

# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

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## **A TEN YEAR LOOK**

*by the Editors*

## **BRANDEIS: HE WANTED FREEDOM FOR ALL**

*by Harry Sacher*

## **HAYMARKET AND THE JEWS**

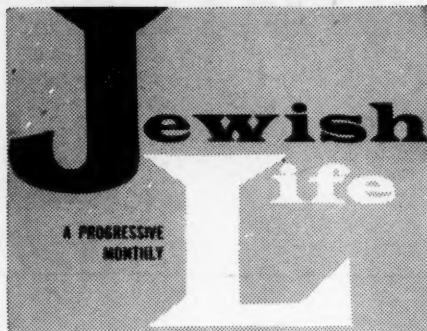
*by Morris U. Schappes*

## **ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE DREYFUS CASE**

*a review*

*by Herbert Aptheker*

*the  
Anniversary  
Issue*



Vol. XI, No. 1(120) Nov., 1956

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# A TEN YEAR LOOK

We estimate our past and  
peer into the future

By THE EDITORS

To be ten years old in this atomic age and the rapid break-up of the old world structure is to have lived long. It was in the early days of this cold-war decade of rapid change, in November, 1946, that JEWISH LIFE made its first appearance. The Jewish people were still stunned by the genocide of the six million by Hitlerism. Jewish organizations and others gathered evidence that nazism was far from dead in Germany. Thousands of Jewish displaced persons poured into Palestine and the crisis that was to end with an independent Israel was taking shape. At home the cold war on civil liberties was getting under way.

Today, after ten years of buffeting in heavy cold war weather, the magazine stands—but not without scars. We were not always right, as we shall see, but we did play a significant part in the post-war Jewish community. We endeavored to conduct a style of journalism that would carry on the spirit of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The threats to the peace of the world in the atomic

age and to the democratic process at home prompted us to call for *resistance* as a prime motif. We played a part in stiffening the backs of the Jewish community in those hard years. We feel entitled to say that our documented and persistent campaign against McCarthyism was a significant component of resistance. More specifically, we helped awaken the Jewish people to the anti-Jewish dangers of this anti-democratic movement.

## Some Achievements

On affairs in the international arena the magazine was virtually alone among English-Jewish journals in combating German rearmament. On this issue we expressed the unvoiced fears of the Jews in the U.S. and of a majority of Jews abroad at prospects of revival of German armed might under reactionary auspices.

On the protracted Middle East crisis, from the struggle against the British Mandate and UN consideration of the issue up to the present,

the magazine has guided its readers. We have led them through the maze of Israel politics, the growth of Arab independence amidst the anti-colonial movement and the interrelations of the two—all this with a view to showing the way toward peace and independence for Israel. The grasp of our readers on the real issues involved would have been far weaker, had it not been for JEWISH LIFE.

In the important sphere of progressive Jewish culture, the magazine helped with varying success at different times to supply materials and food for thought. Witness to this contribution both in the original English and in bridging the gap between the Yiddish and English speaking Jews with our translations from the Yiddish, is the anthology of cultural material which the magazine is bringing out on this Tenth Anniversary. This book contains only a portion of the cultural material from our magazine in this decade.

### ***We Were Sometimes Wrong***

But our readers are today no less aware than the Editors that we made some serious mistakes over these past ten years. In the past few months we have discussed with our readers our erroneous policies with respect to the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and there is no need to repeat our self-analysis here. Nor did we always properly handle problems of the American Jewish community in

domestic affairs. Without going into an exhaustive analysis, we should like briefly to indicate here some of these errors. However, we should note that in some respects we had already a few years ago begun to gain a firmer hold on the realities of American Jewish life.

We cannot say that our aim to serve the American Jewish community with the wisest discussion was always realized. We now believe that our efforts to steer clear of cold war hysteria sometime led us to extremes of expression and outlook that had the opposite effect to what we intended. Instead of placing main emphasis on the basic source of the problem in State Department policies, we sometimes belabored some Jewish leaders and trends as if their manifestations of Jewish nationalism were responsible for the situation.

Our alarm at the deterioration of civil liberties, although well-founded, was at times immoderate and hence weakened the effect of our words in the Jewish community. To cite one example: in the December 1949 issue we made the statement whose fallacy is now obvious, that "the Jews of America are faced with the imminence of fascism once again."

Nor were our policies at every point conducive to the promotion of the maximum Jewish unity. It is true that the leadership of the organized community, largely controlled by the country's richest Jews, was sometimes guilty of collaboration with McCarthyites. Yet we failed to give



full weight to the fact that in some respects they partook of the liberalism that generally characterizes the Jewish community. This led us in some cases to an underestimation of the positive aspects of the work of Jewish middle class organizations. In the case of the American Jewish Congress in the late forties, we had differences with the leaders for their drastic curtailment of democracy in their organization. Yet our comments on these differences tended to promote policies that facilitated a weakening of unity in this vital organization.

But these initial ten years of JEWISH LIFE with their achievements and shortcomings lie in the past. What of the future? Our endeavor will be to profit from our mistakes and to emulate our successes. The opening of our second decade roughly coincides with a new period in international and national affairs. A relaxed international atmosphere was announced by the renunciation of war by the Geneva Conference and by the profound changes in the socialist world following the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress. On the local scene the new era has its expression in the trend toward recovery of civil liberties.

### *Changes in Jewish Community*

At the same time, profound sociological changes are occurring in the American Jewish community. The postwar shift of population to

the suburbs of all our large cities has affected the Jews no less than other Americans. The result is the mushrooming of new Jewish institutions, synagogues and community centers around which the social lives of most of these suburbanites revolve. A great increase in synagogue membership and activity is taking place in the cities as well. All this signifies a growth of Jewish consciousness and an increase in Jewish communal and cultural activity. These changes raise deep questions about the direction and quality of this activity, about survival and integration, or "assimilation," of Jews in the general community.

A notable and extremely important feature of organized Jewish life today lies in its increasingly close relation to the struggle of the Negro people for full equality. This is especially true with respect to school desegregation. As we have indicated in these pages, Jewish leaders, religious and secular, have taken a strong position and engaged in activity on this issue. It can safely be said that Jewish-Negro relations have never been closer than today. And, as we have shown in the past few months, special problems arise for Southern Jews, most of whom are in middle class occupations and are subject to an economic squeeze from the White Citizens Councils to prevent their support of desegregation.

Changes have also occurred in the Zionist movement in our country. With the establishment of the State

of Israel, membership participation in Zionist organizations has fallen off. American Jews and most American Zionists have definitively rejected the Zionist theory of the "ingathering of the exiles," that is, of the emigration of all Jews to Israel. They regard this country as their home. Nevertheless, interest in the welfare of Israel remains a central concern of most Jews.

### **Look Toward the Future**

It is to an analysis and discussion

of the significance of this changing Jewish community that JEWISH LIFE addresses itself at the opening of its second decade. We believe that we have played a not insignificant part in Jewish life during our first decade. The Jewish community has no less need for our progressive voice in the years to come. Our voice can sound more clearly and relevantly since we now know enough to omit dissonances we uttered in the past.

We propose in the period to come  
(Continued on page 24)

## **10th BIRTHDAY MESSAGES**

**W**ARM fraternal greetings to JEWISH LIFE on its Tenth Anniversary!

The historic bilingual character of the Jewish people has had certain divisive effects, contributing as it did to the development of separatist tendencies among American Jews even with regard to the common minority and cultural problems they face. The breaking of these artificial barriers separating American Jews, interfering with and impairing their ability to take united effective action is one of the most urgent tasks of our times. For rarely were the Jews confronted with so many pressing minority and cultural problems as at present.

During the first decade of its existence JEWISH LIFE, animated by the same spirit as the *Morning Freiheit*, made a valuable contribution towards overcoming the divisive tendencies within the Jewish community with a view to the forging of a spirit of unity that would enable the Jewish people the more effectively to tackle their

common problems. May JEWISH LIFE advance on that path to even greater achievements!

P. NOVICK, Editor-in-Chief  
*Morning Freiheit*

**T**O have survived ten years in the Time of the Toad is no mean accomplishment for any publication that neither shares nor wants the bounty of our General Motorized culture. To have insisted on persevering as a voice of constructive protest in this time is even a greater accomplishment. This JEWISH LIFE has done. May the next ten years see it flourish in a time when protest may be turned to planning for progress in an atmosphere of freer exchange, more penetrating criticism and greater candor. On such things does a culture thrive; in such a culture is freedom insured—for all people.

JAMES ARONSON  
Editor, *National Guardian*  
For the Staff

JEWISH LIFE

## ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS

THE country enters on the last lap of the elections as we write. Judging from the seven per cent drop in registration in New York State over 1952, the candidates have not struck fire in the electorate despite the critical nature of the issues at stake.

Most disappointing has been the failure of Democratic candidates Stevenson and Kefauver to press uncompromisingly on the civil rights issue. Although they have properly hit out at President Eisenhower's failure to create an atmosphere in which implementation of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation would be furthered, they have not themselves answered the insistent demands by the Negro people and white advocates of civil rights to repudiate white supremacist Senator James Eastland and declare for enforcement. The Negro people are disquieted by the Democratic candidates' less than fighting stand on civil rights, which the Democrats may yet rue when the returns come in.

Adlai Stevenson has done better on the peace issue with his demand for a ban on H-bomb tests and prospects for ending the draft. His campaign on these issues has smoked out the Eisenhower administration on their refusal to take the first steps to end the specter of world-incineration and it has taken the play away from the Republicans as the "peace party."

On the issue of people's welfare, Stevenson's series of statements for a "New America" has been a hopeful development in which advanced legislation for the elder citizens, health, education and labor are set forth.

Like our contemporary, *The National Guardian*, we believe that much of the progressive-liberal-labor-Negro vote will go to Stevenson and Kefauver in the overriding need to "beat Nixon." We have already stated (October issue) why we believe that it would be a mistake for progressives to sit out this election, despite the disappointing conduct on civil rights and other issues by the Democratic candidates. The AFL-CIO endorsement of Stevenson-Kefauver gives promise that they will be amenable to pressure from labor. We believe that a defeat of Nixon and the Cadillac Cabinet will create the most favorable conditions for a further advance of those who look toward development of a pro-labor, anti-war, pro-civil rights party. Liberal Jewish elements have declared their endorsement of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. For instance, the Labor Zionists have endorsed that ticket, and Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the AJ Congress, was one of the nominators of that ticket at the Liberal Party convention in New York. Many progressive-liberal voters will vote for Stevenson-Kefauver on the Liberal Party line in the expectation of thereby strengthening the independent vote. Above all, the threat of the most powerful reactionary elements in the country, whose instrument Richard Nixon is, must be defeated.

## He Wanted Freedom for All Men

A tribute to the great Jewish  
jurist and humanitarian

By HARRY SACHER

**L**OUIS D. BRANDEIS was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 13, 1856 and died, shortly before his 85th birthday, on October 5, 1941. Thus his life began some five years before the outbreak of the Civil War and came to an end on the eve of America's entry into World War II. During that long period—covering half the nation's life—America underwent the most deep-going changes. First it was transformed from an agricultural to an industrial economy; and later from a competitive to a monopolistic economy. The Robber Barons were already riding high when Brandeis was admitted to the bar in 1878. In the years that followed they tightened their grip on the nation's life. They exploited their workers cruelly, they plundered the people mercilessly and they polluted the democratic process unconscionably by their

wholesale bribery of public officials.

It was not, however, as a succoring Lochinvar that Brandeis first came out of the West in 1879 to set up his law office in Boston. He seems then to have had little, if any, awareness that the times were out of joint. For, as he himself said many years later, "My earlier associations were such as to give me greater reverence than I now have for the things that are because they are." The rich and the powerful of Boston were among his earliest clients; and the rewards he received from them and their corporations were so great that by the time he was 50 he was a millionaire. All this was according to plan. Brandeis wanted wealth and early set out to get it. But it was not to satisfy a lust for either things or power that he wanted it. He sought wealth in order to be free. For he believed that "in this age of millions, the man without some capital can only continue to slave and toil for others to the end of his days."

