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NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

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From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

An emergency meeting of the United Committee of Landsmanshaften, including a number of organizations, in New York on January 11 was held in response to a cable for help from Israel because of the catastrophic storms there late in December. There is great need, especially in the immigrant camps, for clothes, shoes, bedding and food. Articles for relief will be collected at the office of the Polish Landsmanshaft at 225 West 34 Street, Room 1008, New York City, Telephone, GRamercy 3-9732.

Leading figures of the Southern California Division of the American Jewish Congress in early December urged that a committee of Los Angeles Jews go to Germany to investigate the growth of renazification and remilitarization and bring a report back to the Jewish community.

Rep. Adolph J. Sabath pledged in late December to introduce a bill in Congress to repeal the Smith act.

Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, again warned at the installation of officers of the Minnesota Joint Board of the ACW in Minneapolis, that "creeping fascism" must be fought. While he expressed intense anti-communist sentiments, he stressed that "our civil rights are insidiously being impaired, restricted and curbed."

Criticism was aroused at the news that several top leaders of the Anti-Defamation League—Judge Meier Steinbrink, national chairman, Arnold Forster, chief counsel, and others—had held a "friendly" meeting with the pro-fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy at the home of a wealthy New York Jew in December. The criticism caused the ADL to issue a statement revealing that the meeting was arranged by arch-reactionary Hearst columnist George Sokolsky. McCarthy said that it was a "good gab session" lasting four hours on "a number of questions bothering some of the fellows." According to the report, the meeting ended with a friendly gin rummy session. McCarthy described the talk as "one of the most profitable sessions I have ever experienced." Observers are disturbed at this extraordinary spectacle of appeasement of fascists.

Arnold Forster, chief counsel of the ADL, was revealed as one of the ghost writers for Walter Winchell's column in

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

Vol. VI, No. 4 (64)

FEBRUARY, 1952

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JEWISH LIFE, February, 1952, Vol. VI, No. 4 (64). Published monthly by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y., CHelsea 3-7455. Single copies 20 cents. Subscription \$2.00 a year in U. S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.50 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1952 by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc.

an exposé of Winchell published in the *New York Post* in January.

"Only the naive can believe that anti-Semitism is on the decline in the United States," said Senator Wayne Morse at a speech in Birmingham late in December. "The United States Congress is riddled with anti-Semitism," he said.

Racist hooligans in Detroit attempted to set fire in January to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Morris Davidson of that city after they sold their house to Negroes. Their garage was set on fire and several days later they found gasoline and benzine in the sun parlor where their two children, aged four and nine, sleep. The Davidsons

have affirmed that they will not be intimidated by the racists.

Dr. Harry N. Wright, president of City College of New York, refused to act on the recommendation of a faculty committee to give 14 Jewish graduates awards for proficiency in French which had been denied them between 1939 and 1949. The committee charged that the anti-Semitic bias of Professor William E. Knickerbacker, formerly head of the college's Romance Languages Department, was responsible for the denial of the awards earned by these students because they were Jewish. Upon Wright's refusal to make the retroactive awards, the committee sub-

(Continued on page 32)

For Negro History Week

February 11-17, 1952

I: JEWISH SECURITY AND NEGRO LIBERATION

An Editorial

THERE is no doubt that the Jewish people of the United States know, with varying degrees of clarity and of will to action, that their own security is essentially connected with the struggle of the Negro people to achieve status as first class citizens. Events since the end of the war have brought this interdependence home to the Jews with unmistakable definiteness. The common stake in the fight for fair employment practices in jobs, education and housing and against the prevalence of discrimination in all forms has come forward with especial intensity in the past decade. In addition, the by now numerous outbreaks of violence against both Negroes and Jews by the same racist-minded groups—Peekskill, Peoria Street, Cicero, to name a few—have further impressed the connection upon the Jews. And the storm-trooper outrages in Florida in recent weeks against both peoples by the same racists has burned this awareness more deeply into our minds. It is therefore obvious why a progressive magazine of Jewish affairs like *JEWISH LIFE* should devote itself steadily to the struggle for Negro liberation and should signalize Negro History Week in this issue with a discussion of aspects of this struggle.

Why should this interdependence exist? Perhaps more than any other thing, the horror of Hitlerism has taught common men that reaction and racism in all their manifestations have a common origin in the will of a small group of men in control of the economy to maintain and increase their power. More specifically, the difficulties with which our economic order has been beset in the past few decades has caused those who dominate economic life to resort to desperate means to maintain their control. A repressive atmosphere is created whereby racists and plotters behind men on horseback can gain power. The baiting and oppression of minority groups are used under these circumstances to divert the people from their real problems. In the case of the Negro people of the United States, the profits derived from this drastically underpaid and exploited sector of the population causes even more intense exploitation and violent oppression in this crisis situation. As traditional targets of reaction, the Negro, especially, and Jewish

peoples are easily available for these racist and fascist measures, particularly to confuse the atmosphere when reaction is rampant and war is being prepared.

While recognizing this common enemy, it is a disservice to fail to grasp that the situations of the Negro and Jewish peoples in this country are qualitatively different. There is a tendency to make careless and superficial parallels of the situation of the two peoples. Such comparisons obscure the fact that the Negro people, *as a people*, are subjected to second class citizenship and Jimcrow so as to enforce on the *whole* Negro people unrelieved oppression that adds up to genocide.

It is nevertheless apparent that the Negro and Jewish peoples must work together, in alliance with the labor movement and all men of good will, to avert the dangers which present threats to both peoples. To attack these problems successfully, however, the Jewish people must learn to work with Negroes as genuine equals. This is not so easy as it may sound to many Jews. For the fact is that the centuries-old oppression of Negroes in the United States has caused white chauvinist attitudes to be deeply imbedded in all white Americans, including Jews and progressives. These attitudes are so ingrained that often whites are unaware of their existence. They crop up in every form, from the most subtle to the most obvious. And the Negroes are fully conscious of their existence. So pervasive are these attitudes that on this account *some* Negroes despair of common effort with whites.

Jews are by no means exempt from these attitudes. In view of the absolute urgency of cooperation with the Negro people, Jews have the grave responsibility of making the most determined conscious effort to eliminate white supremacy from their minds. In the long run the Jews cannot contribute to a successful fight against the racists without cleansing the Jewish people of racist attitudes towards Negroes. Negro History Week, whose purpose is to help make us all aware of the need to restore full dignity to the Negro people, should be the occasion for a searching effort to deal with white chauvinism. Anti-Semitism cannot be completely destroyed until white chauvinism is effaced.

II: GENOCIDE IN FLORIDA

Outrageous violence against the Negro and Jewish people looses a sea of protest. Most Jews resist but the hush-hushers appease

By Hershl Hartman

WHO is guilty of the murder of Harry T. Moore, Florida coordinator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the fatal wounding of his wife, Harriet, by a blast which destroyed their Mims home Christmas night? Who is behind the terrorist campaign in Florida? Are the attacks on Jewish synagogues and centers in Miami unrelated to the bombings of the Negro Carver Village housing development there and separate from the Mims double murder?

The brutal murder of Mr. and Mrs. Moore came as the climax of a violent campaign of terror in Florida, with roots beyond the borders of the fabulous "land of winter sunshine." After Moore's death and during the 12 blasts within seven months which preceded it in Miami, some prominent individuals had interesting ideas on the matter:

1) Miami's Chief of Police Walter E. Headley, Jr., and Dade County Sheriff Jack Henderson blamed "the communists."

2) Bill Hendrix, head of the Ku Klux Klan in Florida and a campaigner for governor on a platform of racist violence against Negroes and Jews, said Moore died because "he got involved with communistic elements."

3) Florida's Dixiecrat Governor Fuller Warren attacked NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White as "a hired Harlem hate-monger . . . a bigoted meddler . . . (who) has come to Florida to try to stir up strife."

4) Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, emerged from a cordial conference with Governor Warren to report that the governor had shown "deep concern" and that the bombings of Negro homes and five synagogues and Jewish centers in Miami and Moore's murder were unrelated to each other.

Government Complicity

*While these comments were being made and a handful of FBI agents were directing their investigation at anything that would point away from implication of local and state officials, hundreds of organizations and individuals, led by the Negro people and the labor movement, were demanding state and federal action based on a different appraisal of the facts. They were pointing to evidence which amounts to genocide, defined by the United Nations Convention as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group,"

and which makes punishable—along with conspiracy and incitement to genocide—*complicity* in genocidal acts.

They were pointing to these facts:

Between the years of 1882 and 1950, there have been 256 recorded lynchings in the state of Florida; how many hundreds of others have been killed by police and posses and framed by lily-white juries cannot be exactly ascertained.

Sheriff Willis McCall, of Lake County, cold-bloodedly shot and killed Samuel Shepherd and wounded Walter Lee Irvin, manacled Negro prisoners who were victims of a "rape" frame-up which had in 1949 led to mob-violence and the murder of a "suspect," Ernest Thomas, by a posse responsible to the sheriff. McCall was exonerated by the coroner's jury. Governor Warren played a direct role in the freeing of Sheriff McCall by appointing a "special investigator," J. J. Elliot, who testified in the sheriff's behalf. FBI investigators supported McCall's story of the shooting and made no other comment.

The exoneration of McCall, and the role played by the state and federal governments, caused open jubilation among the racist elements in Lake and Brevard counties. To the day of his death, Harry Moore was engaged in activity to have the sheriff punished for murder.

Added to these indications of complicity of local, state and federal officials in the creation of an atmosphere which led to the murder of Moore, are these facts:

Herbert E. Griggs, assistant state attorney, declared at Moore's funeral that the slayers "were not residents of this [Brevard] county"—despite the announcement by Walter White that the names of three local suspects have been unearthed. Griggs' statement supported the same contention of the Klan-ridden local officials.

Governor Warren named as his "special investigator" the same J. J. Elliot who had helped clear Sheriff McCall of murder charges.

Demands for Action by Truman

There has been no report that Elliot or the FBI have acted on Mrs. Harriet Moore's deathbed statement to Rufus Wills of the Negro paper, the *Baltimore Afro-American* (January 5), in which she declared: "I think the Brevard County school system knows something about it [the bombing]." Both Mr. and Mrs. Moore had been fired from their

teaching jobs in their home county after they had led a fight for equal salaries for Negro teachers.

Despite all these facts, which clearly indicate the unwillingness of local and state authorities to get to the bottom of the murder plot, President Truman has as yet not acted on demands of the many groups who have called upon him to enforce existing laws under which he could act. Truman's own Committee on Civil Rights pointed out in 1947, that under Section 51, Title 18, of the United States Code, the federal government may indict any persons who conspire to "injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

The charge of genocide is most shockingly confirmed by the continued failure of Truman or his appointee Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to heed the call for "prompt action," made by the National Council of the Churches of Christ (representing some 27 million Protestants); the call for the invocation of "all the powers of the federal government," made by the NAACP and similar demands from the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, President Rudolph Halley of the New York City Council and 12 leading councilmen, the American Jewish Congress, Catholic Interracial Council, National Conference of Christians and Jews, United Committee of Jewish Landsmanschaft Federations, Civil Rights Congress, the Progressive, American Labor, Liberal and Communist Parties, scores of both right and left wing trade unions and locals, as well as hundreds of other national and local groups.

The Miami Events

But what about Miami? Was not that genocide too, when a dozen blasts and attempted bombings were directed at a Negro housing project, five synagogues and Jewish centers and a Catholic church within seven months? And what of the role of the Jewish people and Jewish organizations in the Florida outrages?

On June 5, 1951, a dynamite bomb damaged the still incomplete Tifereth Israel North Side Jewish Center. On September 22, dynamite exploded in Carver Village, a wartime housing project lately opened to Negro families. Ten other bombs were either exploded or thrown in the weeks that followed.

One month before the bombings started the Miami Daily News carried an advertisement of a local property owners' association warning that Negroes were not wanted in Miami. The logical connection between the veiled threat and the violence has not been probed by Miami Police Chief Headley, a graduate of the FBI Academy in Washington, nor by the FBI agents in Miami.

When Negro families began moving into Carver Village last August, mobs gathered and shouted threats while motorcades circled the project. The license numbers of the cars are known to Miami police. Protest delegations of

"leading white citizens" and property owners visited the offices of the mayor and other city officials. They were not questioned after the blasts went off, causing over \$20,000 damage.

A number of bombings failed, leaving undamaged sticks of dynamite lying in the street near the Coral Gables synagogue and the Sts. Peter and Paul Church. The FBI's much-vaunted scientific methods of detection—if at all applied to these clues—have not led to any arrests.

Again the inaction of Miami and federal officials—amounting to tacit approval of the terror—bears direct responsibility for the rash of bombings; responsibility which the UN Convention labels genocide.

Complicity of Jewish Big Business

The 44 shattered memorial windows at the Miami Hebrew School and Congregation resulting from the blast on December 2 should have shattered the awful delusion that Jews can purchase security in the Jimcrow South by at best ignoring and at worst contributing to the oppression of the Negro people. That delusion has a long tradition among sections of Southern Jewry and has come to its most awful fruition in Miami Beach. For years Jewish owners of the largest resort hotels have enforced, and their largely Jewish clientele has tolerated, the brutal ghetto law which bars Negroes from the beach area after dusk. Miami cops have "assured" the lily-white comfort of vacationers by arresting Negroes found on the streets after the curfew.

Nor have the racists in Miami lacked the support of Jewish big businessmen in their campaign to reinforce the walls of the 284 acres of rotting slums which make up the Negro ghetto in Miami's northwest section. The past 20 years have seen a great influx of Jewish real estate and other business interests which wield power and influence in city government that always go with big holdings. Yet those business interests—which make dutifully large contributions to "defense" organizations and other prominent "Jewish causes"—have consistently allied themselves with the Northern and Southern capital that is the fountainhead of racism in Florida and throughout the South.

Undoubtedly, this alliance makes for "good business." But Jewish big businessmen in the South have succeeded in putting over and perpetuating the monumental lie that alliance with Southern bourbons and racists makes also for "good public relations," that it is in the interests of the Jewish people in the South! Instead of exploding that lie for the suicidal delusion it is, many leaders of Jewish organizations—mindful of fund raising realities—have ignored or soft-pedaled the insidious influence of this big business ideology. This approach has already led down the road to bombed synagogues and away from the unity of the Negro and Jewish people and the labor movement in the South which alone can guarantee security for the Jewish community.

Even after the bombings and the double murder in Mims, this influence made itself felt. Benjamin Epstein,

director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, and Arnold Forster, its chief counsel, flew down to Florida after the death of Harry Moore. Epstein was received by Governor Warren, as noted above, after the governor had loosed an inciting, racist blast at Walter White. Instead of protesting against Warren's do-nothing record and his aid and comfort to the terrorist, Epstein reported to a meeting of the Florida ADL that "Governor Warren has assured him that 'everything possible' was being done. . . . The governor did not indicate what action he might take . . . but did express 'deep concern,'" (*New York Times*, Dec. 31). Epstein then proposed a "program to end the bombings"—not by mobilizing the Jewish people to demand prompt action against the terrorists, not even by demanding the enforcement of *existing* Florida laws which provide the death penalty for throwing explosives on public streets, but—by enacting *new, local* legislation "controlling the sale, distribution, transportation and use of explosives"! The "program" included also local surveys to determine "tension spots" and community projects to combat "basic issues of racial and religious hatreds."

So crass was Epstein's dictum that "the Miami incidents and the Mims affair are not part of a single conspiracy," that Alex Miller, Southern director of ADL, a few days later had to issue a separate statement in which he called *all* the bombings "part of a pattern that has been developing all over the South in the last two years." Miller's statement also underlined what Epstein had conveniently "overlooked"; that there has not yet been "a single arrest of any culprit" since the bombings had begun. So much emphasis was placed on the separation of the attacks on the Negro and Jewish people that it began to appear that Epstein and Forster were almost as concerned with preventing united Negro-Jewish action as with ending the terror. How else explain the long story by Richard H. Parke in the *New York Times* (January 1), which makes a point of separating the Carver Village attacks from the synagogue bombings and both from the Mims murder and which credits Forster and the ADL with "the most comprehensive of (the) surveys" which support that position? Parke quotes Forster's report as attributing the Carver Village bombings to "tension between Negroes and whites over housing," and blaming the attacks on synagogues and a church on "thrill-seeking" hoodlums looking for publicity or possibly "a dangerous and hate-ridden maniac."

