

Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

Safeguard the Jewish State!

A Statement by the Morning Freiheit Association

WE have just witnessed a great and historic event.

A centuries-old dream of the Jewish people is being achieved. The General Assembly of the United Nations decided to establish two independent, democratic states in Palestine—a Jewish state and an Arab state. Together with Jewish masses throughout the world, we rejoice that thereby Jewish national aspirations are moving toward realization.

The decision of the UN opens the way for a truly democratic solution that will be in the interests of both peoples of Palestine—and in the interests of world peace and democracy in general. Mainly responsible for this are the determined efforts of the Soviet Union, as well as of the new democratic Poland, and the understanding reached on this question between the Soviet Union and the United States. The UN decision has dramatically confirmed the role of the progressive forces in the world, and of the Soviet Union in the first place, in the struggle for a just solution for Palestine.

The voting in the UN showed simultaneously that the support of the United States was one of the decisive factors that helped bring about a favorable result. From experience to date, however, we must be forewarned that official American policy can become a serious obstacle to the implementation of the decision of the UN—especially with regard to guaranteeing that the projected Jewish state shall be truly free of every form of imperialist rule and oppression, that it shall be really democratic, and that it shall live in friendly collaboration with the Arab state.

The first and most pressing task of the American Jews is, therefore, to do everything in their power so that the Jewish state be truly free and independent, so that it does not become subjugated to American or Anglo-American imperialism, so that it is able to collaborate in peace and friendship with the Arab state and with the Arab world.

The demand now must be: to employ immediately all the necessary means to realize the decision of the United Nations to establish in Palestine two independent and democratic states—a Jewish state and an Arab state.

(Continued on page 5)

JANUARY 1948

GREEK JEWS UNDER THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

By Rae Dalven

THE THUNDER OF THE GRASS

A Narrative Poem

By Aaron Kramer

SEE HERE, DR. BIRKHEAD!

An Open Letter

By Albert E. Kahn

CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWISH INTELLECTUALS

By Nathan Ausubel

From the Four Corners

AT HOME

Abolition of the Un-American House Committee was urged in a resolution passed by the Administrative Committee of the American Jewish Congress. Recent hearings of the Committee, said the resolution, followed a "circus" procedure and continuation of the committee would be a disservice to the American people and threatened to jeopardize civil liberties. The committee was also sharply attacked by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver in a sermon to his Cleveland congregation. Mrs. Joseph M. Welt, president of the National Council of Jewish Women, protested the conduct of the hearings as a "threat to the basic principles of American democracy."

☆
Ayn Rand, violent anti-communist witness at the recent Un-American Committee hearings, is the author of a novel, *We, the Living*, first published in 1936, which she is now trying to sell to Hollywood. This anti-communist novel was made into a pirated film six hours long in Italy during the war. The film is now in the author's possession but she prefers to suppress it in favor of a Hollywood version.

☆
The Justice Department recently announced that it had dropped treason charges against Edward Leo Delaney, of Olney, Ill., and Jane Anderson, of Atlanta, Ga., because of "insufficient evidence." Both had broadcast for Goebbels' radio in English. The cases against Donald Day and Mildred (Axis Sally) Gillars were also dropped on instructions from the Justice Department.

☆
Several public meetings were broken up during November by stormtrooper tactics to the accompaniment of anti-Semitic epithets. At a meeting in Bridgeport, Conn., at which Gerhart Eisler, German anti-fascist refugee, was to speak, hoodlums shouted, "Lynch that nigger"; "Get those long-nosed Jews." Members of notorious fascist and anti-Semitic groups led hoodlums in an attack on a rally of the Progressive Citizens of America at Independence Square in Philadelphia on November 1. An observer for a nationally known conservative anti-Nazi organization identified members of the mob as "the same gang of Christian Fronters and Coughlinites who broke up anti-Nazi meetings in Philadelphia before the war." One middle-aged drunk shouted, "I'm strictly a Gerald L. K. Smith man. Send the kikes back to Palestine."

☆
Immediately following resignation from his post as rabbi of Yonkers Temple Emanu-El as a result of his red-baiting series in the New York *World-Telegram*, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz made a proposition to the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He called upon conference president Dr. Everett R. Clinchy to appoint a committee of national Protestant, Catholic and Jewish religious leaders to "investigate" "communism" in the churches. Response of the conference to this proposition is unknown at the present writing.

☆
Pianist Walter Gieseking, Nazi and close friend of Goebbels, will soon be spirited into this country from Germany and sprung on the American musical concert-going public.

☆
The Federal Communications Commission reversed a previous "tentative" decision to grant an FM radio channel to the New York *Daily News*. FCC announced that its decision had not been affected by charges made by the American Jewish Congress that the paper showed racial bias in its news reporting, but that public interest is better served by preferring non-newspaper applicants. The *Daily News* is appealing the decision.

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Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. II, No. 3 (15)

JANUARY, 1948

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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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A survey of anti-Semitic activity by the American Jewish Committee reports that while organized anti-Semitic activity is at the lowest in years, anti-Semitism is surging up in a carefully conceived and well financed plan of anti-Semitic leaders to form a well-knit coalition. Stress is now being placed upon the preparation, publication and distribution of anti-Semitic pamphlets, financed chiefly by George W. Armstrong, 82-year old millionaire of Fort Worth, Tex., and Natchez, Miss.

☆
Notes on Negro-Jewish relations. . . . The Atlanta, Ga., Jewish Community Council passed a resolution urging the Mayor and City Council of Atlanta to employ Negro policemen. The reso-

lution pointed out that Negro police were employed in 41 Southern cities. . . . The largest campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People with a total membership of about 650 is that of Indiana University. Jewish membership is 350 to 375 against a Negro membership of 125 to 150. . . . A nationalistic statement on Negro business practice made by Fred A. Jones, president of the St. Louis Negro Business League, was answered by Negro State Representative William Massingale of St. Louis. Said Mr. Massingale, in part: "And when Mr. Jones brings anti-Semitism into the picture he assumes the role of a black Hitler. He lies, who says the difficulties of the Negro people, (Continued on page 31)"

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

HOLLYWOOD HORROR

LITTLE indeed can be expected from the mentality that is responsible for the policy that achieves the bulk of Hollywood products. But the craven cringing of the movie moguls—those loud-mouthed proponents of private enterprise, those mighty exponents of rugged individualism—before the Thomas-Rankin Un-American Committee ogre, would make even a grade “B” horror picture audience sick to the stomach.

The Thomas-Rankin pro-fascist committee in effect ordered Hollywood:

Never again to dare fight against anti-Semitism with pictures like *Crossfire*, *Gentleman's Agreement*;

Never again to dare think of any picture that might present the Negro as a human being, as in *Body and Soul*;

Never again to dare utter a democratic word or portray a democratic sentiment, as in *None Shall Escape*;

Never again to dare present anything but anti-Soviet warmongering “art” like the forthcoming *The Iron Curtain*;

Never again to dare think or speak differently from the dictates of fascist congressional stooges like Thomas and Rankin, from Wall Street official mouthpieces like Harri-man, from governmental military minds like Marshall.

There was hardly a person with grammar school intelligence that did not grasp the Hitler-Goebbels content of the Un-American Committee investigation of Hollywood. That was why the questioning of the 19 “unfriendly” witnesses backfired, and had to be partially postponed until the Hearst and other yellow press could whip up more hysteria, and until Congress, a rubber stamp for American imperialist reaction, cited ten of the stubborn, fighting and patriotic witnesses for contempt. The idea was to intimidate future witnesses and the American people.

The intimidation worked, but not on the decent cultural workers of Hollywood and their attorneys. It worked on the moguls of Hollywood, who now displayed their papier mache backbones. They fired or suspended the ten cited witnesses, promised never to hire anyone they suspected of being a communist, and generally grovelled and bootlicked the Thomas-Rankin ghouls carrying the Hitler cadaver. Such actions together with the films they export have made America the laughing stock of the world, when it is not treated like an idiot playing with a stick of dynamite.

But it is no laughing matter to the American people. From thought control to fascist total enslavement is but a

step. And part of this step has already been taken in the very same Hollywood action. For while these high-priced front office flunkies kowtowed and scraped, the real monopolists of Hollywood—the big banking interests who are also the real monopolists of every other aspect of American economy—gave their orders. Through their real representatives—James F. Byrnes, godfather of the “Get-tough-with-Russia” policy; Paul V. McNutt, godfather of the Philip-pines’ phoney independence, and Eric Johnston, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce gift to the movie industry—they asked Congress for laws to make legal this firing for political reasons.

This is it! Thought control at the source of livelihood, at the job, and the industrial blacklist wrapped in Hollywood tinsel. No wonder the octogenarian Hearst can jump for joy, while Hitler turns over in his grave at the thought of missing this trick.

But the American people must make no mistake about it. This is not aimed at a few Hollywood progressives alone. This is aimed at the very heart of the American community. It is aimed primarily at the American working class. It is aimed at everyone who resists the plan of increasing hours of work and reducing wages as a cure for inflation; who fights for higher wages to meet the continuing rising cost of living; who struggles to organize the unorganized as a means of maintaining the American standard of living; who seeks to strengthen his union as a means of halting the offensive of reaction; who refuses to be stampeded into a war of world conquest; who fights for the rights of the Negro people, the Jewish people and other national groups, of the foreign born as a means of keeping America united; who clings to the Bill of Rights as the pillar of American democracy.

And American labor, which has already had experience with the industrial blacklist, which fought against such terrorism in the bloody struggles for unionism in the days before the organization of the mass production industries, has no alternative but to return to battle. It must meet the challenge of American imperialist reaction to return to the jungle of the open shop, the underworld strikebreaker, the government injunction, the industrial spy system.

It is good that America's intellectuals and cultural workers see the need and find the strength to strike against America's quislings. But unless American labor joins the battle for democracy and begins to give leadership, the battle cannot be won. American labor must come to the support of Hollywood's fighters for democracy to defeat the blacklist and to silence the Un-American Committee forever.

MARSHALL PLAN APOLOGETICS

ON Nov. 17, 1947, the Committee for the Marshall Plan, of which Henry L. Stimson is national chairman, published an advertisement in the *New York Times*, quoting from an article by Mr. Stimson in *Foreign Affairs* to justify the Marshall Plan. The advertisement begins as follows:

"The immediate and pressing challenge to our belief in freedom and prosperity is in western Europe. Here are people who have traditionally shared our faith in human dignity. These are the nations by whose citizens our land was settled and in whose tradition our civilization is rooted. . . . It is our simple duty as neighbors to take a generous part in helping these great peoples to help themselves. The reconstruction of western Europe is a task from which Americans can decide to stand apart only if they wish to desert every principle by which they claim to live."

We are most emphatically for the utmost of support for the campaigns of relief and rehabilitation for the countries devastated by nazi-fascism. It is indeed "our simple duty as neighbors" to render this support, and a desertion of "every principle by which (we) claim to live" to reject help to any section of the world that has been put into a position of need by its participation in the struggle for freedom.

That is why we are in such wholehearted opposition to the Marshall Plan. Our sense of good neighborliness and the principles by which we live are outraged by the very brief quotation in defense of the Marshall Plan. As a matter of fact, those few sentences expose the thoroughly reactionary basis of the Plan.

In the first place, why the separation between eastern and western Europe when the question of the reconstruction of the area laid waste by fascist brutality is raised? Neither good neighborliness, nor humaneness, nor principles can justify it. The devastation was indivisible. So must the reconstruction be, if we pretend to human values, and not just toward imperialist profits.

For the Jews, division into an eastern and western Europe is fraught with even greater danger. It so happens that the overwhelming majority of the remnants of the Jews of Europe are concentrated in the eastern part of the continent, the part which does not move the neighborliness nor the principles of the supporters of the Marshall Plan. Can a Jew consider forsaking his most victimized brethren in order to satisfy the reactionary imperialist whims of the more outspoken anti-democratic elements in America? No matter how subtly they may put it in *New York Times* advertisements, the fact is that division of Europe into eastern and western zones plays into the hands of the world's most anti-Semitic forces.

There is, in fact, something to encourage the anti-Semites in the very statement of principles from which

we quoted. What else is involved but Anglo-Saxon racism in the concept that western Europe supplied the citizens who settled our land and in whose tradition our civilization is rooted? The Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Romanians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs need bow to no people in their contribution to the building of America. Nor need the Jews of eastern Europe, or of the eastern zone of Germany be apologetic for their contribution to America. The American nation is nothing if not a people emerging from the merger of cultures. No single culture can claim a monopoly on the evolvement of the American people. And to claim an exclusive source is to transfer the hateful racism of Hitler to the shores of the United States.

And what "faith in human dignity" does western Europe "traditionally" share with us, that eastern Europe does not? Is it the human dignity expressed in the toleration of profiteering at the expense of soldiers dying on battlefields of freedom, in the liberation of acknowledged traitors and in the harassment of fighters for democracy, in the support of foreign governments determined on enslaving their people, in the lynching of Negroes in the South? Or is it the human dignity that crushed tsarism and helped destroy nazism, the human dignity that overthrew feudalism in the Balkans and in the Baltic, and that is in the tradition of our own American Revolution and Civil War?

It is no accident that the Marshall Plan can only bring out in its support such anti-democratic principles as expressed in the *New York Times* advertisement. For any plan that divides Europe instead of uniting it, that bases itself on offering help only to those that accept the terms of the alms-giver, that contemplates first of all the rebuilding of Germany, can only find justification in reactionary principles.

That is why it was such a shock to find listed among the supporters of the advertisement such people as Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Jacob S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Both as Jews and as liberals they look rather out of place with the industrial and banking oligarchy that fills the columns of national council members of the Committee for the Marshall Plan. Are these forward-looking individuals to permit themselves to be used as a screen for the implementation of American imperialism on a European scale?

This may be a role fit for the social democratic David Dubinsky, who finds himself regularly with the most bitter anti-Soviet elements. Or for Lessing J. Rosenwald, or Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, who seek to secure their own bourgeois position by playing a role in the Jewish community similar to that played in American life generally by reaction. But it should not be the position of Dr. Wise and Mr. Potofsky.

In supporting the Marshall Plan, and the defense of it in the advertisement quoted above, Dr. Wise and Mr. Potofsky contradict in fact every democratic sentiment they have previously expressed.

LAWS AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

SCRATCH a professional anti-communist and you will find an anti-Semite. Start an anti-communist campaign, and inevitably it will be used against Jews. These are truisms that are becoming painfully obvious.

The Buckley Bill, barring the mails to anti-Semitic propaganda, is awaiting congressional action. The bill has won support among progressive and labor circles. And the American Jewish Labor Council has become particularly active in mobilizing pressure for its passage.

But the Truman administration has gone on a vast anti-communist campaign. One need only red-bait to win favor with the Washington dispensers of patronage. And Tammany Hall, long starved by generally progressive and good government administrations in New York City and in Washington and by the rock-ribbed Republican administration in Albany, is most anxious to please any dispenser of patronage.

And so we have the spectacle of Tammany Hall, through the person of its chieftain, Sampson, bringing the Truman Doctrine to New York City, with its one-third Jewish population. Sampson compelled several Tammany Hall politicians to revoke their sponsorship of the Buckley Bill campaign, because the American Jewish Labor Council was presumably a communist outfit.¹ The red-baiting attack was on the American Jewish Labor Council, but the real target was the Buckley Bill. We do not think very highly of the Democratic politicians who buckled under the pressure, either as politicians or as men. But it does show that the Truman Doctrine is consistent no matter where applied.

This action by Tammany Hall will bring joy to anti-Semites everywhere. But it should also be of particular interest to Shad Polier of the American Jewish Congress, who pretends to progressivism. When a resolution was introduced into the New York City Council several months ago calling for the passage of the Buckley Bill by Congress, Mr. Polier went to all the trouble to write to each Councilman urging him to vote against the resolution.² Mr. Polier's arguments were as shallow as they were phoney. The fact is that Mr. Polier's supposed devotion to legislation against anti-Semitism has yet to produce anything concrete and positive. We do not know whether Mr. Polier had anything directly to do with Tammany's current action. But the politicians fortified their withdrawal of support, by pointing to the opposition of the American Jewish Congress to the bill, as expressed in his letter to the Councilmen.

One thing must become clear from this event. Anti-communist phobia can only lead to action harmful to the Jews, no matter what individuals are affected by it.

¹ See Document in this issue, p. 27.

² See JEWISH LIFE, September 1947 issue, for Mr. Polier's letter and the replies of the late Councilman Peter V. Cacchione and William Levner, administrative secretary of the American Jewish Labor Council.

JEWISH STATE

(Continued from page 1)

We must constantly be on guard against every possible intrigue of the Wall Street monopolists to erect in Palestine economic, political and military bases for their predatory aims—and against the whole anti-imperialist camp led by the Soviet Union. We must expect that official Washington policy, that has forsaken the principles of Roosevelt, will place obstacles in the way of the economic and political development of the two states; that, in collaboration with British imperialism, it will seek to enflame national strife between Jews and Arabs, and will disturb the indispensable economic unity and political cooperation of the two states.

All these very serious dangers can be fought off and avoided only through the active, democratic unity of all the forces in Jewish life. This is now the solemn duty of all Jews—Zionist and non-Zionist. This is the solemn duty of every Jewish organization that is filled with a sense of responsibility to our people and wishes to see a flourishing and secure Jewish state.

The decision of the UN has created a new situation. Previous differences of opinion with regard to Palestine, in the Zionist movement, and in Jewish society in general, will slowly lose their significance. A new relationship of forces must now come into existence in Jewish life, in America as well as in Palestine, both with regard to the Jewish state and in relation to other important questions.

