

9TH ANNIVERSARY

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

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PORTRAIT OF A GHETTO "JUDENRAT" by Ber Mark

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Natl Council of Jewish Women "SPEAK UP! FREEDOM NEEDS EXERCISE!"

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

The new immigration code embodied in the companion House and Senate bills of Rep. Frances E. Walter and Senator Pat McCarran is "America's Nuremberg Law," said Harry N. Rosenfeld, United States Displaced Persons Commissioner recently. These bills are obviously racist and antidemocratic and worse even than the present racist immigration laws. Here are some of the provisions of these bills which have been approved by officials of the State and Justice Departments: immigration from West Indian "colonies"—that is, mostly of Negroes—would be reduced to almost nothing; naturalized citizens may be deprived of citizenship almost any time if they are political dissenters; almost unlimited power is given to the attorney general to exclude immigrants; and many other pro-fascist provisions. The bill takes 90 pages to summarize and 235 pages of small print to set forth the changes from existing laws. The major Jewish organizations have expressed opposition to the bills. A statement issued by 13 religious, civic and veteran organizations on March 13 stated that "This bill would directly affect millions of American families, subjecting their members to searches and seizures without court warrants, deprivation of citizenship by reason of foreign travel and other innocent acts, deportation without hearing and the indefinite postponement of immigration visas' on present waiting lists."

Widespread protest against the presence of the nazi doctor, Major General Walter B. Schreiber, who was brought to this country to work for the Air Force's bacteriological warfare research department, has forced the cancellation of his appointment. It is expected that he will be returned to West Germany. He was exposed in the transcript of the Nuremberg Trials as a participant in nazi "experiments" on concentration camp prisoners and in planned germ warfare. Schreiber has called the campaign a "communist plot."

Notes on anti-Semitism . . . Two teenagers in Providence, Rhode Island, were arrested early in March for throwing a fire-bomb at the B'nai Israel Synagogue while 60 persons were worshipping. If the bomb had not harmlessly crashed against the wall, fatalities might have resulted. One boy bragged that he hated Jews. The boys planned a series of bombings of synagogues. They expressed regret only at their



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capture. . . . A telephoned threat of bombing of the Jacob H. Schiff Jewish Center. in the Bronx was received late in February. Police examined the premises while about 100 young people emptied the center and waited outside in the street. Nothing was found. . . . A small group of Jewish boys were attacked by anti-Semitic hoodlums with knives and clubs on February first in Brooklyn. Police seemed unconcerned when called to the scene.... While requesting insertion into the Congressional Record of a slanderous article on the Katyn massacre of Polish officers, Rep. John Rankin remarked, "It will help you to understand the difference between Yiddish communism and Christian civilization." . . . Robert Harris, who was treasurer of Father Coughlin's Social Justice in the thirties, is a member of General Mac-

Arthur's political brain trust. . . . When a meeting to protest the Smith act was banned by the hall owner in Queens on March 8, those who came to attend the indoor meeting demonstrated on the street. A truck bearing a sign, "Save America with MacArthur," raced up and down the street while a jeering crowd shouted "Go back to Russia" and anti-Semitic remarks.

After the secret meeting held between officials of the Anti-Defamation League and Senator Joseph McCarthy several months ago, Exposé, present-day muckraking monthly, charged that McCarthy had remarked to a midwest journalist that, in the friendly card game after the meeting, the pro-fascist senator complained that "those slick Jews beat me out of two

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WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

NINTH ANNIVERSARY, APRIL 19, 1952

I: PEACE AND THE "JUDENRAT"

Jews must learn the lessons of the Warsaw ghetto heroes: fight for peace and repudiate the present-day "Judenrat" which hampers the fight

By Louis Harap

N January 27, a moving event took place in Warsaw. On that day many survivors of the hell of Auschwitz (Oswiecim) from many countries of Europe met to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the liberation of that dread death camp by the Soviet Army. They voiced their determination "never to permit the memory of such atrocious crimes to fade into oblivion." There must be "no more Auschwitzes!" they asserted. This demand means very specific things. "Today, seven years after the terrible nightmare of Auschwitz, even more terrible massacres threaten mankind. . . . We will never consent to the arming of the hangmen of Auschwitz for renewed aggression against peaceful nations. . . . The will of the nations for peace, which is already a powerful force in many countries, will thwart the plans of those who dream of turning the entire world into a new Auschwitz." No nazi rearmament! Peace among the nations!

These are the lessons of Auschwitz. They flow into the great river of lessons of the whole war against nazi barbarism, into the legacy left to us by the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. On this ninth anniversary of the uprising the obligations placed upon us by the ghetto heroes are ever more pressing because the cause for which they died stands in the gravest danger. Once more their murderers are rising, under Washington's aegis, to threaten the world again; the peace of the world is precariously threatened by Washington's feverish, hysterical provocations to war. Under the bludgeoning of Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the powers in Washington and Wall Street for whom he speaks, a new Munich took place in Lisbon in February. An aggressive "European army" with the troops of a renazified West Germany as its strategic center was advanced there and a fantastic \$300,000,000,000 military budget was decreed that would push down the living standards of the common people of the world.

