

Jewish **Life** A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

JULY, 1957

25¢

N. Y. HITS SEGREGATED PRIVATE HOUSING

by A. Fein

WILL HERBERG'S "TRIPLE MELTING POT"

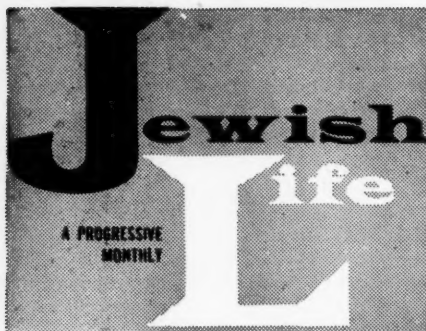
by Louis Harap

"SOVIET ENCLYCLOPEDIA" ON "JEWS"

by M. Mirski

THE WORDS AND MUSIC OF MY MOTHER

long poem by Eve Merriam



Vol. XI, No. 9(127) July, 1957

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N. Y. Hits Segregated Private Housing

By A. FEIN

THE fact is that 93 per cent of all dwelling units in New York City are not covered by specific anti-discrimination legislation." Thus spoke Dr. Frank Horne, executive director of the New York City Commission on Intergroup Relations, before a City Council hearing on June 7 in favor of a bill that would outlaw discrimination because of race, creed or national origin in the sale or rental of private housing (except for one or two-family houses in developments of less than ten). Violation would be a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than \$50.

The importance of this bill extends far beyond New York City. For, if passed—and the consensus is that it will be voted into law by the New York City Council on June 18—it will be the first such law in the country and "will show the way to our fellow Americans all over the U.S.," as Mayor Robert F. Wagner said at the hearing.

The crowded hearing heard 45 speakers for 39 major organizations—labor, Negro, Puerto Rican, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and citizens groups—speak passionately in favor of the bill. Opposed were 14 speakers, 13 of them spokesmen for busi-

ness and real estate interests. The Jewish organizational spokesmen represented the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, Jewish Labor Committee, United Hebrew Trades, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Workmen's Circle and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs.

Opposition to the bill was led by James Andrews, spokesman for the Real Estate Board of New York. He raised a specter that many people would move out of the city "rather than submit to the force of law in sharing apartment houses." And he asserted that mortgages and financing of housing would encounter difficulties if the bill were passed. He proposed that the problem could be met by "education."

The usual arguments of the real estate interests were answered by James H. Scheuer, himself a real estate man and a member of the Real Estate Board of New York. He discounted the fears that integrated housing would depress property values. The Stuyvesant Town and Levittown projects, among others which now admit Negroes, have not borne out this fear, he pointed out, but have risen in value. Where such

loss of property value does take place, he said, studies have shown that the loss was owing rather to landlord policies of over-crowding, under-maintenance and neglect that created slums. In reply to the argument that integrated housing caused "inundation by minority groups," Scheuer affirmed that "if all the housing facilities of the city were thrown open equally to all its inhabitants, there need be no fear of any one minority group overwhelming any particular section."

Leon Becker of the Jewish Labor Committee called attention, as did Charles Silver, chairman of the Board of Education, and others, to the importance of the bill for school desegregation. "If New York City is to obey the U.S. Supreme Court ruling calling for desegregation of education," said Becker, "then the first step is to eliminate the cause of our own segregated schools: racial ghettos."

The rent-gouging practices stimulated by a restricted housing market were shown by Algernon D. Black speaking for 25 member organizations of the New York Committee on Discrimination in Housing. He cited a study of low income housing made by the N.Y. Department of Welfare in 1956. One set of figures tells the story: "while 57 per cent of white families paid under \$40 rent per month, 60 per cent of non-white and 69 per cent of Puerto Rican families paid over \$40 monthly."

Eugene Sugarman of the Anti-

Defamation League pointed out that "housing and neighborhood segregation are the chief factors perpetuating a segregated society, with all the attendant blights and evils of slums and slum conditions."

Certain weaknesses in the bill were pointed out by former Communist City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., speaking for the Communist Party. He strongly championed the bill, but believed it could be made stronger if it included the 700,000 units exempted under the bill—one and two-family houses in developments of less than ten. He also urged that the bill include enforcement machinery, which it now lacks, and that the bill should prohibit discrimination because of political belief.

New York has been a trail-blazer in the fight against discrimination. The Sharkey-Isaacs-Brown law of 1954 banning discrimination in publicly-aided housing was one such pioneering act. Today 14 state legislatures and many municipalities have similar bills under consideration. Once again New York is pioneering to implement the sentiment, as expressed by Eugene Sugarman of the Anti-Defamation League, that "religious and racial discrimination in the United States has long been condemned on ethical and religious grounds and that a democratic government cannot tolerate a political and social structure in which segregation creates second-class citizenship."

Israel and the Eisenhower Doctrine

Why the doctrine does not
help Middle Eastern peace

By JEREMIAH LESSER

DID the Knesset strengthen Israel's prospects for peace when it voted to approve the Ben Gurion cabinet's acceptance of the Eisenhower Doctrine? For six hours on June 3 the Knesset debated the issue. The vote showed 59 in favor, five against (the Communist deputies) and 39 abstentions. Thus, less than a clear majority of the Knesset (120 members) voted in favor.

Abstaining were the two Socialist Zionist parties, Mapam and Ahdut Avodah. They disapproved the doctrine for two reasons. First, they feared that Israel adherence to the doctrine would jeopardize chances that the Soviet Union might allow Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel. Of broader and deeper significance was their second reason—that adherence to the doctrine involved Israel in the cold war.

This is indeed the nub of the situation. For involvement in the cold war has meant and will mean an intensified arms race, greater interference in Middle Eastern affairs by the great powers and ultimately the heightened danger of war that such policies engender. A spokesman from Ahdut Avodah pointed out during

the debate that the Eisenhower Doctrine intensified the danger of World War III. A Mapam deputy declared that Israel's acceptance of the doctrine would be interpreted as binding Israel to the anti-Soviet bloc.

However, the two parties abstained from voting because they decided to remain within the government coalition. A negative vote would have forced them out of the government and probably caused the fall of the Ben Gurion regime.

For his part, Ben Gurion spoke during the debate as if he wanted to have his cake and eat it too. He said, on the one hand, that Israel could not remain "neutral" toward a government (the Soviet Union) which did not accord freedom of expression to its Jews. At the same time, he stated that the Israel regime's interpretation of the doctrine did not involve Israel in denunciation of any country (that is, the Soviet Union). This unique position of Israel, he explained, was owing to Israel's determination to "provide a national homeland for the Jews." In other words, he did not wish to antagonize the Soviet Union by any such denunciation lest this reduce

chances that Soviet Jews might be permitted to emigrate to Israel.

Why is his position self-contradictory? First, because whatever Ben Gurion may say about not wishing to denounce any government, adherence to the doctrine raises this question, as the *American Examiner*, Brooklyn English-Jewish weekly, noted editorially on June 6: would the cost of U.S. favor, even if won, be "too great when weighed against the hostility it must arouse in the communist [and we may add, the whole Asian-African] sphere." Second, a position of neutralism with regard to the East-West conflict would not require that the Israel government be "neutral" on the question of emigration from the Soviet Union. Ben Gurion was simply confusing an issue by a misleading play on the word "neutral."

Reactionary Nature of Doctrine

Notwithstanding Ben Gurion's singular interpretation of the doctrine, the objective fact is that adherence to the doctrine *does* tie Israel more tightly to the U.S. side in the cold war.

Already the reactionary nature of the doctrine has become clear. In Jordan the doctrine operated to win a repressive, anti-popular dictatorship for the feudal King Hussein. Further, it has brought together the three reactionary Arab kings, Hussein, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and King Feisal of Iraq—the only Arab adherent to the Baghdad Pact—for

their mutual objective of retarding democratic, modern development in the Middle East. Like all reactionaries, they have utilized the fake "communist menace" to hold back progress.

Robert C. Doty wrote in the *N. Y. Times* (June 9) that King Saud "and other Arab monarchs have sought to neutralize and counter the basically revolutionary influence of Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser and the pro-Nasser Syrians without avowing an open break with the Egyptian leader. *They have tried to do this by shooting to the left of the main target*—at the communist influence courted by President Nasser rather than at the Egyptian leader's own pan-Arab ambitions. *President Nasser's aim of leadership frightens the conservative monarchs but enjoys popular support that makes it difficult to attack directly*" (emphasis added).

In other words, the threat of direct Soviet aggression or of aggression by a state under "international communist control" is a fraud intended to keep the Middle East a reactionary area. The Eisenhower Doctrine is a prime agency in furthering this fraud. The doctrine is in reality an extension of the Baghdad Pact. Even though the pact is too unpopular in Jordan to allow Hussein, despite his repressive measures, to adhere to it, or even formally to the Eisenhower Doctrine, the "aid" given to Hussein by Washington makes him a de facto ally of the

Baghdad Pact. Lebanon, which adheres to the doctrine, received the initial "benefits" from Washington—a shipment of arms on the eve of its elections.

By accepting the doctrine, therefore, Israel is indirectly allied to the pact. This is especially ironic, since the sole Arab member of the pact, Iraq, has made no secret of the fact that the pact is directed against Israel no less than the Soviet Union. Israel's closer tie with Washington does not make any easier a lifting of the Arab economic boycott, which the Arab League recently announced it would tighten. For adherence to the pact inclines powers like the Asian-African world and the communist countries less toward aid to Israel in removing this unfair and aggressive boycott.

Toward Lessening Tensions

No, peace for Israel does not lie in support of the Eisenhower Doctrine. On the contrary, a lessening of tensions would be brought about by moves to *end* arms shipments to the Middle East, instead of increasing them, as the Eisenhower Doctrine does; by moves to *end* big power interference in the Middle East, rather than to deepen this, as the doctrine does; moves to take Arab states, and Israel *out of the cold war*, rather than sink them deeper into it, as the doctrine does.

One important and symptomatic recent development toward peace was a statement given early in June

to Mapam leader Jacob Majus by Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council, which has influence on the Bandung states. "Israel is a positive reality in the region," said Joliot-Curie, "and she can contribute much to the well-being of the whole Middle East. . . . This reality has to be recognized. The World Peace Council on its part will do all that is necessary from a practical point of view to facilitate such negotiations." The World Peace Council, he promised, would take up this matter at its meeting at Colombo, Ceylon, in June. It is also encouraging that Nasser has agreed to send an Egyptian delegate to this meeting.

A wiser policy than Ben Gurion's, is that proposed repeatedly by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Congress, to keep Israel out of the cold war through agreement of the Big Powers, mainly the U.S. and the USSR. The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its readiness to undertake top level negotiations to this end with the U.S. Senator Mike Mansfield has urged such negotiations, as has India's Premier Nehru.

Jewish leaders in the U.S. can help in this direction. American Jews can help secure Israel's future by advocating that Washington reach an agreement with the Soviet Union mutually to keep out of the affairs of the region and to stop heightening the arms race through an arms embargo on the whole area.

GIANTISM IN BUSINESS

A warning that growing Big Business
mergers pose great dangers

By HERBERT H. LEHMAN

Following are excerpts from an address delivered by the eminent ex-Senator Herbert H. Lehman in the Bernard M. Baruch Distinguished Lecture Series at City College of New York Baruch School of Business on April 2.—Eds.

I AM going to talk to you today about just one of these problems, but one which I believe particularly concerns you young men and women about to begin your careers beyond the limits of the college campus.

This problem concerns the growing concentrations in our national economy, the development of Big Business into Giant Business and the significance of this development for individuals involved in business. . . .

We are travelling a road from which, after a while, there may be no turning off or turning back—the road toward bigger and bigger business, toward greater and greater concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands.

Recently, *Fortune* magazine published a study of the 50 largest firms in each of the major fields of the

American economy, with figures for their 1955 sales, assets and net profits. It is, of course, an old story that in steel, in automobiles and in oil production, for instance, a few giant firms are clearly dominant. It is less generally understood, however, that economy concentration is growing in almost every sector of our economy. Today, almost every line of business is dominated by the giants.