Now is the time for firm unity among all democratic, anti-imperialist labor and people's forces to fight for the fullest realization of the UN decision for an independent, democratic Jewish state in economic unity with the Arab state. As a matter of course, this will demand resolute struggle against the reactionary elements in Jewish life that are tied to American or Anglo-American imperialism, and that support imperialist maneuvers that are a fatal menace to the Jewish state, as well as to the freedom and independence of all peoples.

The Jewish state in Palestine has everything to gain were we in America to conduct a simultaneous and united struggle against the forces of anti-Semitism and race-hatred whose roots lie in imperialist reaction; were we to build with all our might a progressive Jewish life.

The Jewish state can live and prosper only in a world that is rendered safe from war. The very existence of our people depends upon a secure peace. We, American Jews, must therefore take our place beside all progressive, democratic forces against the war-mongers, for a firm world peace.

Our heartfelt greetings to the *Yishuv* in Palestine as it stands on the threshold of its statehood. With united forces—to safeguard the Jewish state!

MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION

Ben Gold, president

Alexander Bittelman, general secretary.

KURT SCHUMACHER: PIED PIPER OF THE MARSHALL PLAN

By Arthur D. Kahn

“**A**BSENT today, and this is a sad chapter for Germany, are the Jews to act as contacts with international concerns and international capital,” declared Kurt Schumacher, social democratic leader in the western zones of Germany, at a public meeting in Hannover in August 1947. Hitler, too, had called the Jews international bankers and money-lenders. Schumacher’s complaint had an especially familiar ring to those of us who were in Germany at the end of the war. “Hitler’s chief mistake was attacking the Jews,” the nazis and the German nationalists told us. But these Germans were not primarily concerned about the savage inhumanity of dispossessing, scattering, torturing and murdering millions of Jews. No, attacking the Jews, they insisted, had alienated foreign capital and consolidated an overwhelming, Jewish-led force, against the Reich and resulted in the nazi defeat.

Though himself continuing this nazi slander against the Jews, Schumacher had stated in December 1946, during a visit to England, that anti-Semitism in Germany was dead and that the Jews could return there without fear. Schumacher is, of course, a practiced demagogue. He knew well enough that anti-Semitism at least in the western zones (both among the Germans and among many Americans and Britishers) was hardly dead or even latent. In fact, a Military Government survey in February 1947 revealed that 60 per cent of the Germans in the American zone were strongly anti-Semitic.

Though recognized to be a dangerous pan-German even by such conservative observers as Russell Hill, the former *New York Herald-Tribune* correspondent in Germany, and Delbert Clark of the *New York Times*, Schumacher has been selected as the tool for our State Department and the British Foreign Office in Germany. And in comparison with other American lackeys—De Gaulle, De Gasperi, Sophoulis, Chiang Kai-Shek, Dutra, etc.—Schumacher does very well. Of course, with the rich Ruhr industry, the strategic military position of Germany and the tremendous potential of ex-Hitler Youth, SS men and Wehrmacht men as prospective aids in an anti-Soviet war, the strategists of the American Century must have an effective agent in Germany.

Schumacher’s Assignment

Now that western Germany has definitely been selected as the key area for American imperialist penetration under

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the Marshall Plan, it is imperative that the German workers be kept passive and cooperative. There must be no large-scale strikes protesting our reinstatement of the German industrialists, our failure to accomplish thorough denazification, to eliminate speculation in food and clothing, to institute a long-overdue land reform, and generally to democratize the political and economic life of the nation. It is Schumacher’s task to “keep the German workers in hand” so that they will not “disrupt” like the French and Italian workers, who have rejected the phrase-mongering and anti-Soviet and anti-communist baiting of the Ramadiers, Schumans and Saragats.

Examined in all its implications, Schumacher’s task is reactionary. He is assigned to carry out what Ebert, Noske and Severing—also German social democrats—accomplished after the First World War. These men helped crush the local democratic, revolutionary administrations in 1919; they fought against the development of political unity among the workers; they compromised on land reform and nationalization; they cooperated with the Junker militarists in the secret rearmament of the Wehrmacht; and finally, they permitted the development of nazism with the support of native and foreign capital.

Our State Department and its allies are working to maintain old aristocratic and capitalist privileges and to protect the militarists, nazis and the collaborators from proper punishment in order to create an American-dominated anti-Soviet western bloc. To achieve this aim the workers of western Europe must be kept divided and weak. Germany needs a particularly able demagogue to help realize this plan. For the end of 1945 had seen agreements for close cooperation and united action signed by the Socialist and Communist Parties in the larger cities of the American zone and in hundreds of small towns and rural communities. This development toward unity paralleled the similar movement in the Soviet zone. On Dec. 10, 1945 leaders of both workers’ parties, including two Hessian cabinet ministers, called a meeting in Wiesbaden (American zone) at which a resolution was passed calling upon the provincial Socialist and Communist committees to initiate discussions for the immediate unification of the two parties.

As a veteran of World War I, winner of the Iron Cross who had lost his right arm in battle, inmate of a concentration camp and a skillful orator, the 51-year-old Schumacher was just the man to sabotage this development. On Jan. 6, 1946 he delivered the necessary disruptive blow at a zone-wide meeting of the social democrats at Frankfurt. Accusing the communists of being “representatives

of a foreign power," Schumacher flatly rejected the possibility of workers' unity. In addition, he asserted that between the two parties there was an irreconcilable difference on the question of the guilt of the Germans. Following his unerring sensitivity to the German nationalist feeling, Schumacher declared that the social democrats rejected any guilt for themselves and assigned responsibility for Hitler's rise primarily to foreign nations.¹

Disuniting German Workers

Had the workers' parties united in the west as in the east, they would have succeeded in accomplishing a thorough denazification and an economic and political democratization of all the zones. The British and the American Military Governments, however, recognized unity as a danger to their plans. The British were the first to appreciate Schumacher's potentialities in preventing labor unity. Early in 1946 they flew him to Berlin, billeted him in officers' quarters and drove him around in a staff car to meetings at which he harangued social democrats against joining the communists in the formation of the Socialist Unity Party, warning them against "eastern dictatorship" and reminding them of their supposed affinity with the west. He did his job well, and in May 1946 he was elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party of the three western zones.

But many German workers have become angry and turbulent in despair over the future. For American imperialism does not concern itself with combating the black market or with providing housing, clothing and jobs. Last spring there were mass strikes involving over a million trade unionists in the Ruhr alone. But Schumacher has been able to prevent open violence or a general strike. "It is necessary to maintain discipline at present," he counseled. Cunningly, Schumacher voices the dissatisfaction of the workers, attacking the Anglo-American Military Governments for their inefficiency, though at the same time carefully praising them for their "good intentions."

As his chief weapons for dividing and confusing the workers and misdirecting their wrath and political power, Schumacher employs red-baiting and Soviet-baiting, those international bogeys that confuse many workers in Germany as in other countries. With irresponsible assertions Schumacher circulates all the vicious rumors circulating against the Soviet Union. He thereby serves those of our more dignified and cautious statesmen who only dare hint at the "conditions" behind the "iron curtain." Demagogically he has tormented German mothers and wives by accusing the Soviet Union of falsifying the figures of the number of prisoners of war still in Russia or of having

killed hundreds of thousands of German soldiers through overwork and starvation. To counterbalance reports of successful land reform, maintenance of food rations, nationalization of factories and of more rapid reconstruction in the Soviet zone, Schumacher harps on the question of "individual liberty," accusing the Soviet Union of introducing Hitler-like concentration camps and slave labor in its occupation area.

Schumacher appeals to German chauvinism, utilizing all the tricks of Goebbels' demagoguery. When he stormed in January 1947 in Berlin, "We want to be respected as Germans in our political will and our culture," his well-indoctrinated listeners drew nazi meanings from his words and realized that he was attacking the Soviet Union—"that uncivilized Asiatic tyranny." When he shouted, "We are a people of 70 millions in the heart of Europe. We cannot remain a blank card in the heart of Europe"—his listeners responded just as they had always done to the anti-Versailles, *Lebensraum* harangues they had heard from Hitler himself. Fostering the anti-Soviet hysteria so carefully cultivated by Goebbels, Schumacher nurtures the belief that war against the Soviet Union at the side of the United States is the cure-all for the despairing, broken nation. Thus he prepares his followers for the division of Germany and the inclusion of the western zones in an anti-Soviet western bloc directed by the State Department.

State Department Stooge

On the issue of the unification of Germany, Schumacher has adapted his platform to State Department policy. He is a weather vane responsive to the west wind. In May 1947 he urged "as strong a central power as possible" and supported the establishment of the bi-zonal administration as the first step toward the unification of Germany. He commented snidely that "those powers (France and the Soviet Union) who have not joined (their zones to the Anglo-American zones) merely want to take (wealth) from Germany." In the summer he accused the Socialist Unity Party of eastern Germany of preaching separatism and opposing German unity. (Actually, the Socialist Unity Party has been the most consistent proponent of German unity, demanding, however, accomplishment of thorough denazification and the introduction of economic and political democracy in the west as prerequisites to the unification of the nation.) In September during the UN discussion of Big Power unanimity he skillfully linked the problem of German unity to the veto question by blaming the Soviet Union for the continued division of the country. He said: "As long as the right of veto also plays a role in the Allies' treatment of Germany, it will be impossible for the Germans to come together. Peace in Europe, however, demands Germany's unification."

By October 1947, however, when Schumacher became aware of the Anglo-American decision to keep Germany divided, he began to weaken on the question of German unity. When asked at San Francisco whether he favored

¹ While Schumacher had been in Dachau concentration camp, he had assured Albert Buchmann (the present head of the Communist Party in the American zone) that he would strive for the unity of the Socialists and Communists if he ever escaped alive. In 1945 Buchmann assisted in establishing an alliance with the Social Democrats in his home city, Stuttgart, an alliance which was later broken under Schumacher's influence.

a strong central administration in Germany, Schumacher replied, "Yes, but only for financial and economic, not for political purposes." Certainly, with economic unity and no political centralization, the landlords and industrialists and the American investors would maintain and extend their power without fear of the political strength of the united workers in the east!

Flip-Flop

The final reversal came in November 1947. In a report to the *New York Times* (Nov. 7, 1947), Delbert Clark quoted Schumacher as calling for a separate peace in western Germany and a division of the nation. Clark commented: "Apparently he reversed his view (on German unity) while in the United States after conferences he says he had with United States officials. His complete turnabout may be significant of the trends in the western Allies' policy toward Germany. . . ." Yes, the Anglo-Americans had decided to keep the Ruhr to themselves and the Hoover-Dulles-Forrestal-Harriman crowd had decided that western Germany was to be the cornerstone of the Marshall Plan!

But why was Schumacher so pliable? The workers of Germany, including those who follow Schumacher, have been united on one issue—the unification of Germany—and Schumacher was risking the loss of a considerable part of his support in reversing his stand. Perhaps Delbert Clark's explanation is the correct one: "Should a split actually come it is extremely likely that Dr. Schumacher would be the leading candidate for the first Premier of a new government of western Germany. . . ."

Like the other supporters of the western bloc, Schumacher has recognized the tremendous propaganda value of the United States of Europe slogan. Immediately after Winston Churchill had appealed for the establishment of such a United States of Europe around a reconciled France and Germany, Schumacher announced (June 1947) that "the rapprochement of Europeans to each other is dependent in great measure on the important and fruitful rapprochement of the French and Germans." Where anti-Soviet reaction is, Schumacher is never far behind.

This year Schumacher has been assigned to help introduce the Marshall Plan. As early as last May, echoing some of our elder statesmen, Schumacher declared: "German poverty is the basis for European poverty. America will not be able to maintain itself with European poverty at its door." Understanding clearly that the chief aim of American policy makers is the rebuilding of Germany for the profit of our bankers and industrialists, Schumacher announced in September 1947 that "the strongest obstacle to the Marshall Plan is the dismantling of German industries for reparations." This American-inspired attack on reparations goes well with German industrialists and German nationalists and is useful in developing anti-Soviet hysteria in the western zones. Schumacher makes the most

of his opportunity. In April 1947 Schumacher ignored the fact that reconstruction was proceeding most rapidly in the Soviet zone and that production was increasing most rapidly there. He demagogically challenged the Socialist Unity Party to "demand with us that the Soviet concerns in the Soviet zone be returned to the German people" (by *German people* Schumacher presumably meant the German industrialists, for many plants confiscated by the Soviets have already been returned or are being returned to the German trade unions). And in September Schumacher exclaimed with incredible brazenness that "the reparations already extracted from the Soviet zone easily compensate for Germany's total debt to all the creditor nations." As though Germany could ever possibly repay her debt even with all the wealth within the country! Can Germany ever repay the Jews alone, let alone the Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks, French and the Yugoslavs? Schumacher was attacking the Soviet Union and supplying the rationalization by which the American and British explain their violation of the Potsdam agreement on reparations.

In reward for his "good work" Schumacher was invited to attend the American Federation of Labor Convention in October 1947 at San Francisco. Like Giuseppe Saragat of Italy and Leon Blum of France, Schumacher has won the applause and open support of our reactionaries and social democrats like David Dubinsky, Matthew Woll and Luigi Antonini. At San Francisco Schumacher showed that he had learned the western techniques thoroughly, warning in good American Century style against a communist-inspired rebirth of German "nationalism"(!) if prompt American aid were not forthcoming for Germany. Mr. Schumacher has had much experience in beating wavering and confused workers into line.

Political Dictator

Though honored with the epithet "Germany's toughest democrat" by the American Committee for a Democratic Germany (Dorothy Thompson, Reinhold Niebuhr, etc.) and constantly haranguing against the supposed absence of civil liberties in the eastern zone, Schumacher has imposed a dictatorial administration on his own political party.² Early in 1946 after Schumacher had rejected workers' unity, proponents of a united Marxist party were not permitted to express themselves in party convention. When Hans Venedey, the Hessian Minister of the Interior, the grandson of a famous 1848 revolutionary and a supporter of workers' unity, was read out of the party by Schumacher's underlings, Venedey declared: "I dared to have a free mind, but Schumacher's Social Democratic Party is intolerant and permits no deviating opinion. That is why

² Compare Ramadier's high-handed disregard for the decisions of the French Socialist Party Convention last summer and the Central Committee's dissolution of the Socialist Youth organization in France because of the complaints of the young French Socialists about the lack of democracy in the party.

"I have been expelled." Keep them in line—that is Schumacher's assignment, and that assignment does not allow for free discussion. At Schumacher's instigation the party warned that any socialist who dared attend the national convention called by the Socialist Central Committee in Berlin to vote on the question of workers' unity would immediately be dropped from the party rolls. In May 1947, 11 Socialist functionaries in Frankfurt resigned, protesting the lack of democracy within the party.

Schumacher is a powerful leader, commanding a tremendous, well-disciplined, obedient, efficiently organized following. A confirmed German nationalist who has mastered the phrases which confuse and mislead the German workers, he is a dangerous demagogue. He is an enthusiastic exponent of the Hoover-Dulles-Marshall anti-Potsdam policy of opposition to the Soviet Union, of American domination of German industry and of the subjugation of the German workers, divided by confusion and fear, to an alliance of German reactionaries and American

bankers. Utilizing clever slogans about personal liberty and western orientation, he keeps a large section of the German workers and intellectuals in helpless bewilderment and succeeds in delaying the institution of the basic social reforms necessary to the establishment of a democratic, peace-loving Germany.

The British Foreign Office and our State Department appreciate his capabilities and accomplishments. Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin has called him "one of the most outstanding men in Europe today." As for our State Department, Delbert Clark noted in a dispatch to the *New York Times* on Nov. 6, 1947: "Last winter he was official guest of the British Government in London and this fall he was the 'private' guest of the American Federation of Labor in the United States. Although his visit was termed 'private,' United States Military Government officials were most active in making it possible. He rode from Berlin to Frankfurt on the Main in Ambassador Robert D. Murphy's private plane."

GREEK JEWS UNDER THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

By Rae Dalven

BEFORE the war I made four visits to my native Greece and found most of the Greeks I met immune to the virus of anti-Semitism. Indeed, I should not have returned so often if I were not welcome among non-Jews, as well as Jews. And when I made my first post-war trip to Greece from May to August 1947, I found the majority of Greeks as free from anti-Semitism as ever. I learned that during the Nazi occupation the Greek people hid the Jews, intermarried with them and forged Christian identification cards to save them from the death camps of Bergen-Belsen and Auschwitz.

But I found something that shocked me profoundly. The monarcho-fascist appeaser minority of Greeks, who are being kept in power by our American "aid" program, are tyrannizing over the vast majority of Greeks. And these same neo-fascist Greeks are spreading the old lie that all Jews are rich and do not need help from the state. They are denying that the Jews are Greeks and they are saying that Jews should not have full national rights as Greek citizens. I was not proud that these anti-Semitic and pro-fascist forces are being maintained in power against the will of the Greek people by my own America.

Greek Traitors Flourish

Little by little I learned what had happened to Greek traitors who helped the Nazis directly to persecute and expel Greek Jews to the death camps. Many of them are not

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only alive today and at liberty, but *they hold high posts in Greek political life!*

Stelios Gonatas. Before Hitler came to power, Gonatas, governor-general of Macedonia, sponsored the organization of the EEE (National Union of Greece), a fanatical anti-Semitic organization comparable to the Ku Klux Klan. During the Nazi occupation Gonatas organized the notorious German-sponsored security battalions (later sponsored by the British).

After the defeat of the Nazis Gonatas became Minister of Public Works in the Tsaldaris-Maximos government, an office which he held until August 29, 1947. He issued to Reyzin, a collaborationist on the international blacklist, a diplomatic passport to the United States. Today, Gonatas is a Greek party leader.

