

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

DECEMBER 1948

MEANING OF THE ELECTION ... *An Editorial*

THE BUCHENWALD STORY ... *By Emil N. Carlebach*

VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED AT WROCLAW ... *By Ber Mark*

MILITANCY RETURNS TO CITY COLLEGE ... *By Morris U. Schappes*

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE IRGUN: II ... *By Esther Vilenska*

REVOLT AT MODIN ... *A Review by Moses Miller*

JEWES IN THE USSR: II ... *By L. Singer*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

The ecclesiastical member of Franco Spain's Film Censorship Board on September 28 announced the banning of *Gentleman's Agreement*, strong film against anti-Semitism, on the grounds that, while it was a Christian duty to "stimulate love among individuals, societies, nations and peoples," this duty did not extend to Jews. Among those in this country who immediately protested was Cardinal Spellman who denied that the Spanish cleric's statement represented Catholic doctrine. The Rev. John La Farge, editor of *America*, Catholic weekly, also vigorously protested. Some quarters pointed out that the Catholic Legion of Decency, of which Cardinal Spellman is an official, had classified the film as "Objectionable-in-Part, Class B." The president of the Madrid censorship board on October 3rd then stated that the reason for the banning was that anti-Semitism was no problem in Spain. A Spanish Church representative at the same time declared that the original statement quoted in the *New York Times* was a "calumny" and had never been made. A letter in the *New York Times* on October 18 signed "Foreign Correspondent," contradicts with facts the assertion of a member of the Spanish Embassy here that the Franco government concerned itself with rescue of Jews from the nazis. The correspondent states that the Spanish government deliberately allowed a deadline for helping the rescue of Jews pass without action.

☆

On September 7, the Tenney Committee, California's State Senate witch-hunting group, held hearings on the Soto-Michigan Jewish Community Center of Los Angeles. The charge was that this center had permitted organizations on the "subversive" Clark list to hold meetings, movies and lectures in its building. This practice accords with national center policy of opening its halls without regard to race, color, creed or political belief. The hearing was stormy. Attorneys for several subpoenaed witnesses were twice ejected from the room. One excited member of the audience shouted that the way to free this country from communists was to deport 50 Jews. The budget director for the Los Angeles Community Chest which finances the center, readily answered the \$64 question by saying that he was not a communist and did not believe that this question infringed on his constitutional rights, while the head of the center under fire refused to answer the question. The latter still has his job, at this writing.

☆

Notes on witch-hunters. . . . Steve Nelson, western Pennsylvania communist leader, challenged Rep. John McDowell, Un-American Activities Committee member, to deny the charge made by Joseph M. Stack, past commander of the VFW, that McDowell is a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Nelson also demanded that McDowell state if he ever addressed Klan meetings. . . . Rep. Charles J. Kersten, member of a sub-committee of the House Committee on Labor and Education that is investigating "communism" in labor unions, was featured speaker at a banquet of the Steuben Society in New York on September 25. Also present were George Sylvester Viereck, notorious nazi agent who was jailed for failing to register as a Hitler agent; attache of the N. Y. Spanish consulate, who was a guest of honor; Theodore H. Hoffman, Steuben national chairman, who was entertained by Hitler before the war and thought him "honest and sincere."

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. III, No. 2 (26)

DECEMBER, 1948

EDITORIAL BOARD

SAMUEL BARRON

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*

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

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

MEANING OF THE ELECTION	3
ISRAEL AFTER THE ELECTION	5
THE BUCHENWALD STORY by Emil N. Carlebach	6
VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED AT WROCLAW by Ber Mark	11
LETTER FROM SILESIA by Yuri Suhl	14
THE TRUTH ABOUT THE IRGUN: II by Esther Vilenska, translated by Joseph King	15
MILITANCY RETURNS TO CITY COLLEGE by Morris U. Schappes	19
REVOLT AT MODIN, a review by Moses Miller	22
MATTATHIAS CALLS JEWISH MOUNTAIN REFUGEES TO ARMS, a woodcut by Gustave Doré	23
JEWS OF THE USSR: II, "LUFTMENSCH" TO PRODUCER by L. Singer, translated by Joseph King	25
REVIEWS	
CONTRIBUTIONS TO JEWISH AMERICAN HISTORY by Morris U. Schappes	28
LIGHT ON THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY by Gerhart Eisler	29
LETTER FROM ABROAD	
ADEN POGROM INQUIRY by S. Alexander (London)	30
DOCUMENT	
ISRAEL CP CALLS FOR UNITY by the Central Committee, CP of Israel	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS, edited by Louis Harap	2, 32

JEWISH LIFE, December, 1948, Vol. III, No. 2 (26). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 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 1948 by the Morning Freiheit Association.

The novel, *Gentleman's Agreement*, which had been banned from New York City's public high schools last winter, was approved for reading lists on October 21 by the Board of Superintendants. This reversal of the ban does not apply to Arthur Miller's *Focus*, which is still under the ban.

☆

The California State Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional a state law on the books since 1850 outlawing mixed marriages with "Negroes, Mongolians, members of the Malay race, or mulattoes" by a 4-3 decision. Twenty-nine other states have similar statutes. This is the first time that any court has declared the law illegal. The court majority held that marriage was a fundamental right of free men.

☆

The Los Angeles Jewish Community is withdrawing from the local released time program. The local Community Council statement said that

"participation in this program is inconsistent with our expressed convictions on the subject." The decision was reached only after a sharp internal fight.

☆

Job-seekers in states without FEPC laws are questioned about their religion six times as frequently as persons looking for work in states which have such laws, according to a study by the Jewish Occupational Council. In 12 cities without a state ban against discrimination, almost 27 per cent of the persons covered by the survey were questioned about religion, while only four per cent of applicants in three cities which legally bar discrimination were questioned about their religion.*

☆

A Fortune poll released in early October revealed that 25 per cent of all Americans would
(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

MEANING OF THE ELECTION

An Editorial

THE presidential election confronted the people with the issues of war and peace, fascism and democracy. It was upon these issues that the people had to make their choice. Dewey and the Republican Party, for the people synonymous with Wall Street, advanced an unconcealed reactionary program in which advocacy of the Taft-Hartley law was openly flaunted. Truman and the Democratic Party, whom the people viewed with increasing suspicion, were not, however, as completely identified by the people with Wall Street. Truman's increasingly hypocritical and demagogic campaign statements tended to strengthen the notion that there was a difference between the two parties. Finally, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party, presenting the only real program for the people, pointed to the record of both parties as conclusive proof that differences between them had long since ceased to exist. And Wallace's trip through the country gave ample proof that he was beginning to win broad mass support.

Fear of the openly aggressive program of the Republicans and hatred for the 80th Congress, led a majority of the voters to reject Dewey and those most flagrantly associated with the reactionary program of the 80th Congress. There are several reasons for the majority vote for Truman: many were misled into believing that perhaps Truman really meant what he said and that there was still some difference between the two major parties; others succumbed to the ruthless campaign of intimidation against the Progressive Party. The latter factor undoubtedly accounted also in good measure for the millions who stayed away from the polls.

The Progressive Party vote was smaller than had been expected. But what we dare not forget is that the Progressive Party forced a discussion of issues which would otherwise have been evaded. It alerted millions to the menace of fascism and war, including many who were as yet not ready to vote for the Progressive Party. And it brought forth close to a million and a quarter Americans as the organized core of those who saw the need for a decisive break with the two party system. Thus a firm foundation was laid for the continued building of the new, anti-monopoly party.

The rejection of Dewey and the Taft-Hartleyites, in which all progressives heartily concur, indicates the desire for peace, democracy and security and a deep resentment against infringement of labor's rights on the part of millions of Americans. These popular sentiments took on distorted form since they resulted in a vote for Truman. Prevalence of these sentiments, however, offers the possibility of organizing the people, regardless of whom they voted for,

under the leadership of the Progressive Party for struggle to defeat *all* who are leading the nation to war, fascism and the destruction of the people's rights. There must be no illusions, however, as to how this can be achieved. Only the dissipation of all illusions about Truman and the mobilization of the people in a united struggle to compel the Truman administration to fulfill its election promises can achieve real peace and democracy.

The presence of the Progressive Party, with its militant presentation of issues, confronted Truman with a challenge he could avoid only at great risk. His only chance of winning was to don the mantle of Roosevelt, which he had long ago discarded, and whose policies he had long ago betrayed, and to out-Wallace Wallace. As the elections proceeded, and paid admissions to Wallace rallies rose to proportions unequalled in American history, Truman resorted to greater and greater demagoguery.

But his campaign was double-edged. While Truman was posing as the great liberal and defender of peace, his secretaries of state and war were pushing forward their plans for the organization of a new war, and his attorney general, Tom Clark, was engaged in a campaign of political persecution such as this country had never seen. Communist Party leaders were arrested. Grand juries were called together to provide excuses for jailing communists without bail. Progressive Party workers were hounded and deprived of their jobs, while the Party itself was kept off the ballot in the key state of Illinois. Throughout the country, reactionary labor bureaucrats joined the anti-labor press and radio in labelling the great peace crusade of Wallace as an un-American act ordered by Moscow. And while this was going on, Truman was denouncing the rival Republican witch-hunt as a red herring.

Now that the smoke and dust of the elections are clearing, it is evident that the decisive issue remains that of peace or war, fascism or democracy. American foreign policy was and is now bi-partisan and directed towards war. It is, therefore, illusory and dangerous to imagine that that any fundamental change on domestic issues such as housing, high prices, wages, etc., is possible so long as the country continues its policy of militarization with the inevitable increase in expenditures for war material and the financing of foreign armies. So long as the Marshall Plan—a plan for war and world conquest—remains the basic foreign policy, with its aim of rebuilding a fascist Germany, of bolstering fascist regimes throughout the world and of subordinating the economy of all countries to Wall Street dictates, inflation

must persist and labor must increasingly be deprived of its basic rights, even though new camouflages may be put up.

What flows from this with inexorable logic is that victories of real consequence can be won on domestic issues only if the battle is joined with the struggle for peace and for a progressive foreign policy, for the preservation and extension of democratic liberties.

Social Democratic Danger

Any analysis would be incomplete which did not consider the implications of the new role of the right wing social democratic leaders and of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

Men like Murray, Green, Reuther, Dubinsky, Potofsky and Whitney, through their respective political action committees, concentrated on mobilizing their membership for the Democratic Party. These reactionary labor leaders, together with Americans for Democratic Action and Liberal Party leaders in New York, now consider themselves at the very least as unofficial cabinet members and government spokesmen. Mr. Potofsky's statement immediately after the elections is characteristic. Said this leader of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers: "Mighty labor forces have given new life once again to the Democratic Party. The party of Roosevelt is today in truth a people's party. We supported Roosevelt and the New Deal with full faith in his achievements. We supported Truman in the hope that he too will fulfill our aspirations." It is difficult to conceive of any greater falsehood and of a concept more dangerous to the American people and its working class than this.

Having decided that Wall Street's Democratic Party is labor's party, "in truth a people's party," these reactionary labor leaders seek to create and continue the most dangerous illusions. Failure or refusal by the Truman administration to fulfill campaign promises will need no justification from Truman. These labor leaders will do the job. Since they are in complete accord with the Marshall Plan, these reactionary labor bureaucrats will increasingly become the advocates of the necessity for the people to pull in their belts and make sacrifices for the sake of "defense." These labor leaders will also now lend their blessing and support to the hounding and persecution of progressives and communists and thus attempt to give the persecution a democratic aura.

There are many indications that these dangers are very real. Let us cite two. It is obvious that the Truman administration will be compelled to undertake some modification of the Taft-Hartley law. Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin has already announced that he intends to convene meetings of management and labor to discuss an appropriate bill *which will be agreeable to both*. The results must obviously be some compromise that will not even approach the old Wagner act, let alone be an improvement on it. Has any top labor leader raised a hue and cry against this? On the contrary, Mr. Meany of the AFL has already stated that some such arrangement would be quite satisfactory. What

then will be the attitude of these reactionary labor leaders towards any militant rank and file demand for the complete elimination of the Taft-Hartley law and for the enforcement of real safeguards for labor's rights?

And secondly, Mr. Louis Hollander, of the Amalgamated and head of the New York State CIO-PAC, "called upon those union leaders who participated in the Wallace campaign to resign from their union posts. The vote that elected President Truman and a Democratic majority in Congress is a vote of confidence not only for President Truman but for the organized labor movement of America" (*Jewish Day*, Nov. 8).

If Mr. Hollander's declaration is in any way characteristic of the thinking of the leaders of the CIO, it is inevitable that the criterion which top CIO officialdom will use as a measuring rod will be loyalty, not to the working class and to the basic interests of the American people, but to Mr. Truman. This attitude threatens the integrity and the independence of the labor movement, and must therefore be vigorously opposed, primarily by the millions of American workers whose security is jeopardized.

Need for New Party

While many obstacles to the achievement of peace, democracy and security face the American people, they are nevertheless in an advantageous position to achieve these ends. The nucleus in the struggle to forge a real unity of the American people, are the close to a million and a quarter who affirmed the historic necessity for the Progressive Party with their vote. Now, more than ever, they must lead the fight for the independent people's party as the only sure way to victory over Wall Street and the monopolies. To the extent that they develop the broadest unity and carry on a consistent and determined battle on the basic issues which confront the people and consistently link it to the vital need for the Progressive Party, to that extent will they bring into their ranks the millions who rejected the avowed and unconcealed reactionary program of Dewey, but who were misled into believing that Truman offered something better.

As time goes on, and the essential character of the Democratic Party is revealed to more and more Americans, they themselves will come closer to an understanding, provided of course that leadership is given to them, for the need of the anti-monopoly people's party.

A number of achievements of the Progressive Party give added weight to the possibilities for struggle. The vote of the American Labor Party in New York, which, under more difficult conditions, rose to a new high; the victory of Marcantonio in the face of the most vicious attacks and in face of the fact that for the first time he was forced to run on the American Labor Party line alone; the drop in the Liberal Party vote are significant advances in the people's favor.

In the fight for peace and democracy, and for the winning of the American people to a realization of the need for their own independent party, the Communist Party played a great role. Long before all others, it saw and propagated the need

for a people's anti-monopoly party. But more than this. The Communist Party alone saw the need for the working class of America to become the core and eventually the leader of the new party if it were to be assured stability and permanence. During the elections, the membership of the Communist Party, by their devotion and untiring energy, contributed greatly towards the arousing of the American people, towards clarification of issues and directing the thinking of masses of American workers towards the fundamental issue of a people's party.

Today, as always, the guarantees for a strong and powerful people's party rests in its most decisive aspects with the working class of America. The men and women who work in the shops and mills, in the foundries and mines, are the people who must make up the prime driving force of any independent people's movement and certainly an independent political party. To win these millions of workers to an understanding of the role they must play and the leadership they must give, is the prime prerequisite for the insurance of the victory of the people.

ISRAEL AFTER THE ELECTION

A FEW days after the election was over, the social-democratic Yiddish daily *Forward*, whose adoration of Bevin never cooled even in the days of his most vicious attacks upon the *Yishuv*, warned American Jewry against any further public protests and demonstrations on Israel. Said Hillel Rogoff in the November 4 *Forward*: "We no longer have our trump card. The elections are over . . . In the formulation and execution of policy (on Israel) the administration in Washington will concern itself little with it (the Jewish vote). We must bear this firmly in mind. We shall have to be much more careful, much more tactful about the means we shall use to influence our government to do well by Israel." The job of securing Israel's future must be left, Rogoff implies, to men like David Dubinsky and Max Zaritsky, who now have the ear of the president. This statement by the *Forward* is important since it reflects not only its own views but those of the right wing labor leaders, heads of the Liberal Party and of the Jewish Labor Committee.

The *Forward* particularly cautioned the Jewish public against the communists. According to the *Forward*, the communists were responsible for most of these demonstrations and their sole concern in Israel was that it afforded them an opportunity to attack Truman. In passing, the *Forward* also took occasion to warn the Zionist leaders that they too were overstepping the bounds and that the Zionists would do well to watch their step.

One can, of course, say without fear of contradiction that the *Forward*, unlike the communists, was never a "trouble maker" on the Israel question. This paper labored long and hard to make every Truman betrayal appear as its opposite. And when championing the cause of Israel would logically entail the exposure of Truman and the dissipation of illusions regarding him, there was no doubt where the *Forward*

would stand. On the side of spreading illusions and confusing the Jewish masses.

It would, however, be a great mistake to underestimate the implications of the *Forward* position. In line with general social democratic policy, the *Forward* is determined to build up Truman as the great savior, whatever the cost. And that paper recognizes how vulnerable he is on the question of Israel. The *Forward* is as aware of this as it is of the tremendous sentiment of the Jewish masses for Israel and its future. It recognizes that it has failed in the past to convince the Jewish masses, including its own readers, that Israel is safe in Truman's hands. It is therefore redoubling its efforts at the present moment.

However even the slightest knowledge of the Jewish masses must indicate that the efforts of the *Forward* are doomed. Illusions, it is true, die hard. But to hear Truman a few nights before the elections vow eternal love for Israel and then have Truman's UN delegation turn around the day after the elections and threaten Israel with sanctions, if it does not depart from territory which is an integral part of the Jewish state as set up by a UN decision, is a bit too much for any decent stomach.

The attempt that was and is being made by the press to differentiate the Marshall-Lovett-State Department crowd from Truman is pure sophistry. The basic foreign policy of the United States at the present moment of necessity dictates denial of independence to Israel, abridgment of its sovereignty and mutilation of its borders. It is politically most naive to imagine that the Truman administration, regardless of the personalities of its UN representatives, will pursue a policy on Israel in direct contradiction to its overall foreign policy. The strengthening of Israel as a sovereign, independent and democratic state cannot go hand in hand with opposition to the independence and democratization of Greece, China, Indonesia, Germany and Japan.

Dr. Moshe Sneh, in addressing an Israel Independence Dinner in New York on November 9, was absolutely right when he declared that the present war in Palestine is not between Israel and the Arabs "but a conflict between Israel and the imperialist forces of Great Britain and the United States. . . . The Bernadotte Plan is not concerned with the fate of the Arabs of Palestine. It is a clear blueprint for the establishment of British military and economic bases in the Negev and north of Palestine, using Abdullah of Transjordan as a stooge for its plan." And this is the plan which the *Forward* editorially considered quite acceptable.

