

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association 15¢

FEBRUARY 1947

Jews Face The Threat of The Columbians

By **GEORGE LEONARD**

THE Columbians, who adopted the full Nazi program as their own, selected Atlanta as the place to start their campaign to bring fascism to the United States. On November 16, 1946, Homer Loomis, Jr., one of the leaders of the Columbians, told two students from Oglethorpe University: "... Atlanta is just our starting point. Once we get a foothold here we will begin to spread all over the South and then into the rest of the nation."

Information about the Columbians, about their Big Business connections and their reactionary program, is beginning to break through in the press. What I would like to present is a picture of how the Jews met and faced the new enemy.

The elections which took place on November 5, 1946, and which found the Columbians actively campaigning on street corners with vile anti-Semitic and threatening speeches, considerably increased the anti-Semitic feelings in and about Atlanta. With Eugene Talmadge elected as Governor of Georgia, the Columbians and the KKK were

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ANTI-COMMUNISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND AMERICA

Recent events in the United States seem to be following a familiar pattern that threatens the welfare of the people.

AN EDITORIAL ARTICLE

THE SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN-JEWS

An epic of the Caucasian Mountain Tats, passed on orally by folk-singers, which in its present version is dedicated to Stalin.

Translated by BER GREEN

POLITICAL LINE-UP IN THE YISHUV

An analysis of the positions of the various political parties in Palestine.

By ESTHER VALENSKI

NUMERUS CLAUSUS

The story of the fight against the use of the quota system in schools of higher learning.

By MARK ISAACSON

Letters From Readers

On the Content

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Frankly, the magazine leaves much to be desired. So far as this reader is concerned, it is strictly a political magazine dealing with Jewish life on a political plane. For one, he feels that the magazine, judging from the current issue, will appeal to but a small segment of Jewish intellectuals. The great majority of Jewish intellectuals are not likely to find it to their taste, not so much because of its pronounced Marxian leanings, but because of its inadequate treatment of truly Jewish cultural problems. . . .

Far from rallying the Jewish intellectuals it may have the effect of alienating them from the very thing we are trying to do. Articles such as *Jewish Culture* by Nathan Ausubel are apt to do more harm than good. The introductory section of the article is written in a language as harsh as any rabid nationalist may be expected to use in speaking of Jews who are alien to their own culture.

While there is a noticeable toning down in the succeeding sections of Ausubel's article, the method of analysis is no improvement. This taking to task of Jews who are ignorant or indifferent to their culture smacks of an holier-than-thou attitude. There are definite historical and sociological reasons for this shortcoming in many Jews which the writer as an analyst should understand better. . . .

I think Ausubel might have employed the space more usefully by telling us, the ignorant ones, more about those "wonderful traditions of individual and social ethics in Jewish life" and by giving us that "historic perspective with which to analyze the most pressing problems of our time".

It seems to me that that precisely should be the task and function of JEWISH LIFE. It's no good to tell your readers they must make a study of Jewish history and create a progressive Jewish culture. Let JEWISH LIFE set the wheels in motion and bring that culture down to us, create a desire for it in both intellectual and worker, without making it a political must. It is up to JEWISH LIFE to become an inspiration to its readers on this particular issue.

Unless JEWISH LIFE fills three-fourths of its contents with Jewish literary, critical and historical material it will fail in its mission and purpose for which it has been brought into existence. In its present form it is nothing but a routine political organ, perhaps useful in a way, but not nearly as useful as a progressive cultural magazine could be.

Los Angeles

IRWIN SHARPIN

Hats Off to Fast

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

JEWISH LIFE deserves the warmest thanks for printing the wonderful story by Howard Fast, *An Epitaph for Sidney*.

It is an inspiring story. The unusual self-sacrifice displayed by the Jewish youth, Sidney Greenspan, in his struggle for a better and more beautiful world, is extremely moving. It is no exaggeration to say that with this story Howard Fast has made a great contribution to Jewish culture.

In *An Epitaph for Sidney*, Howard Fast has created a Jew who is the personification of the most beautiful and glorious traditions of the Jewish martyred people. When you read how Sidney endangers his life twenty-four hours a day in order to free the world of all its fears, the fear of hunger, of war, of unemployment, of pogroms, of lynchings and of want, you feel that Sidney does this precisely because he is a Jew, because he is the son of a people that has suffered so much from oppression and discrimination. You are filled with pride at the fact that

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

THE EDITORS.

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the thin, none-too-healthy Sidney is ready to suffer the greatest sacrifice in order to see the world freed and renewed. Only a person who is steeped in and imbued with the highest idealism could show so much rare courage and heroism and could withstand so much pain and suffering at the hands of those who sought to destroy him with inquisitorial methods.

Hats off to Howard Fast, and thanks to JEWISH LIFE for such spiritual pleasure.
New York ABRAHAM YUDIN

Terrorist Acts

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Three cheers for JEWISH LIFE. Three more cheers for Alexander Bittelman's article on Palestine. I read with great interest and pleasure the first issue of JEWISH LIFE.

I would suggest for a future issue an article on

the terrorist acts versus mass action in Palestine. I am of the opinion that the terrorist acts committed by Jewish organizations in Palestine confuse and mislead scores of Jews. This problem should be clarified.
New York, N. Y.

MRS. HENRY PERCIKOW.

From Appetizer to Meal

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I am very happy that JEWISH LIFE is beginning! It will be a marvelous thing. I think the magazine is going to fulfill a great need. I have been passing around here the English half-page of the *Freiheit* for the past year. Like an appetizer it was. Now comes the meal. I am eager to see it.
Minneapolis, Minn.

MERIDEL LE SUEUR.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

ANTI-COMMUNISM, ANTI-SEMITISM AND AMERICA

An Editorial Article

OMINOUS signs all about us point to the fact that reaction, which strengthened its position in the last election, is marshalling its forces for an all-out offensive against the people. One need not be an astute observer to recognize that the ground is being prepared for a strong fascist movement.

The formation of American Action, Inc., backed by powerful financial interests; the rise of the Columbians, whose connections and ties go much further than have yet been revealed; the revival of the Klan with a greatly increased membership and intensified activities; the distribution of many viciously anti-Semitic magazines and pamphlets by such fascists as Gerald L. K. Smith, Upton Close, Winrod—these are symptoms of the alarming situation.

The aims of the "respectable" forces who operate behind these subversive organizations and individuals are exposed in the host of anti-labor bills that are now being prepared for presentation to the next Congress, and in the insistent and frenzied demands on the part of the most powerful financial groups and their mouthpieces in Congress, on the radio and in the press for the elimination of all social legislation enacted during the Roosevelt era.

And the essence of the social struggle is revealed by the fact that all this is taking place at a time when America is rapidly heading for a major economic crisis which is the inevitable result of the capitalist system itself, but which is being speeded up and intensified by the greed of the monopolists and profiteers. Finance capital and the trusts can be expected to use every means to divert attention from themselves and their system as the real sources of crisis, poverty and unemployment, thereby safeguarding their domination. And they will pit one group against another in order to split the unity of the people whom they intend to victimize.

The Nazi Pattern

This has all the earmarks of a familiar pattern, a pattern similar to the one which led to the rise of Hitlerism in Germany, and should remove all smugness and complacency. Nazism did not break like lightning out of a clear sky. It developed slowly and gained strength to the degree that its campaigns of sowing confusion and hate were successful. Nazism, like fascism everywhere, was financed and supported by Big Business for the purpose of capturing for Big Business full dictatorial powers. And

Nazism succeeded temporarily because all-inclusive anti-fascist unity had not yet become the over-riding passion of the people.

Today, reaction in our country is once again relying on disunity as a major weakness of the people. And it is once again pulling out its main divisive weapon—red-baiting. An anti-communist hysteria is being engineered in our country, with the press and radio stopping at nothing to whip up a witch-hunt. The tactics and techniques of American reaction are not different from that of its German counterpart. It attempts to establish itself as the savior of true "Americanism." Like Nazism, it makes extensive use of the "bandwagon" technique as a method of pressuring the American masses to fall in line for fear of being accused of "un-Americanism." Like Nazism, it seeks to intimidate, immobilize and paralyze its victims and scapegoats and thereby make its foul crimes easier.

But the American masses must see through this fatal maneuver. They must establish once and for all certain basic principles, and refuse to budge from them regardless of threat or provocation.

Communists and Democracy

The denial of democratic rights to any group, except those who would destroy democracy, is a menace to the democratic rights of all people. The communists have proved when and where it counted most—in the struggle against Hitlerism, in the underground and resistance movements of the world—their devotion to democracy, their loyalty to the interests of the people. They proved this not with speeches and flag-waving but with their blood.

Is DuPont, who never cut his cartellist umbilical cord with the Nazi I. G. Farben Industry, to judge communists of their devotion to democratic principles? Are the newspaper editors, who wrote with such drooling anticipation of the Soviet Red Army collapse in six weeks, to judge the character of communist steadfastness in the people's interests? Are Representatives and Senators, who had their speeches written by Nazi propaganda agencies, to pass judgment on the rights of communists? It is indeed typical of the moral degeneration of our social system that such beasts of prey and their scavenger retinue can presume to pass judgment on the loyalty of the communists—and dream of getting away with it.

However one may disagree with communists ideologi-

cally, one cannot deny that they have earned their democratic right to exist, to be heard and to participate in common struggles. And this right they have earned by being the backbone, the driving-force of every successful anti-fascist unity movement, a fact admitted by journalists throughout the world so long as they were not muzzled by the pressure of domestic fascists in Big Business and in the press.

Anti-Communism and Anti-Semitism

Another principle that needs to be finally impressed upon the people—and especially upon Jews—is that anti-communism is merely the reverse side of anti-Semitism; that the two go together inevitably, and that they are deliberately made interchangeable. This is no accident, or chance occurrence. It is part of a plan, a gigantic plan in which both Jew and communist are branded as a cancer in the life-stream of the country—and therefore to be eliminated. Jew, and communist, and Jewish communist—Big Business has found the perfect scapegoat upon which it can place all the blame for the entire social misery, upheaval and conflict for which Big Business is alone responsible. By the miracle of reactionary hocus pocus, the Jew who is the “international banker” responsible for the plight of the impoverished worker, is also the “international communist responsible for the woes of the declassed middle class. Big Business, by constantly interchanging Jew and communist, has found the common symbol upon which he can try to divert the wrath of the entire people from itself. That is the great plan that will save Big Business and maintain its exploitation of the people—Jews and non-Jews.

But this plan did not work for long when it was previously tried. The Nazis could not succeed because the elimination of communists and Jews also meant the elimination of Poles and Russians and French and Slavs and Greeks and Belgians and Dutch and Scandinavians, yes, and even Anglo-Saxons and Germans. For the elimination of Jews and communists did not eliminate the cause of the world's evil. It only weakened the resistance to the enemy of the people.

Certainly it is not necessary to pay once again with six million Jews and with countless millions of other people to learn this lesson once more—that anti-communism and anti-Semitism lead only to the disaster of all people. Jews must not only not indulge in Red-baiting, which can only inevitably lead to anti-Semitism. They must positively reject anti-communism. They must fight sharply against it wherever attempts are made to inject it. They must precisely offset the efforts of reactionary Jews who by peddling anti-communism seek to win “safe passage” by playing fascism's game.

Anti-Communism and Social Democracy

A third principle to be learned is that reaction cannot sell the masses of people directly the anti-communist gold

brick. It must seek agents among labor and so-called “revolutionary” circles to do the job for it. That is why reactionary social democracy, of the Dubinsky, *Forward* and *New Leader* type, is a leading exponent of red baiting. And this, too, is nothing new in history.

German reaction first discovered the usefulness of reactionary social democracy for fascist purposes way back in 1918. For it was then that the social democrat Gustave Noske, who died only recently in comfort in Berlin, rallied his social democratic henchmen and made war upon the revolutionary workers of Germany, drowned the progressive movement in blood, aided in the murder of working class leaders Rosa Luxembourg and Karl Liebknecht, set the ideological basis for the anti-communist campaign, supplied the police terror, and thereby paved the way for the emergence of fascism in Germany. At the same time social democracy persistently rejected unity with communists against fascism.

Today social democracy is attempting to repeat its services to reaction and fascism. Thus the Bevins and Attlees are carrying on in the traditional reactionary social democratic manner in Britain, working for Churchill and British imperialism. And in the United States, Dubinsky who welcomes the anti-Semitic General Denikin and accepts medals from the social democrat Bevin, Walter Reuther who wants to clean communists out of the Auto Workers Union which communists helped build with their lives, Max Lerner who wants a progressive movement that is “not anti-communist” but that is anti-democratic enough not to admit communists, the New York Liberal Party that would rather support Tom Dewey's mayoralty candidate than accept the genuinely progressive non-communist Vito Marcantonio—these social democrats are behaving true to red-baiting form. And they are endangering not the Communist Party, but the labor and progressive movements. And they are endangering the unity of the people which alone can stem the fascist drive. And this, too, must be of special concern of the Jews. For not only are the Jewish people also endangered, but Jews harbor in their midst some of the most reactionary social democratic groups.

America to be free must be free from red-baiting, free from Jew-baiting. It is therefore the major task of the people to conduct a serious and persistent struggle against both these tendencies. The organized trade union movement, above everyone else, must become aware of the fact that the weakening of its ranks and finally its total destruction is the main aim and purpose of reaction, and that red-baiting and anti-Semitism are a double-edged weapon aimed straight at the heart of labor. Those labor leaders who believe that they can use these weapons of fascism and Hitlerism and yet escape its consequences have indeed learned very little from history.

The task is one. Stop anti-communism—stop anti-Semitism!

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS

THAT the Zionist movement is in the throes of a very deep crisis was never more evident than at the recently concluded Zionist Congress which was held in Basle.

Bitter disputes and wrangling between parties, and even within parties, dominated the Congress from beginning to end. Charges and counter-charges were hurled unceasingly. The Congress finally wound up without even having been able to elect a president or an executive.

The Zionist Congress was meeting at a time when the Yishuv was facing British bayonets and terror, and when the plight of the Jews in the Displaced Persons Camps was becoming more and more horrible. But the burning, immediate needs of the Yishuv and of the Jews in the DP camps were lost in the shuffle of inner party strife and disputes.

Not one single constructive step was taken by the Zionist Congress in a direction which would help to solve the problems of the Yishuv and of the homeless and uprooted Jews.

Why did the Congress achieve no positive results? What precipitated such utter bankruptcy?

The answer is not difficult to find. No other results could have been achieved because there has been no change in the orientation and thinking of the leaders of the Zionist movement. Reliance upon imperialism still remains their basic outlook. Dr. Weizmann still places his trust in British imperialism while Rabbi Silver still insists that Zionism must place its faith in American imperialism.

There are of course important differences between these two tendencies. But whatever their differences, they manage to present a united front when it comes to voting against the turning of the Palestine question over to the United Nations. They are both against a democratic solution.

It is of course quite true that the bitter wrangling between the various factions helped in great measure to paralyze the Congress. This development, however, was not the result of conflict between personalities but of the very deep crisis which has engulfed the entire Zionist movement.

One of the leaders of the Hashomer Hatzair did call for a bi-national state in Palestine. But the inconsistencies and waverings which have always characterized the position of this group was evident at the Congress as well. Instead of following up this demand for a bi-national state with a call for immediate unity with the democratic forces of the Arab peoples for joint struggle against imperialism, he allowed himself to become involved in compromises which nullified his entire position.

The tragic results of the World Zionist Congress establish very clearly the need for progressive forces in Palestine and all over the world to intensify their efforts and activities for a democratic solution on the basis of a consistent anti-imperialist position, in unity with the Arabs,

for a free and independent Arab-Jewish state, with the sovereign national rights of both peoples fully guaranteed.

This is the way, the only way, we can help our brethren in Palestine to achieve security and freedom.

DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS

ON December 23, 1946, the New York City Council adopted the report of its committee investigating discrimination in schools of higher education. By this action the City Council found the medical schools of Cornell, Columbia, New York University, the Long Island Medical College and the New York Homeopathic Medical College (Flower Hospital) guilty of gross discrimination for reasons of nationality and religion.