The ghosts of the Warsaw ghetto should haunt the Jews and all decent people in the world at this betrayal of their heroism. The spirits of the revered dead of the ghetto are returning to chide the Jews and common people of the world to prevent the atomic holocaust. Rabbi Edward A. Klein, successor to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, in a sermon following Lisbon registered the shock and condemnation felt all over the world at this move to rearm the murderers of the six million only seven years after the slaughter.

Resistance to Lisbon

But the lessons of the Warsaw ghetto and of the war against fascism have not gone unheeded. Despite the desperate stacking up of arms, the peoples of the world are doing their utmost to take matters in their own hands. They are signing a petition in the hundreds of millions to the great powers of the world to negotiate outstanding differences and to conclude a peace pact among the five great powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and the new China.

Already this peace mandate of the common people of the world has had a deterring effect on the preparations for war. The petition for a peace pact has served as a vehicle to arouse resistance of the peoples to rearmament. Signs of this resistance appeared promptly after the Lisbon meetings. In Britain, the Labor Party left wing broke party discipline by voting against war armament taxes and in France the government fell over the proposals for new taxation to met the military budget. As for West Germany itself, a dispatch in the New York Times (March 4) by Drew Middleton tells the story: "The organized non-Communist agitation against rearmament has attained such proportions in West Germany that the government's ability to win a majority for the defense contribution in the Bun-

destag is being questioned by some Allied officials." A petition against rearmament (this is not the petition for a five power pact, but its effect is similar) is being signed by "tens of thousands," reports Middleton. "The trade union rebellion against rearmament," he adds, "is in full swing." To the few remaining Jews in West Germany the prospect of serving in a new nazi army is so appalling that Heinz Galinsky, a member of the Central Committee of German Jewry said early in February that even if the West German army is reorganized, no German Jew will serve in it.

The Jewish people all over the world are participating in this attempt to stay the hand of those who would plunge the world into a new war. In all countries they are helping to collect signatures for the five power peace pact.

In Israel this people's movement is especially strong, as might be expected in a country where hundreds of thousandands were direct victims of Hitler's extermination plans against the Jews. A broad united Israel Peace Committee has already achieved great success in demonstrating that ordinary people of every political complexion agree on the basic issue of our day—the absolute necessity for peace through negotiations. By the end of February the committee reported that over 385,000 Israeli citizens—about 42 per cent of the adult population of the country—had signed the double-barrelled petition for a five power peace pact and rejection of the plan to rearm Germany.

Jews Gather Peace Signatures

The campaign to mobilize the people for peace in our own country has been late in getting under way but it has begun at last. All over the United States men and women are gathering signatures to petitions for a five power peace pact and are speaking out against German rearmament. Many Jews are taking part in this campaign even though the bureaucracy of Jewish organized life echoes the hysterical condemnation of the peace movement. Thus we find individual Jews doing something for peace like Rabbi B. Bendict Glazer, of Detroit, who joined a group of Protestant clergymen in issuing a call for a "Prayer for Peace" to urge a "more general settlement of differences among the major powers" and "agreement through conference and concession." A campaign being carried on by a number of committees on the East Side of New York to arouse their community to support the petition for a five power pact. Several of these groups-the Lower East Side American Women for Peace, the Lillian Wald Mothers for Peace, the Orchard Street Committee for Peace, etc.formed a delegation to ask Representative Arthur G. Klein -in vain-actively to support an immediate cease-fire in Korea, a meeting among the heads of the major powers and to combat the revival of nazism in Germany.

Undoubtedly Jewish youth and men and women all over the country are on a local scale carrying on activities for peace and against renazification. One can instance several such meetings in the New York area in the past few weeks.

In New York's Greenwich Village a meeting on peace was held by the local Council for Peaceful Alternatives, of which Rabbi Gerald M. Jacobs and other Jewish figures are sponsors. And a large youth meeting at the Bronx House was held on March 2 to protest German rearmament. A number of Jewish figures spoke, among them Rabbi Shepard Z. Baum, chaplain of the Bronx Jewish War Veterans; Jerry Lefkowitz, vice president of the Bronx Young Zionist Council; Rabbi D.A. Jessurun Cardozo of the Sephardic Jewish Center; Mrs. Minna Liebman, president of the Adult Council of the East Bronx YM-YWHA; together with Dennis Dryden, past chairman of the Bronx NAACP. At this meeting a spirited message from New York Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs was read. "Our allies do not like it (West German rearmament)," said Mr. Isaacs, "and possibly weigh more carefully than we do the menace of that country once it has an army under its control. . . . The failure of our representatives abroad to realize that the restoration of self-government to Western Germany could never be justified if it meant the restoration of the nazis to power, has been for too obvious. I hope that this country will be alerted in time to the dangers which our own policy seems to be creating."

In the fur and garment markets in New York many Jewish workers are helping to swell the number of signatures to the petition for a five power peace pact. The fur union has put out its own petition calling upon the president to end the war in Korea and to work for top level negotiations by the heads of the major powers.