The Bernadotte plan remains the overall blueprint both for American and British imperialism. And the plans now being offered by UN mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche which include sanctions, withdrawal of troops to original positions, etc., are but steps to put the Bernadotte plan across.

Those who have concern for a free, democratic Israel, will not take the advice of the *Forward*, but will renew their struggle through militant demonstration and protest. And they will fight for the original UN decision of November 29, for which the Soviet Union and the new democracies were and remain the only consistent fighters.

THE BUCHENWALD STORY

By Emil'N. Carlebach

A few days after Buchenwald Concentration Camp was liberated in April 1945, the camp Resistance Committee set about to record an extended history of that living death. Emil N. Carlebach, communist and leader of the Jewish block and the camp's resistance movement, wrote a history of the Jews there. Below is a translation of that history from German. Carlebach was an original member of the editorial board of the Frankfurter Rundschau, one of the first German newspapers to be established after V-E Day. He did an outstanding job on the paper but was forced out by the American Military Government as a result of its anti-communist policy.

At a time when our government is restoring nazis to power, commuting the sentences of the unspeakable Ilse Koch and her Buchenwald fellow-sadists and freeing nazi cartelists and top generals, the following recital of the horrors perpetrated by fascism should sting Jews and non-Jews in America into helping force a reversal of our government's pro-fascist policies.—Editors

THIS report can serve only as a framework for a history of the Jews in Buchenwald. In the space available only typical cases and events can be cited. Such cases can be correctly understood only in relation to the history of all the various groups in the Buchenwald camp. I myself was either a participant in the events related here or learned of them directly from participants.

As our work of resistance and struggle for survival went on, we learned that we could not carry on as orthodox or liberal, Zionist or socialist. Only one course was possible—union of all who were prepared to resist on the basis of anti-fascism.

First Jews Arrive—1938

The first Jews arrived at Buchenwald in the spring of 1938 while the camp was still governed mainly by criminal prisoners who had succumbed completely to the SS hirelings and their methods. These Jews, numbering about 1,000, were brought in as the result of a so-called "Action."

Masses of Jews in various towns had been arrested in order to inspire terror and fear, to induce emigration and surrender of property. The prisoners were of all ages and social strata and were therefore unable to resist persecution as a homogenous group. They were herded into an empty stable where they had to live on 300 grams of bread and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a liter of watery soup per day, and they were cheated even of this by the criminals in charge. Their work day was 14 to 15 hours long and only 5 hours of sleep was possible because of prevailing conditions and all sorts of mean tricks. The guards tricked and beat the prisoners, particu-

larly in the quarry where they worked. Every day three or four prisoners were deliberately provoked into running through the outpost line and were then shot "while attempting to escape." Not counting a very few who were released, all these Jews were murdered, except for 20 who are still in Buchenwald today [May 1945].

An additional 1,000 Jews were brought into the camp on the 23rd and 24th of September 1938 from Dachau. Most of those in the two transports had been arrested during the nazi march on Vienna, during which "Actions" similar to that mentioned above had been carried out. The new arrivals were mainly arrested because of their anti-fascist beliefs. Some of the new arrivals had already been imprisoned for many years.

During the ensuing weeks and months the organized resistance of the imprisoned German anti-fascists continued. Its first climax came at the turn of the year, and resulted in removal of the criminal elements from their positions in the prison administration. This improved conditions considerably. On January 30, 1939, after pressure by the German anti-fascists, the camp commandant ordered that in the future prisoners in charge of the Jews would be selected from among the Jews themselves. Some of these leaders later proved themselves to be negative and dangerous elements. But now it was considerably easier to eliminate them from supervisory positions than the so-called "Aryans." Nevertheless the Jewish prisoners remained camp pariahs in treatment, diet and work hours, and the highest number of deaths occurred during the next year.

On November 9, 1938, over 12,000 Jews were brought into the camp as a result of the "Rath Action."¹ As they marched in, the SS, armed with cudgels and whips, lined the streets of nearby Weimar and very few reached the camp without injury. The streets, strewn with blood-stained baggage, articles of clothing and the wounded who had fallen on the way, resembled a battlefield. These thousands were packed into five emergency barracks, without organization, without latrines or any sanitary facilities. Without straw mattresses or covers, they were forced to lie four deep on top of each other. SS brutality with whips and pistols caused such chaos on that first night that the confusion could readily have been turned into a mutiny. Many Jews chosen at random had their hands crossed and chained together, and dogs were set on them.

That night 70 people lost their sanity. These unfortunate ones were thrown temporarily into a wood hut, then taken after a while into the guard-room and beaten up personally by SS leader Sommer. Since many of these 12,000

¹ The excuse for this pogrom was the assassination of nazi official Ernst vom Rath on November 7th in Paris by the young refugee Jew, Hershel Grynszpan.—Eds.

people were well-to-do business men, the SS exploited this "Action" not only to satisfy their thirst for blood, but also for personal enrichment. This was done most flagrantly by the SS down to the lowest grades. An announcement through the loudspeakers promised that those who placed their automobiles and houses at the disposal of the camp leadership, would be freed first. Every day thousands of marks were collected under one pretext or other to pay for damages or as payment for release. By the time this "Action" ended after a few weeks through mass releases—many hundreds had in the meantime lost their lives—tremendous wealth found its way into the camp. The resulting demoralization of the SS and their close business relationship with the criminal elements among the prisoners led inevitably to such a situation that Commandant Koch had to swallow the bitter pill of appointing political prisoners to various administrative positions in order to regain control.

In September 1938, the commandant issued an order forbidding medical care to Jews in the future. But this was quietly ignored by the ward comrades.

The next big mass "Action" saw the influx of about 2,500 into the camp, most of them stateless Jews from Vienna and the occupied eastern provinces. They were herded into five large tents behind barbed wire. The methods used in their treatment, the command of this special camp by the notorious SS Troop Leaders Blank and Hinkelmann, not to mention the open statements by various SS people, revealed the plan to liquidate these 2,500 people down to the last man. Among them were old people and school children, about whom the camp leader Huettig said—in my presence, shaking his head—"It is incredible that people like these should have been allowed to run around loose until now." At first, the liquidation took the usual form of working them to death and of "shooting while attempting to escape." These prisoners were forbidden to leave the barbed wire enclosure. They were given half food rations and left without underclothes or topcoats in winter until the daily death toll amounted to 60. In addition Troop Leaders Blank and Hinkelmann indulged themselves in special pleasures, among which was the distribution of poisoned food.

Camp Resistance Movement

From the very beginning we carried on a fight to bring an end to this horror. Owing to the balance of forces at the camp the struggle had to be carried on only indirectly against the SS, but directly against their criminal underlings. We succeeded in getting rid of the foreman of the detachment that carried the food into the special camp. Comrade Kurt Posner replaced this foreman and, at the risk of his life, managed to smuggle in some food for a few comrades. Although the two most odious creatures, Wolff and Rosenbaum, retained their positions, we were able to install as clerk our Polish comrade Vulkan, who saved the lives of many people by his devotion.

In the spring of 1940, the German anti-fascist Walter

Kramer—he was killed in November 1940—in his position as chief of the prisoners' hospital ward, managed to bring about the dissolution of this murder den through the device of constant supervision of the medical quarters. He convinced the authorities that otherwise epidemics would spread from there to the camp and would spread to the SS and the surrounding villages. Even earlier the ward comrades had the use of an unauthorized ambulance for the sick. This rescue operation brought 500 into the main camp. They were little more than living skeletons.

On November 9, 1939, the day following the provocation of the so-called attempted assassination of the *Buergerbrau Keller* (Citizens' Tavern), all Jews were put under lock and key in their darkened huts. A group of SS men, including Troop Leaders Blank and Jaennisch, selected 21 healthy young men and led them out to the quarry, where they were shot "while attempting to escape." The others were given no food for three days and were uncertain of the fate in store for them. The whole of the camp went without food for five days on the excuse that a pig had been stolen. These measures had especially serious consequences.

Martyrs of the Resistance

The above-mentioned breaking-up of the "Small Camp" did not put an end to murderous intentions against the inmates. The prisoners were attached to the quarry labor unit, assigned to stone carrying—again the unit leaders were Blank and Hinkelmann—and most of them perished from the worst kind of beatings and shootings. During this continuous struggle which led to the elimination of a number of the SS functionaries of the Small Camp and of the quarry, the 22-year-old Berlin anti-fascist and onetime block leader, Rudi Arndt, was murdered in the quarry on May 3, 1940, after he was denounced. After the release of Camp Leader Comrade Ernst Frommhold, of Thuringia, Arndt had carried the main burden in the organized struggle against SS methods. Fourteen days later Comrade Max Vulkan (mentioned above) was murdered in the same manner. I myself was an unobserved witness when Wolff threatened him: "If you talk about anything that happens in the Small Camp once more, I shall see to it that you do not leave the camp alive." My attempt to send an anonymous letter to the camp commander to compromise this gang sufficiently to break their necks, proved unsuccessful. Specimens of the handwriting of every camp inmate were ordered in the effort to discover who had written the letter. Fortunately this procedure proved to be too difficult.

In the summer of 1940 Commandant Koch, together with camp leaders Schobert and Horstedt, the camp doctor, and a few other staff members, visited the hospital hose-mending section. They drove into the quarry all the Jews who could not work. Among those shot on that first day was our Austrian Comrade Hans Kunke.

It must be remarked that, in addition to these special "Actions" against Jewish groups or individuals, many

deaths resulting from ill-treatment, hunger, poison attempts by the medical unit, etc., also included Jews. In fact, Jews were especially mistreated despite the resistance of the anti-fascist groups. Because of SS pressure the Jews were still persecuted worse than any other group in the camp.

In February 1941, 400 young Jews from Holland were brought to Buchenwald. Since the resistance in the camps did not permit the SS to carry out their mass liquidation as they planned, the Dutch Jews were transferred after a short while to the Gusen camp near Mauthausen, where they were wiped out to the last man within 8 days.

Guard-Room Murders

In the same year the first case of attempted open resistance to the SS murderers occurred. Chief Troop Leader Abraham had drowned the Jewish prisoner Hamber in a pool of water. Hamber's brother, who was an eye witness, gave evidence at the inquest. Thereupon, the whole labor detail was summoned to the camp gate. Naturally nobody dared to say that he had seen anything. The foreman had to write down the names of his 28 men. When he handed in the list, Chief Troop Leader Petrik said to him: "Did you put down your own name? No? Then add your own name to it." The whole detail was confined to their block.

The brother of the murdered prisoner told me: "I know that I must die because of my testimony, but perhaps these criminals will restrain themselves in the future for fear of being denounced. If so, my death will not be in vain." At about nine that evening he was called again to the gate and he returned after about half an hour, much to our surprise. Commandant Koch, the camp leaders, the doctor, etc., had all been there. The commandant told him: "We want to know the whole truth from you. I give you my word of honor that nothing will happen to you." He repeated his evidence. At about 11:30 that night he was called out again and put into the guard-room. Four days later he was dead.

It must be mentioned here that up to 1942, at least, not a single Jew ever left the guard-room alive, irrespective of the cause of his arrest. The 29 Jews whose names were on the list of the labor detail were taken to the guard-room, one after the other, and they died on the fourth day. The most absurd methods were used to try to camouflage this mass-murder to the camp. The next victim on the list would be transferred two or three days beforehand to another labor detail, in order to break up the solidarity of this group. One of them, who was in the ward with a broken leg, was taken to the guard-room on a stretcher by order of Sommer, and there suffered the same fate as his comrades. Only one, a little 40-year-old shoemaker named Loewitus, was released. He was a citizen of the Baltic states and was able to emigrate to the Soviet Union before they got to him.

The following example will serve as a picture of guard-room procedure. The Jewish anti-fascist Jochen Pickard, a Rhinelander, who had been in Dachau with me, afterwards got punished as a political offender in order to get himself

into jail, was transferred to the Small Camp of Buchenwald after he had finished his jail term. The SS had not forgotten that for a whole year in the concentration camp, he had disputed every charge laid against him. A few days after his arrival at Buchenwald he was put into the guard-room. He did not come out of it alive. The social-democratic president of the Prussian legislative assembly, Ernst Heilmann, was taken into the guard-room in 1940 without any charge against him and died shortly thereafter. Kurt Eisner, son of the Bavarian premier, who had been lucky enough to escape several cold-blooded attempts at murder, was called as a witness in a trivial non-political charge against another prisoner. "I have been a prisoner for the past 10 years," he said to the camp leader. "You cannot expect me to denounce a comrade." He died in the guard-room.

Victims of "Experiments"

In the winter of 1941 the infamous experiments in the Spotted Fever Section began. Ten Jews were selected for the first sacrifice. The next group consisted of 50 Jews. Then, owing to the racial superstition of the nazis, further use of Jews was halted because their blood serum was not permitted to be used in the inoculation of "Aryans."

In the spring of 1942, about 400 of the Jewish prisoners were declared unfit for work by the camp doctor Hoven. They were sent off on a so-called invalid transport to an unknown destination, which turned out to be a poison gas experimental station. Over a year later the prison office was instructed that these transports should henceforth be considered as having gone to their death. Hoven once said to Comrade Weingartner (of Mannheim), who was then chief of the prisoners' hospital: "If things ever go the other way, Weingartner, we shall both swing for it." He did not know that his apparent accomplice had actually saved the lives of many comrades by falsifying the lists. If we could not prevent these atrocities, we could at least save those comrades of strong character, capable of eventual resistance, in order to strengthen our cadres, an aim which was vindicated by the success of April 11, 1945. Every morning for four days this transport was sent out in three trucks driven up during roll-call. Each truck was loaded with 30 whose names had been called. On the last day one truck drove up to the hospital. The patients, dressed only in shirts and without trousers, were thrown onto the truck and driven off.

On October 17, 1942, Jewish prisoners from all camps and jails were transferred to the liquidation camp at Oswiecim. I remained behind with 200 other comrades, because we were skilled workers who were exempted to make armaments.

Our situation in the camp was now somewhat improved. First, the systematic struggle of the illegal anti-fascist organization had resulted in the almost complete extirpation of anti-Semitism. Second, the SS regarded us as essential skilled workers, and they moderated their persecution accordingly.

In the summer of 1943 we faced a new crisis. Troop Leaders Schmidt and Gruel, Labor Corps Leader Simons, Report Leader Hofschulte, in cooperation with Camp Leader Gust, Camp Doctor Hoven and the SDG Wilhelm, began a new liquidation action. The two first-mentioned reported a list of Jewish comrades indiscriminately for alleged laziness at work. Simon and Hofschulte instigated the floggings and carried them out. Gust took over the victim at the guard-room and next day transferred him to the hospital, where the job was finished by poison injections. The devoted work of our comrades in the hospital saved a few and finally brought the action to an end. As usual the bribing of some of the SS gangsters played an important part. However, 15 comrades lost their lives, among them the Czech anti-fascist Max Gallander.

Plans for Physical Resistance

The strain of this crisis raised the question for the first time of resistance by force. We and other responsible comrades in the camp decided that a general attempt at revolt would be hopeless and would only serve as a provocation. As the responsible leaders of the Jewish group decided, if the attempt to end this slaughter in the customary manner should be frustrated, we would rather fall in a hopeless fight than to permit ourselves to be killed one by one like sheep.

At this point our previous work showed its effects for the first time. Most of the Buchenwald Jews agreed to this

course of action with us, unlike the millions who had let themselves be slaughtered without a struggle. Unfortunately the Warsaw ghetto rising was the only exception up to this time. At the same time the alleged punishment diet of the Jewish block was reduced. The provisions thus left over were handed out as extras to the various labor details. Here also, camp solidarity showed itself because a number of labor details decided to hand this food back to us, despite the risk of punishment, if they had been discovered.

Special mention should be made in this connection of the details in charge of rooms, camp defense and fire corps. Other details, whose members could not be sorted out carefully as anti-fascists because of the danger of betrayal, could only help us by individual actions on the part of decent comrades. In addition to the details first mentioned, those in the office and in labor statistics, as well as camp seniors and comptrollers, also helped us. All these incidents had to be kept secret and hence were not generally known to the main body of Buchenwald camp inmates.

The year 1944 brought with it a change in the situation because of the arrival of large transports of Jews from the east. With the continuing enslavement of Hungary those Hungarian Jews arrived who had been selected in Oswiecim as fit for labor. They came from time to time in transports of 1000 to 1500. In addition, more and more evacuation transports began to arrive from the Polish camps as the Red Army advanced. There was no more room for them than for the thousands and thousands of non-Jews who were dragged here in the same manner.



The camp leader's attitude was that, so long as the main gate could shut, the camp was not over-filled. The ceaseless, devoted work of the prisoner leadership, particularly that of comrade Hans Eidan, bore fruit in the setting up of emergency shelter, first in tents and later in emergency huts. This was done more or less by means of open theft of SS property. The large, newly-arrived transports were passed on without time for rest to the outdoor details. Here they were condemned to waste away slowly under horrible labor conditions. This was inevitable as long as they lacked leadership and did not organize into a united group. If this had happened, the worst evils could have been prevented. Thanks mainly to the comrades in labor statistics, we were able to extricate not only the active and most useful elements, but also hundreds of children and young people who would otherwise surely have perished. We owe thanks above all to the comrades of the Hungarian and Polish sections who voluntarily went into the indoor service (*Stubendienst*) in the Tent Camp together with the older prisoners. These men made it possible for us in the short time at our disposal—sometimes a transport of 1000 to 1500 were in the camp for three to four days—to sort out the transports in such a way that we could rid them of the dangerous nazi stooges, and sometimes even provide them with their own leadership.

A gratifying exception, which really filled us with pride, was the evacuation transport from Oswiecim-Monowitz. This transport had a clear-cut anti-fascist leadership—the Buchenwald comrades who had been transferred there two and a half years earlier. The Austrian anti-fascist Erich Eisler, one of our best and—next to Rudi Arndt—one of the most brilliant leaders of our work, had been killed in the Oswiecim guard-room. Already in the fall of 1944, the outdoor details, which were supplied with personnel from these transports, had crippled so many able-bodied men, that the so-called invalid transport began to stream back here on the way to the liquidation camp. The outdoor details of Magdeburg and Zeist alone sent back 1500 to their deaths.