The sordid hypocrisy of these institutions was revealed in the manner in which they operated. To mask their anti-Jewish, anti-Negro and anti-Italian bias, they simply established what amounted to a ban against graduates from city colleges like CCNY, Hunter and Brooklyn. Out of 801 medical students accepted by Cornell in the last ten years, only eleven were from city colleges. In six of the years between 1929-1940, not a single graduate from a city college was accepted by Columbia, and in the other years only one such graduate was accepted each year. In the 25 years, 1920-1945, less than 50 Negroes were trained by the medical schools listed. And to round out the picture of the kind of social or professional ethics these institutions could drum into their students, it is revealed that admission records had been destroyed by college authorities.

The City Council unanimously recommended to the State Legislature that it forbid any institution from asking applicants for information concerning religion or racial origin; that it cancel tax exemptions for guilty schools; that it set up a state university including a medical and dental school. The City Council also recommended to the City Board of Estimate that it deny the use of City hospital facilities to medical schools guilty of discrimination.

The report of the Committee and the action of the City Council are important. Great credit must be given Communist Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis and Peter V. Cacchione for introducing the first resolutions denouncing school bias and demanding action which started the City Council on its present course despite resistance from the reactionary wing. Credit must also go to Councilman Eugene V. Connolly (ALP) for his resolution, which together with a suit instituted by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to cancel the tax-exemption of Columbia's medical school, finally forced action by the Democratic majority in the Council.

But important as this step is, it is obviously only a beginning. We agree with Councilman Davis that the report did not go far enough and that "a local law should be enacted making it a misdemeanor for any institution of higher learning to deny admission because of race, color or creed." While the City Council can only *recommend*

to the State Legislature, it can act for city limits, and such a city law is a must.

But the main job will be to get the State Legislature to act in line with the recommendations of the City Council. And here only the kind of pressure that put across the State FEPC law will be sufficient to achieve the results. Gov. Dewey's leadership of the State in matters pertaining to the national question, his record in using anti-Semitism in the election campaign, in whitewashing the Freeport murderer of Negro veterans, his general reactionary position, do not lead one to expect support from him or his party for the elimination of discrimination from the school system. The people themselves will have to take on the job.

ABIE'S IRISH ROSE

TAKING a cue from the anti-Semitic cartoon-caricature pages of Nazidom's *Der Sturmer* and *Völkischer Beobachter*, United Artists has released the Bing Crosby production, *Abie's Irish Rose*, despite the fact that this film, depicting the worst caricatures of Jewish and Irish characters, has already met a vigorous storm of protest from Jewish and non-Jewish organizations.

When previewed in two New York theaters and in theaters in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and San Francisco, the picture brought protests loud enough to have some very minor cuts made from the original reels. But the unsavory anti-Semitic and anti-Irish flavor has been left intact.

Even *Variety*, the well-known conservative amusement trade paper, reviewing the film, was quick to recognize the film's faults and point out its dangers. And the general press has given this vulgar production an extremely poor reception.

But the Bing Crosby Productions has taken a very arrogant attitude toward the criticism. It is apparently determined to protect its investment regardless of consequences. But at a time when the Jewish question is a blazing headline on the world press, when Jews are suffering or dying in DP camps, when the youth of United Nations Jewry, many with their war wounds still unhealed, are striving to eradicate anti-Semitism, this picture must be withdrawn from national circulation. At a time when all national minorities are feeling increased pressure of imperialist domination this outrageous expression of Anglo-Saxon "superiority" must be militantly boycotted by decent America.

It is especially important that this campaign be successful. There is every indication of a stepped-up schedule of Hollywood chauvinism. Besides *Abie's Irish Rose*, the screen is also at the present time smeared with Walt Disney's *Song of the South* and its white "superiority." The fight against this wave of chauvinism must be conducted against an industry which to date has been singularly successful in resisting mass pressure when it so desired. It has been able to ignore the wishes of the people and put over

a film like *Gone With the Wind* with the aid of expert promotion, monopoly practices and finance capital.

The time has come, however, when even this branch of Big Business, this factory of corrupt bourgeois ideology, be called to task for its more degenerate products. It is essential that Hollywood be reminded that it, too, is a public utility that can and will be subjected to the will of the people. Kill *Abie's Irish Rose*!

ON THE BILBO FRONT

BILBO is temporarily out of the Senate. Whether this is a permanent victory will depend entirely upon the people of this country. For it must be clearly understood that even this temporary victory was a victory achieved by the militance of the people shown in the petition to oust Bilbo which was issued by the Civil Rights Congress, the splendid campaign of the Crusade Against Lynching. This was not a victory for either political party in the Senate.

On the contrary, there was enough intrigue on both sides of the aisle to save the spiritual brother of both Democratic and Republican reaction. Sen. Ellender's committee investigating election expenditures declared Bilbo's sainthood. The warnings of Oklahoma's Sen. Thomas that Bilbo would expose the war-dealings of his legislative colleagues if pressed was intended to frighten a sufficient number of Senate critics into silence. Republicans debated the finer points of parliamentary procedure in order to find the most "appropriate" moment to act, but whether appropriate for the expulsion or the embracing of Bilbo was not clear. And there was the threat of a filibuster. Reactionary Democrats mainly carried the ball, but how much blocking did the Republicans supply?

That one can have little faith in the Republicans to carry out any measure in the interests of the people is quite clear from a report appearing in the *New York Post's* Washington Memo on December 26, 1946. In it Rep. Joe Martin, Republican Speaker-designate, is quoted to have informed a prominent Negro Republican, "We are supported mainly by New England and Midwest industrialists who would stop their contributions if we passed a law that would compel them to stop religious as well as racial discrimination in employment. I'm not saying that I agree with them (*he didn't say he disagreed with them either*), but that is the situation we face, so we may as well be realistic . . . we can't afford to pass the FEPC bill."

If this expression by Joe Martin of the high moral plane of Republican politics and American democracy does not make you retch (and the moral plane of the Trumans, the Snyders, the Allens, the Pauleys is not much higher), then it ought to make you mad enough and disturbed enough to determine that these political, spiritual and moral colleagues of Bilbo will not get away with hoodwinking the American people. Bilbo is out of the Senate because the people insisted on it. And the people will have to see to it that he stays out permanently. The people cannot rely upon political jackals to do it for them.

POLITICAL LINE-UP IN THE YISHUV

By Esther Valenski

IN order to be able to estimate properly the results of the 22nd Zionist Congress, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the various Zionist parties functioning in Palestine. Our country is the battleground, and the activities of the parties on the battlefield reveal much. They explain the sharp struggle that appears to rage among the groups, each representing different and conflicting principles. We must, however, first make clear a number of basic points about the situation of the Yishuv which has resulted from the strengthening of imperialism in the Middle East, and which confronts the Yishuv with difficult tasks.

British imperialism is strengthening its military forces in our country and in surrounding areas. All the higher British officials in the Middle East, as well as in Greece, recently met in London to plan the establishment of the greatest base in this part of the world. The correspondent of the London *Daily Graphic* reveals that the object of the meeting was "to strengthen British military forces in Palestine in this critical period up to 100,000 troops, beside technical forces." (*Davar*, Oct. 1, 1946.) About 200,000 British soldiers are already concentrated at the Suez Canal, which the British have converted into a fortress. This force is the Democlean sword which hangs over our heads.

The economic subjugation of our country to imperialist interests is not easing up. One example of the continued robbery of the resources of our land is the current prospecting by the British for sources of oil in the Dead Sea. American money-bags also cannot resist the urge to exploitation. They, too, have an insatiable appetite for the wealth of others. They also speculate on making our country serve them in the future as a source for the precious fluid, aside from its important function as a military base.

This military and economic pressure is accompanied with increased efforts on the part of imperialist circles to disturb the peace between Jews and Arabs. British General Spears, who recently arrived in the Middle East, found it necessary to report that he "wondered greatly how the Arabs have remained peaceful so long in spite of the immigration of Jews in such large numbers." (*Haaretz*, Oct. 16, 1946.) The purpose of his speech is clear. The general is merely carrying out his mission.

The unceasing pressure on the Jewish Yishuv, the colonial oppression and the cynical treatment of the refugees, fall very heavily on the people of the Yishuv. Palestine's economic, political and national development is endangered by the war situation in which the Yishuv finds itself, by the absolutist rule of the mandatory power. Thus the anti-im-

perialist struggle becomes a Jewish national task of first importance, and Jewish-Arab understanding a major factor in achieving the main goal.

In the light of both these basic principles, which alone can guarantee the full and free development of the Yishuv, what does an analysis of the parties representing the Yishuv at the Zionist Congress show?

Position of the Mapai

The Mapai (a sort of right-wing Poale Zion—Labor Zionist) primps itself in the peacock-colored feathers of "political independence." How much "independence" this party can claim in fact is exposed by the theoretician of the Party, Levenstein, a pillar of official Zionist policy. He has written in *Davar*, "Certainly the evacuation of Palestine by the British military would be a blessing." But "... the Zionist movement does not put forward this demand." In his letter to the Mapai right before the elections of delegates, David Ben Gurion informed the party that he was against a United Nations trusteeship. He meant, of course, that he was opposed to any limitations on the exclusive domination of Britain in Palestine.

The great noise made by the Mapai about a "Jewish state" and "independence" cannot offset its official and open approval of the British domination of our country.

About the Jewish-Arab problem, Sprintzak announced to the conference of the Mapai that "From the platform of the (Zionist) Congress there must be heard once again the authoritative declaration to the Arab nations that Palestine must be a Jewish land." And Goldie Meierson supplemented him with the statement that "Only when we will have established an independent Jewish state will it be possible to speak about cooperation and brotherhood of nations." (*Hapoel Hatzair*, Feb. 1, 1946.) Until then, her program is obviously the reverse of cooperation, the opposite of brotherhood.

Cooperation with Britain, approval of the presence of foreign troops and open provocation against neighboring peoples are the elements that combine to make up the official Zionist line. The open acceptance of the British program for partitioning Palestine and its sharp struggle for this program on the eve of the Zionist Congress indicate that in practice Mapai has no other definition for "independence" than illusory independence under British realistic domination.

Right-Wing "Patriots"

The whole camp on the right of the Mapai does not differentiate itself from the basic political program of the Mapai. The Jewish bourgeoisie, the citrus fruit growers,

ESTHER VALENSKI is the secretary of the Communist Party of Palestine.

the manufacturers, the wealthy and the speculators, are concentrated in the organizations of the General Zionists of different tendencies, in the Revisionist Party and in the Mizrachi (Orthodox religious party).

The Industrialists Association is not satisfied with the political pro-British program of the Parties. It fights for the following program: 1) to establish the principle of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes; 2) to bind all sides to carry this out; 3) to set up the necessary agencies to implement the decision. It seems, therefore, that the nationalists of the employers' organizations want to perpetuate their best "patriotic" interests (compulsory arbitration!) through firm government decisions not directed against British establishments or foreign concessionaires, but against the Jewish workers.

The pro-British character of the citrus fruit growers was already expressed in the sarcastic statement of Achad Ha'am,¹ "The plantation owners, the citrus-fruit growers, are more dependent on Liverpool than on Tel Aviv." This group among the employers is ready to serve the colonial power in order to win concessions on questions of export and duties. Its political position is clear and unambiguous. It is a position of subjection to the manipulators of the British citrus-fruit market.

The Aliyah Chadasha (New Immigration) Party has crossed every "t" and dotted every "i" in its pro-British credo. Its organ, *Emudim*, states, "For the achievement of the minimum demands it is necessary to bring about full united action between the British government and the Zionist movement." (Oct. 18, 1946.) Of course, this party is also composed of "nationalists" and is also striving for independence. *Emudim* declares, "The latest proposals of the British government" (the so-called federation plan) can "serve as a basis for negotiations," and "show the way to national independence." The oppressive character of the Morrison plan, which gives dictatorial and unrestrained power to the High Commissioner and which achieves the complete subjugation of Jewish and Arab officials, is the basis for the bond between the organizers of the New Immigration and the imperialists. This is the "national" program of the open quislings.

Revisionist Demagogy

The extreme expression of the bourgeois camp is the Revisionist Party. The demagogic anti-imperialist speeches emanating from this group cannot hide the pro-British content of its theory and its actions. In the newspaper *Hamashkif* of October 4, 1946, Dr. Von Weisel writes that the Revisionists want one thing, "Ties with the British Empire and not with the countries of Asia or with the Soviet Union." The election program of the Revisionists declared openly that "The recognition of the British interests in Palestine will be the fruit only of free negotiations between Britain and the provisional Jewish government."

¹ Achad Ha'am, Jewish philosopher, who opposed political Zionism with cultural Zionism, calling for making Palestine solely a cultural Jewish center.

This follows the pattern laid down by Emir Abdullah of Transjordan who had "recognized the British interests" not, heaven forbid, as a result of struggle, but through "free negotiations."

The Revisionists are not cutting themselves off from the American rulers either. On the eve of the elections for the Congress, *Hamashkif* wrote, "Truman's letter has filled our hearts with new strength and a new hope." Thus do the Revisionists kowtow to and flatter the British and American imperialist robbers, and of course in the name of "national pride."

It is obvious from this that "the Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan," the Alpha and Omega of the Revisionist program, will concentrate its state power not against British domination, but against the Arab people. This is revealed not only by the Revisionist program for the future, but also by the rowdiness and chauvinist hooliganism which have characterized the Revisionists in the past and at present. The "Exodus from Europe" program which is being carried out in accordance with their proposal, is a revival of the bestial Hitlerite program of a *Judenrein Europa*, and is a political service to Anders' gangs and to other anti-Semitic pogromists. Through this very political assistance to international reaction they reveal only a small part of their fascistic, anti-labor, anti-Jewish character.

The camp of the opposition to the Mapai does not show any consistency in its struggle against the official Zionist program. In inner circles, the Hashomer Hatzair (left-wing labor party) and Achduth Avodah (left Labor Zionists) warn against the accepted Zionist program and oppose the partition plan of the Mapai. But this opposition loses a great deal of its force because of the direct relations of these parties with the imperialist rulers.

Achduth Avodah and "Struggle"

The Achduth Avodah, which is one of the principle proponents of "activism," went to the Zionist Congress under the banner of "struggle." The political goal of the "struggle," as enunciated in the campaign program, is the transformation of the country into a Jewish state. The Mapai is ready to come to a compromise with the government, in order to achieve independence in a part of the country under British tutelage. But the gentlemen of the Achduth Avodah have remained true to the decision which was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labor) on Feb. 16, 1944: "Establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth." By devoting itself to this goal, Achduth Avodah directly or indirectly aids the British rulers. Who else but the British is so interested in spreading such separate self-government programs among the Jews and Arabs? And who else will enjoy so much as the British rulers the bitter fruit it will produce?

The shrill cries about "anti-imperialism" and the vague talk about "anti-British" will not help. Deeds and the concrete political program will decide the issue. The clear announcements of the Achduth Avodah people confirm their political direction which is based on the continuation of

colonial domination. In the issue of Tishri 5707 (Sept. and Oct. 1946) they wrote: "When the concentration (of British troops in Palestine) ends and the setting up of bases begins, and when the bases will have been established, unrest will become a constant feature. Ways will have to be found to eliminate it, either through brutal military or police action, or through a political compromise with the Jewish Yishuv."

Thus does Achduth Avodah conceive the role to be played by the "Jewish socialist state" when the "concentration of British troops will have ended" and "the bases will have been established" and Britain will find it necessary to achieve peace through "a political compromise" with the Jewish Yishuv."

The fact that this party turns its back on a democratic Jewish-Arab political understanding, which alone can smash the foundations of colonial rule, misleads the masses and drives them into a dead-end position of urging imperialism to "understand," "to come to a compromise" and big-heartedly establish Palestine as a Jewish state under its influence.

Whither Hashomer Hatzair?

In the decisions of the second conference of Hashomer Hatzair, there is the declaration that "We do not plan to declare war against the British army." This position is particularly shocking in view of the demand of all colonial peoples for the withdrawal of foreign troops from their countries, a demand that is supported by all the forces of peace and progress. The Hashomer Hatzair points to the "positive" proposals of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission which based itself on the continuation of British domination and turns over the fate of the Yishuv and of the country to the High Commissioner. The Hashomer Hatzair expressed quite clearly its position toward the political regime in the country. "The mandate—the international guarantee—is still our legal basis for our right to immigrate to Palestine and to settle in the country, a basis which cannot be exchanged under present conditions for any other document." (*Mishmar*, Sept. 16, 1946.)