Wide Jewish Protest

However, Epstein's and Forster's positions do not represent the general Jewish reaction to the Florida terror—certainly they do not reflect the rank and file reaction, which has led to a great deal of active and outspoken protest by local groups in every section of Jewish life: Zionist, religious, labor and others. Alex Miller's statement indicates that Southern Jewry, too, has not entirely succumbed to the pressure of its big business components. Indicative of this fact was the mass meeting of some 1,500 Negroes and Jews in Miami's Mt. Zion Baptist Church,

co-sponsored by the American Jewish Congress chapter there. Sermons by many rabbis, highlighted by the vigorous protest of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at his temple in Cleveland and Rabbi Max Felshin at a meeting in Harlem, also indicated a growing awareness among the Jewish people of its stake in the struggle against the racist oppression of the Negro people. The Anglo-Jewish press widely featured the news from Florida, and some newspapers have had sharp editorials.

Rep. Arthur Klein, Democrat from New York's East Side, early in January assured a delegation of his Negro and white constituents that he would immediately speak out in Congress and would introduce an anti-lynching bill. He apologized for having vacationed in Florida and pledged to urge his friends not to go there. Rep. Jacob K. Javits, Republican-Liberal, also promised action. Both congressmen thereby reflected the people's pressure which had multiplied manyfold since Rep. Charles A. Buckley, a Democrat, had threatened to "blow the brains out" of a delegation of his constituents in the West Bronx. "I wanted to rest," he said, explaining why he had cursed the delegation and told it to "go back to Russia." Developments in his district since indicate that the gentleman from Tammany may regret his remarks.

The National Jewish Youth Conference, representing over 300 local councils and 11 national organizations, took the initiative, together with the NAACP Youth Division, in getting eight major youth organizations to demand federal action in the murder of the Moores and Samuel Shepherd. The NJYC has called on all its affiliates to take similar action. The other six signatories to the statement were: American Unitarian Youth, Young Women's Christian Association, Youth Division of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Americans for Democratic Action, the National Federation of Settlements and World Order Realized through Law and Democracy.

But it can and must be said that the Jewish community has not yet been mobilized to the extent which the situation demands. The Mapai organ in Israel, *Davar*, pointed to the Florida terror as further proof of the need for American Jews to flee to Israel. While the American-Jewish community as a whole rejects that "solution," it must simultaneously realize that there is a real danger to the Jewish people if the genocide now being committed against the Negro people is permitted to continue. *That* lesson has yet to be learned and acted upon and quickly. One immediate and practical step would be the boycott of Florida as a vacation place.

The Negro people are pointing the way. By their determined resistance to the terrorists, by their support of the petition *We Charge Genocide* to the United Nations, by their call for a boycott of Florida goods and resorts and for a national work-stoppage, by their demand for anti-lynch and anti-poll tax laws and by the mass struggle they are organizing and leading for the realization of these demands—they provide the Jewish people with an example to emulate in self-defense.

III: ROBBER WARS AND NEGRO PEOPLE

Paul Robeson and W. E. B. Du Bois are heirs of a militant history of opposition to unjust wars by the Negro people in our country

By Herbert Aptheker

"THE present disgraceful, cruel, and iniquitous war . . . Grasping ambition, tyrannic usurpation, atrocious aggression, cruel and haughty pride. . . The groans of slaughtered men, the screams of violated women, and the cries of orphan children, must bring no throb of pity from our national heart, but must rather serve as music to inspire our gallant troops to deeds of atrocious cruelty, lust and blood."

Whose words are those? When were they written? What government is being denounced in such blistering terms?

The words come from Frederick Douglass, and they were published in his Rochester newspaper, *The North Star*, in January 1948. The government being condemned is that of the United States and Douglass denounced it because it was then conducting, on behalf of its ruling class, a robber war against the people of Mexico.

And Douglass, like many of his fellow great Americans of the period, such as Abraham Lincoln, was denouncing the war *while it was on*: he was not waiting until it was over and the booty was in and the dead were buried and the bands had stopped and it became safe—but useless—to lament and regret and deplore the unfortunate slaughter of the gulled and the misled.

No, Douglass denounced it while it was on and in the face of the greed and might of the merciless whip-wielders *because he truly loved his country, he truly loved the people who inhabited it and because he loved his own people, the Negro people*. That is why he wrote: "We beseech our countrymen to leave off this horrid conflict, abandon their murderous plans, and forsake the way of blood." That is why he urged: "Let petitions flood the halls of Congress by the million, asking for the recall of our forces."

Opposition While War Was On

Yes, he fought for peace, *while the war was on*, because it was an unjust war and the best interests of the Negro people and therefore of all American people would be served by ending the killing. And that is what Frederick Douglass was loyal to—to his people and to all plain people of his country and that is what real patriotism is. Of course, Douglass was called a traitor but his slanderers were the traitors, not Frederick Douglass.

HERBERT APTHEKER is the author of *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States*, reviewed on page 18.

Do not misunderstand Douglass. He was no meek and mild lamb. He was a tiger in fighting for freedom. It was Douglass who said, "He is whipped most who is whipped easiest"; it was Douglass who issued the stirring "Call to Arms" in the Civil War and saw his two sons fight in Lincoln's army against the slaveholders. Douglass would fight, but only *for* freedom, only *for* justice; therefore he opposed wars for slavery and for money.

In Douglass' uncompromising stand against unjust wars, as in his unyielding battle for liberty and equality, he epitomizes the heart of all Negro history. The words of the Negro people themselves back over one hundred years and coming down to our own day prove this to be true.

Back in 1842 war threatened between Great Britain and the United States. One of the causes of tension was England's refusal to return some slaves who had revolted aboard a domestic slave-trading ship and had gained freedom in the West Indies. Said the leading organ of the Negro people, the *Colored People's Press*, edited in New York by the Reverend Theodore S. Wright: "If war were declared, shall we fight in defense of a government which denies us the most precious right of citizenship?" "No," answered the Reverend Mr. Wright; he wanted nothing to do with unjust wars and he urged that "until" the Negro people were "free and equal citizens," they oppose the aggressive wars of their oppressors.

During the Civil War

And what did the Negro people do during the Civil War? Here were two governments, that of Abraham Lincoln and that of Jefferson Davis, and 90 per cent of the Negro people were within the limits of the slaveholding government. The Negro people fought for Lincoln's government and against Davis'. There were exceptions; there were a few well-to-do Southern free Negroes who crawled up to the slavedrivers and said: "Your country is mine; let me fight for it, let me be loyal to it." These people were spat upon by the mass of Negroes in their own day and their dishonored names remain buried with their bones, because they betrayed honor, people and country.

No, the mass of Negro people fought against their home government and on the side of Lincoln, Douglass and Harriet Tubman. Two hundred thousand Negroes fought in the Union army and 30,000 in the navy and a total of half a million slaves succeeded in fleeing from Jeff Davis'

Southern paradise and thousands more conspired and rebelled in that paradise.

In doing this and in a dozen other ways the Negro people contributed decisively to their own emancipation and to saving the Union. The Negro's emancipation required the Union's salvation; the Union's salvation required the Negro's emancipation. In the Civil War, the entire Negro people opposed in action an unjust war and upheld a just one.

Thirty years later an imperialist United States precipitated war with Spain, defeated that nation and then seized Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and Guam. Wars raged against Spain and the people of these islands from 1898 through 1902. The Negro people opposed these wars and openly sided with the raped island masses.

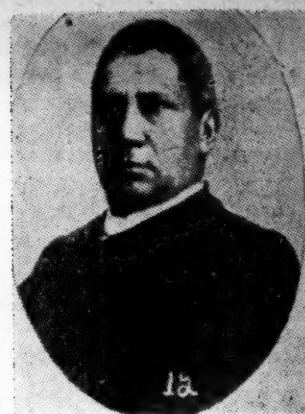
A leading Negro paper of the period, the *Richmond Planet*, warned in 1898 that "the American Negro cannot become the ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race." A mass organization, the Colored National League, the next year issued an *Open Letter to President McKinley*, and called upon the president "to pause in pursuit of your national policy of criminal aggression abroad to consider the criminal aggression at home against humanity and American citizenship, which is in full tide of successful conquest at the South."

Douglass' Sons and Heirs

Frederick Douglass was dead, but his son, Lewis, a veteran of the Civil War, denounced the war and the conquest of colonies. The president, he said in 1899, promises the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans "a government of liberty" but he knows that "whatever the U.S. government controls, there injustice to dark races prevails"; he knows that "the expansion of the United States means extension of race hate and cruelty, barbarous lynchings and the grossest injustices. . . ." Douglass' son-in-law, Nathan W. Sprague, lived too, and in 1899 he resigned from the Maryland Committee of the Republican Party in protest against imperialism. He said the United States left "millions of American-born citizens to be lynched, and burned at the stake saying that they have no power to prohibit such crimes, and yet this Administration feels justified in forcing a warped civilization upon the Filipinos."

The Republican newspaper, the *Philadelphia Recorder*, spoke for a nearly unanimous Negro people when it said in January 1900, referring to the "pacification" of the Philippines, that "those who have the spirit of independence and human liberty in their breasts are called traitors if they raise their voices against this diabolical outrage."

And when there was talk of sending Negroes to help suppress the Chinese people's democratic "Boxer" rebellion in the summer of 1900, the Reverend Henry M. Turner of Georgia, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, said: "This is not our war, and the black man that puts a gun upon his shoulder to go and fight China should find the bottom of the ocean before he gets there."



Bishop Henry M. Turner

The sentiments of the Negro soldiers sent to fight the Filipino people—many of whom went over to their side—were expressed in a typical letter from Private William R. Fulbright, of Indiana. He was with the 25th Infantry Regiment in Manila and in June 1901, he told the folks back home, through the pages of the *Indianapolis Freeman*, briefly and to the point: "This struggle on the islands has been nought but a gigantic scheme of robbery and oppression."

Imperialist War and Lynching

The imperialist World War, participated in by the United States from 1917 through 1918, produced deep opposition among the Negro masses. Here is not the place to tell of the government's promises and how they were broken, of the lynchings which averaged 60 each year during the "War for Democracy" and of the mass murders of Negroes in Washington, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Arkansas and elsewhere, nor of the peonage clamped on the Negroes of the South through the "work or fight" policy—from which hundreds of thousands of Negroes fled, despite every obstacle.

The point is that the Negro masses hated this unjust war and wanted it stopped. Tens of thousands of Negroes, men, women and children marched with muffled drums, July 28, 1917, through the heart of New York City while scores of thousands watched and the sullen police dared not stop them. Their banners read, "Make America Safe For Democracy" and "Mother, Do Lynchers Go To Heaven?"

Leading commercial publications worried because "discontent and unrest among Negroes have been spreading," in the words of the *New York Times*, and newspapers reported many arrests among them, "upon the charge of rebellion and treason" as in Birmingham and in Columbia, Tennessee. President Wilson feigned amazement, in 1917, that "many of the members of the colored race were not enthusiastic in their support of the Government in this crisis." People like ex-President Taft and Dr. Frissell of Hampton Institute and Dr. Wilcox, president of the New

York City Board of Education and a Tuskegee Institute trustee, made Southern tours to generate such "enthusiasm"—while every week another Negro was lynched!

Summarizing Negro feeling were these words in *The Messenger* (November 1917), edited in New York by a radical young Negro named A. Philip Randolph: "The real issue of this country is peace. . . . The people in every country have been bled to death in warfare, or starved to death by the shortage of food and the high cost of living. . . . Over the smoldering ruins of cities and villages, over lost treasures of civilization, men in trenches, women clad in black habiliments of woe, children emaciated and hungry, cry out in loud, reverberating note for—PEACE!"

Early in 1918 the New York *Amsterdam News* demanded "autonomy" for the Negro people and wanted to know: "Can America demand that Germany give up her Poles and Austria her Slavs, while America still holds in harshest possible bondage a nation of over ten million people?" "Have we not as much right," that paper demanded, "as the Poles and Slavs to aspire to a free, independent existence. . . . Where are our leaders? Are their mouths stopped with white man's gold that they can do nothing but mumble out advice to be patient. . . . Are they traitors or fools?"

Meanwhile the white press discovered that the desire for peace among the Negro—and other—masses was due to the work of German and/or Bolshevik agents! Frame-ups were rife and over 1,500 men and women, Negro and white, were thrown into jail as political anti-war prisoners.

Some renegades appeared, and this is how A. Philip Randolph greeted them in *The Messenger* in May 1919: "There are no doubt a few more left who will choose whom they will serve as organized reaction, drunk with power, adopts all kinds of harsh and inexcusable laws. . . . But no one trusts the renegade . . . the radical renegade is worst of all. He deserts the people for the predatory interests." That is what A. Philip Randolph said in 1919.

A Tradition of Militance

All of the above is but the briefest sampling of the rich tradition among the Negro people of opposition to robber wars. In 1906, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, writing the "Address to the Country" of the Niagara Movement, said, "The morning breaks over the hills." He called, "Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing." He saw in 1906, 'did this man of genius, that, "The Slav is rising in his might, the yellow millions are tasting liberty, the black Africans are writhing toward the light, and everywhere the laborer, with ballot in his hand, is voting open the gates of Opportunity and Peace."

So it has come, and is coming, to pass. Now 800 million people from Berlin to Peking hold power in their own hands and Africans, black and white together, are demonstrating for peace and freedom, and the working classes of western Europe are more powerful and more militant than ever before.

When Paul Robeson told 900 delegates to the National Labor Conference for Negro Rights in Chicago in 1950 that the united masses would "help to bring to pass in America and in the world the dream our fathers dreamed—of a land that's free, of a people growing in friendship, in love, in cooperation and peace"; and when Dr. Du Bois said, in 1951, "I take my stand beside the millions in every nation and continent and cry for *peace—no more war!*" both these great Americans were speaking in direct extension of the real traditions of the Negro people in the United States. All honor to Dr. Du Bois and to Paul Robeson, mighty sons of the American Negro people, true continuers of the democratic struggles of Frederick Douglass.

The historical record demonstrates that the American Negro people possess a particularly rich heritage of opposition to robber wars. This opposition is grounded in the fact that the Negro people have been the most oppressed in the United States; that they, themselves, were enslaved through robber wars and were held in bondage through the superior force of robbers. And today they are kept in peonage, in ghettos, in a status of second-class citizenship by the ruling-class policy of fraud, terror and violence. On all this there is utmost clarity among the Negro people and with the clarity comes militancy. This clarity and this militancy, brought to the side of the white masses, especially the working class, and merging with and developing the strength of these masses, can be decisive in the struggle against Jimcrow, war and fascism.

Security, equality, freedom, peace—these are at the heart of Negro history and they are deep within the heart of world humanity. With unity and firmness they shall be achieved everywhere and the dreams of our fathers—of the fathers of all of us of every color, every clime, and every nation—shall be realized.

More on Solomon Schwartz

IT is interesting to note the following comment by an English reviewer of Solomon Schwartz' tricky and distorted "scholarly" work on *Jews of the Soviet Union*. The review, published in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of October 19, 1951, is favorably disposed towards the book, but significantly concludes as follows:

"Dr. Schwartz devotes one-third of his survey to what he calls the rise of the new anti-Semitism in the USSR, quoting innumerable instances in support. This would seem to detract from what is otherwise a very valuable contribution to post-war Jewish history. When the degree of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is compared with, say, that in the United States, where he now lives, his emphasis is clearly overdrawn. He seems to be making altogether too much of a case of it, as if to fit in with the strong anti-Russian atmosphere prevailing in America today. And it is this which robs the book of much of its undoubted merit."