The Lesson of the "Judenrat"

These are only a few cases of Jewish action to carry on the spirit of resistance under the conditions of today that the Warsaw ghetto fighters have taught us. Unfortunately, however, it is not only the lesson of resistance that has carried over from the Warsaw ghetto into our own day. The shameful phenomenon of the *Judenrat* also has its counterpart today in the betrayal of the cause of the Jewish people and of all men of good will.

In this issue we publish Ber Mark's description of the Judenrat in the Bialystok ghetto. Discerning readers will perceive in this account the traits that unhappily sound all too familiar to anyone who is acquainted with the appeasement of the enemies of the Jewish people, of freedom and of peace, that is practiced only too often by the wealthy Jews who control the organized life of the Jewish community and the "professionals" who put these policies into practice. There have been only too many examples in recent months of sabotage by these Jewish "leaders" of the protest movement among the Jewish people against rearmament of a renazified Germany. The American Jewish Committee, for instance, has been struck dumb on this question. while the American Jewish Congress occasionally issues a few words on the subject but hampers its local membership from carrying out community action against renazification and German rearmament.

In the final desperate months of the Warsaw ghetto, the Jews utterly rejected the Judenrat and rendered it powerless. Can we not learn from this experience that we need not wait until ultimate destruction is upon us before we reject the Judenrat in the American Jewish community that is betraying Jewish and democratic interests? This is one of the crucial lessons of the Warsaw ghetto, as surely as resistance itself.

The essence of the *Judenrat* is the use of Jews to carry out the plans of the fascists and reactionaries against the masses of the Jews. The most profoundly dangerous manifestation of the *Judenrat* in the post-war period is the secret negotiations carried on, under pressure of the State Department, by the Ben Gurion government and the top Jewish leadership, primarily of the United States, with the Adenauer government. While ostensibly a deal for obtaining "reparations" for the Jewish victims of the crimes of nazism in Israel, the real intention of this plan is to rehabilitate the neo-nazi Bonn regime and to facilitate its integration into an anti-Soviet European army in which West German soldiers under nazi generals will play the key role. The end result of this plan, if it is successful, is atomic war and new Auschwitzes. What greater betrayal of the Jewish people is possible? This is how I. Zuckerman, a former leader of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and presently a member of the governing Mapai Party in Israel, put it: "In 1943, the first Jewish groups rose in the ghettoes against the nazis. They paid with their life. And in January 1952, the government of Israel plans to negotiate with the nazis. Such negotiations are tantamount to saying: 'Come and exterminate a people which has no memory, no national pride-a people that can be bought cheaply."

Fight Against Adenauer Deal

At this writing the formal negotiations of the Bonn government with the Ben Gurion government and the five representatives of the so-called Conference on Jewish Material Claims, Against Germany (Jacob Blaustein of the American Jewish Committee; Dr. Nahum Goldman of the World Jewish Congress and the Jewish Agency; Frank Goldman of the B'nai Brith; Adolph Held of the Jewish Labor Committee; and Moses A. Leavitt of the Joint Distribution Committee) are scheduled to start on March 17, probably in Switzerland. It has not passed unnoticed that only Americans "represent" the international claims conference. Despite the artificial Knesset majority in favor of direct negotiations and the approval by "leaders" of major Jewish organizations over the world-without the slightest consultation of the membership-of the Adenauer deal, the Jewish people are continuing their protest. Israeli poet A. Shlonsky expressed the view of masses of Jews when he said recently about the deal that "there is danger that the honor of the people will be desecrated-from within." And a member of the Israel Peace Committee, I. Miias, spoke for the Israeli people when he said, "The people have not recognized the shameful Knesset decision. The Knesset may have decided, but the fight is continuing."

And the fight has indeed gone on. Protest meetings are being held in Israel. In Belgium, an Initiative Committee Against Jewish-German Negotiations has been formed. And in our own country activity is going on. One might instance a strong statement in the bulletin of the Free Synagogue in Evanston, Illinois, which says that those involved in the deal "have forfeited their right to leadership." Or the strong condemnation of the deal by noted Rabbi Judah L. Naditch, who visited Buchenwald while a leading chaplain in the last war, who told his congregation in Brookline, Mass. on February 8, that there should be no negotiations with those whose hands are soaked in the blood of six million Jews. Or one might cite the polls on the question conducted by the Chicago Sentinel and the Valley Mountain News of Los Angeles which showed something over 90 per cent who opposed direct negotiations. Or the fact that the issue has created a "breach on the question of reparations which threatens to destroy the supreme organ of French Jewry (called 'Crif')," as the London Jewish Chronicle reported on February 15.