Many Saved by Sabotage

The efforts of our comrades in the ward resulted in the removal of about 500 of them from the list. In fact, through the fairly open sabotage in labor statistics and the office, a number of them who were on the SS lists for transportation were kept back. However, more than 900 had to go to their death at Oswiecim just before the advance of the Red Army brought SS rule there to an end. Then the labor-assignment leader demanded a list of children for transportation to the infamous camp at Bergen-Belsen. Once again labor statistics managed to reduce the number of victims to 21, although many hundreds were demanded. In this matter the prisoners' ward cooperated because they had the job of listing most of the Buchenwald arrivals.

Because the camp was constantly over-filled, SS control could not be as close as before. Separation of Jews from non-

Jews was therefore carried out less and less as the year drew on. During 1944, the Jewish comrades accordingly attached themselves more or less to their own nationality groups. The constant nazi defeats and the onward push of the liberating Allied armies led us to expect no more special actions by the SS against the Jewish prisoners.

Last Days

Then, on the evening of April 4, 1945 came the unexpected order: "All Jews fall in immediately for roll-call." None of us misunderstood the meaning of this action. A brief, unprepared discussion showed the following situation—open mutiny of the entire camp would be useless suicide in view of the military situation at that moment. But the execution of the order, which we would not have been able to avoid a few weeks earlier, would be cowardly in the present situation.

We therefore resorted to open sabotage. Nobody reported for roll-call. On the instigation of the active anti-fascist elements hundreds, if not thousands, of Jews fled to other huts to their non-Jewish comrades; the card index files in the blocks were set on fire. The office stated that it was impossible in the short time available to get up an exact list of Jews. Camp defense stated that they could not trace the Jews, especially as they could not be expected to gather 8000 Jews with only 100 men! The SS faltered and postponed the roll-call to the next morning. Nazi intentions ended in fiasco because of the planned, open mutiny among the active elements of the Jews together with the passive resistance of the non-Jewish comrades.

About half of the Jews, the most active and those determined to resist, escaped again and hid themselves among the others. In accordance with our arrangement not to give up without a fight, comrade Kurt Baum (from Herne), an anti-fascist imprisoned since 1935, attacked with a spade the troop leader who had pulled him out of his hiding place. But the block leaders were disconcerted. The search was discontinued, 3000 Jewish prisoners remained illegally in the camp and every survey of the SS proved unsuccessful. The good effects of this development became apparent the very next day. The concealment of the 46 comrades, to whom I had been added by the camp leadership because of my sabotage of the Jewish transport, who were destined for liquidation, was thus made considerably easier.

The developments in the following week do not belong to this chapter but to the history of the camp as a whole. This chapter came to an end at noon of April 11, 1945, when the American army liberated Buchenwald.

copies of the
**Second Anniversary Issue
with Cultural Supplement**

are still available

Write or call:

Jewish Life, 35 E. 12th St., New York 3. AL 4-9480

VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED AT WROCLAW

By Ber Mark

THE second day of the World Congress of Intellectuals in Wroclaw last August was dramatic and illuminating. A. J. P. Taylor, Professor of History at Oxford University, had just told the audience that imperialism was an imaginary problem. On the platform sat many dark-skinned intellectuals. The chairman then gave the floor to a series of representatives of the colonial and oppressed peoples. Each speaker in turn hurled a stirring *J'accuse* against imperialism. The dark-skinned Indians, Indonesians, Ceylonese and Negroes spoke with passionate conviction. The contrast was startling. On the one hand the cold-blooded, phlegmatic, aloof British, a people in decline; on the other, the accusers, hurling thunderbolts out of a powerful reservoir of new strength. Here was no contrast between exalted intellectuals and uncivilized illiterates speaking the language of American films. The speeches revealed a continent possessing highly developed Negro intellectuals, deeply intelligent Indians, well-educated Malaysians.

A new, unknown and, to us, almost secret world, was revealed on the Congress platform. An Alexander Bloch might have described this scene as the emergence of a new people, black and brown, moving in on the old Europe. But these representatives did not come to Wroclaw to pit the African jungle against European civilization. They came to demand fulfillment of the urge for freedom of millions of enslaved colored peoples, to cry out against oppression by imperialism, colonialism, racism. They came to unite with the ever-growing movement for freedom that is gathering power in Europe and rousing America from sleep.

One Negro delegate brought greetings from South Africa. There, he said, children now born to the local Negro population, are being given new names like Stalin and Molotov. These names are now the most beloved among the enslaved African Negroes. The world is indeed one. What happens in Europe has its repercussions in Africa. David Zaslavsky made the cogent remark that, if the gigantic experiment in building a new society can be successful in Eurasia, is not the same historic experiment also possible in Africa? To this Professor Taylor and his friends gave no answer, nor could they.

The first of the colored speakers was Mulak Anand, editor-in-chief of the Indian newspaper *Mazag*. Standing on the platform in his white, narrow pants, light sandals and long brown coat, he soliloquized about his homeland. He spoke slowly, and beneath his controlled tone one heard soft weeping. In English he uttered the cry of woe of almost

BEN MARK is the editor of *Dos Naiye Lebn*, Yiddish organ of the Central Committee of Polish Jews at Warsaw. He was a representative of Polish Jewry at the World Congress of Intellectuals at Wroclaw.

400,000,000 people, who are hounded to death by hunger, plague and national oppression. Then the former minister of Ceylon, de Silva, spoke. He is an imposing, mighty, athletic figure, with a powerful, resonant voice. His fists waved over the platform, his words shot up like flames of fire. He held the audience spellbound with his powerful delivery. De Silva advanced the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi but he broadened them. He placed before the audience the demand for harmony, peace, modesty, for a united struggle. To the teaching of Gandhi he added elements of Judaism and Hellenism. Upon these three foundations, he said, the new world must arise.

The Oppressed Accuse

After the giant de Silva, the small, lean representative of Viet-Nam, French colony, ascended the platform. Everyone expected the trumpet call of the Ceylonese to be followed by the soft, still voice of this small Indonesian. But no. Thiem La Van, who is a brilliant mathematician, swayed the audience no less with a mighty voice. He thundered against colonialism. So also did the next speaker, the black-skinned Mardo of Algiers, and after him Racato Ratsimamanga, the representative from Madagascar, a medical specialist. Like the previous speakers, he affirmed his ties with and love for French culture. Like them, too, he demanded freedom and equality—equality of Madagascar's old language (which is written from right to left like Yiddish and Hebrew) with the ruling French language. The relationship of the colonial people to the culture of western Europe was brilliantly set forth by a Negro poet of British India. "The only language I know is English," he said, "and I love the English language. But best of all I love the two English words—freedom of speech and freedom of movement."

A deep impression was made by the speeches of the American Negro singer, Aubrey Pankey, and the French North African Negro writer, Aimé Césaire. The former described from personal experience the tragic life of a Negro artist, who is a second-class citizen in America regardless of his talent. The latter explained in broad, powerful terms the basic issues of colonialism. The speech of the North African Negro was among the most intelligent and most informative at the Congress. It showed the great intellectual potentialities of the Negro, given the opportunity of education and a modicum of personal freedom. It was a beautiful exposition spoken with Negro temperament and French *esprit*. And Césaire ended his speech with the moving words, "Every time a Negro is beaten, a Chinese is oppressed or a Jew attacked, civilization is desecrated."

This cataract of speeches was a reply to Professor Taylor's argument that imperialism, fascism and racism are today only figments of the imagination, and to Julian Huxley's advice that no nation should be attacked. The answer to these men came not only from the colored peoples, but also in the charges against American imperialism by Brazilian writer Jorge Amado; in the tragic greetings from terror-ridden Greece brought by Professor Kakulis, health minister of the Markós government; in the account of the barbarism under the Chiang Kai-shek regime in the speech of Ben Tao, Chinese writer.

And then came the phalanx of speakers from nations which had suffered under the yoke of foreign oppressors, whose cultures had been doomed to destruction, but whose national culture now had full freedom to develop as the result of liberating political conditions. Thus spoke the Soviet-Azerbaijani, Samad Burgun. The chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union, Ludmil Stoyonoff, reported the renaissance of Bulgarian culture under the new democracy. The biologist, Dembovsky, of Poland, and the writer Darda, of Czechoslovakia, told of their new and free homelands.

But these speakers did not limit themselves to information about the building of culture in their own countries. Their over-all theme was the war danger, hence they could not avoid political problems. Thus, Samad Burgun attacked the feudal Arab League and Turkey in the terms of an old Azerbaijani proverb: "The dog barks and the caravan moves on its way." By the caravan he meant the progressive forces of the world, the forces of socialism, the forces of national liberation. The representatives of the colonial and of the liberated East European countries, the dark-skinned and the Slavs, spoke the same ideological language. So also did the intellectuals and humanists of all other parts of the world. Amid this orchestration of the voices of oppressed peoples, the clear voice of the Jewish people was heard.

Know the Guilty

The Jewish people have a tremendous—perhaps the greatest—concern with this Congress, whose main purpose was to fight the war danger. When the famous biologist, Julian Huxley, advised the audience not to attack anyone, we had an impulse to interrupt and ask: how can we Jews refrain from attacking the British government, which at this very present moment gives amnesty to the Nazi war criminals? How can we be nice to Bevin when British airplanes drop bombs on the Hebrew University in Jerusalem? How can we remain silent in the face of the anti-Israel policy of the American Secretary of State, Gen. George Marshall, and of his eagerness to rob Poland of its western portions, and thus to throw 60,000 Jews living there into the arms of a revengeful Germany?

When the German publicist, Alexander Ebush, a man of definitely liberal tendencies, said in his speech on the third day of the Congress that the German people had com-

mitted a grave crime against the Polish people, "and also against other peoples," we again had an impulse to interrupt and ask bitterly: why did this representative of German literature avoid mentioning by name these "other peoples"? Why did he not firmly say, "I have sinned" against the *Jewish people* in the barbaric murder of six million innocent Jews? But at a Congress of Intellectuals one does not heckle. True, one impatient and very nervous delegate from the back benches did interrupt to ask chairman Huxley why he was allowing Ilya Ehrenburg to speak longer than the allotted 20 minutes. But this hot-headed delegate got such a rebuke from the entire audience in the form of a tremendous ovation for Ehrenburg, that he sat down in consternation.

In short, Huxley, the Englishman, refrained from a single word of accusation against his own government for its attitude towards the Nazi murderers and the struggle of Israel. Nor did Ebush, the German, feel called upon to say anything about his people's barbaric treatment of the Jews. But the Jewish outcry was nevertheless heard. Perhaps it did not come out as clearly and as strongly as it should at an anti-war Congress. Unfortunately, the two Jewish members of the Polish delegation were allowed only to present a written statement on Jewish problems to the delegates. But in many speeches by both Jews and non-Jews mention was made of the Jewish tragedy, of present-day Jewish struggle and of the attitude of the Jewish people towards war and peace.

The first cry of the Jewish people came almost unexpectedly from American delegate Albert E. Kahn. He described the political situation in the United States, the growing chasm between the government and the people, persecution of progressive intellectuals and the rising wave of anti-Semitism. And then, suddenly, he said: "I was in Warsaw and I saw the horrible destruction of that city. But in the ruins of Warsaw there is a place where even ruins are no longer visible. There nothing remains, absolutely nothing, but a vast wilderness over the whole area which was the ghetto." The audience leans forward and listens intently. Kahn's voice becomes stronger and stronger: "I speak not only as an anti-fascist and as an American. I speak also as a Jew. Six million Jews were annihilated in the last war. I have three children and I do not want them to suffer the tortures of the Jewish children in occupied Europe."

These words evoked a tremendous response. The audience hung on his words. They wanted to hear from the lips of a Jew, from a proud Jew, the *J'accuse* of the Jewish people. When the entire audience rose to its feet and gave the speaker a tremendous ovation, it was primarily applause for the Jewish people, it was a tribute to the indescribable martyrdom of the Jew.

Tribute to Israel

The audience was no less stirred by the representative of Israeli intellectuals, David Chumsky. When the session

chairman, Alexander Fadeyev, called out: "I now give the floor to the representative of Israel," a few British delegates walked out. Apparently they were not too anxious to listen to any further accusations against themselves. The bench of the American delegation also became a little empty. The representative of Israel begins to speak in Hebrew. The three ministers of religion, the Dean of Canterbury, Hewlitt Johnson, the French catholic priest, Abbé Bouiller and the Bulgarian priest, in his long robes, follow every word and take notes. Obviously, they know Biblical Hebrew. But translations of Chumsky's speech into Russian, French, English, Polish and Spanish through the earphones come quickly. Interest rises from moment to moment. Slowly, the American bench fills up again. First comes the attack against Britain, then come praise for the Soviet Union. Familiar names recur in Hebrew, such as Stalin, Pushkin. David Zaslavsky sits by with the Hebrew paper, *Davar Hashovuah*, (Word of the Week) in his hand. On the front page is a picture of the Soviet representative to Israel, Yershov. The first one to applaud Israel is chairman Fadeyev, then the entire audience follows. The occasion becomes a demonstration by the intellectuals for the just struggle of Israel. After the speech is over, the delegates reaffirm their position by signing the protest against the bombardment of the Hebrew University.

How could it be otherwise? In an informal discussion Fadeyev put the question concisely: "The state of Israel is a fact and no power in the world will destroy it." In his speech, Ilya Ehrenburg declared: "The world of Glubb Pasha is not a world of culture." Glubb Pasha is the British commander of the Transjordan Legion, who led the aggressive war against the Jews. The old, gray Martin Anderson Nexō spoke as follows: "All progressive peoples must support the struggles of the Jewish people, the struggle of Israel." Kokulis, Greek fighter for freedom, put the struggle of the Israel liberation army on the same level with the struggle of General Markos and the freedom-loving people of Greece. Thus the struggle of Israel very naturally became integrated with the causes espoused by the Congress, together with Spain, Greece, China, India, Indonesia, Viet Nam and Malaya.

The Jewish problem was touched upon by many speakers. In a beautiful allusion, Ludmil Stoyanoff said: "During the terrible war the Bulgarian people did not turn one Jew over to the nazis, and we are tremendously proud of this. For its part, the national Jewish minority in our land is unstinting in its help to build Bulgaria." The Bulgarians and the Bulgarian Jews are necessary to each other and are of mutual help. This cooperation strengthens the struggle to rid the Jews of any sense of inferiority. Stoyanoff recounted the cultural activities of the Jewish national minority in his country. The Bulgarian painter Dimitroff told the writer, "The Jews amongst us are just like us, equals among equals."

This idea was also expressed by the well-known progressive French writer, Leon Moussinac: "Our idea is that all must be equal—communists, christians, Jews and all

should as equals participate in a struggle for peace and for the victory of man."

After the Word, the Deed

But the Jews unburdened their feelings in an intimate way not at the Congress sessions, but in auxiliary events. This happened, for example, at the banquet for the delegates arranged by the Jewish Central Committee of Wroclaw. To this banquet came so many Jewish intellectuals, that there was not enough room for them all. Although I am not one of those who tries to discover who is Jewish and who is not Jewish at a congress, I was nevertheless greatly surprised to see so many Jews holding high positions in the intellectual life of the world. I was pleased because I was proud of their contributions. I was glad to see their open expression of Jewishness and their deep interest in Jewish problems. At this Jewish banquet in the presence of splendid Jewish youth and Jewish intellectuals, the speeches and conversations were moving and warm.

Among the guests was Professor Otto Nathan, world-renowned American physicist and close co-worker of Albert Einstein. In his talk, Professor Nathan, himself a Polish Jew, imparted courage by his affirmation that, if new life can spring from the ruins of Warsaw, then a whole new life can arise from the ruins of Jewish life in Poland.

The well-known British mathematician and chairman of the Jewish commission of the British Communist Party, Professor Hyman Levy, also spoke. His father had been Rabbi of Wroclaw. Professor Levy gave a long discourse on the great role being played by Polish Jewry, and he ended with a plea that the Jews of Poland should give moral leadership and support to the Jews of Britain.

In a great paean of praise for the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto the British writer Louis Golding, himself a nephew of Polish Jews, spoke half in English, half in Yiddish, and ended with an expression of deep faith in the victory of the Jewish people in Israel.

From America not only Albert E. Kahn, but also the American-Jewish radio writer, Norman Corwin, greeted Polish Jewry.

Similar feelings were expressed by Ilya Ehrenburg, who expressed his love for the many Jewish boys and girls present. If there is a Jewish youth, he said, there will be a rich Jewish community in Poland.

This intimate meeting of Jewish intellectuals of the Soviet Union, America, England, Israel, France and Poland, who spoke in different languages, but whose spirit was one, was in itself sufficient justification for the Wroclaw Congress, from the Jewish standpoint. But the significance of the Congress, was, of course, far greater and genuinely historic. For can there be a more important task than the struggle for peace? The most respected intellectuals of the world here dedicated themselves to leadership in this struggle. The word was spoken at Wroclaw. And after the word, will certainly come the deed.

LETTER FROM SILESIA

By Yuri Suhl

WHETHER you are a late sleeper or an early riser; whether you awaken at the slightest door-creak or have to be thoroughly doused before you open your eyes, whatever your sleeping habits may be in any other part of the world, in Nowa-Ruda, Lower Silesia, they would undergo a radical change. For Nowa-Ruda has a way of waking its 12,000 inhabitants that is entirely its own. Promptly at 7 A.M. each morning, your ears would be greeted by the lusty tunes of the town's only orchestra. This is the way Nowa-Ruda's instrumentalists keep in trim.

Nowa-Ruda lies in a valley, about 22 miles from the Czechoslovak border. A chain of tall Sudetan mountains towers majestically over it, and it is surrounded by vast stretches of fertile fields and woods. Because the shingles of its sloping roofs are a bright red, Nowa-Ruda, on a sunny day, looks from the distance like a glittering diamond set in a frame of green. It is as though some artist, with a flare for the exotic, had, in a moment of rare inspiration, dreamed it on canvas and the town had suddenly come to life.

But uniqueness of appearance is not Nowa-Ruda's most distinguished feature. In terms of sheer quaintness and architectural beauty, its neighbor, Klodzko, would offer it keen competition. What distinguishes Nowa-Ruda from some of its neighboring towns of similar size, is its Miriam Hoffenfogel.