We must ask this question. Is not the orientation of the Hashomer Hatzair toward the forces of freedom and progress in the world and toward support of the demand for international trusteeship weakened in the light of its open recognition of British imperialist rule?

The Hashomer Hatzair is different from other Zionist parties in the fact that it recognizes the necessity for Jewish-Arab understanding and for friendship among peoples. But its position is inconsistent with its approach in its election program: "The national independence of the Jews in Palestine cannot be guaranteed so long as they remain a minority." If this proposition is true, then such a declaration gives ammunition to the Arab nationalists, who see in the arrival of every Jew a "danger to their independence." And how can a constructive, democratic relationship between Jews and Arabs be conceived on the basis of such a competition for numbers? Furthermore, does not the position that "a majority is a guarantee for independence" brush

aside the basic principle that liberation from the yoke of colonial enslavement is the guarantee for independence?

An all-out struggle against the partition of Palestine is not possible on the basis of a chauvinist approach to the struggle and of respect for the mandatory power. From this it is clear that even if the Hashomer Hatzair is the strongest force in the opposition to the official Zionist line, it has not yet freed itself from the burden of support for the imperialist power—a support that is characteristic of the whole Zionist camp and that is against the interests of the Yishuv and its free national development.

To try to differentiate between the "camp of submission" and the "camp of struggle" is to indulge in self-deception and in deceiving the masses. It is comical to demand of a party that considers the British mandate inviolate (Hashomer Hatzair), and of a party that seeks to transform the country into a Jewish state (Achduth Avodah) that they be the leaders of the progressive struggle for the national liberation of the Yishuv and for the liberation of the country from colonial slavery.

A consistent and progressive struggle against partition is impossible without a political struggle against the imperialist proponents of this program. The repeated proposals of the Communist Party of Palestine about the absolute necessity of establishing a progressive front against partition are based on the sound principle that it is impossible to conduct a campaign against partition while preparing a program to reaffirm the bonds with imperialism.

Today, when the demand for the national liberation of Jews and Arabs from colonial slavery rises sharply in our country, the Zionist leadership places itself in the camp of the colonial enslavers, and exposes its character, which is in opposition to the interests of the Yishuv and the people. In the entire history of mankind there is no instance of an enslaved people liberating itself either through establishing bonds or making compromises with the enslaver.

There can exist no independent Jewish power that relies for support on foreign bayonets! There can be no national freedom for the Yishuv so long as the economic, political and military enslavement of our country continues! No forward step can be taken in the direction of independence of the country and the freedom of both its peoples without democratic Jewish-Arab anti-fascist unity. A pro-imperialist policy in the country is not against the interests of the Yishuv alone, but of the whole Jewish people, which yearns for peace and freedom.

A serious investigation of the contending parties, both in their theories and in their tactics, shows that they have a common political base. The broadness of this base permits internal struggle. But this struggle does not penetrate, and has not yet even once penetrated, the borders that Zionist principles have established for it. The debates among the parties lead but in one direction—alliance with the colonial power. Not even one of them offers an anti-imperialist base for Jewish-Arab understanding. They are therefore condemned to actions that are against the historic interests of the Jewish Yishuv and of the entire country.

A JEWISH CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY

By Nathan Ausubel

IN the struggle over fundamental social and economic issues, Jews reveal the same partisanship, the same devotion to class interests as any other nationality group in the United States. To ignore this truth is to misread history. Also, it leads one to false conclusions about the Jewish people. While the historic experience of Jews gave rise to a distinctive set of social attitudes and traditions, none the less, in the shaping of their social views it is idle to seek an answer elsewhere than in the class struggle.

No better example of this can be found than in the Raphall-Heilprin duel over the slavery issue which flared up with rhetorical heat during January 1861 in New York. It boldly highlighted the fact that Jews in America were as antagonistically divided on the subject as the Gentiles.

Slavocracy did not lack any Jewish defenders in the United States. Some were more outspoken than others. Some were just opportunistic lackeys of reaction. At a time when abolition was an unpopular cause it was easier, certainly it was safer, to hunt with the hounds than run with the hares.

The Raphall-Heilprin controversy caused a great stir among Jews. It led many to examine the Jewish past and its social teachings. Moreover, on the very eve of the Civil War it helped clarify their views and united them for the imminent conflict. Out of a total Jewish population of 150,000 in the United States, more than 8,000 Jews volunteered in the Union Army and sealed their belief in human equality with their blood.

Rabbi Attacks Jewish Abolitionists

President Buchanan designated January 4, 1861 as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, for already the war clouds were darkening the sky. Buchanan was a champion of slavery and actually his pious act was leveled at the northern abolitionists. The New York rabbi of the Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, Morris Jacob Raphall, took his cue from the president promptly and, on the appointed day, launched into a tirade against Jewish abolitionists from his synagogue pulpit.

The rabbi was erudite and even eloquent. Self-righteousness oozed from every word. He went to "revealed truth" to cite book, chapter and verse, in order to prove that nowhere did the Scriptural text denounce slaveholding as a

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sin. The rich men of his congregation undoubtedly approved of his views for nowhere do we find any record of censure or criticism of his pro-slavery outburst. Raphall was a fundamentalist in religion and a reactionary in politics. Far from preaching against the anti-social interests and views of his trustees he upheld them vigorously.

How different in this respect were Rabbi Bernard Felsenthal in Chicago, Rabbi Sabato Morais in Philadelphia and Rabbi Elkan Cohn in San Francisco, all of whom preached abolition from their pulpits despite the opposition of the rich members of their congregations. Then there was Dr. David Einhorn who, for refusing to allow himself to be muzzled in his abolitionist views by his pro-slavery *balebatim*, had to flee for his life from his lucrative post as rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore.

Without any loss of time a group of pro-Southern New York merchants, headed by S. F. B. Morse, proceeded to print and distribute Raphall's sermon in pamphlet form under the title, *A Bible View of Slavery*. The pro-slavery press seized eagerly upon it. A unique and useful document indeed! A rabbinical justification of slavery based on Holy Scripture! Raphall's tract was widely accepted as representing the "Jewish" view on slavery. Even such a thoughtful, liberal-minded person as Horace Greeley was at first of this opinion. He was shocked, he wrote, to find a Jewish apologist for slavery. With open sarcasm he wrote editorially in the *New York Daily Tribune* on January 7 of that year: "No people on earth have been more oppressed, robbed, trodden down, and persecuted than the Jews: hence we naturally look to them to furnish apologists and pettifoggers for Slavery." But Greeley's good sense finally came to the fore: "We rejoice in the knowledge, however, that only a part of them are thus perverted, but that thousands of the Children of Abraham, purified and made wiser by suffering, are among the most faithful and consistent upholders of inalienable Rights of Man."

Stormy Debate

But in Jewish circles Raphall's tract created a tempest. Indignant denials were made on every hand by responsible Jewish leaders. A refutation by Dr. David Einhorn appeared promptly in his German language magazine, *Sinai*. He questioned how it was possible for a rabbi to justify slavery on the authority of a book that commanded: "Break the bonds of oppression, let the oppressed go free, and tear every yoke!" But other pro-slavery rabbis, like Isaac M. Wise, founder of Reform Judaism, and Isaac Leeser, leader of Jewish orthodoxy, came to Raphall's defense.

The attacks on him came so fast and furious that Raphall

could not afford to ignore them. He somehow had to justify his stand against the outraged opinion of many Jews and Gentiles. "The subject had not been chosen by myself," he wrote plaintively on January 15. "I was called upon to expose a pernicious fallacy. Under a strong sense of duty I did it; not by any reasoning of my own, but by a statement of facts, supported by the authority of Scripture. That such a sober statement, and the inferences to be deduced therefrom, should prove very unpalatable to men of extreme opinions, and that they should do their utmost to refute my discourse, was naturally to be expected. Accordingly they have tried their best, from newspaper paragraphs of a few lines up to elaborate articles of many columns. With what success, it is for public opinion to decide . . . all the fiery attacks and declamations against me are but 'leather and prunella.'"

Unfortunately for Rabbi Raphall there was one attack on him that he could not so lightheartedly dismiss as "leather and prunella." That was the long article Michael Heilprin wrote for the *Tribune* on January 15. It exposed Raphall as a ready servitor of Jewish reactionaries.

It was hardly surprising that Heilprin should have proved the most effective adversary of Raphall. While he was no rabbi, in fact he was hardly religious, he was a man of great scholarly attainments. He was as familiar with Jewish history and religious lore as he was with those of ancient Greece or India. Furthermore, he had been schooled in the revolutionary tradition. As private secretary of the liberal revolutionary Kossuth he had played an important part in the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. Immediately upon his arrival in this country in 1856 he had thrown himself with fervor into the struggle for social reform and Negro liberation. One week after the appearance of Raphall's perversion of Bible ethics he completed his refutation for the *Tribune*. This he called *Slavery and the Hebrew Scriptures*.

Heilprin Replies

Heilprin wrote with bitterness and anger. "Must the stigma of Egyptian principles (slavery) be fastened on the people of Israel by Israelitish lips themselves?" He had hoped that amid the flood of scum the slavery issue was turning up the rabbi's words would be overlooked. But instead he found "Day after day brings hosannahs to the Hebrew defamer of the law of the nation, and his words are trumpeted through the land as if he were the messenger of a new salvation. So depraved is the moral sense of our pro-slavery demagogues, so debauched the mind of their mammon-worshipping followers, so dense the Egyptian darkness which covers their horizons, that all other false lights being exhausted, a spark of Hebrew pro-slavery rhetoric is hailed as a new lightning from Sinai, as a new light from Zion. . . . Down with conscience, humanity, reason, experience! Just listen to the angelic Hebrew sounds of the God-sent Rabbi!"

Heilprin then proceeded step by step to demolish

Raphall's Biblical scholarship on which he had tried to graft his own slavery views. "Of course he commenced with Noah," wrote Heilprin sardonically. Raphall had laboriously built up his justification for slavery on the slender thesis that Noah was already acquainted with the institution of slavery in his day. In fact, it was written in Genesis ix, 25 that Noah had cursed the descendants of his son Ham that they should become the meanest of slaves. But here, mocked Heilprin, the rabbi fell into a ditch. He had merely misread Scripture, whether by ignorance or by design was immaterial. He had translated the Hebrew word *ebed* as slave, whereas every authority, from the St. James version to Leopold Zunz, translated it as servant. And, even if it were true—a divine authority, indeed, the antediluvian, drunkard Noah!

Heilprin was particularly aroused by Raphall's concentration on "the third son of Noah, the cursed one, the darling of pro-slavery theologians, Ham, the Negro in the Bible!" By whom was he cursed he asked? "Doomed by whom, 'preacher in Israel?' By the God whom you teach our people to worship, the God of Mercy? Only the drunkard Noah had cursed Ham. . . ."

To be sure, the Jews owned slaves in Bible times, but so did all other peoples of antiquity. As a matter of fact, the Jewish laws relating to slaves were by far the most humane among ancient peoples. The freeing of slaves in the year of Jubilee is one example. The Bible was not written all at once but represented the social, political and cultural developments of the Jewish people through several long historic periods. Therefore, said Heilprin, it was full of contradictions. The Talmudists were wise enough to understand this and held that such a tribal barbarism as "an eye for an eye" was not to be taken literally for it ran against the spirit of the Torah.

That Rabbi Raphall was embarrassed by Heilprin's attack can be seen by the fact that he considered caution the better part of valor and declined to debate the issue with him any further. "The long tirade in the *Tribune* of this day," he wrote lamely, "must go for what it is worth. It is before the public; so is my discourse. Each of the two must stand or fall on its own merits. But I am convinced my discourse will not fall, for it embodies 'the word of our God, which standeth good forever.'"

ON IMMIGRATION

"I have no doubt of the power and duty of the executive, under the laws of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Annual Message to Congress
December, 1864

While Lincoln discussed slave-traders, the concept is applicable today. There can be no asylum in the United States for refugees from democracy and from anti-fascist justice.

THE SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN-JEWS

(Dedicated to Stalin)

Yiddish Text by M. Helmond

Translated by Ber Green

SHEERAHO¹

Ho, daughters of Deborah,
moon-girls,
spread the carpet,
a golden dawn,
a milky way of silver,
a canopy of spring,
a rainbow
in the paradise
of our mountain-land
under the clusters
of star-grapes!

Ho, sons of the cliffs,
Samsons, Yiggits,²
Give us the *tars*³
with strings like beams,
that play tenderly
like David's harp,
hanging hidden
in a distant cave.
We shall sing
in the orchard of joys
all evening
till late, till midnight.

The moon
will shine upon the song
and the faces.
Bridegroom-stars
shall twinkle to you
and star-brides,
moon-girls,
and sons of cliffs.

And you, bards,
harken to the melody,
and like the springs
in mountains and rocks,
pour forth loudly—
let the sweet voices
of the singers
sound like these strings,
like beams of tars.

You, mothers, daughters,

¹ Song.

² Heroic horsemen.

³ A sort of two stringed guitar, national musical instrument of the mountaineers.

you, beautiful women
with long braids,
spread the carpet,
pick the clusters
of star-grapes,
put them on the rug
for every guest
and heartily
invite the guests
to taste of everything.

We, the bards,
the singers of songs,
have been drinking
of our ancient spring,
and with body and soul
we have huddled—
clung to the rocks
where in concealment hangs
the old harp
that plays to us eternally,
and our songs
we confide to the *tars*.

There is a song
the people sing—
the song of songs
of our life.

There is a hero
the people praise—
the great hero
of heroes.
Let us sing
the song of songs,
let us praise
the great hero.

* * *

In ancient days,
in gray times
to the mountain-land
of a hundred tribes
there came to live
also our tribe,
the old tribe
of brave Tats,⁴
that has wandered,
has trudged
and here found
a home, a homeland.

⁴ Mountain-Jews.

The old homeland,
the ancient gray land
was near
and in sight—
stretch your hand out
and you reach it—
but we were separated
and disunited
by the mirror of water—
the cradle of storms,
the sea of the mid-earth.

The sea
was cloudy,
the water-mirror
was furrowed,
the angry Caspian
was wildly turbulent,
the large sea-cradle
was rocking with fury,
and the haughty one,
the Mediterranean,
locked door and gate
right in our face.

But under rocks
a strong stream
seeks an outlet
out of firm clasps,
of tight tongs,
of heavy chains.
The torrent upsets the earth,
bores the stones,
crumbles them, grinds them
with full force
and suddenly meets
a hundred currents.

And so in those days
the stream of Tats
with multitudes of streams,
with a hundred tribes
that gushingly
sought an outlet
from black pits,
from cave-darkness,
from rock-loads,
met here
and together
they pierced the rocks.

The southern sun
warmly bid us welcome.
The bright sun-land
opened to us
the gate of sun-rays,
the color rainbow,
raised the curtain
of seven skies,
and widely opened
a thousand tents.

And as old friends
the forest greeted us
with joy.
The Samoor river
loudly sang a song,
the river Soolack
cheerfully strummed the *tars*
with strings of waves
and the daughters of both—
a hundred rivers,
a thousand springs—
chanted songs,
and their gorges overflowed
with each refrain.

And like an echo
in mountains and woods
loudly sounded
the ardent reply
of the aged
and young mountain-people
to our old
"Sholom aleichem":
—"O, peace to you, inhabitants!"
—"Peace to you, wanderers!"
loudly sounded
in many tongues.

With eyes moistened
with pearl-dews,
with silver-drops,
with tears of joy,
we eyed with fear
the land of sun—
its carpet of suns,
its rainbow,
its blue castle,
the sky-tents,
the mounts and rocks,
the deep valleys.

With gratefulness
we lifted our heads,
like full skin-bottles,
to old rocks,

with hearts overflowing
like goblets
of holiday-wine,
we drank with joy
to greyheaded mountains,
to proud old summits
we bowed humbly.