The 50 largest insurance companies have 90 per cent of all the assets of all insurance companies in the country.

The 50 largest manufacturing companies made 27 per cent of the sales made by all manufacturing companies—and there are 325,000 manufacturing companies in the United States.

The 50 largest corporations in all fields together made sales of 86 billion dollars, or about 28 per cent of the total gross national product of the United States.

One company, General Motors, made a net profit in 1955 of over one billion dollars on assets of six billion dollars, with sales amounting to about \$12,500,000,000.

Just think of that—one company had a sales turnover equivalent to three per cent of the gross national product of the United States!

No wonder that thoughtful men in the business world are raising the question: "How big is too big?" A recent issue of the monthly publication of the American Institute of Management raised this question editorially and concluded that when one firm attains a sales volume that equals more than one per cent of the gross national product, that firm is just too big for the health of the national economy.

I, myself, do not have the answer to the question of "How big is too big?" But I know it is a crucial question. Today, our entire economy is coming to consist of a few giants and swarms of ants, the ants consisting of small businesses. There are 4,250,000 separate businesses in America, of which perhaps a thousand are truly big business firms. According to a survey made by the United Press, there are 78 firms in the United States with assets of more than a billion dollars each. These I call the giants.

It is a fact that big businesses, on the average, are earning more and more profits every year, while on the average, the small businesses are earning less.

Indeed, the time has come to take a new look at the whole question of competition and at what constitutes unfair competition and discrimination in business. There is a new di-



Herbert H. Lehman

mension in our economy now, the dimension of giantism. If we want to retain an economic system based on competition, new rules must be written—and very soon—to protect the ants against the giants and the consuming public against both.

We had better take a good long look at the loopholes in our anti-trust laws. Something had better be done promptly about the mergers.

The Federal Trade Commission reports that there were 905 mergers in 1956, 846 mergers in '55 and 617 mergers in '54. The number has been going up steadily. Moreover, many of the mergers have been spectacular ones, the merging of two already large corporations to make one giant—and to eliminate one further source of competition.

Bank Mergers

I have been especially interested—and concerned—over *bank* mergers. Once I was a banker myself.

During 1955, 225 banks, with total assets of \$9,616,000,000 were merged, consolidated or acquired by other banks. During the six-year period from 1950 to 1956, 830 banks, with assets of \$18,600,000,000 were merged, consolidated or acquired.

Moreover, these mergers took place, for the most part, in the key industrial areas of the country; these mergers were part of the process whereby big banks grew even larger and smaller banks were swallowed up.

Today, there are about 14,000 commercial banks in America. Twenty-four of these are giants, with a billion dollars or more of assets each. In California there is, of course, the fabulous Bank of America with resources of over nine billion dollars. Here in New York City we have two giants, Chase-Manhattan and First National City, each with resources of over seven billion; ranking below them in size, New York has four 3-billion dollar banks, and two 2-billion dollar banks. Together, these eight banks have perhaps 75 or 85 per cent of all the deposits in New York City.

It is strange that these huge banks should be trying to expand, through merger and consolidation, when as a matter of fact—and I say this on the basis of my experience as a banker—a 500 million dollar bank, and certainly a billion dollar bank, can do everything in the public interest which a four, seven or ten billion dollar bank can do. In other

words there is no economic justification for the expansion.

Within the last six years alone 137 banks in New York State have been merged, consolidated or acquired by other banks. The resources of the banks which have thus disappeared were ten billion dollars, almost one-sixth of the total resources of all the banks in all of New York State.

The story is the same in California, in Oregon, in Washington, in Pennsylvania, in Rhode Island and in numerous other States.

California, for instance, had long been the scene of bank mergers and consolidations. By 1950, California had only 149 banks (compared to over 600 in Kansas). But between 1950 and the end of 1955, 86 of these 149 California banks were merged, consolidated or otherwise taken over—a reduction of over 60 per cent in the number of banking institutions in this huge and growing State.

The story is the same in many other parts of the country.

The end result is not only a decreased number of banks and less competition, but a more highly centralized control of the nation's financial system, with mounting danger to the entire national economy if a relatively few individuals should decide for whatever reason to misuse their control over the lifeblood of our economy.

For quite a few years now, the independent bankers of America,

traditional enemies of so-called interference by government in the affairs of business, have been clamoring for government intervention and regulation of bank mergers and consolidations.

Too Big

Last June the immediate past president of the Independent Bankers Association of America, Mr. Ben H. Ryan, testified before a Senate Banking Subcommittee, of which I was then a member, in the following words: "Business cannot regulate itself in a competitive economy. The government must legislate fair rules of the game. As much as possible, Congress should view the future as best it can, providing legislation that locks the barn before the barn is empty. We are in the midst of a splurge of mergers. Some look upon it as an omen of impending disaster. I hope it isn't, but for fear that it might be, we should tighten up legislation in such a way as to stop these mergers and consolidations when they tend to reduce competition."

The development of bigness and of monopoly control in banking has been parallel to that in many other lines of economic endeavor. In almost every field big business has gotten bigger and giants have grown to dominate the field and to dwarf all others.

The giants and the big business firms not only dominate our econ-

omy to an increasing extent; they are, in fact, beginning seriously to affect our culture, our education and the intellectual climate of our times. Certainly they have the greatest access to what are called the mass media . . . television, radio, and the press.

Their actual and potential effect on the political life of our times is in itself a vital question which requires sober study, thought and consideration of possible countervailing measure.

The whole range of the possible effects of economic concentration—the economic, the social and the political effects—need to be carefully analyzed and publicly discussed. The people of this country need to be alerted to the actual and potential dangers of giantism and monopoly. There must be a call to action, on this front as on so many others. . . .

The big corporations offer good pay, security, and good prospects for advancement. But what is more—and this is not clearly understood—they offer a way of life.

In return for the relatively good pay, job security and job opportunity which the big corporations afford, the employee is expected to give not only his talents and devotion, but also his conformity.

A typical training pamphlet of the General Electric Corporation, which came to my attention recently, advised all professional em-

(Continued on page 26)

Discrimination in Resort Hotels

An extensive survey shows how widespread is exclusion of Jews

NEARLY one out of four resort hotels in the United States practices religious discrimination in the admission of guests, according to a national survey, the first of its kind, made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and released on April 27.

Bernard Nath, Chicago attorney and chairman of the League's national executive committee, said that the survey encompassed 3,014 hotels in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Hawaii, Alaska and the Caribbean. He said the survey revealed that:

- Vigorous enforcement of State laws against discrimination in public accommodations is the principal key to the elimination of the problem of hotel bias.
- Discrimination in the United States is less than in Canada, but greater than in Mexico or Hawaii.

"More significant than the figures obtained," Mr. Nath said, "was the overwhelming evidence of evasiveness and covert practices of resort establishments. Recognizing that religious discrimination is regarded as an evil by the nation, many resorts avoid acknowledging their prejudice while pursuing such policies."

He said the figures obtained by the survey "are, if anything, an understatement of the seriousness of the problem." A large part of the multi-million dollar resort industry, he asserted, "has become increasingly isolated from the main currents of American democratic life and its decadent social values offend and humiliate millions of Americans."

The survey team sought to examine the stated policies of the 3,014 hotels, test them through responses to prospective guests and scrutinize their advertising and promotion literature. Current and explicit information was obtainable, however, for 1,065. Of this group, 237 or 22.2 per cent, the evidence showed, clearly discriminate against Jews. The remaining 828 were classed by the survey as non-discriminatory, but 11 per cent of this group have past records of discrimination.

"The core of the problem," Mr. Nath declared, "lies in the 1,949 hotels or nearly two-thirds of the total number, on which we were unable to obtain current information. Many of these have consistently declined to clarify their policies toward Jewish guests and 525 of them have been the subjects of complaint in the past. It

leads us to believe that the definitive findings of the survey are an understatement of the true situation."

Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the League, pointed out that "the evasiveness of many of the resorts about religious standards is motivated not only by feelings of guilt, but by hard economic facts which require that they retain out-of-season convention trade. Since convention groups increasingly shun discriminatory hotels, many such resorts find it expedient to cover up their prejudiced policies."

Mr. Schultz declared that the growing resistance among business and professional organizations to discriminatory hotels was sparked by the National Association of Attorneys General which two years ago cancelled out of such a resort. Since then, Mr. Schultz said, hundreds of other convention groups expressed their intention not to go to hotels that raise religious bars.

In continental United States the survey sought to review the policies of 2,731 resorts. Current information was obtained for 933, of which 214 or 22.9 per cent clearly discriminate against Jews. Of the 719 which declare a policy of non-discrimination, 11 per cent have past records of discrimination, the report noted.

The actual practices, the survey revealed, vary considerably from state to state. In three New England states which have laws against discrimination—Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island—the survey established that only 14 per cent of the hotels discriminate against Jews. In the adjacent states of Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire, which have no such legal bars, the survey placed the discrimination rate at 56 per cent. The Vermont

state legislature in April passed an anti-discrimination law awaiting the signature of the governor.

In New York State, which vigorously enforces its anti-discrimination law, the survey team found that only eight per cent of the resorts examined are discriminatory, but the hotels of Vermont, which abuts on a principal New York resort area, show a 45 per cent anti-Jewish discrimination rate.

Two winter resort states tested were Arizona and Florida, in both of which the figures are above the national average. In Arizona, the survey found 44.5 per cent of the hotels for which information was obtainable discriminate against Jews while in Florida, the figure is 24.2 per cent. The report cited "vigorous educational work" that has been carried on in Florida in recent years as probably responsible for the "remarkable improvement in Florida." It made special note of Miami Beach where "tremendous advances have been made against religious discrimination and which has no real counterpart community in Arizona."

In the Midwest, Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin, where there has been widespread discrimination against Jewish vacationers for years, continue to show a discrimination rate above the national average. The rates for these three states were Michigan, 48.7 per cent; Minnesota, 20 per cent; and Wisconsin, 29 per cent.

In the areas outside continental United States, the survey found that 28.3 per cent of the hotels upon which it obtained information in Canada discriminate, while in Mexico the figure was only 3 per cent and in Hawaii, only one of the 14 hotels examined bars Jews.

(Anti-Defamation League press release.)

THE WORDS AND MUSIC OF MY MOTHER

By EVE MERRIAM

"Oh, when you are hungry,
what could be better
than freshcrusted dark bread
spread lightly with butter?"

That was my mother's song.

She believed what she sang
and tasted deep of the sweet tune
all her life long.

Who grew up and grew down in a city,
people were most becoming to her,
though a rock garden was her constant uphill dream.
Geraniums she plunged in like a running stream;
what was not green she sang to,
and you hummed along with her,
knowing that someday surely would come green.

Who lived on top of a store,
with gravel for stars;
she danced between the pointed roofs,
got drunk on fresh air.

Who worked in the store six days and nights a week,
and cooked for all the Sunday relatives,
leisure was her secret lover;
she enjoyed their quick trysts to the full,
unbegrudged his many other obligations.

EVE MERRIAM is a poet and prose writer. Her latest poetry volume is *Montgomery, Alabama, Money, Mississippi and Other Places and prose volume is Emma Lazarus: Woman with a Torch.*

The juice of oranges she took for sunlight,
and golden proud passed the bowl around:
you taste first, I'll enjoy your pleasure and double my own.

(Oh, she was fated to be lucky always, she knew,
and proved it: for only her firstborn died,
the four who came after not only lived, but were healthy.)

The facts of her youth were the usual immigrant story:
the middle of nine living children
—that's eighteen hands to work,
of course the family would make good in America!
She went to school just long enough
to learn the new language well enough
so she could hawk newspapers
on the cold-paved streets of Philadelphia:
*I was only eight, and barefooted, and a girl,
so lots of people bought from me.*

What else do you remember?