The "Judenrat" Must Be Rejected

Although the Judenrat "leaders" are going ahead with their betrayal, events are moving too fast for them. One of the conditions laid down by the Bonn regime for "integration" of the proposed new Wehrmacht into the "European army" was that German war criminals be freed. Thus on March 10 in West Berlin, Bernhard Ramcke, one of Hitler's generals, demanded general amnesty for even the major nazi war criminals like Rudolf Hess and Albert Speer. But this is not what bothers the *Judenrat*. It is rather that another of these conditions is that the Bundestag should choose which occupation laws should remain in force. Those Jewish "leaders" who are assiduously pursuing the negotiations policy are frightened at the prospect that the West Germans will decide to set aside the restitution provisions of the occupation, thereby nullifying their efforts to obtain "reparations." Seven major Jewish organizations have therefore demanded of the State Department that all negotiations with Adenauer's government be cut off until the "restitution" program is guaranteed by Bonn. One cannot help but think at such a juncture of the Judenrat dispatched to the gas chambers after they had performed their service to nazis. The Judenrat of 1952 were not moved, it must be noted, by the prospects for rearmament of a renazified Germany, but only by the conditions which might negate their plans for "restitution" and thus expose competely the shame of allowing the Jews to be used to rehabilitate a renazified West Germany.

Events of the past few months in the Jewish community once more emphasize the living necessity of absorbing and applying the double lesson of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—the Jews must repudiate their *Judenrat* and resist the attempt to plunge the world once more in a war that would make a bid to finish the job that Hitler started.

II: PORTRAIT OF A GHETTO "JUDENRAT"

The classic traits of the "Judenrat" emerge from this documented study of the Jewish bosses of the Bialystok ghetto under the nazi criminals

By Ber Mark

Many "leaders" of major Jewish organizations in this country are today following an abject appeasement policy toward McCarthyism and toward the State Department's efforts to rearm a renazified West Germany. This policy is only too painfully reminiscent of the Judenrat, the "leaders" of the Jewish communities who were appointed by the nazis to administer the nazi program. It is therefore highly relevant and instructive today to take a close look at one of these Judenraten. The following sketch of the Judenrat in the Bialystok ghetto is translated from The Revolt in the Bialystok Ghetto (Yiddish) by Ber Mark, director of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw, published by the Institute in 1950. The Jews of the Bialystok ghetto followed the heroic example of the Warsaw ghetto and took up arms against the nazis in August 1943.—Editors.

"ON THE day of the Germans' arrival in Bialystok the commandant, a general, sent for Rabbi Dr. Gedaliah Rosenman, received the rabbi in his office, located in the former state bank, and informed him that he was being appointed Obman (head) of the Bialystok Jews and that he must create a 12-man Yidenrat (Jewish Council). . . . Rabbi Rosenman sent out his sexton, Mordecai Movshovitch . . . and the following men reported: the former Kehillah (Jewish community) director, Engineer Ephraim Barash; former member of the Kehillah presidium, Ber Subotnick; the young community leader Jacob Goldberg; Parness (Kehillah Chairman) Samuel Puniansky; the former vice-chairman of the Kehillah, Jacob Lifshitz; and others. Among those called were some of the active 'nonaffliated' members of the community of whom it was thought that their contacts would be especially useful at this time."

With these words, Pesach Kaplan began his history of the Yidenrat in Bialystok, written in the Bialystok ghetto in March 1943.

¹ Following are some of the sources used by Ber Mark for this sketch: the minutes and decrees of the Bialystok fudenrat; Pesach Kaplan's unpublished manuscript, The Yidenrat in the Ghetto; notebooks of Zionist underground leader Mordecai Tannenbaum-Tamaroff; reports of Jewish partisans who survived the struggle; captured nazi archives and correspondence with convicted nazi war criminals Waldemar Machol and Fritz Friedel; Struggle and Destruction in the Bialystok Ghetto (in Polish) by Dr. Szymon Datner, Lodz, 1946; Bialystok Destroyed (in Yiddish) by Srolke Kot, Buenos Aires, 1947; Life and Death of the Bialystok Ghetto (in Yiddish) by D. Klementinovski, New York, 1946; People of the Underground (in Hebrew) by Haike Grossman, Israel, 1950.—Translator.

From this alone one can draw the following conclusions.

What the "Judenrat" Was

1. This institution can in no wise bear the Yiddish designation Yidenrat—as used by Kaplan and by the above-named members of the group—but must be called by the German name, Judenrat, since it was an organ which was not in any degree elected or appointed by Jews, nor did it express the opinions of the Jewish community. It was purely an institution established by and for the occupying power. It is therefore incorrect to describe the situation—as some researchers have done—as one in which the Jews entrusted their security to the Judenrat, which only betrayed its trust. The truth is that the people—in Bialystok and everywhere else—did not trust or respect the Judenrat. The truth is quite the contrary.

Pesach Kaplan states: "From its first day, the functions of the Yidenrat consisted of serving the occupying power. Rosenman and his representative, Barash, would go each morning to the commandant, receive his orders, return and promptly issue their proclamations in order to fulfil the the nazis' command with the greatest possible accuracy and dispatch." This is also confirmed by the Gestapo chief of Jewish affairs, Fritz Friedel.

- 2. The members and functionaries of the Bialystok Judenrat joined it voluntarily. Only Rabbi Rosenman was summoned by the representative of the occupation army; only he was designated as Obman. All the others responded to Rosenman's call willingly. Later, when the group was enlarged to 24, the new members also joined voluntarily. In addition, it is known that those who later resigned did not suffer any special punishment for having left the Judenrat.
- 3. The active "non-affiliated" community persons referred to by Kaplan were those who maintained direct connections with the nazis. They were, in other words, informers, "big operators," go-betweens—sold souls. From this it becomes obvious that the *Judenrat* leaders knew from the very beginning what their line of activity would be.