Heartily we greeted
the forests,
stroked, caressed
the green braids
of bushes
and the wild,
the unkempt
thick curls,
the waves of leaves,
the golden manes
of the trees.

There came to an end
the long journey,
the long wandering,
the path of pain.
The thick ice-cover
melted away.
Gone were the heavy clouds,
the long autumn-night,
the snake-roads.

At once
we felt here at home,
we all
became dwellers
of high cliffs,
of small plains,
of narrow valleys,
of the strip of sea-shore.
We built settlements
like beehives,
and huts of stone
like nests of eagles.

Like a childless woman,
the earth lay sterile
among rocks
in mountain-land.
From near and far
upon our shoulders we carried
loads of soil.
Layer upon layer
we bedded it
on mountain-slopes.
Out of stony plains,
out of hard rocks,
we made fields—

that upon the granite
there may unfold
a carpet of grain.

With their sweat, like pearls
and like rubies
the Tats planted their groves,
as in their homeland-valley,
as in the Sharon,
that we may drink
the wine of joy . . .
At festivities we drank—
but the sweetest wine
was sour.

Gladly in the mountains
we exchanged
the wanderers' staffs
for shepherds' crooks
(which are respected
of old among Jews,
from the days of our forefathers)
and pastured
sheep and cattle,
but wild wolves
would devour the cattle.
devour the sheep.

We planted gardens,
we fondled them.
And our crops were
of sour things and winey,
of bitter and sweet,
spices and pepper.
But the sweet we ate
tasted bitter,
and the wine we drank
tasted sour,
and without pepper
our mouths burned like fire.

We sowed the fields
with tears,
that we might reap
the grain with joy.
We sowed the seed
as in Galilee,
and diligently
we reaped the grain,
and we chanted songs—
not of joy—
but songs of deep sorrow,
of black clouds.

We spread our nets
in the Caspian,

in the green sea-depth,
and in the crooked mirror
of the Samoor
and in the stormy sky
of the Soolack.
We caught carp
in golden shields.
But often at meals
bones would prick
our throats.

A harsh ruler,
as in Egypt,
cruel as Pharaoh,
for long centuries
harnessed us under yoke,
and tightly saddled,
and heavily laden
we carried burdens
upon our backs,
a big mountain,
the gray-haired Shah-Dag.

And the princes—sparrow-hawks,
the satraps—foxes,
the jackals—sheikhs
have reigned here,
have placed barriers
in our mountain-land,
and separated
by walls and fences
one tribe from another,
divided the tribes,
disjoined the peoples.

And every ruler
dreamed of riding
upon these grey
snow-clad saddles
of our mountain-chain,
upon us, the mountaineers,
upon four scores and three
tribes of Daghestan—
upon old stems
and young peoples
of our mountain-land
that was called:
"The Mountain of Tongues."

As in prison,
as in a mountain-cave,
as in a shield,
and as in the shell
of hard nuts,
in the night, in darkness,
they shut our

multi-tongued mountain-folk,
they sealed them
under seven locks
in this mountain-bag,
in the prison of rocks.

To tiny kernels
under mill-stone
our tribe
was likened.
Heavy and cruel
was the mill-stone,
but we, the Tats,
the tiny kernels,
have kept our hearts
strong and vigorous,
the shells of kernels
we turned into stone.

The big mill-stone
did not crush
the tiny kernels,
it often choked with them
and did not turn,
and all tribes,
and all stems
and all peoples,
the mountains and mount-dwellers
have said in wonder:
"It is stone of steel!"

We are rocks
among rocks,
we are eagles
among eagles,
we are tigers
among tigers,
we have strength,
we have fists;
swords and daggers
obey us;
we are the tested heirs
of Samson.

We used to forge
daggers and swords
like gleaming new moons,
and that luck
may come our way,
and that enemies
may not destroy
our happiness and joy,
the sharp weapons
we guarded,
as the flaming hearts
in our breasts.

The mountain-air rang
with tested swords
of the Amoozginites,
with sharp daggers
of the Coobatchinities
with heavy stones,
with thundering blows.
And in the battles,
in the clashes
the Tats grew
stronger and stronger.

Gloom and wrath,
envy and animosity,
the dark hate,
the evil serpent
hissed a long time,
and heaps of worms
for many generations
gnawed the "Mountain of Tongues."
The mountain would have fallen
into the bottomless pit.

But in a tempest,
in a heavy storm,
from a mountain-peak
descended the eagle of liberty
with fire-wings
with eyes like stars,
and upon his wings
he carried
the large sun-wheel.

To our home-town,
where since ancient days
we are inhabitants,
he came down,
brought the Tablets.
Sing, O, home-town,
sing, you are sacred,
since the eagle,
the eagle of liberty
upon fire-wings
has lifted you up
and made you eternal.

And all tribes
and all stems,
and all peoples
sent envoys
to the eagle
and welcomed him
as the greatest
and best guest
and spread before him
the most beautiful carpet.

And "many thanks"
thundered in the air.
And all tribes
he united in comradeship,
and all branches
he assembled in brotherhood,
and all peoples
he melted together,
as gold with silver,
as steel with copper.
The "Mountain of Tongues"
vowed to him
to live forever
in great unity.

And into the red hosts
that are numberless
as the deep sands
of the Caspian shores
the eagle welcomed us,
the free mountain-folks
of all peoples,
of all tribes,
and carried us
into battles
upon the wings of liberty.

And we, the Tats,
we, warriors of Samson,
heirs of Bar-Kochba,
together with our warrior brothers,
with the Yiggitts
and with the Narts,
with the Battirs
and the Bagadurs⁵
went into battles,
wrestled bitterly

⁵ Yiggitts, Narts, Battirs, Bagadurs—thus the peoples of Daghestan call the people's heroes.

like heroes
for our freedom.

In mountains and cliffs,
in clefts of rocks,
in deep valleys,
in wide steppes,
in dark woods,
bravely we went
into attack—
we, strong multitudes
of Partisans,
of People's messengers,
in the armies
of our eagle.

Hastily we drove
the cursed enemy,
pushed him
into black abysses,
into sea-depths,
into streams in the rocks.
Of the bones,
of the skulls,
of all enemies
there rose a mountain.

The eagle of liberty
with fire-wings,
with eyes like stars,
gave us
the rays of the sun-wheel,
the great truth,
the deep wisdom,
happiness and peace
and abundance,
and protected us
and shielded us
from our enemies.

The "Mountain of Tongues"
he united
with the land of peoples
that is endless
and strong and mighty.
And for centuries to come,
for ever and ever,
we are brothers,
one family of peoples,
one great beehive,
one nest of eagles,
one strong fortress.

The tribe of the cliffs,
the sons of Yehudah,
the free Tats,
the toilers
carry to you, eagle of liberty
eagle of peace,
eagle of victory,
carry to you
the clusters
with the best grapes
of the south-vineyards,
the oldest wines
of deep cellars.

O, sun! O, eagle!
To you
the aged bow
their grayheads,
the mountain-Yiggitts,
the girls of the rocks,
the splendor of the South,
as the-bards
sing odes to you
and songs of praise,
and songs to the victor
the cliffs sing to you!

IN THE TRADITION OF NATIONAL EPICS

By Moise Katz

IN this issue of JEWISH LIFE there appears a literary gem that deserves the attention of all who treasure literature. It is a *Song (Sheeraho)* of the Tat Jews—a folksong, an epic poem which has been passed on orally through folk-

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singers, and which in its present form is dedicated to Stalin.

The Tats are an old Jewish mountain tribe which has been living since very ancient days in the mountains of North Caucasus, in Daghestan, on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Their Jewish language is Tat, an old Persian dialect which has been influenced in the course of centuries, and perhaps for thousands of years, by Semitic languages,

especially Hebrew, and Turkic. Although in appearance, in manner of life and in customs, they resemble their mountain neighbors, they are nevertheless very conscious of their Jewishness. A great many of their legends and songs, that comprise their oral literature, are directly tied to their ancient history as Jews.

Although the Tats have no written history—at least no written historic documents have as yet been discovered—there are, however, sufficient references in the histories of other Caucasian peoples, of the Armenians, Georgians and Persians, to support the Tat legends that they came to Daghestan in very ancient times both from Palestine and from Persia. The mention of the Mediterranean and Caspian Seas in Tat folklore give a clear indication of this. According to their own traditions, the Tats are descendants of the “lost ten tribes.” Armenian and Georgian chronicles confirm the fact that Jewish communities already existed in the Caucasus prior to the Christian era. At the time of the Bar-Kochba uprising against the Romans in Palestine (132-135 A.D.), important Jewish communities already existed in North Caucasus.

The belief exists that in the fifth century of the present era, large masses of Jews migrated to the Caucasus from Persia in order to escape persecution. In the eighth century, the Arabs, in overrunning the Caucasus, found a large Jewish community. It is possible that the conversion of the Volga Khazars¹ to the Jewish faith in the eighth century took place under the influence of the North Caucasus Jews. And it is likely that a number of the converted Khazars joined the North Caucasus Jews when their own state which had stretched from the Volga and the Don to the Caucasian mountains was destroyed in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

There is in any case not the slightest doubt that whatever the ancient origin of the Daghestan Tats, they are an old branch of the Jewish family tree, a Jewish nationality group that passed through a very colorful and difficult history and managed, despite all hardships, to maintain its national individuality.

Soviets End Isolation

A great factor in the maintenance of the Tat ethnic character was naturally the fact that the Tats, like all mountain tribes, were for centuries quite isolated from the rest of the world. This isolation, which kept the Tats from dissolving into the surrounding world, also had its negative side in so far as it kept the Tats separated from all other Jews, especially from the European Jews and particularly from the Russian Jews, and very seriously retarded their cultural developments. It is a fact that, although the Tats, during their entire history, possessed a written language

¹ Khazars are first distinguished at the end of the 2nd century A.D. They played an important role as organizers of transit between the Black Sea and the Caspian. In the 7th century Khazaria annexed the Crimea and controlled the Sea of Azov. Stubborn fighters for their independence against conquering hordes, they reached their zenith in the 8th and 9th centuries. In the 8th century the Khazar dynasty adopted Judaism. Religious liberty continued, however, to be the state policy.

(the Tat language written in Hebrew characters) in which they read their prayers, they did not, however, possess a written secular literature until the rise of Soviet power. Their entire literary heritage was oral, and consisted of songs, legends, tales and proverbs. The Tats, who had for centuries under Moslem rule—Persian, Arab and Turkish—been one of the most oppressed and backward groups of the Caucasian peoples, were raised to the position of a free national group only under the Soviet system. Schools in the Tat language were set up. A theater and a press was developed. And today they already possess a number of writers and artists in the Tat language.

In spite of this, oral folk-ballads, folksongs and heroic poems, which recount the history, sufferings, longings and struggles of the Tats, have continued among them up to the present. One of their most popular folk-singers is Gulay Iffraimov, a talented singer of folk-legends and improviser of his own ballads which he himself does not write down, but which he sings at weddings, holidays and Soviet celebrations. Among his people he partly fills the role of the Jewish *badchen*², partly the role played among the Daghestan people by Sulaimen Stalski, the old poet and folksinger, who kept alive in his songs and oral compositions the poetic cultural treasures and legends of his people.

The Ukrainian Jewish poet, M. Helmond, deserves great credit for translating into Yiddish two wonderful heroic poems from the Tat people. One song—an epic of the mountain-Jews dedicated to Stalin—is printed in this issue. The other song, in some respects even more characteristic, is called *Samson the Second*, part of the larger Tat epic about *Samson the First, the Second and the Third*.

A Report in Verse

The first poem, as indicated, is dedicated to Stalin. The dedication is in accord with the custom which has developed during the last ten or fifteen years in many of the smaller Soviet nationalities, especially among those which for the first time achieved national rights and which have come to feel free and equal only under the Soviet regime and the Stalin constitution. Larger nationalities and republics, which engage in socialist competition with other Soviet nationalities and republics in economic and cultural spheres, publish at the end of the year a collective “report to Comrade Stalin,” in which they give the facts and figures of their achievements. Smaller and more primitive nationalities issue their “reports” in the form of a written folksong, in which their present achievements and well-being are given against the background of their rich folklore.

That is why, when the Tats wanted to tell the world about their liberation, they did it in the form of an epic folksong, in which the garland of their heroic folk-legends was adorned with the symbol of the leading figure of the present day, Stalin, who is poetically represented, together

² A combination jester, folk singer, story teller and entertainer used at Jewish weddings.

with the whole Soviet Revolution, in the symbol of a mighty, liberating mountain eagle.

It is unfortunate that the Yiddish text of the Tat folk poem, from which this English translation has been made, was not accompanied with informative notes by the original translator, M. Helmond. We would like to know, for instance, when the poem was put together and who gave it its present published form. It is clear that several parts of the poem must be very old, sung perhaps for hundreds of years among the people. Other parts seem to have been written fairly recently, perhaps directly for the occasion of reporting to Stalin. It would be very interesting and important to know when and by whom this poem was first written down in the present form, or in different versions; how it was translated into Yiddish, whether directly from the Tat original or from a Russian translation, whether it was a literal translation or otherwise, and whether the translator stuck closely to the text or brought in his own changes.

It is necessary to know all these things, because *The Song of the Mountain-Jews* is without doubt a work of great worth that can compare favorably with such folk-epics as the Finnish-Karelian *Kalevala* or the Georgian *Knight in the Tiger's Skin* (published here by International Publishers) and others of the same caliber, and is not inferior to the best of them in poetic imagery.

An Authentic Folk-Creation

The tone, the form and the poetic embellishments of the epic leave no doubt that we have here an authentic folk-creation, which shimmers with all the colors of the oriental traditions of the mountain-Jews. Whatever liberties the different folksingers, composers or translators may have permitted themselves with the poem—if they permitted themselves any liberties—the basic tone of the poem rings

true and thoroughly in the folk spirit, and its oriental color emerges sharply and vividly as in the best oriental rugs. What do you think, for instance, of such an opening for a song that is accompanied with the plucking of mountain string instruments: "Ho, daughters of Deborah," etc.? Or the section beginning with "Give us the tars . . .?"

In the poem, the old history of the Jewish Tat tribe, which was forced to leave its old homeland, is not so much told as suggested in legendary style. In a ringing, picturesque and convincing form, there unfolds the story of how the Tat people transform the stony mountains near the Caspian Sea with great effort into blooming homes and how the people then suffers from foreign evil rulers who seek to enslave and exterminate it. In the struggle against the oppressor, the Tats remember that they are the grandchildren of Samson the Mighty, sons of Bar-Kochba, that they are a people of warriors who never accept slavery. The comparison they make of their condition at that time is very moving. "To tiny kernels under mill-stone our tribe was likened." In this picture, many children of our much suffering people will recognize their blood-brothers in need in the small Tat tribe. . . .

Their struggle helps them save themselves until the time when the Soviet Revolution, and its great leader, Stalin, arrive, and descend upon the mountain people like a liberating mountain eagle. And after painting how free and joyous life has become after the arrival of the "eagle," the poem ends with a paean of praise, "O, sun! O, eagle!"

I am convinced that the whole poem and perhaps a whole cycle of this type of folk-poetry of the mountain-Jews, deserves to be published in an illustrated edition, not only in Yiddish but in other languages, as has been done with other national epics. They are not only a symbol and expression of the inner spiritual richness of this small branch of the Jewish people, but a very valuable addition to the world treasury of poetry.

NUMERUS CLAUSUS

By Mark Isaacson

THERE is a velvet curtain (since we speak so glibly nowadays of curtains) hiding one of the most undemocratic processes in our American democracy—the quota system in our schools of higher learning. Behind the respectability of the fine offices of university presidents, of bookshelves lined with Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson and Franz Boas, there is a shadow, fascism, an intellectualized racism which is choking our educational system.

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The "cancer of prejudice in educational practice," was brought to light by a recent report lifting the velvet curtain. This report by the Mayor's Committee on Unity in New York City received a broad press coverage, and shocked quite a few people into realizing how far discriminatory practices in education have gone. Many of us, remembering our parents' stories about the three per cent quota, and the segregated seating imposed on Jewish students in Czarist Russia, remembering how we laughed (a little bitterly) at Sholem Aleichem's lampooning of the *numerus clausus*, were struck that an American analogy could exist.