IV: ONE MILLION NAMES FOR FEPC

By Jeremiah Lesser

THE foundation for the entire depressed status of the Negro in the United States is the denial to him of equal right to jobs. Because of the exploitation of the Negro, first through slavery and since the Civil War through his assignment of a low economic position in share-cropping and limitation to menial work, the Negro has been the object also of racist stereotyped treatment. When the Negro receives economic freedom, his social and political freedom will also be established. Hence the most vital sector in the fight for Negro liberation today is in the sphere of "fair employment practices."

It is therefore fitting that the major effort of the newly-organized National Negro Labor Council since its founding convention last October, is a two-pronged drive to overcome Jimcrow in jobs. On the one hand, the Council has initiated a campaign for 100,000 new jobs for Negroes in Jimcrow industries and classifications. As a national body of Negro and white trade unions, the Council is in a position to make an effective effort to achieve this goal. For the unions can negotiate with Jimcrow employers at the source of discrimination and, if they are sufficiently determined, can make a considerable dent in the Jimcrow system by throwing the full weight of organized workers into the fight.

The second prong of this drive is the campaign to obtain one million signatures for FEPC legislation to a petition addressed to "President Truman, Congress, and the governors, mayors and legislative assemblies and councils of each state and city in the USA." The case for FEPC is succinctly stated in the petition itself, as follows:

"We the undersigned declare that the time is long overdue and that the need is immediate and urgent for Fair Employment Practice action on a national, state and local level, throughout America. Too long have the Negro people and other minority groups been denied the basic minimums of equal opportunity as well as other rights guaranteed and set forth in the Constitution and Bill of Rights of these United States of America. We reject weak and inadequate 'imitation FEPC' actions and call upon President Truman and Congress, in the first place, as our nationally elected leaders and all other government heads, state and local, to take immediate executive and legislative action to enact FEPC orders and laws with teeth that will include, at a minimum, the following basic provisions."

The petition then lists the critical areas for genuine FEPC

action: "1. *Job Coverage*. FEPC must cover *all* jobs, jobs in private industry as well as government and defense jobs. 2. *Right to a Hearing*. FEPC must provide for the right of aggrieved individuals or groups to initiate complaints and to receive hearing. 3. *Power to Investigate*. FEPC must be provided sufficient funds and have the independent right to investigate complaints, including the power to subpoena witnesses. 4. *Power to Enforce*. FEPC must have specific enforcement authority which will include the right to penalize and to enforce penalties to the full extent of the law and the right to deny any government contract to, and the use of government facility by any employer who violates FEPC."

It will be noted that emphasis is placed throughout on effective provisions of enforcement. For the Truman administration has been long on anti-discrimination words and very short indeed on action. In this election year we may expect to read many more of such words. Only a few months ago President Truman, with an eye on the presidential elections, issued a fake, "toothless" FEPC order whose effect will not only be nil, but which may lull more gullible elements into thinking that something is being done. It is on this point of effective enforcement that the people must insist with great vigor.

A tough fight faces those who are determined to get FEPC legislation. Congress has no present inclination in that direction. In reporting President Truman's State of the Nation message, the *New York Times* noted on January 10, that "There was no applause when the president mentioned his civil rights program. . . . Southern Democrats are certain to filibuster until the measure is withdrawn if Democratic leaders bring up any of the civil rights bills, which is not likely." This million-signature campaign can change Congress' mind—and force Truman to put up a fight—in this election year. Hence the great significance of the petition campaign.

The Jewish people must participate to the fullest in this campaign. For they, too, are sufferers from discrimination, though hardly to the extent that Negroes are. This FEPC drive offers an opportunity for united action by Jewish and Negro organizations in an issue upon which the two peoples have common interest and a great deal to gain. Together with all decent-minded elements, especially in the whole trade union movement, the Negro and Jewish peoples can and must see this petition campaign through to success.

V: "THE NEGRO SPEAKS FOR HIMSELF"

Review of a documentary history which reveals the various aspects of the oppression of the Negro people in America and their resistance

By Morris U. Schappes

A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, edited by Herbert Aptheker, preface by W. E. B. Du Bois. Citadel Press, New York. \$7.50.

"OUR white fellow-countrymen do not know us," was the complaint of the Negro people in 1853, expressed in an Address issued by a National Convention of Free Negroes held in Rochester, N. Y. "They are strangers to our character, ignorant of our capacity, oblivious of our history and progress, and are misinformed as to the principles and ideas that control and guide us as a people. . . . It will not be surprising that we are so misunderstood and misused when the motives for misrepresenting us and for degrading us are duly considered. . . ."

Now, a century later, is it not still too true that the "white fellow-countrymen" of the Negro people "do not know" them? Nor is this ignorance surprising, since tremendous profits are still being exacted from the Negro people by the ruling circles of our country. This misrepresentation and degradation of the Negro people is actively cultivated by all the institutions for the education of the American public, from the universities to the "comic books." Countering this systematic mass of misinformation are the relatively small but increasing number of Negro writers, historians and sociologists, and the even smaller number of their clear-visioned white allies. Of these, Dr. Herbert Aptheker has been the most productive and the most instructive. In three or four books and many articles and pamphlets he has effectively begun to undermine the misrepresentation of the history and character of the Negro people. Now he has given us a work in which "the Negro speaks for himself."

A Heroic Record

Reading this book consecutively will be for all well-intentioned people an experience in deepening understanding of, heightening respect for and growing pride in the Negro people of our country. For the white reader, this rich experience should also be accompanied with a saddening humility and a hardening determination to do something continually and consistently to abolish the viciousness that afflicts 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States today.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES is the author of *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*.

For this viciousness is also a threat to American democracy as a whole; Jimcrow is the breeding ground for attacks on the working class, on all immigrants and national groups, and therefore also on the Jewish people. It is in the self-interest of all these forces to unite in the battle against Jimcrow. The latest developments in Miami underscore this lesson.

Here, extensively set forth in some 500 documents in almost 950 pages, is a great record, moving and eloquent, not only of a suffering unequalled in American history. There is also the throbbing record of the contributions to white America of the unrewarded sweat, skill and toil of the Negro people, of their own achievements, and especially of their ceaseless activity to free themselves first from slavery and then, down to the present day, from the dehumanizing horrors of Jimcrow segregation and oppression throughout the land. The eloquence of this record is unique. From many voices and in many styles there emerges a special flavor, distilled from the simple, human and therefore noble expression of deep pain displayed with restraint, of passionate resentment uttered in tones of sorrow, wrath and indignation. Depth of feeling and evolution of thought, combined with the deeper registers of the English language, produce styles and writings that permanently enrich American literature. The effect is cumulative, and we should therefore advise the prospective reader not to be content merely with dipping into the volume here and there to chew on a nugget. Even if it takes weeks of "leisure" time, it is best to read these documents consecutively and slowly, to live imaginatively with this history of anguish and protest for as long as it takes to encompass the whole of it.

"High Pretending America"

What an indictment of our entire history is the history of the Negro people! The blood of every patriot must boil that this has been, and that this still is.

Back in 1842 Charles Lenox Remond spoke cuttingly of "long and loud professing and high pretending America." These pretensions are today louder and higher than ever, as they are shrilled forth to the shrewdly skeptical peoples of the world by the mis-titled "Voice of America." Every page of Dr. Aptheker's compilation of documents punctures these pretensions. How different our vaunted democracy looks when seen from the point of view of the Negro,

whether as slave or freeman before Emancipation, or as the victim of Jimcrow degradation after it! In the United States, the condition of the Negro people is indeed a touchstone to all our values.

One remembers the awesome simplicity and the poignant political wisdom of the anonymous 16 year old boy or girl who in 1834 in a Negro school in Cincinnati closed a composition with the sentence, "I can't see how the Americans can call this a land of freedom where so much slavery is." And one glories in the wrath with which the great Frederick Douglass declared in 1846 that he would take the documents proving that his "liberty" had been purchased for him from his "owner" and "hold up those papers before the world, in proof of the plundering character of the American government. It shall be the brand of infamy, stamping the nation, in whose name the deed was done, as a great aggregation of hypocrites, thieves and liars—and their condemnation is just. . . ." Historians have yet to assess how much of the American ruling classes' habit of hypocrisy is rooted in slavery and in post-slavery Jimcrow.

In addition to the punctured pretensions to democracy there were the no less loudly proclaimed professions of piety and Christianity. A 1774 petition of Negroes to the Massachusetts authorities, after noting that they "are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and Christian Country," states that both their masters and they belong to the same "Church of Christ," and are bound by the same commandment to bear one another's burden—and then asks: "How can the master be said to Bear my Burden when he Beares me down with the Heavy chains of slavery . . . ?" The reproach of Henry Highland Garnet of 1843, "Slavery had stretched its dark wings of death over the land, the Church stood silently by," echoes and re-echoes down the century since he uttered it, and still applies pregnantly to the majority of churches today in relation to their support or tolerance of Jimcrow. Nor was the record of Judaism then and now better and more consistent with the values of humanism.

The Slave on Slavery

The meaning of slavery *to the slave* is brought home to us unforgettably in the words of the slave himself. The whip and the hovel, the ignorance and the indecency, the slave auction, the disruption of slave families, the rape of Negro women by white masters and their adjutants, the bloodhound and the man-hunt are found frequently in the first half of the volume. Slavery itself is hateful to the slave, no matter who the owner. Thus Nat Turner revolted against his enslavement, even though Mr. Travis "was to him a kind master." Eighty-five years after the abolition of slavery it is still necessary for us to learn the meaning of it, not only because Confederate flags wave again even in northern and western states, but because the oppression of the Negro people continues down to this day.

In 1890, T. Thomas Fortune predicted that "before the rights conferred upon us by the war amendments [13th,



Herbert Aptheker

14th, 15th] are fully conceded, a full century will have passed away." Dr. Aptheker's selection traces clearly the methods by which the American imperialists—Wall Street finance-capital and their Bourbon partners and administrators—reduced the Negro people to a state of rightlessness bordering upon slavery. Fraud and violence were the main instruments of this program. Twenty years later, when the ever-compromising Booker T. Washington informed European audiences that the Negro question was solved, 23 distinguished American Negroes addressed a communication to the people of Great Britain and Europe informing them of the true situation: enforced ignorance and mass illiteracy; disfranchisement; "forced to live in the worst quarters, and our consequent death rate is noted as a race trait, and reason for further discrimination"; discrimination not only by employers but also by labor unions; "deliberate public insult" and discrimination in hotels, railways, places of public amusement, churches and cemeteries; thousands of lynchings; systematic injustice in the courts, abetted by exclusion of Negro jurors; denial of "social courtesies" such as "the titles of 'Mr.,' 'Mrs.,' and 'Miss'"; discriminatory denial of promotion to Negroes in industry or public life. Although some gains have been won by the resistance of the Negro people, can any but the ignorant or the wilfully deaf and blind deny that these evils still weigh heavily on the masses of the Negro population?

Negro Resistance

It is one of the many major virtues of Dr. Aptheker's book that the Negro people emerge not only as the victims of, but as heroic fighters against oppression. In the mass they never disgraced themselves by being contented with slavery. As the state convention of the Colored Citizens of Ohio ringingly expressed it in 1849, they labored "never to cease our resistance to tyranny, whether it be in the iron manacles of the *slave*, or in the unjust *written* manacles of the *free*." The underground railway, the slave revolts, the 200,000 Negro volunteers in the Union Army and the 30,000 in the Union Navy, the militant resistance to the Ku

Klux Klan and other terroristic organizations—these and other evidences attest to the humanity, the dignity, the strength of the Negro people.

And then there is the *pride* of the Negro in being Negro, the assertion of their equality in all respects, the continual refutation of any imputation of their inferiority as a people. When Jefferson referred to the color of the Negro as "unfortunate," the flaming David Walker retorted in 1829, "As though we are not as thankful to our God, for having made us as it pleased himself, as they (the whites), are for having made them white. . . ."

All through the volume, furthermore, there is copious evidence of the cooperation of progressive white people with the Negro. But the texts also reveal how critical were the Negro people of anti-Negro prejudices that were to be found even among staunch white Abolitionists. Equality was always their aim. At a convention in Illinois in 1867, the Negroes "Resolved, That we do not ask our white friends to elevate us, but only desire them to give us the same opportunities of elevating ourselves. . . ." They had always resented the patronizing approach of many "white friends," ". . . our object is not to excite pity for ourselves, but to command respect for our cause," they had declared in 1853, as they had said, in 1849, "We ask not that you remove the disabilities under which we labor merely because you pity us. . . . We ask for equal privileges . . . because we are MEN, and therefore entitled to all the privileges of other men in the same circumstances." To this day there is much to learn from this counsel, this attitude. But it is impracticable to attempt even to summarize in a brief article the invaluable lessons to be drawn from this tremendous body of material. Dr. Aptheker himself has not undertaken such a summation, although it is to be hoped that in the promised next volume, bringing the story down from 1910 through World War II, he will do so.

Some Suggestions

For their possible utility in future editions of this volume and in the preparation of the next, we also wish to venture the following observations. This is a documentary history of, and written exclusively by, the Negro people. This self-imposed restriction, that all the documents must be not merely about but by Negroes, was perhaps a needless strait-jacket; in many instances supplementation of this excellent material with properly chosen documents from white sources might have both enriched and clarified the picture.

Related to this factor also is Dr. Aptheker's excessive self-restraint as an editor. So zealous has he tried to be in letting the Negro people speak for themselves that he has been much too stinting, almost to the point of being uncooperative, in supplying editorial introductions and notes that would help the general reader—whose vast ignorance of Negro history may be taken for granted as a result of the systematic miseducation to which we have all been subjected—more fully both to understand and appreciate the documents themselves. All too frequently we found our-

selves looking in vain for information about matter referred to in the texts, or about the many new and exciting personalities who wrote them, or for answers to questions implicit in the documents. Since Dr. Aptheker did not conceive his book as one to be used only by specialists or historians, he might well have been more generous with additional information and with the illuminating interpretations which his authority in the field qualifies him to make.

In at least one respect, also, the selection of documents seems to be insufficiently representative. Dr. Aptheker notes in one of his introductions that "the church has been a most significant organization in the life of the Negro people." Yet there seem to be only three or four documents reflecting the life of the Negro churches, hardly enough to represent the significance of their role.

Negroes and Jews

In closing, we would also call sharp attention to the fact that a study of this volume reveals how fundamentally different are the histories of the Jewish and Negro peoples in our country. They are as different as is slavery from anti-Semitic restrictions, as different as is the *system* of Jimcrow and segregation from anti-Semitic discrimination. In Dr. Aptheker's collection, there is very little living contact between Negroes and Jews. The first in the book, although Dr. Aptheker did not identify him, is that between the New York Jewish slave-owner, Lewis Gomez and his slave, Cuffee, who was hanged on June 9, 1741 for allegedly taking part in a "Negro conspiracy." The last contact recorded is that with Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Otherwise, the contact is between the Negro people and the history of the Jews of antiquity as reported in the Old Testament. Moses, Pharaoh, the Exodus and other incidents in ancient Jewish history figured frequently in the imagination of the Negro people, inspiring both folk lore and folk action, sometimes in curious detail, as when a Negro newspaper is named the *New York Ram's Horn* (after the *Shofer*), sometimes in stirring incident, as when Denmark Vesey reads from the book of Exodus to inspire his followers to revolt. In passing, Dr. Aptheker also notes that in 1866 anti-Negro mass violence was accompanied by "anti-Jewish and anti-alien hatreds," and that some Radical Reconstruction governments "eliminated legal reflections of anti-Semitism." Thus it is indicated that the ruling circles responsible for Jimcrow also breed and propagate anti-Semitism.