Nicholas Fardis. This anti-Semitic Salonika journalist was general secretary of Gonatas' EEE. In 1932, Fardis wrote a stream of anti-Semitic articles in the widely circulated Salonika newspaper *Macedonia* which helped to set off anti-Semitic riots. Fanatic EEE members drenched the Campbell Jewish district with benzine and lit the match that burned the whole district to the ground. During the occupation, Fardis was editor-in-chief of *Macedonia* and continued his campaign of defamation of the Jews. He was also censor-in-chief of the press, theater and movies.

Today Fardis is a free man and continues to write anti-Semitic articles for the monarcho-fascist newspaper "The Phos."

Colonel Poulos. This man was head of the Salonika chapter of the EEE. He organized military units under the

Germans and made his Greek soldiers wear German uniforms. When Greece was liberated, Poulos fled with the Germans. He did not dare return to Greece until Tsaldaris came to power. After his return he was tried and is now a free man.

Poulos is today trying to reorganize security battalions to fight the guerilla democratic army. By his own admission, 115 members of his security battalions are in the government army today.

Constantine Logothetopoulos and Simonidis. This fascist pair collaborated with clockwork precision for the extermination of the Jews. The first was a Germanophile professor of medicine at the University of Athens who became Prime Minister under the occupation and the latter was an engineer and governor of Macedonia under the occupation. When the nazis occupied Salonika, Simonidis directed them to strip the Jewish cemeteries of their tombstones. (I saw scores of these tombstones being used to rebuild St. Sofia, Byzantine Church of Salonika. I saw Jewish tombstones covering the floor of a Salonika tavern.) Simonidis convinced prime minister Logothetopoulos that it would be highly impractical to go against nazi plans to exterminate the Jews. For, he said, there were thousands of Christian refugees in Salonika from Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace who could be rehabilitated only by housing them in the homes and shops soon to be vacated by the Jews. As it turned out, the homes of the wealthiest Jews were not given to these refugees but to the closest nazi collaborators. Furthermore, the Jewish suburbs of Salonika in which 30,000 refugees could have been housed were all destroyed by Greek anti-Semites and their treasures sold to collaborators for a song. In the Baron Hirsch district, which the nazis made into a ghetto from which they transported the Jews to the crematoria in 19 sections, only the synagogue and mental hospital are now standing. My Greek friend who walked through the neighborhood with me said, "Greeks destroyed this property, not the Germans."

Today Simonidis is a free man. Logothetopoulos is "imprisoned for life" in an elegant apartment in Patissou Street, where he receives callers at any time and is allowed "unofficially" to go out for strolls in the evening.

Kostis Maniadakis. When the nazis entered Bulgaria in 1941, many Salonika Jews began to feel uneasy and made plans to leave Athens. Several families did leave but Maniadakis, Minister of Public Order under Metaxas and Korizis, did not relish the fact that Jewish families were saving themselves. He sent a confidential order to the Salonika police to forbid the departure of democrats and Jews from Salonika. After that the Salonika police sold tickets only to Christian monarcho-fascists.

Kostis Maniadakis has never been brought to justice. He was allowed to escape to Argentina where it is said he has returned to his trade as a builder.

Nicholas Kamonas was an anti-Semitic journalist who wrote articles in *Macedonia* and *Apojevmatiny* defaming the character of the Jew. He described the Jews as parasites,

thieves and people who live by making themselves a burden on others.

Nicholas Kamonas is today a free man.

Collaborationist-Infested Parliament

The mass of the Greek people always have been and are now free from race hatred. But American dollars are supporting a collaborationist state hell-bent to set up fascism in Greece. The present Greek parliament is infested with traitors and collaborationists. Chairman of this parliament is John Theotokis (his son is also a member of parliament), who changed his name to Count Giovanni Theotoki during the occupation and fraternized openly with the Italians at his home in Corfu. Another member of parliament, *Kouloumvakis*, considered the German sponsored security battalions the glory of the Greek army because they were fighting the "communists." He tried to have a law passed to acquit all quislings because he said they were patriots. Thirty other members of parliament supported this proposal and Tsaldaris himself promised to sign the bill. Tsaldaris withdrew his support at the last moment because several of his fellow party members threatened to resign. Still another member of parliament is *Dimitratos*, who abolished all trade unions when he was Minister of Labor under Metaxas. *Tourkouvasilis*, governor of the Bank of Greece during the occupation, who openly admitted his collaboration with the nazis, now sits in parliament. With these fascist elements in parliament, it is no wonder that anti-Semitism is not stemmed in Greece.

Sourlas, Bourlakis and Manganas are still terrorizing the countryside with their fascist bands without hindrance. During the faked elections of 1946 these three gangsters forced the people to vote for the king. During the occupation Manganas was a corporal in a security battalion under the Germans. For committing several atrocities against the Greek government, after liberation he was sentenced to 20 years. After a few months he was freed and helped in reorganizing his gangs by the British and collaborationists. He went to Callamata Prison, took out 16 political prisoners of the left and shot them without interference from government officials.

It is my unhappy duty to report that there were Jews, too, who collaborated with nazi extermination plans. The late German Rabbi Coretz, Chief Rabbi of Greece, was appointed by Hitler to headship of the Jewish community in Salonika. This is the city where the anti-Jewish terror was most intense under Hitler and which is now the Jewish ghost-town of Greece. During the occupation only 72 Jews were hidden in Greek homes. Rabbi Coretz worked in with nazi plans to expel the Jews first by instructing them to sit tight and then by ordering them to leave for the "Jewish Republic" which the nazis had created at Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia. Another Jewish traitor was Dr. Merten, who is now awaiting trial at Nuremberg. According to the Salonika historian Mr. Joseph Nehama, Dr. Merten was an important agent in the persecution of the Jews in that

city. Vitali Hasson was appointed by the nazis to be director of the Baron Hirsch concentration camp. He terrorized the Jews, took away their gold and helped in the extermination of the Jews. Today Hasson is living in comfort in formal "imprisonment" and is chauffeur of the prison warden in Corfu.

The fascist tendencies of the present Greek government under American control are having their characteristic effects on the surviving Jews of Greece.

Greek Jewry Today

Before the war there were about 75,000 Jews in Greece. Of these 53,000 lived in Salonika, then the hub of the Greek Jewish community. Now there are only 1,950 Jews left there. Athens with a Jewish population of 4,930 is at present the center of Greek Jewry. The Central Board of Jewish Communities in Athens works closely with the Joint Distribution Committee. At the head of the Board is Asher Moissis, a lawyer reputed to be a friend of Tsaldaris and Damaskinos. An organization of 300 members called the Jewish Union gives voice to the more progressive sentiments of Athenian Jews, but it plays no active political role. There are two Jewish newspapers in Greece, *The Jewish Hearth*, a conservative organ sponsored by the Central Board, and *The Jewish Tribune*, democratic paper read by progressive Jews.

But today the situation of the Jews of Greece is not good. Take the case of Rabbi Elias Barzalai, at present chief Rabbi of Greece. During the war he was willingly kidnapped by the EAM to prevent the nazis from getting Jewish lists. When Rabbi Barzalai returned from the mountains after liberation, he gave public recognition to the fact that Jewish survivors owed their lives to the EAM. Rabbi Barzalai called a general assembly of all Athenian Jews and proposed that they elect a committee to direct the rehabilitation of the surviving Greek Jews. However, Asher Moissis, a Jew with conservative leanings, went to Minister of Religion Hatsibanis with a committee of his own political friends, which the Minister recognized in preference to the democratically elected committee of Rabbi Barzalai. In protest against this undemocratic act, Rabbi Barzalai resigned. Asher Moissis took advantage of this resignation to red-bait the Rabbi's connection with the EAM and succeeded in keeping him out of the rabbinate for four months. Sick at heart, Barzalai requested another congregation and prepared to leave for Cairo. A petition signed by 500 progressive Jews persuaded Rabbi Barzalai to stay, and when I was in Athens in August, Barzalai was still there. Shortly after I left, I learned that Asher Moissis had been elected president of the Central Board.

In spite of its high connections the Central Board has not succeeded in getting much government help for Jewish rehabilitation. After liberation there were seven Jewish consumptives in Salonika. Today there are 40. Already many deportees (non-Jewish, as well as Jewish, Greeks) have been drafted into the army. It is well to remember

that in France deportees were exempted from army-service for ten years.

The present Greek government is not carrying through property restitution very fast. In a cable dated October 20, 1947 the World Jewish Congress was informed that the Central Board of Jewish Communities in Greece had been appointed administrator of all heirless Jewish property until the law for its disposal can be implemented by a decree. It is important to note, however, that the cable mentions nothing about property belonging to surviving heirs. The explanation of this omission is that Jewish homes are occupied by monarcho-fascist supporters of the government who have no desire to give them up. Some of this property is occupied by some of the half million poor villagers evicted from their homes by the present Greek government because they were close to guerilla areas. Jews are thus forced to live in other people's homes or in hotels while their own houses are being lived in by strangers paying no rent. If the Jew takes his case to court, the government strives to defeat it.

Greek Jews who fought in the mountains against the nazis are now afraid to admit this for fear that the government will call them "communists." The Jews are so reduced in numbers and weakened economically that they cannot withstand the hostile attitude of the anti-Semites, who are antagonistic towards the Jews only because they survived the crematoria. To avoid humiliation and economic discrimination, some Jews turned to black market dealings.

There are 9,966 Jewish survivors in Greece today. About half of them were hidden in the homes of non-Jewish Greeks or fought in the mountains with the EAM-ELAS resistance forces. I am convinced that the "invincible" nazi plan to exterminate the Jews would have failed, if both Greek and Jewish traitors had not helped to execute this plan. But the horrible fact is that some of these very Greek forces are now at liberty and continuing to exert fascist influence upon Greece. And this was especially hard for me, as an American Jew, for I saw how American dollars are the prop for these same outlaws of society, collaborationists, traitors and fascists in the present Greek government. Our American dollars should be used for the progressive forces of the people, those who fought the Italians and the Germans and are now fighting for Greek independence and democracy. And this struggle is not a "communist" one, as red-baiters say. It is struggle of the progressive forces of the people which includes communists.

What the Greek people want is a United Nations guarantee for independence so that neither the Americans nor the British nor any other foreign power can interfere with the domestic or foreign policy of Greece. They want an amnesty for all democratic elements, free elections and a broad coalition government of all democratic parties. They want the withdrawal of all troops and foreign missions from Greece. General Markos, leader of the guerilla forces, said to a London *Times* correspondent on Sept. 10, 1947 that the policy of his democratic armies coincides with the sentiments of the majority of the Greek people. Only when democracy is won again will "Greece return to Greece."

THE THUNDER OF THE GRASS

By Aaron Kramer

In Warsaw, in the ghetto of the Jew,
a schoolhouse stood, along whose ancient walls
tendrils of ivy reverently grew—
as though to guard the rare Hebraic scrolls
asleep within—and greenly blushed their pride
for Friday's candles blossoming inside.

Around this sacred building rose a fence
of silence, that had never yet been broken;
even the neighboring flowers seemed to sense
that in those rooms uncommon words were spoken.
Bold grass between the cobblestones grew high,
to hush the blasphemous boots of passersby.

For, brighter than the candles, and more rare
than all the scrolls, were they that walked within:
the ninety-three young scholars, unaware
of war's harsh noise, and the foul smell of sin,
who learned old anthems, proverbs of the wise,
glorious legends—with enkindled eyes.

Proud grass defended them—yet even they
could not be deaf forever to the thunder
of Hitler's drums; and on too soon a day
their eyes were at the windows, fixed in wonder
while tight-lipped soldiers tramped from street to street,
breaking tall fences with their booted feet.

But harmless days went by and mocked their fright:
no guest disturbed the lessons—that is, none
but Captain Hess—and he was so polite,
so full of friendly questions—when he'd gone
the girls began to murmur cheerily,
wondering just how bad such men could be.

He asked how many girls they were, how old,
and scribbled down their answers in a book.
He noted that the heating-pipes were cold;
glanced at the dining-hall and bathrooms; took
great interest in the bedrooms; gently moved
a chair, and pledged that things would be improved.

* * *

March came, the month of rumor-laden winds—
and, though their rooms were warmer now than ever,
often the girls would move aside the blinds

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including *Til the Grass is Ripe for Dancing, Thru our Guns*,
and *The Glass Mountain*. His translations from Heinrich Heine
will appear this Spring. His translations of Yiddish poetry have
appeared in previous issues of JEWISH LIFE.

and watch, on broken streets, the bare trees quiver,
and hear, as though from deep within the ground,
as though from the earth's soul, a moaning sound.

It was a gruesome tale the March winds told:
of Israel dragged along the streets in chains—
women and men, the lame, the young, the old
crowded like cattle onto endless trains
that moved mysteriously out of sight
and came back empty in the deep of night.

What guilt they felt for all their wealth of rest,
the unstopped candles of their lone oasis
taunting the parched eyes of a tribe laid waste!
With what hushed sobs, what horror-stricken faces
they heard the frantic legend of the breeze,
until their souls quaked with the quaking trees!

And then, one morning, Captain Hess returned.
Outside, the beaten snow had disappeared.
Across the garden, sunlight gently burned
on buds and grasstops; soon the sky had cleared
its clouds, like heaps of wintry filth, away,
and rolled out carpets for a holiday.

Even the school fell captive to that season:
subtly its wildness surged from room to room—
each girl would laugh, with scarcely any reason,
take up a scarf and dance; or, like a bloom,
sway in the windy grass, crimson with blushes
for dreamed-of bridegrooms poised behind the bushes.

And as the Captain strutted through the door
he heard the giddy singing of a cello;
along the walls, over the faded floor
the sun had smeared a bright new coat of yellow.
He found the teacher, and politely bowed:
"I bring you tidings that should make you proud.

"Tomorrow night, promptly at eight o'clock,
ninety-three visitors will climb your stairs—
they're officers—the finest Aryan stock—
whose lips will answer all your pupils' prayers—
and, Beautiful," he winked, "don't lock this door,
for you and I can make it ninety-four!"

"I'll have my staff of seven quartered here
to supervise the event . . . and, when they speak,
remember: foolish words may cost you dear:
lashes, or spiked boots through your pretty cheek.

Salute them, offer drinks when they arrive;
show them how grateful you are to be alive!"

Without a stir, without the faintest sigh,
she stood behind her curtains, peeping down,
and watched the Captain as he strutted by .
bullying daylight with his deathly brown.
She saw that he was tall and straight and fair,
and that he mocked the sun with his blonde hair.

Although her landscape soon was rid of him
she stood a long time, letting the cool glass
relieve her brow—till all that had been dim
these many seasons: sunrays on the grass,
bits of white cloud, a gang of wheeling birds,
things that had shrivelled into classroom words

suddenly took on color, stirred, and swelled. . . .
Then all her senses shook with a shameless hunger
to hold the Spring—to be hungered for and held!
until she remembered ninety-three who were younger,
and turned aside, and let the curtains fall,
and slowly stumbled out into the hall.

* * *

The word went galloping from door to door,
gifted with sorrow's speed, and everywhere
it left a trail of ruin—someone tore
a garland of wild roses from her hair
and hurled it down into the street; another
crouched in the dark, and whimpered for her mother.

Swiftly they gathered, shuddering and sobbing;
and it was then that Esther, in her love,
forgot how her own coward pulse was throbbing.
Like Deborah of old she leaned above
her wailing sisters, and from her own breast
dragged out the magic words to give them rest.

"It is a dark and lone thing to be dead;
but such a darkness will torment me less
than lying in the black shame of my bed—
and I am sure that such a loneliness,
hard as it were, could never match the pain
of living all alone among our slain.

"How shall we greet the sweet bells of their doom
if we salute them in their triumph-hour?
Shall each of us come running from her room
waving the soul that lay beneath their power?
Or shall we, when the million martyrs rise,
send up our hallelujah to the skies?"

"What must we do?" sobbed one. "We must be ice
beneath their fingers, marble to their mouths,

our eyelids shut, our souls beyond all price,
our minds safe from their frenzied threats and oaths,
our flesh beyond their boots' idea of pain,
our lips: a smile to drive them out insane!"

Such words she spoke, till those who'd been afraid
sat gaping at her fist, and finished crying;
then, while the gloom of dusk seeped in, they weighed
several choices, and selected dying—
death being the sole weapon in their store
to cheat the foe of what he hungered for.

* * *

There were no sleepers in the school that night:
all eyes were on the planets, and all ears
drank the night's noise with savage appetite—
the moments rumbled past them, big as years;
the roses burst into gigantic bloom,
mating their scent with death in every room.

And on those tongues, where picnics once were planned,
Death, like a strange name, had to be said over;
for they were desperate to understand
this thing that they had chosen for a lover
to lie with them tomorrow—this black thing
whose kiss would banish their beloved Spring.

And when at last the sun rose, ninety-three
pairs of wide eyes admired it on its climb;
the girls put on their best, and solemnly
marched down to breakfast, and in pantomime
greeted each other, and with bitter zeal
savored their bountiful Passover meal.

Then, arm in arm, without a word they came
into the sunlight, among opening flowers.
Their hair, rose-wreathed, seemed to be set aflame.
While overhead, through all the morning hours,
the seven Germans sneered to see them pass
like goddesses tip-toeing on the grass.

Were they not blind to sneer when through the garden
the girls went kneeling in a wordless prayer
—as prisoners, who've gained at last their pardon,
might bow, ecstatic, breathing the free air?
Touching the bloom-filled branches of young trees,
they dumbly swayed—like spellbound votaries.

Those seven fat old men, were they not blind?
Never did such a troop of celebrants
show at a festival—with hands entwined
the girls began a solemn, nameless dance
around the flower-beds. . . . Did they not wonder?
Did no one tremble at the grass's thunder?