If Brandeis prized freedom, it was not only for himself that he did

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Louis Dembitz Brandeis, 1856-1941

so. He wanted it for all men. He passionately believed that life can not be good unless it is free. But political democracy, he came in time to see, is not alone sufficient to give men the freedom that is essential to the good life. Industrial democracy must provide the material base for that freedom. And so Brandeis became the ardent champion of industrial democracy. But to Brandeis industrial democracy meant not the social ownership of the means of production. It meant private ownership tempered by labor participation in management. For he spoke of it as the means by which the worker has "not only a voice but a vote; not merely a right to be heard, but a position through which labor may participate in management."

### *Champion of Industrial Democracy*

Brandeis advocated labor participation in management because, as he said, it is "essential for obtaining justice in distributing the fruits of industry." That he genuinely desired a distribution of industry's fruits that would be just to working men and women is not to be questioned. For Brandeis was a man possessed of the greatest compassion for human suffering; and it is not to be doubted that his desire to relieve that suffering provided much of the motivation for his advocacy of industrial democracy, as well as for his many other efforts in behalf of labor and the people generally. But it was not his only motivation. He hoped through reform to save capitalism from the overthrow with which he thought it to be threatened.

Brandeis first became aware of the labor problem in 1892 during the steel workers strike against the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Company in Homestead, Pa. As he himself said years later: "I think it was the affair at Homestead which first set me thinking seriously about the labor problem. It took the shock of that battle, where organized capital hired a private army to shoot at organized labor for resisting an arbitrary cut in wages, to turn my mind definitely toward a searching study of the relations of labor to industry." Other fierce and bloody industrial strug-

gles during the ensuing period led him to believe that unless radical reforms were adopted, capitalism stood in danger of revolutionary overthrow. He sounded the alarm, in the course of an address in 1905 before the Harvard Ethical Society, in these words: "There will come a revolt of the people against the capitalists unless the aspirations of the people are given some adequate legal expression; and to this end cooperation of the ablest lawyers is essential." In the authoritative biography, *Brandeis—A Free Man's Life*, Prof. A. T. Mason has written: "It was largely to protect the great private interests from themselves that Brandeis became protector of the public interest."

Needless to say, most capitalists shared neither Brandeis' insights nor his humanity. Not only did they refuse to join him in his efforts at reform, but they denounced him as a visionary and, of all things, a socialist. They fought him at every turn, by fair means and foul. But Brandeis was more than their match. For he brought to the struggle a profound and brilliant mind, tireless energy, great political sagacity, and a genius for organization. The range of his interests and activities was astounding. In the legislative halls and in the courts, on the lecture platform and in the prints, he spoke, wrote and fought for the rights of labor, the rights of consumers, public utility regulation, anti-trust legislation, conservation, etc., etc.

In 1910, at the age of 54, Brandeis experienced his first contact with Jews as a group, when he was called in to help settle the New York garment workers' strike. The experience was destined to be a fateful one. For it exerted an important influence on Brandeis' subsequent decision to join and accept leadership of the Zionist movement in the United States. He had that experience in mind when, on his election as chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs in 1914, he said: "I feel my disqualification for this task. Throughout long years which represent my own life, I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant in things Jewish. But recent experiences, public and professional, have taught me this: I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence, the fruit of 3,000 years of civilization."

The establishment of a Jewish homeland was a cause that fired Brandeis' imagination and captured his heart. With characteristic devotion he dedicated himself to its fulfillment. Even after his appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1916 he continued to be the



behind-the-scenes leader of the Zionist movement in this country. However, in 1921, deep-seated differences in the organization brought his regime to an end.

In 1916 President Wilson nominated Brandeis to the Supreme Court. Seven former presidents of the American Bar Association, including William H. Taft, Joseph H. Choate and Elihu Root, vigorously opposed the nomination, as did many others whom Brandeis had alienated by his efforts in behalf of the people. So intense did the opposition become that the President found it necessary to write a special letter to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee urging immediate and favorable action. Among other things, he wrote of Brandeis: "I cannot speak too highly of his impartial, impersonal, orderly and constructive mind, his rare analytical powers, his deep human sympathy, his profound acquaintance with the historical roots of our institutions and insight into their spirit, or of the many evidences he has given of being imbued, to the very heart, with our American ideals of justice and equality of opportunity."

### ***The "People's Attorney"***

Thirty-eight years at the bar heavily document the truth of this exalted estimate of the man who, long before he was nominated to the Supreme Court, had become nationally known as the "People's Attorney."

Twenty-three years more of service on the Court fulfilled the high hopes which his appointment held forth to the people. More than one jewel is to be found among the hundreds of opinions he wrote, both on behalf of the Court and in dissent. But if I were to choose the one which most nearly contained within itself the beauty and truth which infused his concept of the good life, it would be the opinion he wrote in 1927 in the case of Anita Whitney, who had been convicted of criminal syndicalism for her participation in the organization of the Communist Labor Party, where Brandeis bespoke America's true faith in these shining words:

"Fear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burnt women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears. To justify suppression of free speech there must be reasonable ground to fear that serious evil will result if free speech is practiced. There must be reasonable ground to believe that the danger apprehended is imminent. . . .

"Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty. To courageous, self-reliant men, with confidence in the power of free and fearless reasoning applied through the processes of

*(Continued on page 29)*

## *Happy Hanukah!*

November 29 — December 6



*Drawing by Philip Reisman*

**J**UST about 2100 years ago the great Jewish military commander, Judah Maccabee, led the ancient Hebrews in victory over the Greeks to re-possess their land of Judaea. Ever since the Jews have each year joyously celebrated this liberation with the Hanukah festival. On each of the eight days of celebration, one of the candles (or wicks in oil, as in ancient times) of the Menorah is lighted in the week-long celebration of the great victory.

# TOWARD A SUEZ SOLUTION

**Egypt's fight for a peaceful outcome.  
Where Israel's interests lie**

**By JEREMIAH LESSER**

**B**RTAIN and France were forced to submit the Suez question to the UN Security Council. They did so with the greatest reluctance after the failure of a series of maneuvers—the London Conference, a military build-up on Cyprus with its ugly intimidation, the Menzies conference with Egyptian President Nasser, the Dulles-fathered “Suez Canal Users Association.” All these measures attempted to impose on Egypt international control of the Suez Canal. Since Egypt recognized this as a concealed method of re-introducing colonialist control of their country and nullification of Egypt's nationalization of the canal, Nasser has steadfastly refused to give in. Not even withdrawal of their Suez pilots by Britain and France has stopped normal use of the canal.

These events have demonstrated that old colonialist techniques no longer have the force they used to possess. World opinion—including the British Labor Party—simply would not tolerate the resort to force, with its threat of world war. That same world opinion forced submission of

the issue to the UN. Backed by India and the Soviet Union and virtually the whole of the Asian-African world, Egypt no longer came to the international body as a lamb for the slaughter.

The British and French resolution, supported by State Secretary Dulles, which is being debated in the Security Council as we write, would in effect endorse international control of the Suez Canal. But Egypt remains adamant in defense of its sovereignty and its determination to prevent a return to Western big power control. In the debate on Oct. 8, Egyptian Foreign Minister Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi restated his country's position. He reaffirmed Egypt's intention, oft-repeated, to keep the canal open (without assuring this right to Israel, it is important to note). A main objective of Egypt, he said, is “Establishing a system of cooperation between the Egyptian authority operating the Suez Canal and the users of the canal, taking into consideration the sovereignty and the rights of Egypt and the interests of the users of the canal.”

Egypt has repeatedly expressed her desire to negotiate an international agreement embodying this view. Dr. Fawzi added, "The principle of guaranteeing for all and for all time the freedom of navigation in the Suez Canal is the most basic among the principles which should guide the work of the negotiating body." His position was essentially endorsed by Soviet Union UN Delegate Dmitri Shepilov. Nor is there any essential difference between this position and the plan proposed by India.

### ***Britain's Anti-Israel Incitement***

Such negotiations would certainly have to take into consideration a remedy of Egypt's persistent violation in the case of Israel of the 1888 Treaty of Constantinople guaranteeing free passage through the canal. Egypt's position is weakened so long as it refuses to grant Israel's right to canal passage. But the Eden government seems to have other plans with respect to Israel. For certain shocking facts have come to light that have not been noted, so far as we know, in the commercial press. From strife-torn Cyprus the British radio is inciting the Arabs to attack Israel. Late in September the Tel Aviv organ of the Ahdut Avodah, *Lamerchav*, revealed that "The weekly review broadcast Sunday evening by the British radio station servicing the Middle East was a savage, incendiary attack on Israel,

clearly aiming to divert the attention of the Arabs from the question of the Suez action against Israel." The same station offered the advice that "The Arabs will have to plan carefully the time and place of the second round."

On September 29 the Jerusalem correspondent of the conservative Paris daily, *Le Monde*, detailed the anti-Israel incitement in these British broadcasts. And at a press conference in New York on October 4, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Congress, demanded that the British government stop these inflammatory broadcasts by the Cyprus radio with such incitements as, "Your enemy is the State of Israel and not the Western countries or England."

### ***Where Israel's Interests Lie***

This "divide-and-rule" tactic employed by Britain in an effort to embroil the Arab states with Israel so as to divert Egypt and the Arab states from the Suez Canal issue, should reveal the direction of Israel's real interests. Israel has up to now limited its representations on the Suez issue to Egypt's denial to her of free passage through the canal. But recognition by Israel of the legality of Egyptian nationalization would do much to frustrate hostile Arab opinion.

There is, in fact, a growing realization in Israel of the necessity for greater sympathy with the aspira-

tions of the Arab-Asian world of which Israel is perforce a part. Israeli Minister of State Mordecai Ben Tov in August affirmed that Israel must draw away from reliance on the West and identify itself "more and more with the Asian community of nations." This thought was also stated by Dr. Nahum Goldmann in London on Sept. 26. He emphasized that "Israel's future depended on her integration into the Middle East." (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 27.) It would advance this necessary objective if Israel would declare her sympathy with Egypt's nationalization of the Suez Canal. This would no doubt bring closer the gain of her right to passage through the canal.

A further step by Israel would be adoption of a neutral policy as between East and West. This tendency is growing. As Meir Grossman, head of the Jewish Agency Department for External Affairs, said in London in August, "I would say that there is a growing neutralist tendency among the Israelis. For people argue that while countries which have declared themselves neutral have been assisted with money and arms by the United States and Britain, Israel, which was prepared to enter into closer relations with the West, has been left alone and abandoned at a most critical time" (*London Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 31.) This realization was also expressed by Dr. Nahum Goldmann in the Sept. 26 in-

terview mentioned above. He urged, said the report, that "the West and East agree on a policy on neutralizing the Middle East."

While a solution of Israel's problem lies along the lines of Dr. Goldmann's proposals, it is necessary to halt the bloody events on the borders of Israel, with attack and reprisal, reprisal and attack, bringing the menace of full-scale war ever nearer. A UN decision to negotiate the Suez crisis and an eventual grant of Israel's right to free passage through the canal hold the possibility of easing border tensions. A peaceful solution would preserve Egypt's right to nationalize and run the canal and guarantee the rights of canal users of the canal. It would promote peace between Israel and the Arab states if the outcome also secured Israel's right to use of the canal.