We should not have been so suddenly surprised that a quota system existed for a long time, that discrimination was practiced in the schools of the United States. Even a superficial understanding of the roots of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination should have been sufficient to alert us to the prevalence of bigotry. The schools, far from being isolated ivory towers, are in fact intimately tied up with the social system under which we live, and are assigned by monopoly capitalism and imperialism a vital role in the effort to promote, safeguard and build loyalty to that very social system. The schools, therefore, are oriented not only to reflect the ideology and the prejudices of the social system, but they actually propagate the ideology and encourage the development of the prejudices, so necessary for the existence of imperialism.

It would be childish to think that monopoly and imperialism would fail to use the educational system which they maintain either directly or through their government agents. And the schools respond in deed as well as in theory. The schools themselves practice the prejudices they preach in teaching the reactionary ideology of the ruling capitalist class. It is not surprising that the school system is permeated with discrimination. It is surprising that we have come to realize it so late, and that the progressive movement has been so tardy in organizing a persistent struggle against it.

Dr. C. S. Danzer, formerly a member of the faculty of Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons, relates how a brilliant young Jewish student, applying under his real name (Katz) to Columbia's medical school, received the answer that registrations were closed until 1951. Reapplying with an identical record, but signing "John Murphy" instead, he received a reply by return mail to the effect that while it was a little late to be considered for the current year, he would nevertheless be given courteous consideration for immediate admission if he filled out the enclosed application blank.

There is no paucity of such stories; the case is not just that of an individual in a single university. It is a pattern of prejudice which has been spreading, becoming more pernicious over the years.

No Shortage of Proof

In off-the-record statements (and in rarer cases in open statements by high administrative officials) a quota system has been declared to be in effect in much of our higher education. In 1922, President Lowell of Harvard said, "If every college in the country would take a limited number of Jews, I suspect we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling." What is this but the bourbons' argument, that if the Negro knew his "place," and did not try to get "uppity," there would be no race problem down South? What is this, if not the embryo of the maniacal "solution" to the Jewish problem which Hitler put into effect?

But the drive against discrimination in the colleges cannot depend on the occasional "slip" of a Lowell, or of a Hop-

kins, retired president of Dartmouth, who defended the quota system as being "in the interests of the Jews themselves"; or of a Horner, secretary of the Council on Dental Education, who is in favor of what Will Maslow calls "Educational Geopolitics." Usually the issue is screened behind a polite hypocrisy. But the facts are available. They have been presented in the previously mentioned report of the Mayor's Committee on Unity in a brief entitled "Report on Discrimination in Institutions of Higher Learning."

This is not the place to give a comprehensive survey of the factual material on hand. It is available in many sources: notably in the publications of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress, and in various articles by members of the Committee on Unity, and in the press (Benjamin Fine's coverage in the *New York Times* of January 22, 1946). However such facts as the following are worth re-stating:¹

Jewish enrollment in seven medical schools in New York State dropped 58 per cent in the two decades. In a recent survey, 94 colleges admitted excluding Negroes; most of them were in the South where a dual educational system on color lines prevails. Only one student of Italian descent on the average was enrolled at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons during any year between 1935 and 1943. Ninety per cent of all colleges and universities in the United States require a statement of the student's religion, or "religious preference," in their application blanks. Usually, too, the applicant is asked questions bearing on racial or national origin. Many ask for photographs, to make sure there is no mistake. Figures for a typical pre-war year, 1936, show that few colleges admitted more than ten per cent Jews, and those that did were mainly the large urban, municipal colleges. Of the one hundred and fifty New York City College graduates applying to two New York medical schools, only six were admitted.

It is no longer a matter of proving a point, however.

What Has Been Done?

Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the American Jewish Congress wrote a letter to Mayor William F. O'Dwyer on January 22, 1946, demanding that tax exemptions granted educational institutions be withdrawn if discrimination is further practiced in these institutions. Mayor O'Dwyer replied by directing the City Tax Commission and its president, Harry B. Chambers, to enforce the tax law. (A 1935 amendment to the State Tax Law states that "No educational corporation or association that holds itself out to the public to be non-sectarian and exempt from taxation shall deny the use of its facilities to any person, otherwise qualified, by reason of his race, color or religion.") The Mayor's statement and his directive appeared in the press on January 31, 1946. Before

¹ Some sources are the statistical studies by the CLSA of the American Jewish Congress; "Discrimination in Medical Colleges," by Frank Kingdom in *American Mercury*, October, 1945; "Religious Prejudice in Colleges," by Dan W. Dodson, in *American Mercury*, July, 1946; "Opportunity Limited," by Will Maslow, *Jewish Affairs*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Feb. 15, 1946); "Columbia's Restricted Clientele," by Leo Pfeffer in *Jewish Spectator*, July, 1946.

then, he had stated in a prepared address to the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council that "Our non-sectarian colleges, our schools of medicine, law, dentistry and engineering, whether public or private, do not deserve our bounty (*i.e.*, tax exemption—M. I.), and ought not to receive it if they deny to anyone the use of their facilities by reason of race, color or religion."² But the Mayor reversed his stand.

When the tax rolls were opened to the public on February 1, 1946, all exemptions previously listed were included. Nothing had been done! More than a month had passed without action, until Dr. Wise filed a formal application for the cancellation of Columbia University's tax exemption. He based his case on the admission made to the Mayor's Committee on Unity by two key administrative officers of Columbia University,³ that there was a definite and official limitation on the number of Jewish and Catholic students and that the percentage of Jewish students never rose above a "numerus clausus" or fixed percentage. The drop in medical school enrollment of Jewish students at Columbia from 46.92 per cent to 6.40 per cent between 1920 and 1940 was cited.

It is interesting to note that two months after Dr. Wise's letter, and O'Dwyer's reversal of stand, Eugene P. Connolly, American Labor Party City Councilman, introduced a letter to the City Council signed by a member of the Tax Commission, stating that the application for revocation of Columbia's tax exemption *had not even come before the Tax Commission*. Connolly also stated that letters to the same effect were available from other commissioners. He proceeded to introduce a resolution to direct the Commission to investigate Dr. Wise's charges and to cancel Columbia's tax exemption if charges were found to be valid.

Pressure Forces Hearing

Through parliamentary maneuvering the resolution landed in the Rules Committee of the City Council to be buried. But when the Rules Committee received 5,000 letters on the issue, a public hearing on the resolution had to be scheduled for May 17. The largest audience ever to attend a hearing or session of the Council was present. Over fifty different organizations, including the Morning Freiheit Association, sent statements or representatives to testify in favor of the resolution. Only Godfrey Saxe, of Saxe, Bacon and O'Shea, Columbia's counsel, opposed the resolution.

The testimony at the hearing revealed a quota system against students of Italian origin even worse than that practiced upon Jewish students. In over thirty-one years, Cornell's medical school had graduated only two Negroes, Columbia's medical school had only nine Negro graduates.

² An interesting sidelight on the role of social-democrats on this question of tax exemptions is the speech of Harry Gideonse, Brooklyn College president, at this meeting. Tax exemption cancellation, he stated, might lead to a violation of "one of the most fundamental of freedoms—the freedom to be different." (*New York Times*, January 27, 1946.)

³ Dr. Virginia D. Harrington, chairman of the admissions committee of Barnard, and Dean Harry J. Carman of Columbia College.

Of course Godfrey Saxe, spokesman for acting president Frank D. Fackenthal, stated righteously that "Columbia's trustees banned discrimination in 1810, and that applicants were admitted solely on merit" (*PM*, May 19). Peter V. Cacchione, Communist Councilman from Brooklyn, demanded in the City Council that the secrecy concerning the names of the bias schools be ended; he asked that the names be made public.

Further action has now been taken in the City of New York. The City Council has set up a committee to investigate discrimination in the school system. Hearings held during the week of October 21, at which Cornell's medical college was the subject of interrogation, brought out some damaging preliminary information. A letter written by Dr. William S. Ladd; former dean, was introduced in which he admitted his own agreement with the quota system against Jewish students. He also admitted that he had applied the quota policy in 1940. Dr. Joseph C. Hinsle, present dean, denied that the quota system was in operation at the present time. Some doubt was cast on this assertion when Councilman Walter Hart, attorney for the investigating committee, accused the college of destroying application records, which made it difficult to ascertain the degree of discrimination practiced today against Jewish students. Dr. Dayton Edwards, incumbent assistant to the dean, admitted that while it had been the policy of the college to keep records for three years, recently it had been decided to keep them for one year only. The City Council investigation has made an auspicious beginning. How it will proceed, and how it will end, will depend entirely upon the determination of the people of New York to eradicate discrimination in the schools.⁴

State legislative action was also attempted on the issue. Towards the close of the last session of the Legislature, the Austin-Mahoney Bill was introduced. This bill provided for a state commission against discrimination in education, which would have the power to investigate discrimination by reason of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry in the admission of students, or the employment of teachers. Such discrimination would be declared an unfair educational practice, and a cease and desist order would be issuable by the commission and enforceable by the courts. The bill also directed the cancellation of tax exemptions of institutions found to be practicing discrimination.

The bill was weakened in the revised version which was presented to the Legislature. Loss of tax exemption was not automatic, but would be incurred only if an institution refused to eliminate discrimination after being given a "reasonable opportunity" to do so. However, this bill is overwhelmingly positive. If it were revised and strengthened for presentation in the coming session of the Legislature, it would increase its mass support, which was already evident at the recent conference called by the New York State Com-

⁴ For developments since this article was written, please see the editorial, *Discrimination in Schools*, on page 5 of the current issue.—Editors.

mittee Against Discrimination in Education. The issue promises a big fight in 1947.

The State University Issue

As a result of the report of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the issue of a state university has come up. Under the terms of the Steingut-Mahoney Bill, the proposed state university would be charged with according equal opportunity for cultural, scientific, and professional training. New York remains the only state in the United States without a state university, and New York ranks last in per capita expenditure on higher education. The need for state aid to education is obvious.

There has been concern, however, over what character such a university, formed as an answer to bias in other schools, might have. Louis Hollander, president of the New York State CIO, was quoted in the *New York Times* of January 25, 1946 as stating, "If the present proposal (Steingut-Mahoney Bill) is enacted into law, we will not only establish a Ghetto University, but we will go a long way towards legalizing discrimination in every school and college in the State of New York." However, the CIO is in favor of the creation of a state university, but, "only as a means of enlarging educational facilities and taking care of our youth. . . ."

Of course there is this danger. But it is a danger only if the fight against discrimination in the schools narrows itself down to this one solution. As Hollander points out quite correctly, ". . . we warn the men who sponsor this measure and those who will vote for it, that they cannot salve their conscience in this fashion." An editorial in the *Morning Freiheit* on February 2, 1946 states the case well: "To think that the mere establishment of such a state university will 'by example' shame those (discriminating) institutions . . . into a better path is not only foolish but dangerous. As in general life, so in our educational system, the continued existence of any spot of fascist ideology and practice weakens all of democracy, and strengthens fascist reaction everywhere." The editorial goes on to make the point that the battle against discrimination must include, in addition to a state university, action on FEPC, on democratizing of the Board of Education, and the end of tax exemptions for schools that discriminate.

The issue of a state university must be seen in this light as one aspect of the many-sided struggle against reaction. The fight on all these fronts must have our active support.

The Political Record

How actively are prominent political figures combatting discrimination in the schools? Hedging on the issue of a state university reached the heights of proficiency in experienced Republican hands. It is a process of "murdering with protestations of good will." The Steingut-Mahoney Bill was smiled upon affably by the Republican gentlemen in the Legislature who gently urged "the creation of a com-

mission," of course, "to study all phases of the question and submit a report with recommendations to the 1947 Legislature." One hundred thousand dollars was generously appropriated for this purpose (in contrast with the original demand for fifty million dollars to establish a university). This Republican proposal was put forward by the then majority leader Irving Ives, following the lead of Dewey who mentioned the issue of a state university only very vaguely in his annual message to the Legislature on January 9, 1946. The policy of "investigation to stop action" is the pattern of the Freeport investigation which has led to the white-washing of the slayer of two Negroes, of the federal KKK investigation which has left the Klan undisturbed. It is reaction's newest tool.

Action Required

The hypocrisy of high university officials,⁵ the maneuvers of Big Business, and political two-facedness cannot divert an aroused community. That was proved last year in the successful struggle waged by determined people for a state FEPC. Ending discrimination in education deserves equal attention.

For the youth, for the students particularly, this is a front-line issue, a problem which strikes directly home. When education is distorted through discrimination, it ceases to be education for democracy. No school activity, no student or teacher is immune from the effects of discriminatory practices. The youth movement, growing stronger daily in the face of the drive against democracy here at home, must take up the issue of the quota system, organize action against it on a mass scale on campuses, through political action, through active support for all the agencies fighting discrimination, through creating a powerful student protest movement against quotas.

The veterans who have seen anti-Semitism and race-hatred in the army, and who have seen the degeneracy of Germany, will back such a fight. The trade unions must take up this issue as an important problem. The fraternal and community organizations must get into the fight. Democracy is indivisible and the fight against any threat to democracy is the duty of all labor and the people. It would be a dangerous mistake to consider the issue as only a student problem. Only by seeing this struggle in its broad aspects can an efficient fight around it be realized.

The drive of imperialism for war begins with a drive on democracy at home. In this light the quota system, anti-democratic practices in education, and racism in the schools can be seen in their full significance. They weaken the democratic wall, which stems the tide of the war-makers. *Numerus clausus* is as dangerous in 1947 as "Germany for the Aryans" was in 1933.

⁵ Max Lerner had nothing better to say on this in a *PM* editorial, "The Classroom Is Ours," than that the eminent college presidents "are caught in a vicious system," but personally, doubtlessly, "believe in democracy and hate the principle of racism." (*PM*, January 31, 1946.)

THE CONTENT OF JEWISH CULTURE

By Alexander Bittelman

THERE is in the United States a peculiar system of oppression and persecution of peoples—usually spoken of as minorities—and of discrimination against them. First comes the Negro people. Against them the white ruling classes have established a regime of naked and brutal national oppression in what is called the “Black Belt” in the South, where the Negro people are developing as a nationality, and a system of national oppression and discrimination in all other parts of the country. After the Negroes, come the various national groups: Jews, Italians, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Yugoslavs, Czechs and others. These are not separate nationalities, nor are they national minorities of the eastern European type. They are specifically American national groupings which are historically playing a progressive role in the growth and development of the American nation.

The outstanding fact to be noted is that the masses of these national groups are oppressed and discriminated against as groups by the so-called “superior Anglo-Saxon race.” These discriminations, as is well known, appear in all spheres, economic, political, cultural and social, and assume many and varied forms and degrees of intensity for the different national groups. But whatever their forms, *the content* of these discriminations has a very definite *national* character. The main sources of national discrimination lie in imperialism, in the domination of the trusts and monopolies, in the capitalist system as such. From these sources also stem the most reactionary circles of finance capital which feed and promote fascism. Anti-Semitism itself, therefore, which is one of the sharpest weapons of American imperialist reaction against the progressive forces of the American people, is one of the forms of national oppression and persecution.

The resolution on work among the Jewish masses recently issued by the Communist Party of the United States (*Political Affairs*, Nov. 1946) calls for further study of the growth of the national groups and the perspectives of their development. These studies will have to trace the origin of these groups among the various immigrants having a common national origin, examine the peculiarities of both the older and more recent migrations, and analyze the

effect of each wave of immigration upon the degree of discrimination or privilege suffered or enjoyed by the various national groups. We shall have to study more exactly the significance of the relative compactness of the geographical location of various national groups within certain states and cities; the persistence of a common occupational pattern within each national group, and the peculiarities of class relations within the general national economy that this pattern brings about; the cultural and ethnic features of the group as they are transformed by the group's experiences in the United States; the effect of the influences from the old countries on the groups; the concrete course of the struggle undertaken by each group against discrimination and oppression by the so-called “superior” Anglo-Saxon races, for equal rights, for free and voluntary integration into general American life as against an assimilation forced and imposed upon the group by the ruling circles.