Dr. Aptheker's compilation will be of enduring value. For Jews it can be of special service. We sometimes underestimate the extent to which the ideology of "white superiority" has penetrated the ranks of the Jewish people, especially of its large middle class and its substantial "labor aristocracy." To the extent that the historical record of the life of the Negro people from 1661 to 1910 can overcome such racist theories, Dr. Aptheker's volume can be a great educational force.

THE ADENAUER DEAL AND ISRAEL

By Louis Harap

THE Jewish people must face the bitter fact that some Jewish leaders are trying to make them a pawn in the great war gamble of the State Department. This is the real meaning of the Adenauer "peace" offer to Israel and the vague promise of "reparations." Since this proposal was first made in September 1951, more and more Jews have come to understand its real significance—especially the people of Israel, as recent events have shown.

That the State Department is the motive power behind the deal is generally acknowledged. Its intention to try to break down resistance to rearmament of a renazified West Germany is also apparent to many by now. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, acting chairman of the World Jewish Congress and co-chairman of the Jewish Agency, seems to be playing the role of chief agent of the State Department in executing this deal. Following the secret meetings of Jewish leaders at the Waldorf last October, Dr. Goldmann journeyed to London to dragoon British Jewry into acquiescence with the scheme. Then he went on to have talks with United States High Commissioner for Germany John J. McCloy in Bonn. From there Dr. Goldmann hastened to Jerusalem, where he was closeted with Israeli Premier Ben Gurion and the Jewish Agency Executive early in December. The report on this meeting in the London *Jewish Chronicle* is significant. "No details of the Jerusalem talks have been disclosed," that paper reported. "Complete secrecy has been maintained and officials of the Jewish Agency were barred from the conference room when Dr. Goldmann made his statement to the Executive on reparations."

Following this top secret meeting, the Ben Gurion government dutifully proposed to the Knesset that direct negotiations with Adenauer be opened. The pressures that may have been conveyed in this secret meeting are indicated in this carefully worded statement in a *New York Times* dispatch from Tel Aviv dated January 2: "Under tacit pressure from Western powers, Israel will make a direct approach shortly to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Bonn government demanding reparations."

Judging from news dispatches from Israel in the second week of January, all hell broke loose when Ben Gurion put this question before the Knesset. Hundreds of people were injured in demonstrations before the Knesset in vehement protest against this betrayal of the Israeli people to the renazified Bonn regime. Numerous protest meetings were held all over the country. For several days a most heated debate took place and finally on January 9, the matter was put to a vote and the proposal to hold direct nego-

tiations won out in one of the closest votes ever taken in the Knesset—61 to 50, with five abstentions. In the opposition were the left wing Mapam Party, the Communist Party, Herut and the General Zionists.

It is not hard to understand this intense opposition to dealing with the renazified Bonn regime. To a large part of the Israeli population the betrayal of the six million was no theoretical matter, for they were the direct victims of the nazis and many had lost their entire families. Among these were Rabbi Mordecai Nurok, leader of the Mizrahi Party, and Yitzhok Greenbaum, a former Israeli cabinet minister and a former member of the Polish Sejm. In the Knesset debates, it was not only the left wing deputies, the Communist Party and Mapam, who saw the attempt at direct negotiations as an attempt to whitewash the renazified Bonn regime and facilitate the strategic war plans of the State Department. Rabbi Nurok and others also expressed this in their speeches.

It should not be hard to understand that dealings with those who are bringing back to power those responsible for genocide of one third of the Jewish people, is betrayal not only of the Jews, but of all those who believe in democracy. The Ben Gurion government and all those Jewish leaders who are pushing through this plan to make the renazified Bonn regime clean before the Jewish people and helping to break down resistance to West German rearmament, are endangering the survival of the Jewish people. The Israeli Peace Congress stated the situation clearly in a statement to the people of Israel: "We must never consent to the negotiations with the German neo-nazi government. These negotiations actually represent recognition and forgiveness. They have as their purpose the exoneration of the Bonn government, the recognition of her as an equal and acceptable representative in the eyes of Israel and all people. The preparations of the instigators of a new world war must never obtain the seal of Jewish approval."

The Jews of America have a special responsibility in preventing the consummation of negotiations with Adenauer. For the major Jewish leadership of our country has taken a path detrimental to the interests of the Jewish people and Israel. The masses of the Jewish people must therefore voice their protest against this betrayal. What is involved is not only abetting the rehabilitation of a renazified Germany: it also means facilitating the rearmament of West Germany, with the dire consequences of a new world war.

American Jews would do well to echo the cry of former victims of nazism: "No negotiations with the murderers of six million Jews!"

THE SCHAEFER TRADITION

The work of an outstanding composer who was steeped in Jewish working class traditions and left behind an enduring body of song

By Nathaniel Buchwald

During December commemorations were held throughout the progressive Jewish community of the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Jacob Schaefer, a leading Jewish choral composer and conductor. Following is the introduction, written by the distinguished writer and critic, Nathaniel Buchwald, to the first collection of Schaefer's songs, to be published by the Jewish Music Alliance at the end of January. This book will include Schaefer's original compositions and also his arrangements of Jewish folk songs by other composers. The book will also contain a full bibliography of Schaefer's compositions and a foreword by Chaim Suller, national secretary of the Jewish Music Alliance.—Eds.

THOUGH only fifteen years have elapsed since Jacob Schaefer died on December 1, 1936, at the age of 58, he has already become a tradition in Jewish choral music. Both conductors and audiences have had time to discover and assimilate his compositions and he is more widely sung and heard now than during his lifetime. His oratorios and smaller compositions, his arrangements of folk songs have become mainstays in the repertory of choral groups throughout the world. But there is much more to the Schaefer tradition than the actual compositions. Schaefer, the man, the story of his life, his environment and his outlook on life must be known before a true understanding of the Schaefer tradition is possible.

Schaefer was a man of the people not only by origin but by temperament and outlook. Descended from a family of carpenters, he spent his childhood in an atmosphere of poverty and toil. His only joy was the singing in his father's workshop. Moishe Dovid, his father, was a *Hassid* who knew literally hundreds of Hassidic *nigunim* (melodies) and traditional songs and sang them while at work at his bench. Yankele shared the work and Yankele's voice joined in the singing.

The contrast between wealth and poverty was forcefully brought home to the young Jacob through an incident which I. B. Bailin recounts in his monograph, *J. Schaefer: His Life and Works*. Though Yankele had never seen or heard a piano, he somehow had gotten the impression that famous cantors must know how to play the piano. In all innocence he asked his mother to buy him one. Imagine his confusion on learning that pianos were only for the wealthy!

In time Yankele grew up, became a chorister in a cantor's choir, finally learned to play the piano and even taught others. But his childhood experiences left an indelible impression on his character. All through his work, from his first wavering attempts at composition to his best-realized works, his intense concern with the problem of social justice is clearly evident. The point of departure in his creative work is not music for music's sake but music as a means of realizing an idea. Ideas that agitated the early proletarian Yiddish poets like Morris Winchevsky, Morris Rosenfeld, Joseph Bovshover, David Edelshtat, Zalmon Reisen and the inheritors of this tradition served to inspire Schaefer to create in the revolutionary vein that is the main aspect of his writing.

Rooted in Folk Tradition

Another distinguishing trait of Schaefer's work is his rootedness in Jewish traditional and folk music. Only musicians can appreciate the love and tenderness, the deep understanding he brings to his arrangements of Jewish folk songs. We can think of no one who has done as much in the field of Jewish folklore as Jacob Schaefer—the creator of that captivating choral spectacle, *A Bunt Mit a Statchke* (Upheaval and Bridges), which is based entirely on Jewish folk songs.

In the musical form of his compositions, Jacob Schaefer paid tribute to the classical school in which he was reared.



Jacob Schaefer

His thematic material, however, is deeply rooted in the Jewish folk tradition. Liturgical chants, hassidic *nigunim*, folk melodies were put to new use and were transformed into modern revolutionary and militant themes. That was Schaefer's way—from *Tzvei Brieder* (Two Brothers), steeped in liturgical chants, to *Kain Eintziķer Shpan* (Not a Foot of Ground), his most mature work, that speaks in the tender idiom of the Jewish folk song.

Besides his work as composer, Schaefer was an indefatigable researcher and collector of choral repertory. In his capacity of conductor and organizer of choral societies, he knew how necessary the small song was to the life of the choral group. Though working intensively on his own oratorios, *October, Geviter* (Stormy Weather), *Kain Eintziķer Shpan*, he somehow found the time to assemble two collections of songs, *Mit Gezang in Kamf* (With Song Into the Struggle) (1932) and *Gezang Un Kamf* (Song and Struggle) (1934). Though these collections contain only a small portion of the repertory sung by Jewish folk choirs at that time, they give a clear picture of the nature of this repertory and of Schaefer's attitude toward the problem of repertory. In choosing the songs for these collections he sought a balance between the classic revolutionary song, the folk song and the modern song of struggle.

The title of his collection, *Mit Gezang in Kamf*, is in itself revealing of Schaefer's attitude and program—the song to serve as inspiration and even as ammunition in the day-to-day struggle against the world's evils and toward the bright world of the future.

Such a program is exacting. It demands immediate reaction to the current phase of the struggle by way of the timely song. But to react immediately through songs of choral quality is a difficult problem. Time becomes a vital factor. As the direction of the struggle changes, as events succeed one another, the timely song of yesterday becomes dated and obsolete today. The work schedule of the choral society and the complexity of the medium in which it functions, make it impossible for such a group to react to events with the speed, for example, of the editorial in a daily newspaper.

Schaefer's awareness of this difference and his search for a balance between the timely song of struggle (or the song of a particular struggle) on the one hand, and the enduring song of struggle on the other, is reflected in the title of his second collection *Gezang Un Kamf*. The basic principle is the same but the emphasis is different. The first implies a program, the second, critical appraisal and selection.

That the foregoing is not mere conjecturing can be attested to by this writer who, during many talks with Schaefer, came to know how seriously concerned he was with the problem of presenting the current scene of struggle in artistically enduring terms.

This collection marks most fittingly the fifteenth anniversary of Schaefer's death. It is, however, but one stone in the Schaefer monument that is yet to be erected. These selected smaller compositions are only a part of the Schaefer heritage. Since many of these songs were hitherto either unpublished or, at best, scattered through various publications, there is no doubt that this collection will prove of great value to many Jewish choral groups.

It is known that during the last months before his death Schaefer's imagination was feverishly at work planning a choral spectacle on a grand scale. In a summer camp he produced, in sketchy form, his last choral spectacle *Ich Her a Kol* (I Hear a Voice) based on the poems of Rosenfeld, Winchevsky, Bovshöver and Edelshtat. It was for this spectacle that he created the final version of Bovshover's *Hoib Oif Deine Oign* (Lift Up Your Eyes), since become a classic in Jewish choral repertory.

This collection presents great opportunities to the Jewish choral conductor. He must, however, not be content with merely resounding notes that Schaefer wrote.

His approach must be in keeping with Schaefer's intent—the stressing of the word content of the song. In his preface to *Gezang Un Kamf*, Schaefer wrote, "It is high time that our choral conductors discarded the old hackneyed forms of interpretation and paid more attention to the meaning of the words . . . a chorus must be able to express strength, protest, will, as well as sarcasm, irony, satire, laughter, anger, pain!"

Shnell Loifen Di Reder (Swift Turn The Wheels)

Shnel loi-ſn di re-der vild kla-pn ma-shi-nen in
 Shap iz shmu-tzig un heis der kop vert far-tu-mlt in
 oi--gn vert finkzter finkz-ter fun tre-rn un shveis der
 kop vert far-tu-mlt in oi-gn vert finkzter finkzter fun tre-rn un shveis

Words by David Edelshtadt
 Music by Jacob Schaefer

Ich fil shoin bai zich kain gantsn eiver
 Tsebrochn, tse-drikt iz main brust,
 Ich ken shoin far veitik main rukn nit boign,
 Banacht lozt nit shlofn der hust.
 Banacht lozt nit shlofn der hust.

S'loift um der maister, a chaye a vilde,
 Er traibt tsu der shchite di shof.
 O, vi lang vet ir vartn,
 Vi lang vet ir duldn,
 Arbeter-brider, vacht-oif.

STORY OF THE CALIFORNIA FIFTEEN

The axe of the Smith act falls on leading progressives in California. Local Jewish leaders rise to help defend the Constitution

By Sherman Stone

WHEN United States District Judge William C. Mathes finally was forced to free the 15 California Smith act "defendants" in December on reasonable bail after four and one-half months of popular struggle against their illegal detention, a round of homecoming parties were tendered in their honor in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Thousands came to wish them well, to shake their hands, to embrace them. Everywhere there were pledges of support in the major struggle ahead.

One after another, these working class leaders spoke simply and encouragingly to their assembled friends. For many they clarified the issues involved in the case, stressed the importance of the reasonable bail victory, and pointed the way for the American people to nullify the Smith act witch-hunt and relegate it to the historical oblivion occupied by the Alien and Sedition Laws, the Dred Scott decision and findings that labor unions were "illegal conspiracies in restraint of trade."

Basic to any comprehension of the issues involved in the California Smith act case, is the understanding that political trials are never decided in the courts alone. Judges, juries and prosecutors live in a world of conflicting class interests and are responsive to the political climate of their time. Today the atmosphere of California is charged with statewide hysteria, reflecting its national counterpart. The Cicero outrage and the Miami pogroms are issues known throughout the land. But we, in California, understand that 15 Communist and progressive men and women were rounded up in line with a pattern that includes anti-Negro and anti-Semitic outrages.

Hysterical Atmosphere

Such events as the following have happened in California recently: crosses were burned on the lawns of Negro citizens in Los Angeles; Hitlerian anti-Semitic defacings have marred the walls of synagogues and the steps of universities; the swastika was hoisted obscenely to the top of the Los Angeles City Hall; Negro Sergeant Laurence R. "Bucky" Walters was framed in nearby Riverside for a murder he could not possibly have committed; State Senator Jack B. Tenney's "America Plus" organization spilled wealth throughout our communities, fostering his "freedom of choice" initiative designed to nullify the civil rights guarantees of the State Code; two Jewish community centers were

simultaneously attacked by the Tenney forces and by Editor McClure of the *Santa Monica Outlook*; three physicians, cited in one aspect or another by the House Un-American Activities Committee, were thrown out of their hospital appointments; police brutality mounted alarmingly against peaceful Negro and Mexican-American citizens; local graft and corruption in the Board of Education rivaled even the debased standards of Washington morality; the ghost of Coughlin fouled the airways in the person of Reverend James W. Fifield, at the same time that Reverend Stephen Fritchman, fighter for peace, was hauled before the House Un-American Committee; the Hollywood conformists, appeasers and frightened ones were filming the *Desert Fox*.

The Issue

The basic issue in this case is the right of advocacy. In 1927, Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis expressed his opinion in *Whitney vs. California* that: "Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty. To courageous, self-reliant men with confidence in the power of free and fearless reasoning applied through the process of popular government, no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the 'evil' [my quotes—S.S.] apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is an opportunity for full discussion."

The Smith act, as interpreted by Vinson's majority opinion, permits people to speak freely—but only to themselves. If they try to persuade someone else to their way of thinking, they are guilty of advocacy; if two or more people hold the same views and present them in speech or print, they are guilty of conspiracy to advocate; if their views are in opposition to governmental policies, they can be sentenced to five years in jail under the Smith act.

The Jewish community must take particular note of the startlingly disturbing parallel between the Smith act and Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution in the last years of the German Republic. Article 48 authorized the president of the Reich, "if public safety and order in the German Reich were considerably disturbed or endangered, to take steps to suspend the fundamental rights of speech, press and assembly guaranteed by the Constitution."

Article 48 prepared the atmosphere for Hitler's assump-

tion of power and for the nazi conquest of Germany.

The Smith act is preparing the atmosphere for the fascization of America.