Nowa-Ruda is a mining town and many of its 400 Jewish inhabitants work in Nowa-Ruda's coal mines. They don the head-lamp, take pick in hand, and side by side with their Polish townsmen, descend daily into the pits to dig up that precious stuff which is the mainstay of Poland's industrial structure—coal. Their diligence and interest in their work have earned for them the respect of their Polish co-workers. Now they can also point with pride to their Miriam Hoffenfogel.

Miriam Hoffenfogel is a young Jewish woman of 27 and a Heroine of Labor. Recently she was decorated by the president of Poland with the Silver Cross for her contribution, as a coal miner, to the country's regenerated economy. She is the first woman in Lower Silesia to have received such an award. The labor statutes of Poland prohibit women to work down in the pits. Miriam works above the pit. As the freshly-dug coal comes up, she separates the real coal from the blackened stones.

It is quite natural to conjure up a physical image of a stranger you are about to meet and, on my way to Nowa-Ruda I had visualized Miriam Hoffenfogel as a big, buxom, broad-shouldered woman, with strong arms and bulging

muscles. Quite the opposite is true. The decorated Jewish coal miner, the Heroine of Labor, is a slight, frail looking woman of less than medium height. She is shy, modest and reserved, and wears the laurels of fame with the casualness of a woman wearing an old headkerchief.

When I asked her what she had done to deserve the Silver Cross, she smiled diffidently and said: "I was just doing my work."

"But aren't the others also doing their work? Yet, you have been singled out for a decoration."

"Yes, we all do our work, but there are always some who are a little more conscientious." She paused and, in an apologetic tone of voice, added: "Maybe I belong to that category. In my two years as a coal miner I have not missed a single work-day."

This is all Miriam had to say in explaining the reason for the honors her government bestowed on her. It is a simple story and, on the surface, there is nothing heroic or dramatic about it. A Jewish girl decides to become a coal miner, does her job well—perhaps a little better than her modesty permits her to admit even to herself—and for her selflessness and exemplary devotion to her work, she receives an award from her government.

But there is more to this story than appears on the surface. Viewed from the social and political premises of present-day Poland, it highlights a number of facts worthy of serious consideration. Jewish coal miners! Jewish Heroes of Labor! One has only to recall the economic status of Jews in pre-war Poland to comprehend fully the significance of his phenomenon. Nowa-Ruda is not an exception to the rule and Miriam Hoffenfogel is not an isolated case. Jews have become an integral part of Poland's economy, and are represented in every branch of their country's industry on an equal status with their Polish compatriots.

This shatters the malicious legend that Jews, as a people, shun physical labor and are always on the lookout for an easy way of making a living. Given an opportunity to work, they work. In Poland they now have this opportunity.

Social barriers and anti-Semitic feelings that had found a fertile field in pre-war Poland have largely disappeared since the Jews have been working side by side with their Polish fellowmen in the coal mines, the textile factories, the railway shops, and on construction projects. They work in an atmosphere of mutual respect, and take pride in each other's achievements.

On the land-map of Poland, Nowa-Ruda occupies a very modest place; perhaps just a dot, or a small line, indicating its geographic location. But on the larger map, the social and economic map of present-day Poland, Nowa-Ruda occupies a prominent place as a living example of how Jews and Poles can live and work harmoniously side by side.

YURI SUHL is a prominent Yiddish poet who has also written fiction in English. He is touring in Central and Eastern Europe,

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE IRGUN: II

By Esther Vilenska

Translated from the Yiddish by Joseph King

THE Irgun attempts to claim a monopoly of the anti-British struggle in the Jewish *Yishuv*. What are the facts?

The Irgun adopted its *political* anti-British position only on the eve of, and particularly during, the Second World War, after a section of the revisionist movement had been frustrated in their love for England. The theoretical basis for their pro-British orientation was fortified by Jabotinsky's ideology and policy that the Jewish community should constitute itself a dominion within the British empire, and that the Jewish military should constitute a part of the British imperialist army. Only in the years just prior to World War II did revisionists suddenly see that they had to be anti-British.

Thus, their anti-British political point of view was quite tardy. The first party to call for struggle against British imperialism *from the very beginning of British domination*, was the Communist Party. From the first years of the British mandate, the party had revealed the hateful anti-Jewish and anti-Arab character of the colonial regime in Palestine. The party was therefore terribly persecuted by the British oppressor. Its leading members were continually deported and many of its best actives rotted in prisons.

The current pro-American position of the Irgun has its deep pro-imperialist roots in the past. Turning away from Britain, the revisionists found a second imperialist power to whom they were prepared to make concessions in exchange for active support. This new-found imperialism was—fascist Italy. The revisionists oriented on Mussolini's regime, adapted themselves to it with body and soul, spiritually, politically and militarily. One of the editors of *Hamashkif*, Zvei Kultz, even wrote a book entitled *The Teachings of Mussolini*, with paeans of love and devotion for Italian fascism.

Revisionist and Irgun circles claimed that Mussolini personified a "strong" regime, an iron fist and even—good relations with Jews. In those days they also supported warmly (in the revisionist *Hayardan*) Franco's fascist gangs in the Spanish civil war. The general line was, therefore, not towards complete liberation from the foreign yoke, but readiness to give concessions to future Italian rulers rather than the old British rulers.

Fortunately for the Jewish people, and contrary to the calculations of Irgun circles, the international situation changed in the course of the Second World War in favor of the anti-fascist camp. Mussolini's "strong" regime crumbled under the mighty and united blows of the anti-nazi

ESTHER VILENSKA is the 30-year old secretary of the Communist Party of Israel. This is the second and last part of her article.

allied armies and the Italian partisans. Fascist Italy, poor wretch, never again entered into Irgun considerations as a serious factor in the inter-imperialist struggle in the Middle East. Then the American leviathan hove into sight, the rich, able competitor, which had profited tremendously from the war and proved itself a stronger power within the borders of the capitalist world.

In this new situation, the Irgun, without giving up its previous sympathies toward fascist regimes, began to orient itself on the new imperialist power which had begun to assert itself in the Middle East—on American imperialism.

Why Ease in Fund-Raising?

It would be well at this point to take note of the movement in the United States which is responsible for the continuous flow of funds and legal propaganda for the Irgun.

The Irgun considers itself a "revolutionary" movement and an anti-imperialist fighting organization. Often it is wont to compare itself with the liberation fighters of Greece, Indonesia and other countries. Let us see, however, which of these truly anti-imperialist movements have the privilege of openly collecting funds in Truman's and Dewey's America.

Is it easy to collect funds for the liberation fighters in Greece? No! The collection agencies are often branded non-*kosher*. Why? Because the fighters are democratic and anti-imperialist. They first opposed *British* intervention in Greece, and now are struggling against *American* intervention in their country.

Is it easy to collect funds for the liberation fighters in China? No! Why? Because the Chinese people's army, which is democratic and honestly anti-imperialist, is fighting against American intervention in its country.

These are two examples of countries where rising American imperialism has won the upper hand over the British and is attempting, with the help of local reaction, ruthlessly to choke the independence of these nations. The Truman government correctly considers these movements unfriendly toward its imperialist appetite.

The fact that the Irgun, though it was in the recent past an underground organization, has won open, legal permission to collect funds while the collection of funds for fighters against American imperialism is hindered—this fact speaks for itself.

The mystery can be explained by the fact that the American State Department is convinced that the power of the Irgun will not be turned against American penetration in Israel, *but against the internal democratic forces in the Jewish state*. The Irgun staged a dress rehearsal when it de-

manded the arms of the "Altalena" for itself and decided on civil war in order to capture the arms for its members.

The Irgun's anti-British terror was supported politically and materially by influential American circles. The support was organized by Peter Bergson, a notorious revisionist, through the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and a whole group of front organizations, among them the American League for a Free Palestine, the Sons of Liberty, Brith Trumpeldor, etc. In addition to outright revisionists and innocent people whose emotional response to the struggle of the Jews of Palestine left them open to all sorts of confusions, the leadership of these organizations included such individuals as ex-Senator Guy Gillette, who was on Pres. Roosevelt's purge list as a spokesman for the economic royalists, Ben Hecht, among whose dubious contributions was an anti-Semitic novel, *A Jew in Love*, and assorted questionable characters among American politicians. Seduced by a huge outlay for advertising, paid for out of the still undetermined fortune milked from American sources, even some liberal newspapers lent a sympathetic ear to these agencies of the Irgun and the revisionists, continuing to do so to this day, even after the "Altalena" affair.

But the orientation of these groups can be judged from the fact that in the 1946 elections, the revisionist organization called upon the Jews of America to vote for the most reactionary section of American imperialism, the Dewey-Taft-Hoover gang in the Republican Party. The American circles covered up by these organizations utilized the terrorist activities of the Irgun to make the situation for the British more difficult in order to replace them. It is no accident that at the same time when the Irgun came out sharply against the British occupation, it openly turned to its "American friends," to American government circles, with declarations of loyalty toward America.

Such a characteristic affirmation was made by the Irgun during the last Zionist congress in Basle at the end of 1946. In its appeal to the congress the Irgun often declared that it agreed that America should receive economic concessions in the Jewish state. The last open statement of von Weisl in *Hamashkif* is only an improved ideological expression of readiness to submit to the American imperialist aggressor.

Transfer of Imperialist Loyalty

In view of the development of the Irgun, it follows logically that, since American imperialism has taken the place of the British, the Irgun has exchanged its anti-British terror for pro-American loyalty.

The Irgun seeks to claim a monopoly over the anti-British military struggle. It keeps quiet about the waves of anti-British military struggle of other groups in the country, of the democratic elements, like the struggle conducted by the youth of Palmach. This youth has destroyed railroad lines, bridges, radio stations, smashed imperialist prestige and disrupted British power in Palestine. This surging struggle of Palmach youth was one of the expressions of hatred for the British oppressor, in spite of the fact that the official

leadership wanted to utilize the struggle only as a means of convincing Bevin that it was worth his while to count on Jewish power and to reach an "understanding."

In the period between the war's end and the historic UN decision the progressive forces and the Palestine Communist Party called for an *anti-imperialist mass movement* and mass struggle, for full evacuation of the British army, for the termination of the British mandate, for Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist understanding and for the establishment of an independent and democratic Jewish-Arab state on a federated basis of two independent states.

It is no accident that the civil war rehearsal of the "Altalena" was staged by the Irgun precisely in the period of American imperialist penetration into Israel. As is well known, the American government is trying to bring about internal anti-democratic changes within its spheres of influence all over the world and to encourage local rightist and reactionary movements. It is no accident that in France and Italy, which have recently been firmly gripped in the tentacles of the Marshall Plan, the rightist parties have raised their heads. Through the efforts of foreign agents, the unity of the trade union movement has been broken and the most reactionary forces have risen to the surface.

The Truman government is objectively interested in the political strengthening of the bourgeoisie in Israel. It desires that the tone of the new state shall be set by the most reactionary forces. Sensing this favorable external "atmosphere," the Irgun is struggling for positions of power.

After the unsuccessful attempt of the Irgun to achieve its goal with arms and bloody struggle, it changed its tune. Its advocate, *Hamashkif*, began to demand "justice," that representatives of the Irgun be given a place in the government.

Rightist Program

What is the political platform of the Irgun? It fights for a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan. It does not occur to the Irgun to respect the *equal rights* of both peoples, Jews and Arabs. The "iron" principle upon which it is planning to build its Jewish-American state is "Only thus—only with the sword!" This is indeed a freedom-loving principle!

The Irgun denies absolutely the elementary principle of national equality. It propagandizes the superiority of the Jews in relation to the "dirty" Arabs. The program of conquest of the Arab people by the Irgun and the struggle to transform the whole of Palestine, including Transjordan, into a Jewish state, is the political expression of the Jewish bourgeoisie's drive for markets. This chauvinist program preached by revisionist and Irgun circles helped to sow no little hatred between Jews and Arabs.

We Jews recall that imperialist rule in Palestine did not rely only on tanks and bayonets. The power of Britain in Palestine was derived primarily from the *deep abyss which the mandatory power had dug between the two peoples*. With the aid of the long-practiced policy of "divide and rule," the British high commissioner in Palestine felt

quite secure even before he began to concentrate large military forces in our country. The introduction of large bodies of British soldiery into Palestine was connected with the policy of building anti-Soviet war bases, no less than with the aim of oppressing the nations of the country.

The chauvinist aim of conquest preached by Jewish and Arab reactionary circles was the source of weakness of the two oppressed nations and at the same time of strength for British imperialism. The *chauvinist political struggle* of the Irgun to transform both sides of the Jordan into a Jewish state and to establish national oppression over the Arab people *objectively served the interest of the foreign power* in deepening the chasm between both peoples in Palestine.

And note this remarkable thing! A movement which develops within an oppressed people against the foreign British power, does not demand freedom for both oppressed colonial nations, but strives itself to become the oppressor of a neighboring people. *It is clear, however, that a truly anti-imperialist movement must be a democratic movement, which relies on the principles of full equality of both oppressed nations and on the full independence of both.*

Anti-Labor Provocation

Even in the present struggle conducted by the young Jewish state, the Irgunists have managed to cause no little harm. The majority of Palestinian Arabs did not participate actively in the struggle against the Jews. The Arab attackers were recruited by the British primarily in the neighboring countries. This is a well known fact, and even Ben Gurion has stated it more than once in his political statements. The security of the Jewish community demanded that there be no call for attacks against quiet Arab settlements in order to avoid driving the peaceful Arab population into the arms of the Mufti gangs.

But the Irgun had a different strategy and tactic. In consonance with its political goal to conquer both sides of the Jordan, the Irgun carried on a policy of attacking peaceful Arab villages, awakening an Arab desire for vengeance and spreading the fire lighted by the British. It is important to recall two serious provocations which were organized by the "brown heroes" of the Irgun.

First, the provocation in the oil refineries at Haifa. This happened during the first period of the Arab attack. In spite of the war situation, Jews and Arabs worked together peacefully in several places. One of these was the oil refineries in Haifa. Hundreds of Jews and Arabs there maintained the labor tradition of solidarity in trade union struggles and strikes. Jewish-Arab collaboration in peace time was continued during the war.

This, of course, did not please the Jewish fascists. One bright morning they threw a bomb at the Arab workers standing in line to receive their weekly wages. Panic ensued. Some of the Arab workers reacted with a terrible pogrom on the Jewish workers. It is important to note that even in this charged atmosphere many Jewish work-

ers were rescued from the fire of the pogrom by their Arab friends. The whole of Jewish public opinion, the Jewish Agency, all workers' parties and even some bourgeois circles stamped this provocation as a disgraceful crime.

The Crime of Dir Yassin

The second Irgun provocation was the barbaric slaughter in the Arab village of Dir Yassin, on the road from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv. Although this village did not fight against the Jews and also did not permit Arab bands to cross its threshold, it was attacked by Irgunists and Sternists, who *shot all inhabitants—men, women, the aged and children.* Since then, the name of the village, Dir Yassin, has become a synonym and symbol among the Arabs for pogrom and banditry. In this instance, too, the whole of Jewish public opinion, and particularly the working class, condemned the pogrom as a provocative step which in the last analysis menaced the security of the Jewish community itself.

After the bestial slaughter in Dir Yassin, Arabs fled *en masse* to the Mufti gangs in fear of a similar fate if they fell into Jewish hands. The anti-Jewish propaganda of the British agents had received new fuel for anti-Jewish incitement. The imperialist agents called upon the Arab population to avenge Dir Yassin. They exploited the pogromist activity of the Irgun as proof that Arabs could not live under Jewish rule.

In short, the chauvinist provocations of the Irgun poured oil on the fire and aggravated the unfriendly attitude of Arabs toward Jews.

The Irgun spreads claims that it is accomplishing great miracles in the present war. *In fact, it has not captured a single important position.* It attacked in different places, but it did not have sufficient power to *conquer* them. For instance, it attacked Jaffa, but could not take the city. The forces of the Haganah finally captured the city. It attacked Ramleh, but could not hold the town. It attacked several Arab quarters in Jerusalem, but the defense of the city remained the work of Palmach.

No, the Irgun cannot brag of significant military victories. But it can boast of efforts to give the struggle in Israel a politically chauvinist tendency. These efforts could not change the general progressive character of the Jewish defensive struggle. They did, however, complicate our situation and strengthen the enemy armies.

It is also important to recall that the Irgunists began their political career as professional strike-breakers and were trained in attacking the peaceful Arab population in 1936. The attacks on Jewish workers' clubs and the throwing of bombs into Arab market places were companion activities for the Irgunists.

Against the individual terror of the Irgun, which was colored with anti-Arab chauvinism and pro-American tendencies, the progressive forces in Palestine organized the *democratic Jewish-Arab anti-imperialist mass struggle.*

It is worth noting that in the anti-imperialist movement, which was socially progressive in character and was led by

a general Jewish-Arab front, the Irgun not only took no part, but assumed a definitely "neutral" position.

Strike-Breaking in 1946

In March, 1946, a historic Jewish-Arab strike occurred in Palestine. This was the greatest Jewish-Arab strike in the history of the Palestinian working class. Close to 50,000 workers participated, workers in government posts, railroads, ports, post and telegraph. While British agents and British press agencies incited to mutual pogroms and prophesied the immediate outbreak of war between Jews and Arabs, tens of thousands of Jewish and Arab workers were conducting a common struggle against the government. For two weeks, the entire British government apparatus was completely paralyzed. No Irgun bomb caused British imperialism so much material harm, and particularly political harm, as this solid strike. No explosion caused by the Irgun could raise so high the anti-imperialist understanding and conscious mass struggle of tens of thousands of Jewish and Arab workers.

The strike, which began as an economic struggle for higher wages and social security, quickly grew into a mighty political anti-imperialist mass demonstration. Sensing the development of the strike in a significant political direction, the government sought with the aid of its Jewish and Arab agents to smash and demoralize the struggle. The British high commissioner goaded King Abdullah into appearing in person before the Arab strikers to convince them to break their solidarity with their Jewish friends. Jewish revisionist circles also made their propaganda contribution to breaking the strike.

Mighty Jewish-Arab demonstrations took place in the streets of Haifa, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. The strikers carried large placards and banners calling for Jewish-Arab unity against the common enemy. Anti-British slogans were displayed in Hebrew and Arabic and shouted in two languages, but they expressed a single fraternal, democratic and anti-imperialist spirit. It was no accident that at the head of the strikers stood progressive and communist labor leaders! The foreign ruler knew that what was involved

JEWISH AND ARAB WORKERS PLEDGE UNITY



was, no bomb of a small handful, but the growth of a fighting mass.