*I remember, I remember, the Latvian town where I was born.
The little straw village that burned down twice before she was five.
—Only the animals got roasted alive.
Such a funny smell—I didn't like it—
this, with an apologetic smile;
one should be receptive to all the smells of the world
as to all the sights and sounds and senses.
Oh it's foolish to be afraid of things:
so open a chicken and don't mind the slippery blood.
And if you hear rats clawing in the dark,
listen right back, don't hide your head in a pillow.
Otherwise the things will know you're afraid of them
and only make it worse for you.*

Do you remember anything else from over there?

*Yes. There was a doctor in the next village. My mother thought it
would be nicer if he buried the dead baby. I went with her, but the
doctor wasn't there, so we walked back again and I helped carry
the baby. It's always better when you have company along the way;
wherever you go. By the time the next two died, we were fortunate;
there was already a doctor in our own village.*

Haven't you ever been afraid of anything?
Of course! Lots of times! Her chin quivers with an almost injured air:

do you think I would be content with less than a full living share?
Once, I was about ten I guess, and cooking supper for my older brothers.

*I went to light the stove, and my hair caught on fire.
It was like the burned animals smelled back in the old country time.
And when I got pregnant and my mother-in-law said
not to tell my husband,*

*he didn't want to be tied down to a family yet.
But after a few months he didn't even mind when I moved the
bureau and table and chairs around to make more room on the
edge of the bed for when the baby came. He hardly even woke
up when the midwife arrived, and none of the babies ever bothered
him much, he could sleep right through even when they were
crying before I could get around to feed them.*

Thick crust of dark bread she fed us
spread lightly with butter;
and if the taste ever be bitter,
the fault is not in her shaping
but some in her oversharing and more in our over-taking.

She waited on my father hand and foot:
for half a century they lived together
and loved together I truly believe,
and now the living more than the dead I must grieve.
For over two years she laughs quick in her grave,
and ghostly he roams and moans.

She waited on him hand and foot,
and bound him utterly.
She wore out herself and helpless he lies,
too old now to rise up free.

Oh my mother,
let me sing your hunger song anew
but serve and share it equally!
And my husband share it too—

I feel her hand blessing across my eyes:
her chappedsmooth wornout hands
warming me on the most wintered day,
the pulsing blue veins like smoke from a working chimney,
the lifelines racing dancing crossing and coursing

and the shape of her feet more clear than her face:
pressed down into dirt, into burning cold
and taking it all for gold;
her swollen ankles, toes calloused and sore
are the feet of a princess forevermore.
Who dwelt in the world as a fairytale,
and she, life's guest, had the best of it all.

For the world is golden as chickenfat
if only you like the taste,
and she was hungry,
and nothing went to waste.
Her greasy apron was no disguise,
but the princess' natural estate.
Does the King not have many daughters?
Lo, and I am one of them!
How wonderful to grow up in a big family!
My sisters, come see, how rich we are all,
each with one whole life to give!

Rabbi Klein Calls for End to Testing

RABBI EDWARD E. KLEIN, of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in New York City, has joined the swelling chorus for an end to testing of atomic weapons. In a sermon on June 1, he urged that world public opinion should force the end to testing. "No person in his right senses," he said, "would disadvantage the West in atomic controls. But the leaders of the nations must and will come to an agreement to end atomic testing if public opinion throughout the world will force the issue." He asserted that "Dr. Schweitzer would not have spoken out on a public issue were it not gravely indicated." Rabbi Klein praised the current Congressional hearings on nuclear testing hazards and thought that the public should know the facts, even though they "are not pleasant to read." He expressed his "hopes and prayers" for the disarmament talks being held in London.

Will Herberg's "Triple Melting Pot"

A theory about "the American Religion" and the recent growth of churches

By LOUIS HARAP

BY the time restrictive immigration legislation was placed on the books in 1924, about 35,000,000 Europeans had entered the United States. They came from native lands of varying industrial and ideological development and of different languages. From Great Britain, whose Anglo-Saxon culture is the dominant pattern for the country, came about four million. From oppressed Ireland came about four and a half million; from the Scandinavian countries, about two million; from teeming Italy, about five million; fleeing the oppressive economic and social conditions of the tsarist and Austro-Hungarian empires, about three million came from the Balkans, six million from Central Europe and fully eight million from Eastern Europe.

Hunger for labor power in the period of fantastic industrial expansion in the 40 years up to 1910 drew about 18,000,000 immigrants. About two and a half million Jews, mostly from Eastern and Central Europe, jammed the ships between 1870 and 1924.

These immigrants from every corner of Europe played a vital part in changing the economic and social structure, the face and the mind of the United States. And in the process they themselves were changed. Owing to differences in language, customs and economic status, the laboring immigrants

since the post-Civil War expansion faced the enormous problem of locating themselves in and adjusting to the American scene. They necessarily formed themselves into "ethnic groups"—Italian, Scandinavian, German, Jewish, Polish, Russian, etc.—based primarily on their native language and culture.

The first immigrant generations of these ethnic groups became integrated into the economic life of the United States without too much difficulty. It was harder to become integrated on a basis of equality in the political, social and cultural life, the process called "acculturation" by the sociologists. Integration was by no means completed by this first generation but continued into the second and third generations and will go on for a considerable period.

For, in addition to the adjustment in language and customs, the problem is complicated by the stigma attached to "foreignness" and the fact that the immigrants started their life here on the lowest rung of the economic ladder—after the Negroes—and suffered from class prejudices. Anti-Semitism is one specific, and especially pointed, form of anti-alien ideology. Even when the second and following generations rose in economic status, the dominance of Anglo-Saxon culture and its chauvi-

nistic ideology of superiority put obstacles in the way of full equality for succeeding generations of non-Anglo-Saxon people.

Formation of "Ethnic Groups"

This is the problem, basically, to which Will Herberg addresses himself in *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*,¹ "acculturation" of the first immigrant generation and its descendants. Herberg places the question in terms of religion, for he believes that religion was the core around which the various immigrant groups formed themselves as identifiable "ethnic" entities. They established what he calls "ethnic churches" as the central institutions for group identification. The immigrants were not welcomed into the social-religious community of the "Americanized" inhabitants of similar national origin and consequently tended to congregate and organize their own separate churches.

Certainly this tended to be the case with the Jews. For the older Jewish residents, mostly of German origin and largely middle class by the time the Eastern European Jews arrived, were Reform in religion. They scorned the Eastern European Jewish immigrants, who were workers and mostly Orthodox in religion, and treated them like class inferiors.

The importance of religion in the group identification of the immigrants cannot be doubted. One might disagree with the central importance which Herberg attaches to religion in the formation of "ethnic groups." Among the Jews, certainly, a considerable section of immigrants were non- or even anti-religious and rather formed themselves around their trade union movement.

But there is another reason why Herberg regards religion as the key to the question of "acculturation." In recent years, Herberg believes, religion has become an essential element of the "American Way of Life." Acceptance in the general American community, he says, demands religious adherence. Indeed, Herberg holds that the "American Way of Life" is itself religious in essence, "the operative faith of the American people." This is *the* American religion, the common denominator of the three accepted religions, Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism, or, as Herberg calls it, the "triple melting pot."

The "American Religion"

This underlying "faith," he says, can be summed up in the term "democracy," with its specific American connotations. On the political side, he says, this faith is based on the Constitution; economically, on "free enterprise"; socially, on "equalitarianism"; spiritually, on a peculiar American "idealism." "It will not escape the reader," Herberg goes on, "that this account is essentially an idealized description of the middle class ethos. And, indeed, that is just what it is. The American Way of Life is the middle class way, just as the American people in their outlook and feeling are a middle class people."

Essential to this middle class way, says Herberg, is "the conception of the three 'communions' — Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism—as three diverse, but equally legitimate, equally American religions, standing for essentially the same 'moral ideals' and 'spiritual values.'" At the same time, Herberg notes, as is indeed widely recognized, that religion in this country is becoming increasingly secular. Non-religious values predominate in actual living

¹ *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: an Essay in American Religious Sociology*, by Will Herberg. Doubleday, New York, 1955. 320 pages. \$4.00.

while religious belief and values are hardly observed beyond words. But Herberg explains that he is not in this book concerned with religion as such only with it as a sociological phenomenon, with its bearing on the social life of the country.

Growth of Religious Affiliation

Religion has of course been affected by the profound changes in the economy, structure and modes of thinking that have affected American society since World War II. Figures indicate that religious affiliation is now at the highest point in American history. A survey conducted in 1952 showed that about 70-75 per cent of the American people regard themselves as members of some church; 20 to 25 per cent regard themselves as adherents of some church community without being conscious members of some church, and *only five per cent consider themselves as being outside of religion.*

In the same year, 68 per cent of Americans were Protestants, 23 per cent Catholics, and four per cent Jews, leaving five per cent without religious preference. The growth in religious affiliation is striking. From 1926 to 1950 the population grew 28.6 per cent while church membership grew 59.8 per cent. During this period religious affiliation of Protestants increased by 63.7 per cent, of Catholics by 53.9 per cent, and of Jews by 22.5 per cent. Growth has been especially rapid in the post-war decade. For instance, in 1950, 57 per cent of all Americans were church members. Three years later, in 1953, this figure had increased by 2.5 per cent. This change is one result of a quarter century in which the main experiences of millions of Americans were with the economic

crisis of 1929-1939, with World War II and the post-war insecurities symbolized by nuclear bombs.

Jewish religious institutions partook of this growth. In the beginning of the 1940's there were about 200 Conservative synagogues and 300 Reform synagogues. Today, there are about 500 of each. Children receiving Jewish education increased over 70 per cent from 1946 to 1954 and the figure is still climbing.

The Second Generation

This growth of religious affiliation in the post-war period is closely connected to changes in the status and thinking of immigrant groups and their descendants. In a sense Herberg's book sums up a large body of sociological literature that has grown up in the post-war period around this problem of "acculturation."

Herberg analyzes the "acculturation" of the several generations of immigrants of the past half century and more. The second generation, Herberg points out, lived in two worlds, the limited "ethnic" community of their parents and the wider American community in which they received their education and made their living. Until the post-war period the second generation tended to reject the mode of life and religion of their parents as obstacles to identification and acceptance as Americans. "Mostly," says Herberg, "the second generation did not identify itself with the ethnic group of the parent. Some, indeed increasingly many, were anxious to rid themselves of the burden of immigrant foreignness and enter what they felt to be the mainstream of American life so as to take full advantage of the extraordinary mobility of American society." The second generation looked toward con-

formity with an "idealized 'Anglo-Saxon' model."

By the post-war period, however, many in the second generation had climbed into the middle class. Among the Jews the need for ethnic identification was felt increasingly. Hitlerism and the birth of Israel aroused Jewish national feeling throughout the Jewish community. In addition, the second generation of all ethnic groups found that acceptance for themselves and their children in the general community and especially in the suburbs, where so many had moved, required some religious identification. For, says Herberg, ethnic identification without a religious center signifies *incomplete* "Americanization." "The only kind of separateness or diversity that America recognizes as permanent and yet also involving no status of inferiority," he says, "is the diversity or separateness of religious community." According to Herberg, this goes far to account for the return to religion on the part of the second generation and their children. As members or aspiring members of the middle class, acceptability in the middle class required church identification.

Herberg briefly—too briefly, it seems to us—goes into the social and economic causes of the return to religion. He sees the post-war trend to conformity, the "contemporary crisis of Western civilization," the H-bomb, the "demonic threat of Communist totalitarianism," the prospect of a "hundred years of Cold War" and the desire to "escape" from the crisis of civilization as causes of the return to religion. But he asserts, without further comment because it is outside the scope of his book, that "religion . . . in the end escapes all explanatory attitudes."

In Herberg's view the pressures for conformity do not alone explain this "return" to religion. He is quite aware

that this religious trend has large elements of secularism, "Yet it is only too evident," he writes, "that the religiousness characteristic of America today is very often a religiousness without religion, a religiousness with almost any kind of content or none." Herberg himself personally has undergone conversion from being a secular Jew to a Judaistic theology. Despite his disquiet at the conformist motives for the growth of "religiousness," he hints in the book at his belief that the current religious trend has a saving element of genuine religion.