Warmest Fraternal Greetings

to

**PAUL NOVICK**

Editor-in-Chief,

"Morning Freiheit"

on his

65th Birthday

THE EDITORS



# ISRAEL

**Tax-payers' lists** are published annually. The second one, dealing with the fiscal year 1953-54, reveals that the Bank Leumi had the top income, 2,580,000 Israel pounds (equal to 55.5 cents). The top individual income was declared by Yehiel Yacobowitz as 703,000 pounds, amassed as a building contractor in Haifa. Other businesses that netted high incomes were in the citrus and wholesale meat and poultry industries. Highest incomes in the ranks of professionals were 35,000 pounds for the top lawyer and 18,500 pounds for the top doctor.

•  
**Immigration** for the year ending September 30th was 51,000, an increase of 11,000 over the previous year.

•  
**Improving Arab-Jewish relations** was the theme of a conference called by the Mapam, the left-socialist Zionist party that is part of the government coalition, for September. Two subjects were to be discussed: the demand for full equality before the law for the Arab minority in Israel; how to contribute to an international action that will lessen tensions in the Middle East. Signing the call for the Conference were prominent Arab and Jewish public figures, including: the poet Abraham Shlonsky, the novelist Moshe Shamir, the Zionist veteran Yitzhok Gruenbaum, the former Arab Knesset deputy Rustum Bastini, the chairman of the Israel peace movement Meir Yaari, and the Arab Knesset deputy Hamis.

•  
**At the Mapai** national conference Mayor Abba Khushi of Haifa revealed that in order to maintain high prices, some foodstuffs were being destroyed. He cited the case of thousands of kilograms of tomatoes. Shades of Brazilian coffee!

•  
**When Kosta Kotalev**, 55 year old captain of the Greek freighter, Panagia, landed at Haifa on Sept. 10, he told the story of how his ship and crew had been detained for three and a half months by the Egyptian authorities when he wanted to take the vessel through the Suez Canal



with its cargo of 520 tons of cement for the Israel port of Elath. Captain Koteles complained that the crew did not get enough food rations, mail addressed to it was not delivered, it was kept from going ashore, and in general suffered more than it ever had on any voyage he has ever conducted.

**Twelve students** from Japan, the Philippines, Siam, Ceylon, Abyssinia, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, and possibly from India and Iran are to be invited to come to Israel this year to pursue advanced studies at scientific institutions, as part of a program to increase and strengthen cultural ties with countries of Asia and Africa.

**The twelfth well** to strike oil in the Heletz area was opened late in August. The area is nine miles from the Gaza strip. At the same time the Israel government announced it is prepared to offer new inducements to foreign oil investors to attract more capital. There will be an increase in the depreciation allowance for depletion of supply equal to 27½ per cent of the gross income, as is done in the United States.

**Israel is among** the top six nations which published the greatest number of translations from other languages in 1954, according to a report issued by the United Nations Economic and Social Committee (UNESCO). The other five are Germany, France, Poland, Italy and Japan.

**Resolutions passed** at the Mapai Conference ending Aug. 21 included: one calling for a 45 hour work-week, with a 43-hour week for teachers; for penalties for employers who delay payment of wages; for removing of restrictions against the hiring of middle-aged persons; for permitting Jews in the USSR to educate their children in Hebrew or Yiddish; for special efforts to develop among native-born Israeli young people a love for and understanding of the Jews in other countries, in contrast to the contempt found to prevail among the Israeli youth today. The new party constitution adopted calls for an annual convention, with election of delegates by direct vote every two years. A Central Committee of 196 was elected, of whom 122 were directly elected by the branches, 61 were nominated by the Conference Steering Committee and 13 were *ex-officio* members in key official positions. Many of the younger delegates, in discussing the draft of the Constitution, fought for greater democracy in the party. At the conference there were 1204 delegates; of them, 40 per cent had come to Israel since the establishment of the State, 33 per cent from Oriental states.

M. U. S.

# A GAME OF CASINO

A Short Story  
By LEO BILANDER

"SAM, let's play casino," suggested Mom. They were sitting in their small but cozy kitchen whose painstaking cleanliness softened the poverty lingering in the rubbed out linoleum, chipped kitchen table and deformed chairs. From without came the incessant crying of an infant mingled chaotically with raucous jazzy music. Somewhere a woman was berating her husband in angry tones. . . .

"You always bother me when I am busy," Pop looked up from his Jewish *Forward*, annoyed. "Can't you just be quiet and let me read?" "You can read your paper later!" objected his wife.

"Why should I read my paper later when I can read it now?"

"Because I want to play casino," she persisted.

Pop shook his head, exasperated.

"If it's not this, it's that," he muttered. "Celia, I'm telling you, you're the most nagging. . . ."

"Just because I want to play casino?" Mom shouted angrily. "You never want to do anything I ask you. When I want to go to the movies, you're always tired."

"Because sewing canvas isn't a game of *drehdl* for an old man like me."

"Stop telling me you're an old man!" she exclaimed painfully. "You always do that!"

"I don't. My boss does. 'Sam, he says, you're no chicken any more.' He told me that this morning."

"So don't listen to him, that's all. But why should you be too tired to go to the movies?"

"But you always fall asleep in the movies," injected Pop.

"I fall asleep in the movies?"

"Sure you do," reiterated Pop. "You always ask me who married whom."

"I never asked, so please don't lie to me!"

"Now she says I lie." Pop looked up at the ceiling as if he sought patience from above. "You know, Celia. . . ."

"I don't want to know anything," Mom said with finality.

Pop returned to his paper and silence fell. The baby's crying became a subdued whimper, apparently soothed by someone. The phonograph broke off abruptly. Now the woman's angry words became more distinguishable, competing only with the ticking of the clock which hung above the kitchen door.

"**All right,**" Pop said suddenly. "Go get the cards." Only then did he

notice that his wife had the cards with her, shuffling the deck clumsily like a child kneading mud pies. She dealt out eight cards and put four on the table. The game began. Pop had two queens, a jack and an ace of spades. He held the ace poised in the air but hesitated, thinking that perhaps it is wiser to throw it out last.

"What are you waiting for, the Messiah?" Mom baited him.

"I have plenty of time. It's enough the boss rushes me." Mom intuitively sensed her husband's dilemma. Like a hawk she waited to swoop down upon her prey, the ace. Never will the inventor of casino know the many hours of joy he created for Mom when he produced this game. Though simple, to Mom, casino combined all the emotional elements we derive from baseball, tennis and chess: belligerence, intensity and fascination. It was intriguing like gossip and buoyant like an invitation to a wedding. She plotted and schemed. She was at once a Machiavelli and a Napoleon. With bated breath, her mouth slightly opened, her tongue wetting her lips, she would throw out a nine, add an ace and cash it in with the "good" ten. Three points in a trick! Did the feudal knights ever compete for a more thrilling price?

Pop was a poor match against Mom. He knew that well; that knowledge, one may reasonably suspect, might have caused his reluctance to play with his wife.

He put his ace back into the hand and threw out the jack.

"Very smart," she said, as though she knew his cards. "But it won't help you." And it didn't, for his ace of spades succumbed to her ace of hearts. She began dealing the second round. . . .

"And besides," Mom said reflectively, "I would never ask you about the picture because no sooner do we sit down then you start snoring."

The "good" ten which Pop saw in his hand did not cushion this barb.

"I never snore. Not in the movies, anyway."

"I mean *in* the movies. I always nudge you because you make me ashamed." She picked up her four cards and arranged them carefully.

"So now you're ashamed of me. O.K. From now on you go to the movies yourself."

He threw a card on the table with such force it slid off onto the floor. She bent down to pick up the card.

"See if I don't," Mom said defiantly, but her eyes grew moist.

"That suits me fine. If you want to take a young man with you that is all right with me, too. Provided, of course, you can get one to take you."

"Don't you worry about that." She blushed like a young maiden.

"Who says I do," Pop shrugged his shoulders and cashed in a four.

"Good luck to you. I have nothing against it."

"That's the trouble with you. You have nothing against anything. Everything is just nice!"

"What do you want me to do?"

"What do I want you to do?"



*Drawing by Philip Reisman*

echoed Mom. "Just play the game. Throw out a card." Provoked, he threw out the "good" ten, which lasted only as long as it took her to place her own upon it. "Did I ever ask you to do anything? God forbid! Can you do anything?"

"So now I can't do anything." He watched her deal again. "Go on, tell me some more. Maybe I'll find out something new."

"This is nothing new, Sam." She said quietly.

"The trouble with you, Celia, is that you're never satisfied," said Pop with increasing bitterness. "Like in casino. You always have to win."

"I'm glad you're always satisfied. That evens it up, I suppose."

"People can't always have what they want."

"I never wanted anything I knew I could not get. Not for myself, anyway."

"Did I ever tell you you couldn't buy this or that?" he demanded.

"You didn't have to tell me. I knew it myself."

"Good, then we won't argue about that."

"I'm not arguing with you."

"What are you doing? Flirting with me?"

"Maybe that's what we need," she said softly.

Pop waved his hand like one who refuses to be bluffed.

"Go on," he said, "that's nonsense. Play the game." He put a six upon a six and took it in with a third one. "We're too old for that," he said, watching her enviously take in the "good" deuce.

"Maybe you feel too old," objected Mom vigorously, "I don't!" The first round was over and she began counting the cards. Pop did not even at-

tempt it. His stack of cards was noticeably smaller than his wife's.

"Aren't you ashamed of yourself, Celia? The children can hear you!"

"Sometimes children understand better than old folks do," she offered sententiously.

He chuckled obscenely: "Go ask them if we should make a *bris*."

"You're a fool!" She began to laugh. "What a man I married! Here, you deal! It's 8:30. I have the eight."

He took the cards from her.

"**Tell me,** Celia, do you think anybody would have married you if a fool like me did not come along?"

"I was a beautiful girl." She defended herself naively. "I looked just like Hanna. I had many friends. Nice boys, too."

"More girls have friends than they have husbands."

"What about the table? You forgot to put four cards on the table." He did so. Mom's eyes began to shine as she saw two aces staring at her. Her joy gave way to despair when she saw three kings and a queen. The aces suddenly seemed tauntingly remote.

"Many of them wanted to marry me," Mom said, calmly watching him collect the two coveted aces. "Take Mr. Bernstein, for instance. You know the one who plays the fiddle."

"No, I don't," he said, feigning suspicion. "You never told me about that one."

"Yes, I did! You met him two years ago at the Ladies Auxiliary picnic," she protested.

"Oh, I remember him now. You mean that tall, skinny. . . ."

"He is not skinny. He's better looking than you."

"Anybody is better looking than me," he admitted. "Don't I know it?"

"Don't say that!"

"And if you married him you might have had your own house, a maid, a car and a fur coat," he continued, staring absently at his cards.

"Funny thing," Mom said, "When I was a young girl, a gypsy once told me I would marry a poor man."

"Now I know why I could never get rich. The gypsy had it all fixed."

"The gypsy didn't say we'd stay poor," elaborated Mom.

"I suppose it's my fault we did."

"I never said that. You've done your best. Even though it got us nowhere. Some people have more luck than others, that's all. Take Gussie. She married a janitor and now she goes to Florida every winter."

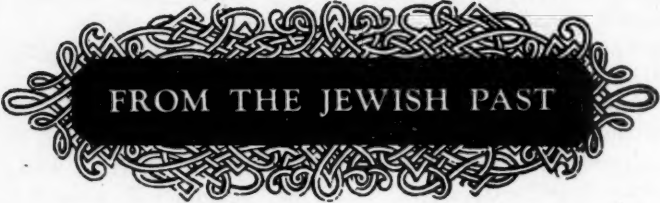
"Why do you always bring her up?" he demanded, suddenly angry. "Is it supposed to remind me what a wonderful opportunity I had and missed?"

She bit her knuckles. "I didn't mean anything! Mama! how excited he gets. One would think I called him a thief. Forget Gussie, that's all!"

"Why don't you?"

"I did. Are you happy now?"