They meaningfully winked, and smiled, and vied
with one another in lascivious jests,

rubbing their soft hands hungrily, to hide their impotence, and pointed out the breasts that each of them pretended to desire—those fat old men, with only words for fire!

And when their store of wit was gone, they told the teacher she must call her students in. For one long breath, the girls bent down to hold roses against their hearts. "Let them begin taking their baths!" the Germans yelled, "it's late! Our men are officers—they mustn't wait!"

* * *

Deep went Death's hush down all the hallways, went his night from room to room—a single flame lived on the wall where seven Germans bent over their watches—till the moment came, the stroke of eight, and suddenly a sound of martial music made them swing around.

They crowded the window with their glowing eyes, and soon, around the corner, fiercely singing, the officers came marching toward their prize, those valiant conquerors of cities, bringing conqueror-blood, conqueror-lips and hands in quest of girls to overwhelm like lands.

"Where are they?" with a lunge the heroes swept their bowing, smiling ones aside, and swirled into the halls where holy treasure slept; and with their boots that had trampled half the world trampled the silence of that sacred place—and would have spat upon Jehovah's face.

But when each knob was turned, when each had sprung into his chosen bed, the promised form that lay beneath him: clean and soft and young, took all his passion without growing warm; and when his breath was answered by no breath he slowly recognized that it was Death

who had the virgin in his arms, that here lay something strangely calm, and safe from force; bewildered he arose, a thing of fear, and fled the room's gigantic intercourse that made a mockery of his own lust and turned his bright medallions into rust.

Back through the hall they swirled, those ninety-three, with drawn white faces and hysterical eyes, hiding each in his mind the mockery that raced behind him, laughing down his size; and when they found the seven old men, they swore and kicked, and flung them cringing to the floor.

Then through the tomb-like hall ran Captain Hess up to the teacher's room, and found her there; he called her name, and dared in bitterness

to strike at her and drag her from the chair; but she was cold and still, and when she fell smiling, he fled away with a wild yell.

"Ungrateful bitches! Listen, everyone!" his voice went raging through the hall like fire—"the world must have no word of what they've done! I'll give you virgins to your heart's desire, but not this night—for you've a job to do; this night you'll have your vengeance of the Jew.

"Take torches, some, and set each room aflame—take axes, some, and batter down the walls; and some, bare-handed, make yourselves a game of ripping all their cursed books and scrolls! And when tomorrow dawns, let not one stone remain—nor one torn page, nor one charred bone,

"nor one crushed rose, nor one dead candle-light, nor one limp blade of grass—nor any broken piece of a bed! What happened here this night must be destroyed without a single token, so that no passerby may ever see this building's ghost, or hear its history!"

All night they toiled, without a moment's pause: battering, burning, ripping with bare hand the yellow page that held the holy laws; and when the morrow dawned, their chief's command had been fulfilled—for nothing could be found of stone or flower to hide the ruined ground.

* * *

And yet the folk of Warsaw tell their story to all who'll listen, of a certain time in mid-March, when the ancient dormitory rises again, and 'round its windows climb tendrils of ivy, that greenly blush their pride for Friday's candles blossoming inside.

And, whispering, they'll lead you to the street with bared, bowed heads, and ask you to believe that on that certain morning you may meet a troop of silent girls, who slowly weave and whirl like goddesses; and, if you pass quite close, you'll hear the thunder of the grass.

The EDITORS of

JEWISH LIFE

Greet the Distinguished Jewish Artist

WILLIAM GROPPER

On His 50th BIRTHDAY

SHALL THIS LAND GO BACK TO GERMANY?

Between 60,000 to 70,000 Jews live in the area of Poland whose return to Germany is being proposed for discussion by Secretary of State George C. Marshall and British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin at the Foreign Ministers' conference which began in London on November 25, 1947. This question is "a matter of life or death for Polish Jewry," said Adolph Berman, former anti-nazi guerrilla leader and chairman of the Jewish Central Committee of Poland, at a recent meeting of the World Jewish Congress. Berman added that "I have been specifically instructed by the Central Committee (of Polish Jews) and by a conference of Polish Jewry held recently to call the attention of world Jewry to this danger." Any attempt to rebuild Germany politically and economically, he said, is a threat to the Jews because anti-Semitism is still deeply rooted among the Germans.

Following are some facts about the reconstruction of Jewish life in this former German territory which now holds a majority of surviving Polish Jews.—Eds.

LOWER SILESIA

After two years of operation the Jewish community in Lower Silesia now has: 23 schools, 10 settlement houses with auditoria, 25 cultural circles, 64 dramatic circles, 32 libraries, a people's university, a permanent Jewish theatre, the publication *Niderszlezje*, etc.

Recently a gymnasium and a school of music were established. A library and a Jewish museum are being organized in Wroclaw.

In spite of the frosty winter and the dry summer, the harvests of Jewish farmers in lower Silesia were plentiful. Many of these farmers were harvesting crops from their own land for the first or the second time. A government commission granted subsidies to Jewish farmers for the purchase of horses and loan tractors and other farm equipment for their use.

Not only the government but local groups as well have extended their sincere aid to the Jewish farmers. The fact that ever increasing numbers of Jews wish to become farmers constitutes a departure from traditional ways in Poland. In this connection, an agricultural commission has been incorporated into the Regional Committee. Its function is to supply specialized farming information and advice on the purchase of farm equipment to Jewish farmers.

The Bank for Jewish Economic Rehabilitation was established in Lower Silesia in 1946. Its function is to extend credit to Jewish cooperatives and to small private businesses (craftsmen and others). Ninety-four cooperatives employing 3,000 workers and 700 private businesses have received credit from the bank. In June of 1947 it was noted that the bank had lent roughly 50 million

zlotys and had an unpaid debt of less than 1 per cent. Deposits are received regularly (recently at the rate of approximately 2 million zlotys per month) and this has necessitated the extension of new loans.

The Polish Government has extended considerable credit to the bank in order that long term loans to Jewish cooperatives and to investors would be possible.

In Duszyniki there is a rest home for workers and in Bielawa there is a rest home for young people. The local religious organization conducts its own summer camps for children and young people as does the OSE. Other Jewish organizations have homes and camps, all of which conduct cultural activities. Jewish speech and song are being heard in the mountains and forests of Lower Silesia for the first time.

SZCZECIN (STETTIN)

Four thousand Jews are now settled in this, the newest Jewish settlement in Poland.

There are 20 producers' cooperatives with 500 members. The largest of these is the "United Effort," a union of work-shops which has ten sections: tailors, shoemakers, electricians, metallurgists, bakers, tanners, jewelers, soap-makers, sugar-refiners, and scrap dealers. (It works exclusively on government orders.)

The first Jewish Fishermen's Cooperative in Polish history has been established in Szczecin. Two hundred Jews have settled two large estates near Szczecin which the Polish Government had assigned complete with farm equipment and a brewery for the use of Jewish farmers.

In a recently opened exhibit in the City Museum of Szczecin, the Jewish community installed a pavilion which highlighted Jewish participation in the reconstruction of Poland after the war.

KATOWICE AND UPPER SILESIA

AT the time of the mass repatriation, the Jewish Committee in Katowice aided 99,000 repatriates who passed through Upper Silesia from the Soviet Union.

At the present time there are almost 10,000 Jews in Upper Silesia, 40 per cent of whom are gainfully employed (this is a high percentage considering the great numbers of invalids, sick, aged and children).

Five hundred Jews work in government institutions, 600 work in small industries, 100 work in the professions and 400 work in government production firms. Fifty Jews are employed in the mines.

There are numerous Jewish cooperatives in Katowice among which are seven for tailors, three for locksmith-mechanics, one for shoemakers (mechanized, one of the best in Poland), one for hairdressers, soap-makers and tanners.

SEE HERE DR. BIRKHEAD!

An Open Letter
By Albert E. Kahn

Dr. L. M. Birkhead
National Director, Friends of Democracy
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Birkhead:

Recently I received by mail from your office a large handsomely printed brochure intriguingly entitled, *Opinions! Comments! Bouquets! Brickbats!—about America's most fearless crusading story*. American history is, of course, replete with tales of great heroism, and I was more than a little curious to find out which of all our national sagas was regarded as the most glorious by your organization, The Friends of Democracy.

Perhaps I was naive to be disappointed. I'm as familiar as the next fellow with the devious techniques of modern advertising, and I have read *The Hucksters*. Even so, to be perfectly frank, it was a bit of a letdown to discover that the epic title of your brochure referred to the life and labors of John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover* and *The Plotters*, and for some time chief investigator for the Friends of Democracy (a fact which your brochure modestly neglected to mention).

But it is not the purpose of this letter to criticize your promotional aesthetics. *Chacun à son gout!*

My reason for writing is this. Your brochure, which fervently defends Carlson against "Brickbats from the Nationalist Right and the Communist Left," takes sharp exception to certain observations I made about Carlson in an article which appeared in the March 1947 issue of *Jewish Life*. You even express the belief that dark ulterior motives inspired my article. And it seems to me that the matter warrants further clarification.

Perhaps, first, I should briefly review the content of my article. In it, I stated:

That although Carlson's first book, *Under Cover*, was an effective expose of pro-Axis activities in the United States, his most recent book, *The Plotters*, performs a service for reaction by its extensive red-baiting;

That Carlson's present red-baiting activities came as no surprise to me, since my own personal acquaintanceship with him had convinced me that he was an opportunist and had made me generally suspicious of him;

That several years ago, when I was editor of the anti-fascist newsletter, *The Hour*, and Carlson was an under-

cover agent working in the fascist movement, he used to sell me reports which, while useful, indicated that he himself had not remained entirely immune to the fascist atmosphere in which he was working; that in these reports he repeatedly used such phrases as "looking like a Jew," "nigger lips," and "The colored busboys together couldn't excite the hottest wench in Harlem. . . ."; and that he recommended having "an emotional Jewish speaker" at mass rallies honoring Martin Dies, in order "to show the Jews in a more favorable light";

That on one occasion I witnessed a heated argument between Carlson and an official of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, during which Carlson lost his temper and burst out with a sentence beginning with these words: "The trouble with you Jew-boys is. . ." (I forgot to mention that the ADL official took Carlson by his coat-collar and the seat of his pants and threw him out of the office);

That a further indication of Carlson's character is the fact that whereas he now violently attacks the Soviet Union as an "aggressive empire-nation," he formerly wrote under his own name, Arthur Deronium, an article which appeared in the November 1936 issue of *Soviet Russia Today* enthusiastically extolling "the most amazing and vitalizing" progress taking place, under the Soviets, in Armenia, the land of Carlson's birth.

Now, of course, Dr. Birkhead, I can understand why a man in your position would be distressed at having such charges leveled against one of his close associates. In fact, I would have expected you to challenge the veracity of my statements. But, strangely enough, your brochure does nothing of the sort.

True, your brochure does make specific reference to my article. For example, you cut out the title of my article, carefully avoiding indicating the fact that it had appeared in *Jewish Life*, and printed the title in a photo-montage together with the mastheads of the *Daily Worker* and the *New Masses*. It would not, of course, take a particularly alert mind to assume, on seeing that photo-montage, that my article had appeared in one of these two publications. I appreciate that the purpose of this legerdemain was to convince your readers of my communistic proclivities; but don't you think, Dr. Birkhead, that you might have employed a more subtle device?

As further proof of my sinister political leanings, your brochure relates that I spoke at the Lenin Memorial Rally which was held in Madison Square Garden in January 1947, and that on another occasion I addressed a Gerhart Eisler Defense meeting held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress.

ALBERT E. KAHN is the president of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and a member of the administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress. He is co-author with Michael Sayers of *The Great Conspiracy* and other books, and is an editor of *JEWISH LIFE*.

Perhaps, since you may be contemplating the issuance of a new brochure, I should inform you of the content of my address at the rally in honor of Lenin. I spoke as a Jew regarding the historic contribution that the Soviet Union has made to the Jewish people. And I mentioned these facts about the Soviet Union: that anti-Semitism is a criminal offense punishable by the laws of the land; that there exists in Soviet Russia an autonomous Jewish region, Birobidjan; that there is no discrimination whatsoever, in any phase of Soviet life, against the Jewish people or any other national minority; and that the Jewish people, as all other freedom-loving peoples throughout the world, owe an immeasurable debt to the Red Army for its magnificent role in World War II. I gather that in your opinion, Dr. Birkhead, such utterances are today subversive; and you can of course point to previous periods in history when the truth was considered treasonable.

Although you misquote a statement I made at the meeting in defense of Gerhart Eisler (your agents are apparently covering all sorts of meetings these days), you are perfectly correct in stating that I was there. As a matter of fact, I have spoken at several meetings in Eisler's defense. Also, shortly after Eisler's arrest at the instigation of the House Un-American Activities Committee, I signed my name to a public statement protesting "the undemocratic practices of the Thomas-Rankin House Committee on Un-American Activities, most recently exemplified in the shameful persecution of the anti-fascist refugee, Gerhart Eisler." Among the other signatories of this statement were Thomas Mann, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Francis Fisher Kane, William J. Schiefflin, Dr. Harry F. Ward, Arthur Miller and Professor Kirtley F. Mather. No doubt you regard such individuals as communists themselves or the naive dupes of communist conniving.

You leave no question as to the category in which I belong. You characterize me as a "clever Communist operative. . . . Master of the art of deception. . . . *the Westbrook Pegler or the John T. Flynn of the Communist Party.*" (Italics yours.)

And you apparently believe that there is some special witchcraft in those words, and that the mere voicing of this incantation, like the waving of a magic wand, makes my charges against your co-worker, Carlson, vanish into thin air. . . .

This whole discussion has a far deeper significance than a mere dispute between us regarding the character and function of John Roy Carlson. What we are actually debating is how an American anti-fascist should conduct himself today.

You remark in your brochure, with the somber resignation of one mourning a departed soul, "At one time Kahn was a respected anti-fascist." (You cite as proof—in my opinion, not the most convincing sort of proof—the fact that the *Readers' Digest* published a condensation of *Sabotage*, the first book by Michael Sayers and myself.) But, you relate, "after V-J Day" a shocking change occurred: to the con-

sternation of "liberals and genuine anti-fascists," I dropped "my democratic mask" and showed myself to be "an out-and-out communist." (Personally, I can't accept that casual assumption of yours that "communist" and "anti-fascist" are antipathetic terms; I know that many of the best and most effective anti-fascists have been, and are, communists.)

There is, Dr. Birkhead, a distinct element of truth in what you say. Following the end of the war and the death of President Roosevelt, *something* did change. But it was something much more important than I. It was the domestic and foreign policy of the United States Government.

Surely you remember the days—after all, they were only a couple of years ago—when, under the leadership of President Roosevelt, our government was pursuing an anti-fascist policy both at home and abroad. Surely you recall how with the Soviet Union as our strongest and most effective ally we defeated the Axis powers, and how at Yalta and Potsdam we pledged ourselves to the extirpation of fascism in the world. And surely you recollect how in those bygone days the Administration maintained a progressive attitude toward the labor movement, and the Department of Justice investigated and sometimes even prosecuted American fascists and anti-Semites.

Perhaps, then, it is the present period that you have not noticed. Perhaps you have not observed that ever since the first conference of the United Nations at San Francisco, where American representatives championed the admission of Argentina, our government has aided reactionary and fascist elements wherever possible throughout the world; and that it is American statesmen who today are supporting a ruthless military dictatorship in Greece, bolstering Chiang Kai-shek's feudal corrupt regime in China, helping maintain Franco in power in Spain, and working in close accord in Germany with the German industrialists and financiers who financed Hitler's rise to power. Perhaps you have not taken heed of the fact that, on the home front, the present Administration has completely reversed Roosevelt's pro-labor policies; that a nation-wide assault is being made on the civil rights of American citizens; and that President Truman in his Executive Loyalty Order lists the House Un-American Activities Committee as one of the agencies to be relied upon for the provision of information regarding disloyal government employees. And perhaps you have not realized that the fascist and anti-Semitic movement is not only now operating with impunity in the United States, but has become greatly emboldened as a result of the reactionary policies of the Administration.

But I do an injustice to your powers of observation! As a matter of fact there is every evidence that you are not only aware of the reactionary winds sweeping through our land, but that you have trimmed your own sails accordingly.

In former days, you used to denounce red-baiting as a reactionary and fascist tactic. Now, your organization is publishing literature offering advice on "Ten Ways to Spot a Communist."

I realize of course that red-baiting was never more popular in the United States than it is today; and that it is neither easy nor profitable to oppose the trend of the times. But really, Dr. Birkhead, if you feel compelled to join the witchhunt, you should not claim you are doing so in order to defend democracy and fight fascism. It isn't convincing.

As for myself, I feel that the proper function of an American anti-fascist today is to oppose the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the present Administration, and to strive to bring about a return to the policies our government was pursuing under President Roosevelt.

And even if I could temporarily forget that I am an anti-fascist and could adopt your expedient position (neither of which I could ever do), I would still remain a Jew. And as a Jew, I know that reaction and anti-Semitism grow side by side, and that anti-Semitism in this era leads to the establishment of death camps for Jews.

So I am sure, Dr. Birkhead, that you will understand why I find it necessary and desirable to continue fighting against fascism and reaction; whether abroad or at home.

Sincerely,

ALBERT E. KAHN.

CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWISH INTELLECTUALS

By Nathan Ausubel

WE Jews are called upon today to play a double role in the tragedy of our time: it is as Jews as well as Americans. By what acrobatic rationalizations can we avoid recognizing that we have that dual identity? Even if we wish to forget it, the anti-Semites are sure to remind us of it. Of late the moral climate in our country has become hideous and even alarming. Jew-baiting, always the smoke-screen of reaction, is becoming more brazen and aggressive from day to day. Is that why the sleep of so many Jews has become troubled? Out of the bitter affliction of their people they have learned to recognize the leprous face of fascism even if it modishly tries to drape itself in unsullied democratic garments.