These Are the "Criminals"

On the morning of July 26, 1951, twelve arrests were made at the same moment in Los Angeles and San Francisco. The case against all 12 prisoners was taken before a grand jury. A grand jury is supposed to investigate thoroughly before returning an indictment. In this case it took just 20 minutes! The members of the grand jury could not have read through the many complicated pages of the indictment in that time, much less deliberated upon it. On August 31, three more arrests were made in the same fashion in Los Angeles.

For the grand jury, 20 minutes; for ten men and five women, five years in prison if the indictments are upheld. For these 15 men and women, 75 years in jail on a 20-minute indictment:

Bernadette Doyle, a descendant of Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration of Independence. In 1950, she ran for California State Superintendent of Public Instruction on a platform calling for better schools instead of bigger bombs, for an end to discrimination against children of minority peoples. The people of California liked her program—for she polled 600,000 votes.

Henry Steinberg, leading figure in the Los Angeles Jewish community. After service in Okinawa, he returned to poll 39,707 votes as a candidate for the Los Angeles Board of Education in 1951. Married and has four daughters.

Carl Rude Lambert, veteran of World War I. He participated in unemployed, labor and veteran struggles during the depression. As a member of the International Labor Defense, he defended agricultural workers, particularly the oppressed Negro and minority peoples.

Ben Dobbs, four years as infantryman in World War II. He led a fight against the KKK in California in 1932 and was beaten by a KKK gang for his outspoken struggle against discrimination. Married and has two children.

Frank Carlson, born in Poland, lived almost his entire life in this country. He faces the double jeopardy of Smith act indictment and McCarran deportation proceedings. During the war he worked as a shipyard worker and warehouseman, and was union organizer for Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union during 1945-46.

Rose Chernin Kusnitz, mother, wife, and political leader. She is a member of the Virginia Road Chapter of Parents-Teachers Association, the West Adams Jewish Community, of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, and the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union. In the '30's, she was district organizer of the International Labor Defense. She is executive secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Philip M. Connelly, a member of the American Newspaper Guild since 1936. He was formerly vice-president of

the Guild and the second president of its Local 69. He was the first president of the California State CIO Council from 1938 to 1944; executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles CIO Council from 1938 to 1949. Labor member of the Pacific Regional War Manpower Commission during World War II. Los Angeles editor of the daily *People's World*.

Ernest Otto Fox, started sailing when he was 17. He participated actively in the 1934 maritime strike. He was CIO Field Representative for the State of Washington and helped organize cannery workers in the Northwest and Alaska. Was an executive board member of Warehousemen's Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Dorothy Ray Healey, mother of an eight year old son. In the '30s she was jailed for her efforts in organizing agricultural workers. From 1937 to 1938, she was an organizer of cannery workers, and from 1944 to 1945 an official in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America.

Albert Jason Lima, of the Lumber Workers Union and the Timber Workers Union in 1934 and 1935. He was president of the California Barrel Local, an organizer for the Workers Alliance and a member of the International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America. He ran for public office in Eureka in 1937, 1939 and 1941.

Al Richmond, author of *Native Daughter* and for 17 years a newspaperman and executive editor of the daily *People's World*. Married and has two children. Member of the American Newspaper Guild and a founder of the daily *People's World*.

William Schneiderman, was the object of a witch-hunt in 1939 when he went on trial for his citizenship. Before the Supreme Court, his attorney, Wendell Willkie, proved that Communist Party membership could not legally be made the excuse for deportation or persecution; that the party was a legal one. Married and has one child, a militant fighter for many years for the rights of working people.

Frank E. Spector, known up and down the West Coast for his writing, speaking and organizing of unions. His conviction under the old Criminal Syndicalism statutes was reversed in 1931; he now faces deportation under the McCarran act.

Loretta Starvus Stack, began work in the textile industry at the age of 14. As a member of the YWCA and as Field Representative of the United Electrical Workers, she has been a leader in the struggle for the rights of women in industry.

Oletta O'Connor Yates was appointed by San Francisco's Mayor Lapham in 1944 to the Mayor's Committee on Civic Unity. A candidate for supervisor in San Francisco in 1943 and 1948, she polled 40,000 votes each time. When in jail, she ran for the same office, conducting her campaign from her jail cell.

The Fight for Bail

These are the 15 men and women who were indicted

without due process and who were illegally detained for four and one-half months under a total of \$750,000 bail. Assistant United States Attorney Joseph Karesh at first proposed that bail be completely denied! After three weeks of legal skirmishing and the disqualification of Judge Carter for prejudiced statements he had made about the case, Judge Mathes set bail at \$50,000 each.

The defense attorneys contended that this amounted to a denial of bail in violation of the Eighth Amendment and carried the appeal to the District Court, where it was denied. They then took it to the Supreme Court, which upheld all of the defense contentions. Overruling Judge Mathes, the Supreme Court held that "Unless the right to bail before trial is preserved, the presumption of innocence, secured after centuries of struggle, would lose its meaning."

On November 28, 1951, in plain defiance of the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court, which held bail of the 15 to be excessive, Judge Mathes ruled that the \$50,000 bail for each defendant be allowed to stand. On the following day, after much public protest and medical reports, Judge Mathes released Mary Bernadette Doyle on her own recognizance. Miss Doyle had suffered a heart attack on October 31.

On Thursday, December 6, 1951, the full Ninth United States Circuit Court of Appeals heard the bail issue and by a vote of 6 to 1, ordered the defendants' bail set at \$5,000 to \$10,000 each.

Thus concluded a great victory for the people in the first stages of the government's attempt to jail 15 California working class leaders. But irony of ironies, on December 13, Judge Mathes granted a defense motion to dismiss the indictments as faulty, and gave the district attorney's office ten days to file new indictments. *Now that the accused are out on bail after four and one-half months in jail, it is ruled that they were illegally indicted!*

On December 23, a federal grand jury dutifully re-indicted the 15. Trial is set for January 28, 1952.

Tribute must be paid to the attorneys who have undertaken the defense of the Fifteen, despite the intimidation implicit in the contempt convictions of the Foley Square lawyers. Despite fear of reprisal and possible disbarment, seven outstanding members of the legal profession have undertaken this important defense of the Bill of Rights.

Dan Marshall, leading Catholic layman, has appeared in the bail issue. Associated with the defense, set for January 28, are: Al Wirin, attorney for the Los Angeles CIO Council and for the Los Angeles Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; Leo Sullivan, outstanding Oakland criminal attorney; Alexander Schullman, attorney for several AFL unions and prominent lay member of the Community Relations Committee of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council; Ben Margolis, leading labor and civil rights attorney; Norman Leonard, associated with the appeal in the case of Harry Bridges; and Leo Branton, outstanding Negro attorney who defended Sergeant Walters against a murder frame-up charge.

Heartened by the victory in the bail issue, organizations and individuals are preparing for the all out fight necessary to keep the California Fifteen out of jail. The mass voice of the people can accomplish what was left undone in the trial of the New York 11, for it must be remembered that the Supreme Court never reviewed their case. It merely confined its findings to the legality of the Smith act.

The Jewish people are coming out on this issue. They realize the tremendous stake that minority peoples have in the defeat of the witch-hunters. On Thursday, December 27, there appeared a full page advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union which, under the banner heading of "Keep Liberty's Torch Burning," called for the repeal of the Smith and the McCarran acts. Among the 200 odd signatures were many from the Jewish community, among whom were: Julius Fligelman, chairman of the 1948 United Jewish Welfare Fund Campaign; Jules Bisno, conservative member of the Beverly-Fairfax Jewish Community Center; the Santa Monica Chapter of the American Jewish Congress; May Bay, board member of the Jewish Centers Association; Stanley Fleishman, prominent civil rights attorney; I. Isenberg, chairman of the Santa Monica Jewish Community Center's Town Hall Forum; Peter M. Kahn, respected elder leader of the Jewish community; William Riback, executive director of the Santa Monica Jewish Community Center; Nathan L. Schoichet, vice-president, Southern California Division, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Carl Sugar, American Jewish Congress; and Dr. and Mrs. Fred Reynolds, for many years associated with the American Jewish Congress.

Rabbi Ben Zion Bergman addressed an overflow audience of 400 at a meeting sponsored by the Valley Bill of Rights Committee at the North Hollywood Women's Club. He warned that the fight for the Bill of Rights must succeed in America, if we are to prevent more Ciceros in the United States.

Labor has added its voice to the growing protests for the repeal of the Smith act, for labor recognizes the kinship between the blacklist of the progressive trade unionist and the Smith act witch-hunt, between the Taft-Hartley repressions and the McCarran act. Conferences organized in the San Francisco Bay Area attracted a great number of official and unofficial representatives of some of the big local unions in that region, cutting across lines that have divided trade unionists on other issues.

The California battle is, of course, but one segment of a national front against the Smith act, with separate engagements in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh and Hawaii where others have been indicted and now await trial under that repressive measure. The preliminary skirmish fought around the issue of bail in California has served, perhaps, to heighten popular realization of the dangers the Smith act represents for constitutional liberties and has set in motion a movement of vast potential.

CZECHOSLAVAKIA IS SLANDERED

By Sam Lipshitz

Toronto

DURING my visit to Israel two years ago, innumerable stories were told to me of the timely, heroic and generally appreciated—at least at that time—assistance, which the newly established state of Israel received from the people's democracies of Europe. But there was particular gratitude, warmth and love for Czechoslovakia. You could see that all over. I noticed it when the Czech minister to Israel appeared at a public gathering and received a spontaneous and most enthusiastic ovation. I saw it at a large labor conference, when the mere mention of Czechoslovakia evoked a terrific demonstration. I sensed it in the words of everyone, right or left, who talked to me about the war of liberation.

I remember my visit to Dagan, a Mapai kibbutz, led by an extreme right wing Mapai director. Conducting us on a tour of the very large kibbutz (which had been in mortal danger in the first days of the war and was about to be abandoned), the director repeatedly emphasized that only the timely arrival of aid from Czechoslovakia saved the day for this strategic position.

The friendship was fully reciprocated by the people of Czechoslovakia. On my way back from Israel, when visiting Prague, I saw and felt the lively interest and admiration for the people of Israel by everyone to whom I had the chance to speak and who knew that I had just returned from there.

The people of Israel could wish for no better friends than they have in the people's democracies and the Soviet Union. Yet to the misfortune of the young country and its people the Ben Gurion government and the Zionist leaders, under the prodding of the United States State Department, are deliberately destroying this friendship, which is the only solid cornerstone of Israel's security.

Late in December we were witness to an orgy of unbridled lies, falsehoods and slanders against Czechoslovakia, which was both nauseating and scandalous. Led by the New York Jewish daily *Forward*, the entire Jewish reactionary press on this continent spread large banner headlines about alleged "anti-Semitic" remarks made by Antonin Zapotocky, Czechoslovakia's premier. This deliberate campaign was instigated by the Washington warmongering crew and its State Department—the same government that only three short years ago protested to Zapotocky against shipping ammunition to the embattled fighters of Israel. Zapotocky at that time scornfully rejected Washington's protest. His government continued its policy of assistance, thus saving the lives of thousands

of young Jewish fighters and the very existence of the State of Israel.

And now we see the ugly scribes of the warmongering Jewish press, the allies of Petlura and Vlasov, the defenders of the *Judenrat*, the betrayers of the Jewish people, denounce Zapotocky, this noble champion of human liberty and life-long fighter against anti-Semitism, oppression and racial discrimination—as an anti-Semite.

It is important to note that everything that the Jewish press wrote about Zapotocky's speech is nothing but a pack of lies. The full text of the speech is now available and conclusively proves that just the opposite is the truth. In his speech Zapotocky denounced any attempt at racial or religious discrimination, stating in the most emphatic terms that the *iron-clad policy of his government is to guarantee full equality of opportunity to all citizens, irrespective of their national or racial origin and full, unhindered religious freedom to all denominations.*

I have no doubt that, if Premier Zapotocky's attention is ever drawn to this ugly performance of so-called Jewish leaders, he will treat it with the contempt that it deserves. Their barking will have no effect upon the actions of a great fighter, whose policy of national equality and freedom for all peoples guides him.

But it is our duty to recognize the real aims of this slanderous campaign. We must realize that behind the lies about alleged "anti-Semitism" in the people's democracies and the USSR, there exists nothing else but a deliberate attempt to strengthen the ideological preparation for a third world war among the Jewish people. Anyone guilty of that betrays the living and the dead, the present generation and the future.

In his speech of December 18, Czechoslovak Prime Minister Antonin Zapotocky said the following about religious freedom in his country:

"We do not suppress the political or religious convictions of our citizens. There has never been such freedom of religion as there is now. . . . We do not meddle with their [churches'] religious practices. But one thing we do not tolerate is that religious convictions or adherence be misused against the people's democratic state and for sabotage against the construction of socialism. We have punished nobody for his religious or political convictions. We do and shall continue to punish anyone who schemes against the Republic; who is sabotaging the building of socialism; who spies on behalf of the enemy and their war plans; who threatens and betrays the freedom and independence of the Czech and Slovak nations; who is a traitor to his own country."

SONGS OF JEWISH WORKERS

Translated from the Yiddish by V. J. Jerome

Woven into the narrative of A Lantern for Jeremy, forthcoming novel by V. J. Jerome about the life of a sensitive working class boy in an old Polish town, are translations from the Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic and Polish made by the author. We present below Jerome's translations of revolutionary songs sung by the Jewish workers. Most of the texts of these songs are by Yiddish proletarian poets. All are translations from the Yiddish except for one original poem in English by V. J. Jerome, composed for the book, and one verse from the revolutionary Polish workers' song, rendered from the Polish. In no case is the complete original poem here translated, since only a part of each was worked into the narrative; three dots (...) signify where omissions occur. We publish these translations in the belief that they form a contribution to the knowledge of English speaking Jews about the Jewish folk tradition.—L.H.

THE STRUGGLE

By David Edelshtadt

We're hated and endlessly driven,
In dungeons our days turn to night—
And only because we have given
Ourselves to the workingman's fight. . . .

Chain us in fetters of iron!
Hang us from high gallows-poles;
Our bodies alone you will deaden,
But not our unbreakable souls! . . .

Imprison and kill us, O tyrants!
New fighters will rise with the dawn.

LET US UNITE!

Author Unknown

Are we afraid of guns and of cannon,
When for freedom in battle we stand?
Let us unite—Poles, Jews and Russians,
And make a republic in our land. . . .

EXODUS FROM EGYPT

By David Edelshtadt

Kneading clay and dragging mortar,
Building towers rich and high. . . .

And for every brick found lacking,
With a child the gap was sealed.
And who knows the years, the ages
When their sorrows would be healed.

If in that ancient land of Egypt
There had not sprung a hero forth
On Israel's side to fight for freedom
With his wisdom, with his sword. . . .

And since then in untold millions
Days did rise and nights did fall;
And again are Jews, O brothers,
To new Pharaohs slaves in thrall.

People! Who will free you now?
Your brave champion—where is he? . . .

Who will now divide your sea,
Sea of tears and blood and pain? . . .

People! Your own champion be!

THE BANNER

By Sh. Frug

Not of gold-cloth, not of satin
Is our banner made. . . .

In cellars dank
By tallow-light
Pale Poverty
Wove the gray threads
And dyed them deep
With the blood of every wound.

From prison-pits,
From black abyss,
From hungry villages,
From stifling towns; . . .
All woes, all anguish,
All bitterness, all wrath—
The People's Want
Wove into the reddening threads. . . .

THE VOW

By Z. Sinani

Brothers and sisters of toil and of want,
All the divided, the scattered, dispersed—
Together, together, the banner is raised,
It flutters in anger, with blood it is red. . . .

THE RED FLAG

Polish Workers' Revolutionary Song

Our blood has long been shed by headsmen,
Still flow the people's bitter tears.
Shall come the final day of reckoning,
And then the judges we will be!
And then the judges we will be! . . .