(Continued on page 29)



## FROM THE JEWISH PAST

# Social Thoughts in the Talmud

**If the community** is in trouble, a man must not say, "I will go to my house and eat and drink, and peace shall be with thee, O my soul." But a man must share in the trouble of the community, even as Moses did. He who shares in its troubles is worthy to see its consolation. (*Gemara*, "Ta'anit," 11a)

**Honi ha-Ma'aggel** once saw on his travels an old man planting a carob tree. He asked him when he thought the tree would bear fruit. "After 70 years," was the reply.

"Dost thou expect to live 70 years and eat the fruit of thy labor?"

"I did not find the world desolate when I entered it," said the old man, "and as my fathers planted before I was born, so do I plant for those who will come after me." (*Gemara*, "Ta'anit," 23a)

**No labor**, however humbling, is dishonorable. (*Gemara*, "Nedarim," 49b)

**Greater even** than the pious man is he who eats that which is the fruit

of his own toil; for Scripture declares him twice-blessed. (*Gemara*, "Berakot," 8a)

**The right** of the workingman always has precedence over that of his employer. (*Gemara*, "Baba Metzia," 77a)

**If a man** of learning participates in public affairs and serves as judge or arbitrator, he gives stability to the land. But if he sits in his home and says to himself: "What have the affairs of society to do with me? Why should I concern myself with the lawsuits of the people? Why should I trouble myself with their voices of protest? Let my soul dwell in peace!"—if he does this, he overthrows the world. (*Midrash*, "Tanhuma to Mishpatim")

**What shall** a man do to be of use in the world if he is not inclined by temperament to be a scholar? He should devote time to public affairs and to the public welfare. (*Midrash*, "Vayikra Rabbah," 25)





Page from a pre-16th Century edition of "Baba Metzia" of the Talmud.

*If a man* takes in his hands a number of reeds bound together, can he break them? Only if they are separated, each from the other, can they be broken. (*Midrash*, "Tanhuma Nitzabim," 1)

*To illustrate* the truth that no man can sin for himself alone, Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai said: "A number of men were seated in a boat and one of them took an auger and began boring a hole beneath him. His comrades exclaimed: "What are you doing there?"

"He replied, 'what concern is it of yours? Am I not boring a hole beneath my own seat?'

"They replied: 'Surely it is our business, for the water will swamp the boat and all of us with it.'" (*Midrash*, "Vayikra Rabbah," 4:6)

## FOR PERETZ MARKISH AND ITZIK FEFFER

By AARON KRAMER

Has there ever been such silence  
since the world's hush was broken  
as the silence of murdered poets?

All night I yearn for the music  
without which men grow hollow:  
the music of murdered poets.

I ask the four winds: What tidings?  
Beyond the high ridge, the ocean,

what tidings of murdered poets?

"Ask nothing of us!" they whisper.  
"Let the trees on the high ridge fill  
you  
with whisper of murdered poets!"

"We've carried many a silence,  
but never such—no, never—  
as the silence of murdered poets. . . ."

## A TEN YEAR LOOK

*(Continued from page 6)*

to attempt to integrate ourselves more closely with the Jewish community than we have in the past. We are aware that our shortcomings in some cases arose from an insufficient intimacy with the life of which we treated. We shall try to give more adequate attention to the rich concreteness of the varied aspects of the Jewish community with which we deal. We shall attempt to grapple with the social and ideological problems that agitate the Jewish community. Our endeavor will be to enlarge our range of cooperators from different areas of Jewish life so as to introduce greater concreteness to our material.

We shall continue to identify ourselves with the genuine interests and welfare of the Jewish people with greater intensity than ever. This does not by any means imply any lessening of our awareness of the essential unity of interest of the Jewish people with the maximum development of democracy at home and the peaceful settlement of world problems. Especially, of course, does this apply to the Middle Eastern crisis. We intend to continue to urge, as we have done in the past, a change by our own government from a Middle Eastern oil diplomacy, which is at the root of the Arab-Israel crisis and the danger of war, to an anti-colonial policy of promoting the independence of Israel and the Arab countries.

On the domestic scene we shall continue to try to help equip the Jewish people to meet the many problems that beset us—anti-Semitism, discrimination and the threat to our civil liberties, which as always endangers Jewish welfare. We shall do our utmost to help unite the Jewish people in these struggles. And we shall promote the already close cooperation of the Negro and Jewish people. For in the realization of equality by the Negro people lies an assurance for the extension of democracy and, by the same token, for the security of the Jewish people.

We shall continue to encourage the development of progressive Jewish culture, which we regard as a highly important phase of our program. The problems of Jewish parent-children relations also call for more extended treatment than heretofore.

In fulfillment of these aims we need the cooperation of our readers. You can help us to approximate a more adequate realization of our objectives by writing us your views, by prompting us when you think we have strayed and by writing us about problems that the magazine should deal with. Together we can more nearly make JEWISH LIFE the magazine that the times require.

***Additional 10th birthday greetings will be published in the December issue if received before November 5th.***

# HAYMARKET AND THE JEWS

Some Jews played a part in  
resisting this injustice

By MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

THE Haymarket affair blew many things sky-high, not least of which was the faith of the workers, including Jewish workers, in the courts of our country. The case had wide national and international repercussions.

On this 70th anniversary, it is instructive to outline the impact of this major event in American history on the Jewish population at that time.

The first May Day demonstration, May 1, 1886, in the form of strikes for the eight-hour day, had been held in many cities of the United States. In Chicago alone, 40,000 had struck. The main slogan was the demand for the eight-hour day. The employers were alarmed and prepared for action. On May 3, the police fired on strikers demonstrating against scabs at the McCormick Harvester plant, killing four workers and wounding many more. On May 4, a meeting to protest the police attack was held in Chicago. As the peaceable meeting was ending, and the workers were beginning to disperse, again the police attacked in full force. A bomb exploded.

To this day no one knows who threw that bomb in Haymarket Square, Chicago, that caused the death of seven policemen and four workers and wounded scores of others. But since June 26, 1893, when Illinois Governor John Peter Altgeld issued his great document pardoning the three living defendants, the world has known there was a frame-up of workers involved. Three academic historians summed up the case in one sentence in 1940: "The verdict was the product of public hysteria, a prejudiced judge, perjured evidence, and a strange theory of conspiracy."<sup>1</sup>

## Courageous Lawyers

The commercial press, which had all along been fighting the movement for the eight-hour day out of

<sup>1</sup> Harry J. Carman, Henry David, Paul N. Guthrie, *The Path I Trod, The Autobiography of Terence V. Powderly*, Columbia University Press, New York, p. 159 note; the best treatments of the case are: Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, New York, 1936; Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten, The Life of John Peter Altgeld*, New York, 1938; Alan Calmer, *Labor Agitator: The Story of Albert R. Parsons*, New York, 1937; and of special interest because it is by one of the defense lawyers, Sigmund Zeisler, "Reminiscences of the Anarchist Case," *Illinois Law Review*, Nov. 1926, p. 224-250.

which grew the Haymarket meeting, now yowled for the blood of the "anarchists," as they called the revolutionary trade unionists or Anarcho-Syndicalists who were heading that movement in Chicago. A pious echo of this incitement was voiced by Rev. Isaac M. Wise in *The American Israelite* in Cincinnati on May 14 when he warned anarchists and socialists that "Judge Lynch is a tremendous expounder of the law."

In such an atmosphere not a criminal lawyer in Chicago would take up the legal defense of the eight indicted and it fell to four courageous civil lawyers to assume this role. First to step into the situation was the firm of Salomon & Zeisler. The senior partner, Moses Salomon, was only 28 and was then the counsel for the Central Labor Union of Chicago, led by the Anarcho-Syndicalists, which asked him to take the case. His partner, Sigmund Zeisler, was only 26 but had already lectured on Roman Law at the Northwestern University Law School. To add weight to the defense battery, they succeeded in enlisting two eminent men, Captain W. P. Black and William A. Foster.

Opening the case for the defense before a fraudulently selected jury and a biased Judge Joseph E. Gary, Moses Salomon in vain urged the jury to evaluate the evidence strictly on the charge of murder and not to allow themselves "to convict any of these defendants either because he may be an Anarchist or a Socialist."



*The Haymarket execution: a contemporary drawing*

Following him, Sigmund Zeisler explained that a social revolution could not be "made," that it "is a thing which develops itself, but no single man, nor a dozen of men can control the inauguration of a revolution," and that the charge of conspiracy, when leveled against people who publicly proclaimed their views, was fantastic.<sup>2</sup>

The battle of the defense lawyers was in vain. The jury, which included a relative of one of the slain policemen, brought in a sentence of death for seven and of 15 years for

<sup>2</sup> Dyer D. Lum, *A Concise History of the Great Trial of the Chicago Anarchists in 1886*, Chicago (1886), p. 103; David, work cited, p. 303-304.

the eighth. The unexpected brutality of the sentence, while it was ferociously applauded by the general press, shocked elements among the workers and liberals into opposition.

"This verdict is a crime against the workers," declared *Di Nu-Yorker Idische Folkzeitung* on August 20, 1886. Yet while the conservative *Idische Gazetten*, *The Jewish Reformer* and *The Jewish Messenger* in New York supported the prosecution and the verdict. *The American Israelite* apparently thought the lynching had gone too far. On September 3, 1886, Rev. Wise came out in opposition to the death sentence because of "an extenuating point, viz: Those men may be true in their pretensions, that they acted for the benefit of their fellow-men, from convictions which are undoubtedly false and unreasonable, but not criminal, *per se*."

#### **Amnesty Movement**

While the State Supreme Court was confirming the verdict and the federal Supreme Court was characteristically refusing to review the case, the amnesty movement against the execution grew to immense proportions. At first even the organized workers, except for the left wing, had been paralyzed by the furious red-baiting attack. Terence V. Powderly, head of the 700,000 strong Knights of Labor, forbade Knights to take part in the defense—lest they be called anarchists and socialists.

But these orders from on top soon began to be flouted by the workers in the labor assemblies. In New York, the large District Assembly 49 combined with the Central Labor Union to form a joint committee of 25 for a campaign of petitions and mass meetings. On this Committee, Samuel Gompers, Gregory Weinstein, M. Wiener and Louis Weiss were active.

As the execution date, November 11, 1887, approached, the expanding clemency movement led hundreds of thousands to express themselves for clemency. Among the Jews who spoke up were Rev. Sabato Morais in Philadelphia, Rev. Emil G. Hirsch in Chicago, and Felix Adler in New York. The *Idische Volkszeitung* of October 14, 1887 lists the names of Jews in Carmel, N. J., who had raised \$10 for the defense fund, in contributions of 15, 25 and 50 cents. While *The Jewish Exponent* in Philadelphia on November 4 was opposing "leniency" and fearing "an evil precedent" if the hangings did not go through as scheduled, the petition campaign grew.

In Chicago during the last week, 41,000 signatures were obtained from people of all classes and beliefs, among them Julius Stern and Julius Rosenthal, the latter being a past president of the Chicago Law Institute. At the governor's clemency

3 Gregory Weinstein, *The Ardent Eighties and After*, New York, 3d ed., 1947, opp. p. 203; David, work cited, p. 430, 431, 451; Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, New York, 1924, vol. 2, pp. 174-181.

hearing in Springfield, Samuel Gompers, officially as president of the American Federation of Labor, was among those who argued for clemency.<sup>3</sup> But the governor was more responsive to the voice of Marshall Field than to that of the petitioners. He commuted the sentences of two to life imprisonment; four were hanged, and a fifth committed suicide to beat the hanging. The crack of the broken necks was heard around the world.

### **Effect on Jewish Masses**

The Jewish immigrant masses were profoundly stirred by these horrible events in a land to which they had come in search of equality, freedom and justice. The activity of Jews among the anarchists influenced thousands, through an organization of Jewish anarchists founded in October 1886, *Pioneren der Freiheit* (Pioneers of Freedom). Jews who had no interest in anarchism as such rallied to defend the Haymarket martyrs against injustice. A few became confirmed and organized anarchists, becoming as S. Yanovsky puts it, "a profound hater of all that went under the name of justice, law and legality."