Today, on the broad stages of the world, is being enacted the drama of life and death for mankind. The two principal protagonists are reaction and social progress. It is the lust for profits pitted against human freedom—the atom bomb against civilization.

Reaction does not sleep. It has been busily mobilizing its intellectual lackeys, all its moulders of public opinion. Can we afford to underestimate its alertness and resourcefulness? It has discovered, for instance, that like the atom bomb, bacterial warfare, and jet-propelled rockets, culture too can serve as a weapon and that perversion of its spirit and functions can make it just as deadly. For the seductive price of safety in conformity and for the security of their incomes many scholars, teachers, artists and writers have allowed themselves to be mobilized to sound the knuckle-bone castanets and crash the brazen cymbals for the Dance of Death. Instead of serving as the teachers of mankind they are now planning to act as its grave-diggers.

NATHAN AUSUBEL is a biographer and editor of several volumes. He has written extensively on Jewish history and culture and writes a column in English for the *Morning Freiheit*. This article is the first part of a speech delivered at the Jewish Cultural Conference in New York on Nov. 2, 1947.

Progressive cultural workers must not allow themselves to be intimidated into silence because so many of the glittering names, so many of the intellectual hirelings are now chanting the fascistic "Ja!" to the man-devouring Moloch of Wall Street. Fortunately, culture has exalted traditions. It is not a harlot ready to pander to the criminal vices of reaction for a price. Thousands of honest intellectuals in all cultural pursuits today remain loyal to it and to the belief in the free advance of mankind. We too, progressive Jewish cultural workers, must be in that goodly company. It is our only validity in reason, our own moral justification. That is principally why we are here at this Conference on Jewish Culture.

But what is Jewish culture? Unfortunately the subject has been wrapped in a fog of confusion and misconception. The better to understand its character, and particularly *progressive* Jewish culture, it will serve us well if we first define our conception of who the Jews are. Do they represent a race? A religion? A nation?

What Is a Jew?

The progressive individual with a scientific viewpoint cannot regard the Jews as a race because, ethnologically speaking, there is no such thing as a pure race and the Jews too are a commingling of a variety of known as well as unknown ethnic strains. Nor can we consider Jews as belonging to a religious confraternity because probably just as many Jews are unbelievers as are believers. Lastly, no one can call the Jews a nation because for almost two thousand years they have been scattered over the earth, living as distinctive groups among the nations, yet differing widely from one another and lacking the homogeneity of a nation. What astonishingly varying culture-patterns do we find among the Jews of the world! The American-born Jewish worker in Detroit, the Jewish cave-dweller in Tripoli, the Jewish Fal-

asha hunter in Abyssinia, and the *Jewish* farmer in Birobidjan—all Jews, and yet so different! We, progressive people, hold to the scientific view of the social anthropologist with regard to race and culture. We consider the Jews a people composed of a constellation of ethnic culture groups having much in common with one another yet showing marked cultural variations on account of different historical experiences and cultural fusions that have taken place in the various countries where they have lived ever since the Dispersion.

We are primarily concerned with the Jews of America, and especially with those Jews whose language is English. Therefore, we will be putting matters in their proper perspective if we examine several of the major concepts of Jewish culture as they occur among large sections of our people.

What is the concept of the American religious Jew? To him Jewish culture is theocratic. It all began in Bible times when Jews lived in Palestine. The Jewish state was then a priest-state, a theocracy in which every aspect of life, including the secular, was centered in religion or supervised by it. To the religious Jew then the corpus of Jewish culture is contained almost exclusively in his sacred literature: in the Bible, Talmud, the Midrash, and many ancillary works of a later date that are of a liturgical, devotional and exegetical nature. Anything outside of that, i.e., the secular, they usually deem not to be of fundamental worth, or they consider the product of alien cultural influence.

Then, of course, there is the liberal, and sometimes "radical," Jew with a nationalist philosophy. While he may not be actually religious, he has a sentimental, nationalistic attitude toward Judaism because to him it represents the Jewish past. For that reason, religious ceremonies, customs and rites are, in his estimation, very valuable because they represent the unchanging symbols of Jewish identity and thus act as the cement of solidarity holding the multi-segments of the Jewish people together. And he teaches his children to take pride in Israel's martyrs, heroes and sages, and helps weave an aura of "The Chosen People" glamor about them.

Rooted in the Present

Alike with the religious Jew, the not-so-religious nationalist works for the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish state in which he expects his people to coalesce into a nation. With that end in mind, the modern Hebrew language and its literature take an ascending place in his scheme of cultural values.

Both of these concepts, and variations of them, possess one very convenient virtue—they are delimiting by definition, and that of course makes matters so much simpler, but arbitrary. For the main part, both of them are anchored culturally in the past. Like Lot's wife they are constantly looking back and are therefore facing the same danger of petrification. But in fairness to the left-wing working elements and other progressive groups in Palestine, it must be

conceded that they have been making far-reaching adjustments to a modern, secular conception of Jewish life.

While both Zionists and religious Jews have our fraternal wishes and while we share with them many of our common cultural treasures, we progressives cannot go along with them in quite a few things. Our philosophy of Jewish life and culture differs widely from theirs. We are anchored not in the past but in the present. Unlike them we are not straining wistfully to recapture the magic of a Golden Age that has remained a nostalgic legend among many Jews. Rather, we are determined to create a new and modern Golden Age of Jewish Culture in the most advanced spirit of our time. Certainly there is much in the Jewish past, created by the genius of the Jewish people, that is wonderful and timeless, that has helped mankind to advance toward the light through the many centuries. It is precisely these progressive elements that we want to extract from the past, but critically and selectively and not indiscriminately. We reject the mystical and the nationalistic, the sectarian and the parochial, the isolating and the stagnant.

However, we must remain on guard against being too unimaginatively mechanical and facile in dismissing as unprogressive certain aspects of the Jewish cultural heritage. Every cultural achievement must be studied in the frame of reference of the historic period that gave rise to it and of the contemporary stage in the development of society. To exclude, for instance, the exalted social ethics of the Prophets, those embattled tribunes of the oppressed Jewish masses in Bible times, because they were couched in religious terms, is to commit a narrow and unpardonable blunder in perspective. Although the main emphasis of Jewish culture in the past has been religious on account of its theocratic origins, underneath it all, like a subterranean stream, flowed swiftly and strongly the affirmatively secular, the humane, the rational, and the will to the good and just life for all men.

It was Thomas Huxley who remarked: "The Bible has been the Magna Carta for the poor and the oppressed; down to modern times no state has had a constitution in which the interests of the people are so largely taken into account. . . . Nowhere is the fundamental truth, that the welfare of the state in the long run depends on the welfare of the citizen, so strongly laid down."

A Progressive Cultural Heritage

What are some of the progressive features of our ancient Jewish cultural heritage—features that were historically unprecedented in their day and are still universal in their applicability?

1. The conception of life as holy and inviolate, as an affirmative, perfectible goal toward which mankind can work—work for a humane and just society on an ethical, rational pattern.

"The world rests on three things: justice, truth and peace." (Simeon ben Gamaliel in the *Talmud*.) "The Torah, by beginning with the book of the generations of man, laid down

the great rule for the application of the Law: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' (Simeon ben Azzai in the *Talmud*.)

2. The first attempt in history at a democracy with a social philosophy, one in which, theoretically and juridically at least, the poor, the landless peasants, the workers, the widows and the orphans, and the stranger in the land, were the special concern and the wards of the Jewish state.

"The lands shall not be sold in perpetuity: for the land is Mine." (*Leviticus* 25:23.)

"And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea though he be a stranger. . . ." (*Leviticus* 25:35.)

"... seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." (*Isaiah* 1:17.)

"It is not written 'the poor man' but 'thy brother' to show that both of them are equal." (The *Talmud*.)

3. The only humane attitude toward the slave among all the peoples of antiquity, for Jews always remembered that they had eaten once the bread of affliction as slaves to Pharaoh in Egypt.

"And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt." (*Deuteronomy* 15:15.)

"And if thy brother be waxen poor with thee and sell himself unto thee, thou shalt not make him to serve as a bond-servant." (*Leviticus* 25:39.)

"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his family." (*Leviticus* 25:10.)

4. The conception of the equality and brotherhood of man, and of its corollaries—social justice and universal peace.

"But let justice well up as water, and righteousness as a mighty stream." (*Isaiah* 5:24.)

"But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and decide with equity for the meek of the land. . . . And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." (*Isaiah* 11:4-6.)

"And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." (*Isaiah* 2:2-4.)

5. The epoch-making view of the dignity of labor and of respect for the worker, so that even the great Talmudic sages and teachers among the Jews worked at manual trades. Rabbi Hillel, who taught the doctrine of love and brotherhood a hundred years before Christ, was a wood-chopper; Rabbi Hanina was a shoemaker; Rabbi Yohanan a maker of sandals; Rabbi Yose ben Halafta a tanner; Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah a charcoal burner; and Rabbi Shammai a land surveyor.

"Great is the dignity of labor: it honors man. . . . He who teaches his son no trade is as if he taught him to steal. . . . It is well to add a trade to your studies; you will then be free from sin. . . . He who lives by the work of his hands

is worthier than he who indulges in idle piety. . . . Flay a carcass in the market-place, receive your wage, and do not say: 'I am a priest, I am a great man—this work is beneath my dignity.'" (The *Talmud*.)

6. The high place of the woman, and consequently of family life, maintained almost uniformly among Jews at times when other peoples were treating their women as mere chattels and breeding machines.

"God's presence dwells in a pure and loving home. . . . A man must not make a woman weep, for God counts her tears. . . . He loves her as himself, but honors her more than himself. . . . When his wife dies, a man's world is darkened, his step is slow, his mind is heavy; she dies in him, he in her." (The *Talmud*.)

"Strength and honor are her clothing. . . . She openeth her mouth with wisdom; and in her tongue is the law of kindness. Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her." (*Proverbs* 12:5-28.)

Humanistic Pioneers

Also we must not overlook the extraordinary humanist movement among Jews four hundred years before the Christian humanists Erasmus and Reuchlin, which made them the first cultured people in Europe. During the Middle Ages they played the leading role in the revival of learning and in the development of science.

Let us Jews stand abashed before the fact that there have been enlightened Gentile intellectuals who have had greater insight into the progressive features of Jewish culture and its contributions to civilization than most of our own Jewish intellectuals today. It was knowledge of Jewish culture that made the eminent English historian Lecky write in *The Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*:

"While those around them were groveling in the darkness of besotted ignorance; while juggling miracles and lying relics were the themes on which all Europe was expatiating; while the intellect of Christendom, enthralled by countless superstitions, had sunk into a deadly torpor in which all love of enquiry and all search for truth were abandoned, the Jews were still pursuing the path of knowledge, amassing learning and stimulating progress with the same unflinching constancy that they manifested in their faith. They were the most skillful physicians, the ablest financiers, and among the most profound philosophers; while they were only second to the Moors in the cultivation of natural science. They were also the chief interpreters to Western Europe of Arab learning."

Whatever has proven worthwhile, according to progressive standards, in Jewish civilization of the past we must carry over into the continuing stream of Jewish cultural activity. No, to us Jewish culture is not an ancestral graveyard full of the whitened bones of a dead and hallowed past. It is part of the living tissue of Jewish existence which we have inherited from our grandmothers together with the old brass candlesticks and spice mortars. We must build it

around the urgent needs of the Jewish people and of all society today.

Progressive Jewish culture consists of all those aspects of the collective Jewish life which express the positive, forward-looking aspirations of the Jewish people. It should serve as a weapon to help it in the struggle to achieve for itself the full rights and opportunities which should be accorded all Americans. Jewish culture should be the weapon with which to fight Jew-baiting, discrimination, the exploitation of the Jewish toiling masses, and the social isolation which aims to make of Jews second-class citizens. Moreover, it should demonstrate to Jews with the impact of shattering truth that by itself it can accomplish little, but in moral and physical alliance with all progressive elements, with organized labor, with all national minority groups, with the Negro people—it can achieve a greater measure of security and well-being.

Let us now attempt to analyze the various types of resistance, both conscious and unconscious, that American intellectual Jews have hitherto displayed toward Jewish culture. Only by identifying and understanding these resistances will we be able to overcome them.

The Assimilationist Chameleon

We will refer only briefly to the bourgeois assimilationist chameleon. He is the spineless opportunist whose principal obsession in life is to relieve himself as much as possible of the encumbering heavy baggage of his Jewishness. In a world where it is highly inconvenient to be born a Jew, where he cannot endure the finger of social scorn pointed at him, he tries hard to transform himself into his snobbish conception of an Anglo-Saxon Gentile. This philistine is sometimes even capable of spreading anti-Semitic slanders against his own people because he finds it a lot more pleasant to hunt with the hounds than to run with the hares. While he is to be met with quite frequently in certain fashionable intellectual and artistic circles, this type of Jew is hardly deserving of our attention except to put us on guard against him for he is usually our enemy and throws in his Judas-lot with the reactionaries.

But we are definitely concerned with Jewish assimilationists of an entirely different class. They are progressive individuals with intelligence, character and conviction. If in the past they have chosen to ignore Jewish culture as though it were non-existent, it has been largely from ignorance and from "principle." But this opposition from so-called "principle" has stemmed directly from ignorance. And there can be nothing more grotesque than principles based on ignorance.

Let us for a moment examine this "principle." These progressives are opposed to Jewish culture because, so they say, they consider it to be nationalist-religious culture. Inasmuch as they themselves are non-religious and non-nationalist they maintain that their objection to it is wholly consist-

ent with their internationalist and scientific scruples. If you will ask them they will tell you that Jewish culture is something dead and static and moldy with the cosmic dust of three thousand years. However, if you will press them a bit they will readily admit that their knowledge about Jewish culture is but a surface impression gained—whether from a slight but unhappy contact with it in Hebrew or Temple Sunday school in their childhood, whether from observing those who are occupied with it, or from a casual inspection of works of Judaica.

Ignorance of Jewish Tradition

Now who can blame them for their impressions, although they are false and misleading in more than one way? The American Jewish intellectual notices with alarm that, for the most part, those busy with Jewish culture are the religionists and the nationalists. This should be both a reproach and a challenge to progressive writers, scholars and artists that, by default, they have left the field of Jewish culture to be the almost exclusive preserve of the bourgeois religionist and the nationalist. And it is only natural that they should be interpreting Jewish history and culture their own way.

There is still another reason for this allergy to Jewish culture. Ever since the French Revolution recognized the principle of the natural equality of man, including Jews, there has been evident on the part of enlightened Jews an inclination to turn their backs on the stagnant ghetto-life, and by the power of unpleasant association, with the entire Jewish cultural past. It has been their idea, a very persuasive one superficially, that by becoming thoroughly assimilated into the bloodstream of general Western culture, they would be released at last from their isolation as Jews in a hostile world, would thus remove from themselves the yellow-circle stigma belonging to their pariah people.

How often have we heard the remonstrance: "What do I know about Jewish culture? All my life I've been busy with American culture. . . . I'm an American!" This rationalization represents only half a truth, for this Jew is trying to forget that, besides being an American, he is also a Jew. Hard as he may try, it is not possible for him to escape the impact of his ethnic group culture. Culture is not only distinguished by identifiable labels. There are a thousand subtle threads visible and well as invisible, that connect even the most assimilated Jew with his people. There are ethical values and social attitudes, folkways and folkwisdom, a Jewish folksong sung by grandmother, a humorous anecdote told by father, a Jewish legend vividly remembered from childhood—all these are derived from the collective life of a people and become a part of its culture-pattern.

The following is the testimony of a great writer who was also an honest man: "In my early youth I read—I have forgotten where—the words of an ancient Jewish sage, Hillel. . . . 'If you are not for yourself, who will be for you? If you are for yourself alone, what are you?' The inner meaning of these words impressed me with their profound wis-

dom, and I interpreted them for myself in the following manner: I must actively make of myself that my life should be better, and I must not impose the care of myself on other people's shoulders; but if I am going to take care of myself alone, of nothing but my own personal life, it will be useless, ugly, meaningless. This thought ate its way deep into my soul; and I say now with conviction: 'Hillel's wisdom served as a strong staff on my road, which was neither easy nor even.' I believe that Jewish wisdom is more all-human and universal than any other; and this not only be-

cause of its powerful humaneness that saturates it, because of its high estimate of man."

Who wrote this—a Jew? No, Maxim Gorky. If he were a Jew he would be accused no doubt of chauvinism by other Jews. Now it is reasonable to assume that if the Gentile boy Gorky could be so profoundly influenced by a casual and accidental contact with progressive Jewish culture how much infinitely more exposed to its influences are Jewish children even if they later choose to deny their birthright.

(Concluded in February issue.)

WHO OPPOSES THE BUCKLEY BILL?

By William Levner

WHEN the Buckley Bill (HR 2848) was first introduced into the 80th Congress several months ago, professional anti-Semites emitted a howl of rage and frantically set about organizing a campaign against it. The Bill was widely reviewed in the poison press-chain specializing in slander and libel against Jews. Instructions went out to bombard congressmen for votes against the measure if it should come up for a hearing or formal vote. Notorious anti-Semites devoted their usual harangues to vicious attacks on the Bill and its sponsors.

