreamed-of Jewish audience.

Masses & Mainstream

America's Leading Cultural Monthly

April, 1950, Contents:

Our Time *Samuel Sillen*
The Miners: A Battle Report

Millard Lampell
A Portrait of Neruda *Ilya Ehrenburg*
To Miguel Hernandez *(poem)*

Pablo Neruda
Truman's Nazi Allies *Herbert Aptheker*

War Is Cannibalism *Martin Andersen Nexø*
The Child and the Ship *(story)*

Howard Fast
Myth and Money *John Howard Lawson*

Books in Review: *Louis Harap, Lloyd L. Brown, and Sidney Finkelstein*
Theatre: Yiddish Theatre Ensemble *Isidor Schneider*

Subscription rates:

\$4.00 a year; \$7.00 for two years;
\$4.50 foreign.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
832 Broadway, New York 3

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

able to the AFL council majority. There were indications also that the liberal outlook of our union was displeasing to the council." Ernst is a member of the Americans for Democratic Action. Questions have been raised whether the Vatican is interfering in the AFL, as in the CIO.

UNION-BUSTING and interference in the internal affairs of the Social Service Employees Union (UOPWA) were charged against the Los Angeles Federation of Jewish Welfare Organizations and Jewish Community Council by the union in March. The union asserted that these agencies were violating the agreement reached in January after a 52-day strike. "Seven workers have been fired without adequate reason since the strike," said the union, and the community council was accused of trying to wreck the union by "supporting an attempted raid on our union by a management-sponsored union."

A **CALL** for an "all-out" fight against anti-Semitism in the United States was issued in March by the American Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, which includes representatives of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ and other Protestant groups with a membership of more than 27,000,000. The committee declared that anti-Semitism is "absolutely irreconcilable with Christianity" and that "Wherever anti-Semitism thrives, Christianity cannot long survive."*

TREMENDOUS POPULAR pressure compelled passage of a bill barring racial and religious discrimination in future publicly assisted housing projects in New York State. It was signed by Governor Thomas E. Dewey on March 31. But the law does not apply to existing projects like New York's Stuyvesant Town.

REPEATED PLEAS to the State Department to protest Britain's arming of Arab countries and the consequent threats of a second round of war in Israel were persistently turned down by Secretary of State Dean Acheson in March. When a group of 27 Congressmen visited Acheson on March 28, he advised them that "there is no cause for alarm" and that the arms were being sent "to maintain the balance of power and not for any purpose of aggression."

WIDESPREAD PROTEST has been aroused over the padlocking of Morris Winchevsky Cultural Center of the United Jewish People's Order in Montreal by Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis' police in January. Many trade unions, newspapers, church groups, civic organizations and others are sustaining the protest at this measure, which they regard as a serious threat to civil liberties.

EUROPE

NEWS FROM RUMANIA . . . The government allocated 900 tons of wheat for matzo's to be made in nationalized matzoh factories under supervision of the rabbinate and distributed at a nominal cost to the Jewish population for Passover. . . . About 5,000 Jews are currently receiving government pensions as victims of nazism and about 3,000 applications for pensions will soon be approved. . . . Anti-Semitic remarks by a worker in a Timisoara factory were heard by a com-

munist member of the plant shop committee and reported. A meeting of the 600 workers at the plant unanimously decided to demand the offender's dismissal and management acted on the demand. . . . The Superior Rabbinical Council, highest religious Jewish authority in Rumania, unanimously decided in March to appeal to all Jews in the country to participate in the nationwide peace campaign.*

PASSOVER MATZOHS were baked in nationalized factories under rabbinical supervision and distributed to the Jews of Hungary. . . . The first 3,000 Jews to be allowed to leave Hungary for Israel under the new emigration agreement were scheduled to depart on April 10.*

A **CHAIR IN HEBREW** will be created soon at the University of Prague, it was announced in Tel Aviv in April at a reception tendered by the Israel-Czech Friendship League in honor of Edward Goldstuecker, Czechoslovak minister to Israel. The League said it would present a Hebrew library to the Prague University. Dr. Mordecai Eliashiv, head of the East European division of the Israel Foreign Ministry, praised Czechoslovakia for "her favorable attitude to mass immigration to Israel."*

THE TWO ANTI-SEMITES arrested in London in March for throwing smoke bombs during a London showing of *Sword in the Desert*, which was subsequently banned in England, were acquitted by a London jury. Both had been members of the Mosleyite Union Movement.*

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS called for the suppression of a Hitler-made anti-British movie, *Titanic*, which was being shown in the American zone of Germany.