One of the classic Yiddish proletarian poets, David Edelshtat, was stirred to the depths. He was only 20 when the trial took place, a Russian-speaking intellectual more interested in events in Russia than in the United States. The Haymarket Affair "Americanized" Edelshtat, turn-

ing his heart and mind to the masses about him. He plunged into the defense activity, and was himself arrested for his pains. When he began to write his poetry in Yiddish for the anarchist press, he had a new social content and the ring of passion. Yet it was not until almost two years after the execution that he composed his first poem on the Haymarket, "*Ver Varen Zai?*" ("Who Were They"—published in translation in *JEWISH LIFE*, Nov. 1954.) Around anniversary time in 1890, Edelshtat published poems on August Spies and Albert Parsons, who had been hanged, and on Louis Lingg, the suicide, and a fourth one, "The 11th of November." In 1891 he wrote "The '11th' in a Strange City" and the year after that he began to translate some of Parsons' own poetry. Edelshtat did not live to see the pardon of the three imprisoned, in 1893.<sup>4</sup>

When Governor Altgeld finally issued his pardon on June 26, 1893, carefully analyzing the misconduct of the prosecutor, the jury, the judge and the witnesses, the commercial press was almost unanimous in its vituperation of this signal act of justice. *The American Hebrew*, in an editorial on July 7 entitled "A Flagrant Wrong," parroted the out-

<sup>3</sup> S. Yanovsky, *Erbite Yorn fun Idishen Freiheit-lebn: Sozialism*, New York, 1948, p. 97; J. Kopeloff, *Amol in Amerika*, Warsaw, 1928, p. 230ff; Kalman Marmor, *David Edelshtat*, New York, 1950, p. 36ff; David Edelshtat, *Geklibene Verk*, Moscow, 1935, vol. 2, p. 199-200; 203-207; 209-212, 249-250, 257-262; R. Lewis, *Der Gesetzlicher Mord in Chicago fun 11 November 1887*, New York, 1889, p. 29-30.



cries about the "murderous butchers" who had been hanged, denounced "this gross blunder" of Altgeld's and adjudged that he had covered himself "with contumely and contempt." No wonder there was fury at this act of belated justice! As the Yiddish *Arbeter-Zeitung*, official organ of the United Hebrew Trades, wrote on June 30: "The capitalist class has, by one of its own governors, been acknowledged as a gang of low-down murderers!"

Although the terrorization spread by reaction intimidated many workers, the resistance, expressing itself in the amnesty campaign, strengthened the class-conscious elements among the workers. Less than a year after the hangings, new organizational victories were achieved.

## BRANDEIS

(Continued from page 11)

popular government, no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence."

If First Amendment freedoms have been traduced in our day, it is in no small part owing to the Supreme Court's abandonment of the Constitutional principles which Brandeis so brilliantly enunciated.

## GAME OF CASINO

(Continued from page 21)

"Throw out a card! There's nothing on the table." They played in silence, diverting their anger to the cards.

The score stood at 16 to 6 in Mom's favor.

"Wait a minute," Mom said, sensing foul play which Pop attempted either through ignorance or desperation. "You can't build a seven and then a ten at the same time."

"Who says I can't?" muttered Pop.

"The rules say you can't."

"Each time we play, you change the rules," Pop said accusingly.

"I change the rules?" She was indignant as if someone had charged

her with shoplifting.

"I suppose I am wrong? I'm always wrong. Whatever I say is wrong. Was I ever right? No. My wife always is."

"Don't start that now, Sam. All I said. . . ."

"No wonder the children never listen to me! Do you blame them?" He got up from the table. "No more games of casino! *Schluss!*" He grabbed the cards, ran to the window and threw them out.

She rose from the table and closed the window.

"You will change your mind," she said, facing him with trembling lips, "Only then . . . you'll have to beg . . . me!"

## Latest News on Soviet Yiddish Culture

**R**EPORTS of steps toward the rebuilding of Yiddish culture in the Soviet Union continue to flow from visiting foreign correspondents.

On September 10 George Koenig, editor of the Paris Yiddish paper, *Di Naie Presse*, telephoned his paper from Moscow that a project for reconstituting a Moscow Yiddish theater had been submitted to the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic. The project was worked out by a special commission headed by Prof. M. Belenky, who had been formerly director of the arts courses at the Yiddish Art Theater. Other members of the commission are Loifer, also formerly a member of that theater, N. Goldblatt and composer Leib Pulver.

The project provides the following:

That the proposed Yiddish theater be housed in the present Pushkin Theater; that the theater be named after Sholem Aleichem; that the theater have a staff of 30 actors and 18 student actors; that three months would elapse after approval of the project before the personnel would be assembled and then five months to prepare the first production (thus the first play would be on the boards by May 1957); that the theater would perform in Moscow for five to six months a year and tour other Jewish centers for the rest of the year.

Meanwhile it was reported that the Shevchenko State Theater of Kharkov

had produced Sholem Aleichem's *Tevye the Milkman* in Ukrainian translation. The songs in the production were sung in Yiddish. The play is now in the theater's repertory.

Jewish concerts continue to take place. A group of Moscow Jewish writers met early in September to plan a winter season of literary events. One of these will be a special commemoration meeting for Moshe Broderzon, the Yiddish writer who died in Warsaw on August 17 shortly after his return from the Soviet Union. His dramatic works, which had been performed by the Yiddish Art Theater, will be presented.

Plans for Yiddish publications are advancing. From Moscow came the news in mid-Sept. that the *Emes* (Truth) Yiddish publishing house will be re-established. The plans are being executed by a special commission composed of Yiddish writers Halkin, Vergelis and Leib Strangin and Russian writers Azhayev and Voronkov. The first Yiddish books are expected to start rolling off the presses in 1957.

Translations of Yiddish writers in Russian are also appearing. A book of *Stories* by the Yiddish writer H. Dabin has been published in an edition of 30,000 copies. The journal *Novy Mir* (New World) in its Number 8 (August) issue, published poems by L. Kvitko and other Soviet Yiddish writers in Russian translation. Kvitko's poems have also appeared in Russian

in a recent issue of *Druzhba Narodov* (Friendship of Peoples).

Prof. M. Belenky, who is consultant on translations from Yiddish for Soviet publishing houses, also reported late in September that plans are on foot to publish a library of 100 Yiddish and Hebrew books in Russian translation. Among the authors to be translated are Yehuda Ha Levi, Moses Ben Ezra, Haim Nahman Bialik, Sholem Asch, Zalman Shneour, I. Opatshu, as well as Soviet Yiddish writers and others from the socialist and capitalist countries. Some of the books are already on the press.

Phonograph records of Yiddish songs are reported to be on sale in Moscow shops.

A conference of Soviet Yiddish writers is scheduled to take place in January 1957.

From Peryeslav, in the Ukraine, came the news late in September that this birthplace of Sholem Aleichem is planning to set up a permanent exhibition of Sholem Aleichem material in the city's museum.

Posthumous honors for services in the Spanish Civil War were given to Jewish military victims of Stalin purges by the magazine *Voprosy Istorii* (Problems of History). They were General Grigory Shtern, who commanded Soviet Far Eastern Forces until 1941, and Yakov Shmushkevich, head of the Soviet Air Force until 1941.

Dr. Chaim Shoskes, of the New York Yiddish paper, *Day-Morning Journal*, reported from Moscow on August 18 that former Deputy Foreign Minister Solomon A. Lozovsky, who was unjustly condemned to prison, had been rehabilitated.

The London *Jewish Chronicle* reported on August 24 that the Agudas Israel and Mizrachi Hapoel Hamizrachi Federation (a world federation of Orthodox groups) had accepted an invitation of Moscow Rabbi S. Shlifer to send a delegation to the Soviet Union. The group expects to include representatives of the U.S. and Israel branches of the federation.

L. H.

## ***The Oren Case is not Ended***

### ***An Editorial***

**O**N May 12, Mordecai Oren, a leader of the Israel Mapam Party, was released from a Czech jail. He had been imprisoned in Prague since Dec. 31, 1951. He testified to "espionage" at the Prague trial in November 1952 and was himself one year later sentenced to 15 years in prison. Since his release Oren has stoutly denied any guilt of "espionage" and revealed that false "confessions" were extorted from him by torture. He has not been exonerated by the Czech government.

The basis for the charges against Oren was the "Titoist conspiracy," which the Czech government has declared to have been a frameup. It seems to us that in vindication of both Mordecai Oren and Czech socialist justice, the Czech government should declare Oren innocent if the results of their investigations into this frameup showed that the charges against him were baseless.

# INSIDE THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

## THE DESEGREGATION BATTLE

### *Union of Amer. Hebrew Congs.*

A significant editorial on "The Desegregation Problem" appeared in the Rosh Hashonah issue of *American Judaism*, official organ of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform). It starts with "A Jew who takes his faith seriously must feel concern about the desegregation problem now agitating our nation." The statement then answers those Jews who "feel that the problem is primarily a Christian one" with this: "Whereas there is diversity in what Jews say about the matter, there is no doubt as to what Judaism says. Men are brothers, our faith proclaims, no matter what their complexion. To regard one set of human beings as innately superior to others is sacrilege, according to the tenets of Judaism. And a Jewish organization which failed to enunciate its stand on this principle would be derelict in its duty." The Union has called for implementation of the "historic Supreme Court decision." Civil rights will be on the agenda of its next biennial convention next April 28-May 2 in Toronto.

### **NCRAC**

In September the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC) issued a "Guide on Program Planning" for 1956-57, which dealt with the question of desegrega-

tion among other things. It observes that opposition to the Supreme Court rulings on desegregation "has spawned consequences that have gone beyond those envisaged at the time" and among these is the "economic squeeze" Jewish merchants and employers in the South find themselves in. Still the "Guide" says that the objective of Jewish community relations agencies remains "to make the transition required (by the Supreme Court decision) as harmonious and as rapid as possible." It urged that the President summon a conference on "orderly implementation" and that he "assert in clear and unambiguous language that the law must be obeyed."

In a letter to the editor of *The Jewish Floridian*, Samuel Spiegler, Director of Information of the NCRAC, wrote "that the interests of Jewish community relations as a whole are best served by the taking of a clear-cut principled position on the side of equality and freedom and that it is within the frame of reference of such a principled stand that the real, practical and very serious problems of

**GREETINGS!**

**A FRIEND**

Washington, D. C.

Jewish community relations must be dealt with."

### **Anti-Defamation League**

The Virginia Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith protested to Governor Thomas B. Stanley against the burning of crosses, four such incidents having taken place in the state within a month's time.

The ADL picture booklet "The Rabbit Brothers," the purpose of which is to teach the children freedom from prejudice, was banned by New Orleans school superintendent Redmond after the White Citizens Council of that city attacked it "as an attempt to brainwash children on the issue of racial integration." (*N. Y. Post*, Sept. 13) The ADL appealed to the Orleans Parish School Board to overrule Redmond's ban.

### **"Jewish Floridian"**

Leo Mindlin writes in the Sept. 14 issue of *The Jewish Floridian*, Miami weekly, that "One of the things we must never forget is that principles often require defense against fear." He attacks those whose fears lead them to advocate the destruction of the Fifth Amendment. He sees the turning of the tide against fear, and as in the past we have "been fortunate, as a people, to find spokesmen in behalf of reason whenever the need for

them arose. . . . All of which is a roundabout way of saying that a new spokesman is sorely needed today for the purpose of defending another set of principles currently under attack. I refer here to the bubbling well of fear now threatening to overwhelm and sweep away intelligence as a result of the Supreme Court ruling on segregation."