Of course, there was good reason for the hysteria which the introduction of the Buckley Bill caused among the anti-Semites. It threatened to put them out of business and to end the flourishing racket of peddling racial libels among the unsuspecting and ill informed. The Buckley Bill is actually the first measure in Congress designed to curb anti-Semitic agitation in a practical manner. It has become popularly known as a bill to outlaw anti-Semitism. Actually, its scope is much more modest and is limited to outlawing the "importation, mailing, shipment, receipt and distribution" of anti-Semitic pictures, papers, etc. The Bill is so framed as to meet the constitutional requirements under which the Federal Government operates. Article I Section 8 of the Constitution of the United States gives Congress the right to regulate interstate commerce. A national bill dealing with anti-Semitism must be based on this Congressional power if it is to define and proscribe specific anti-Semitic activity carried on across state lines.

It is precisely for this reason, however, that professional anti-Semites are so fearful of the Buckley Bill. The main effort of professional anti-Semites today is in the field of propaganda and agitation. America is interlaced with a poison press network of some 200 hate sheets. These range variously from crude mimeographed editions to well written and expensive brochures and periodicals. Here are some typical hate sheets put out by professional American anti-Semites: *Nationalist News, Service, The Cross and the*

Flag, The Defender, The Western Voice, The X-Ray, The Broom, America Speaks, Women's Voice, Showers of Blessing, The Statesman, Imp Bulletin and many others. The main propaganda themes are adapted to current events and interests and are repeated through an interchange of material among so called "Nationalist" publications. In addition old czarist libels such as the *Protocols of Zion, Jewish Ritual Murder* and others from the more recent Goebbels propaganda mill have been resurrected and are being reprinted and circulated in great volume. Foreign countries, particularly Sweden and England, are the source of origin of a constant stream of vicious tracts and pamphlets prepared by fascists who continue to ply their evil trade as they did prior to World War II.

"Constitutional" Cloak for Crime

In attacking the Buckley Bill anti-Semites wrap themselves in the American flag and scream that their constitutional rights are in jeopardy. Typical is the campaign now waged by an old fascist and anti-Semite, one W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., whose headquarters are at 876 Granite Street, Philadelphia, Pa., and who serves as coordinator of various anti-Semitic outfits in that area.

In writing Congressman Charles A. Buckley, sponsor of the Bill, MacFarland states: "When I first reviewed your bill in my periodical some months ago, I explained its provisions and went on to make the statement that, should it be passed into law, I should consider it my duty to commit a definite violation of the new statute in order to gain clear-cut legal decisions as to its Constitutionality. I am not in a financial condition which would even so much as permit me to meet the bail which might be set until a hearing of the case, but as an American citizen, I would prefer months or even years of physical imprisonment to the greater tyranny of the abridgment of the First Article in the Amendments to the U. S. Constitution, which H.R. 2848 would entail."

MacFarland calls on the first amendment to the U. S.

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Constitution to defend his right to disseminate such monstrous libels as *Jewish Ritual Murder*, *the Atom Plot*, *Jewish Bolshevism*, and other filth ad nauseam. On sending out his attacks on the Buckley Bill, MacFarland generally encloses such poison pen tracts as "Has Congress Abdicated to International Jewry," "National Progress," "FEPC is Communistic, Regimentation, Un-constitutional." This is the kind of "freedom" he demands when criticizing the Buckley Bill.

Of course, we are not surprised that avowed anti-Semites are working to defeat the Buckley Bill. We are, however, shocked to learn that a certain Jewish writer and some leaders of Jewish organizations, who attack the Buckley Bill for ostensibly different reasons, play right into the hands of America's anti-Semites and hate mongers.

Some weeks ago the reviving Christian Front placarded the Queens community with announcements of a forthcoming open air rally. News of this announcement precipitated a mass of outraged protests from labor unions, civic bodies, political and fraternal organizations and New York Mayor O'Dwyer's office was immediately swamped with demands that the meeting be banned. Responding to this public clamor the mayor ordered a police department hearing where interested organizations could appear and present their viewpoint.

When the hearing was opened, a spokesman for the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League stood up and announced that he disassociated himself from those organizations demanding that the meeting be prohibited. He further deplored the fact that the opponents of the Christian Front had "unwittingly" built up the meeting by the vigor of their opposition. A spokesman for the American Jewish Congress followed with a long, involved discussion on the legal procedure to be used in halting the meeting *after* it had started.

In sharp contrast to these viewpoints, representatives of United Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers Union, Local 1227, Jewish War Veterans, Progressive Citizens of America, the American Jewish Labor Council and other organizations repeated their demand that the police ban this Christian Front rally. They pointed to past disorders which inevitably followed such meetings and enumerated the unsavory records of its anti-Semitic leaders and organizers.

This hearing in a police inspector's office in Queens crystallized the sharp division which exists throughout America on ways and means with which to combat anti-Semitism. The American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League have neither learned nor forgotten anything. It matters little to them that their past policies have proved bankrupt and incapable of defending the elementary rights of the Jewish people.

"Hush-hush" in New Dress

The current method of fighting anti-Semitism is an up-to-date version of the old "hush-hush" policy. Supporters

of this new version prefer not to meet an anti-Semitic issue squarely, but rather go around it and confuse it in a welter of side issues. It is for the reason that the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and the Jewish Labor Committee, through their Charlie McCarthy, the National Community Relations Advisory Council, have announced their opposition to the Buckley Bill on allegedly constitutional grounds. They fear that the civil rights of professional anti-Semites might be endangered. Actually they are opposed not only to the Buckley Bill, but to *all* legislation attempting to outlaw anti-Semitic activity.

Perhaps Dr. S. Margoshes, writing in the July 2nd, 1947, issue of *The Day* expressed this viewpoint best when he said: "In the Soviet Union they (supporters of the Buckley Bill) vociferate anti-Semitism has been outlawed, why not in the United States. It does not occur to them that in a country where everything is regulated, anti-Semitism too may be easily regulated, a situation that sharply contrasts with that in America where every fool has his right to speak nonsense guaranteed by the Constitution."

It is unfortunate that the death of six million Jews has served so little to awaken Dr. Margoshes to the nature of anti-Semitism. In his opinion the professional anti-Semite is a "fool" and his deadly poison of race-hatred "nonsense." Perhaps Dr. Margoshes would like to convince the surviving Jews of Europe that Hitlerites were just "fools" and that their crematoria and poison gas wagons simply "nonsense." Anti-Semitic and other race hate agitation is as real a weapon of destruction as the rope of the lynch mob, the club of the pogromist or the concentration camp of the fascist. Because of his blind hatred for the Soviet Union, Dr. Margoshes is reconciled to accepting anti-Semitism as a permanent feature of our society.

Anti-Semites Use Margoshes

One consequence of Dr. Margoshes' ill-advised attack on the Buckley Bill is the use professional anti-Semites are making of it in order to justify their own hysterical opposition to the measure. MacFarland refers to it in his letter to Cong. Buckley: "You will note from the contents of Dr. Margoshes' article that a most critical attitude has been assumed by both himself and the Jewish-dominated National Community Relations Advisory Council with regard to your sincerity of purpose in introducing H.R. 2848 for consideration by the present Congress. Many objections seem to have been found to your bill, not the least of which is the fact that, because of your honesty and lack of duplicity in wording it, it would control criticism of not only the Jewish people, but all other racial and ethnic groups as well."

"Rep. Buckley, I am the publisher of a small mimeographed periodical (a copy of which I enclose and you may keep) in which I have upon many occasions found it necessary to criticize Jewish organizations and their spokesmen for their un-American attempts towards the suppression of Constitutionally assured rights and the coercion of Amer-

ican citizens who oppose FEPC, the IRO, the UN and other projects favored by the majority of Jewish groups in this nation. Because of this fact, the bill which you have introduced would directly affect my right to criticize these forces, and I oppose it on Constitutional grounds."

It may perhaps be for different reasons, but the net result of opposition to legislation against anti-Semitism expressed by Margoshes and his friends in the National Community Relations Advisory Council is to land them right in the camp of professional anti-Semites and hate mongers.

For the record, the American Jewish Congress has stated its support of group libel legislation generally. It has, however, followed the line of the American Jewish Committee-dominated N.C.R.A.C. in opposing the Buckley Bill. The reasons the Congress advances for not endorsing this bill cannot be taken seriously. Fear is expressed that under the provisions of H.R. 2848, Congress might be penalized for receiving anti-Semitic material for purposes of analysis. Neither does the bill exempt anti-Semitic material which might be "truthful," alleges the Congress. Its last objection refers vaguely to the language and construction of the bill.

Objections Answered

Highly competent attorneys have seriously considered the American Jewish Congress' objections and they have concluded as follows. 1) The Buckley Bill applies only to those sending or receiving anti-Semitic material with the intent of spreading anti-Semitism. Obviously the American Jewish Congress has nothing to fear from this provision. 2) The allegation that "truthful" material should be exempted assumes that any phase of anti-Semitism can be truthful. Anti-Semitism, racial discrimination, and national chauvinism cannot by their very nature be truthful. But if the American Jewish Congress were really serious about getting the best possible group libel legislation, it would indicate what phrases or lines of the Buckley Bill were objectionable. Consideration would be given to incorporating such suggestions. Thus far, however, no constructive recommendations were made by Congress.

Organizations that fail to formulate a vigorous, hard-hitting program against anti-Semitism will find that they do not reflect the temper of their own membership, nor that of the overwhelming mass of the American people.

Bitter experience in Europe and America has proved conclusively that anti-Semitism is a murder weapon and must be curbed and outlawed in the same way as we do a highly contagious disease or an organized criminal band. Anti-Semitism is a social menace and society must take effective and practical steps to protect itself.

This attitude toward anti-Semitism is gaining greater acceptance from day to day. The Eighth Constitutional Convention of the CIO in its resolution R. 42 on anti-Semitism stated: "We must recognize immediately that anti-Semitism and other forms of anti-racial prejudice is one of the most threatening evils which faces us. We must make anti-Semitism and anti-racial acts and incitements a crime. This country is a symbol the whole world over of the effective assimilation of diverse peoples and cultures. We must continue and implement our tradition of human tolerance by branding those who would oppose and destroy it as evil-doers."

Morris Gimpelson, Educational Director of New York State Jewish War Veterans, in requesting petitions supporting the Buckley Bill says: "Let us hope that the successful passage of this bill will in some measure aid our fight against the enemy who would destroy us." D. R. Sharpe, Executive Secretary of the Cleveland Baptist Association, writes: "I have written in support of the Buckley Bill and sincerely hope this timely bill may pass." The County Democratic Central Committee of Los Angeles recently endorsed the Buckley Bill and adopted a resolution urging Congress to enact the bill into law.

Labor unions, civic, fraternal and political bodies are lining up in support of the Buckley Bill in ever greater numbers. The sentiment of progressive and alert Americans is for the outlawing of anti-Semitism. Those who go counter to this sentiment will find themselves discarded and unserviceable to the cause of freedom and equality for the Jewish people.

ASPECTS OF PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN JEWISH CULTURE: II

*A Discussion Article
By Samuel Barron*

This is the second and concluding part of a discussion of some problems raised by Morris U. Schappes in his article, "Commentary on 'An Epitaph for Sidney,'" published in JEWISH LIFE, February 1947.

TO GET the true picture, it is necessary to reflect the Jew in his surroundings and in his relationships with non-Jews as he participates actively in the life that advances the people as a whole. Yes, the Jew participates in the anti-fascist struggle because it helps the Jews, too; and in the

struggle for socialism because it is good for the Jews, too. That is why these struggles belong in progressive American Jewish culture without anything more added—even such important themes as the struggle against bourgeois nationalism or bourgeois assimilationism—because the anti-fascist struggle, the struggle for socialism are part of the life-stream of the Jewish people, or should be, if the Jews are to survive.

The reflection of these struggles is a contribution to progressive American Jewish culture because it is a reflection of Jews in progressive activity, stimulating through this

example progressive activity in the Jewish community; because it brings invaluable allies to the Jewish people; because, simultaneously with a struggle *within* the Jewish community, a major struggle for the progressive development of the Jewish people will also have to be fought by the Jews *outside* the Jewish community against class forces that transcend national barriers, and whose main base is outside the Jewish community.

To reject as contributions to progressive Jewish culture the efforts of the Jewish fighter for "general" progress is to eliminate part of the Jewish life that progressive Jewish culture is supposed to reflect. Morris U. Schappes in no way wants to "lessen their (the Jews)" contribution to this general American progressive tide," only he wants these Jews to know that, while they are doing so, they are not contributing to "American *progressive Jewish* culture," and are spreading "the values of the assimilated radical" which should be challenged, at least enough to make them ashamed of themselves. And a Jewish cultural worker who produced a work that is a contribution only—*only*!—to "working-class, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist American culture . . . to 'general' Jewish culture . . . to progressive American literature," must be sharply and publicly rebuked for not also including anti-assimilationism and anti-nationalism and for not beginning to build progressive Jewish life and culture.

Nationalist Tendency

This betrays a narrow nationalism which Mr. Schappes most certainly does not support. But it seems to reject any relationship of Jewish to non-Jewish life or the influence of one on the other; and it denies that Jewish progressive culture can or should reflect that relationship or that influence. Such a provincial approach leads to cultural sterility. It leads to separatism, which if carried to a logical conclusion forms the "theoretical" base for "exodus from Europe," for "exodus from Poland," for "exodus from democracy," which Schappes would not dream of supporting, but which reactionaries have urged to divert Jews from participation in the democratic development of Europe, the Jews' only guarantee for security. The propaganda for migration is based on the concept that the Jews are alone, that relationship with non-Jews is of no account to Jewish development, or can produce only evil. And further, if we pursue this kind of cultural ideology, we fall into the trap set for us by reactionary Zionists and social democrats who claim the disintegration and disappearance of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union.

The trouble is that Mr. Schappes sees contributions to Jewish culture in a rather superficial and mechanical fashion. For him, apparently, only literature that deals with the misery of the Jews, with the struggle against anti-Semitism, against the disappearance of the Jews, against Jewish bourgeois nationalism is a contribution to progressive Jewish culture. But the contribution of Jews to the world at large is not a contribution to progressive Jewish culture.

Schappes seems to see such contributions only as one-way traffic, from the Jews out, which never return, like radio waves hitting the horizon, and are therefore a total waste—to the Jews!

Shakespeare made his contribution to English culture writing about Danes, Venetians, Romans as well as about Englishmen. Rembrandt contributed to Dutch culture painting Jews, as well as Dutch. Lafayette contributed to French culture by fighting in the American revolution. Dr. Walter Reed made a contribution to American culture by fighting yellow fever in Cuba. They did so because regardless of their subjects or their area of operation they reflected and contributed to the life of their own people. Can it be that the Jews alone are incapable of reflecting their own lives except through the most limited of symbols?

"Jewish National Character"

In his report to the national conference on Jewish work held by the Communist Party on Nov. 29, 1946, Alexander Bittelman spoke of the existence of Jewish national character. He said: "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."¹

Now, this must be properly understood if we are not to develop twelve million schizophrenics. We take the phrase "progressive American Jewish culture" and we begin chopping it up until some Jews do not know whether they are coming or going. There is progressive culture, and American culture, and progressive American culture, and Jewish culture, and progressive Jewish culture, and progressive Jewish American culture, and progressive American Jewish culture, and American progressive Jewish culture, and Jewish progressive American culture, and each is finely distinguished from the other so that a cultural worker can be one without the other, and both, and neither, and never be quite such which he is at any particular moment. But in life an American Jew can no more split himself in two and remain alive or sane than you can separate the positive and negative poles and have electricity.

There is no such thing as a "general" Jew. There is only an American Jew, a British Jew, a French Jew, a Polish Jew, a Palestinian Jew, a Soviet Jew—and lots more. What Bittelman calls "national character" is the historic base

¹ *Program for Survival* by Alexander Bittelman, New Century Publishers, N. Y., 1947, p. 27; see also "The Content of Jewish Culture" by Alexander Bittelman, *Jewish Life*, Feb. 1947.

modified by current Jewish experience, and is known only in its modified form, not in any "pure" form. And this national character, which is in a constant process of change, permeates every cultural endeavor of a Jew, which not even assimilationism can eradicate altogether. And it expresses itself not only in a language problem—a problem we tend to exaggerate out of all proportion.

When therefore a Jew writes about the American scene, about American progressive struggles, he is reflecting the life of the Jews, and expressing the aspirations of his people, and it therefore becomes a contribution to American Jewish culture. His contribution to progressive American culture cannot be separated from his contribution to American Jewish culture. For he operates only as an American Jew. The question is not what special thing a Jewish cultural worker must do in order to contribute to American Jewish culture, but what specific aspect of Jewish life he is at any particular moment reflecting. And the question is not, as Schappes puts it, whether a Jew does "not in some way try to steel himself to bear his special burden by somehow connecting himself with Jewish fighting traditions," but who at one particular moment best represents to a particular progressive Jew the fighting traditions *necessary* for a Jew: Judas Maccabeus, the non-Jewish Dimitrov at the Leipzig trial, or the heroes in the Warsaw ghetto, and all that each represents. And the Jew steels himself with the one who meets his need best, for the most *important* thing is that *the Jew be steeled*.

Thus a short story by an acknowledged Jewish author, depicting the participation of a Jew in progressive American and world struggles, is a contribution to progressive Jewish culture.

In *Foundations of Leninism*, Joseph Stalin states: "The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question; it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, subordinate to the whole, and must be considered from the point of view of the whole." And he even indicates that "cases occur when the national movements in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. In such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question."²

This does not mean that the *true* national interests of a people can ever be in conflict with the working class movement. It means that what is in conflict with the working class movement, even if done in the name of national interests, is not in the interests of a people. And it also means that what is required at any particular moment, even if not directly connected with the national movement, is essential for the working class movement and is therefore of importance to the national movement. The best defense of the Jewish people in America today lies in the defeat of the bi-partisan Truman doctrine, which contemplates the rebuilding of Germany, and the anti-labor, anti-democratic behavior of Congress and some of its commit-

tees, which bring about the threat of fascism. That is what is meant by the national movement being part of and subordinate to the proletarian movement. And the Marxist Communist Party has a responsibility to decide upon what it considers the key tasks at any particular moment for the working class movement.