4. In personnel as in the social function the *Judenrat* represented itself as a continuation of the former *Kehillah* administration under new circumstances.

The main leaders of the Bialystok Judenrat were Barash

and Subotnick. Rabbi Rosenman, a person of weak character, partially removed himself from leadership and was partially eliminated from effective influence by the above-mentioned two, who left to the rabbi the role of honorary president. Dr. Rosenman, born in 1887 in Galicia, a member of the Bialystok rabbinate, professor of philosophical history and Judaica in the pre-war Polish-Yiddish gymnasia, by conviction and character a shtadlan [Yiddish equivalent of "Uncle Tom"—Translator], at first supported the policies of the Judenrat, which he strengthened through his clerical authority. The very first steps taken by the Judenrat to execute the nazis' orders were accompanied by threats of excommunication (herem) for non-compliance, issued by the rabbinate under Dr. Rosenman.

Such an excommunication warning was issued on July 17, 1941, in connection with the payment of two million rubles demanded by the nazis. Rabbi Rosenman presided at a number of meetings of the *Judenrat* and at conferences

of activists called by it. He limited himself to reading the agenda and making a few general remarks about hope and faith. He concerned himself mainly with philanthropic activities and though he did not participate directly in the work of Barash and Subotnick, he did tolerate their actions and provide them with the mantle of his respectability. Only once did he express opposition to the actual leaders of the *Judenrat*. This happened during a discussion of the Jews who had entered the Bialystok ghetto secretly after the surrounding villages had been destroyed. Barash and Subotnick, following the Germans' instructions, wanted to expel the refugees. "From a Jewish and a moral standpoint," the rabbi declared, "how can we not admit these tragic refugees? We are also responsible to history!" His name slowly disappeared from the minutes of the Judenrat and he perished in Maidanek in November 1943.

The actual leadership had been taken over by Ephraim Barash and Ber Subotnick. The former was the intermediary



WE DARE NOT FORGET!

with the nazis and the "ideological leader" of the *Judenrat*. The latter was the all-powerful dictator of the group on financial and economic matters.

The "Ideological Leader"

Engineer Ephraim Barash was born in Valkovisk, where for a time he was chairman of the Kehillah-council. Until the fall of 1939, he was director of the Bialystok Kehillah. He was about 55, active in the right-Zionist grouping called At Livonot, a technological engineer with good organizational ability. He was recommended for the post of Rabbi Rosenman's assistant and actual boss of the Judenrat by German industrialists, former inhabitants of Bialystok who were deported in 1940 by the Soviets and returned with the German army. Barash was a typical middle class shtadlan.

Barash was the exponent of the "labor ideology" in the ghetto. He intended to convince the Germans that the Bialystok ghetto inhabitants belonged to the "privileged" category of "useful Jews" and therefore should be kept alive. Barash coined the slogan: "The more factories established in the ghetto, the more secure our fate; the better Jews will work, the better it will be with them." Accompanying this fantastic theory was Barash's blind belief in the power of money. He said: "Give me the whole collective property of Bialystok's Jews and I will guarantee you the existence of the ghetto and of the Jews for all of ten years."

Did not Barash and the whole *Judenrat* know of the horrors taking place around Bialystok? The facts show that they did. On October 1, 1942, Barash spoke before a special meeting of the *Judenrat* and communal functionaries and reported: "The fire [liquidation of Jewish populations—Translator] is raging to the East and the West; on the East, at Drechin and on the West, at Malkin. It has almost reached our area." In the same speech Barash even mentioned the dread name which had then not yet achieved its later notoriety: *Treblinka*. But in his public utterances he constantly and tirelessly warned against "rumors, panic, false alarms." He steadfastly attacked the underground movement in the ghetto as "alarmists" and counseled still greater production for the enemy as the only means of security.

"Placate the German Power"

"We have one aim," he told the Judenrat on March 22, 1942, "to remain alive until the end of the war. Our method: to be useful; this will give our defenders material with which to placate the German power, as Jews must do in their life in galut [outside Palestine—Translator]." Earlier that year he had told a meeting that the Gestapo had complained that the Jews in the ghetto were discussing the situation at the front. "Generally," he said, "Jews should not discuss politics. And most of all, they should not conduct political discussions with non-Jews." In June 1942, he declared: "When I was young, I also took part in various revolutionary activities. But in the present situation

such activities mean playing with fire. There is an underground organization in the ghetto, which engages in aiding the Soviet war prisoners. They are playing with fire."

Instead of counting on the one and only chance for survival, victory of the Red Army, Barash relied on friendship with "good" nazis. "Bruecks, chairman of city management, is a good personal friend of mine," he would boast. The nazi city commissioner of Bialystok placed an exhibition of ghetto production under glass in his office—and Barash was certain that he had found the right way. A commission from the Koenigsberg Chamber of Commerce visited the ghetto and complimented the "useful Jews"—and Barash became still more convinced that he would lead the Jews to safety.