### **North Not Immune**

Americans were reminded that discrimination is a serious malady not only in the South. The superintendent of schools in Gloucester, Mass., broke a contract with a teacher from Oregon, Warren G. McClure, who, he discovered, was a Negro. Public opinion throughout the state has been aroused. Manuel F. Lewis, business agent for the Seafood Workers Union and a member of the City Council, called for an investigation of the superintendent's action. According to Federated Press, "church leaders were rallying behind the demand by Lewis for an investigation. The Jewish community, gathered at the local temple for the holy days, heard the rabbi denounce the treatment of McClure as 'immoral.'"

S. P.

**CONGRATULATIONS!**

**E. R. L.**

**St. Paul, Minn.**

### **Greetings**

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to come.**

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# letters



## FROM READERS

### *An Exchange of Letters*

Editor, JEWISH LIFE:

As a steady reader of JEWISH LIFE, I do not believe the magazine makes "an important contribution culturally and socially to the American Jewish community" and I shall let my subscription lapse.

I.C.

Venice, Cal.

Dear Mr. C.:

We received your letter informing us that you did not consider we were making a contribution to American Jewish life and that you would not renew your subscription. We are publishing your letter.

Since you are an old-time subscriber and even a contributor (we remember your poem, "Florida"), we are naturally interested in knowing why you think we have lost our usefulness. We are quite amenable to criticism and

would appreciate your writing us on this matter.

LOUIS HARAP

Managing Editor

Dear Mr. Harap:

Thank you for soliciting my reasons for not renewing my subscription to JEWISH LIFE.

Primarily, because the magazine makes very dull reading. It lacks verve and breadth. It is a tired wayfarer.

You ask why I think you have lost your usefulness. There is a serious question in my mind that there ever was a crying need for the magazine. Unlike the Negro people, for example, I do not believe the Jewish people of our country have any specific problems not related to the problems facing the American people as a whole. (Anti-Semitism, in varying degrees, is timeless and universal.) As for the professed aim of promoting "progressive Jewish culture," I am frankly ignorant of the existence of *any* distinctively Jewish culture in America worth promoting.

Genuinely and deeply do I admire the devotion, steadfastness and fortitude of those who have held up the shot-torn banner of the Left during the past dark decade. But it is time for a change. Time to lay aside old idolatries and comfortable but outworn ideologies. Time to leave the cozy cloisters and agreeable companions of the Left centers. Time to get next to Joe and Pete and Mary at the bench and in the field. Time to talk "politics"

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over a glass of beer with a fellow-Democrat or Republican, Socialist or what have you. Time to *learn* how to talk with a fellow about the Negro workers in the shop, the cost of children's shoes and who's ahead in the major leagues.

Soon—*very* soon—our people, too, must awaken from their long slumber and join the millions of their fellow-men throughout the world in the building of a new and better life. Let us be *with* them when they do—not in their “van,” nor at their rear, but by their side. With warmest regards,

I. C.

Venice, Calif.

*Editors to Readers:* What do you think?

### **On Our Southern Articles**

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

First let me tell you how much we here like your concern for the South. Surely if our nation is to be changed

into a progressive America, then the number one job is to change the South.

Important changes are taking place here, like the movement of Negroes for freedom and the drive (yes, it is real) to organize the unorganized by the AFL-CIO. Whether our Northern progressive friends recognize this or not (and unfortunately many do not) these changes are taking place. Exclusive of JEWISH LIFE I can not name another publication with as much concern.

I am happy to read what other Jewish Southerners have to say. I like the letter from the Florida Reader in the July issue. He correctly estimated the social composition of Jews in the South as being in the main storeowners and manufacturers with hardly any workers or farmers.

There is, of course, more than one trend among Southern Jews. One bad tendency is to ingratiate themselves with the Chamber of Commerce crowd. In Atlanta, Herman Talmadge has been very welcome at some of the Jewish social clubs. No doubt his own attitude is that he is “slumming.” But unfortunately some Jews (yes, Jewish Uncle Toms) feel that this (having Talmadge visit you) is a great accomplishment.

Leaders of this tendency approve Jacksonville's Anti-Defamation League actions against desegregation. The leaders are Jews who have made a middle class financial “success” and love their golden calf better than they do our traditional ideal. They are leaders in the Jacksonville Jewish Center

Greetings!

**LOUIS GOLDSMITH**

Stelton, N. J.

THE JEWISH MUSIC ALLIANCE is conducting its national campaign this month to enable it to publish and popularize new American-Jewish music and to build new Jewish youth choruses.

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and because they have leading offices in the synagogue, are to be considered "holy." In Montgomery, Ala., a similar thing happened when the Jewish Women's Council tried to separate themselves from the National Board's action in favor of desegregation. There are a few Jews in this tendency who even join the Klan and the White Councils.

Yet there are other trends among these who support resolutions for desegregation and more and more are beginning to realize the relationship of Jews and Negroes in the South. This is the tendency of the majority but their leaders are not too bold, but are more the "sha-sha" type. Unfortunately boldness is not characteristic of Southern Jewish life.

I agree with Esther Levine in the August issue and with the Floridian letter writer in the July issue that there is need for a progressive leadership in the Southern Jewish community. I agree also that there is a need for knowing more about our Southern Jewish history. The writer of this letter has done some research and writing in this field and would be happy to cooperate with anyone who would like to publish a booklet, thereby getting this information more widely spread.

We should know about Jacob Henry, the North Carolina Jewish legislator who did so much for religious liberty in that state. We should know how the Reconstruction governments (composed of Negroes and whites) did away with religious qualifications for holding state offices. We should

know of the Southern Jews who fought in the Revolutionary War because they loved freedom and gave their fortunes and their lives.

It is true that in a Southern community there are few Jews compared to the rest of the population. We must not try to "go it alone." We must not, however, allow this attitude to become an excuse for no action. I do not urge spearheading any kind of community action. I suggest that we act in concert with Negro and white Christians. But this does not mean waiting till they decide to act. We must ever serve as a bridge in Southern society. We are more readily trusted in some Negro circles than some white Christians. We must work for action by serving to unite other groups for a common program. Many Jews are ready to do something if it can be done with others in the community. We must learn how to take the initiative and lead other community groups. This is quite different from spearheading any moves.

This letter is from the upper South. Let us hear from Alabama, Louisiana and Texas. Let us also hear from Northerners on this question, for unless the South is changed our nation can not go ahead and become a progressive country.

SOUTHERN JEW FROM  
THE CAROLINAS

Greetings!

**A FRIEND**

East Orange, N. J.

COMPLIMENTS OF

**Saul Hirsh**

LAKEWOOD, N. J.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE DREYFUS CASE

By HERBERT APTHEKER

*The Dreyfus Case*, by Guy Chapman.  
Simon and Schuster, New York. 400  
pages. \$5.00.

A few months after the appearance of Nicholas Halasz' *Captain Dreyfus*,<sup>1</sup> another major publishing house has issued this additional work on the famous case. This may be attributed largely, I think, to the growing concern in our country with violations of civil liberties, and in particular, the wide impact that the Rosenberg-Sobell case had and continues to have.

Response to such concern and impact may take one of two forms; sympathy or hostility. Whereas the Halasz volume is warmly sympathetic to the uncovering and rectifying of injustice, the Chapman volume achieves hostility

by a tepid kind of "impartiality" which actually washes out the frameup nature of the Dreyfus case and so, in fact, misrepresents its meaning.

Mr. Chapman states his case in his preface: "To accept the conventional reading of a clerico-military conspiracy is to swallow the propaganda of the Dreyfusards. No conspiracy existed in military circles, none in clerical. . . . Much more is to be said for the War Office than has generally been admitted. . . . Anti-Semitism played little, perhaps no, part in the arrest of the unhappy victim or in his trial. . . . In short, the conventional story is overlaid with propaganda put out by partisans on both sides."

And he closes his volume with the words: "The Affair illustrates the influence of propaganda on history. Ninetenths of the literature of the case is Dreyfusard; the Dreyfusard view, with its crude blacks and whites, has passed into history. The anti-Dreyfusard versions such as they are, are no less propagandist, but since their side was

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HERBERT APTHEKER is an historian and a pioneer scholar in the history of the U.S. Negro. His newest book, *Toward Negro Freedom*, will be issued in November by New Century Publishers.

<sup>1</sup> This book was reviewed by E. Socor in JEWISH LIFE, Dec. 1955.

*Jewish Book Month, Oct. 26 - Nov. 26*

defeated, the writers have been ineffective. Both versions are distorted. It is only by examining the case in detail that a picture emerges, not of virtue at grips with villainy, but of fallible human beings being pulled this way and that by their beliefs, their loyalties, their prejudices, their ambitions and their ignorance."

**But Mr. Chapman**, in his concern to undo the Dreyfusard "propaganda," glosses over and, in fact, apologizes for the anti-Dreyfusard point of view, with one exception—he accepts the innocence of Dreyfus. I say, he "accepts" this innocence, because he simply takes it for granted and by so doing ignores, in terms of the writing and in terms of the impact on the mind of the reader, what is in fact the Dreyfus case. For certainly, at the heart of that case was, on the one hand, the state-contrived and sustained frameup of a human being charged with treason, and, on the other hand, the magnificent resistance to this frameup by the victim, his wife and other relatives, and the forging of a world-wide movement to force his release and obtain his vindication.

Now, if this does not represent "virtue at grips with villainy," then words have no meaning. Of course the people

involved were "fallible human beings"; there are no other kind. And, of course, individuals acted in terms of beliefs and loyalties, etc. etc.; all individuals so act. But the *quality* of the beliefs and the loyalties surely are of the essence of virtue and of villainy; and as between the victim of a frameup and its contriver and executor, surely there is something to choose; both ought not to be equally labelled "fallible human beings" in the name of historical objectivity!

Furthermore, the motivations of this frameup were not individualistic and the whole case was not, historically considered, fortuitous. When Mr. Chapman declares that there was no "clerico-military" conspiracy and no, or practically no, anti-Semitism involved in the Dreyfus case, he is flying in the face of all the evidence—some of which is in his own book.

*In terms* of a "clerico-military conspiracy," whose existence Mr. Chapman denies, his own book, in its chap-

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ter, "The Background," points to the existence of three "dangers" facing the forces of "stability," including the Army and the Church, and he calls them modernism, rationalism and socialism. He sees the three as inter-related and the struggle against them as producing—a few years before the Dreyfus Case—the Christian Democratic movement, whose heir today is the movement around De Gaulle. He sees that at the center of the "danger" was rationalism—a scientific, objective view of the world, with all the consequences of such a view. And he, himself, writes (p. 21) that this "had to be fought to the death, and that could be accomplished only by the Church making its weight felt in the State. The Republic must be captured."

That Mr. Chapman's sympathies seem to lie with this effort at "capture" is important in explaining the general orientation of his volume. But the point we wish to make here is that when Mr. Chapman himself discusses "the background" of the Dreyfus case, presumably in an effort to make its appearance and its nature understandable, he puts the reactionary effort to undo the French Revolution and its ideological and institutional results in the center of that background. How, then, can one logically insist that

though this was of the essence of the case's background, it is irrelevant to the case itself; how, then, can one logically insist, as does Mr. Chapman, that the case represents nothing more than the fortuitous meeting of more or less good and bad people, with virtue and vice appearing in just about equal proportions on each side?