That strike was not the only one in that period. There were other, similar strikes. There was, for instance, the famous Jewish-Arab strike of the workers in the government camps near Tel Aviv. The significance of this movement was much deeper than appears from its economic demands. This was the beginning of an anti-imperialist, political fighting front.

Enemy of Israeli Workers

Where was the Irgun in these historic days? It did a disappearing act. What was the attitude of the Irgun toward this struggle? "Neutrality." But what came into the Irgun's head, was uttered by its revisionist brothers. The revisionists participated, as always on such occasions, in the opposition to the Jewish-Arab anti-British workers' struggle.

The Irgun was weaned on support of bourgeois elements in Palestine and grew strong particularly with the financial help of American bourgeois circles. The propaganda apparatus of the Irgun appealed to various sections of the population, directing toward each that special propaganda to which it was susceptible. They appealed to the Jewish bourgeoisie in the name of ruling both sides of the Jordan. They approached religious Jews with spiritual words. They fawned upon influential American circles with "neutrality" toward the Marshall Plan. For the benefit of progressive circles, they maneuvered with pro-Soviet phrases. Blessed with hearts of stone, they could break strikes in Palestine on the one hand, and appeal to progressive Americans for help on the other.

The internal fascist danger from the Irgun and the other revisionist circles increased in Palestine to the degree that the external danger from American imperialism increased. Certain circles of the general Jewish public were misled by the Irgun demagogy, and did not notice the pro-bourgeois class character of this movement. Certain circles have not grasped at the same time that a common military front against the external aggressor exists, a regrouping of social forces is taking place in Israel itself, and an intensive political struggle is going on to determine the socio-political character of the Jewish state.

At the head of the most reactionary camp stands the Irgun as the mobilized class army of Jewish reaction. The Jewish bourgeoisie is keeping this military force in reserve for its purposes in the struggle for power.

In broad strokes, the concrete relation of forces in Israel is as follows. The first provisional Jewish government is a coalition of the bourgeoisie with the Mapai (Labor Party). There are also two ministers in the government from the United Workers Party. The foreign policy of most members of the government appears to be capitulatory toward American imperialism, in spite of the fact that Israel is carrying on a successful military defensive war against the Arab and British aggressors.

The Irgun, which is not represented in the government, forms the storm troop of the most reactionary circles in

Israel. It bows abjectly to American imperialism and carries the brown flag for the working masses.

On the other side of the barricades are to be found the Jewish working class and progressive circles of intellectuals and the middle class. The democratic reservoir is concentrated primarily in the United Workers Party and the Communist Party. Certain groups of Mapai members are also highly displeased with the policy of their leadership. The progressive workers' parties are the organized basis whose function is to build, cement and consolidate the democratic and anti-imperialist front in Israel.

When the Irgun attempted to provoke civil war, which was an anti-government attack by rightists and all the open and masked, religious and irreligious followers of the Irgun, the entire Israeli army and the progressive and democratic working class drove off the attack. The progressives did so despite their criticism of the present government's policy.

At the moment when the provisional Jewish government was attacked by the Irgun, the entire democratic camp felt

that its first duty was to beat back the attack, because a victory for the revisionist army, the political parties and circles which stand behind the Irgun, would mean a worse choice, the clearest pro-American foreign policy and the sharpest anti-democratic and anti-labor internal policy. It is more difficult for Ben Gurion and Moshe Shertok than it would be for the revisionist circles to adopt anti-democratic internal changes. The Mapai, though it is an opportunist party, must up to a point nevertheless reckon with its members, a majority of whom are workers.

The main task before Israel, however, is not only to beat back reactionary internal attacks, but to *consolidate the democratic camp, to secure Jewish sovereignty and the progressive character of the Jewish state.*

A broad united front of the United Workers Party, the Communist Party, the working intellectuals and various other progressive elements and circles will consolidate the democratic camp in Israel in the struggle for victory and full independence of the young Jewish state and a democratic internal regime.

CITY COLLEGE RETURNS TO MILITANCY

By Morris U. Schappes

THE full drama and profound significance of the mass student struggle to oust two anti-Semitic and anti-Negro faculty members at the City College in New York can best be understood if the facts are seen against the college's own background and in relation to events on other campuses today. The immediate situation is well known.¹ Professor William E. Knickerbocker, chairman of the Romance Languages Department, has been convincingly charged with the practice of anti-Semitic discrimination against students and teachers. By a ballot of 4,440 to 564, the students have demanded his dismissal, and have already won the right to refuse to take his courses. Mr. William C. Davis, instructor in the Economics Department and administrator of Army Hall, the student-veterans' dormitory, was found guilty of segregating Negro students in Army Hall, and dismissed from his administrative post. By a ballot of 3,381 to 1,195, the students have demanded his dismissal from the Economics Department. At this writing, student leaders are considering plans for further action to realize these two demands.

That this struggle is taking place at City College is worthy of special note. For one thing, between the first

¹ See David Biron, "The Case of the Academic Bigots," JEWISH LIFE, November, 1948.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES taught English literature and composition at New York's City College from 1928 to 1941. For denying to the Coudert Committee that he, an avowed communist, knew scores of colleagues as communists, he was convicted of perjury and imprisoned for more than 13 months.

and second world wars, the City College student body was the most liberal and most militant in the country, and in the mid-1930's a large portion of the teaching staff had won a national reputation for progressive thinking and effective democratic organization and action. If in the present campaign to oust Knickerbocker and Davis the student body is getting very little encouragement from the faculty, there is a reason for that too: the composition of the faculty has been changed.

In the winter of 1940-41, reaction unloosed a furious witch-hunt against the New York City school system, beginning with the municipal colleges and centering first on City College. The Rapp-Coudert Committee, aided by the reptile press, the Board of Higher Education, and the office of the then District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey, tore into the College with storm-troop abandon and on terror bent. By the summer of 1941, some 40 "premature anti-fascists" had been fired from the staffs and one communist was in prison for not identifying his colleagues as communists. Over 80 per cent of those dismissed were Jews. The Committee for Defense of Public Education charged then, in a well-documented pamphlet, that the Rapp-Coudert inquisition was anti-Semitic as well as anti-democratic and anti-communist. The evidence has never been refuted.

When the Coudert Committee forces of occupation evacuated the campus in 1941, they left a faculty largely fear-ridden, stupefied, and apprehensive of the breath of truth and independent, progressive thinking. And the committee also left behind them, now bolder than ever, the real

subversive reactionary elements on the staff. Having effected the expulsion of the anti-fascists, the committee of course left untouched the anti-Semites and the paid agents of fascist foreign governments!

Japanese Agent Untouched

One of these foreign agents had been doing very well for himself and for his paymaster, the Japanese Imperial Government. While the Coudert Committee was howling "red" and "Soviet agent" at my colleagues and myself, John C. LeClair was teaching history in the Evening Session of the College, but he was also supplementing his income as an "educator" by substantial checks, which in three years added up to \$12,000, received from the Japanese consular office in New York. From that history department, four Jewish anti-fascist teachers were fired and two of them were in the Evening Session with John C. LeClair. But LeClair was not investigated, not questioned, not touched by a committee that spent several hundreds of thousands of dollars hunting subversion! All those dismissed, including the four in the history department, were known on and off the campus for advocating, among other things, good relations between our government and that of the Soviet Union. But Mr. LeClair was getting Japanese gold for such articles as the one entitled, "No Freindship Wanted Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.," which appeared on September 28, 1940 in *America, A Catholic Review of the Week*.

Well, it was not the Coudert Committee, nor the Board of Higher Education, nor Dewey's office that finally uncovered the fact that LeClair was a paid Japanese propagandist. In fact, it was not until September 8, 1943 that LeClair pleaded guilty to having been a secret agent of Japan for three years up to shortly before Pearl Harbor. The court gave LeClair the minimum term of one year and a day in prison, and fined him \$9,000.

But the anti-Semites and chauvinists on the staff at City College have had, it seems, longer tenure. That Knickerbocker was anti-Semitic was no secret in the City College staff. Nor was he the only one. We had demanded that the Coudert Committee, if it investigate anybody, should ferret out the fascists and anti-Semites on the staff, but the Committee, fascist itself, had blandly declared they could find no evidence of such creatures at the College. Undoubtedly heartened by such an exculpation, the Knickerbockers reveled and looked for new deeds of anti-Semitic derring-do. Morton Gurewitch became the victim. In June 1942, Gurewitch should have been given the Ward Medal for Proficiency in French. Instead Knickerbocker chose to grant it to a non-Jew whose scholastic rating was obviously lower than Gurewitch's; so pettily vindictive was Knickerbocker that he did not even give Gurewitch honorable mention. It was not until several years after the charges of anti-Semitism against Knickerbocker had been publicly aired and corroborated that the college administration recently offered the medal to Gurewitch. But Gurewitch and his parents expressed their contempt for an administra-

tion that was still seeking to cover up Knickerbocker's viciousness and refused to accept the medal. Perhaps when Knickerbocker and Davis have been dismissed, the College will become worthy of awarding merited honors to Gurewitch!

Now who began to smoke out this anti-Semitic Knickerbocker, who had discriminated against Jews in appointments to his department, in student awards, and in vulgar anti-Semitic jokes and insults uttered in the hearing of like-minded professors? I believe it was Professor Ephraim Cross, also of the Romance Language Department, a man of independent mind and tongue whose tact is overshadowed by his zeal for democracy, justice, and fair treatment. The Teachers Union, which formerly could have initiated the campaign, had been reduced by the Coudert blitz to a weak remnant on the City College campus. The overwhelming majority of the staff was seeing nothing, hearing nothing, and doing nothing except having nightmare visions of Coudert come again. The few who may still have been thinking and wanting to act were utterly isolated in this company of fearful men that sat lonely and with growing cynicism in the chairs of instruction at the College. Therefore Professor Cross's charges met their first rebuff when a faculty committee in 1944 rejected them. At about this time there intervened in the matter the Law and Social Action Committee of the American Jewish Congress, which had been, incidentally, indifferent to the accusations of anti-Semitism that had been raised against the Coudert Committee. Some publicity in the general press kept the issue alive, but in December 1946 the Board of Higher Education quashed the charges, not however without the very damaging admission that there was evidence in Knickerbocker's department of "carelessness and derogatory conversation and anecdotes" unfavorable to Jews. The reactionary Board that had cooperated so gleefully with the Coudert witch-hunt could not bring itself to state that these things added up to anti-Semitism.

Knickerbocker Smoked Out

The whitewash by the Board, however, stimulated the B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at City College to institute its own investigation, which both unearthed new damning evidence and challenged the interpretation of the record of the previous inquiries. Issued in March, 1947 (see *Hillel News*, March 13, 1947), the report minced no words, and cried for justice. A vigorous accompanying statement by the local Hillel director, Rabbi Arthur Zuckerman, offered to temper justice with mercy by agreeing to the retirement of Knickerbocker (on pension) rather than pressing for dismissal. For the first time the general student body began to show signs of real interest, although it was not yet apparently ready for action. The issue went next to the New York City Council, which appointed a committee headed by Walter E. Hart, Brooklyn Democrat.

In the fall of 1947, moreover, the Davis case came to a head. Here it was progressive students, particularly the vet-

erans, that began the fight to abolish segregation of Negroes in Army Hall and to get Davis out of his administrative post in the hall. Stalling by the college administration was met by sharp accusations from communist clubs on the campus and other progressive groups. The administration appointed a faculty committee to investigate. It should be remembered that discrimination against Negroes in appointment to the teaching staff had been traditional. In fact it was not until about 1938 or 1939 that, owing to the initiative of teachers who were subsequently dismissed by the Coudert Committee, the first Negro had been appointed to a lectureship, a temporary position. Since then, one or two Negroes have been on the staff, more or less for the record, I suspect. Now the faculty was confronted by student insistence on social equality for Negro and white in the rooms of Army Hall. Davis had assigned Negroes and whites to separate rooms, but veterans who had fought a war of national liberation refused to accept this condition as part of the hard-earned peace. The faculty committee found Davis guilty, and the administration removed him as head of Army Hall, but continued him as an instructor of economics. Is this unreconstructed chauvinist expected to teach scientifically the economics of a country that includes 15,000,000 Negroes held in special economic as well as political and social subjugation?

It should be noted that although the Knickerbocker and Davis cases both involve an attack on the democratic rights of minority peoples, the actions were parallel but not joined. There was some overlapping among the students interested in one or the other, but there were still too many who saw only the issue of anti-Semitism or only the issue of Jimcrow, without grasping the link between them. The partial victory in the Davis case was encouraging, but there was no real follow-up campaign to secure his dismissal. Then, just at the end of the academic year, on June 22, 1948, the Hart Committee of the City Council published its report, substantiating the charges against Knickerbocker and recommending his retirement. This official report banished the doubts of many of the students and helped prepare them to follow a bold and decisive leadership.

Militant Leadership

When classes began in the fall, such a leadership was very much in evidence. On September 20, 1948, eighteen of nineteen students in one of Knickerbocker's classes walked out of his room and demanded a transfer. As the news hit the front pages of metropolitan newspapers, the demand was denied. The next day, only three out of thirty could be found to walk out of Davis's classroom. Yet in two weeks, student sentiment clarified to the extent where the vote asking for the dismissal of Davis was about three to one (3,381 to 1,195), while that for Knickerbocker's ouster was eight to one.

The Board of Higher Education, on September 27, 1948, ignored the Hart Report and reaffirmed its whitewash of Knickerbocker, 15 to 4. Two days later came the *second*

great sitdown in City College history. The progressive student forces on the campus, which became the dynamo of this phase of the action, knew the tradition of the first one, staged in the spring of 1936. Then, under the presidency of the notorious Frederick B. Robinson, the College had tried to dismiss some fifteen instructors, beginning with this writer. A whirlwind campaign of student protest began when several hundred of them, inspired by the sit-down strikes in the auto industry, sat down outside the President's office in Lincoln Corridor. They were "sitting *shiva* for academic freedom," they said. All of us, several weeks later, were reappointed and held our posts until Coudert descended on the institution. But the student body of the 1930's at the College was generally much more progressive and aware of the basic issues than the one that swung into action so splendidly in September 1948. In the 1930's it was not too difficult to pack 2,500 students into the Great Hall in rallies for a democratic Spain, for a free China, for collective security against nazism or for academic freedom. Within twenty-four hours after Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935, a great protest rally was held in the Lewisohn Stadium. When the Munichers sold out Czechoslovakia in 1938, the Great Hall bulged with outraged students and teachers.

But in the past few years, although the issues of war and peace, of American imperialist foreign policy, and of the assault on civil liberties have been just as pressing, the student body has been so divided and confused that there has been no issue on which 2,500 students would voluntarily fill the Great Hall—until the Knickerbocker case reached its peak this fall! No matter what the mass of students may be unclear about, however, they are crystal clear on one issue: they are militantly opposed to anti-Semitism. Furthermore, the students are on the offensive. This time they are not defending the rights of progressive students and teachers on the campus; they are denying the right of anti-Semites to teach.

Moreover, the mass struggle that began with the Knickerbocker case was a key to clarifying the need for similar action on the Davis case. Of the 4,440 who voted to oust Knickerbocker, 3,181 voted to oust Davis, and over 600 who voted on the first issue abstained on the second. Without the Knickerbocker case, the Davis issue would not have been seen so plainly by so many. Now the majority of the students at the College are Jewish. The 1,250 students who are for the ousting of Knickerbocker but not of Davis are probably influenced by Jewish bourgeois-nationalist separatist ideas that keep them from appreciating the necessity of joining the issues. In this connection, Hillel, which did such valiant work in stubbornly pursuing the Knickerbocker matter, has hindered rather than helped the process of fusing the two struggles against anti-Semitism and Jimcrow into one indissoluble issue of equal rights for all peoples.

The blazing up of this campaign has another significance. Is there another campus in the country in which progressive forces are on the offensive on this issue? On

the contrary, in Ohio and Georgia and New England and Washington and elsewhere reaction is on the warpath against Wallace supporters, several of whom have been fired during this election year.

The City College President, Harry N. Wright, who won his present office by his zeal for Coudertism, has been trying to check the student movement by insisting that the issue of Davis and Knickerbocker be kept "out of politics." Even if the administration is compelled to yield, it would like to prevent the students from drawing the full implications of their battle and victory. But anti-Semitism is

political, as political as Hitler, Maidanek and the renazification of Germany. And Jimcrow is politics, as political as Rankin, the Dixiecrats, and lynchings. The progressive student groups have been drawing the political connections between the Knickerbocker-Davis case and our government's reactionary policy at home and abroad. Proper clarification of these interrelationships can develop a student body that will again unite to pack the Great Hall in protest against the war drive of Wall Street, the deportation and imprisonment of communists, and the intimidation and terrorization of their faculty.

REVOLT AT MODIN

TO anyone who is moved by the recent Jewish tragedy and heroism, the ancient struggle of the Maccabees in the mid-second century B.C.E. against Antiochus Epiphanes is at once a challenge and a parallel that cries aloud for emulation.

This is the theme which Howard Fast has chosen for his latest work, *My Glorious Brothers* (Little, Brown and Co., \$3.00). And for those to whom identity with their people and its struggles is worthy and noble, *My Glorious Brothers* will be welcome because of its forthright rejection of the nihilism and cosmopolitanism still prevalent among many progressive writers, and because of its reaffirmation of the continuity of Jewish history prior to the experience of today or even yesterday.

Fast tells the story with the intensity of one who is himself involved in the struggle for freedom. Without doubt, Howard Fast, as writer and citizen devoted to progressive causes, was hurling another challenge at contemporary tyrants by his recreation of this heroic tradition.

The story of the insurrection that began in the village of Modin, home town of the Maccabees, is told by Fast through the lips of two contemporaries. The first and major narrator is Simon, an old man and the sole surviving son of Mattathias. He tries to recapture the memories of bygone days when he and his brothers were young and leaders in battle. The other is the Roman legate, who has come to Judea to negotiate a peace treaty with Simon and records his impressions of the Jewish people in the report of his mission to the Roman Senate. Simon's story is told with Biblical simplicity and with the subjectivity and naivete of a man removed from knowledge of the world beyond Modin. The Roman legate speaks with the obvious sophistication of a man of the world and the assumed, sneering objectivity of a member of the *Herrenvolk*.