End of a Collaborationist

But deep in his heart, Barash made another reckoning. At the first sign of a slowdown in the nazis' march on Bryansk and Moscow, the *Judenrat* leader began to see the possibility of the nazis' defeat; he sensed that the victors and the ghetto Jews themselves would demand retribution from the Judenrat. As the enemy became more brutal and as news of the Soviets' victories came more and more often, Barash's unrest grew. He saw that he could no longer rely solely on the authority of the Germans; he began to seek some way out for himself by contacting the underground. He began contributing heavily to the Zionistsocialist underground, as on January 18, 1943, when Mordecai Tannenbaum noted: "B. gave me half a kilo of gold, some 30 golden watches, etc." Barash's sincerity in making this and other contributions can be gauged by the fact that on the eve of the Bialystok uprising in August 1943, he wanted to turn Tannenbaum over to the Gestapo.

In his effort to secure himself among all factions and against any eventuality, Barash even went so far as to offer gold to the Communist underground organization, but the Communists refused to accept aid from a collaborationist institution. Prior to the second and last liquidation in August 1943, Barash tried to negotiate an agreement with the partisans to take him and his wife to the forest. The partisans did make preparations to receive Barash, but not in the way in which he thought. There were plans to put Barash before a court, a partisan tribunal, to try him for his deeds. Though Barash was not aware of those plans, he gave up his plan of going into the forest. He was also unable to find within himself the strength to join in the final resistance-to-the-death of the ghetto Jews. At the very edge of the abyss, he again relied on his "good" nazis. With knapsack on his shoulder and valise in hand, he reported for deportation, giving an example of total moral degradation to the Jews who were preparing for the uprising. Obediently, he went off to Maidanek, believing that his master would spare his life in recognition of his services. He had even been promised that in Maidanek he would be placed at the head of a *Judenrat*. The crematorium was his final disillusionment.



IT MUST NOT HAPPEN AGAIN!

The Judenrat was located in the former building of the home for the aged, on Kupiecke Street, which today is named after the Jewish resistance hero Isaac Malmed and on which are located the Bialystok Jewish institutions. In room to sat the second main leader of the Judenrat, the financial head, Ber Subotnick. This 50-year-old Jew was a money-lender and a former member of the presidium of the Kehillah council and a leader of Mizrachi (religious Zionists). He was one of the most hated figures in the ghetto.

The Economic Dictator

One of Subotnick's main characteristics is illustrated in the minutes of one of the early meetings of the Judenrat, on August 14, 1941, at which Subotnick made his maiden speech. He demanded that first of all the officials of the Judenrat be provided for. This financial director of the ghetto understood that it was first necessary to corrupt the employees of the Judenrat.

Subotnick's second outstanding characteristic was his hypocrisy. He constantly masked his deeds in high-sounding phrases about sympathy, mercy and justice. On November 9, 1941, he began his speech with criticism of the activities of the *Judenrat* until then, calling for aid to the destitute and care for widows and orphans. Then he proceeded to his point: ways and means of forcing the ghetto inhabitants to turn over their property to the nazis. He proposed new

regulations for punishment of demurrers: arrests, confiscation of property and deportation.

Subotnick's strict financial policy was aimed almost exclusively at the poorer sections of the ghetto population. At the *Judenrat* meeting on November 1, 1941, it became known that the *Judenrat* member Samuel Lifshitz, one of the richest Jews in Bialystok, had not paid one cent of the 25,000 rubles levied against him as part of the overall tribute paid by the ghetto to the nazis. The minutes do not record a single word of censure by Subotnick. Subotnick was merciless toward the poor. Raising rents was one of his favorite means of securing revenue. At the meeting of November 2, 1942, he proposed new taxes on the destitute and poor, accompanied by punishment for non-payment: arrest, excommunication, withdrawal of bread cards. He further proposed the establishment of a permanent court to try tax delinquents.

The "Judenrat" Type

Like Barash, Subotnick knew in his heart the meaning of his activities. He, however, liked to pose as the "strong man" of the Judenrat. At the Rosh Hashonah celebration of the Judenrat's first anniversary, he declared in Hebrew: "He who is afraid, let him depart and sit at home." It was obvious that he meant those who were already voicing fear of the consequences, of retribution after the victory of the liberation forces. Nevertheless, Subotnick took care to make provision for himself. He constantly kept a valise near at hand crammed with jewelry and money which had been extorted under the pretext of saving the community. But his fortune, amassed bloodily, could not save the Judenrat leader. He came to the same end as his victims.

In great measure, the *Judenrat* consisted of people like Barash and Subotnick. The social composition of the body provides a basis for certain conclusions. The following is the social background and political coloration of the major *Judenrat* members:

Isaac Barash—former director of the Kehillah, leader of At Livonot.

Ber Subotnick-money-lender, chairman of Mizrachi. Tiktin-former owner of an export corporation.

Jacob Lifshitz — extremely wealthy merchant, former chairman of the merchants' association.

Glickson—former director of the merchants' association. Samuel Puniansky—merchant, president of the leading synagogue, Mizrachi leader.