We have thus far set forth aspects of Herberg's thesis. What about its validity?

Is Judaism "Equal"?

Most of the book is descriptive and crammed with facts about the past and present of ethnic groups, particularly in their religious aspects. It seems to me that the *tendency toward* the "triple melting pot," *toward* equal status of the three main religions, does exist among the *white* population. But Herberg only suggests now and then areas of incomplete realization and in fact gives the impression that this tendency is farther along toward completeness than in fact it is. His brief discussion of "tensions" between the three religions (pp. 247-253) does not give adequate weight to the obstacles to the working out of this tendency.

With respect to the Jews, for instance, the impact of anti-Semitism and discrimination leaves no room for the complacency with which Herberg unveils his thesis. In American life as actually lived the Jews are not fully equal in many areas where there persists an underlying economic and social anti-Semitism and discrimination,

(Continued on page 43)



ISRAEL

538 students were awarded degrees at the Hebrew University graduation exercises in Jerusalem, April 29. There were 180 Bachelors of Arts, Science and Education, 256 Masters' degrees (including 115 in Law), 51 M.D.'s and 51 Ph.D.'s. Two degrees were awarded to Arab students; 160 to women. (*Jewish Agency Digest*, May 9.)

Hebrew and Yiddish poetry from Israel is included in an anthology of Asian poetry recently published in the Soviet Union in a volume of 912 pages. Other countries represented are Afghanistan, Burma, Viet-Nam, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, China, Korea, Lebanon, Malaya, Mongolia, Pakistan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, Philippines and Japan. . . . Soviet Ambassador to Israel Alexander Abramov presented Israeli President Ben Zvi with a gift of photostatic copies of ancient Hebrew books and manuscripts found in the library in Tiflis, Georgia, where a Jewish community has been dwelling for centuries. . . . When the Moscow Youth Festival opens July 28, it is expected that among the delegations there will be about 250 from Israel. At the Festival Art Exhibition, about 20 Israeli painters and sculptors will be represented. The Israeli delegations will be in three sections: Communist, Mapam, and Ahdut Avodah. An Arab dancing group is included.

On May 5 four vessels landed 2,600 immigrants in Haifa (400 of them from Egypt), the largest number to arrive in one day since 1951.

The corner-stone of the Reuben Brainin Children's Clinic was laid on the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa, where it will serve Arab and Jewish children when it is completed. At the ceremony, Ephraim and Pearl Rosenberg represented the United States committee of progressive Jews that have raised \$5,000 of the \$25,000 goal.

200,000 dwellings have been built in Israel since 1948, about half of the total now existing. Nevertheless about 4,000 families still live in temporary tin or canvas huts, 18,000 families are in semi-permanent wooden houses and 3,000 families are transitionally located in former British army barracks. (*N. Y. Times*, June 2.)

Israel's merchant fleet has grown since 1948 from four tiny old ships to three large passenger liners, 24 cargo carriers (including four oil-tankers) and two passenger-cargo vessels. These ships are manned by 2,000 persons, 1,913 of whom are Israelis. A new Israel Nautical College has been opened to train personnel; 190 students of 14-15 years old are embarked on a five-year course of academic and maritime training. (*N. Y. Times*, June 2.)

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"Anna Christie," by Eugene O'Neill, is being performed by the Habimah Theater and *Yerma* by Federico Garcia Lorca, by the Chamber Theater; both were translated by Rafael Eliaz. . . . Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, translated by Natan Alterman, is running at the Ohel Workers' Theater. . . . Shaw's *Don Juan in Hell*, translated by Avraham Shlonsky, is also being played by the Chamber Theater.

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Telephones have risen in number from 18,286 in 1948 to 71,582 at the end of 1956, while the number of agricultural settlements with telephone connections has increased from 142 to 602.

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Israel trade with Ghana began May 1 with a shipment of 1,000 tons of cement and a small number of other items.

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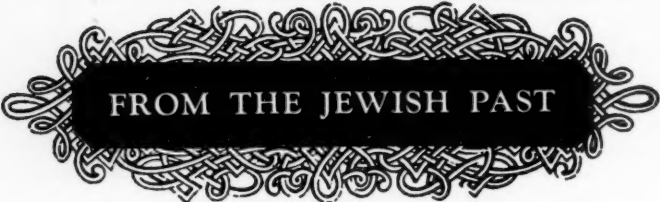
About 14,000 Arab workers, who with their families number about 70,000 persons, are now members of Histadrut, the Labor Federation. (In Histadrut, the entire family is counted as a member.) . . . On May 1, an Arab Workers Club was opened in Jaffa. (*Jewish Agency Digest*, May 9.)

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Israel is among the 30 countries represented at the International Trade Fair in Poznan, Poland, from June 9 to 23. India and Morocco are the only other two Asian-African states participating.

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The industrial accident rate for Israel is one of the highest in the world, according to a spokesman for Haifa Technion, who reported that 24,000 persons were injured in industrial accidents last year. The rate is twice as high as that in England. To help meet the problem, Technion is cooperating with the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Hygiene in running special courses in safety engineering. (Chicago *Sentinel*, May 16.) M. U. S.



FROM THE JEWISH PAST

The Dedicated Life of Eliezer Zuckerman

By **PROF. S. EISENSHTADT**

ELIEZER Zuckerman's path to the working class and socialism was unique and tragic. He was born in Mohilev on the Dnieper in old Russia, a city famous for its shrewd and worldly merchants. In the 1860's they occupied an honored place in the lumber and wheat trade, in the building of railroads and the provisioning of the army. However, Mohilev was no less famous for its scholars and Maskilim [Enlighteners], the first challengers of the old Orthodox way of life.

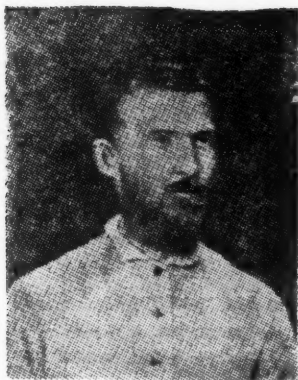
Also in Mohilev were homes where business acumen and wealth were to be found side by side with Torah and Haskalah [Enlightenment]. Such a man of wealth and secular education was Shmarya Zuckerman, Eliezer's uncle. Surrounded by abundance and luxury, living in a "palace" lavishly fur-

nished not only with furniture but with books and paintings, Shmarya Zuckerman remained actively interested in the affairs of society. His house was always a center of study, Haskalah and communal affairs.

Eliezer Zuckerman was a child of this environment. He was born in 1852 into the family of Shmarya Zuckerman's brother Joseph, a man of narrow mind and fanatic hostility to the Haskalah movement. The young Eliezer was a traditional scholar, but while he studied the sacred books he secretly read Haskalah literature. At an early age he began to look critically at the religious way of life. He wrote Hebrew and Yiddish poems, some of them satirical, in which he sharply criticized the fanaticism, prejudice and narrowness of the Orthodox circles, his father and his teacher.

PROFESSOR S. EISENSHTADT is a noted Israeli scholar. He is an outstanding figure in the Israel peace movement.

At that time a man named Pinchas Axelrod came to study at the Mohilev gymnasia. Axelrod later emerged



Eliezer Zuckerman

as a competent theoretician of scientific socialism, of Marxism. Under his influence the first socialist student circle was formed which included many who later became socialist leaders. Eliezer Zuckerman also joined this circle and applied himself with great zeal to the study of socialist thought.

Eliezer soon felt cramped in Mohilev and even more so in his own home. His desire for the world's knowledge and for a life of benefit to society grew intensely. With no less intensity grew the heresy-hunting and repressiveness of his fanatical father who tried, often by physical force, to lock Eliezer up in the four walls of his home and the House of Study.

Eliezer's home thus became a prison for his thoughts and his strivings. With the help of his friends he tried to free himself. He actually set out for Zhitomir, where he hoped

to complete his general education in the Jewish Teachers Seminary. But his family discovered the "plot" and forcibly brought him back home. This embittered him even more and he tore savagely at the last threads binding him to his family.

In the meantime all his friends had left Mohilev for the larger cities in Russia and Western Europe. This was the last straw.

He ran away from home again and this time he reached St. Petersburg. In order to support himself and be of service to the socialist movement, he learned typesetting—Russian, Hebrew and Yiddish. Armed with this skill, he went ahead on his hard road. He crossed the Russian border and went to work in Vienna for Peretz Smolenskin's paper "*Hashachar*." In the 1870's he went to Berlin, where the Jewish revolutionaries from Vienna, Keyno and Mohilev were concentrated.

In 1876 Eliezer began a correspondence with Aaron Shmuel Lieberman, who was then in London. Lieberman acquainted him with his lifelong idea of issuing the first Hebrew Socialist periodical, which he had wanted to call *The Hammer*. Zuckerman was enthusiastic about this idea. When Lieberman left London later that year, he came to Vienna to begin publication of the Hebrew Socialist journal, *The Truth*. Zuckerman joined the venture.

Zuckerman had his poems and stories published in this journal as

he earned a meager and precarious livelihood setting type in the printshop that put out the magazine. The three issues of *The Truth* were all set by his hand.

In January 1878 we find Zuckerman in Geneva, where he worked as a typesetter on the Russian anarchist paper, *Community*. At that time he organized the "Group of Jewish Socialists" and established connections with M. Dranomonov, leader of the Ukrainian socialists, who was then in Geneva as a political refugee.

Living among Russian political emigres in Geneva, his modest but productive work began to develop and afforded him much spiritual satisfaction. Here he also found it possible to continue his education. But his devotion and self-sacrificing loyalty to the socialist ideal kept tugging at him to go back home, where he would be most useful. Russia continued to draw him like a magnet, even though a life of hard struggle and political danger awaited him there.

The opportunity came. In 1879 the revolutionary leaders Vladimir Yokelson and Nikolai Morozov set up a secret printing shop in St. Petersburg, where they printed the revolutionary paper *People's Will*. Who could carry out the sacred and dangerous assignment as an illegal typesetter better than Zuckerman?

He responded immediately to the call, crossed the border illegally and

went to St. Petersburg. But in a very short time the police uncovered the printshop and on January 18, 1880 they raided it. The printers put up an armed fight and among those arrested was Eliezer Zuckerman. For seven months he was tortured in the Petropavlovsk jail and then was exiled to hard labor in Siberia.

He could not endure the long, oppressive imprisonment. In the summer of 1887 he took his life, going to his death with a deep hatred for tsarism and a faith in a new world of brotherhood and freedom.

GIANTISM IN BUSINESS

(Continued from page 11)

ployees, as part of their basic code of conduct, to avoid taking an interest in "controversial" questions.

And there is some evidence that many college students who aspire to work for these corporations are taking this advice in advance. Some members of some faculties in some colleges and universities have suggested this attitude as the correct one for those who want to "get on" in the great bureaucracies which have grown up in the corporate world. . . .

I think the problems posed by Big Business, by the Economic Giants in our country, and by the growing concentration of economic power in a few hands, must be frankly confronted and resolved. . . .

The "Soviet Encyclopedia" Article on "Jews": I

An analysis of the article raises
questions about its accuracy

By M. MIRSKI

AFTER the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the Soviet press published sharp criticisms of various articles in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*. They dealt mainly with false presentations of historical facts and problems. And it is understandable that the *Encyclopedia* could not have been exempt from the consequences of the "cult of the individual."

Here I want to discuss a section in the *Encyclopedia* which in my opinion deserves a critical analysis. I am referring to the article "Yevrei" (Jews), in Vol. 15, which appeared in 1952.