Simon tells the story of his childhood, when quiet reigned in Modin and men tilled the soil and reaped the harvest in peace. But childhood came to an early end for Simon and his brothers. For it was inevitable that Antiochus,

King of Syria, would not leave this tiny part of his empire in peace. Wardens of the empire roamed through the land, wreaking vengeance on any who refused to submit and leaving a trail of death and ruin in their wake.

Mattathias gave the signal for revolt when he struck down the Jew who was about to kneel at the altar erected by the warden Appelles. But Mattathias was old and his son Judas, later named the Maccabee (the Hammerer or Destroyer), soon took command. Men and women forsook their villages and came to the fastness of the wilderness of Ephraim to join the Maccabee and his brothers. "We who had left home were home, and it was the beginning." With these words Simon concludes his description of the march to the place which was to be home until the invader had been driven out.

The story of the ensuing battles is told with deep pride and intensity and prompts comparison with battles for freedom in our own time. These Jewish peasants, who fight in the hills and woods, who harrow the enemy by day and by night in the manner of guerrillas, are no mercenaries, professional soldiers. They are molded into a citizen's army by their suffering, by hatred of the invader and by their deep hunger for freedom. They are inferior in arms and in numbers but they win victories because they confront the enemy with unorthodox warfare against which the mercenary armies have no defense.

From far away Damascus comes Moses ben Daniel, bringing food and supplies from the thriving Jewish community established there after the first dispersion. Moses tells how "a word like freedom travels on the high wind" and of the inspiration and courage it has given to Jews in distant lands.

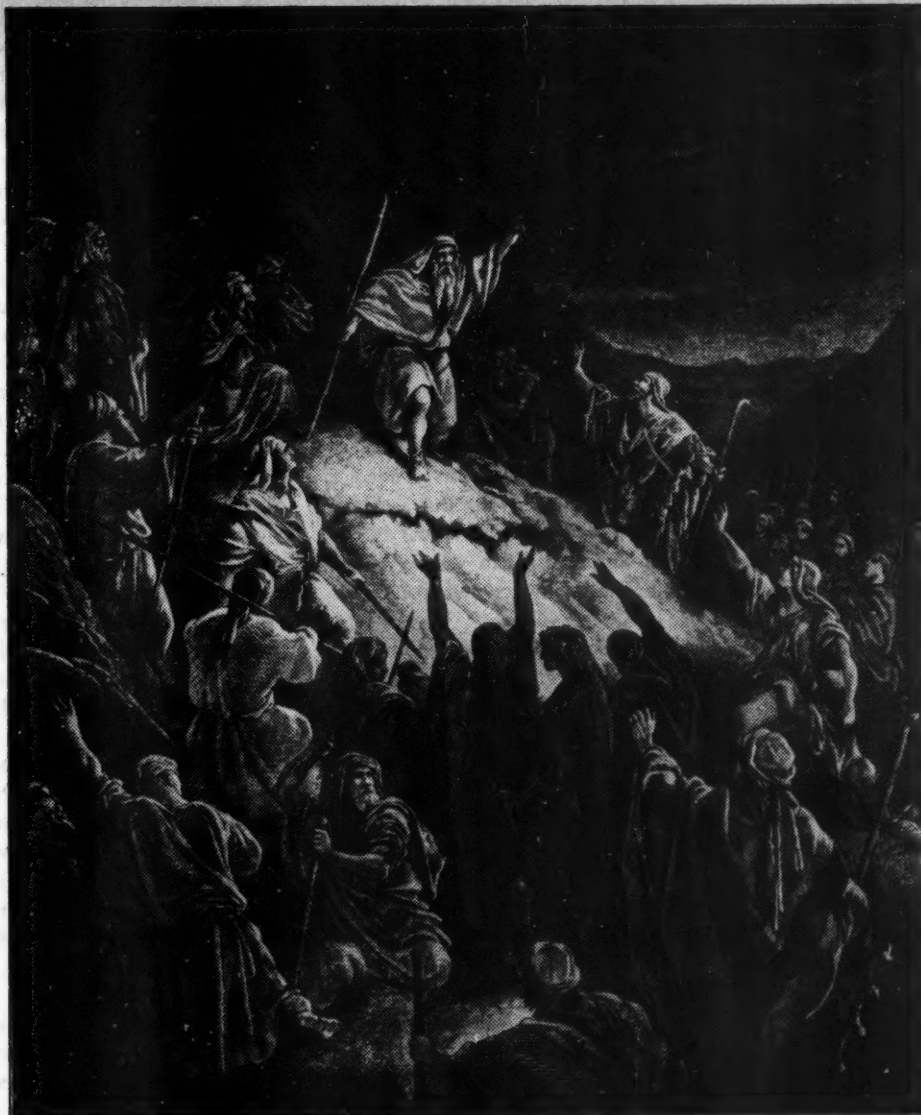
Many long and weary battles had to be fought and won before Judas and his army could march into Jerusalem. It was a long, arduous task to hold together the weak-hearted and those who questioned the wisdom of fighting an enemy so superior in numbers and wealth. Even Judas' iron determination gave way at one moment before the wiles of

A Review

By Moses Miller

MATTATHIAS CALLS
JEWISH MOUNTAIN
REFUGEES TO ARMS

By Gustave Doré



those who wanted peace at any price. At the end, Judas was left with only 800 faithful warriors and of these only a handful remained to witness the liberation of Judea.

This is the story which Howard Fast tells and which Jewish fathers and mothers have been telling their children in one form or another for more than 21 centuries. This is the story of Hanukah, or the Feast of Lights, which Jews celebrate each year.

By using Simon as the narrator, Fast has been constrained to tell the story as Simon saw it, and thus has introduced a nationalistic strain into the theme. And for Simon, Judea was the center of the universe and the struggle of the Maccabees was unique. Simon believes that the reason for anti-Semitism is that the *noḥri* (foreigner) hates the Jew because the Jew is "different." Simon repeats again and again that the Jew alone among all peoples, worships but one god and an invisible one at that. Only the Jewish people abhor

slavery, only the Jewish people fight without mercenaries. Therefore the Jews despise the *noḥri* and all his ways.

It is true that Howard Fast seeks to counterpose to these views the ideas of the Roman legate, who asks Simon questions that confuse the latter. One's sympathy, however, justly remain with Simon rather than the Roman legate, who represents the conqueror and oppressor. Few will therefore be inclined to accept the valid points in the legate's explanation of the events of the time.

Because Simon interprets the struggle in religious terms and those of a chosen people, he tells us little of internal struggles in Judea. Yet it is hard to grasp the tremendous obstacles confronting the Maccabees without an understanding of this internal struggle. Historically, the Maccabees had in fact to contend with an alliance between Antiochus, ruler of Syria, and the Jewish Hellenist Party composed of the High Priests' coterie of aristocrats and wealthy

farmers and tax-collectors. These men were quislings who not only collaborated with the enemy, but actually urged upon Antiochus the necessity of invading the country. Nor were they the only internal Jewish enemies of the resistance movement. There were also the Pietists (Hasidim), of whom Simon tells, who were drawn into the struggle for a time, but who emerged as appeasers at a critical stage by their readiness to surrender to Antiochus in return for a promise of religious freedom.

Dialectics of the Struggle

Thus tiny Judea, like all states, ancient and modern, had its class struggle and groups with conflicting interests. Of course Simon could not see his times in this light. Struggles of the ancient world, and for that matter of feudal society as well, were clothed in religious forms, because all ideologies in those eras were dominated by religion. But as Marx pointed out: "Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness."

To Simon the Maccabean struggle for freedom was unique in the ancient world. It was glorious and inspiring. But in the larger historical view it was only one moment in a whole series of struggles, spread over the period, especially after the economic basis of slavery began to rot and the ruling class tried to save itself with more oppressive and savage measures. Similar struggles were those of the Spartans, led by King Leonidas, three centuries before the rise of the Maccabees; those which took place in Parthia, in Armenia and on the Phoenician coast contemporaneously with the Maccabean struggle itself. Incidentally, the latter conflicts helped divert much of Antiochus' offensive power from Judea. Similarly, hardly a century later the Roman slave Spartacus led the revolt against the decadent masters of the Roman empire.

Thus, the inspiring struggle of the Maccabees takes on enhanced significance when viewed within the dialectical framework of the historical development of the period. The ideals of Simon and his brothers can be judged in their true grandeur only as they reflect the momentous economic changes taking place in their society. And it should be noted that only a few decades later, when Judea waxed strong and the Syrian empire was distracted by its own inner struggles, Judea under the rule of Hyrcanus, son of Simon, itself became aggressive, gathered large armies of mercenaries, and conquered lands and peoples far beyond its original borders.

According to Simon, it was the dictum, "Remember that you were slaves unto Pharaoh in Egypt," that inspired the ancient Jewish attitude towards slavery. It is true that slavery was not widespread in Judea as in other parts of the ancient world at that time. But slavery was not prohibited in Judea. According to the Mosaic law—and this is corroborated by the Talmud as well as by all authoritative histories of the period—there were two categories of slaves among the Jews. Both in *Exodus* and *Leviticus* a distinc-

tion is made between Jewish and non-Jewish slaves. According to law, Jewish slaves were to be freed at the beginning of the seventh year, or in the "Jubilee" year. All non-Jewish slaves, however, were possessed in perpetuity and were inherited by the children as was the case with all other ancient peoples. We know that the law that Jewish slaves should be freed at the end of a given period was more often than not disregarded. One of the many instances of this is the accusation of Jeremiah in 587 B.C.E. against those who freed their slaves to get their help in the struggle against the Babylonians, but enslaved them again immediately after the crisis had passed (*Jeremiah*, 34).

It is true that the Mosaic law on slavery was in advance of the period and that slavery was far less prevalent among the Jews than among other peoples. There are, of course, economic reasons for this. George Foot Moore, the conservative scholar who wrote the authoritative work on Judaism, said as follows: "The number of slaves owned by Jews in Palestine varied widely at different times within our period, with the prosperity of the country and other circumstances. It is to be borne in mind that under the economic conditions slavery was chiefly domestic. There were no industries in which slave labor could be profitably employed in mass, nor was the nature of the land and its products adapted to agriculture on a great scale."

Moore has, of course, given only part of the answer. The fact is that slavery was an expensive proposition, and could in the long run be practiced only by those who could engage in constant warfare through which wealth and slaves could be accumulated. And Judea, because of its economic and historical position, could not do this.

One may disagree with the explanation of events as given by Simon at a number of points. But there is no doubt that the heroes themselves, Judas and Simon and all the brothers, come alive and are powerfully meaningful to those who seek inspiration for the struggles of our own day. Their stature is impressive and the events themselves as portrayed are real and exciting.

Howard Fast may not have given us a judicious evaluation of history, which is at best exceedingly difficult and especially so in a novel. But he has certainly given us a story in which the conviction and the glory of those ancient men who fought for freedom, provide a moving example for those fighting for freedom today.

My Glorious Brothers is a labor of love. Howard Fast, with all the love for the common people which permeates every one of his works, has given a true picture of the transformation of a meek, obedient and enslaved people into heroic men struggling for liberation. With the book, Howard Fast has given us "a challenge hurled at us to change something in ourselves and in the world." And for this lesson, we are all grateful to Howard Fast.

Thousands of our people in whom national pride has been awakened by the heroic struggle of Jewish men, women and children in the wartime ghettos and underground movements of Europe, in the building and defense of Israel, will value this book not only as a story, but as a weapon in the struggle of our people.

"LUFTMENSCH" TO PRODUCER

By L. Singer
Translated by Joseph King

EVEN during the civil war, the Soviet state made significant strides in solving the national question. Among the most important were the creation of a number of Soviet socialist republics, autonomous republics and regions and the uniting of all peoples in the struggle against the enemies of the Soviet state. This unity had a decisive influence on the victory over the interventionists and White Guards. But this was only a beginning. There still remained the gigantic task of liquidating actual inequalities between the peoples inherited from the tsarist system.

A detailed program of measures concretely to realize real equality among the peoples of the different groups of nations and nationalities, was formulated by Stalin at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, March 10, 1921.

Among the theses which the Congress adopted as a resolution, is the following: "In addition to the nations and peoples already mentioned, possessing a definite class structure and occupying definite territory, there exist within the R.S.F.S.R. various casual national groups and national minorities, interspersed among compact majorities of other nations, who in most cases neither possess a definite class structure nor occupy a definite territory (Letts, Esthonians,¹ Poles, Jews, and others). The policy of tsarism was to exterminate these minorities by every possible means, including massacre (Jewish pogroms).

"Now that national privileges have been abolished and the equality of nationalities established, and the right of national minorities to free national development is guaranteed by the very nature of the Soviet system, the duty of the Party towards the toiling masses of these national groups is to help them to make the fullest possible use of the right to free development which they have secured."²

During the reconstruction period in the first few years after the civil war, the Soviet government took steps to create a Jewish peasantry—to settle compact masses of Jewish poor and trading elements on solid areas in the Ukraine, Crimea and White Russia. Thus, for instance, the Central Executive Committee of White Russia adopted a decision in 1924 to allocate land reserves to the Jews and worked out methods for financing the project. The praesidium of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee also decided to

¹ Latvia and Esthonia were not at that time part of the Soviet Union. Stalin here refers to Letts and Esthonians resident in Soviet territory.—J.K.

² "Theses on the Immediate Tasks of the Party in Connection with the National Problem," Joseph Stalin in *Marxism and the National Question*, International Publishers, N. Y., 1934 edition, p. 96; 1942 edition, p. 95.

L. SINGER is a Soviet writer. This article is the second of a four-part series on the history of the Jews in the Soviet Union. It is translated from a recent Soviet pamphlet.

parcel out land to Jewish settlers in those areas where old Jewish colonies already existed.

Moving into Farming and Industry

Concrete measures for settling Jewish masses on the land were proposed by the decisions of the Central Executive Committee, the Council of People's Commissars of White Russia and the Ukrainian land agencies. They were adopted at the beginning of 1925. Special inducements to stimulate the agricultural settlement of toiling Jews were offered. The cost of transportation of the settlers and their families, possessions and household goods was reduced. They received exemption from agricultural taxes after settlement on the land, etc.

In 1925 alone more than 6000 Jewish families were drawn into agriculture, given material and agronomic help and received 95,539 *dessiatines*³ of land.

The praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a special decision in 1926, proposed to the central executive committees of the various republics that they "offer all possible help for land settlement to working Jews, as to other populations of other nationalities, granting them the necessary land at the proper time, and as far as possible in contiguous areas."⁴

The Soviet state also adopted special measures to draw Jewish workers into industry. In their decision of May 19, 1926, the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R. authorized the appropriate commissariats "To work out measures to draw impoverished Jewish youth into industrial establishments, giving special attention to the youth in the urban communities with overbalanced Jewish populations, so as not to neglect satisfaction of the needs of Jewish youth for vocational education."⁵

Jewish Population Shifts

Statistics of the number of Jews on the territory of the U.S.S.R. (within the 1926 borders) showed that between 1897-1923, the Jewish population had declined by more than three per cent, and between 1923-1926 had increased by seven per cent. This difference in the dynamics of the Jewish population reveals that in tsarist times a significant section of the Jewish population, driven by economic need and national oppression, tried to escape by emigrating abroad (the number of Jews emigrating from tsarist Russia

³ A *dessiatine* is equal to 2.7 acres.—J.K.

⁴ Quoted from the document section of the anthology, *The Jewish Peasant* (in Russian) number 2, 1926, p. 292. Retranslated from the Yiddish.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

from 1897 until the revolution, according to some calculations, was about 600,000). The figures showed that in the period of civil war and imperialist intervention between 90,000 to 100,000 Jews were slaughtered in pogroms by White Guard bandits. But after the civil war and liquidation of counter-revolutionary armies and gangs, when the country returned to peaceful work and construction, the number of Jews, as of other peoples in the country, began to increase noticeably.

A second change in the Jewish national structure in the U.S.S.R. took place as a result of territorial settlement. Between 1923-1926, the Jewish population on the territory of the U.S.S.R. as a whole increased, as noted, by seven per cent. But in the territory of the Ukrainian S.S.R. it increased by only 6.1 per cent and on the territory of the White Russian S.S.R. it fell by 3.8 per cent. The considerable increase took place in the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and in other federated republics.

This was a direct result of abolishing the Pale and of the favorable perspectives that opened for the Jewish population on the territory of the entire country. Significantly, the Jewish population increased in the industrial centers of the country. Thus, for instance, the number of Jews in the city of Stalino grew in 1923-1926 by 48.1 per cent, in Dnieperpetrovsk by 23.5 per cent, in Kharkov by 36.2 per cent, in Lugansk by 40 per cent, in Krivo Rog by 46 per cent, etc.

The all-union census of 1926 made it possible for the first time since the revolution accurately to determine the social structure of the Jewish population in the U.S.S.R., as well as the occupational distribution of the different social groups of the population.

The number of Jewish workers at that time reached 153,000, compared to 137,000 on the corresponding territory of the U.S.S.R. at the end of the previous century. Superficially, this would seem to be a relatively insignificant increase. When, however, the number of Jewish workers is analyzed according to vocational groups, the result is quite different. The number of Jewish factory and mill workers in 1898 totalled about 20,000. In 1926 they already amounted to 69,000. This is a 250 per cent increase in the number of Jewish factory and mill workers. In contrast, during the same period the number of Jews working in artisan and handicraft workshops dropped from 93,000 to 33,000, a decrease of almost 65 per cent. Thus, by the end of 1926 the number of Jewish workers increased and visible progress was made in the creation of a basic industrial Jewish working class.

Occupational Redistribution

Other important changes in the occupational distribution of Jewish workers also occurred after the revolution. Before the revolution Jewish workers were concentrated mainly in the tailoring and shoemaking trades. In 1926 they worked in the most diverse trades, including mining and railroading, etc., in which no Jews or hardly any Jews had ever been allowed to work before. Characteristic is the fact that in 1926 the highest number of workers was in the

metal trades. In second and third place were the leather workers and needle trades workers. This is explained by the fact that Jews who entered industry came primarily from among artisans and handicraftsmen, where the above mentioned trades prevailed.