Moshe Shvif—head of housing in *Judenrat*, son of a Bialystok industrialist.

Samuel Finkel-industrialist.

Zebulkin-former bank president.

Pesach Melnicki-well-to-do craftsman.

Jacob Goldberg—leader among General Zionists, a person who became infamous in the ghetto for his drunkenness and depravity.

This was the Judenrat.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Hershl Hartman.)

III: LETTER TO AN AMERICAN FRIEND

A former refugee from nazism reminds his fellow-refugee in America of the vow never to forget the anti-fascists fighting for the future

By Bruno Frei

Vienna

DEAR FRIEND:

You ask me to stop writing or at least to stop sending any more letters through the mail. I am not hurt by your request. Having lived myself in a country which in movin 'toward fascism set out to terrorize its citizens, I can well understand your fears and your concern lest you are suspected of harboring "un-American thoughts." Yet there is more to your message than meets the eye. A shadow seems to hover over you as you sit there writing your letter. A shadow cast by the FBI but intensified by your own doubts. You too seem to have succumbed to the unceasing pressure of official propaganda blasts though I always thought that you in particular would be immune to such pressure.

I well remember your story confided in the darkness of the barracks in a concentration camp at the foot of the Pyrennees. As a young man you escaped a pogrom in Russia to find a new homeland in France. You became the prosperous head of a family and a respected citizen of your adopted country. When Hitler proceeded to exterminate the Jewish people, you put yourself and your printing plant unhesitatingly at the disposal of the German anti-fascists in Paris. You, who had never been a Communist, supported the Communists because they fought Hitler. Your stand landed you in one of Daladier's concentration camps.

Vow in the Concentration Camp

At one time the nazi murders were but a short distance away and could have reached our prison in a matter of hours; none of us knew whether the next day might not be the last. In those agonizing moments you solemnly vowed: if you survived, you would never let yourself forget these days of terror as long as you lived. But if we were to die, our children must assume the task of keeping alive the memory of our martyred brothers, the memory of cowardly surrender and sell-out; and also the glorious memory of those who resisted the monster unto their dying breath.

When the Germans stood before Moscow, we both held

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our breath in an agony of suspense. We knew that the future of our children—of all children—was at stake. We both suffered agonies whenever the Red Army was forced to give ground to the monster's armored hordes. Life became worth living again only when the war reached its turning point at Stalingrad.

I thought of your oath again during a recent visit to the Jewish Museum in Warsaw. I was looking at an opened, yellowed notebook displayed in one of the showcases. The notebook was the diary of Doctor Ringelblum, the date February 1943. I read the following entry: "When the first news of the Red Army victory reached us, all decent people had but one thought—a new thought—self-defense!"

I know nothing of Dr. Ringelblum. I don't know whether he was a dentist from Vienna or a rabbi from Posen; perhaps he was your uncle or a friend of your uncle's. But, upon hearing this voice from beyond the grave, the indescribable horror of those years gripped me stronger than ever before. My heart contracted at the thought of our murdered brothers and sisters. All those countless hundreds of thousands of simple people who had lived peacefully, bringing up their children and looking after their old ones-not harming anyone. Peaceful human beings now collected from cities and villages, from all the corners of a world that calls itself civilized and takes pride in its flush toiletsherded together to be slaughtered like cattle. Yet the sun continued to shine, the trees continued to blossom as before. the earth didn't open up while thousands of our brothers cowered in naked impotence in the dark dungeons of the ghetto, convulsed by the crushing, agonizing fear of death delivered by the butcher's knife of the pitiless murderer, filling the air with the prayers of the dying and the last outcry of the hopelessly despairing.

Lesson of Stalingrad: "Self-Defense"

Then came Stalingrad and, in the words of Dr. Ringelblum, a new word was on the lips of all decent men: *self-defense*. This magic word restored man's dignity: if death was inevitable, then to die like a man, to die fighting! The Jew straightened his back and reached for a rifle.

The miracle of the uprising of the ghetto has been immortalized through the documents in the Jewish Museum of Warsaw—a miracle wrought by the news of Stalingrad. Yet Stalingrad meant more: it marked a turning point in man's history and the army which brought this turning point about proceeded to plant its victorious banner on the Reichstag in Berlin. It was an army of avengers, an army which restored law and justice to the world, thereby also restoring our faith—yours and mine—in man's future. These achievements were bought at a fearful price. And the people of the Soviet Union paid the price unstintingly.

I had hoped that you would never forget this. I had imagined that the armies which broke down the gates of Maidanek and of Auschwitz would forever be remembered as liberators. I had imagined that the nation which had paid for victory with the lives of millions of her sons, sacrificing the happiness of an entire generation and suffering the destruction of her cities and villages, would forever be revered and honored in the memory of mankind.