One is immediately struck by the brevity of the article. Together with information about the Jewish Autonomous Region (Biro-Bidjan), it takes up eight columns, of which four deal with Biro-Bidjan. Of the four columns on Biro-Bidjan, the geographical and economic description takes up more than three columns. The only thing we are told about the Jews in Biro-Bidjan is that "in the region live Jews,

Russians and Ukrainians," that in the library named after Sholem Aleichem there are 80,000 volumes and that two newspapers are published, one in Russian and one in Yiddish. Subtracting these four columns on Biro-Bidjan, only four remain on the Jews in the rest of the Soviet Union. If we compare these four columns to the 160 columns devoted to the subject of Jews in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* published in 1932 (Vol. 24), it becomes clear to every reader that the reduction of the information to one-fortieth in the 1952 edition reveals a certain attitude of the editors. The 1952 article cannot pretend to give exhaustive, encyclopedic data on this subject.

No Bibliography, No Authors

It is characteristic that the editors of this four-column article did not even find it necessary to include a bibliography. The authors and editors were apparently of the opinion that the Soviet reader can get along without bibliographical data about Jews. They (the Jews) do not deserve the attention which the Nenets people (Samoyeds), nomads of the Far North (for whom the Soviet government established a stable way of life and national culture), were given

M. MIRSKI is a prominent Jewish leader and writer in present-day Poland. The above article originally appeared in the *Warsaw Folks-Shtimme* and is here translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld.

in the *Encyclopedia*. The data about the Samoyeds contains a bibliography, and rightly so.

Another fact is worth noting: nowhere are the names of the authors of the articles given. The 1932 edition, however, notes not only the name of the editor, S. Dimanshtein,¹ but also the writers who worked on various aspects of the material.

How is this fact to be explained? I do not wish to enter into an analysis of the subjective intent of the editors of this article or of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopedia* as a whole. In order to get an answer to this question, in order to explain this phenomenon, one needs only to discover the connection between the methodology used and the political and moral atmosphere in which the articles were written and edited.

I call the attention of the reader to the fact that the article on "Jews" appeared in 1952. This year was especially marked by the intensification of Beria's activities both in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies. That was the year of the political trial of the Moscow doctors, most of whom were Jews. In that year the flower of Soviet Yiddish culture was executed. (The arrests took place in 1948.) That was the year in which Beria arranged the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia. And this was the year in which Volume 15 of the *Soviet Encyclopedia* containing the article on "Jews" was published. This objective relationship makes it possible to explain the meagerness of the information, the approach to it, and its peculiar methodology.

On page 357 of Volume 15 we find the following: "In their overwhelming majority, the Jews speak the lan-

¹Dimanshtein was the leader of the Jewish Section (Yevsektzia) of the Soviet Communist Party who disappeared from the scene after 1957.
—Eds.



M. Mirski

guage of the nations among whom they live. At the same time, in their everyday life, a number of the Jews (in the countries of Central Europe and those who stem from those countries) speak Yiddish. The roots of Yiddish are in one of the Middle German dialects. Yiddish is spoken by Polish, German and some British and American Jews. In the past, the Jews of Russia spoke Yiddish." Upon reading this article, a simple question arises: on what scientific basis, with what scientific methods did the authors and editors of this article arrive at these conclusions?

Which Jews Speak Yiddish?

It is really plain ignorance to say that the German Jews speak Yiddish. Today there are very few Jews in Germany. Before the war there were about half a million Jews in Germany. But one does not have to be an "encyclopedia" to know that both before and after the war the German Jews did *not* speak Yiddish. German Jews spoke and speak German, regardless

of their social position. It would be interesting to know from what sources the editors of the *Encyclopedia* drew their material. They may deem it permissible to omit bibliographical data, but this does not mean that the reader has surrendered *his* right to request it. The reader requires scientific evidence for every stated thesis.

In regard to the second point, that Jews in Russia spoke Yiddish "*in the past*," we ask the same question: on what scientific basis, by what scientific methods did the authors and editors reach this conclusion? Were any investigations made? Was a census taken? What were the objective criteria used in this census? Whence comes the conclusion that Jews in Russia spoke Yiddish: "once upon a time," in the past? (Since the authors do not mention the Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania, Latvia or Moldavia, the term "Russia" must be understood as tsarist Russia.) And today? What language do they speak *today*?

There can be no doubt that many Jews in the Soviet Union speak Russian, especially the younger generation. But to conclude that the Jews of Russia spoke Yiddish only in the past, does not correspond to reality.

Yiddish "only in the past"?

Let the authors and editors of the *Encyclopedia* go to the Jewish masses (not merely to a few score Jewish homes) in Kiev, Minsk, Odessa, Chelyabinsk, Riga, Vilna, Kishinev, Czernowitz. Let them walk through the Krestchatik Square in Kiev, or on whatever street they wish in Vilna, Minsk, Odessa, Lemberg, where Jews live in compact masses and let them listen to the Jews speak today, in 1957. Will they then be able to maintain their position that Jews in Russia spoke Yiddish *only in the past*? Let them go

to a concert of Yiddish song and poetry, no matter where it is held. Will they maintain their thesis?

Certainly we know that more than 20 years have passed since the Yiddish schools in the Soviet Union were disbanded. Almost ten years have passed since the newspaper *Einigkeit* and the Yiddish theater in Moscow and the Yiddish publishing houses were liquidated. We know that by an administrative act the development of Soviet Yiddish culture and literature was cut off, the development of the Yiddish language impeded. We know all this quite well and it is all true. I believe, however, that the authors and editors of the article are certainly acquainted with the Marxist position on the stubborn persistence of languages for generations. Why did they not, in their scientific practice, reckon with this position?

Jewish National Soviets

I have said that the editors should get down to realities and check their thesis with life. But there are other criteria, historical criteria. I will cite various statistics which, if not directly, at least indirectly, throw light on this matter.

In the latter 1920's, the Soviet government put into life the Leninist policy of national equality for the Jewish population. It set up separate Jewish nationality soviets in areas where Jews were a majority of the population. The growth of these Jewish nationality soviets in the Ukraine and White Russia is seen in the following figures (cited from the 1932 edition of the *Encyclopedia*):

In White Russia the Jewish nationality soviets increased as follows: 1924—7; 1925—11; 1926—18; 1927—22; 1931—27.

JEWISH SOVIETS IN THE UKRAINE

	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
<i>Village</i>	19	34	56	77	94	94
<i>Town</i>	19	52	69	69	66	66

These figures show that in the Ukraine and White Russia the process of establishing nationality regions for the Jewish population, of building Jewish nationality soviets, continued until the 1930's. In the Ukraine the number of Jewish nationality soviets increased by 421 per cent from 1925 to 1930; in White Russia, 385 per cent from 1924 to 1931. (In addition to the Jewish nationality soviets there were also soviets of mixed nationalities.) Their number grew constantly. It should be noted that the separate Jewish nationality soviets were established according to *language*. In these soviets the administration was conducted exclusively in Yiddish. In the mixed soviets the administration took place in Yiddish and one of the languages of the local population. Beside the rural and urban Jewish nationality soviets there were in the Ukraine several Jewish nationality regions, where the Jewish population had lived since tsarist times and worked the land (Kherson, Dnepropetrovsk, Crimea).

Growth of Yiddish Word

The Leninist policy of granting equal nationality rights for the Jewish population found expression in various forms. Thus, for instance, throughout the Ukraine and White Russia there was a network of Jewish nationality courts, where the proceedings were in Yiddish. This was done not only for utilitarian purposes; it was basically an expression of the higher level of Soviet democracy. Figures for the development of the Jewish na-

tionality courts from 1928 to 1930 were as follows:

	<i>Ukraine</i>	<i>White Russia</i>
1928	36	6
1929	39	6
1930	46	6

In 1926-7, 70 per cent of the Jewish children of school age attended Soviet schools. Of these, 51.1 per cent used Yiddish in the elementary schools and 48.9 per cent in the schools generally. With the introduction of compulsory education the number of Jewish children in the Jewish schools rose. In White Russia and the Ukraine the Jewish schools included 55-58 per cent of the children of school age.

The picture was the same in the publishing field. In 1923 there were 11 printing houses which issued 266 titles in 155,100 copies. In 1927 there were 298 printing houses which published 1,027 titles in 1,136,200 copies. The Yiddish press consisted of three daily newspapers: *Emes* (Truth) in Moscow, *Öctober* in Minsk, *Der Shtern* (The Star) in Kharkov. There were also a number of monthly journals of art and literature, local newspapers and magazines in Odessa, Kiev, Berdychev and other places. Also, there were institutes for Jewish culture in the scientific academies of the Ukraine and White Russia. There was a Jewish Scientific Society in Moscow. There were 16 Jewish theaters throughout the country.

The rise, development and growth of Jewish nationality institutions were the expression of the higher level of Soviet democracy. The principle of Soviet democracy consists not only in the complete civic equality of Soviet citizens as individuals, but in their

(Continued on page 38)

The Color Line in Israel

Several recent articles reveal the facts
about the status of colored Jews

MANY American Jews and their organizations are seriously engaged in the good fight to rid the United States of discrimination and racism. It may come as a shock to them to learn that discrimination against the darker-skinned Jews is also a problem in Israel.

The "irritating social blemish" of discrimination is discussed in two recent articles: "Does Israel Have a Color Line?" by Joseph Fried, in the January-February 1957 issue of *Orthodox Jewish Life*; and "Is There Discrimination in Israel?" by the Zionist writer Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman, in the April 1957 issue of *The Alliance Review*.

Both articles describe discrimination as a widespread evil in Israel, despite efforts to halt its corrosive influence. Mr. Fried writes, "Plainly and simply, Israel is faced with a color problem which, if left unchecked, threatens to split her populace right down the middle. On the one side are the Ashkenazim, Jews of European and otherwise non-Sephardi backgrounds. On the other, a vast assortment of Jews from the East classified under the general heading of Orientals, and including not only Yemenites, Moroccans and Kurds, but also Israel's sizable Sephardi population. . . . A considerable segment of Israel's 'white' population is engaged in subtle and sometimes open bias against the nation's 'blacks.'"

Dr. Schechtman feels that the "process of integration . . . is promising and encouraging" but that "there is still a tremendous and frightening amount of inequality and tension between the Ashkenazi and Oriental components of Israel's population."

All too close to the situation of the American Negro is the description of the plight of the Oriental Jew in Israel (since both articles use the term "Oriental," we do so to maintain consistency), as drawn by Mr. Fried: "Sometimes earning only half the salary paid to skilled Ashkenazim engaged in the professions and high-paying cooperatives, almost always living in half the space enjoyed by 'whites,' the Oriental Jew of Israel feels shunned and side-stepped."

Dr. Schechtman defines the non-Ashkenazi community as "some 42 per cent of the population, and an absolute majority (53 per cent) of the children and young people up to 17 years of age." The Oriental Jew, "though comprising more than half of the country's population," has scant representation in the Knesset. Only eight out of the 120 Knesset members are Oriental Jews; and "within the coalition government, only Police Minister Behor Shitreet is of Oriental origin." The powerful Histadrut's executive council has 91 members, 83 of whom are Ashkenazim.

Stating that "figures don't tell the

whole story," Mr. Fried blames the "lopsided division of leadership" on the "fact that a large bulk of Israel's Oriental Jews are insufficiently socially advanced to share the reins of command." Dr. Schechtman has a deeper view of the cause: "The basic mistake of the Ashkenazi group lies in its failure to encourage the rise of constructive Oriental leadership. This has led to a lack of initiative, active social participation, or civic awareness in the Oriental communities."

Mr. Fried feels that "education is . . . obviously a key to the dilemma of evolving a more united, composite Israel." What's the picture? "Less than 10 per cent of the total enrollment in the country's secondary schools consists of Oriental Jewish youth." Moreover—"Unhappily, nowhere is a veiled bias more evident—or more significant—than in the nation's public elementary schools." Instead of promoting brotherhood, "what is tantamount to almost segregation on a level vaguely reminiscent of that in the American South is to be found too often," despite the fact that "there is no deliberate policy of school segregation practiced by the authorities."

Mr. Fried points to a "system of zoning . . . which has brought in its wake classrooms composed of one ethnic group or another" (shades of the zoning situation in New York and other cities).