STRIKERS' SONG

By V. J. Jerome

Have you heard, O good people, the happening in town?
The workmen have risen, the masters are down!
Now tan-yard is grave-yard and dark is each shed:
The hands that can stir them won't work without bread.
So, up with the strike, every scraper and tanner—
We'll go back as one under victory's banner!

NEWS ON EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

Soviet Union. S. L. Schneiderman reported in the *Jewish Morning Journal* of December 30, 1951, that he had learned from a reliable source in Paris that Soviet Yiddish writers Itzik Feffer, Broderson and Bergelson were now living in Odessa; that 30-40,000 Jews live in Lvov (Lemberg), Galicia, now part of the Soviet Union, and that a Yiddish theater exists there. He also said that he ascertained that a group of Jewish writers in Paris is occupied with fabrications of false reports about Jews of the Soviet Union.

Rumania. Jewish communities throughout the country have been celebrating the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Yiddish theater by Abraham Goldfadden. Several thousand Bucharest Jews, including community leaders, writers, artists and factory workers, attended a gathering at the Yiddish theater to celebrate the memory of Goldfadden. Yiddish Theater Director B. Lebler contrasted the hardships of Jewish theater workers before the war with the improved conditions today.

Poland. The city of Wroclaw has followed the example of Warsaw and named a street after the classic Yiddish writer I. L. Peretz in honor of the centenary of his death which is being commemorated throughout Poland. The proposal for the naming of the street was made by Jewish city councillors and unanimously adopted by the entire city council. . . . On his fiftieth birthday Jacob Berman, under-secretary of state of the presidium of the council of ministers, was awarded the order of the Banner of Labor, First Class, in recognition of his services in the struggle for a people's Poland and in the building of

socialism. . . . A new People's University was established in Warsaw to train Jewish youth in leadership of the Jewish masses of the country.

Bulgaria. Twenty prizes were awarded to Jewish engineers in November for their outstanding work in Bulgarian industry. Eight were given first prizes and 12 received second prizes.

Czechoslovakia. The 20th anniversary of the death of Arthur Schnitzler, noted Jewish Austrian playwright, is being celebrated throughout Czechoslovakia by a series of public events. In Prague the Revolutionary Theater marked the occasion with the premiere of Schnitzler's *Professor Bernhardt*, which has a Jewish theme.

East Germany. An interview of the Vienna correspondent of the *London Jewish Chronicle* with the noted Jewish author, Arnold Zweig, who now lives in East Germany, appeared in the November 23, 1951, issue. Zweig was attending the World Peace Council meeting in Vienna as an East German delegate. Zweig told the correspondent that most East Berlin Jews had good jobs in colleges, government service, music, the law, etc., while the Minister of State, Mr. Bender, is Jewish. Concerning anti-Semitism in East Germany, Zweig said: "It would be a miracle if all traces of anti-Semitism had been wiped out after 25 years of intensive propaganda. But at least there is no open manifestation of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism and racial discrimination of any kind is liable to heavy punishment." Zweig is president of the Berlin Academy of Arts.

SCHUMACHER AND REARMAMENT

The anti-democratic position of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and its leader, Schumacher, on rearmament is exposed

By Gerhard Hagelberg

THE most important question facing the German people today—and certainly one of the most vital to the whole world as well—is whether West Germany will be re-armed. To the German people rearmament means economic impoverishment, continued occupation by foreign troops, the revival of nazism and the possibility of a fratricidal struggle and the consequent destruction of their homeland. To the world, German remilitarization holds out the threat of another world war and this not long after 27,000,000 dead were lost in World War II. Therefore, a touchstone for judging the main opposition party in West Germany, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), which is represented to the world as speaking for the interests of the German working people and as a force for peace and democracy, is the position taken by this party on remilitarization. For peace and democracy, not to mention socialism, are unthinkable in a rearmed Germany. What is the position of the SPD on rearmament?

SPD On Rearmament

As early as August 23, 1950, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, chairman of the SPD, declared: "We are ready to bear arms again, if the Western Allies share the same risks and the same chances in war against the Soviet Union." From the very beginning the discussion on German rearmament proceeded with the knowledge of the SPD leaders. When General Eisenhower went to Germany in January 1951, he conferred also with the deputy chairman of the SPD, Erich Ollenhauer. According to the Social Democratic Berlin paper *Telegraf* of January 24, 1951, Ollenhauer evaluated this interview as "entirely positive." On March 2, 1951, Dr. Schumacher met with the Germany military advisers, Generals Speidel and Heusinger. The *Rhein-Neckar Zeitung* of Heidelberg revealed on April 21, 1951: "Moreover, the Blank Office [department of Theodor Blank, the de facto defense minister of West Germany—G.H.] appears to cultivate, with the agreement of the Federal Chancellor, constant contact also with the leader of the opposition, Dr. Schumacher. It is reported that the German generals also pressed for informing Dr. Schumacher. One sees on the part of the government in Bonn already a favorable result of this understanding in Dr. Schumacher's restraint in his criticism of the military-technical conversations."

In addition, the American High Commissioner John J. McCloy had what Dr. Schumacher called "repeated conversations" with him on the Western plans for a German arms "contribution."

Schumacher & Co. not merely acquiesced in the program for German rearmament, but projected their own set of principles. These are, in Schumacher's own formulations:

(1) "Engagement by the Anglo-Saxon powers in Europe and Germany for a defense by land forces that would spare Germany the damage of a scorched earth policy and obviate the possibility of the withdrawal of forces from Germany" (*New York Times*, December 1, 1951). In other words, "concentration of the armed forces of the Western world on German soil" and "defense of Germany by world democracy offensively toward the East" (*Neuer Vorwaerts*, July 13, 1951). The full implication of this was brought out in a report of the *Nuernberger Nachrichten* of October 25, 1950, which said that Schumacher demanded "already for months the establishment of numerous allied divisions in Germany so that in case of war the first battle would be fought on the Elbe and the second on the Vistula."

Advocate of Inevitable War

To judge by these statements, Schumacher not only accepts the inevitability of war and does nothing to prevent it, but he also advocates the preparation of a surprise attack against Eastern Europe, for only thus can he hope to reach the Vistula. After the military experience of World War II this must be characterized as the scheme of a madman.

(2) "Unconditional political, economic and military equality" for West Germany (*Neuer Vorwaerts*, July 13, 1951). This entails, according to the *New York Times* report of Dr. Schumacher's demands at a press conference on October 19, 1951, "that the Western allies renounce the Potsdam Agreement as a guarantee of West German sovereignty under the contractual agreement now being negotiated by the Western powers and the Bonn government." For, Schumacher asserted, "unless the Potsdam Agreement is repudiated, the West can revive it any time it chooses and return to the occupation regime." Schumacher supported this demand by citing the recent ex-

change between United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union Alan G. Kirk and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky, which "proved that the United States and the Soviet Union were having dealings."

In calling for the abrogation of the Potsdam Agreement, Dr. Schumacher plays right into the hands of the American government, which has already violated it by sponsoring not only remilitarization of West Germany, but also renazification. Schumacher is thus demanding the repudiation of the pledges of the Allies to maintain a denazified, demilitarized and decartelized Germany. His reference in this context to United States-Soviet conversations again shows that he not only believes war to be inevitable, but opposes any effort to ease the tension.

As to the establishment of a new German army, the English-language information service of the SPD pointed out on March 26, 1951, the difference between the opposition and the government: whereas Adenauer wants *volunteer* contingents, the SPD calls for a "democratic people's army" established through *conscription*. The *New York Times* of December 23, 1951, reported from Bonn that "a group of parliamentary deputies, including a Socialist, has been informally drafting a new set of army regulations." The deputy chairman of the Berlin SPD, Kurt Hattick, spoke in opposition to the Plevan Plan for a European army and the Schuman Plan on the ground that they mean the defense of France only, not Europe. Mattick further said that veterans organizations and the wearing of military decorations should be permitted (*New York Times*, September 15, 1951).

Skulduggery on Unification

Coupled with the issue of remilitarization is that of the continued split of Germany which is necessary for West Germany's availability as a forward war base. In this connection an insight into the type of politics played by Schumacher is provided by an incident which evoked widespread attention in Germany. In the Bonn parliament on October 16, 1951, the representative of the SPD in foreign policy matters, Dr. Gerhard Duetkens, speaking on behalf of his party, declared that the treaties which Adenauer intends to conclude with the West will impede the reunification of Germany. He further stated that the question of German unity must take precedence over the plans for the "European integration" of West Germany, that is, its involvement in the various economic and military schemes of the Atlantic Pact powers. A few minutes later, the deputy chairman of the SPD, Ollenhauer, after a hurried conference with Schumacher and the Social Democratic vice-president of the Bundestag, Carlo Schmidt, officially repudiated Luetkens' statement. Two days later, Luetkens was removed from his position of party leadership and withdrawn from the parliamentary foreign affairs committee.

The lack of principle in Schumacher's opposition to certain measures of the military and economic rearmament

of West Germany which do not conform to his own program, has been indicated by a number of observers. Basil Davidson of the London *New Statesman and Nation*, for example, characterized the SPD leaders on February 17, 1951, as "tacticians," adding, "What Schumacher wants, and more or less says he wants, is no rearmament unless and until the SPD is in the government." Stewart Alsop in the *New York Herald Tribune* of October 12, 1951, reported:

"Schumacher haughtily dismisses the Schuman Plan and the European army, now the twin pillars of American policy in Europe, as French trickery. He would permit German rearmament only on the impossible condition that there were sufficient Anglo-American ground strength to halt a Soviet attack at the Elbe, and once this condition was fulfilled, he strongly implies, Germany would rearm only in order to march to the Vistula."

Shady Characters in SPD

United States High Commissioner McCloy apparently does not take this kind of opposition seriously either. Of the 13 West German newspapers which have so far been found eligible because of their pro-Western line to benefit from the 15 million mark press fund of the American occupation, three belong to the SPD.

The nature of the SPD leadership is further indicated by the fact that it continues to include men in high positions despite unsavory revelations regarding their political past. The Social Democratic Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Ernst Reuter, is a case in point. Reuter is a former Communist who became a bitter and loud adversary of Communism. He spent the war years in Turkey, working for the Turkish government. Although Reuter represents himself to have been a political refugee, his passport was renewed annually by German Ambassador von Papen. It is common knowledge that the nazis did not generally so accommodate political refugees nor would such a person have dared to enter a German embassy and put himself in danger of being arrested and shipped back to Germany.

Another example is the Social Democratic vice president of the Bonn parliament, Carlo Schmidt, who was with the German occupation in France during the war. The French newspaper *Ce Soir* published a facsimile of a proclamation of the German authorities in Lille announcing the shooting of French miners as hostages. The document was signed by Carlo Schmidt.

Lastly, mention must be made of Herbert Kriedemann, member of the SPD executive. A Communist newspaper in Lower Saxony accused him of having been a Gestapo agent in 1936 and of having denounced to the nazis 60 members of the underground socialist front, most of whom were later executed. Kriedemann lost a libel suit against the paper before a British court after the documentary proof was submitted, including his Gestapo dossier. In contrast to Schumann's speedy action in the case of Dr. Luetkens, whose only crime it was to voice the sentiments

of the German people, Schumacher has seen no need to remove these worthies from their positions.

Adenauer and Schumacher

What, then, is the distinction between Schumacher and his colleagues and the Adenauer government? Schumacher is not opposed to West German rearmament provided the United States pays a high enough price for German participation and accords West Germany "equality" in the anti-Soviet crusade. He is not opposed to war, provided it is carried on offensively on Polish and Russian soil. He opposes the Schuman Plan not because it means the intensified exploitation of French and German workers by an international super-cartel, but because it does not offer even greater opportunities for aggrandizement to the coal and steel barons of the Ruhr.

Such a line is not new. Another kind of "socialists," the National Socialists, also rearmed Germany under the slogan of *Gleichberechtigung* (equality), which is Schumacher's favorite demand. The difference between Adenauer and Schumacher is that the latter represents even more actively the interests of West German imperialism, at the same time as he speaks to pull the wool over the eyes of the German people with demands for social gains. The relationship between Adenauer and Schumacher is not so much of opposition as of rivalry. In the drawn-out conferences between the West and Bonn on the revision of the occupation, this has worked out as a useful division of labor, with Adenauer doing the negotiating and Schumacher presenting the demands.

While Schumacher's demands for the reinforcement of Western troops in Germany and the repudiation of the Potsdam agreement are basically in accordance with United States policy, his outspokenness appears to be causing some embarrassment. The *New York Times* correspondent Drew Middleton characterized the latter demand on October 20, 1951, as a "rather irresponsible statement," and Jack Raymond warned in the *Times* on December 23, 1951: "Dr. Schumacher has denounced the European army in shrill nationalist tones that may yet reawaken those untidy elements in Germany that once before sent people like him to concentration camps."

Historically, this is a new low for Social Democracy. In 1914, it was only after the outbreak of war that the SPD went over to the side of German imperialism. In 1933, it was only after Hitler's seizure of power that the party endorsed his foreign policy. Today, however, the SPD leadership is openly associated from the very beginning with the reactionary forces and aids the war preparations. The position of the SPD leaders on remilitarization becomes quite understandable when viewed in the light of the party's history in the past 20 years.

Past Role of SPD

Many American liberals, who are dismayed at the neo-

fascist tendencies of the government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, are looking to the Social Democratic Party as the force which may eventually come to power and construct a "democratic" and denazified West Germany. Such hopes have been encouraged by the fact that recent election figures show that the SPD has gained while Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union has been losing votes.

The favorable view of the SPD seems to be based on the reputation of the party as a strong opponent to the rise of Hitler in Germany prior to 1933 and the belief that, unlike the present government parties, it was never tainted with nazism. Thus the SPD is considered to offer an alternative of a democratic, peaceful future to the threat of a remilitarized and renazified Germany.

To the extent that these expectations are based on memories of the SPD's role during the days of the Weimar Republic, they are historically inaccurate. It is a fact that the Nazi dictatorship could have been prevented even on the eve of or immediately following Hitler's appointment as Reichskanzler on January 30, 1933, through united action on the part of the German working class. This could only be achieved by agreement between the Communist party and the SPD, the two principal parties of the German working class. However, from 1930 to 1933, although the menace of the National Socialists had become apparent, the leadership of the SPD repeatedly rejected the united front offers of the Communists. Where the SPD controlled the national or local administration, it carried out measures of anti-Communist repression. As a matter of fact, a number of middle class democratic representatives at that time opposed reaction more strongly than the leadership of the SPD, which in 1932, worked with the right as the "lesser evil" to Hitler. The SPD even had the illusion that it could continue to function under a fascist government. Even after hundreds of SPD functionaries had already been thrown into concentration camps, its halls occupied by the Nazis and its entire property confiscated, the SPD representatives participated in the Reichstag session of May 17, 1933, and voted "Ja" for Hitler's foreign policy.

However, is it not likely that in the dozen years between Hitler's rise to power and his defeat in 1945 the attitude of the SPD leadership and its adherents changed, as a result of their experiences in the struggle against nazism? This did happen for a period. There was a widespread desire in 1945 among the membership and many leaders of the reconstituted SPD to join with the Communist Party in united action to build a democratic society in Germany. It was recognized that this could be accomplished only through the unity of the working class. A movement did begin to merge the two parties organizationally throughout the four occupation zones and to establish a united party as the expression of a united working class. The merger was consummated in East Germany early in 1946 with the birth of the Socialist Unity Party. In the Western zones, however, the intervention of the occupation powers and the virulent anti-communist campaign of Dr. Kurt Schumacher prevented unification.

OFF THE PRESS . . .