Two key questions for the working class of America are the struggle for the rights of the Negro people and the organization of the south. It is perfectly natural, therefore, for the Party to select forces for this work, included among them American Jews. And when a Jew, whose Jewishness "has a bearing on his life," as Mr. Schappes admits, sufficient to make a progressive out of him—when this Jew accepts such an assignment, can we question whether he "thought of himself as a Jew . . . (in) a positive sense . . . as the heir of, the embodiment and transmitter of the *progressive* values and traditions of Jewish life"? What is he doing in the Communist Party if he is not transmitting "the progressive values and traditions of Jewish life" in a very *concrete* way? How can we excommunicate such a Jew from progressive Jewish life (*life*, because culture reflects life) because devotion to the struggle for socialism is not enough without this *particular* Jew also conducting an obvious struggle against bourgeois assimilation and bourgeois nationalism, without also beginning to build a progressive American Jewish life and culture (among the non-Jews and Negroes in the south, I presume, on the Spanish front, on the Anzio beachhead!)?

How can we demand that this Jew criticize himself for his inadequacy as a Jew? This would not overcome "a weakness of character" of a "professional revolutionary." It would undermine him. Such an approach could only come from someone who in his anxiety has inadvertently made the national movement superior to the proletarian movement. This is a trap of bundist ideology, which projected the anti-Marxist demand of maintaining monopolist control of the Jewish movement and every individual in it. We must carefully differentiate when dealing with active progressives between non-specialization on the Jewish question and *resistance* to activity on this question—and concentrate our attack on the latter, where it belongs.

Progressive American Jewish culture is the reflection of Jewish life in America that advances the Jewish people or contributes to American society as a whole. We cannot pat on the back Jews who contribute to the latter, tell them we are proud of them, but at the same time inform them that they really do not "belong," unless they conduct in addition and simultaneously Jewish struggles. All progressive Jews must contribute to the struggle of the Jews. But how each will contribute will depend upon the specific sector in which the particular Jewish progressive is engaged. Progressive American Jewish culture must reflect and welcome all these contributions—if they are progressive. The more it does so, the more will progressive Jews find it necessary and natural to build Jewish progressive life, and create a culture based on progressive Jewish traditions, experiences, cultural forms and symbols.

² *Foundations of Leninism* by Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1939, pp. 79-80.

LETTER FROM ABROAD

JEW IN THE BELGIAN RESISTANCE

ON a recent visit to Belgium, I went to see the *Solidarité Juive* Children's Colony at Middelkirke. There I found 170 Jewish children in clean, healthy and happy surroundings by the sea, under devoted and loving care.

Here the memory of the most tragic experiences of the war are fading fast.

The Jewish contribution to the struggle of the Belgian people against the Nazi occupation was considerable. Two hundred and fifty Jewish partisans, soldiers of the Belgian Resistance, fell in the struggle against the Nazis.

The work of the Jewish partisans was organized by the *Solidarité Juive*, most important progressive Jewish organization in Belgium which during the Nazi regime was part of the Belgian Resistance.

A Jewish battalion of the Belgian Partisan Army was formed under the command of Charles Rochman, one of the founders of *Solidarité*, who had fought fascism in Spain. Rochman fell into Nazi hands and was murdered in Mauthausen death camp in 1944.

Side by side with their Belgian comrades the Jewish partisans fought in hundreds of actions. In their headquarters at 61 Rue de la Victoire in Brussels, where walls contain innumerable photographs of those who fell in the struggle, I heard from members of *Solidarité* about the deeds which contributed a glorious page to Jewish history and forged a close link between Belgian democracy and the Jewish people.

Adolf Wajchman, a leader of *Solidarité*, was, together with a Belgian partisan, allotted the task of shooting two Gestapo agents. In order to get into the premises the partisans had to disguise themselves as gas men. They carried out their mission. Wajchman was shot by the Nazis in September 1943.

The last action of Rabinovitz deserves mention for it illustrates the strength of the bond between the Jewish fighters and their Belgian comrades. Together with another Jewish partisan, Rabinovitz was given the task of executing a traitor who had been wounded, but not fatally, by patriots. The traitor had been removed to Etterbeke hospital where he was guarded by the Gestapo.

Dressed as doctors, Rabinovitz and his companion got into the ward and carried out their duty. The hospital and the whole district was immediately "alarmed" by the Gestapo and in attempting to escape Rabinovitz was badly wounded and cap-

tured. His companion was also wounded and captured shortly thereafter. They were brought into the hospital where they were placed under close guard.

As soon as the news reached the Belgian Resistance, a rescue was planned by the leaders of the Brussels groups. All the partisans were involved in the rescue. The hospital where the two were placed under guard was raided and both men were brought out. Rabinovitz, however, died from his wounds but his companion was saved and is alive today.

On another occasion a Jewish partisan group, under the leadership of Lifshitz, stopped a train loaded with Jewish deportees. In the confusion of the battle hundreds of Jews were able to escape from the train and thus save their lives.

Jewish youth also played its part. Henri Dobrzynski is today an inspiration to thousands of young Belgian Jews.

This lad was a partisan fighter, and at the age of 17 fell into the hands of the enemy. He was taken to Malines where hundreds of Jews were imprisoned. They were lined up and he was brought out and told to point out his associates and helpers. He refused and was viciously beaten up before the assembly.

Despite savage torture he persisted in his refusal and was finally hanged. He

marched to the scaffold singing songs of the Resistance. Henri was the only child of Mme. Szlesinger, widely known in the Resistance as "Bronya." Her work during the occupation was concerned with saving Jewish children by placing them in Belgian homes.

In this way some 2,000 were saved in Brussels of whom 500 were placed by *Solidarité* among Belgian friends. Henri's mother personally took 40 children on various occasions to new homes among Belgians. All 40 are alive today thanks to Bronya's devoted work.

Jewish youth in Brussels have formed a group named "Henri" in honor of Mme. Szlesinger's son, officially recognized as a hero by the Belgian Government. Bronya is patron of the group and devotes herself to Jewish children and Jewish youth whose education or vocational training was disrupted by the war. It was at her invitation that I visited the *Solidarité Juive's* Children's Colony.

The directors of *Solidarité's* children's work appealed to me to ask those in sympathy with their work to help. Games such as pingpong and footballs are urgently needed. The organization receives nothing from any relief organization.

In a final message Henri Dobrzynski's mother appealed to Jewish parents in lands unravaged by the Nazi to help financially towards the education of those Jewish children in Belgium who had to hide or whose education was interrupted during the occupation. This, she said, would be the finest memorial to her son.

London

S. ALEXANDER

DOCUMENTS

15 DEMOCRATS RENEGE ON BUCKLEY BILL

On November 18, 1947 Tammany leader Frank J. Sampson met with 15 New York City Democratic legislators who had endorsed the American Jewish Labor Council drive for the Buckley Bill (HR 2848) to outlaw anti-Semitism. All 15 complied with his order to withdraw their names from support of the Jewish Labor Council drive to raise campaign funds for the bill. Following are statements, issued November 20, 1947, on this action by two Council spokesmen, New York City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly and William Levner.

FRANK SAMPSON is seeking to sabotage the drive for enactment of the Buckley Bill, which would outlaw use of the mails for scurrilous and race-baiting

literature, and his use of the "red herring" is typical.

Each and every one of the "15 legislators" who now repudiate the use of their names in support of the Manhattan Action Committee for the Buckley Bill gave his consent in writing before his name was used. The objectives of the Committee were explained to them.

Not only did these people agree to serve, but Mayor William O'Dwyer also lauded the purpose of the Committee. I wrote to the Mayor on September 29th, informing him that the movement was supported by the American Jewish Labor Council, and that the aim was to obtain 1,000,000 signatures to be delivered to Congress to push the Buckley measure. Replying to me on October 20th the Mayor said: "I will be

glad to sign the petition in support of Congressman Charles A. Buckley's bill to bar race-hate propaganda from the United States mails and from foreign commerce. As you know, any fight against intolerance will always have my full support. This bill, I believe, will justly prevent a vital service of a free United States from being used for the purposes of bigotry and oppression."

I learned late last night that Sampson had called these legislators in and told them that they had better get off the Committee "or else." I did not believe that any of them would yield to such a contemptible demand.

Not only did every one of these legislators agree in writing to serve on the Committee, but I had spoken to several of them numerous times about the matter. Former State Senator Alexander A. Falk, who now talks about his name appearing without his consent, not only consented in writing, but also asked me how he could help, and expressed his willingness to appear as a speaker at meetings arranged by the Committee.

In my letter to these legislators, I specifically invited them to join the Committee in the fight to enact the Buckley Bill. Each of them sent me a signed return card stating, "I shall be pleased to join the Manhattan sponsors of the Buckley Bill," or individual letters and telegrams. Assemblyman Irwin Davidson, in a letter to me said, "I am particularly happy that you have seen fit to arouse public opinion in favor of this worthwhile measure." State Senator Alfred E. Santangelo wrote, "I shall be glad to act as a sponsor for the passage of the Buckley Bill to prevent dissemination of anti-Semitic and prejudicial literature." The telegram from Assembly-

man Louis A. Cioffi stated, "Include me as sponsor of Buckley Bill."

It now appears that these legislators are very conscious of the fact that each of them comes up for election next year, and it is obvious that they are unable to resist Boss Sampson's pressure. It is a good thing for the public to know just how far they can rely upon such people who consent in writing to support a most worthwhile cause, and who quit when their political Boss tells them to.

The cause to which this Committee is dedicated is one which thousands of people of all faiths and in all walks of life fully support. Our Committee has sent out more than 40,000 individual letters seeking backing for the Buckley Bill. We are confident that passage of this measure is essential if we are to preserve our democracy against the inroads of the evil doctrines of racial hatreds. We shall not be deterred by malicious name-calling in carrying on this fight. Boss Sampson can continue to play his dirty political game, and sabotage this fight against racism as he and other party bosses sabotaged the Austin-Mahoney Bill last year, but we are confident that they will not deceive the people.

EUGENE P. CONNOLLY
City Councilman
(ALP—Manhattan)

Frank J. Sampson, Tammany leader, can now claim the dubious distinction of being a political ally of Gerald L. K. Smith. Both are devoting their time and energy to kill a bill in Congress which would outlaw the dissemination of anti-Semitic literature. Smith does it in the hate-filled columns of the *Cross and the Flag* while Sampson does it through Fred-

erick Woltman and the New York *World-Telegram*. Smith plays on the superstition of the uninformed and Sampson uses the Tammany club to force elected representatives into repudiation of their conscience and understanding.

The issue at stake is the outlawing of anti-Semitism. The Buckley Bill HR 2848 proposes "to suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and the hatred of any race because of race, creed or color." The bill bans the shipment or importation of race-hate literature through the channels of interstate and foreign commerce. Penalties for violation of the proposed measure include fine and imprisonment.

Scores of trade unions, religious, veteran and fraternal organizations have already endorsed HR 2848. Such outstanding individuals as Robert W. Kenney of California, former Mayor James J. Jeffries of Detroit and Mayor William O'Dwyer of New York have analyzed the bill and given it their approval. Over 300,000 American citizens have already signed petitions urging that HR 2848 be made the law of the land. Thousands of petitions are still coming in and we hope to reach our 1,000,000 goal during this session of Congress.

Sampson's smear of the American Jewish Labor Council will be repudiated by all men of good will. New York citizens will treat with contempt a Tammany leader who apes the antics of Gerald L. K. Smith. The outlawing of anti-Semitism as expressed in the Buckley Bill is a vital issue that will find support despite Sampson-Tammany manipulations.

WILLIAM LEVNER
Director of Organization
Jewish Labor Council

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REVIEWS

MOVIE:

BREAKING DOWN THE GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT

By Louis Harap

ONCE again Hollywood has made an outstanding film against anti-Semitism in *Gentleman's Agreement*, the movie translation of Laura Z. Hobson's best selling novel. As in *Crossfire* this film unfolds the spectacle, unfortunately too infrequent, of Hollywood working with integrity and maturity on a hot social theme. With a few changes inevitable in the transfer to another medium, screen writer Moss Hart follows the original story with fidelity. Much of the original dialogue is reproduced in the movie and practically all the typical manifestations of anti-Semitism brought out in the novel are included without abatement in the film.

The problem of "respectable" middle class anti-Semitism is presented with even greater effectiveness than in the novel. The movie brings to life the irrationality, cruelty and anti-social viciousness of anti-Semitism: we see before our eyes and feel intimately how they inflict their hurt on living human beings. Of particular poignancy is the scene where the magazine writer's son comes home shaken by his schoolmates' refusal to play with him after they call him a "dirty little Jew." Any person with normal sensitivity is compelled by the movie to search deeply into his own attitudes and behavior in his personal experiences with anti-Semitism.

The picture is refreshingly forthright. The rich Jew who voices doubt for hush-hush reasons about the advisability of the magazine series exposing anti-Semitism, is roundly condemned. The varieties of middle-class anti-Semitism, from the evasive attitude of avoiding entanglement with the problem to restricted hotels are uncompromisingly presented as the intolerable evils that they are. Not even anti-Semitism among Jews is muffled.

In short, the movie is destined to be a more effective weapon than the book, not only because it will reach a wider audience, but also because its indictment is stronger. So honest a picture of anti-Semitism does the film give, that one wonders if Hollywood would have dared to make this picture today under the intimidation of the Un-American Committee.

Several weaknesses of the book are also reflected in the movie, however. As I tried to show in my review of the book (*JEWISH*

LIFE, June 1947), the treatment of anti-Semitism does not probe very deeply into its roots. Like the book, the movie barely suggests the connection between anti-Semitism and the broader socio-economic drive for an "American Century." Another shortcoming of the movie is the lack of a positive picture of the Jew. The conception of the American Jew that prevails in the film is epitomized by the Jewish scientist, Dr. Lieberman, who advances the assimilationist thesis that the only difference between the Jew and non-Jew is religious, and that the non-religious Jew is one only because he is pressed to make this identification by persecution.

Despite such defects *Gentleman's Agreement* is a vital and powerful weapon in the struggle against anti-Semitism. But it should not be imagined that the movie is didactic. It is excellent as movie-making.

BOOKS:

A NEW TRANSLATION OF PERETZ

By Frances Butwin

YIDDISH literature has too long been neglected in this country. It is a curious fact that while the Russian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Gorky—have been abundantly translated and widely read by the American public—in fact, their audience is constantly growing—their Yiddish contemporaries, Sholem Aleichem and Peretz, are practically unknown to the American reader, Jew and non-Jew alike. Anyone can pick up Chekhov's short stories in the Modern Library edition, and his story *Rothschild's Fiddle* has been joyfully seized upon, commented on and reprinted as an example of Chekhov's treatment of a Jewish character. But does anyone know what Sholem Aleichem had to say about Jewish fiddlers and orchestras? In the same way, Turgenev's *Sportsman's Sketches* have been acclaimed for their sympathetic portrayal of the life of the Russian serf. But what about the provincial sketches of Peretz which deal with the no less oppressed Jews of the Polish provinces? The Russian serf has been freed. He is a historical curiosity, like the

Although it suffers from the episodic construction of the book itself, it is still far above the usual Hollywood product as a work of art. Director Elia Kazan has directed the relations between his characters with great understanding.

Comparison with *Crossfire* is inevitable. The two movies are as different as the aspects of the problem that they respectively tackle. While *Crossfire* concentrates on the violent, crackpot species of anti-Semitism, *Gentleman's Agreement* treats the more widespread variety that is part of the social code of a large percentage of Americans, as the poll in the October *Fortune* showed. The movies have a corresponding difference in technical approach: the first is patterned on the mystery melodrama and the second on boy-meets-girl. Both films have integrity and sincerity. In one respect *Gentleman's Agreement* is bolder. It links—briefly—the Negro and Jewish problems, while *Crossfire* omits this connection altogether.

Because a large percentage of Americans share the anti-Semitism of its characters, *Gentleman's Agreement* seems likely to have a more profound social influence than *Crossfire*. By making the Hobson book into a film Twentieth Century-Fox has served the cause of democracy.

serf of medieval times. His descendants are now the free citizens of the Soviet (Continued on page 30)

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Union. But the descendants of the Polish Jews have been massacred by the million. Their rich and vari-colored life survives only in the literature of the period and that literature with few exceptions has been inaccessible to us here in America.

That this rich heritage has been denied to us is largely due to a false idea, a myth which has grown up about the Yiddish language, the myth of untranslatability. Yiddish, we have been told, cannot be translated into English—it is too difficult, too idiomatic, too “special,” too intimate. A section of the Jewish intelligentsia has gone even farther and declared that not only the language, but the “ineffable soul” of the Jew cannot, and by inference, should not, be exposed to the unsanctified gaze of the English reader.

Such myths are dangerous. They help set the Jew apart, to keep him in an intellectual ghetto, even after he has emerged from the physical one. That they are myths and nothing else is demonstrated by such a book as this by Peretz.¹

This book contains 13 stories, only a sampling of the work of Peretz, but among them you will find both the realistic stories of the “lower depths” reminiscent of the stories of Gorky, and the “fairy tales,” the stories bordering on the mystical for which there is probably no counterpart anywhere. There is also a biographical Introduction by I. Goldberg, and an excellent Appreciation by Henry Goodman.

In his Appreciation, Mr. Goodman gives an account of Peretz, the socially-conscious writer, deeply aware of the dislocation of his time, who “wrote in protest of the social wrongs and injustices to which the many were subjected by the few.” Peretz was not a minor writer. He moved in the stream of the best writing of his time, that of Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, and Dickens. Unlike Sholom Aleichem and Mendele, whose writing was seemingly artless, an outpouring of folk experience, Peretz was a highly conscious craftsman. His stories are marvels of technical construction, closely knit, smoothly articulated, with not a word or phrase wasted, with every detail contributing to the impact of the story as a whole.