Employees of Soviet establishments and institutions, according to the census of 1926, made up one quarter of the working Jewish population of that time. Open opportunity for education and free access to government institutions and establishments very favorably influenced the growth of this social stratum. The total number of employees of Jewish nationality at the end of the reconstruction period amounted to 240,000. Of this number, 45 per cent were employed in institutions, 30 per cent in state and cooperative trade as well as credit institutions, 13 per cent in factory and mill enterprises, etc.

Great achievements could be noted at the end of 1926 in the creation of a Jewish peasantry. Jews in 1897 who lived on agriculture within the territory of the 1926 borders of the U.S.S.R. amounted to 35,000; but at the end of 1926 they numbered 160,000, an increase of four and a half times. The percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture rose from 2.2 per cent to 9.7 per cent. The growth of the Jewish agrarian population was most rapid between 1924-26. Taking the total Jewish agrarian population for 1913 as 100, in 1923 it was 144, in 1924-178, in 1925-228 and in 1926-268.

The census of 1926 also bore witness to a reduction by half of the number of merchants among the Jewish population in comparison with the pre-revolutionary period, although the absolute percentage of merchants, 11.8 was still high. The drop in the number of merchants was especially marked in the large cities. In the largest cities of the Ukraine and White Russia in 1926 the percentage was half of that in the smaller cities and towns (7.5 per cent compared to 16 per cent), and in Moscow and Leningrad their number did not even reach five per cent of the entire Jewish population in these cities. It is necessary to note that the statistics of the age group of the Jewish merchants show that they belonged primarily to the older generation. The youth, who received broad opportunities under Soviet conditions to apply their abilities to all aspects of the people's economy, had no interest at all in commerce.

At the end of 1926 there were still about 20,000 Jewish families in the U.S.S.R. who lived on unearned incomes. The facts show that the larger the city, the smaller the percentage of the declassed among the Jewish population. In later years of socialist construction, all these groups, private merchants, unemployed and persons in indefinite occupations, together with the declassed poor, disappeared entirely. Thus there was a strong development among the Jewish population of social groups composed of workers in the big socialist industries, of intellectuals, of cooperative artisans and of collective farmers.

Planning for Jewish Youth

The years up to the outbreak of World War II were years of powerful growth for our country. These were years of

industrialization and collectivization, of three Stalin five-year plans which meant a "leap forward, through which our country was transformed from a backward to an advanced country" (Joseph Stalin). These were the years when socialism was finally triumphant in the U.S.S.R., and firmly established in all phases of social life. In this period the socio-economic rejuvenation of the Jewish population in the U.S.S.R. underwent development and complete adjustment.

Socialist industrialization and the great demand for labor power and cadres created favorable conditions for the growth and development of the Jewish working masses in heavy industry. Young and old streamed into the new construction and into mills and factories, boldly mastering new and, to them, unfamiliar trades. The growth of the Jewish working class was facilitated through a series of special government measures aimed at hastening the drawing of Jewish workers into the ranks of the workers in socialist heavy industry.

Thus, in 1929-1930, government agencies set aside funds for the training and retraining of Jewish youth for industry. The non-trained labor force of the Jewish poor was drawn into construction, into forestry, coal mining and industrial establishments. In regions with compact Jewish populations a special agency was set up for the registration of Jewish youth in the then existing labor exchanges. This made it possible to supply them with work more rapidly.

In implementing the measures which the Party and the government had undertaken to draw Jewish youth into industry, the Leninist Komsomol (Young Communist League) played a significant role. In a decision of June 20, 1930, the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Komsomol had pointed to the need to liquidate unemployment among Jewish youth as rapidly as possible, to train and retrain them, to establish a significant section of Jewish youth in the industrial regions. The same decision also provided that the Komsomol organizations must participate in carrying out the program to settle Jews in agricultural work.

During 1928-29, the state assigned large funds to organize courses for Jewish youth to prepare them for industrial work. Such courses were organized in the Ukrainian and White Russian S.S.R. The graduates were sent in a planned manner to the various factories and mills of the country—to the Kerch metal mill, to metal processing establishments of the Urals, to industrial plants of the Gor'ki region and north Caucasia, etc. In 1929-30, a total of about 16,000 Jewish workers, or about a third of the entire increment to the Jewish working class during these two years, were sent into industrial establishments and construction.

Fitting into Five-Year Plans

Later the further growth of the number of Jewish workers continued without special measures on the basis of the general industrial growth of the country. They naturally participated in the successful fulfillment of the Stalin five-year plans and fitted into the increasing demand for labor power in all branches of this economy.

Handicraft industry among the Jewish population was aided in a series of important decisions. Thus a decision of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Ukrainian S.S.R. at the beginning of 1929 stated that it was necessary to create a special fund for the development of credit and production cooperatives among the Jewish artisans. Measures were taken to supply the artisans with raw material and to strengthen their loan and savings institutions. The Peoples Commissariat of Labor was made responsible for creating a number of workers' collectives and socialized factories for the Jewish poor. The People's Commissariat for Social Insurance was made responsible for the stability of mutual aid bodies in localities with concentrated Jewish masses.

The organs of the Soviet state undertook a series of measures in 1928-1930 to improve the situation of the small cities. Conditions were created in the small cities to facilitate drawing a significant section of the Jewish population into productive work. The first attempt was made in White Russia. At the beginning of 1928, nine economically backward cities were selected for the economic stabilization of local population. Various parcels of land around the cities were distributed, and where there was a shortage of cultivated land, it was overcome by reclamation work. Collectivization of the handicraftsmen, development of local industry, construction of electric stations, mills, various repair works, etc., were effectively carried on.

During the three years of 1928-1930, 16 cities were thus rehabilitated in White Russia. About 2500 families were involved in production cooperatives and local industry, more than 2000 families in suburban agriculture.

In the Ukrainian S.S.R., too, government decisions called for implementation of a series of measures to create production cooperatives, to retrain a large number of artisans and to develop production based on local raw materials. A maximum of urban youth were brought into industry, transport, local sugar and alcohol works. An organized program was launched to get urban youth into agriculture.

Similar measures were carried out in the small cities of the former western region of the R.S.F.S.R.

The measures of the Soviet state to improve the Jewish population economically, to create a heavy industry labor force and a peasantry, to develop a Jewish Soviet culture had their climax in the establishment of a Jewish national administrative territorial unit—the region of Birobidjan, later transformed into a Jewish autonomous region.

In setting aside the Birobidjan region in the Far East for Jewish agricultural and industrial migration, the praesidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., in its decision of March 28, 1928, declared that "favorable results in the mass settlement . . . of this region with working Jews will make possible the creation on the territory of the indicated region of a Jewish national administrative territorial unity."

On May 7, 1934, the Birobidjan region was reorganized into a Jewish Autonomous Region. This fact was a brilliant triumph of the Lenin-Stalin policy on the Jewish question.

(Continued in next issue)

REVIEWS

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY

By Morris U. Schappes

NOT since 1943 has the American Jewish Historical Society favored us with one of its volumes, and the latest one¹ is therefore a long-awaited and welcome addition to our store of facts about American Jewish life. Consisting of papers presented at the meetings of the Society between 1940 and 1944, the book provides much new material bearing on the economic, social, military, religious and other cultural activities of American Jews in the past two centuries. Most of these facts may be merely odd and meaningless to the general reader, but to the student in the field they are helpful, for no one can tell when a seemingly trivial detail may illuminate something of importance.

Nevertheless, one wishes that the 19 writers who contributed the 32 papers and notes in this volume had heeded the appeal made in 1909 by Cyrus Adler, then the president of the society. Solomon Grayzel reminds us of Adler's exhortation in his biographical sketch of the late president: "Thus far, he then said, the Society had aimed for a sense of integration; it had established the 'whats' of American Jewish history. The time had come to turn to the 'whys.' For this purpose he wanted to broaden the aims of the Society, to encourage students of history to turn to studies in statistics and economics pertaining to American Jewish life; not only to gather the materials, but also to probe their meaning." Forty years later, this volume shows that the facts have multiplied many times, but interpretation is seldom attempted.

The papers in this collection are of various styles, length, depth, and purpose. A few are readily comprehensible and of immediate general interest. Among these I would include Leonard A. Greenberg's "Some American Anti-Semitic Publications of the Late 19th Century," in which he briefly describes three anti-Semitic works published in 1879, 1888, and 1899, and one parody of such writings which appeared in the 1880's; Lee M. Friedman's "A Messenger to George Washington," which is a historical anecdote that tells how Moses Franks and two other men carried \$250,000 from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia to George Washington in Cambridge in the

spring of 1776 so that Washington could pay our troops; and Harold Korn's "Dr. Nathan Mayer of Hartford, Connecticut: Surgeon, Soldier, Poet, Dramatic and Musical Critic," which introduces a Bavarian Jewish immigrant who served three years in the Union Army and rose to the rank of brigadier general, attained prominence as a physician in civilian life, and was a cultural influence in the general community as the dramatic and music critic of the *Hartford Times* for 40 years.

A number of the papers are designed to be of guidance to research workers. Very valuable as a stimulus is Moshe Davis's "Sabato Morais: A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of His Writings," which should in time elicit studies of an interesting figure who was both "the unflagging champion of traditional Judaism" and an active liberal in his social philosophy, first as an anti-slavery figure and then in causes that included defense of the Chinese-Americans and others that suffered from the contradictions of democracy. Crying for thorough investigation by competent economic historians are the materials pointed to by Morris A. Gutstein's "A Newport Ledger, 1760-1770" and "Descriptive Index of Aaron Lopez Material at the Newport Historical Society." Useful also, although random and incomplete, is the bibliographical list by Leo Shpall, "Some Judaica in State and Other Regional Historical Publications."

Of considerable interest are the numerous hitherto unpublished documents and letters. In one such letter Thomas Jefferson, on March 18, 1789, wrote as follows in discussing the need for adding a Bill of Rights to the Constitution: "There are rights which it is useless to surrender to the government, and which yet, government have always been fond to invade. These are the rights of thinking, and publishing our thoughts by speaking or writing: the right of free commerce: the right of personal freedom."

In "John Adams Writes a Letter," Isidore S. Meyer presents and explains in an elaborate introduction a letter from John Adams, former president of the United States, to Judge F. A. Van der Kemp, written December 31, 1808. Commenting on Voltaire's *Ribaldry against the Bible*, Adams inquires: "How is it possible this old Fellow should represent the Hebrews in such a contemptible Light? They are the most glorious Nation that ever inhabited this Earth. The Romans and their

Empire were but a Bauble in comparison of the Jews. They have given Religion to three quarters of the Globe and have influenced the affairs of Mankind more, and more happily than any other Nation ancient or modern." Among the documents is one edited by Menasseh Vaxer, a statement of Haym Solomon, in 1812, that he had freed his "female slave named Anna, now aged ten years & two months or thereabouts." Max I. Baym reprints the full text of Emma Lazarus' essay, "M. Renan and the Jews," which has been unavailable since 1884, and publishes for the first time three letters by Emma Lazarus to Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen, president of the Philadelphia YMHA, which awarded her a prize for the essay.

Benjamin Rabinowitz contributes a monograph of over a hundred pages in his detailed chronicle, "The Young Men's Hebrew Associations (1854-1913)." From their beginnings as unstable literary clubs of young men and women, Rabinowitz traces painstakingly their multiplication, stabilization and federation as YMHA's for young Jewish people, from which organizations he sees the evolution of our contemporary Jewish Center movement. This bare-boned chronicle sorely lacks the flesh of analysis. Mr. Rabinowitz hints at an evaluation when he describes the YMHA's as "Americanizing agencies on behalf of the immigrant groups," agencies that undertook "the task of adjusting the newcomers to American life." That adjustment might be a two-way process involving "American life" as well as the immigrants, is an idea that eluded Mr. Rabinowitz, although investigation might show that the YMHA's were not seldom regarded as brakes on the efforts of immigrant youth to change some of the intolerable conditions they found here. The role of the Y's with regard to the ideologies of assimilationism that were current was also ignored by Mr. Rabinowitz, despite the fact that he makes the unsupported judgment in his last paragraph that the Y's were "dedicated to the preservation of Jewish consciousness as a constructive force in American society." The content of that Jewish consciousness Mr. Rabinowitz left undefined.

The only essay that seeks to interpret a body of data is Jeremiah J. Berman's "The Trend in Jewish Religious Observance in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America." Concentrating on "the three basic practices—kosher diet, circumcision and Sabbath," Rabbi Berman culls various references from English language Jewish periodicals from about 1860 to 1880, and concludes that there was a "sharp decline in religious observance" until the new immigration tide from Eastern Europe set in. However, the information is fragmentary and scattered, and the author exaggerates the de-

¹ Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 3, published by the Society, New York, 1947, 513 pp., \$7.50.

gree of observance in the first half of the century, which Rabbi Hyman B. Grinstein in a recent book found to be rather low. Nevertheless, although Rabbi Berman's conclusions do not flow from his assembled material, they are interesting: "The first cause of the decline was the weak religious background of some of the settlers. . . . The second was the sparseness of Jews . . . third . . . was the grievous lack of adequate religious leadership . . . (furthermore) agnostic and reformist ideas were in the air . . . (finally) we should not overlook the effect of the attractiveness of the non-Jewish environment."

The editing of this volume by Rabbi I. S. Meyer with the able assistance of Miss

Esther Zuckerman, is superior to that of many of the preceding numbers. Nevertheless it is inconsistent in style and carefulness of documentation. The index, although lengthy, is still inadequate, especially for the research worker, who needs a complete name index as well as a subject index (for instance, "anti-Semitism" is not indexed, although there are valuable references to it in the text). The use of the capital "N" in the word "Negro" is also advisable. It was in 1883 that a convention of Negro journalists in St. Louis resolved to insist on the capital "N" as part of the struggle for equality, and certainly these Publications should honor that resolution, as do most editors outside the south.

LIGHT ON THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY

By Gerhart Eisler

AN outstanding British journalist, Gordon Schaffer, assistant editor of the British weekly *Reynolds News*, visited the Soviet zone of Germany last year and studied conditions there to find out the policy pursued by the Russians. He was not hampered in this task, was able to travel freely and talk with anybody he wished. His book,¹ published in 1947 in England, gives the results of his investigation.

Unfortunately no publisher in the United States could be found to publish this book. It is more "patriotic" to shout about the "Iron Curtain" and to slander the Russians than to publish a factual account of the Russian policy in Eastern Germany, as this book does. Nearly a year had to pass before the American public got the opportunity to read this book and to satisfy the need to learn what is what in the eastern zone of Germany. It is to the credit of the SRT (*Soviet Russia Today*) Book Club that *Russian Zone of Germany* is available in this country.

Although this book was written last year, it is by no means dated. As a matter of fact, it is more useful than ever, especially since the warmongers of the Western powers and their German and pro-German agents are shedding crocodile tears over Soviet "mistreatment" of the Germans. On the other hand, this book is also a very important source of information for all Americans who would like to see a fundamental change in Germany and in the Germans, but do not believe that such a change is possible.

The author describes thus the basic changes which took place in Eastern Ger-

many since the end of the war: "Above all the Russians came with a positive rather than a negative approach to de-nazification. They were determined to get the nazis out, but they preferred to give the Germans an opportunity to do it themselves and they gave every encouragement to plans to train new teachers, new judges, new administrators to take their place. One of the lesser known differences between Eastern and Western democracy is that the Russians see nothing out of the way in turning a plumber into a judge.

"Moreover, the positive approach to de-nazification meant that the Russians backed the anti-fascist parties in attacking not only the nazis but the economic causes of fascism. That is why from the beginning their main broadsides were reserved for the monopolists and the great landowners, whom they regarded as the principal supporters of the nazi regime." (My emphasis—G.E.)

In guiding such a policy the Russians never fell into the anti-Marxist error of regarding all Germans as nazis or hopeless reactionaries.

Schaffer gives a very concrete picture of the fundamental changes in the whole economic, social, cultural and political life of 17 million Germans under the leadership of the German Marxists, organized in the Socialist Unity Party and guided and helped by the Russian occupation authorities; expropriation of the Junkers and the destruction of the Junkers as a class; expropriation of all the big industrialists and financiers as war criminals and war profiteers; new teachers, new judges, a new democratic, anti-fascist administration, a new police; tremendous cultural activities among all strata of the population, especially among the youth. And Schaffer comes to the following correct conclusion:

"When Germany tried to establish de-

mocracy after 1918, the Weimar Republic, behind the form of democracy, left the real sources of power in the hands of the financiers, the trusts and the landowners. Like other governments with progressive programs, it found that the actual machinery of administration remained under the control of people hostile to its professed aims and ready to sabotage its policy.

"The Eastern Zone of Germany has not repeated this mistake. The fact that the great majority of those responsible for reactionary policy in the past eagerly backed the nazi party gave the opportunity for a clean sweep." (My emphasis—G.E.)

The policy of the Soviet Union in regard to Germany is characterized by Schaffer as follows: "The Soviet Union, whatever her critics may say to the contrary, is not attempting to colonize her zone of Germany. On the contrary, she is trying to give to the German people an opportunity to regain their self respect and to rebuild the German nation on a new democratic basis."

I advise every one to read this book, because people should know what is going on in Germany at a time when the American warmongers are trying to re-nazify Germany and to make of Germany again a *landsknecht*, a world pogromist against the progressive peoples and ideas in the world.

You cannot afford to miss— **Masses & Mainstream**

November contents

ONE OF THE TWELVE: GUS HALL,

by Phillip Bonosky

HE'S A REAL GONE GUY

poem by Thomas McCrath

WHY WAS DU BOIS FIRED?

by Shirley Graham

THE FIGHT FOR THE LAND:

Four murals

by Jose Clemente Orozco

WRITERS' AFTER TWO WARS

by Isidor Schneider

LETTER FROM WARSAW

by Alexander Watt

A DRESS FOR VERA

story by Ruth Steinberg

THE MEANING OF BERLIN

by Gerhart Eisler

THE CHICKEN FARMERS

by Ben Field

BOOK REVIEWS:

My Glorious Brothers, by Howard Fast:

Morris U. Schappes

Intruder in the Dust, by Wm. Faulkner:

Barbara Giles

Great Midland, by Alexander Sexton:

Howard Fast

The War Lords of Washington, by Bruce

Catton: Rob F. Hall

Single copy 35¢ Subscription \$4.00

At your local bookshop or by mail to:

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

832 Broadway, New York 3

¹ *Russian Zone of Germany*, by Gordon Schaffer, SRT Publications, 114 East 32nd Street, New York 16, N. Y. \$2.50.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

ADEN POGROM INQUIRY

NEARLY ten months after the Aden pogrom last December, the British Colonial Office published, on September 23rd, the report of Sir Harry Trusted, a former chief justice of Palestine, who was appointed to enquire into the bloody events. It is strange that, although the report is dated April 7th, publication has been held up for nearly six months.