CONSIDERABLE DAMAGE was caused by a plastic bomb which exploded at the home of German Jewish refugee in Montreuil on March 6. It is believed that the bomb was set off by an anti-Semitic group in France.

A **PROTEST DELEGATION** from the French Movement Against Anti-Semitism and For Peace visited Minister of Justice Rene Mayer, himself a Jew, concerning the release from prison of Xavier Vallat, Vichy Commissioner for Jewish Affairs. Mayer told the delegation: "As a Jew I had to sign his release order. Otherwise people would have interpreted my refusal as an act of revenge." Protests against Vallat's release continue.

MORE THAN 107,000 people, including 5,100 from abroad, last year visited the State Museum at Auschwitz, nazi chanel house for about four million Jews. The former Maidanek death camp was visited by about 28,000 people.

PRESIDENT WILHELM PIECK of the East German Republic told representatives of the Jewish communities in the Soviet zone in March that "Anti-Semitism, if it arises, will be quelled by the state."

RENAZIFICATION NEWS . . . Eight new outspokenly anti-Semitic papers appeared in Western Germany during February, most of them aping papers under the Hitler regime. One of them, *Nationaler Ausbruch*, came out with a program of "extreme German nationalism, uncompromising anti-Semitism and war against the Jewish-Bolshevik foe." . . . A new German neo-nazi leader,

Dr. Fritz Doris, reported the *New York Times* on March 20, has formed the Socialist Reich Party which advocates an elite state under Prussian leadership and modeled after Mussolini's corporate state. "The only danger to our plans," said Doris, "is an understanding between the United States and Russia. If that happens, of course we are lost—but then that cannot happen." . . . A wave of protests, including those of trade unions, followed acquittal of the former Munich Gestapo chief, Col. Oswald Schaefer, in March.

ISRAEL

ANTI-COMMUNIST PRESSURE is being maintained in Israel. Two members of the Communist Party, Uri Winter and Gustav Goloboner, who were arrested during the protest in January against Henry Morgenthau's call for Israel to join a Middle Eastern pact, were charged by the government with treason for possession of secret military documents about the Israel Army. . . . An article in the communist daily, *Kol Haam*, was suppressed on March 7. The article had charged that the government had initiated anti-communist legal actions in Haifa, Acre, Tel Aviv, Nazareth and Jerusalem and had made brutal attacks on unemployed demonstrators. "It is interesting," said the article, "that this action is being conducted in accordance with, and at the same time as, anti-communist actions in America and England. It is clear that one hand is pulling all strings in all countries under American protection."

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST ARAB minorities in Israel was charged by Mapam in the Knesset in March. A commission was appointed, to investigate.

YEMENITE JEWS IN ISRAEL are being discriminated against, charged Zecharia Gluska, Yemenite member of the Knesset in March. He asserted that Yemenite Jews "are not given the same consideration that Western Jewish groups are receiving."

PROF. EMMANUEL TAAMRAT, cultural counselor to the Ethiopian Legation in Paris, in March charged that the Israel government regarded the black Falasha Jews of Ethiopia as separate from the rest of Jewry. He denied that these Jews were widely infected with communicable diseases, which was the reason given by Israel for refusing them admittance.

WORKERS OF THE ISRAEL National Air Lines Company are protesting against the policy of releasing Israeli workers and replacing them with American "experts." More than half the ground force and nearly all the flyers are Americans. Recently six more skilled workers with war records got dismissal notices.

A **LAW DESIGNED** to encourage private investments in Israel passed the Knesset by a 47 to 15 vote on March 29. Among the concessions: 25 per cent maximum income tax ceiling (normal maximum is 75 per cent), five year exemption from property taxes on new buildings, customs exemption to certain machinery, equipment and raw materials for over two years, etc.

A **TRADE AGREEMENT** between Israel and Czechoslovakia was signed in March providing for an exchange of goods worth \$2,800,000.

MAPAM'S DEMAND for a subsidy from the Jewish Agency for constructive enterprises was rejected recently, while other less numerous groups, such as Heruth and General Zionists were given large allocations.

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

es
ch
is-
or-
id
ed
ve
A
is,
so

L

n-
st
no
st
a
v-
et
.
o,
d
i-
v,
al
r-
g
e
d
ll
"

es
et
i-

-
-
-
e
s

-
n
-
s
t
-
y

r
f
h
l
-
s

-
s
l
n
s
l

l
y

e
s
y
l

-
s

48