*Further*, when Mr. Chapman writes that anti-Semitism was a minor element, if at all a component of the Dreyfus Case, he is flying in the face of such an overwhelming mass of evidence that, again, his own book refutes its thesis. Anti-Semitism was not present, we read on several pages, but on other pages we discover that the head of the Intelligence Bureau of the French Army, which framed the case, was an anti-Semite, and that his senior assistant was "also an anti-Semite." And elsewhere we find a major in the same department stating that "anti-Semitism was rife in the War Office." And on another page we are told that the officer charged with the task of preparing the case against Dreyfus, finding difficulty in amassing persuasive evidence, decided that "this merely meant that Dreyfus had covered his tracks with devilish Jewish skill." And on another page we learn that still another officer, who delivered Dreyfus to the jailer after his original arrest, urged that official to keep the identity of his prisoner a secret and "warned him against the approaches high Jewry would attempt." And on another page, still another officer and leading anti-Dreyfusard, whom Chapman quotes to

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**S. R.**  
Brooklyn

show that anti-Semitism was not significant in the case, while declaring his doubts as to the major role of anti-Semitism, nevertheless himself says "that, at the War Office, an appeal was made to it [anti-Semitism] from the beginning, and it is certain that the case then at once found powerful reinforcement."

This is all in Chapman's own book; there is a mountain of additional evidence, much of it presented, with persuasive documentation, in the Halasz volume. Furthermore, when Chapman writes that "there was little substantial anti-Semitism in France" prior to the Dreyfus case, he is certainly in error. Some contrary material on this is also in Halasz, but there is a full-length book devoted to nothing else which was fully available to Mr. Chapman, though he does not cite it. I have reference to the extremely useful work by Professor Robert F. Byrnes, *Anti-Semitism in Modern France*, projected in three volumes, the first volume of which, subtitled "The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair," was published by Rutgers University Press in 1950. This book studies the growth of anti-Semitism in France from 1870 to 1891 (the year of Dreyfus' arrest) and shows it to have been a cancer that had penetrated every feature of French life and every shade of political opinion from the Left to the Right, though, of course, it was most prevalent and most virulent on the Right.

*The Halasz volume* is very much more satisfactory from every point of view. Its writing is superior to the

Chapman work; its scholarship is more inclusive; its viewpoint is unequivocally democratic. There is a gripping, exalted quality to its prose, and the timeliness of a study of this particular frameup, for our own time, infuses the book, though never put explicitly.

I have two points of difference with the Halasz approach. First, he nowhere places the case in its historical context of the rise of European and of French imperialism. He does not show, nor see, apparently, the connection between the development of a challenge to the democratic and scientific commitments of the French Revolution and the rise of imperialism. Yet, it is a fact that in France, and throughout the world of imperialism—including the United States—the development of monopoly capitalism and the launching of the modern era of colonialism coincided with and created numerous expressions of nationalism, chauvinism, jingoism, anti-Semitism and a general attack on all the premises and institutions of democracy.

Second, Halasz subtitles his work, *The Story of a Mass Hysteria* and he repeatedly insists that it was the mass of the French population which was responsible for the development of the case and for the persecution of Dreyfus. In one place, for example, he declares that "The government itself was

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terrorized," that it was "the tyranny of public opinion" which sought to destroy Dreyfus. He generalizes this into a concept of history, remarking that it was the same force which destroyed Christ and Hus and Savonarola and nearly destroyed Galileo.

**Halasz** is wrong in this, I think. It is not the masses who ruled; they were ruled. It is not the masses who controlled the governmental apparatus and the press; it was the rulers who did and who corrupted these institutions. It is the premier of the Republic who said "The Jews foolishly unloosed this prepared campaign of hatred down upon themselves"; it was the Jews and the "intellectual elite" who seemed "to enjoy poisoning the atmosphere and inciting bloody hatred." And it was the French parliament that voted to have this speech by the premier publicly displayed throughout France.

It was the minister of war who gave out lying interviews and it was a corrupt press which published them. It was a handful of millionaires who corrupted that press, with malice aforethought and with the intent of counter-revolution. It was a high French army

officer who forged documents and he did this as a conscious and willing tool of a reactionary and anti-Semitic War Office.

These are not the masses; these are the oppressors of the masses and the victimizers of Dreyfus. Moreover, the fight for vindication and the winning of that vindication is the work, very largely, of plain, ordinary Frenchmen and women, led by geniuses of sensitivity such as Zola. Let it not be forgotten that Zola's *J'Accuse* appeared in an obscure sheet with a minute circulation, but that 300,000 French people bought the paper carrying his exposé, and the exposé did fire a large portion of the French public, despite the fact that the rulers had kept the truth from them and made pro-Dreyfus sympathies synonymous with sedition.

The Dreyfus case is not a story of mass hysteria; it is a story of a typical political frameup engineered by an imperialist ruling class for malevolent political purposes. And it is the story of the cracking of that frameup by democratic and socialist-minded people in France and throughout the world, in the only way that such frameups can be beaten back—through the arousing and organizing of mass world-wide public opinion. The basic facts of that case are illuminated in the Halasz volume and obscured in the Chapman book. Those basic facts and their meanings have great applicability to us today. To fight against injustice, even if but one victim is involved, is to fight for democracy and decency for all.

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**Greetings and Best Wishes!**

**ABE and LEE**

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## WORDS OF MARCANTONIO

By FRANK SERRI

i *Vote My Conscience: Debates, Speeches and Writings of Vito Marcantonio*, selected and edited by Annette T. Rubinstein. Vito Marcantonio Memorial (247 West 116 Street, New York 29, N. Y.). 494 pages. \$5.00.

**W**HAT Mencken said of Bryan—"He came into life a hero, a Galahad, in bright and shining armor. He was passing out a poor mountebank"—could never be said of Marcantonio. From beginning to the end, Vito remained the same eloquent, militant warrior, and he fought on the same firing line—against injustice, reaction, tyranny,—and for the betterment of mankind.

*I Vote My Conscience* is readable, interesting and, in spots, inspiring. Almost every current topic is there—whether in the form of a set speech, debate, letter-writing, such as "Dusty Death" in the *New Republic*, there is revealed an acute mind, at grips with the real problem, supported by an array of facts and statistics. No other congressman could match him in debate. His prompt, hard-hitting replies to Rankin, Hobbs, Wal-

ter and Herter are among the best jobs he performed.

Likewise, his courage is best illustrated by his vote against the Emspak contempt charge. Alone he stood, alone he voted against the obviously unconstitutional and arbitrary act of Congress, later vindicated by the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in favor of Julius Emspak.

Marc exhibited his superiority not only in courage but in his general standards and philosophy. What was wrong with Congress during his seven terms extending roughly 1935 to 1950? Congress had lost its faith in government by discussion. The Dies Committee, the various anti-American Activities Committees, the Truman loyalty orders, the McCarran act, revealed a frightened Congress. They were afraid of freedom of speech. They no longer believed in the Bill of Rights. They could not compete in the market place of ideas. They became victims of a procession of crazes and hysterics, and phantom red hobgoblins began to fly all over the land.

**Against surrender** to all such hallucinations, Marc took a firm stand. In speech after speech, in vote after vote, he pounded out a true American doctrine. He refused to join the anti-Communist racket. In effect, he reiterated by his analyses of different bills; the following fundamental ideas: a) There is no loyalty problem; b) There is no security problem; c) There is no Communist "conspiracy" in the United States; d) There is no danger—present, clear, or remote—from Communism in America; e) The people of the United States have the right to vote Communism up or down exactly as they have the right to support or oppose any other political and economic program; f) The denial of the protection of the Bill of Rights to

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FRANK SERRI is a Brooklyn attorney. He is a former president of the Kings County Criminal Court Bar Association and president of the New York Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. He was among the ten attorneys submitted by Judge Ryan to act as defense counsel in the second N. Y. Smith act case.

any minority—on suspicion that it will some day in the future violate the same Bill of Rights—is Aesopian wolf-lamb technique in reverse, and utterly destructive of the democratic process; g) Government by discussion must not be replaced by government by terrorism. Have faith in the American people.

Repeatedly and logically he argued: "the evils resulting from curtailment of freedom of speech far outweigh its abuses"; "the defense of tyranny abroad only means reaction at home"; "America," in 1948, "is not threatened by attack from anyone"; "war is not inevitable; there are alternatives"; "This Congress must be judged by the status of Civil Rights in the nation, it must be judged by its record on Civil Rights"; in 1949, "I offer the solution of peace and understanding with the Soviet Union"; and "don't appease the Hitlerite Arabs in Palestine."

As a lawyer in civil liberties cases he exhibited unusual skill. His summations in the William L. Patterson and Ben Gold cases are first rate lawyerlike performances.

**And the book** reveals his sense of humor. When the big navy men advocated the need of a two ocean navy and more bases around the world, Marc retorted that a much more ambitious program should be adopted: there was needed a nine ocean navy to cover the existing seven seas and the other two oceans should promptly be

dug and added to the existing number and then our nine ocean navy should be equipped. Nor should we stop with bases on this one tiny planet. There must be United States bases on Mars and Jupiter!

Only once or twice did his logic and analysis falter. For example, he opposed our entry against Hitler in 1940 because the war, Marc claimed, was then "an imperialist war." But when Hitler attacked Russia, the character of the war changed. Clearly, Vito's logic wobbled here. The war against Hitler was a just war from first to last and our position in 1940 should have been—"Stop Hitler Now Short of Nothing."

Aside from that one blind spot, his performance on the whole was a remarkable one. When you compare him with such Congressmen as Eastland, McCarthy, Nixon, Walter and Company, you get the full measure of his superior worth. He was not a sapper, an underminer, a gravedigger of American democracy. He did not betray our great tradition of freedom and equality. He fought valiantly to keep the Ship of State on its constitutional course toward the harbor of peace and liberty for all mankind.

Sandburg in his *Life of Lincoln* repeats a Lincoln story about a champion chess player. Nobody seemed able to beat him. Finally, he was opposed by an automatic chess player and the champion lost. His comment was: "There must be a man in there." Surely, there was a man in Vito Marcantonio—selfless and dedicated.

As a postscript may I add a curious item. There is no speech by Marc on the Smith act. Could anything better indicate with what little debate that unwise and dangerous bill was passed? Is it possible to conceive of Marc not ripping into it with all his might if there had been time to do so?

And the Truth Shall Make Us Free.

LILLIAN REINER

Syracuse, N. Y.

## "PAMPHLET IN VERSE"

By **ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN**

*Montgomery, Alabama, Money, Mississippi and Other Places*, by Eve Merriam. Cameron Associates-Liberty Book Club, New York. Paper, \$0.25; cloth, \$2.00

**O**NE hundred and thirty-seven years ago a poet who had received news of the bloody police attack on an unemployed demonstration in England wrote his publisher post-haste from Italy. He inclosed the manuscript of a poem "to be printed as a broadside" and distributed "very cheaply" among unemployed near Manchester.

Percy Bysshe Shelley's publisher found discretion the better part and *Men of England* did not see the light of print until long after the Peterloo Massacre had passed into history.

Today, unhappily, the printer's caution surprises us far less than the poet's impulse. For poetry and politics now seem to have secured a divorce by mutual consent and both are much the poorer for the separation. It is therefore a joy to welcome Eve Merriam's new broadside—or group of broadsides—in poetry. This "pamphlet in

poetry" happily found a publisher better able to rise to the occasion and has appeared in time to make its own notable contribution to the great popular movement which inspired it.

**The 24 poems** in this slim volume vary widely in approach as well as material. At one end of the spectrum stands the leisurely conversational three page narrative beginning:

"Where is tomorrow born? How does the future start?

On a winter working day. In a Negro woman's heart.

Mrs. Rosa Parks got on board a bus, And all of a sudden started raising up a fuss."

At the other end are such closely knit short lyrics as the ten-line *Yesterday's Rider*, which describes the statue of a man on horseback in a public square: "Rider, mad rider, with foam at his mouth,

Head rearing backward, far backward South—

Strained are his reins, tightened his grip,

Greetings!

**A FRIEND**

Seattle, Wash.

Best Wishes for  
Continuous Growth  
**ELLEN SHEININ**

Calgary, Alberta, Canada

Greetings!

**Blanche and David Fradkin**

Los Angeles

Greetings!