The fact that the stories of Peretz are so well constructed, so modern in technique, and therefore closer to our reading experience should make them easier to put across to the English reader than the stories of Sholom Aleichem or Mendele. This is true of a story like “The Basement Lodging,” which is rendered by the translator with delicacy and feeling. It is a story of the poverty and degradation of human life. In one basement room live a number

of families, each sleeping in one bunk, each with its own miserable problem disturbing its rest. Among them is a curtained, brightly lit space, belonging to a newly married couple. The bride sits on her bed mending a torn onion sack and waiting for her young husband to come home for supper. You tremble for her, for you know quite well that in a few years she will be like the old hag Frieda who tells her that “if you do not lead your husband by the nose he will suck the marrow from your bones.” But for this night all is well. There is only tenderness between the young people, only hope and trust. You end the story almost believing that by some miracle this tenderness will outlast the squalor and disillusionment that are bound to engulf them.

In the stories dealing with Jewish ritual, in those that have an element of the fantastic, the translator has not been quite so successful. There is the story of the *rebbe* of Nemirov who disappears mysteriously once a year at *slichos* and the persistent *litvak* who tracked down the secret of the *rebbe's* annual jaunt. This is a difficult story, full of odd rhythms, more like a Hassidic dance than a story. In English it becomes jumpy and uneven, the translation is too literal in places and some of the humor and irony are lost. But the essence remains, the true humbleness and

piety of the *rebbe* and the discomfiture of the *litvak*.

Or take the justly famous, the inimitable story of Bontche Shweig. All of his life the silent Bontche bore the most grotesque punishments at the hand of his fellow man without uttering a word of complaint. When Bontche died he came before the heavenly court and when his case had been heard he was told that in return for his suffering on earth he would receive anything he desired in heaven. At first Bontche could not believe his good fortune, but when finally he was convinced of it, his request made the angels hang their heads in shame.

A story such as this has to be handled very carefully, and it is inevitable that it loses something in the retelling. But the substance remains. Anatole France might have written such a story, but not quite as Peretz wrote it. It is the world of Peretz that is opened up to us here, the world of the Jewish ghetto, “special” and intimate perhaps, but not so esoteric and “ineffable” that the English speaking person cannot grasp its tenderness and charm and stubborn courage. When more books like this are printed, Yiddish literature will begin to take its place among the literatures of the world, and the reader will be able to go to the source for a portrait of the Jew.

JEWISH COMBAT CHAPLAIN

By Bernard Burton

WE HAVE had books on the war written by combat men and journalists. This is one by a chaplain, Rabbi Kertzer, who was the only Jewish clergyman on the Anzio beachhead and stayed with the troops there for the breakthrough to Rome and the invasion of southern France.¹

With an H On My Dog-Tag is not a “missionary” tract. It is a warmly sensitive story of war's impact on soldiers and civilians as seen through the eyes of one whose assignment it was “to serve his men.” Rabbi Kertzer took that assignment seriously.

The book deals mainly with Jewish GI's and the sad plight of European Jews liberated by our advancing armies. Rabbi Kertzer does not indulge himself in the “fashionable” cynicism of other writers on the war. For him the suffering of our soldiers and of Europe was too intense to be in vain; the promise of the struggle too dearly pledged to be so easily forgotten.

Rabbi Kertzer had little patience with

officers who belittled the sacrifices of our allies and he has even less today with those who seek to destroy our war-born alliances. “We have been endowed by nature,” he writes, “with the blessing of memory—blocking (psychologists call it repression), which enables us to forget most of our battlefield nightmares. Unfortunately though, we forget too those fearful nights when we prayed for Russia in her tragic hour of sacrifice, when we blessed the Kremlin for its military sagacity, when we thanked the Almighty for the Russian

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¹ *Three Gifts and Other Stories*, by I. L. Peretz, translated from the Yiddish by Henry Goodman, Book League of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order, I.W.O. \$1.75.

¹ *With an H on My Dog-Tag* by Morris N. Kertzer. Behrman House, 1947, \$2.75.

katana-wielder and tankman. We forget the days when we gasped in admiration at the epic of Leningrad and Sevastopol and Stalingrad. We forget because, since returning to the United States, our minds have been filled with an ugly hymn of hate chanted by newspapermen, commentators, and even pulpsters."

The most moving parts of the book deal with GI's under fire, in hospitals and in the rear echelons. The author's most poignant pictures of action are of the "one hundred and twenty-seven days of hemorrhage" that was Anzio.

He was a daily visitor to the cemetery at Anzio to "read graveside services for a youngster who had joined in our services perhaps only the week before. I repeated the *Kaddish* and the *El Moleh* more than a hundred times."

He speaks with pride of the Jewish combat men who lay wounded in hospitals and summoned him to their bedsides—to ask help in seeing that their families did not learn the extent of their injuries. Like the sergeant who lay partly paralyzed, unable to speak and having the use of only his left arm. Between lapses of consciousness, the soldier finally managed to indicate the words: no home—don't write home. This GI later recovered, except for a temporary speech defect.

Rabbi Kertzer writes without condescension and with understanding of the men who came to him with their personal problems. He is frank in his criticism of the Chaplain Corps' inability to come to grips with the real problems of men who must kill or be killed.

"Harping on the theme of loving our enemies, our Washington office lauded the efforts of chaplains who preached the doctrine of universal love. To my mind, there is nothing so frankly immoral as killing without hate. I cannot follow the moral gymnastics in the argument that we despised not our enemies, but only what they represented, as though a man and his principles could be divorced. If the average GI did not know why he was thrust five thousand miles from home to risk his life, we chaplains as a corps did little to offer him enlightenment."

The portrayals of Jewish life in Rome, Marseilles, Dijon and other areas overseas are revealing to Jewish-Americans. Rabbi Kertzer describes the modifications of Jewish custom from country to country.

In Italy he found that the Jews, numbering less than 50,000 before the war, and who, for centuries, had been "outside the mainstream of Jewish life," had adopted religious forms which "seemed almost alien to us, being modelled after the Catholic ritual."

In the Jewish community of Marseilles, one of the oldest in Europe, Rabbi Kertzer

er observed the existence of something akin to a caste system. There were four categories; the old Provençal families, those who had left North Africa in the nineteenth century, later émigrés from Turkey and the recent refugees from Germany, Austria and Poland. The recent arrivals were not considered an official part of the Jewish community. There were indications, however, that war experiences were breaking down much of the rigid stratification.

His observations on Palestine are equally keen. A Zionist, Rabbi Kertzer revisits Palestine after an absence of many years and finds much progress. "The much-promised land of Palestine is riddled with anomalies," he declared, "but after my

recent pilgrimage, I am sure of one thing: Ishmael and Israel have no basic quarrel. There is not an Arab-Jewish battle for Palestine, as our headlines scream."

He castigates the role of British imperialism in Palestine but does not see Wall Street's unholy alliance with Britain in Palestine. Rabbi Kertzer also sees no hope for Jews who remain in Europe, despite the resurgent and growing forces of democracy there.

I can't agree with Rabbi Kertzer's pessimism on the future of Europe's Jews but that does not detract from the value of this book as a story of an American Jew at war. I am sorry I did not have the good fortune to meet Rabbi Kertzer during my "stay" at Anzio.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

even Negro business, flow from the presence of Jews in Negro neighborhoods. Hitler sold such a lie to the non-Jewish Germans and drew them headlong into a bloody war. The Negro who seeks to build on anti-Semitism, on an attack upon another group because of their nationality or religion, plays the part of a little Hitler."

The American Jewish Congress has filed with the Second Department of the Appellate Division a brief urging the court not to enforce agreements restricting the sale or use of real property because of race, religion or creed. The brief argues that restrictive covenants violate public policy of New York State, the United States, and is incompatible with the President's Committee on Civil Rights report and the United Nations Charter. Congress has also filed a brief with the United States Supreme Court in four cases involving the constitutionality of court enforcement of "restrictive covenants" on real property, as a "friend of the court" with the consent of all parties. Other court tests are also pending.

Of the many bills offered in state legislatures to combat abuses in racial relations in the past year, only a few of minor character were enacted, reports a survey of the Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress. Connecticut enacted an FEPC law; Illinois passed a law to establish a Government Interracial Commission to investigate opportunities in employment and to cooperate with organizations promoting tolerance; Indiana passed a law making illegal incitement against any group on account of race, color or religion; Minnesota passed a law prohibiting discrimination in selection of tenants.

Vandals recently wrecked the inside and destroyed the sacred accoutrements of Ohr Knesset Israel synagogue in Baltimore. Two Torahs were thrown into a puddle of beer, testaments were strewn about the floor, tapestries with the Star of David were torn and twisted about the pews, candles were crushed, salt water was poured into the stove and empty whiskey bottles were scattered about the room, reported Sam Smolkin, president of the congregation. This is the fourth time the synagogue has been invaded.

More than \$100,000 was contributed for aid to Soviet Jews by persons attending the annual

national dinner of the American Birobidjan Committee. About 1,000 persons were present. A still larger sum was pledged to be paid by the end of the year. Senator Alben Barkley of Kentucky, chief speaker, praised the Soviet Union for granting the Jewish minority in that country all equal rights along with other minorities and for giving the Jews the opportunity of developing a Jewish Republic in Birobidjan.

EUROPE

The recently reported plot of Julius Maniu, Rumanian Peasant Party leader, and a number of his associates to overthrow the Rumanian government, has anti-Semitic implications, it was learned in Bucarest, although the government has not

(Continued on page 32)

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 31)

yet released the evidence against Maniu. A number of Jewish organizations are cooperating with the government in preparing material for the prosecution. The Jewish Democratic Committee has issued a 6,000 word manifesto charging the Maniu party with being "morally and politically guilty of the death of hundreds of thousands of persons in slave labor detachments, concentration camps, death trains and the Jassy massacre." Maniu had testified for the defense during the trial of the wartime fascist dictator Ian Antonescu.

☆

The Central Jewish Committee of Poland issued a statement recently regarding the refusal of the United States State Department to issue visas to Adolph Berman, chairman of the Central Committee, and Jacob Egid, head of the Central Control Committee of Lower Silesia. The statement declares that "there is no possibility now for the representatives of the Jewish survivors in Poland to make personal contact with their brothers in the United States who gave them and continue to give them moral and material help." The Central Committee has sent an appeal to Jewish organizations in the United States to intervene with the State Department to grant the visas.

☆

During the past few months more than 1,000 Polish Jews have been repatriated from Rumania. Most of them had fled before the Nazi armies in 1939 and others had emigrated before the war.

☆

Only 5,000 of the 126,000 Jews who resided in Bohemia and Moravia before the war are presently living in the two provinces, it was disclosed at the first post-war Congress of Jewish Communities at Prague. Together with the 7,000 Jews who have moved into these provinces from the Carpathian Ukraine, the total Jewish population is 12,000. Ernst Frischer, chairman of the Council of Jewish Communities, stated that the government had scrupulously enforced full political rights for Jews and had acted fairly in the question of granting citizenship to former sub-Carpathian Jews and those of German nationality.

☆

Jews in the town of Bardejov, in Slovakia, near the Polish border, are being terrorized by a local anti-Semitic group headed by Josef Capigna with the tacit approval of the public prosecutor for the district, the Bratislava newspaper *Tribuna* charges.

☆

Public Prosecutor N. J. G. Sikkels of Amsterdam recently disclosed that Jewish leaders Dr. Abraham Asscher and Prof. David E. Cohen are being held on charges of having facilitated the deportation of Dutch Jews by the Nazis. Asscher, who is 88 years old, was known in pre-war days as the "grand old man" of Dutch Jewry, and Cohen, who is professor at Amsterdam University, are charged with having obeyed Nazi directives to register all Jews in Netherlands, although they knew that the Germans planned to transport the Jews to death camps. The two headed the National Jewish Council, which was established by the Germans to transmit their orders to the Jewish community.

☆

The trial at The Hague of Dutch Jew Frederik Weinreb, who is charged with having swindled his fellow-Jews during the Nazi occupation, is being observed by the American Jewish Congress, the American Civil Liberties Union and the International League for the Rights of Man. These organizations and sections of the Dutch press affirm that Weinreb is being framed to cover up the collaborationist activities of Dutch authorities.

Jewish births in the DP camps of the U. S. zone of Germany have soared to 660 a month, one of the highest birth rates in the world, a Joint Distribution Committee survey revealed in November. This rate is more than double the American birth rate of 23 per 1,000. Almost one-third of all Jewish women between the ages of 18 and 45 in the camps are either expectant or nursing mothers. Of 37,191 women in this child-bearing age group, 12,134 either have a babe at the breast or are awaiting a child. The survey also indicated that three times the number of Jewish babies are being born today over last year's figures, and that the DP camps now boast 8,000 Jewish infants under the age of one year.

☆

Some 2,300 of the Exodus refugees are now housed at a camp in Emden. They complain that they were transported in unlit, unheated cars. No stores of medicine and first aid supplies and no medical equipment are at the new centers. British failure to supply an ambulance to take patients to the nearest hospital 20 miles from camp, required two women to give birth in the badly-equipped infirmary. Britons responded to protest that they are "sick of hearing Jewish complaints."

☆

On the struggle against fascism in Britain. . . . A recent poll conducted by the London *Daily Express* revealed that 62 per cent of the British people voted to "suppress fascism entirely," while 21 per cent voted to "let them (the fascists) continue but under a close supervision (because) to suppress any political organization would set a dangerous precedent and would be a denial of free speech." . . . On November 15, Sir Oswald Mosley made his first public speech since he was imprisoned during the war. Disorder marked the meeting at which he called for "western unity" against the "barbarians of Russian communism." "Britain," he said, "exhausted herself before the real fight began and today America faces Russian communism across the prostrate body of this country in a struggle to preserve the remnants of western civilization." . . . Jeffrey Hamm, Mosley lieutenant arrested for anti-Jewish incitement, was tried and let off with a fine of about \$42. According to the trial magistrate, the light sentence was because Hamm had attacked the Jews as "communists" and not as Jews. . . . Labor M.P. Harry Hynd asked British Home Secretary Chuter Ede to prevent Mosley from speaking publicly. Ede replied that "I do not have the power to decide who will be allowed to speak at public meetings." The London *Reynolds News* attacked Ede's position as "fantastic." . . . James Caunt, editor of a British weekly, was acquitted of charges of "seditious libel" against the Jews in violent anti-Semitic published statements. Acquittal was followed by proposals for parliamentary action against anti-Semitic activities by Communist M.P. Phil Piratin and Labor M.P. Sidney Silverman.

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In a speech on the anniversary of the battle of El Alamein Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin significantly omitted any mention of the thousands of Jewish troops who participated in the battle, while he paid tribute to "Arab generosity, hospitality and help throughout the campaign" and said that Britain must be mindful of this in "this hour of decision."

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Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told Commons that the British government will not cancel its contracts to deliver arms to Arab states. He told a questioner that the equipment was being supplied for bona fide defense purposes and that precautions were being taken to prevent any weapons from being smuggled into Palestine. Christopher

Mayhew, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, told Commons that there was nothing inconsistent about the government employing Arab Legionnaires, owing allegiance to King Abdullah of Transjordan, in Palestine, because the Arab troops "are perfectly loyal to the policy of this government."

PALESTINE

Ten Palestinian representatives of labor groups were invited by the Soviet government to participate in the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The Soviet invitation was extended through the League for Friendship with Russia. The delegation consisted of two communists, two members of Mapai (Palestine Labor Party), two representatives of the Tenua L'Achdut Avodah, two from Hashomer Hatzair and Shlomo Kaplansky, a leader of the League to Aid Russia, and Mania Shochet, a labor leader, who went in individual capacities.

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Recent reports from Beirut and Amman, capital of Transjordan, indicate that King Abdullah is vitally interested in taking control of the projected Arab part of a partitioned Palestine. Abdullah is known to oppose plans of the Arab Higher Committee to form a temporary government. The dispatches also stated that Arab Palestine would be placed under Abdullah's son, Emir Talal, in the position of viceroy.

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There is some apprehension in the Arab states that the Soviet Union is determined to keep the Mufti and other Axis collaborators from participation in the formation of an Arab government in the Arab state of partitioned Palestine or from influencing the formation of a government. This belief is based upon the stipulation in the Soviet proposal to the United Nations that the implementation commission is to consult "democratic parties" on the election of a provisional government council.

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The seat of the Jewish state will be Tel Aviv rather than the traditional Jewish capital, Jerusalem. The latter city will be internationalized.

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Mishmar, Tel Aviv daily of the left-wing Hashomer Hatzair, recently reported that the Palestine government had banned *Open City*, Italian anti-fascist movie acclaimed all over the world.

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The number of pupils attending Hebrew schools in Palestine in the current year is tentatively estimated at 116,000, an increase of 5,000 over last year. Of those attending last year, over 87,000 attended schools in the Vaad Leumi (Jewish National Council) school system and 24,000 attended private schools. The Vaad Leumi school system last year embraced 719 educational institutions and 4,318 teachers. The institutions included 368 nursery schools, 291 elementary, 34 secondary and 18 technical schools, and 4 teachers' training colleges.

WILLIAM EDLIN, PROGRESSIVE JEW

On November 30, 1947 the Jewish people of America lost an important progressive force by the death at 69 of William Edlin, editor-in-chief of *The Day*, New York Yiddish daily. Mr. Edlin, who was a confirmed socialist, participated actively in Jewish unity movements and was an ardent friend of the Soviet Union.