Edited by Hershl Hartman

Sharp questions on Germany have begun to crop up in the press indicating that the Jewish community is far from sold on the "reparations" gimmick by which the State Department and its supporters hope to pull the teeth of Jewish opposition to the Adenauer regime and German rearmament. The California *Jewish Voice* (December 7, 1952), editorially blasts the concept that Israel can conduct negotiations with Adenauer without developing "extended relationships" with the Bonn government. . . . By "permitting Germany to finance itself out of guilt," Jews will be blocking the real "path of redemption"—presumably, denazification and democratization—says the editorial. Dealing with Bonn can "only lead to a morass into which we, as guides, will topple first." *Congress Weekly* (December 24) plugs for direct Israel-Bonn negotiations—without any reference to growing nazism in West Germany—and labels the widespread opposition in Israel to Ben Gurion's proposal "unreasoning emotionalism . . . a case of hysteria." On the other hand, the *Reconstructionist* (December 28), organ of a liberal religious movement, places before Germany the *equal* responsibility "of making restitution to the victims of nazism and of democratizing her politics and her education"—the first expression of an influential Jewish journal reflecting rank-and-file reaction to the "reparations" proposal. The same editorial, while supporting German participation in a European army, declares: "as long as nazism has not been uprooted . . . Germany cannot be entrusted with an independent army commanded by ex-nazis or potential nazis, nor with full freedom to play Machiavellian *Realpolitik*." Partially reversing its stand of a year ago—when a slim majority of the editorial board supported alliance with Bonn, Franco and Chiang—the magazine hits out at "the disposition in America to play down the danger of fascist totalitarianism, in the false hope that by doing so we can assure [Germany's] friendship and cooperation."

The spectre of racism in Israel—highlighted by the Tel Aviv sitdown strike of 130 Indian Jews who demanded to be permitted to return home because they had faced discrimination due to their dark skins—disturbed some American Jewish editors who rushed into print with heated denials devoid of fact. The *Jewish Frontier* (December), admitting that "it is quite possible that offensive epithets may have

been employed," stoutly declares: "there is no discrimination in Israel" and reminds the Indians of the sacrifices made to "gather them in." The *Reconstructionist* (December 28) admits even more evidence of discrimination but denies its existence just as vehemently. Yemenites, the article admits, "have for years . . . been the boot-blacks, newsboys, messengers; the Yemenite girls [*dark-skinned females are never called women!*—H. H.] have been the housemaids. . . . They drifted into the so-called menial occupations" [Italics mine—H. H.] because they were "poverty-stricken . . . ignorant . . . had few skills." Both articles ignore the Indian Jews' charges of discrimination in housing, hiring and education (some were forced to register their children in schools run by Christian missionaries) and the fact that these Jews were prosperous, highly skilled artisans before they were hustled out of their comfortable and peaceful existence in India and were flown to camps in the Negev, unable to take their possessions with them in the "Flying Carpet" airplanes. Nor do the righteous statements include reference to the second-class citizenship borne by Israel's Arab population. The vast majority of Israelis are certainly not racists—but heated denials have never eradicated racism, they can only help it grow under cover of "non-recognition."

Press reactions to the Florida outrages: Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* editorial (January 4): "The Ku Klux Klan and those who protect them are guilty. What are we waiting for? Those who perpetrated—or allowed their 'stooges' to perpetrate—these bombings, *stand convicted of force and violence against the Constitution and the Bill of Rights*. . . ."

"Obviously, it's time for the president of the United States, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, to order troops to Florida to apprehend the miscreants and put an end to these atrocities which have shamed America in the eyes of the civilized world.

"*It's time for the Justice Department, which is so efficient in prosecuting under the Smith act, the Communist Party merely for 'conspiring to advocate' Communism, to show similar diligence against fascists not merely for 'conspiring to advocate,' but for planning and executing destruction and murder.*" [Italics mine—H.H.] Chicago *Sentinel* (December 13): ". . . The whole disgraceful Miami story falls into a clear cut pattern. It is a natural

continuation of Peekskill, Peoria Street and Cicero. We can logically expect that the next development will be to blame the victims themselves for having committed the crime. . . . Until we Jews are willing to face up to these facts we can expect an accentuation of the ever-increasing series of anti-Semitic attacks. . . . Unless the trend is halted and reversed, our children will pay a terrible price for our indifference. . . . How many dynamitings will be required to awaken us from our apathy? Or is the spirit of the Macabees completely dead?" And absolution for the KKK in the Yiddish Daily *Forward* (December 28): "The once-powerful KKK has lost its misled followers and no longer has influence in almost all the southern states. . . . Florida has apparently undertaken to revive the old, extremely reactionary reputation of West Virginia for itself. How else explain the unconcern, the apathy of the state and county officials. We have *no reason to doubt* that the federal government—the FBI and the Justice Department—are *doing all that they can* to find those guilty of the ten dynamite explosions in the Miami Beach area. *Moore's murder has strengthened this belief of ours.*" [Italics mine—H.H.]

Religion in public schools—specifically, the New York State Board of Regents' recent recommendation that prayers be said in classrooms at the opening of the school day—was widely condemned. The clearest statement came from the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner* (December 28): "The proposal must be viewed against a background of nation-wide assault upon the American tradition of free education. . . . The schools must be free even for those who profess no religion; otherwise they will ultimately be free only for those who conform to a particular faith which alone is officially 'sanctioned.'" The *Reconstructionist* (December 28), calling for protests by parents, warns: "What is most disturbing is the frank admission of a (Regents) Board member, Mr. Welles V. Moot, that this recommendation is 'just a beginning of a plan to bring more religion into the public schools.'" The *Jewish Spectator*, while affirming the "great satisfaction . . . (of) religiously-oriented Jews" over the emphasis on religion, declares: "Prayer and religious practice must have no room in our public schools if the democratic character of our educational system is to be preserved."

TO OUR READERS

The editors urge readers to send us items of interest from the Jewish press which may be commented upon in this department.

Letters from Abroad

ISRAEL AND MIDDLE EAST "DEFENSE"

By I. Berman

Tel Aviv

During December, the Knesset held a debate on the question of Israel's participation in the Middle Eastern bloc. One of the speakers was Deputy Shmuel Mikunis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel. His speech was full of deep national feeling and the desire for peace. Mikunis spoke of the implications of the plans of the Ben Gurion government for the welfare of the people and their consequences for the state.

"The declaration on foreign policy of Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett," Mikunis began, "can only arouse the greatest uncertainty and anxiety in the hearts of the people. The foreign minister revealed little but camouflaged much. But the little that he did reveal was enough to arouse sad thoughts in everyone who thinks seriously about Israel and her future.

"The foreign minister speaks in a meaningless way about the independence of Israel. For the Ben Gurion government long ago forsook political independence. For instance, its accord with the Truman 'Point Four' program indicates to anyone who can read that we have lost our political and economic independence, lost the gains won through the death of thousands of soldiers on the battlefield of our fight for freedom."

Mikunis then exposed the hoax of "aid" from Washington. "We would have to be blind not to see that American dollars are given to us so that we may spend ten times as much on military bases and to build air fields and prepare the army for the third world war on the side of American imperialism, on the side of the heirs of Hitler."

Mikunis pointed out the real significance of the declaration of Sharret. "You speak of defending the peace in the Middle East," said Mikunis. "You dare to label as 'defensive' the aggressive bloc of the Anglo-American warmongers in partnership with the reactionary, vassal rulers of the Middle East who, together with Israel, are to wage war against the Soviet Union! Is this 'defense'?"

"What compels us to seek 'defense'

against the Soviet Union? Is that country preparing to attack Israel or Syria, Egypt or Iraq? Are Soviet soldiers in the Middle East? Is there any indication whatsoever of a 'Soviet invasion' of which the warmongers rant?"

"On the other hand, the 'defenders' of the Middle East are here. There were British soldiers on our soil for over 30 years. They are still at our borders, at the Suez Canal and in Iraq. Now the Americans have aggressive military bases in North Africa and in Saudi Arabia. Here lie the dangers—and they are only beginning, for the Anglo-Americans are trying by every means to create opportunities to send not only more armaments, not only British soldiers, but also American and French soldiers, as well as German nazis, who also 'defend' the Middle East and the 'threatened' world!

"This, then, is the nature of the pact for 'defense' of the Middle East for which the foreign minister asks our support. The Ben Gurion government is agreeable to enlisting in and giving aid to this great crime against all the peoples of the Middle East, to this greatest crime against the State of Israel, against the people of Israel."

Mikunis then exposed to the Knesset what the Ben Gurion government is desperately trying to conceal. "You carry on secret talks with Truman's emissaries behind closed doors, but the American press unwittingly discloses something of what is said at those talks. For instance, the United Press reported in October that United States Ambassador to Israel, Davis laid down four conditions to be fulfilled by Ben Gurion before it could join the Middle East bloc. Davis proposed that the Negba be placed under his jurisdiction, that Elath and the port of Haifa be given up and that Israel's borders be revised.

"And here is what the London Times wrote at the end of October: 'The establishment of the bloc is possible only on the basis of drastic revision of the borders of Israel.' Cyrus Sulzberger wrote in the New York Times 'There is much talk of putting on the agenda for discussion the plan which was secretly proposed by King Abdullah—giving Transjordan the zone of

Ezeh and a narrow corridor of the territory of Israel leading to this port.'"

All this indicates that the friends of Sharett and Ben Gurion in Washington want and are pressing Israel to concede territory to the reactionary Arab rulers which affect the security of Israel.

Mikunis then said: "We can tell you with full assurance and knowledge that you can underwrite all sorts of pacts and agreements, but you should know that the time is past when rulers or ruling classes alone decide the fate of peoples. The Israeli masses will nullify your plans for enslavement and war!

"The Israeli youth and the Israeli workers will not raise a hand against the socialist Soviet Union. They will not raise a hand against that fortress of peace, democracy and socialism, against those who helped found the State of Israel. They will not raise a hand against the heroes of Stalingrad, who saved Eretz Yisroel when Rommel was at Israel's borders, and who also saved the Jews who survived the nazis in Europe. The peoples of the Middle East know that their enemy is imperialism and that their friend is the Soviet Union."

Then Mikunis discussed the struggles of the peoples of the Middle East, especially of Egypt and Iran, against imperialism and for peace. He pointed out that these peoples were engaged in the same kind of struggle for national liberation in which the people of Israel were involved four years ago. He took to task the Israeli leaders for trying to confuse the Arab peoples with their reactionary government leaders.

In the last part of his speech Mikunis discussed the question of the Adenauer "peace offer." "The foreign minister," he said, "has 'elegantly' passed over a question which is soaked with the blood of six million Jews. In order to justify his advocacy of negotiating with the neo-nazi Bonn government, he introduced the fact that a conference of Jewish organizations in the United States under the leadership of a few agents of the State Department 'endorsed' the Adenauer declaration." Mapai deputies tumultuously objected to this characterization of "agent," but Mikunis retorted that "there were also Jews in the Judenrat."

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JEWISH ACTIVITY IN HUNGARY

By Ben Shek

Budapest

On Yom Kippur the weather was mild and fresh, Indian-summerlike. Hundreds of Budapest's Jews streamed out of the great synagogue on Dohany Utca at the end of the services. Then came Simchas Torah and Succoth and again the synagogues were packed. How puny the professional hate-spreaders, the unprincipled fabricators of "anti-Semitism" in the people's democracies seemed to me here in the Hungarian capital. According to them, Budapest's Jews have been "deported to the concentration camps in Siberia." Yet here they were, freely practising the religion of their forefathers, engaging in social and economic life equally with all other citizens, legally protected from anti-Semitism, which the Hungarian people's regime has already rooted out almost to complete non-existence not only in people's behavior, but in their consciousness too.

Writing recently about the lie of anti-Semitism in people's Hungary *Uj Elet* (New Life), organ of the Hungarian Jewish community, commented: "The very country which [the Jewish reactionaries] want to free from anti-Semitism is precisely one in which vigilant care and energy is taken to combat every attempt to foster racist ideas against any people or religious group. . . . The expulsions did not have an anti-Jewish character; it was not a Jewish affair. We do not demand exceptional treatment or an exceptional situation: we ask only the equality pre-

scribed by the constitution. And no one who knows the situation and has a quiet conscience can state anything but that we have acquired this equality."

Just one word about the expulsions. Until they were sent out of Budapest, the Horthyites and big capitalists inhabited large villas and mansions; they contributed nothing to the productive life of Hungary, to the Five Year Plan which will transform this land into a rich, prosperous industrial country. Now their villas will accommodate steelworkers and construction workers, textile workers and apprentices. At present, because of the temporary housing problem, engineering student Charles Ujfalussy—who came here from Windsor, Ontario—must live apart from his parents. At the same time, deposed capitalist elements similar to those expelled live a lavish, indolent existence and spend their time, day in, day out, at the cafes. The contrast, I think, amply demonstrates the correctness of the expulsions.

Uj Elet appears on the stands every Thursday. A six-page weekly tabloid, written in the Hungarian language (which is the one Hungarian Jews have used for hundreds of years), its weekly contents afford a good idea of the life and interests of the Jewish community.

I have before me a typical issue. The front page carries an article on the great campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact and a second article exposing the return

of nazis and militarists to high positions in West German life and the plans for the revival of a German army.

The second page has Rabbi Joseph Schweitzer writing on the Jewish holidays. Another item recalls the anniversary of the murder by the nazis of 196 young Hungarian Jews, in Kiskunhalsson. Further on we find an article on the Temple of Solomon, plus the conclusion of an essay on the 19th century Jewish-Hungarian writer Tamas Kobor. Another page features an interesting international press review, with comments on items in the Zurich *Israelitisches Vochenblatt*, the Vienna *Der Abend*, the Berlin *Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland*, the American *Masses and Mainstream*, the Italian *Popolo d'Italia*, the Soviet *Izvestia*, and others. The items include the recent meeting between Soviet Chief Rabbi Schliefer and a British delegation; an expose of Hitler Jugend meetings in Vienna; and extracts from an article by a Polish correspondent in Korea, in which he describes the destruction and slaughter there as similar to that experienced in the Warsaw ghetto.

The back page contains a schedule of religious services in Budapest and the provincial cities and towns. Listed are the services in the three large synagogues in Budapest and for 21 smaller synagogues and houses of worship. Also mentioned are special days of prayer for the Jewish victims of nazi extermination in 1944-45.

All in all, an awful lot of religious and social activity for a community which Jewish reactionaries tell us has been "liquidated" and "sent off to Siberia."

Ben Shek is a Canadian Jewish youth leader who is now working in Budapest on the staff of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

P R O M P T P R E S S

Printers

113 FOURTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

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Letters from Readers

TEACHING CHILDREN IN TWIN CITIES

Editor, JEWISH LIFE:

In the December issue of JEWISH LIFE two letters raise the questions of "Jewish Education" for children of progressive Jewish families—and we would like to enter the discussion with a description of what we believe to be the first steps toward a constructive solution to this problem.

About 20 Jewish families in Minneapolis and St. Paul have organized the Twin Cities Jewish Sunday School—a school devoted to teaching the historical, cultural and social aspects of Jewish life in a positive, progressive, secular manner.

We meet in a social service neighborhood house and conduct four simultaneous classes every Sunday morning for our children, whose ages range from five to 12 years. Our attendance record is amazingly high, running from 90 to 100 per cent every Sunday, which in itself is an interesting commentary when compared with the usual lack of good attendance in the "regular" temple or synagogue-affiliated Sunday schools.

In addition to Jewish history and culture we teach songs in English, Hebrew and Yiddish, folk dancing, and use educational movies on race relations and other subjects of importance for our children. All teachers are persons of professional experience who have volunteered their services and whose children, in almost every case, attend the school. Both teachers and parents are very enthusiastic about the school, which is still an experiment, but which gives the much needed Jewish life orientation so many progressive parents have overlooked.