For a bigger and better 'Jewish Life'

**West Adams**

**Yiddish Cultural Club**

Los Angeles

Greetings!

**MRS. SAMUEL STEINER**

Santa Monica, Calif.

Frightened of falling and ready to slip . . ."

But throughout all the different sorts of serious and satirical verse, light and topical as much of it is, there is to be found a wealth of succinct social and political comment implicit in a single line, phrase, or even (as at the end of the second line here) in a significant pun.

This witty use of words charged with double and triple meaning is an outstanding characteristic of Miss Merriam's volume and often makes the most apparently obvious verses well worth rereading. The same quick turn of surprise is also frequently achieved in other ways. Sometimes the shock of paradox is given by fresh use of a familiar quotation. For example, a poem beginning with the White Citizens Council question to Negro haters, "Which side are you on?" concludes: ". . . are you of the broader mind And can also hate the Jews? Time for you to choose!"

And in *Jim Crow*, one of the best

poems, the most effective use is similarly made of a startling new (to most of us) fact. A few central lines from this read:

"Old Jim Crow's been strictly legal  
Longer than the American Eagle.  
*Such a long-time flying bird!*  
*Long-time lying story heard.*  
*Don't believe it, not a single word. . .*

*Jim Crow never came alive until 1895  
Never had segregation before;  
No time before the Civil War.  
Not even in the Civil War."*

**There are**, naturally, a few poems which seem less successfully realized. Neither of the two directly religious statements—*Martin Luther and Other People* and *The Carpenter in Alabama*—really carry conviction for me. Perhaps more surprisingly, two of the poems specifically expressing a white woman's attitude—*American Place* and *White Sister*—also fail to communicate their emotion as far as I am concerned. Yet an anecdotal poem, *The Lift*, speaks subtly and forcefully on this very theme of white participation in the struggle for civil rights and is, I think, one of the most moving poems in the entire book.

It is gratifying that this little volume has already won such a wide popular audience among both white and Negro religious leaders, trade unionists and educators. As Eleanor Roosevelt wrote: "[Miss Merriam] is treating a hot subject . . . but it certainly does bring poetry into the goings on of today."

That is not only good for "the goings on of today." It is also good for poetry.

#### GREETINGS!

To the Editors, contributors, co-workers and readers of "Jewish Life." You have made great contributions to our Jewish culture in America!

**Jewish American Cultural Club**  
Los Angeles, Cal.

We warmly greet a decade of

**Jewish Life**

**Gina Medem Cultural Club**

Los Angeles

GREETINGS ON YOUR  
TENTH ANNIVERSARY

**B. and M.**

Los Angeles

Congratulations!

**A FRIEND**

Los Angeles

# Observation post

By ANNE FRIEDLANDER

**Greetings** to you, dear reader, from the Editorial Board, on this, our 10th Anniversary. You have made this achievement possible—your loyalty and understanding that the magazine filled a vital need in the American-Jewish community. Our heartfelt thanks to you who have made these ten years of publishing possible. And to you who have started us on our second decade with your greetings.

**But:** (why must there always be a but?) some of our stalwarts are a little slow. No greetings from Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Miami, San Francisco, Tucson. (Can't be that the Eisenhower prosperity has made you complacent!) It's not too late—we're keeping our pages open for greetings in the December issue. That second decade—you all want to participate in starting us off on it.

**We honor** "Grandfather" Winchevsky: That was a memorable evening inspired by the centennial of the birth of the grand old man of Yiddish literature, on Saturday, September 29. It began with a word picture by Morris Schappes giving the story of this courageous and talented man who chose to

devote himself to the poor, the oppressed, the exploited. His deep love for humanity was conveyed to the audience by the readings of his poems in Yiddish by Yuri Suhl, who was followed by Aaron Kramer in English translation. The Jewish immigrant worker not only read these poems—for him they became his songs of struggle. Jackie Berman sang poems of Winchevsky that had been set to music. It was a wonderful evening—and we plan more like it in the future. That there will be a future was assured by the generosity of the audience who contributed \$285.

**The best** in the ten years of JEWISH

Greetings and Congratulations!

**REGINA and  
PHILIP FRANKFELD**  
New York City

GREETINGS!

**Aaron Kagan**

NEW YORK CITY

**Class in the Jewish Problem  
with Morris U. Schappes**  
greets  
**JEWISH LIFE**  
New York City



**LIFE:** What better Hanukah gift can you give to a good friend than our Tenth Anniversary anthology that includes poetry, short stories and essays by outstanding writers, all between the covers of one book. You too will want to own a copy of "*Jewish Life*" *Anthology*, 1946-1956. See the back page for more detailed information—and send that order in now.

**Los Angeles Does It Again:** Just when we were seeing red all around us—Los Angeles came to the rescue with a \$300 contribution that put us in the black again. Pearl White saved from the villain just in the nick of time couldn't have felt better than we did. Thanks, dear friends, we appreciate

your help. But—how about a few greetings on our 10th Anniversary?

**To Our Loyal Sustainers:** Many thanks for your steady, conscious support of the magazine, month after month, with the \$1, \$2, and \$5 contributions. During the year these little sums add up to enough to cover one-third of an issue. How about joining the *JEWISH LIFE Sustainers*?

Greetings!

**SPRING MOUNTAIN HOUSE**

Open all year  
Jeffersonville, N. Y.

GREETINGS

from

**A Number of  
Friends**

New York City

Supporting "*Jewish Life*" is a most worthy  
American democratic tradition.

FROM A GRANDMOTHER  
**ROSE B. ARNOLD**  
New York City

We are grateful for the ten years of your  
publication. Here's my modest start for  
the next ten years.

Sincerely,  
**ROSE WALLACH**  
New York City

**Congratulations on your  
10th Anniversary**

Lest one forget—everyone should  
read "*The Wall*," by John Hersey,  
and "*Diary of Anne Frank*" and  
also see the play.

**Josephine Cohen**  
NEW YORK CITY

GREETINGS!

**Ernestine Rose Club**

NEW YORK CITY



# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

## AT HOME

**About 780 school** districts in the South now have integrated classes, reported Benjamin Fine in a survey published in the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 1). This number registers an increase of about 200 over last year. About 300,000 Negro children are now getting instruction under integrated situations, a gain of about 50,000 over September 1955. About 2,500,000 white children are in classes with Negro children or going to schools open to Negroes.

**The largest** Ku Klux Klan rally since World War II took place on Sept. 20 at the foot of Stone Mountain, about 20 miles from Atlanta. Some 3,500 people in about 1,200 cars turned up from six states. The crowd was addressed by Imperial Wizard E. L. Edwards and other unnamed Klansmen. Edwards described the Klan as "a white, Protestant benevolent order" whose enemies are Negroes, Jews, Catholics, the press, radio and television. "All the major press and radio and television are controlled by Jews," said Edwards. "You can understand why we get nothing but smears, contempt, anything but the truth, from

the press." He called the Negro "but a slave of communism" and lashed out against Judaism, which he called "a menace to the Christian faith."

**A survey** by Julius A. Thomas, industrial relations director of the National Urban League, released on Sept. 6, shows that Negro labor is largely being bypassed in the South's industrial expansion. Although Negro workers are 25 per cent of the region's labor force, 265 Southern industrial plants employ only 10 per cent Negroes. Of these, 85 per cent work at semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Fifty-eight plants activated in the past ten years employ only six per cent Negroes.

**Hate-monger** Gerald L. K. Smith endorsed Richard Nixon for vice-president in August. "We're for Nixon," he was quoted as saying, "because he comes closest of the candidates for what we stand for." Nixon has repudiated Smith's support.

### Shalom!

As one good neighbor to another.  
**Good Neighbor**  
**Fraternal Aid Society**  
 Bronx

TENTH ANNIVERSARY  
 GREETINGS!

**West Bronx**  
**Cultural Club**

New York City-Bronx

**Two teen-aged** anti-Semitic hoodlums invaded Sabbath services at a Washington Heights (N.Y.C.) synagogue early in Sept. They attacked worshippers and uttered anti-Semitic epithets.

**The 1956 Yearbook** of the National Council of Christian Churches published in September, in citing figures on church and synagogue attendance, states that there are 4,079 synagogues with membership of 5,500,000. This assumes that all U.S. Jews are synagogue members. However, the Synagogue Council of America commented that it estimated that there are between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 Jews affiliated with a synagogue.

Greetings to "Jewish Life"  
on its 10th Anniversary  
**PARKSIDE FRATERNAL  
SOCIETY**

Bella Halebsky, Sec.  
Bronx

Wishing you success  
in your much-needed work  
**TREMONT MUTUAL AID  
SOCIETY**

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TENTH ANNIVERSARY  
GREETINGS

from

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and

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in a world of peace,

freedom and equality

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## ABROAD

**700,000 Jews** now live in Latin America, reported B'nai B'rith President Philip M. Klutznick late in August after a seven-week tour of the region. The largest Jewish community is in Argentina, which has 400,000, most of whom live in or near Buenos Aires. He reported widespread Jewish cultural, educational and religious institutions and activities in Latin America.

### **Neo-nazism in West Germany.**

... "During a visit to a German university near Munich," said Nassau County (N. Y.) Rabbi George B. Lieberman in August, "I found most disconcerting the attitude of mockery and brazenness toward me as an obvious Jew. Students questioned me about American Jews in mockery." ... *Die Anklage*, a neo-nazi journal published in Duesseldorf, said in an article in August that the figure of six million murdered Jews is "the most abominable lie in history." A second article tries to prove that the Jews were responsible for World War II. ... The West German Federal Defense Ministry was reported in September to have refused to include *The Third Reich and the Jews*, a documented ac-

count of nazi treatment of the Jews, in German army libraries. The reason is said to be the fact that incriminating documents bear the signatures of officers who are again active in the new West German army. The German League for the Rights of Man is protesting.

**The Polish Yiddish** State Theater played a two-week season in Paris in September to the acclaim of audience and critics. They performed a play by Goldfaden and another on 19th century Polish Jews. The company went

on to play in Antwerp and Brussels.

**"In each** of the last two months," reported Sidney Gruson from Warsaw (*N. Y. Times*, Aug. 31), "about 100 Polish Jews have left for Israel and the number of passports is increasing steadily." Jewish members of the Polish Communist Party are said to be among the emigrants or prospective emigrants.

**A new book** on life in the nazi concentration camps by Jewish author Norbert Fryd, entitled *Card File of the Living*, has just been published in Czechoslovakia. A review in the Prague *Rude Pravo* called it a "fine, profound book."

L. H.

CONGRATULATIONS!

**A FRIEND**

Great Neck, L. I.

GREETINGS!

**A FRIEND**

Washington, D. C.

Greetings!

**A FRIEND**

Springfield, Mass.

GREETINGS!

**READERS and FRIENDS  
OF JEWISH LIFE**

Springfield, Mass.

CONGRATULATIONS

ON YOUR

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

**FRIENDS OF JEWISH  
EDUCATION**

Philadelphia

In Memory of

**Morrie Shafritz**

Died September 10, 1953

**Beloved Leader and Friend**

•

PHILADELPHIANS

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT  
OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED  
BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933,  
AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United  
States Code, Section 233) SHOWING  
THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT,  
AND CIRCULATION OF:

JEWISH LIFE, published monthly at  
New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the  
publisher, editor, managing editor, and  
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Publisher, Progressive Jewish Life, Inc.,  
22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3,  
N. Y.

Editor, none.

Managing Editor, Louis Harap, 22 East  
17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

Business Manager, Anne Friedlander,  
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show the affiant's full knowledge and be-

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(This information is required from daily,  
weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly news-  
papers only.)

LOUIS HARAP

Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this  
18th day of September, 1956.

DAVID CANTOR

Notary Public for the State of New York  
(My commission expires March 30,  
1957.)

(SEAL)

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1946-1956

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