Dr. Schechtman's article shows that of "Tel Aviv's 28 elementary schools, 14 are *de facto* segregated. . . . Even worse is the situation in Jerusalem, where there is in force an unspoken 'gentlemen's agreement' under which each group 'knows its place' and 'its school.' . . . On the high school level, the chances of intermingling are almost non-existent because the number of Oriental students is insignificant.

Though the Oriental community constitutes 42 per cent of Israel's population, only 5 per cent of the students in the secondary schools are Orientals. The high tuition fee bars Oriental newcomers in favor of those who are long established and have regular incomes." Dr. Schechtman considers the "token sum" of 145,000 Israel pounds granted by the government for yearly stipends to Oriental youth as "manifestly inadequate."

Pointing to the fact that the "ratio of promotion among Oriental pupils in the elementary schools is disappointingly low," Dr. Schechtman quotes an observer who ascribes this to a curriculum which "'was compiled 30 years ago by Ashkenazi teachers and was adapted to the abilities and characteristics of the Ashkenazi child. . . . No wonder that the Oriental child fails in such a school.'"

Both articles give the Israeli army credit for being an important force for integration in the country. Mr. Fried asserts that "no other single agency in Israel life has worked so hard or derived such success in overcoming bias and spurring integration as the Israel military. Better than any other institution it sidesteps any suggestion of segregation. . . . The close comradeship which has emerged between Oriental and Ashkenazi youth as a result of army training is a striking example of the inherent advantages to be found in close quarter relationships between youth of both groups."

But, writes Dr. Schechtman, even in the army the record is checkered. He quotes the study of Abraham Shumsky (*The Clash of Cultures in Israel*) and shows that "in the army where the officer corps is overwhelmingly Ashkenazi and which is based on strictest hierarchy, subordination, emphasis on status symbols, and privileges for the

higher ranks, an Oriental private is confronted with an even more pronounced manifestation of Ashkenazi predominance."

The Histadrut is another vitally important area of Israel life where the problem of integration must be tackled more seriously, Dr. Schechtman warns. According to a study made by Professor Alfred Bonne, Israeli sociologist, the Oriental workers don't identify themselves with the Histadrut, even though they belong, because the Histadrut made "no attempt to exploit the trade union framework for the assistance and personal guidance of new immigrants in order to facilitate their social adaptation."

Mr. Fried warns that to ignore the ugly manifestations of racism and discrimination "could leave a perilously deep scar on the face of Israel." If there is such a situation of discrimination against dark-skinned Jews in Israel, can there be any doubt, one may well ask, that there is even more pervasive discrimination against Israeli Arabs?

Both articles call for the cooperation of all Israel bodies and institutions to extend a "brotherly hand of equal respect" to the non-Ashkenazi Jews. They indicate that Israel will be infected with a serious illness as long as inequality and discrimination exist.

André Blumel Reports After Moscow Visit

ANDRE BLUMEL, prominent French lawyer and president of the French Zionist Federation, recently returned from a visit to Moscow. At a press conference in Paris late in May, Blumel said that he had conversations with Mr. Zaitsev, head of the department on the Middle East of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, and with Soviet party leaders M. Mitin and Prof. Amentchenko. They emphasized that the Soviet Union regarded peace between Israel and the Arab states as an urgent necessity. They branded as false and ludicrous the idea that the Soviet Union wants tension in the Middle East. On the contrary, they pointed out that the USSR was interested in peace in the area since the Middle East borders on the Soviet Union. The Soviet leaders asked Blumel why Israel did not follow a similar neutralist policy like Austria and Finland, which would serve Israel well. Blumel told the press that he wished that the great powers would withdraw from the Middle East altogether.

On Jewish culture in the USSR, Blumel was told by Mitin and Prof. Amentchenko that a Jewish theater troupe was touring Soviet cities and that publication of books in Yiddish was "in process." They told him that in a compact Jewish area in the Ukraine an offer to set up Jewish schools was rejected by the Jewish parents themselves. But if the Jews wanted schools, the Soviet leaders said, schools would be forthcoming. Blumel expressed the conviction that there were many Jews in the Soviet Union who did want Jewish schools. Many Jews who spoke to Blumel told him how much they owed to the Soviet regime. One rabbi said: "Under tsarism I experienced 11 pogroms; under the present regime, none."

A New Victim of Taft-Hartley

A life sketch of one target of a
new "conspiracy" gimmick

By ABE STRAUSS

Cleveland
INDICTMENTS that "have no precedent anywhere in the country," as the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* said of them, were handed down by a federal grand jury on Jan. 23. They charged eight labor and political leaders of conspiracy to violate the non-communist affidavit section of the Taft-Hartley law.

Only two of the eight were labor officials who had signed non-communist affidavits—Fred and Marie Haug, husband and wife. These two were accused of falsely swearing to the affidavits in 1950 and 1952, affirming that they were "neither members of nor affiliated with" the Communist Party. The other six were former Ohio Communist Party officials accused of "conspiring" with the Haugs to violate Section 9h of the Taft-Hartley act, dealing with non-communist affidavits. The six: Hyman Lumer, Edward Chaka and Eric Reinthaler of Cleveland; James West and Sam Reed, now of Chicago, and Andrew Remes now of New York.

These indictments are unprecedented because for the first time ever the Justice Department has caused a grand jury to indict individuals who *never signed an affidavit* on charges of "conspiring" to violate this section of the act. Thus the "conspiracy" gimmick is again used, this time to cast the anti-democratic net of the Taft-

Hartley act farther. And the farther the net is cast, the greater the danger to the civil liberties of all. Sober conservative trade union leaders and democratic public opinion recognize these indictments as such and see in them an attempt to intimidate militant unionism.

Apparently the indictments startled even local Justice Department officials. A federal judge allowed the defendants bail for a time on their own recognizance, which is almost unprecedented in such cases. The later prosecution request for \$10,000 bail was cut in half by the judge and prominent local criminal lawyers were eager to accept the case.

One of the defendants, Hyman Lumer, is a well-known intellectual in the city and is even known beyond its borders for his work as biologist and economist. Born in Brooklyn in 1909, he moved with his family to Cleveland in 1917. For many years they lived in the heart of the old Jewish community in the East 55 Street-Woodland area. His father worked at the National Biscuit Company and his mother reared their three sons.

Hyman Lumer meantime graduated from the old Central High School, from Western Reserve University in 1930. He received his doctorate in biology in 1935 and later became professor of biology and head of the de-



Hyman Lumer

partment at Fenn College in the city. He joined several learned societies and was made a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, a mark of distinction as a scientist. He published numerous articles on biology in scientific and learned journals.

Dr. Lumer did not, however, confine his interests and activities to the academic world. In 1934 he helped organize teachers into the Teachers Union of the AFL. He was intensely active in the fight against fascism—"prematurely" against Franco and later with the whole American people against Hitler and Mussolini. In the forties his opposition to the cold war brought him to the attention of local reactionaries and certain wealthy supporters of Fenn College. One of the earliest victims of the witch-hunt, Dr. Lumer was forced to resign his pro-

fessorship at Fenn College in 1947.

For the next three years he served as educational director of District 7 of the United Electrical Workers, covering Ohio and Kentucky. He later devoted himself to writing, publishing *War Economy and Crisis* (International Publishers) in 1954. The book attracted attention among economists both here and abroad and has been translated into several foreign languages.

The persecution of Dr. Lumer did not end with the loss of his teaching position. He was arrested in 1955 for having a driver's license under another name—a traffic-court misdemeanor usually punishable by a small fine. But the case was blown up to major proportions. Bail of \$25,000 was clamped on him—later reduced. Then a vindictive Police Department tried to smear him with a "dope" charge because a bottle of pills prescribed by a doctor for treatment of ulcers was found in his possession. He was later freed by a directed acquittal.

When we interviewed Dr. Lumer recently, he told us that he had been trained in Hebrew and in Jewish history. He is deeply interested in a progressive Israel and is an uncompromising foe of racism and anti-Semitism and for the right of the Jewish people everywhere to build their culture. "To me as a Jewish American," he told us, "the magazine *JEWISH LIFE* is an important publication that deserves to be widely read and circulated."

Dr. Lumer and his fellow-defendants are fighting this new-fangled Taft-Hartley indictment. They are concerned not only for themselves. They are even more concerned over the weakening of civil liberties for all Americans that these indictments will effect, if they are not thrown out.

INSIDE THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

B'nai B'rith

While much progress has been made, anti-Semitism in the United States is a long way from being a thing of the past. This is what 1,650 delegates to the 105th annual convention of District 1 of B'nai B'rith learned from a speech by Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B.B. He said that the main sore spot of anti-Semitism did not exist in the lunatic fringe brand but in "subtle, discriminatory practices which continue to restrict opportunities for Jews in many fields." The ADL, Mr. Epstein asserted, is concerned with the problem of social discrimination in suburban life. Unchecked," he said, "it can conceivably bring about a new type of segregation marked by sycamore-laned ghettos" which "can have the effect of driving Christians and Jews even further apart. . . ." He called for community cooperation and planning that would aim to integrate all faiths into the social and communal life of suburbia.

Other reports to the District 1 convention, which represents 100,000 BB members in Northeastern U.S. and Canada, told of a sharp decline in religious and racial discrimination in college fraternities; and of a recent survey by BB of 2,731 resorts in the U.S. which showed that 22.9 percent of the hotels "clearly discriminate against Jews." The convention adopt-

ed a resolution denouncing resorts which practice discrimination and called upon all groups and organizations not to hold conventions at such resorts.

American Jewish Congress

A 52-page study, entitled "The Assault Upon Freedom of Association: A Study of the Continuing Attack on the NAACP in the South," was presented before the National Administrative Committee of AJ Congress at its meeting in May. This is the first comprehensive document on the subject. It stated that "The right of the NAACP to survive and work for its program must be defended even by those who disagree with its purposes. . . . The liberties of all Americans . . . are threatened by the widespread assault upon the existence and integrity of the NAACP."

In another study published by AJ Congress on May 27 the various aspects—historical, social and psychological—of the integration problem are discussed. The 52-page study, titled "Children, Together," also indicates the steps which may be taken to achieve equality of educational opportunity. On the question of integration in the North, the study asserts that "an effective integration program requires a two-pronged approach: first, the elimination of practices and techniques used to perpetuate segregation; and second, the improvement of the facilities and education program

of sub-standard schools." In the introduction to the study, Isaac Toubin, AJ Congress executive director, wrote: "The capacity of the white man's society to give up its arrogant and unfounded notions of racial superiority can be influenced more by the power of example and practice on the neighborhood level than by lofty declarations."

Jewish Labor Committee

President Eisenhower and the Department of Justice were called upon by the Jewish Labor Committee last April to take action against attempts by some Southern states to outlaw the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The committee declared that state laws directed against the NAACP "are capable of striking a fatal blow at some of our most cherished rights . . . constitutional rights (which) are basic to the structure of a democratic society."

At its biennial convention May 10-12 the JLC heard a recorded message from George Meany, President of AFL-CIO, condemning labor leaders who "abuse their positions of trust for self-enrichment."

Adolph Held, national chairman of JLC, called upon Senator John McClellan "to investigate the use of racial bigotry utilized by management in hiring policies" and to "look into the situation in the South where run-away shops operate with the protection of White Citizens Councils against the best interests of free labor."

Los Angeles Population Growth

A report of the Los Angeles Committee for Human Relations indicates that the population growth of that city since 1950 has been contributed mainly by "minority groups." One

third of the increase is represented by Negroes. The report states that from the population of 218 thousand the Negro growth was 33 thousand, the growth of "Orientals" (Japanese, Chinese) ten thousand, Mexicans 23 thousand, and around 15 thousand Jews. The population of L. A. has reached 2,187,000. The report also states that less than one-and-a-half percent of newly-built houses are rented to Negroes, Mexicans or "Orientals"; and that in only three of the 80 elementary schools are there any Negro teachers.