Even the facts which are allowed to emerge from this official inquiry, show how justified was the refusal of Jewish organizations like the Grand Order of the Sons of Jacob and the Workers Circle Friendly Society to be party to the conspiracy of silence of the leaders of British Jewry. The action of those Jewish bodies who *did* speak out, is now shown to have been a great service to the Jewish people. Those who kept quiet, are shown by the facts in the report to have acted against the interest of the Jewish people.

The pogrom, in which 76 Jews and 38 Arabs were killed and 76 Jews and 87 Arabs wounded and in which the economic life of Aden Jewry was shattered, is euphemistically described as "disturbances." The proceedings of the inquiry were not open to the public and three key witnesses were "not available to give evidence." They were the deputy commissioner of police, Colonel MacLean, the district commissioner, Mr. Goepal and F/Lt. Heaseman, who was in charge of a squadron of Aden Protectorate Levies. These witnesses submitted reports but, "not being available to give evidence," could not be questioned.

In view of statements made in the report, the Colonial Office should explain why these witnesses "were not available." Perhaps Mr. Norman Bentwich, who represented the Jewish community at the inquiry, can give us some information.

Mr. Banin, chairman of the Jewish Emergency Committee, said: "At about 9 A.M. the district commissioner and a British officer with a number of Aden Protectorate Levies toured the streets, but took no apparent steps to stop the mobs and thereby gave the mobs encouragement to increase their attacks" (p. 74).

Two Jewish witnesses stated that they were in danger from fire and called to Mr. Goepal but he did not assist them (p. 75).

Mr. Muchmore, who was acting as chief secretary at the time, and Air Vice Marshal Lydford, the air officer commanding, "agreed that before the disturbances there

was no particular reason to anticipate trouble" (§ 49). The next paragraph, however, cites the commissioner of police as follows: "I spoke to chief secretary after announcement that strike would be held and expressed my apprehension of disorder." (My italics—S.A.)

The pogrom started on Tuesday, December 2, 1947. On the evening of that day the deputy commissioner of police telephoned the commissioner of police that a serious position had developed and that an Arab mob was stoning the Jewish quarter (§ 59). The deputy commissioner, as already mentioned, "was not available to give evidence."

It was not until the morning of Thursday, December 4th, that barbed wire barricades were set up around the Jewish quarter. Colonel Jones, commander of the Aden Protectorate Levies, who had been appointed military commander on Tuesday evening, expressed the view: "that it would not have been useful to set them up earlier" (§ 101).

There is considerable criticism of the Levies during the morning of December 3rd. They were firing indiscriminately and were not taking active measures against looters (§ 79).

An Indian, Dr. Ferozuddin, who had gone into the Jewish quarter with an ambulance, was shot dead, as were many Jewish men, women and children, some as they were escaping from burning houses. Of these incidents Sir Harry Trusted says: "there was before me direct evidence that both the doctor and the Jews were shot and killed by Levies" (§ 197).

During the afternoon of the 4th, the assistant superintendent of police, Mr. Bruce, complained to Wing Commander Pocock, the military commander at Crater, about the conduct of the Levies (§ 108). At 4 P.M. Wing Commander Pocock telephoned Colonel Jones that he proposed to replace the Aden Protectorate Levies with armed police and naval ratings. Colonel Jones said "No" (§ 108). Wing Commander Pocock then asked if the ammunition could be withdrawn from the Levies, to which Colonel Jones said: "If he wanted to withdraw it he could do so." Colonel Jones then states: "I arrived at Crater at 4:30 P.M. I toured whole area and spoke to all the squadrons—two had had their ammunition taken away. I had it restored to them." (My italics—S.A.)

Colonel Jones then took over command

of the area from Wing Commander Pocock (§ 110). Colonel Jones had not only refused to withdraw the Levies at the request of the local commander but he restored ammunition to squadrons from whom the military commander had deemed it necessary to be withdrawn. A very serious step, in view of Sir Harry Trusted's finding that "I am satisfied that there was much uncontrolled or improperly controlled use of rifle and Bren gun fire resulting in a number of innocent persons being killed or wounded" (§ 211).

About the deaths of 31 Jewish men, women and children in Crater, Sir Harry Trusted says: "I do not think it can be suggested that these persons who were killed were doing anything unlawful, except possibly in some cases, breaking curfew" (§ 209).

The view was taken by Colonel Jones "that it was right and proper to shoot a curfew breaker merely because he was a curfew breaker. Those were my orders" (§ 203).

Many Jews were forced into the streets to escape from their burning houses and thus became "curfew breakers." What such an order meant to them is obvious, especially when the colonel goes on to say: "The Officer on the spot must decide what to do, e.g. (if) people run out of burning houses."

Commander Richardson, who commanded the naval landing parties, it appears, did not share Colonel Jones' view about shooting at a curfew breaker "merely because he was a curfew breaker." He stated that: "the sailors were able to deal with curfew breakers by occasional shots in the air, yelling and waving people into their houses" (§ 205).

Of the measures taken on the morning of December 3rd, Sir Harry Trusted says: "I cannot but feel that if a more determined effort had been made at this time the situation might have been held, and that the attempt which was made if it did not actually encourage the rioters seems to have done little to discourage them" (§ 189).

It is therefore strange why the report says nothing about disciplinary measures against those responsible for the failure to make "a more determined effort." Nine Levies were court-martialled for looting. Five were sentenced to one year and four to six months imprisonment. Apparently no one was arrested and tried for shooting Jews.

Perhaps in view of the report, the British Board of Jewish Deputies will not consider it too embarrassing now for the British government to demand that action be taken against those officials who failed to protect the Jews of Aden.

London

S. ALEXANDER

DOCUMENT

ISRAEL CP CALLS FOR UNITY

The following call of the Communist Party of Israel for unity with the United Workers Party in the forthcoming elections was rejected by the latter on October 11.—Eds.

FOR years our Party has been fighting for unity in the left working class camp in Israel. Our Party has turned to the Hashomer Hatzair and the Tnuva Achdut Avoda-Poale Zion and in the last year, since the unification of these two parties, to the United Workers Party with the proposal for creation of a united front.

As a result of the aforementioned calls, negotiations took place between representatives of the Communist Party of Israel and of the central committee of the United Workers Party. The discussions once again disclosed that a very broad basis exists for cooperation and a united front.

Following are the points which we propose as a basis for this united front:

1. United struggle to secure the full independence of Israel, and against any form of dependency, political, military or economic, either by British or American imperialists.

2. Struggle for the democratic and secular character of Israel; the achievement of all democratic freedoms against the attempts at domination by the fascists. Separation of church and state.

3. Struggle for a political position of peace and cooperation with the Jews and Arabs in Israel, and particularly between the working class movement and the democratic forces of both peoples. Securing equal civil and national rights for the Arab minority. Support for the establishment of an independent Arab democratic state in the Arab sector of Palestine, in accord with the UN decision of November 29, 1947. Against the occupation of the Arab section of the country by British imperialism through its puppet, Abdullah.

4. Struggle for a political orientation of friendship and cooperation of Israel with the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Europe. Defense of world peace and peace in the Middle East. Struggle against the imperialist war mongers.

5. To defend the interests of the working class and the poor. To fight for progressive labor and social legislation; equal pay for equal work without distinction of religious belief, race or color. Legislation in the interests of youthful workers.

6. To secure the possibilities of decent living conditions for families of soldiers; to secure work and homes for demobilized

soldiers after the war. Struggle against speculation and high prices.

7. Struggle for a democratic army in Israel and against militaristic education and policies.

8. Freedom of immigration and opposition to any foreign control over immigration into Israel. Against all attempts to prevent or limit immigration of those of military age. To establish a democratic policy and involve democratic forces in immigration policies. To provide the new immigrants with work and facilities.

9. Nationalization of all foreign concessions, and the major industries. Economic planning in the interests of the people.

Despite many, many attempts on our part to establish a united front of both our parties on the above basis, which expresses the interests of the working class and of the broad masses of our people, your party has until now not agreed to such a front....

The non-existence of a united progressive workers front has already led to very serious results.

The Israel government is carrying on negotiations with Bevin's puppet, Abdullah. In this way, it is forsaking the very basis of the United Nations decision, and places the independence of Israel in a position of peril and opens the possibility of direct and immediate British military encirclement. The foreign policy of the Israel government is leading us to economic, as well as military, dependency on the United States. Instead of encouraging and strengthening the Arab democratic forces that wish to establish a friendly and independent Arab state in a portion of Palestine, thus guaranteeing the sovereignty and borders of Israel, our government by its policies encourages the Arab states to grab parts of the Arab sector for themselves and views with animosity the work of democratic Arab forces.

The Israel government puts the brunt of the war on the working class and the common people. She continues to maintain the British reactionary tax system.

The families of soldiers suffer from tremendous need. Speculation is rampant. Prices are rising at a frightful rate. But instead of fighting the speculators and lowering prices, the government places the workers in military work camps, thereby hindering mobilization for the army as well as the labor interests of the workers.

At the same time, the fascists and extreme chauvinistic groups are organizing themselves and preparing the way for American imperialist penetration through

their anti-Arab and anti-democratic policies, and through their opposition to the decisions of the United Nations for the establishment of two independent states in Palestine.

We are convinced that this dangerous development in the policies of the government and in the growth of fascist forces, would not have taken place if there existed a united front of struggle of the Communist Party of Israel and the United Workers Party, which could, together with other progressive forces, have organized the people's struggle and pressure for a democratic foreign and domestic policy....

The elections are coming closer, and in these elections the rightist parties of the coalition that dominates the government will participate, as well as the bourgeoisie, the clerical parties and the Mapai, which works with these rightist forces. The fascist movement is also consolidating its strength by the merger of the revisionist parties with Tnuat Ha-Heiut of the Irgun, which seeks to gain power through national and social demagoguery, through intimidation and terror....

Such a front would serve to draw into itself all healthy and honest working class elements in the Mapai and other workers' parties. Such a front would help to prevent soldiers, workers and youth, who are opposed to the policies of the government, from floundering and ending up in the fascist camp.

We turn to you again, comrades, with the proposal to create a united front. We propose that we begin this immediately by the creation of a common list of the United Workers Party and the CP for the election to the constituent assembly....

With comradely greetings,

COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL
Central Committee: S. Mikunis,
Gen. Sec.; M. Vilner, Sec.

Forum und Tribune

The only progressive
Jewish German
publication

Write for free sample copy to:

Forum und Tribune

200 West 72nd Street (Room 48)

New York 23

TR 4-6787

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

like to see some kind of FEPC law passed. Another 29 per cent of those polled said they believed the matter should be left up to each state; 37 per cent thought the problem should not be tackled by law; and 9 per cent refused to express an opinion.*

Enrollment in all Jewish religious schools in the U. S. during the past school year increased 2.1 per cent from 232,348 pupils to 237,285, according to a survey of the American Association for Jewish Education. The majority of the pupils, 121,466, were enrolled in Sunday schools, while 115,819 attended week-day schools.*

Figures concerning the New York City garment center, which is largely Jewish: the area from 41st St. on the north to 14th St. on the south between Fifth and Eighth Avenues, houses factories producing about two-thirds of women's wear, one-quarter of men's clothing, over half the millinery and almost all of the fur garments in America. The combined fashion industries in New York employ over 2,000,000 people and more than 60 per cent of the city's workers are directly or indirectly dependent on these industries for a livelihood. These figures are made available in connection with the city's Golden Anniversary celebration.*

Dr. Moshe Sneh, Haganah chief from 1940 to 1946, present member of the executive of the Israel United Workers Party and editor of its paper, *Al Hamishmar*, visited this country in October. He spoke before various audiences and sharply criticized the Bernadotte Plan and the Anglo-American imperialist drive to frustrate the independence of Israel.

The need for continuing action in the Knickerbocker-Davis case at N. Y. City College brought together a number of campus organizations into a "Unity Council for Democracy in Education." The council is holding meetings and initiating activity to get Knickerbocker and Davis ousted from the college.

Developments in the Ilse Koch case. . . . From former Buchenwald inmates and those involved in the prosecution of the case, came further affirmations of her guilt. On October 23, General Lucius D. Clay, U. S. commander in Germany, who signed the order commuting her sentence, told a press conference in Washington in Washington that "the charges against her were based on hearsay, not evidence." He stressed doubt of the "credibility of witnesses" in the case and alluded to "overzealous acts on the part of the prosecution." Paradoxically, the army exhibited to correspondents in Washington some official films about the death camps which have never in their entirety been shown here publicly, in which the narrator states that Ilse Koch had ordered lamp shades to be made from human skin.

EUROPE

The Army Information Division in Germany has approved the showing of the film *Oliver Twist* in movie houses in the western zone of Germany. The film contains an interpretation of the character Fagan that has been called the most anti-Semitic in recent history. Immense protest in this country caused showing of the film here to be postponed. Pare Lorentz, noted documentary film maker, recalled recently that the army had purchased the United Auto Workers anti-racist film strip, *Brotherhood of Mankind*, for showing

in German schools, translated it into German and had it reproduced in 100 copies. But the film was never released and remains in Washington vaults.

Gen. Lucius D. Clay on October 25 halted the execution of 45 German prisoners in Landsberg prison. The order was in response to many protests received from German Catholic and Protestant churchmen. All the prisoners were involved in the Malmédy massacre of captured American soldiers.

Officials reports from Germany indicate that one-half of the top officials in Hesse are former Nazi party members. In Bavaria, 85 per cent of civil servants previously fired under the denazification policy, have been reinstated since denazification has been dropped.

The organization of Jewish writers and journalists in the American zone of Germany have protested to the International Pen Club against the growing anti-Semitic propaganda carried on by a large part of the German press.

A group of 200 Jews recently returned to Poland from Germany with a view to settlement in Lower Silesia. They are being aided by the Jewish Democratic Committee in Wroclaw and will work on the land and in metal plants.

The Rumanian Ministry of Arts and Information in early October issued a list of more than 7000 titles of books and periodicals which are henceforth to be banned from all public libraries and bookstores. The list includes all anti-Semitic, pro-fascist and anti-Soviet literature which circulated widely in Rumania before the war. All editions of the Rumanian classics which contain anti-Semitic comments or passages will be withdrawn and replaced by edited books.*

A new production of Goldfadden's *The Enchantress* opened the Moscow Jewish Art Theater season on October 14. The occasion was dedicated to the 40th anniversary of Goldfadden's death.

Sixty to 70 followers of Oswald Mosley, British *Fuehrer*, caused blood to flow at a meeting in London on October 25 organized by trade unionists. Three of the rioters were arrested.

In the House of Lords in early October the Archbishop of York attacked the Israel regime with the words that until the Israeli stopped their "regime of violence, they cannot be regarded as a civilized nation." He said that the Arab DP's had no "rich friends in America" to help them nor did they have "a powerful vote to support their claims" in various countries.

ISRAEL

The Arab League of National Liberation, sole Palestine Arab organization fighting foreign invaders and native reactionaries, decided on October 14 to join the Communist Party of Israel within the Jewish state. Arabs will be included in all leading party bodies and will be among candidates of the party in the coming elections. In its announcement the League criticized itself for its former separatist organization and its illusions of the possibility of working with Arab capitalists. In the portion of Palestine assigned by the UN decision as an independent Arab state, the League will transform itself into a communist party and will admit Jewish communists. A mass meeting celebrating the unification was held in Tel Aviv on October 25 at which the audience of 1500 in-

cluded about 500 Arabs. CP secretary Esther Vilenska opened the meeting with the statement that "Over the great chasm created by British imperialism there is being erected today an iron bridge of Jewish and Arab brotherhood."

The Israeli government finally lifted the ban on *Al Ittihad*, weekly paper of the Arab League for National Liberation. The first copy of the revived paper appeared in mid-October. The paper supports the UN decision of November 29, 1947 and is devoted to the interests of the Arab masses.

Israeli elections have once again been postponed, this time to late December.

According to present information on the proposed Israeli constitution, a single chamber of 101 members will rule the country. Election will be by the proportional representation method and the chamber will serve a four-year term. The presidency will be modeled after the French, rather than the American system, and the prime minister will be the key figure of the government.

The Irgun Zvai Leumi has dissolved and reformed in the "Freedom Movement" party, which will enter candidates in the elections. This party vehemently attacks the Israeli administration for accepting the UN decision. Its executive is largely composed of the group that led Irgun-front organizations in the United States before May 14.*

Another party, the "Progressive Party," has been formed of the Aliyah Hadashah, General Zionist Laborites and a split-off group from the General Zionists. The party is rightist.*

Reports from Israel point to great dissatisfaction of Israelis with the American consul, John Macdonald. *Davar*, Histadruth newspaper, characterizes him as a "representative of American oil interests in the Middle East." Rumors of his recall are current.

In his first interview on reaching Israel on October 1, President Chaim Weismann stated that Truman had promised to support inclusion of the Negev in the Jewish state.

Six key Israeli police officers are to be sent to study at the New York City Police Department Academy. This is believed to be a victory for the pro-American forces in the Israeli cabinet.

Dr. Leo Kaufmann, Israeli statistical expert, has made an analysis of the British estimate that the Arab population of Palestine before partition was one and a quarter million, and finds that this is false. According to his inquiry, the Arab population in all Palestine at the beginning of 1948 could not have been greater than 868,000. Sir Raphael Cilento, UN expert investigating the Arab refugee situation, estimates that 26,000 Arabs now remain in the Jewish-held areas of Palestine.

The first Arabic paper to appear in Jaffa since the city was captured by Israelis, was published late in September. Its editor is Michael Assaf, well-known Jewish expert on Arab affairs.*

An "independent" Arab state "for all of Palestine" was set up in Gaza at the end of September with Alhed Hilmil Pasha as premier. The State Department has indicated that it will not recognize this state because "they have not conformed to the normal process of setting up a state." The British government does not recognize the "state" on the ground that Britain supports the Bernadotte Plan providing that the Arab part of Palestine should be absorbed by Transjordan.

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



4
3
2
1

4
3
2
1

4
3
2
1

X