Our school pays considerable attention to those holidays which have progressive meanings, such as Hanukah, Passover,

and some aspects of Purim. Holidays which are purely religious in nature have no positive role in our curriculum. For our first Passover season in 1951, we decided to run a progressive community *seder*, and 100 people attended—children, parents, and grandparents. In order to have a progressive program for the *seder*, we undertook the project of re-writing the *Haggadah*. Mr. Michael H. Baker, educational director, wrote a new *Haggadah* which emphasizes the profound implications of the liberation content of the Passover season without the obscurantist, religious aspects. This year the *Haggadah* is being revised and improved, and will be published in pamphlet form in time for the Passover season of 1952. (Copies available).

The question of curriculum was a very difficult one, of course. Our school has gone through considerable material, some of which is fairly satisfactory for a progressive approach to early Jewish history, American Jewish history, and Jews around the world. There is also available good class material which we have been using to good advantage. On problems of curriculum, there yet remains a challenging problem for Jewish progressives—the development of new material, in English, drawn from the rich history and culture of Jewish life.

We have also engaged in an exchange of material with North Shore School of Jewish Studies in Chicago. The Chicago school is in its fourth year, with about 45 families. A second Chicago school (South Side) has about 60 families. Another progressive school exists in Detroit—and it seems obvious that many such schools should exist in New York. More schools

will obviously mean broader research for curriculum material, and exchange of experiences between schools so that a constantly increasing literature can be made available.

In addition to the regular children's programs on Sunday we also conduct an adult activities program. This part of our activities includes a class in Jewish history, which meets once every month, and social events every six weeks or so, which tie in with particular holiday periods or other dates of particular significance to progressive Jewish people.

While we do not feel that we have adequately solved all of the problems on the question of Jewish education for progressive children, we feel that our school goes a long way in the right direction and are very anxious to cooperate with progressive people in other cities who are interested in similar projects. We will be glad to send whatever material is available and would appreciate suggestions from others as to how we can improve our own program.

Finally, it is gratifying to see our children developing a constructive, progressive Jewish consciousness free from distorted nationalism or theological mysticism. A constant drawing from the vast body of Jewish culture and history cannot help but enrich and strengthen their democratic awareness.

Sincerely yours,

TWIN CITIES JEWISH SUNDAY SCHOOL

Fred Ptashne, *Chairman*

(3900 Xerxes Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.)

JEWISH LIFE invites readers and organizations to support the magazine by placing greetings in the special April issue commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Inquire for rates.

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Book Reviews

NOVEL ON JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

By Morris U. Schappes

Linden Road, by Miriam Bruce. Harper's, New York. \$3.

Miss Bruce in this modest first novel neatly exposes the effect of Anglo-Saxon theories of superiority and social exclusiveness upon a Jewish middle class family that tries to cash in on the bogus promissory note of bourgeois assimilation. Nevertheless the fundamental deficiency in the book is that Miss Bruce fails to infuse any positive content into the climax, in which the heroine realizes that she is, despite everything, Jewish and "accepts" her identity.

David Tobias, whose immigrant parents had toiled in sweatshops, is a prosperous garment manufacturer wanting his daughter Hagar brought up "properly" in the American middle class manner. Linden Road is the wealthiest part of a New York suburb, not so restricted as to prevent the Tobiases from buying a house, but not so democratic as to allow them to enter the clubs or non-Jewish homes on the Road.

Here the teen-age Hagar is reared by a Scottish nurse who aims to make her as non-Jewish as she can be, breeding Hagar to be ever-polite, to take no notice of anti-Semitic slights, "to save the surface, and you save all." Hagar's grandparents, who visit Linden Road annually, are a source of embarrassment, with "their terrible language"; her parents are essentially indifferent to her and she to them. The only one close to her is her cousin, Richard Hernstadt of Harvard, whose education includes an acquaintanceship with the Bible and a cynicism that leads him to conclude, in 1937, that "there isn't anything growing in the world any more."

When the Tobias family is disrupted by the mother's elopement, Hagar goes off to college in Colorado, works in a California bookshop, then joins the Red Cross and reappears in 1944 with the American army in Italy. She is reserved, polite, efficient, not denying she is Jewish but never telling anyone unless asked. "Dislocation and aloneness were natural states to her."

To overcome her isolation the following factors appear: Sgt. Barney Aronson, of New York's East Side and the City College, who discerningly regards T. S. Eliot an anti-Semite, and looks upon Jews trying to escape from their people with contempt; the Weiss-Pragers, German Jewish refugees; a Palestinian outfit attached to the British; a dying Jewish refugee boy whose appearance on the scene provokes Hagar unsolicitedly to proclaim she is Jewish; the reappearance of her sweetheart, Richard Hernstadt, now a British captain, who has for years been so de-Judaized and de-Americanized that he passes as a middle-class British intellectual, casually denying he is Jewish.

Exploring the meaning of her identification as a Jew, Hagar tries returning to a family reunion in New York, but finds she "doesn't belong" to her immediate relatives, including her father. Richard's plea that she marry him and return with him to England she rejects, because he denies being Jewish. When he challenges her to explain this identification, her inadequate answer is, "I guess I'm a Jew because I feel like one." When he predicts she will have nobody, neither family, people, nor husband, her total reply is again subjective and half-mystical: "I'll have myself. After that I'll be able to have everyone." On this

unsatisfactory note Miss Bruce ends.

To close at this point is to leave the reader subject to nationalistic implications. The author, while exposing the psychological effect of bourgeois assimilationism, instead of advancing to a progressive concept of Jewish life, teeters on the verge of a classless, contentless idea of Jewish "identity" that is one of the trends of bourgeois nationalism. Hagar's "self-acceptance" will actually be meaningless to the poor girl unless Miss Bruce can provide her with new class contacts.

It is at the confusing point where she left off that it is to be hoped Miss Bruce will begin again in her next novel. Hagar's way of life from here on would determine the quality of her Jewish consciousness. If her post-war life leads her into close contact with Jewish workers or intellectuals who have a progressive Jewish tradition, she will move in one direction; but should her environment be that of the lower middle class, she would be assailed sometimes by nationalistic pulls, sometimes by reversion to assimilationism. Furthermore, her own general ideological development — along the path of peace and progress or of war and reaction — will qualify the kind of Jewish consciousness she develops and give it its meaning. For one can have a reactionary as well as a progressive Jewish consciousness. Such a novel, if Miss Bruce would undertake it, would be worth reading, for she has shown the technical competence to encompass it.

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

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A Special Issue

(FEBRUARY, 1952)

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CAMPAIGN TALK

The Campaign

The issuance of the call for a \$25,000 drive to keep JEWISH LIFE going met with an immediate response from a number of places. Los Angeles, Bronx, Brooklyn, Chicago and San Francisco were the first to answer. San Francisco answered the call in the most effective way—with a check for \$50.00. Los Angeles jumped the gun on the others because it had a committee organized several months before the campaign was even discussed. More on L. A. below.

We want our friends all over the country to know that the \$25,000 campaign is a matter of life or death for JEWISH LIFE. We know that the organizations, individual friends and readers will come through. They have expressed their appreciation for the magazine in the most glowing terms, and what is even more important, with hundreds of new subscriptions in the past two months. This appreciation must now be expressed in terms of financial contributions, as well as increased circulation.

Subscriptions are arriving in increasing numbers. During December, 400 new subs came in. This is the best sign of the growing influence and value of JEWISH LIFE. Congratulations to all readers and committees that are doing this job. But—remember that most magazines live on their advertisements. We have to come to our readers and progressive organizations to make up for the lack of ads (we don't have to tell you why big business doesn't include us in their advertisement programs) by participating in our \$25,000 campaign.

So we call upon those cities and states that haven't stirred yet to get to work at once. Organize JEWISH LIFE committees, hold fund raising parties and events, approach individual donors. And work fast; send funds as quickly as possible. For us the word is "desperate."

Come on Manhattan, New Jersey, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia and every other city and hamlet on our circulation list. Let's get into this campaign with speed.

Schappes on Tour

Morris U. Schappes, member of the editorial board and editor of the *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, will have completed a tour of Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago by the time you read this. Organized by JEWISH LIFE, this tour will no doubt stimulate the

\$25,000 campaign as well as the subscription drive. A busy schedule was arranged for Schappes, with lectures, receptions and committee meetings in each city. Schappes' teaching schedule in New York prevented him from visiting many other cities, which we hope he will be able to do in the near future. More definite news on the Schappes tour in the next issue.

And Now—Los Angeles

The editors and management committee express their appreciation for the splendid example Los Angeles has set for the entire country. A few months ago a JEWISH LIFE Committee was set up. It immediately got to work on a campaign for 1000 subscriptions. Results soon poured in through the mails. The committee has already sent in several hundred subscriptions. Two meetings were held with the famous novelist and screenwriter, Samuel Ornitz, as speaker.

The executive secretary of the L. A. Committee is Clara Lutz, and from the results of her work, in cooperation with all those on the committee of course, we

would like to find a way to bring some of her spirit, organizational know-how and determination to many other cities. As a matter of fact, we are confident that there are people like Clara Lutz and the members of her committee in all cities. They just have to get to work like L. A. did.

Miscellany

Tucson, Arizona is starting on subscription drive. . . . Boston increased bundle order from 30 to 100—a good jump . . . increases also made in Brooklyn and Bronx. . . . December issue featuring negotiations with Adenauer evoked enthusiasm all over country . . . whole issue sold out before ink was dry. . . . Over-all increase of 1000 copies sold during January. . . . Detroit is a bright spot with subs and increasing bundle orders coming in regularly. . . . This column to appear every month during campaign . . . may continue as regular feature after campaign if committees and readers want it . . . let us know and send us JEWISH LIFE news for this space.

S. P.

An Urgent Message

NO doubt you read in our January issue our CALL for a \$25,000 sustaining fund drive to carry JEWISH LIFE through 1952.

We are sure that there is no need to impress upon you the urgency of this drive for funds. You realize that in these hysterical days a progressive journal does not find it easy to maintain itself. But this very fact makes it all the more necessary to keep JEWISH LIFE going, to continue to contribute to the fight against police state hysteria, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic violence and agitation, and the perilous trend toward a world-shaking war. In this situation, the Jewish people are in grave danger.

We are therefore offering you the opportunity to do your share in assuring unbroken publication of JEWISH LIFE through these difficult days. Will you pitch in to help us carry the drive to success?

THIS IS HOW YOU CAN HELP:

1. MAKE A PERSONAL FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION.
2. GET CONTRIBUTIONS FROM FRIENDS.
3. HOLD FUND RAISING PARTIES.
4. TRY TO GET YOUR ORGANIZATION TO CARRY ON A CAMPAIGN FOR THIS FUND RAISING DRIVE, IF POSSIBLE.

JEWISH LIFE is YOUR magazine. Support it!

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

mitted the recommendations for action to the Board of Higher Education.

The Supreme Court refused on January 10 to make a ruling in the case of the four Tennessee Negroes who were challenging the framework of "separate but equal" educational facilities for Negroes and whites.

A flood of copies of the fascist sheet, *Common Sense*, containing the vilest anti-Semitic filth, has been inundating various parts of the New York metropolitan area in recent weeks. The postal authorities say they can do nothing about it. Sentiment has been stimulated once again to work for group libel laws to combat the menace.

The plan proposed by the New York State Board of Regents for daily non-denominational prayers in the schools was deplored early in January by the New York Board of Rabbis, representing all branches of Judaism and numbering about 500 members. "We consider the adoption of the Regents' proposal a serious infringement of the principle" of separation of church and state, said the rabbis.

Social workers of Newark struck in December when the Jewish Community Council of Essex County terminated its recognition of District 65, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union (independent). The workers agreed to end the strike on December 28 and to form the Independent Social Service Workers Union. The Council acted because it charged that the union was "communist-dominated." There was much resistance to this decision within the Council's board of governors. A motion for a vote of confidence in the board for this action was tabled by the narrow margin of 45-49, which was an important moral victory for the union.

EUROPE

Anti-Semitic violence in England. . . . A 15-year old boy was stabbed during an attack by three anti-Semitic boy hoodlums in November outside the Hackney Boys' Club in London's East End. The hoodlums were arrested and sharply admonished by the court. . . . H. Butler, Labor M.P. from Hackney, asked a question in Parliament in November concerning the number of hoodlum attacks on Jews in Hackney which resulted in hospitalization in some cases. Home Secretary David Maxwell Fyfe replied that the police would

give the matter attention. . . . The Western Synagogue in Hull was desecrated in early December. The vandals broke a stained glass window to gain entrance and the *Sefer Torah* was found in a nearby street.

The Manchester Union of Jewish Ex-Servicemen early in December passed resolutions condemning the issue of *Desert Fox*, urging protests to exhibitors and protested the rearming of Western Germany.

Oliver Twist was shown in a West Berlin movie house late in November after cuts were made in the film. The Berlin Jewish community protested, saying that the film was still anti-Semitic. . . . The Frankfurt Association for Christian-Jewish Co-operation in December protested the showing of the film in the city.

Renazification news . . . Nazi functionaries of the G. I. Farben cartel are "regaining influence in the successor concerns," reported Jack Raymond in the *New York Times* on December 27. "Some of the men in the new managing boards . . . were members of the Nazi Party and others held important positions in Germany during World War II." . . . The Schleswig-Holstein government awarded pensions to two senior Nazi officers in December — SS-Brigade Commander Schroeder and Gauleiter Lohse. But compensation has not yet been paid by this state to victims of Nazism. . . . A monument in Peine, Lower Saxony, dedicated to the victims of Nazism, was desecrated recently and a wreath with a swastika was placed on the local war memorial. . . . The total number of organized Nazis in Western Germany was estimated at 200,000 by a London *Jewish Chronicle* correspondent on November 23, and 30 illegal neo-Nazi organizations exist in West Berlin alone.

Victims of Nazism in Vienna demonstrated early in December before the Ministry of Finance against inadequate provisions for them while about 15 times as much compensation is being given to ex-Nazis. . . . Concentration camp victims in Austria maintain that about 16,000 former political prisoners and other victims of Nazism had been dismissed from government service, that 8,000 who were assigned apartments used by Nazis had been forced to return them and that ex-Nazi civil servants dismissed in 1945 had been awarded pensions or given their old posts.

A great conference was held in Paris on December 13 by the Movement against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace to demonstrate against rearmament of Germany. Numerous noted Frenchmen, including Jewish figures, attended.

ISRAEL

In commenting on Israel's vote in the United Nations against appearance before the UN of representatives of Germany to report on unification plans, the London *Jewish Chronicle* correspondent reported from Paris on December 7, 1951, that "The general feeling in the corridors of the Palais de Chaillot was that Mr. Sharett was anxious to appease the growing dismay and criticism expressed by large sections of the Israeli and world Jewish press against the not-so-secret negotiations conducted by Israeli and Zionist officials with Dr. Adenauer for reparations: There is growing realization that these negotiations have already made an incalculable contribution to Germany's moral rehabilitation, while the question of whether or not Germany will pay reparations to the Jews remains more doubtful than ever."

The Israel government concluded an agreement early in December with the Palestine Potash Company to establish a new company to resume production of potash in the Dead Sea, which had not been worked since the war of liberation despite need of the country for fertilizer. Ownership is divided among the government (51 per cent of votes), Palestine Potash Company (25 per cent of votes) and the balance to Israeli citizens and institutions. Since the government is paying for its share with a \$2,500,000 loan from the Export-Import Bank and another \$1,000,000 loan from the Palestine Economic Corporation (dominated by American capital), it is obvious that control of the potash works will be in the hands of Americans and British. The Communist Party of Israel and Mapam have been advocating nationalization of the potash works.

Catastrophic rainstorms swept Israel for 11 days in December and left thousands of inhabitants of immigrant camps, who lived in insubstantial tents or huts, homeless and deprived of their worldly belongings. Roads were impassable, communications were cut, and the railroads suspended operation. Loss is reckoned in millions of dollars. Immigrants were demonstrating to demand housing.

Kol Haam, daily of the Communist Party, celebrates on February 15, its 15th year of publication since it first appeared as an illegal organ in 1937, winning legality in 1943.

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