Amer. Jewish League for Israel

On May 18 some of the controversy churning in the Zionist movement in U.S. exploded in the form of the establishment of a new Zionist organization—named the American Jewish League for Israel. Inspirers of the move were the well-known Zionist leaders, Louis Lipsky and Judge Louis E. Levinthal, who became honorary presidents of the new organization. Critical of the Zionist Organization of America for its allegiance to the General Zionist Party of Israel, and for interfering in the internal affairs of the Jewish state, the new League claims it will be non-partisan and will enroll not only Zionists but Jews who want to do something for Israel on a non-partisan basis. The ZOA rushed to the ramparts immediately after the organization of the League, denounced the new organization as a splinter group, denied that the ZOA is affiliated with any party in Israel, and declared it "does not and will not intervene in the internal political affairs of Israel." Meanwhile the controversy around the new organization served to highlight the fact that a serious crisis exists in the Zionist movement.

S. P.

"SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA"

(Continued from page 31)

national equality, which guarantees economic progress and establishes with government financing a full national life, the development of the progressive elements of the national culture of every national minority and national group. Such a principle and such practice could not be claimed by any bourgeois government, even the most advanced.

Unfortunately we have no data to show the process of Soviet Jewish cultural development in the first half of the 1930's. But even the meager information concerning the latter 1920's and the early 1930's gives evidence of the steady increase and growth of the national Jewish institutions in the Soviet Union. The evidence shows an upward tendency.

Knowledge of Yiddish Today

In the light of this information, what are we to make of the claim of the editors of the *Encyclopedia* that Jews in Russia spoke Yiddish "in the past"? This claim is baseless.

The authors and editors can argue: but your statistics cover the early 1930's. Since then a generation of Jews has grown up who never went to a Yiddish school or read a Yiddish book, who have become assimilated with the surrounding non-Jewish population.

No one denies that in the Soviet Union a generation of Jews has grown up who never went to a Yiddish school and who do not know Yiddish, who never participated in what we call Soviet-Jewish cultural and community

life, who have become linguistically assimilated. This is true. But this truth is only a part of the picture and not the whole. The whole picture is quite different. This generation of Jews began to emerge in the mid-thirties. Until that time there had been a Jewish national cultural life and half the Jewish children of school age not only spoke Yiddish at home, but had studied the language in school and received their education in that language.

In addition, there are still two generations of Jews living of which one was born at the beginning of the 20th century and the other during the first world war and the years of the revolution. These two generations of Jews, which comprise more than half of the Jewish population, were brought up in Yiddish. Yiddish was their mother-tongue, their everyday speech and particularly the language of study in school. These were mostly Jews in the small towns. That is what the whole picture looks like. That is the *actual* situation. Then how can one advance a thesis that Jews in Russia spoke Yiddish "in the past"? This thesis is scientifically unfounded.

Yiddish Given Up "Voluntarily"?

Here and there, opinions are being spread that Jews in the Soviet Union *voluntarily* gave up the use of Yiddish, rejected their Soviet-Jewish culture, did not want it and don't want it now. Naturally, this opinion is offered without any evidence, and is not based on any scientific data. The only "proof" is the fact that in the 30's the Yiddish schools began to close down in the Ukraine and White Russia. But is this fact really a proof of the correctness of the above-mentioned opinion?

Of course, the fact is a fact. But its one-sided interpretation today

should be considered with extreme caution. Certainly it is true that significant sections of the Jewish population in the Soviet Union voluntarily became assimilated (linguistically). I want to express my doubt, however, whether linguistic assimilation is the only reason for this phenomenon. Today, in the light of Stalin's distortions of the Leninist nationality policy, not everything can be explained by "voluntary assimilation."

One should bear in mind that the dissolution of the Yiddish school system and generally of Soviet Jewish cultural activities took place in the 30's, and we know what kind of years these were. Not only was Soviet Jewish cultural activity liquidated; this was also the time when Soviet Polish cultural activity in the Ukraine and White Russia was liquidated.

These were the years when Stalin's theory of "sharpened class-struggle" as socialism develops began to be put into practice. This was the eve of the monstrous provocation against the Communist Party of Poland which led to its dissolution. This was a period when Jewish leaders were accused of political diversion and espionage. During that time the ordinary Jewish person began to move away from the arena of Jewish cultural and social activity, where arrests were taking place for political diversion and espionage. A feeling arose among the Jewish population to stay away—the further the better—from this activity, from Jewish communal leaders, from Jewish teachers, etc.

In this way the administrative and moral pressure on the Jewish population began and the process went on with lightning speed. In a short time the Yiddish school system almost disappeared. Formally it was said that the Jewish population had voluntarily rejected the Yiddish school. Actually,

this was a voluntariness of quite dubious character in which there were elements of Russification.

That administrative pressure played its part is evident from the fact that even much later, in 1939-41, the same results could be observed in the Western Ukraine and Western White Russia, which were liberated by Soviet armies after Hitler's attack on Poland in September 1939. In these new Soviet territories a network of national schools were set up—Ukrainian, White Russian, Yiddish, Polish, Lithuanian. During the nearly two years preceding Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, a widespread system of Yiddish elementary and higher schools quickly grew. Soviet Jewish culture in these areas experienced a renaissance. But already in 1940-41 attempts at administrative pressure on the Jewish population could be felt here and there to change the Yiddish schools to Russian.

These are all facts which the editors and authors of the *Encyclopedia* article would have done well to know; they should have verified the accuracy of their facts before they wrote that the Jews of Russia "spoke Yiddish in the past."

(To be continued)

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letters



FROM READERS

On the May Israel Article

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Upon rereading "The Reality That Faces Israel," in the May issue of JEWISH LIFE, I should like to recommend that others do likewise and at the same time I should like to offer some criticism of same. In this day and age when things move so fast and so much is offered to the reading public, it occurred to me that too few give adequate consideration to an article deserving of special attention. . . .

While commending this article very highly, I should like to take exception to the writer's expression in some perhaps relatively minor points, which nevertheless should not be repeated in the spirit of carrying out and bringing to successful fruition peaceful negotiation. I have in mind, for example, the use of the word "demands" in the sentence referring to Israel: "She demands of the Arab states, and especially Egypt, etc., etc." The use of the word "demands" is not diplomatic, especially in view of the attack Israel launched recently with "the deepening suspicion that this attack was coordinated with the colonialist aggression by Britain and France." Of course, the use of the word "demands" in this instance, may be considered accurate from the point

of view of reportage, but care should be exercised so that the writer does not imply that he goes along with such "demands" or identifies himself with such "demands," in views of the reasons above stated.

Furthermore, this identification is uncalled for in the sentence, "She has the right to be granted free passage through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba which is necessary for her economic well-being." This is an assertion and a reader might very well ask why. In line with the thought that "Israel can contribute significantly by a change in foreign policy to neutralism," I believe the writer would do well to refrain from partisan expression in the issues involved between Israel and the Arab nations and table these for discussion in the general East-West negotiations in the interest of peaceful settlement. Stating Israel's claims or arguments may be considered permissible, providing the writer makes clear that these are points at issue, or this is what the representatives of Israel have to say, without taking upon himself the right to pass judgment, especially, one might add, in view of the limited number of pages in the magazine, that make elaboration or exploration of the justice of claims not feasible.

Miami Beach, Fla.

D. C.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The Harap article on Israel (May issue) is very good. However, I would like to point out that Senator Hubert Humphrey has developed a specific plan to implement the desire to "urge our government to initiate negotiations." As our official delegate to the UN, his strenuous efforts to secure a permanent and just settlement of the Mid-East problem deserves support.
Los Angeles

I. B.

China Publishes Jewish Stories

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We know that the Jewish people has as fine a literature as any other people, so we are planning to publish some stories, including "A Weaver's Love" (published in the "*Jewish Life*" *Anthology*) by Peretz and Sholem Aleichem in the July 1953 issue ("An Easy Fast"). We should like to hear suggestions in this connection, e.g., what other Jewish writers should be introduced to our readers, etc.
Peking, China

CHEN PING-YI
I-Wen (Foreign Literature)
Chinese Writers' Union

The Anthology in England

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In regard to your circular for the Ten-Year Anniversary volume, I purchased one of these through my usual suppliers a little while ago. It is a very creditable effort and I hope we won't have to wait another ten years for a further selection of this type.
London, England

M. D.

Inquiry from Japan

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I shall be much obliged to you if you kindly let me know any campaign by American Jews against the British Hydrogen Bomb testings at Christmas Island. I am much sorry that the powers of the world do not discontinue in both manufacturing and testing the atomic weapons.

Here, in Japan, a protest movement against it becomes much larger. A sit-down protest was advocated by fishers of Kochi prefecture, it is said. But I regret I don't hear any American voice of protest to testings. Have the American people lost their conscience? What is the real fact?

Nagoya, Japan

IWASAKI SHIGEO

On the CP Resolution

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In view of the present situation and the continuation of the crying distortion of the very fundamental principles of the national question as applied to the Jews (and probably to other peoples too) in the direction of Great Russian chauvinism, the resolution of the New York State Convention of the Communist Party [on the Jews of the Soviet Union, published in the April issue] is weak. The fact that decades ago and even in the more recent past a Leninist and humanist policy was followed is terribly painful evidence and an indictment of the tragic perpetuation of an anti-humanist and anti-Leninist policy against millions of Jews. These Jews were, in a shameful and criminal way, deprived of their deepest and most natural right to national and group cultural life.

Despite the excuses of the pious that, after all, the evils of capitalism

have been abolished in the Soviet Union, and that at the Twentieth Congress there was an admission of mistakes and sacred pledges were given that there would be a return to the principles of the October Revolution, and so forth, the sorry fact remains that of "Our Pain and Our Consolation," to quote the original *Folks-Shimme* article, there still remains chiefly the pain. The criminal distortions of socialism, of the very elementary democratic and natural rights of millions of Jews, continue as if there had never been a Twentieth Congress.

Therefore the resolution, to tell the truth, is under the circumstances better than nothing; there is lacking in it the simple truth that the problem is much more complicated than the resolution indicates.

Cleveland

A. STRAUSS

Editor's Note: Another letter to the same effect was received from T. M. of New York City.

More from Canada on Salsberg

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I was reading Mr. John Barratta's letter "On Salsberg" (May issue) when quite appropriately the TV introduced an oldie called "Saps at Sea." This title seemed to fit this diatribe and other similar ones to which readers of "progressive" magazines have been subjected since the famous revelations.

Another "gentleman," a Mr. Sam Walsh, recently elected to the National Executive of the Labor Progressive Party (of Canada) gained his fame by presenting the similar following thesis:

"The Soviet Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was dissolved along with other national Soviet similar organiza-

tions since these were not required in the post-war period." In effect, fie on Salsberg—what's all the fuss about.

This brilliant observation forgot to include that the dissolution of the Jewish Committee took a peculiar form—it was accomplished by executing the members of the committee—a mere detail to be glossed over.

Mr. J. Barratta's letter is along the same lines, viz., many nationalities and/or ethnic groups were persecuted in the USSR so why all the fuss if the Jews as well were badly treated. After all the Tatars and others were deported en masse and they have not made much of a fuss in progressive circles.

This is quite correct, with the qualification that many sections of Soviet nationalities welcomed and cooperated with the nazis. The USA and Canada are filled with thousands of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, etc., people who decided under pressure or otherwise to cast their lot with Adolph. The Jews were not permitted that odious alternative.

A scientific socialist analyzer should endeavor to pay an odd attention to such details.

It is quite apparent from observation and reading that the Khrushchevs, Furtsevas, Bulganins, etc., are no Lenins or Einsteins.

The logical goals of those who are ready to gloss over obvious odious events that occurred in the USSR are (a) to make a laughing stock of the expression "scientific socialism" and undermine the whole conception of socialist justice; and (b) to deliberately undermine the progressive forces by endeavoring to railroad through doctrines that are repulsive to any decent politically conscious person.

Montreal, Quebec

M. SEGAL

"TRIPLE MELTING POT"

(Continued from page 21)

as many recent studies have demonstrated. In the light of such facts, the presumed equality of status as between Judaism and the two Christian religions is put in doubt. So far from equality is there, that in some areas (Sands Point, Long Island, and other places in New York State) Jews have had to undergo court actions to compel approval from the local government for erection of synagogues.