It should become the ambition of American Jewish Marxists to carry through such investigations for the American Jewish national group. It will enrich our ideological work and will immeasurably strengthen it politically. It will enable us to wage a most effective struggle for our Marxist positions against bourgeois nationalism and assimilationism.

What should be said additionally on the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture? Two things. First, the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture is in no contradiction to the struggle for a progressive culture of the American people as a whole. On the contrary, it is an organic part of it. Second, the struggle for a progressive Jewish culture is in no contradiction to the Leninist opposition to the slogan of “national culture” under capitalism, or to the Leninist orientation on the eventual merger of all national cultures into a one-world socialist culture. It is, in fact, in full accord with this Leninist position.

I shall discuss the second part first. Stalin's famous examination of the question established the following facts: 1) “Lenin never said that national languages become fused into one common language within the boundaries of a single state, *before the victory of socialism on a world scale.*” 2) “Lenin never said that the abolition of national oppression and the fusion of the interests of nationalities into a single whole is equivalent to the abolition of national differences.” 3) “Lenin never said that the watchword of developing national culture *under the proletarian dictatorship* is a reactionary watchword.” (Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, International Publishers, New York, 1934 edition, pp. 257-259; 1942 edition, pp. 204-206.)

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It is therefore evident that the development of national cultures in socialist countries is not only in accord with socialist principle but becomes really possible only under socialism; and that the development of national cultures will continue even after the establishment of socialism on a world scale. Hence, it is un-Marxist and unrealistic to orientate on a quick disappearance of national differences, languages and cultures.

But this does not mean that we should raise the slogan of struggle for a Jewish "national" culture. We say this, not because national culture is incompatible with socialism but because national culture in a bourgeois society is a culture which is *bourgeois* in content, "the aim of which is to infect the masses with the virus of nationalism and to consolidate the supremacy of the bourgeoisie." (Stalin, *ibid*, 1934 ed., p. 260; 1942 ed., p. 207.) That is why Lenin considered the slogan of "national culture" in a society based on the supremacy of the bourgeoisie as a reactionary slogan. But in doing so, "Lenin was striking at the bourgeois *content* of national culture, and not at its national *form*." (Stalin, *ibid*, 1934 ed., p. 260; 1942 ed., p. 207.)

This means that the *dominant* culture, *not the whole culture* of a people under capitalism, is bourgeois in content. It means, further, that in countries ruled by the bourgeoisie, cultural movements arise and cultural values are created and spread that are not only not bourgeois in content but reflect the life, the struggles and the progressive aspirations of the masses of the people. Some of these cultural movements and values reach advanced progressive stages where they reflect the historic liberation mission of the working class. These movements and cultural values are obviously national in form, although they are not the dominating culture of the nation. They wage a constant struggle against the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in the cultural life of the nation, and for the extension of the influence of the progressive culture among the masses of the people.

Consequently, we in the American Jewish national group are raising the slogan of a progressive mass Jewish culture—not of a national Jewish culture—in accord with the general position of the Communist Party for a progressive American people's culture.

In what sense, then, do we speak of a progressive culture of the Jewish people as a whole, that is, of the Jews of all countries? We base ourselves, first, on the objective fact that there is a culture of the Jewish people as a whole, a culture expressing Jewish national character, which is one of the national attributes common to Jews of all countries. Yet we must take into account another objective fact, namely, that the Jewish people live in many countries and lands under various and different social systems, and are developing different forms of national existence. This fact does not negate the existence of a Jewish national character embodied in Jewish culture regardless of country. But the special conditions of each country in which Jews live do affect the contents of the Jewish cultural values in the various countries and produce certain language problems. The tendency seems to be for Jewish culture to be expressed

in more than one language, in most cases in Yiddish and in the language of the country, in our case English.

On the basis of the foregoing, we can now examine the relation between progressive American Jewish culture and progressive Jewish culture in general, that is, of the Jewish people as a whole. We contribute to general Jewish culture by the mere fact of creating American Jewish cultural values. This is true for the Jews of all other countries. In this way we are all carrying forward the progressive traditions of our people and enriching its common cultural treasure. Furthermore, we associate culturally with the Jews of other lands, thus influencing each other and continually renewing and reinforcing the Jewish national character in our culture. Finally, we can and do create joint cultural values, and in this field the Soviet Jews can and do play a most vital part.

In brief, we speak of a progressive Jewish culture of our people as a whole in the sense of a culture embodying Jewish national character and giving expression to the common progressive aspiration of the masses of our people in all countries regardless of the different social systems under which they live and of the different forms of national existence which they are developing. We speak of a progressive Jewish culture embracing the cultural creations of the American Jews, the Jews of the Soviet Union including Birobidjan, of the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, the Jewish communities in France, Poland and other European countries, the Jewish communities in England, in the dominions, especially Canada, and in Latin America. The fight for such a progressive culture is a fight for a progressive Jewish life, for the survival of our people, for its well-being, for general progress and democracy.

The relationship between the struggle for a progressive American Jewish culture and the struggle for a general progressive culture of the American people is an equally vital question that must be examined. American Jewish culture is *American*, is an organic part of general American culture, just as the American Jewish national group is an organic part of the American nation. Each cultural movement and value created by the American Jewish national group becomes part, and promotes the further development, of general American culture. In this way, the American Jewish national group, like all other American national groups, is making its contribution to building and developing the multi-cultural American nation. But the American nation is not only developing as a multi-cultural nation but is also beginning to develop progressive cultural values of a common general American character. And in this process, too, American Jews participate actively.

Thus, it may be said that the progressive American Jews participate in the development of the progressive culture of the American people as a whole in two ways: by creating and propagating cultural values of the American Jewish national group, and by creating and propagating cultural values of a common general American character. And this form of contribution holds true in all other American national groups.

JEWS FACE THE THREAT OF THE COLUMBIANS

By George Leonard

(Continued from page 1)

encouraged to carry on and increase the tempo of their activities.

How did the Jewish people of Atlanta respond? The question is of vital importance to every Jew and non-Jew in America. Of all groups in Atlanta, the Jewish group should have been most aware of the danger to America in the program of the Columbians and the KKK. It should have rallied every person and organization it could reach in its fight for its very life and existence. It should have been prepared to warn that anti-Semitism was a political weapon, the main source of which was and always would be, Big Business and the international cartels.

Atlanta is a fast-growing Southern city. Its present population is about 500,000. Its Jewish citizens number between 12,000 and 14,000. It has a Jewish Community Council which includes in its membership representatives from every Jewish organization in Atlanta. The regional office of the Anti-Defamation League for the South is located here. Atlanta has six synagogues—three Orthodox, one Spanish, one Reform and one Conservative. The major Jewish organizations are: one Z.O.A. District Chapter with a membership of about 1,200; one B'nai B'rith Lodge, Gate City Lodge No. 144 with a membership of about 1,300; one Jewish War Veteran Post with a membership of about 550; one Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order Lodge with a membership of about 50 and two branches of the Workmen's Circle.

Jewish War Veterans Respond

While at work on the morning of October 31, 1946, Arthur Weiss, Commander of the Jewish War Veterans Atlanta Post No. 112, received a call. He was informed that the Columbians were issuing an anti-Semitic leaflet and were announcing on Peachtree Street, the main thoroughfare of Atlanta, that a meeting of their group was going to take place that night. The announcements were being made from a sound truck which blasted forth threats to kill the Jews. Weiss consulted with other officers of his Post and then went into action. A telephone campaign was undertaken to mobilize the membership of the Post to attend the meeting of the Columbians that night.

The leaflet being distributed had a lightning bolt in blazing red ink, the symbol of the Columbians, at the top and then said in part: "... The JEWS, who do the

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greatest part of advertising in newspapers, hate us because we had the courage to come out and tell the truth about how the JEWS are taking all the wealth and money in our nation. The JEWS and the newspapers are AFRAID of us because we are organizing the white people of the South. . . ."

The kind of "truth" the Columbians are telling can be exposed by quoting from a tirade by Loomis made at the meeting of the Columbians on November 8, 1946: "The Jew movies are teaching our kids to be gangsters and to drink. The Jew Reds are trying to get us to mix our white blood with N—— blood, in order to weaken us. They call us a hate movement, but the truth is they haven't the guts to use the word hate themselves. They are the real haters. We say there are some things that should be hated. . . . If you listen to us, you can control America completely in six months. . . . The masses will rally behind us because they know the Jews and N—— are oppressing them. Those poor stupid Jews! The Columbian Party is going to act within the framework of the Democratic Party and bring these issues to a vote, and the N—— and the Jews will pay the check. . . ."

Two students from Oglethorpe, Walter Slack and Gordon Bynum, had asked Loomis when they visited him at his headquarters whether he was against the Jews as well as the Negroes. Loomis answered: "The N—— would behave himself if it wasn't for the Jews. It's the Jews' fault that the N—— are getting out of place."

This is the alarming setting in which Commander Weiss rallied the Jewish War Veterans to attend the Columbians meeting. Weiss himself is a dark, medium size clean-cut man of about thirty-five who looks as if he might have been a football player in his college days. He served his country at Guadalcanal and on other fronts as a captain in the 1st Marine Division. He was compelled to retire in May 1944 because of wounds received in action. He still carries bullets which lodged in his back and spine.

Sounding Retreat

The Jewish war veterans readily responded to the call. Each man wanted to know why they had been called to action. When informed of the situation, none voiced objection. In fact, they agreed heartily. Weiss told me that none of these particular men had ever heard real anti-Semitic talk before. None had heard open and blatant anti-Negro talk.

About 125 Jewish war veterans attended the Columbian meeting on Friday evening, October 31, 1946. The veterans

sat and listened, hardly able to believe their ears as the poison of anti-Semitism and race hatred filled the air. About 500 people were present. Finally, one of the veterans could contain himself no longer and shouted: "It's a pack of lies!" Some of the Columbians started for the veteran. Loomis shouted: "Don't start a fight. That's what they want!"

Later in the meeting, all who were not members of the Columbians were asked to leave. The veterans left the meeting, but they were no longer the men who had entered. They had not just finished fighting a war to end fascism only to be met in their own city by a Nazi movement. Their eyes had been opened. They saw the danger to themselves and their country by the movement called the Columbians. They had heard anti-Semitic tirades for the first time and were determined to a man to resist the Columbians openly and forceably.

And then something happened. Something that has happened too many times before. The veterans became victims of the disastrous "hush-hush" policy. They never attended another meeting. They did nothing further in the fight against the Columbians—not because of their own wishes or inclinations. A policy was superimposed on the entire Jewish community of Atlanta by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This policy is now called by the public relations department of the A.D.L., "remarkable unity and self-discipline." But it is a policy which really means among other things that a Jew is a second-class citizen and therefore not qualified to speak in his own defense, or on his own behalf.

Back Door Intrigue

On October 7, 1946, at a meeting of the Gate City Lodge No. 144 of B'nai B'rith, a meeting which preceded all the events thus far related, Frank Garson, one of the four men in Atlanta who control the ADL and the activities of the Jewish community, gave a report. He had just returned from an ADL conference out of town. He announced that nobody had anything to worry about. He assured everyone that the ADL was doing all that was required to handle the emergency created by the Columbians and by the election of Eugene Talmadge as Governor of Georgia. The "right men" were being approached so that there would be no difficulties.

Commander Weiss told me that there were some members of the Jewish community who objected to the veterans attending the meeting of the Columbians. We can well imagine who these men were.

Following the Columbians' meeting which was attended by the veterans, two other meetings took place. One was of the executive board of the Jewish War Veterans and the other that of the Jewish Community Council. The result was that the "hush-hush" policy was imposed upon the veterans. It was decided that the veterans had done their job and that there was no need for further action. Any further work should be left to the so-called representatives of the Jewish community.

Other Jewish groups in the community were not even permitted to do what the Jewish War Veterans had done. They were restrained from doing anything. As a matter of fact, despite the urgency of the situation and the threatened violence to the Jewish community, no meeting of the various Jewish organizations or their membership was ever called.

Great opportunity had presented itself to unite the Jewish and non-Jewish community around a common problem. No group would dare to support openly the Columbians who were quite obviously following a Nazi program. The Ku Klux Klan, whose program did not differ in essence from the Columbians, could have been exposed as on no other occasion. Never was the time more ripe for an all-out fight against the KKK which still remains the most powerful fascist and anti-Semitic force in Georgia and throughout the South.

Columbians and the KKK

Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke, who is prosecuting the Columbians, informed me, "The Ku Klux Klan is much more dangerous than the Columbians. The KKK is getting new members. The Columbians are the juvenile delinquents of the Klan."

Charles Gilman, Chairman of the Georgia State CIO Industrial Union Council, stated, "I think the Columbians are led by the same people as the KKK and haven't hurt the KKK. . . . There is a great deal of anti-Semitism in the state. There has been a marked increase. It's not enough to be alarmed about, but it's a trend. The use of anti-Semitism during the recent elections increased the tensions and resulted in a large increase in anti-Semitism."

Congresswoman Helen Douglas Mankin said that in prosecuting the members of the Columbians, "the surface hasn't been scratched." Cong. Mankin added, "For the first time in the many political races that I have run, anti-Semitism reared its ugly head in my recent race."

One of the members of the Jewish Community in Atlanta who was present in Germany until December 1938, and who personally saw and felt the horrors and excesses of the Nazi regime, told me, "The Columbians are exactly the same as the Nazis. They use the same slogans and follow the same pattern. It's unfortunate that most of the Jews in Atlanta aren't even interested."

The Southern Israelite, an Anglo-Jewish publication in Atlanta and distributed throughout the South, in its December 13, 1946 issue carried a story issued by the ADL in Atlanta which reads in part: "The rapid decline of the Columbians is a direct result of aroused public opinion, according to Alexander F. Miller, Southeastern Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League. 'We tend sometimes to lose perspective by focusing too much attention on the rise of hate organizations and not enough on the splendid, wholesome attitude of the general public, as indicated by their immediate and sharp rejection of these groups.'"

In the same story, the ADL oracle says: "The virtual collapse of the Columbians does not mean the end of organized anti-Semitism in the South, Mr. Miller warned. He predicted the rise in the near future of similar lunatic-fringe hate groups that would try to capitalize on the furor raised by this organization."

The Columbians used sound trucks, leaflets and its membership to spread race-hatred. Public leaders in Atlanta were of the opinion that anti-Semitism was increasing and that Loomis and Burke were only tools and fronts of the Columbian movement. Several of them informed me that although they had no proof they knew ninety per cent

of the members of the Police Force in Atlanta to be members of the KKK, as well as seventy per cent of the government officials and most of the members of the American Legion.

The ADL, which is in a position to know these facts and which must know them, nonetheless stifled expression of public opinion, discouraged public action among Jews and non-Jews, and left the field wide open for the Columbians to act as the tools of Big Business, and to spread their poison with no counter-campaigns to inform people of the truth about the race question and the Nazi super-race myth, and to silence the fascist mobsters.

WHAT IS PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURE?

A SERIES OF DISCUSSION ARTICLES

The Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE is happy to have published an original story by Howard Fast, whom it considers one of the outstanding progressive American writers. "An Epitaph for Sidney," which appeared in the January issue, was a story of a Jewish youth's development as a militant and heroic fighter for human progress. The favorable reaction from most of our readers confirms the opinion of the Editorial Board, and brings to Howard Fast additional evidence of the high regard in which he is held by progressive America.

Howard Fast's story has the further virtue of opening up a theoretical discussion of great moment in the development of progressive Jewish culture in America. The question has been frequently asked by our readers, "What is progressive American Jewish culture?" And before we could begin to answer, an outstanding American Jewish progressive like Alexander Bittelman, as well as the Communist Party, raised the task of building a progressive American Jewish life and culture. JEWISH LIFE sought some way by which to inaugurate a basic discussion on the character of progressive American Jewish culture, the principles upon which it was built and its relationship to American culture.

The opportunity came with the publication of Howard Fast's story. For it raised some questions in the mind of editorial board member, Morris U. Schappes, which he felt he could with profit place before the readers. Though a member of the Editorial Board, Mr. Schappes is here expressing his personal views. The Editorial Board hopes the readers will not hesitate to join freely in the discussion, giving their opinion as to what is progressive American Jewish culture.

THE EDITORS

COMMENTARY ON "AN EPITAPH FOR SIDNEY"

By Morris U. Schappes

IT IS clear that a progressive American Jewish culture in English will not suddenly appear full blown. We shall have to wage, participate in, and if possible lead a fight for such a culture. This fight is a part of the general class struggles in the country today; and a part also of the general struggle of progressive American Jews in connection with major conflicts of the American people and the Jew-

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ish sector of that people. Culture is a reflection of life. A people's culture is the reflection of the life of a people. Progressive American Jewish culture, it seems to me, should have to be a reflection of progressive American Jewish life. Progressive American Jewish culture in Yiddish has for some time reflected the life of the Jewish masses whose primary language is Yiddish. The theory and practice of such a culture are nothing new to the Yiddish speaking cultural producers and consumers, creators and receivers.

But in regard to the majority of American Jews to whom English is their primary language, the very concept of a progressive American Jewish life is relatively new. What

is to be the content, then, of a culture that reflects that life, and reflecting it, of course, also contributes to it? Both a progressive American Jewish life and culture have to be fought for, and the role of a valid theory to guide that fight is therefore important. A progressive American Jewish life will have to be developed in struggle against two hostile forces that emanate from the imperialist ruling class of our country. One force is the pressure of bourgeois assimilationism, an "ism" that would deny the existence of Jewish life in this country, that aims to crush it where such life manifests itself, that seeks to impose ruling class "Anglo-Saxon" mono-cultural dominance on an American people that is peculiarly a people of immigrant strains. The second hostile force is the pressure of bourgeois nationalism, an "ism" that rises in reaction to assimilationism, but in a reaction that leads it into false faths of bourgeois separatism, bourgeois Zionist ideology, and the exaggeration of the bourgeois elements in Jewish life at the expense of the progressive, working-class, people's values in Jewish life. The fight for a progressive American Jewish life, therefore, must be waged consciously so as to steer between the obliterating quicksands of bourgeois assimilationism on the one hand, and the stagnant unwholesome swamp of bourgeois nationalism on the other.

Furthermore, this struggle for a clear approach has to be waged to a certain extent within the ranks of the progressive movement itself, including that vanguard of the movement which is the Communist Party. For that progressive movement, because of insufficient alertness to the dangers and because of an inadequate theoretical grasp of the problems, had allowed the alien class ideas of both bourgeois assimilationism and bourgeois nationalism to penetrate its ranks and make headway among both the leaders and members. Of the two, perhaps bourgeois assimilationism had been operating for a longer time and spread more widely among the English speaking Jews, but bourgeois nationalism, recently, has cut very deeply too.

All this is the background to my consideration of Fast's story.

Fast's Contribution

In my opinion, Howard Fast's story is *not* a contribution to progressive American Jewish literature and culture.

First, however, I must affirm that the story *is* a contribution to progressive American literature; it *is* a contribution to working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist American culture; it *is* a contribution to "general" Jewish culture. "An Epitaph for Sidney" is by one of our country's most important anti-fascist writers. The story is about an American progressive anti-fascist fighter whose living and dying was an offering and a service to the cause of the American working class and the American people as a whole, as well as to every part of it, the Negro people, the Jewish community, the oppressed and repressed of all American groups. Furthermore, the story expressed a general progressive American anti-fascist point of view. Howard Fast's

values are among the profoundest and noblest in current American literature. For these reasons, the story is a contribution to progressive American literature.

But Howard Fast is a Jew. Does not that fact make his contribution to progressive American literature a contribution *therefore* to American *progressive Jewish* literature? No, in my judgment this fact by itself does not have such an effect. The mechanical addition of factors will not produce the quality we are seeking. A person can be a Jew, an American, a progressive, and make contributions to literature which will not necessarily be contributions to progressive American Jewish literature. In fact, there are many Jewish writers in this country (and Jewish artists, musicians, dramatists, singers, journalists, scholars and teachers) who have made most and sometimes all their contributions to the general progressive culture developing in our country. And they will continue to do so. And the fight for an American *progressive Jewish* culture is in no way designed to lessen their contribution to this general American progressive tide. In fact, we desire to add a new and richer quality to this contribution.

But not only is Howard Fast a Jew. His character, Sidney Greenspan, his hero (and that is what Sidney is, both in reality and in the story), is a Jew. Does not the combination of a story *by* a Jewish progressive *about* a Jew who lives, fights, and dies for progress make the work a contribution to American progressive Jewish culture? No, not yet.

The Sidney Type

Why? Well, who was Sidney, what is he? You know Sidney; I know Sidney. Maybe the Sidneys I know are not named Greenspan. The ones I know are Chaikin and Mendelson and Ziegler. The ones you know have other names. They are all our friends and comrades who died fighting fascism. We are proud of them. We shall let no one take their brightness away from us. We honor them, and ever shall. Let Sidney be their first names.

Now Sidney, whatever his last name may be, is a Jew. He comes from a Jewish home. Sidney is the son of a worker, and he is more class-conscious than his father, who has been beaten into a "piece of putty" by the capitalist system. Sidney is an anti-fascist, and knows the meaning of the war against Franco and the later war against the whole Axis. Sidney knows the weak spots, the danger spots of his own country, and heroically asks for the toughest of all assignments, that in the specially oppressed South. Sidney thinks of himself as "a professional revolutionary," as one who makes a science and an art and a life out of serving the working class and all oppressed peoples. Sidney studies the science of revolutions, the history of the progressive traditions of our country. He is conscious of himself as a worker, as an American, as a Communist, as an anti-fascist. We see, feel, and admire that consciousness in the story.

And Sidney is a Jew. The fact that he is a Jew has a bearing on his life. Sidney, "a small, thin boy," faced the

hazards of "Jew-baiting and the run of fights." Later, when Franco's hired Moors capture him "they found out that he was a Jew and turned him over to the Nazis," who submit Sidney to the special tortures of the standing cell. As a boy and man things happen to Sidney because he is a Jew. They help make him hate and fight the system in which special things happen to Jews. But *from Fast's story* we get not the slightest inkling that Sidney thought of himself as a Jew not in the negative but a positive sense, not as a target of special anti-Semitic mistreatment, but as the heir of, the embodiment and transmitter of the *progressive* values and traditions of Jewish life. Is it likely that Sidney, when he was subjected to special tortures by the Nazis because he is a Jew, did not in some way reveal some sign of Jewish consciousness, did not in some way try to steel himself to bear his special burden by somehow connecting himself with Jewish fighting traditions? Yet in the story his level of Jewish consciousness is practically zero. And zeros add nothing to a man's stature.

Sidney as a type is known to all of us. He is the type of Jewish radical with a highly developed class consciousness. He is devoted to the anti-fascist struggle. Since fascism is bad for all peoples, including the Jews, his anti-fascist activity helps the Jews too. He is devoted to the struggle for socialism. Since socialism is good for all peoples, including the Jews, his struggle helps the Jews too. What more can one want? This more: that such progressive Jews take up the struggle against the reflection of imperialist ideology: bourgeois assimilation and bourgeois nationalism. And this more: that such progressive Jews begin to develop a progressive American Jewish life and culture. By doing so they will strengthen themselves and enrich their contribution. On these things the resolution of the Communist Party on the problems of the Jews is very eloquent indeed.

Weakness in Character

But Sidney, profound and integrated as he is as a type, lacks this element of progressive Jewish consciousness. Am I implying that Howard Fast should not have chosen Sidney as a hero, or that he should have grafted onto this type an element of Jewish consciousness that he did not have? No: insofar as this Jewish type is a real and significant phenomenon, he requires depiction in progressive American literature. But such a depiction, to be a contribution to *progressive American Jewish* literature, should not accept

the values of the assimilated radical, as Howard Fast does, but should challenge them. Of course, even among Sidney's generation, born in 1915, there are progressive Jews who, for various reasons, did not follow the assimilationist path. Such figures are worthy of portrayal in our literature too.

Do we dishonor a Sidney when, although we glory in his anti-fascist heroism, we disengage ourselves from what we recognize as a weakness in his character and thinking? Sidney, as a "professional revolutionary," would have been the first to criticize himself had he been made aware of this one inadequacy. Do we not honor a Sidney the more by treating him in the Marxist terms he cherished most?

Howard Fast has on occasion been very quick to sense the social effects of literary theories and literary work. There are the many living Sidneys who are afflicted, as the Communist Party resolution declares, with "Jewish bourgeois assimilationism, which has also had its influence within the ranks of the Party. . . ." They have to be won away from this influence; they have to be won for a conscious Marxist struggle as Jews against bourgeois assimilationism and bourgeois nationalism. Progressive American Jewish literature can help in this struggle. "An Epitaph for Sidney" could have contributed to progressive American Jewish culture and to the struggle against assimilationism, if either Sidney had been different, or Fast's treatment had revealed his weakness in proper perspective.

To round out the point I should add this: a contribution to American *progressive Jewish* culture would simultaneously be a contribution to general progressive American culture. But by being specifically and distinctively Jewish, such a contribution would really add a definite quality to the mainstream. Therefore the fight for an American *progressive Jewish* life and culture is a fight for the *enriching* of general progressive American literature. Progressive American Jews, while they continue to pour their riches into the rising tide of progressive American culture, will also begin to add distinctive elements to the extent that they develop conscious American *progressive Jewish* life and culture.

What has been said here about Jewish life could also be said about the life and culture of other large national groups in our country. What a variegated mainstream of progressive American culture we shall have when the distinctive contributions of all these national groups have been fashioned and added to the rising tide!

SOVIET POWER AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

By Y. Peikin

(Concluded from January issue)

LENIN and Stalin expressed themselves on more than one occasion as favoring the creation of a Jewish nation in the USSR. So did M. I. Kalinin, the late Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

On March 28, 1928, a historic decision was made by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) to set aside an area in the Birobidjan District for Jewish colonization, with the ultimate aim of developing a Jewish

national autonomous unit. In 1930, the Birobidjan Jewish National District was created. On May 7, 1934, the District became a Jewish Autonomous Region. Thus the foundations of Jewish nationhood were established in the Soviet Union, and later strengthened by the Stalin constitution (Article 22).

The Jewish Region, in common with all other Autonomous Regions, participates in governmental processes through the leading bodies of the RSFSR of which it is a part, and also directly through the Soviet of Nationalities in which the Region has five delegates. Yiddish is the official language of the Region, along with Russian. Yiddish is a required subject even in the non-Jewish schools in the Region.

The historical importance of the Jewish Autonomous Region was definitively stated by M. I. Kalinin: "An Autonomous Region under the Soviets creates tremendous possibilities for continuing industrial and cultural growth and progress. The Jews have their fatherland—the Soviet Union and their national state. They have become a nation."

It was no accident that Birobidjan was selected as the base for building Jewish nationhood. Such a project calls for broad perspectives, and here they exist. The Jewish Autonomous Region contains 37,000 square kilometers (a kilometer is nearly five-eighths of a mile), and is larger than Belgium, Holland and some other European countries. The Region is therefore able to accommodate large numbers of settlers. There are millions of hectares (a hectare is about two and a half acres) of fertile soil for rich harvests of wheat, rice, soybean and other products. More than twenty million hectares are covered with magnificent forests of mighty oaks, rare ash and other valuable types of trees. The *taiga* abounds in many kinds of valuable animals. The earth was found to be a colossal treasure-house of iron ore, tin, gold, coal, graphite and other minerals.

The treasure discovered, for example, in one Obluch District near the plateau of Chingan, is so rich that this District is called the "Pearl of the Far East." The Jewish Autonomous Region has tremendous possibilities for developing not only agriculture, but heavy industry as well.

Settlers Thrive

Full of enthusiasm, the Jewish settlers began to develop the new territory. With the help of the Great Russian people, they achieved tremendous successes. By the time of the tenth anniversary of the Region, a wide network of collective farms, five state farms, cattle farms, a series of machine tractor stations, and scores of industrial enterprises had been established. Today a paper mill, a coal mine, a cement plant, an assembly plant and a number of other important enterprises are in process of completion. A flourishing culture has developed. There are about 120 schools, several score libraries, about forty "reading clubs," a teachers college, a medical school, a school of railroading, a conservatory of music, an agricultural machine school, etc.

The Birobidjan Jewish Theatre, named in honor of L. M. Kaganovitch, is widely known.

By the tenth anniversary, the number of hospitals and maternity homes had increased seven-fold, and a large number of clinics, aid-stations, kindergartens, children's homes had been built.

The Jewish Autonomous Region developed many outstanding people—workers, collective farmers, tractor operators, teachers, doctors, etc. Some are famous throughout the country. For instance, Yosl Abramsky, formerly a tailor, became a well-known cattle raiser, and won a Stalin Medal at the All-Union Agricultural Exposition. The Chairman of the "millionaire" collective farm, *Waldheim*, was awarded a Gold Medal at the Exposition. Shifre Kotchina, the devoted collective farmer of *Waldheim*, is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

For generations, the exploiting classes prevented Jews from entering industry and agriculture, simultaneously propagating the terrible lie that Jews are incapable of productive work. Soviet Power not only helped the Jews to deny this falsehood in practice, but also announced the falsity of such an assumption to the entire world.

Jewish Achievements

On August 26, 1936, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR issued a decree, which stated in part: "Possessing their own statehood and land, Jewish collective farmers are successfully mastering the technique of socialist agriculture; they are increasing the fertility of the soil; they are strengthening the organizational and technical base of the collective farm; they are raising the productivity of agricultural labor; and are exposing in practice the centuries old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois lie that the Jewish people are supposedly incapable of mastering the techniques of agricultural work."

This decree clearly demonstrated the concern of Soviet Power, not only for the present existence of the Jewish people, but also for clarifying the truth of their historical past.

The building of the Jewish Autonomous Region aroused tremendous interest and sympathy among toiling Jews throughout the world, and found expression in the foreign Jewish press. For instance, the magazine *Freivelt*, published in Mexico, printed the following (No. 19-20, 1945):

"Birobidjan has a national and cultural importance in the best sense of the words, not only for the Soviet Jews, but also for Jews throughout the world. Birobidjan is a source of hope and encouragement to us all. It has become the shining symbol of justice, friendship among peoples, inner pride, and the belief in our emancipation and rebirth."

Such interest and sympathy is quite natural. The toiling Jews in capitalist countries are still suffering from social and national oppression. In those countries, the poison of anti-Semitism is being spread more and more. The Jewish question there is becoming sharper and more complicated. In the capitalist world, the Jewish question cannot fundamentally be solved, because "the only regime which is able

to solve the national question is the regime of Soviet Power, the regime of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin.)

Culture of Soviet Jewry

Soviet Power opened wide the doors of the schools to the Jews, giving the children the fullest opportunities for education.

There are now no illiterates among Soviet Jews. All children must complete high school. A large section of Jewish youth continues on to higher education. In the entire Soviet Union, there is no school without Jewish students.

Jews take an active part in the cultural life of the Soviet Union—in popular education, in scientific work. Soviet life rouses the creative spirit, and has developed many talented Jewish scholars, teachers, doctors, inventors, artists, of whom the entire country is proud. Academicians Jaffe, Frumkin, Lena Stern, Zbarsky, the architect Yeofan, the Heroes of Socialist Labor Lavotchkin, Honor, Saltzman, the musicians Austrach and Hillels, are widely known, along with hundreds of others.

The Jewish sections of the Scientific Institutes of the Republics, of the National Lenin Library, and of other bodies, are all functioning successfully.

It is difficult to express cultural achievements in numbers and symbols. What is most fundamental and important is that Soviet Power has merged the toiling Jews into the main stream of the rich Soviet culture; converting the Jewish people, along with all other peoples, into creators of that culture; and giving them the opportunity of making the widest use of that culture's rich treasures for their own continuing development.

This merging has become the source of deep-going spiritual changes among Soviet Jews. In this lies the particular historical importance of the achievements of the Soviet Jewish people.

Soviet Jewish literature mirrors in most magnificent fashion the cultural revolution in Soviet Jewry. All the cultural achievements of Soviet Jewry are expressed in the character of this literature, its quantitative and qualitative growth. We will cite some statistics as illustration.