"Anomaly" of the Negro Church

Extremely serious, in my view, is the fact that Herberg throughout the book talks about religion of "the American people" when in fact he is talking only about *white* America. He makes a few passing references to the religious affiliation of Negroes and has two and a half pages (pp. 127-129) on the history of Negro churches. Otherwise Herberg pays no attention to difficulties that the oppression of the Negro people makes for his theory of "the American religion" for his conception of the "American Way of Life," on which his "triple melting pot" theory is based.

He notes that "The Negro churches, entirely American to start with, still stand outside the general [church] system, just as the Negro still stands largely outside the general pattern of American life." He also notes that "the existence of the Negro church as a segregated division of American Protestantism constitutes an anomaly of considerable importance in the general sociological scheme of the 'triple melting pot' along lines of religious community."

Aside from a few such references Herberg neglects this problem in the rest of the book when he generalizes about the "American people" as a

whole. But if the Negro churches are "outside the general [church] system" and this segregation is an "anomaly of considerable importance" to Herberg's scheme, then surely this demands considerable analysis in the unfolding of his thesis and in fact must modify it. But Herberg simply does not touch the implications of segregation of the Negro church for his thesis.

While Herberg's analysis suffers, it seems to me, from a slurring over of important qualifications of his theory, the book is valuable in its presentation of data of the past and present situations of ethnic groups. The book provides raw material for further study of the changes in the American Jewish community in the past half-century and at the present time.

Miami Witch-hunt Postscript

ABOUT three years ago a flagrant abuse of the Constitution occurred in Miami, where tens of people were ruthlessly witch-hunted, as we described in our Dec. 1954 issue. Miami Judges Vincent C. Gilbin and George E. Holt were the judicial arms of the affair. Judge Gilbin had disbarred lawyer Leo Sheiner and Judge Holt had imposed one-year sentences on people for resort to the Fifth Amendment before the grand jury.

Today the score on the judges is, as revealed in *The Nation* (June 15): Holt was impeached by the Florida House of Representatives, 65-25, for bringing his court into "scandal and disrepute" in receivership cases; Gilbin was charged with "bringing his court into 'disgrace, ridicule and contempt' by referring to Judge Holt's handing" of these cases as "thievery" and Gilbin's disbarment order was reversed by the Florida Supreme Court.

SING AND DANCE WITH ME

By MAX ROSENFELD

Jewish Children's Songs and Games, sung by Ruth Rubin, with banjo accompaniment by Pete Seeger. Folkways Records (117 W. 46 St., New York City), Album FC 724. 10-inch-LP. \$4.25.

FROM the opening words of this record—spoken by Ruth Rubin as she begins a Yiddish children's counting-out game—the listener knows he is listening to authentic Jewish folksong. Ruth Rubin's rendition of a Yiddish folksong always gives you the feeling that this is the closest you can ever get to hearing the song the way it was originally sung.

And no wonder. Miss Rubin is a folklorist and spends a good deal of her time listening to and recording Yiddish folksong as it is sung by people who have known it since childhood. It is interesting that even the various dialectal "accents" of East European Jewry are revealed in the songs.

The 14 selections on this record are by, for or about children. (I would question, however, whether *Lomir Zich Iberbetn* (Let's Make Up) belongs in this category.) They range from *Shayn Bin Ich* (Pretty Am I), sung with carefree, childhood abandon, to *Bekker Lid* (Baker's Song), a melancholy song of a Jewish baker-apprentice, whose words and plaintive melody bring tears to the eyes.

Pete Seeger's banjo accompaniment adds "zip" and ear-pleasing background; it is often humorous and de-

lightful and always intelligent. This is not as simple a matter as it may seem, because the banjo is hardly a traditional Jewish instrument!

Various types of children's songs are represented on this record: a narrative song, *By Dem Shtetl* (At The Town); game-songs, *Kestelech* (Little Squares) and *Shpits-Boydin* (In the Attic); the cumulative song, *Oksn* (Oxen); an activity song, *Michalku*; a riddle song, *Du Maydeleh Du Feins* (My Sweet Little Girl); a lullaby-love-song, *Amol Iz Geven a Myseh* (Once Upon a Story); a Purim song, *Homentashen*. A number of these will of course be familiar to the listener only casually acquainted with Yiddish song. But even a song like *Hob Ich A Por Oksen* (I Have a Pair of Oxen) is sung by Ruth Rubin in a manner and tempo which indicates that she must have heard this version of it from someone who knew it in its "native" habitat.

Or take the song *Tonts, Tonts Akegn Mir* (Dance With Me), which, as Miss Rubin has pointed out elsewhere, probably originated as a "dance-song" of Jewish youth in Eastern Europe, who sang it as a "call" to create the beat for a dance. In time it was "taken over" by the younger children and used in their play.

Children in Jewish schools will enjoy singing these songs. But they are fun to listen to and sing whether you are a child or not; the only requirement is that you must have been a child at one time or another!

Observation post

By ANNE FRIEDLANDER

Happy July 4th to all you week-enders. But wait a minute—before you go, you can make it a real Independence Day celebration by sending your contribution to the magazine that is doing its bit to make the dream of the Founding Fathers—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—become a reality.

Baseball season is here—and Los Angeles sure is in there pitching. (We're not referring to the deal to get "dem bums" out there.) We're talking about the wonderful game they are playing to keep JEWISH LIFE "on the ball." In the last few weeks they have kept us hopping with renewals, new subs, sales of the *Anthology*. (Maybe they deserve "dem bums"?) But seriously, they have been doing a terrific job and we are grateful to Bea and Fannie and all the others who have sparked the drive for the magazine in the last two months.

"Anthology" News: The Jewish Cultural and Benevolent Society of Conn. presented copies of "*Jewish Life*" *Anthology* to the Yale University Library and the Free Public Library of West Haven. The Society is now the proud possessor of two letters of appreciation for the gift.

Freedom Pilgrimage — Homeward Bound: May 17, 1957—an exciting, inspiring day. Sitting beside me on the

train is a young Negro man and soon we are involved in a discussion of the day's events. While the impress of the day had been deep and unforgettable, this young man's words remain deeply etched in my mind, for here was the voice of the individual, the human being speaking for himself—but also for all his fellow-men. "I want to be free," he said, "I want to know that I can go any place in this land and not fear that doors will be closed to me. I want to plan a vacation and not have to block out large areas on the map, knowing that I cannot move freely. And when I want a job, I want to be judged for my skills and not by the color of my skin. Some say we are trying to move too fast, but I say we are not moving fast enough." Here summed up so simply was the demand for freedom that had made May 17, 1957 a milestone in struggle for full equality for all in our country.

Dear Subscriber: Do you still have that renewal notice lying on your desk with the good intention of returning it to us soon? Make it now—we need your sub and you need JEWISH LIFE. Hope to hear from you soon.

Vacation time is here—and from the Editorial Board our best wishes for a wonderful holiday, whether you'll be rolling through the countryside by car or bus, or just being lazy on a sunny slope or by a babbling brook.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

Prospects for revision of the McCarran-Walter act are "as bad as they have been" since the law was passed in 1952, said Edward J. Ennis, chairman of the American Immigration Conference, in Boston on May 25. "No senator has come forward," he added, "to take the place of former Senator Herbert Lehman of New York in the field of immigration and to keep the problem before the Senate and the public." It was reported on May 24 that Rep. Francis E. Walter was apparently willing to consider hearings on President Eisenhower's proposed changes in the law.

Anti-Semites in action . . . Following House Un-American Committee hearings in Baltimore in May, an obviously organized campaign of obnoxious telephone calls was directed at some of those who resorted to the Fifth Amendment at the hearings. Most of the calls had scurrilous anti-Semitic overtones. . . . A picket line at which anti-Semitic remarks were heard was held outside a hall in Houston, Texas, where Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was speaking at a Bonds for Israel rally on May 23. Houston *Post* reporter Victor Junger, who heard an anti-Semitic remark punched the picket line leader twice, whereupon the picket line left. . . . Robert S. Bird,

N. Y. *Herald-Tribune* correspondent, reported that at a recent cross-burning meeting at Inverness, Florida, he heard violent diatribes against the Jews. One speaker told the audience of a few hundred that "a Jew is white on the outside and black on the inside. . . . We've got to deprive him of voting rights. We've got to segregate him to the same second class that the n----r thinks he has but don't really have."

Five residents of Whitesboro, N. Y., held a meeting late in May to consider protesting against use for the last ten years of public school building by both Roman Catholic and Protestant churches for religious classes. A Unitarian signer of the protest pointed to the divisive effects of separation of children by religion.

The Chicago Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems turned over information on 29 Chicago firms to the President's Committee on Government Contracts for investigation of discriminatory employment practices, according to a report released by the bureau early in May. William Karp, bureau executive director, said that "The situation in the Chicago area shows widespread non-compliance by government contractors. Bureau files have one or more discriminatory reports on over 200 contractors."

ABROAD

A delegation of the World Jewish Congress issued a joint communique with leaders of the Polish Jewish Social-Cultural Union on May 21 from Warsaw saying that they had discussed the situation of Jews and anti-Semitism in many countries, the dangers to peace of revived German militarism and the question of wider mutual contact and cultural exchange of Jewish communities in the world.

The Hungarian Jewish newspaper *Uj Elet* (New Life) has reappeared in Budapest after an absence of five months. . . . World Jewish Congress president Dr. Nahum Goldmann was planning to meet with leaders of the Hungarian Jewish community in Zurich, Switzerland.

About Jews in USSR . . . The memory of Yiddish poet Peretz Markish was honored on his 60th birthday by a gathering on April 23 at the Central Soviet Writers Club in Moscow. Speakers honoring the executed poet were poet Pavel Antokolsky, dean of Soviet Yiddish writers Z. Vendrof, poet Mikhail Svetlov, Vsevolod Ivanov, Noah Lurye and Semyon Tregub. A message was read from ailing Yiddish poet Shmuel Halkin and a program of readings from Markish's work both in Yiddish and Russian translation was given. . . . A concert of Yiddish drama and song was given on April 23 to an overflow audience in Leningrad. . . . About 600 people attended a Jewish cultural evening in Dvinsk, Latvia, on April 2. Actors, dancers, singers and acrobats of the Dvinsk Yiddish Dramatic Collective performed Abraham Goldfaden's *The Witch*. . . . The leading Jewish Soviet composer, Mikhail F. Gniessin, died at 74, it was

reported in Moscow on May 9. He was a founder of the Russian Society for Jewish music.

The Yiddish State Theater of Rumania won second place with a performance of *The Diary of Anne Frank* in April in a theater contest in which Rumanian, Hungarian and German theater artists took part.

Dr. Louis Rabinowitz, chief rabbi of the Federation of Synagogues in Johannesburg, South Africa, in an article in the April issue of *Zionist Record*, expressed opposition to a bill which would extend *Apartheid* (segregation) to religion, barring Negroes from white churches. The synagogues, he asserted, were "open to everyone of any creed or color. . . . Jewry makes no distinction between white and black." He pointed to the fact that there were dark-skinned Jews in Cochinchina, Yemen, Harlem and Ethiopia.

The Canadian government will allow Polish Jews to enter Canada, the Montreal Yiddish paper, *Kanader Adler* (Canadian Eagle), reported in May. Applications must be made by Canadian relatives of Polish Jews and the applications approved by the Canadian Jewish Congress and HIAS.

Jewish cemetery desecrations continue in West Germany despite protests by church and labor groups. Incidents were reported recently in Beyreuth and the Saar. Prominent churchmen of West Germany are warning against anti-Semitism. Bishop Otto Dibelius, head of the German Evangelical Church, warned on May 25 of "a regrowth of anti-Semitic tendencies."

The first Jewish daily newspaper in the Spanish language, *Dawn*, appeared in Buenos Aires recently.

L. H.

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