In 1940, 2,432,000 copies of Yiddish books were printed in the Soviet Union, or 295 per cent of the 1913 figure.

Belles-lettres and political literature take first place among Soviet Jewish publications. Political literature, which in 1913 made up one per cent of the total, reach 23.5 per cent during the period of 1927-1933, and 45.6 per cent in 1940. Political literature in Yiddish is so widely circulated only in the Soviet Union. The reason is clear: in what other country have the political activities of the Jewish masses developed as much as in the Soviet Union?

Significant Literary Growth

The significance of the quantitative and qualitative growth of Soviet Yiddish literature becomes particularly clear when it is remembered that cultural opportunities for the Jewish masses in Czarist Russia were limited solely to Jewish publications. Moreover, about forty per cent of

these were in Hebrew, a language which the mass of Jews could not read.

During the years of Soviet Power, the works of the leaders of human thought have appeared in Yiddish—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin; also the works of the greatest Russian writers—Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov, Saltikov-Shchedrin, Doestoevsky, Gorky, Maiakovsky, Sholokhov, Furmanov, Fadayev; and the works of Goethe, Heine, Shakespeare, Jack London, Mark Twain, Kipling, Rolland, Moliere, France, Barbusse, etc.

At the same time, the works of Yiddish literature have become an integral part of the culture of all the peoples of the Soviet Union. There have been 381 editions of Sholom Aleichem's works in eleven languages, of which 97 editions were in Russian, 33 in Ukrainian, seven in Byelorussian. There were 235 editions in Yiddish. The total number of copies amounted to 3,461,128.

The works of Peretz were published in 39 editions, of which four were in Russian. The total copies numbered 645,000. Bergelson's works were published in 32 editions, of which seven were in Russian, copies totalling 323,500. There have been 32 editions of Itzik Feffer's works with copies amounting to 150,000. Twelve editions were in Russian and Ukrainian. 157,300 copies of Peretz Markish's works appeared in 33 editions, fourteen in Russian. S. Halkin's works appeared in 16 editions in Yiddish and Russian for a total of 68,000 copies. A. Kushnirov's writings were published in 24 editions in Yiddish, Russian and Ukrainian for a total of 114,000 copies. The works of L. Kvitko were published in 6,904,350 copies, appearing in 131 editions in 33 languages, including 35 editions in Russian and seventeen in Ukrainian.

The above figures prove conclusively that the works of Yiddish literature receive wide recognition in the Soviet Union, and have become an integral part of the literary riches of the entire Soviet people.

Yiddish literature was never as optimistic and as affirmative as it is in the Soviet Union. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, Soviet Yiddish literature demonstrated its rallying powers. The masterful craftsmanship of a group of young Jewish poets and writers was forged in the fire of battle in defense of the socialist homeland. Their works, as well as the works of the older Soviet Yiddish writers, express the great love and patriotic feelings of the Soviet Jewish people for the Soviet fatherland. Soviet Yiddish writers and poets constitute the leaders of Yiddish literature throughout the world.

The successful achievements of Yiddish literature are due to its socialist content, the inspiration it drew from the ideas of Lenin and Stalin. That is the guarantee for the continued flourishing and growth of Yiddish literature in the USSR.

The Soviet system has assured the Jewish people of a home for all time, and has raised them to new moral and political heights. Under the banner of the Stalinist constitution, the Soviet Jewish people have unlimited possibilities for further economic and cultural advancement.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS FACES CRISIS

THE conference of the European sections of the World Jewish Congress held in Paris in November gave the world executive the opportunity of expressing its position on the policies and the responsibilities of the Congress. The debate on specific problems very quickly turned into a debate on the content and ideology of the Congress.

It became clear that there was no unity within the leadership on what the role and the position of the Congress must be. One group maintained that Congress must be a tail of the Zionist movement, that its minimum program must be a Zionist one. Another group, also composed of members of various Zionist parties, believed that other political tendencies and organizations which did not recognize the program of the Jewish Agency could belong to Congress. Both groups, however, were in complete agreement that no such elements could be allowed into the leading bodies of the Congress.

Ten years have passed since the formation of the World Jewish Congress, during which time major events have taken place both in Jewish and in general political life. The storm of Hitlerism came upon

the world. The war of peoples for independence took place. The Jewish people fought for their very existence. But the world executive of the Congress did not change in the slightest degree, not in its concepts nor in its composition.

How can the world executive decide upon and deal with European Jewish problems if among all of its members there is not one representative of a European Jewish community which went through the fires of a Hitler hell, and which as a result was reborn in armed resistance?

During the war all liberation committees that arose in the non-occupied countries felt it their sacred task to bring onto the committees representatives of the resistance movement from within the conquered countries. The executive of the World Jewish Congress, however, felt no need to do this during the course of the war nor during the entire period since the liberation. The executive of the World Jewish Congress, therefore, represents today a political and social anomaly.

The doors of the executive and of its committees are hermetically sealed from Jewish life. The Congress has been turned into a bureaucratic apparatus and the leaders of other tendencies and ideologies find it difficult to break through despite legitimate intentions on the part of these leaders.

The Paris conference, which was originally supposed to create a European secretariat in order to give expression to the fact that the Congress was tying itself up with all forces in Jewish life, did not achieve the hoped-for results. A number of members of the executive behaved in Paris as if they were the sole custodians of Jewish life and permitted very little freedom to the delegates. The clearest proof of this is the fact that our proposal that the conference elect the European secretariat and that this issue should not be decided in New York was militantly opposed by the members of the executive and was defeated.

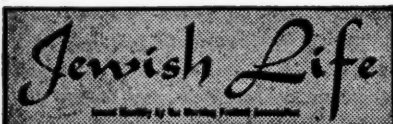
The situation was no different on the political front. Dr. Ignac Schwartzbard, in his report, maintained an approach which sought to lock the democratic-progressive forces out of Congress, or force them to accept the executive's policies. If his viewpoint, namely, the program of the Jewish Agency, were to be accepted, there would be no need for a World Jewish Congress. The Zionist Congress would suffice. But it is a naive dream to imagine that the progressive people's movement

will liquidate itself and accept the program of the Jewish Agency, a program which in our opinion answers neither the needs of world Jewry nor of the Palestine Yishuv.

If there was a need for a World Jewish Congress, it was only for the purpose of drawing together for united action all parties and tendencies in Jewish life. But the moment it accepts one exclusive ideology as its own, it removes the basis for cooperation and there no longer exists a World Congress. It becomes the opposite of a democratic organization.

In the course of the Paris conference the leaders felt no necessity to give any explanation about these contradictory conceptions which various members of the executive brought before it. We do not know to this day whether the position of Schwartzbard has the approval of all the

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leadership. We also do not know whether Dr. S. Margoshes expressed the sentiment of the World Jewish Congress or his own personal one when he made his pronouncements which in essence meant that instead of struggle against fascism and reaction we need "struggle for freedom where it does not exist," indicating thereby that he is for war against the Soviet Union. No matter which it is, it is impermissible that the Congress platform or publicity should be open to such vicious propaganda.

Both the saddling of Congress with a specific ideology as well as the turning of the executive into a closed clique which does not admit European Jewry nor the representatives of the progressive-democratic camp, lead to the liquidation of the World Congress and its main purpose.

As convinced followers of the idea of a democratic world congress, the Jewish progressive organizations in France found it correct to cease temporarily their connections with the Congress until there is established clarity on the political and organizational problems and the necessary tasks that flow from them.

The Congress can exist only as a democratic organism. In such an organization these organizations will be happy to cooperate and also to bear their necessary share of the responsibilities.

We await the word of the executive.
Paris. A. RAISKY.

In the March Issue:

MERIDEL LE SUEUR

Sholem Aleichem Belongs to All People

M. MIRSKY

The Basis for Centers of Jewish Culture

DR. N. MEVORAH

The Jews of Bulgaria

POETS ATTENTION!

All poets are invited to submit any work they may have on the Warsaw Ghetto uprising theme, for publication in the April anniversary issue.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

Seventy prominent Americans, including Eleanor Roosevelt, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Bishop Charles O. Seelman, appealed to President Truman asking for the "immediate entry of 100,000 Jewish displaced persons into the United States." The appeal, made public by the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, also urged the President to "order the Immigration and Naturalization Service to grant stays to long-resident aliens who are subject to deportation, only because they entered the country illegally, until such time as immigration quota numbers for them are available and they can adjust their status in this country."

A protest against granting permanent residence and citizenship to Nazi scientists now working in this country was made by 40 prominent clergy and lay leaders of all faith, the Council Against Intolerance in America announced. The scientists, educators, clergymen and civic leaders insisted that former Nazi party members and supporters should not "be granted permanent residence or citizenship in the United States, with the opportunity that would afford of inculcating those anti-democratic doctrines which seek to undermine and destroy our national unity."

The American Jewish Congress launched a drive for an Illinois FEPC law at a meeting of representatives of 25 organizations held in the middle of December at the Sheridan Plaza Hotel in Chicago. The North Side Conference for an Illinois FEPC Law was set up with a five-man temporary steering committee, composed of Mel Linn, American Veterans Committee; Harry Passavoy, Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order; Mrs. Jacob Richard, American Jewish Congress; Robert Stern, AVC; and Rose Brin, Congregation Beth Shalom.

Chicago has a new hate outfit, Foundations for America, headed by a professional strike-breaker, Charles R. Vincent. One of its angels is Gen. Robert E. Wood, former leader of America First, and on its board of directors is Avery Brundage, pro-Nazi head of the LaSalle Hotel. Plan of the organization calls for infiltration among language groups, Negroes and industrial workers and setting up small pro-fascist units. Strike-breaking is one of the chief activities projected.

Gifts and pledges of \$508,000 to Brandeis University, America's first secular educational institution under Jewish auspices, were reported by Julius Silver, treasurer of the Albert Einstein Foundation, sponsoring body of the university.

The 267 communities affiliated with the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds will be called upon to raise more than \$215,000,000 for local, national and overseas programs in 1947, with the bulk earmarked for the \$170,000,000 campaign of the United Jewish Appeal.

Rabbi Samuel Sobel was appointed as the first permanent Jewish chaplain in the history of the United States Navy.

EUROPE

Two Jewish candidates have been included on the general list of the government bloc, which represents four pro-government parties, in the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Poland to be held on Jan. 19. The candidates are Dr. M. Shuldenfrei, chairman of the central committee of the Jewish Socialist Bund, and Prof. I. Sack, leader of the right wing of the Zionist Laborite

Party and vice-chairman of the Central Committee of Polish Jews.

Dr. Adolph Berman and Mark Bitter, leaders of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, who were in Poland during the German occupation, will testify at the trial of the Nazi rulers of Warsaw, concerning the annihilation of 1,600,000 Jews under the direction of four defendants: Ludwig Fischer, former governor of Warsaw; Ludwig Leist, Fischer's assistant and the town commandant; Joseph Meisinger, chief of the Warsaw Gestapo and Max Daume, head of the German police force.

The first post-war conference of teachers in Yiddish schools in Poland which took place during the middle of December in Lodz, adopted a resolution declaring that "the Jewish schools in Poland aim to give the young generation of Jews a national, democratic and secular education in the spirit of the progressive ideas of our time." The conference, attended by more than 150 delegates, was greeted by representatives of the Ministry of Education and the municipal authorities. Prior to the opening of this conference of Yiddish educators, a conference of Hebrew teachers also met in Lodz, and adopted a resolution declaring that the Hebrew schools in Poland will educate Jewish children in the spirit of Zionist socialism. The Yiddish schools have about 2600 pupils, the Hebrew schools about 900. This does not include several hundred children attending religious schools maintained by local religious groups.

Rabbi David Kahane, president of the Jewish Consistory of Poland and Chief Rabbi of the Polish army, charged at the European Conference of the World Jewish Congress held late in November in Paris, that the Catholic clergy in Poland has been backing fascist bands which engage in anti-Semitic activities and has done nothing to check anti-Semitism. Dr. Kahane, one of the few survivors of the Jewish community in Lwow, revealed that security authorities recently seized an anti-Semitic exhibit in a church in Leczyca and arrested the organizers.

The Jewish Democratic Committee of Rumania has prepared a note to be submitted to President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee informing them of the anti-Semitic attitude of the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party, both of which are in opposition to the Democratic bloc which recently swept the national elections. The note will be forwarded to the western allies on behalf of Rumanian Jewry, after a nation-wide campaign to obtain signatures to it. The note relates the suffering of the Jews under pro-Nazi regimes which preceded the present government, pointing out that the Peasants and Liberals were either in power or aided the parties in power during anti-Jewish drives. In contrast, the note declares that under the present Gorza government Jews have been granted equal rights, and representatives of Jewish parties sit in parliament. In addition, many of the anti-Jewish incidents during the recent election campaign were instigated by the opposition parties which "consider themselves protected from abroad." M. A. Saraceanu, president of the Jewish Democratic Committee, charged, at a conference of foreign correspondents that the Liberal and National Peasant parties were fostering anti-Semitism. Replying to a recent denial by Julius Maniu, head of the National Peasant, he produced several documents illustrating some of the party's anti-Jewish activities. 80,000 had signed the note charging the two parties with anti-Semitism.

The Bulgarian National Assembly unanimously adopted a bill proposed by the Ministry of Finance, which allocates 1,000,000 levas for distribution as initial payments to Jews under the recently adopted restitution law.

A fascist organization, the National Guard, set fire to a synagogue in the East End of London after burning one of the Holy Scrolls. The synagogue is in a section of the city which was the scene of clashes between Jews and fascists before the war.

PALESTINE

The Zionist Congress recently concluded at Basle, Switzerland, was not even able to agree on a President for the World Zionist Organization. Neither could the Zionist Actions Committee, which was empowered to select the leadership. The Actions Committee finally selected an executive committee composed of (assigned to Jerusalem) Ben Gurion, Rabbi Judah L. Fishman, Dr. Isaac Gruenbaum, Goldie Meerson, Eliahu Dobkin, Eliezer Kaplan, Moshe Sneh, Moshe Shapiro and Fritz Bernstein of the Aliya Hadasha; (assigned to Washington) Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Emanuel Neumann, Rose Halperin, Hayim Greenberg, Moshe Shertok and Rabbi Wolf Gold; (assigned to London) Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Prof. Selig Brodetsky, Berl Locker and S. Z. Shragai. Ben Gurion was named chairman of the Executive, with Rabbi Judah L. Fishman (Mizrachi) and Dr. Gruenbaum (General Zionist) as vice-chairmen. According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, the composition of the executive, "which was received by the Actions Committee with a noticeable lack of enthusiasm," is a compromise between the Palestine Laborites and the American General Zionists, which emerged as the two dominant groups in the world Zionist movement. The Executive is composed of eight General Zionists, seven Poale Zionists, four Mizrachi.

A half hour general strike was held at Nathanya, Palestine, to protest the rioting by British officers and troops of the Sixth Airborne Division, which left the main business section a shambles. The soldiers, of whom there were nearly 100, climaxed their Boxing Day (post-Christmas holiday) celebration by invading the town in several military vehicles and running riot. Display windows were smashed, cafes and houses damaged, bombs were thrown and automatics were fired.

One British officer and three non-commissioned officers were flogged in retaliation for the judicial whipping of 16 year-old Benjamin Kimchin who was given 18 lashes as part of a sentence following his conviction for participating in a bank robbery in Jaffa. The floggings took place near Nathanya, Tel Aviv and Rishon el Siyon, near Tel Aviv. All British troops were immediately restricted to barracks during off-duty hours.

Sir William Fitzgerald, Palestine chief justice, recommended the administrative division of Jerusalem into two boroughs, one Jewish and one Arab, with separate municipal councils and mayors under the over-all control of a four-man administrative council. The administrative council will be composed of one representative of each borough and two other persons, neither Arabs nor Jews, appointed by the High Commissioner, according to the proposal. The High Commissioner would choose the council's president and would be given the right to veto the election of the mayor of either borough. The members of the borough council would be elected by the population of the respective units.

William B. Ziff became even too much for the United Revisionist Party, who expelled him from membership "for breach of discipline and for publication of statements without the knowledge of the leadership of the party."