The years of the cold war have demonstrated again how easily man forgets. Some Jews too have forgotten. And you? In the anti-Soviet cacophony the voice of the Jew sounds like blasphemy. Even if all the others were to forget, the Jew must always remember. That is why I write this letter to you today after my visit to the Jewish Museum of Warsaw. You too should visit this Museum. Perhaps it may save you from making a fatal mistake. Listen to the legacy left by our murdered brothers before you jump on the bandwagon. Were you to decide to go along with the new patrons of the SS or to join the chorus of slanderers of the Soviet Union or even if you were to seek refuge in silence, you would be disowning the martyrs of your people who with their dying breath cursed the SS murderers and blessed their avengers in the name of the Almighty who is praised by widows and orphans as the dispenser of justice.

Ghetto Got Help from Poles

The uprising of the Warsaw ghetto began on April 19, 1943. You can still see some remains of the houses in which the Jews fought. A sign at the entrance of the doomed district reads: "Stop—Prohibited Areal" German machine guns advance from street to street drawing ever closer the circle of steel and fire. Little children with arms raised beg for their lives. At the same time high up on rooftops and from cracks in the walls young Jews, descendants of the Maccabees, keep on firing into the ranks of their tormentors.

There is a rusty rifle, an antiquated pistol, displayed in one of the show cases. Where did the Jews get the weapons for a battle, which though unequal, lasted for days? In this Museum you'll find the explanation—and the proof. A day after the uprising the Polish underground came to the assistance of the Jews. The Polish underground, you ask: aren't all Poles anti-Semites? No, my friend, only fascism and reaction are anti-Semitic, not a people. Jews and Poles fought shoulder to shoulder against German fascism because both had learned the lesson of Stalingrad.

There are many displays recording the martyrdom of the Jews in Auschwitz and Maidanek. Perhaps the most unbearable is the evidence of the coldly efficient streamlined organization of the exterminators alongside of the mute grief emanating from simple articles of every-day use such as a cup, a prayer shawl, a wooden shoe, that seem alive because they were once used by a living being. Here are photographs of dead children, bodies piled high on a cart to be dumped into a mass grave; another photo shows long rows of skeletons against the background of the smoking chimneys of the Maidanek crematorium. This shoe, did it belong to my uncle or yours? That picture showing a group of emaciated women—one of them may well be my cousin Boezsi. I can still see her—dancing with joyful abandon at a Purim Ball of the Hakoah!

Letter of Death

Here is another document. Examine it closely. It reveals cannibalism—and I choose the word deliberately—in its most horrible nakedness:

"SS Headquarters—Economic Administration Center, Oranienburg, September 5, 1943.

Section D—Concentration Camp

Re: Disposition of Jewish Prisoners.

To Camp Kommandant S.S. Obersturmbannfuehrer Hoess, Concentration Camp Auschwitz.

There are at present in Concentration Camp Auschwitz some 25,000 Jewish inmates. You were previously instructed to make those of the Jewish inmates who are fit for work available for armament production in the Reich. Your report of August 25th indicates that only 3,581 Jewish inmates were considered fit for work in the armament industry. My question is this: what about the remaining 21,500 Jews? Please look into the matter again and report back.

(Signed) MAUSER
SS Obersturmbannfuehrer."

This letter was tantamount to a death sentence for both your uncle and my gay and irrepressible cousin. SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Mauser of the Economic Administration Center discovered that 21,500 Jews were being "maintained" in the Auschwitz camp at the expense of the Reich. SS Obersturmbannfuehrer Hoess, Camp Kommandant at Auschwitz straightened out the matter. The chimneys of the death factory belched forth smoke, but no coal was used to stoke the furnaces.

The few who survived owe their lives to the Red Army. Some of the murderers survived too; they were saved by the American commander-in-chief of Western Germany. The SS Obersturmbannfuehrers, the generals of the Wehrmacht, the armament magnates are now the trusted allies of your government.

The Jewish Museum in Warsaw does not deal with the Jews of America, only with the Jews of Poland. But what-

ever happened yesterday to the Jews of Poland can easily happen tomorrow to the Jews of the United States. Wherever fascism and reaction hold sway anti-Semitism will soon appear.

New Poland Eradicated Fascism

But whatever happened in the Poland of yesterday cannot possibly happen in the Poland of today, because the new Poland has eradicated fascism—root and branch. The Jewish Museum in Warsaw is carefully collecting evidence which shows how the Jews are participating in the building and growth of the new Poland. It has also collected the heroic records of those Jews who fought in the Spanish civil war. There was the Compania Naftali Botwin which fought at the Ebro as part of the Palafox battalions. What did they fight for? Did they fight for Poland? Did they fight for the Jews? The answer may be found in the Yiddish army newspapers published in Spain. The Jews fought in the International Brigade against fascism, against the fascists who murdered their brothers. They were fighting

for a world free of pogroms-for the brotherhood of man.

There is ample evidence that Jews have always participated in the struggle for freedom and for socialism. The class struggle cuts through the Jewish people as its cuts through every other people in the world. It has to be that way. The great tragedy begins when Jews out of selfishness or self-delusions lend their support to fascism, regardless whether this support is tacit or open, moral or material. There is no dodging this fact: fascism and pogroms are synonymous even under the star-spangled banner. Today it is the Negro-tomorrow the Jew. Whoever deprives the Communists of their civil rights today will put the Jews beyond the pale of the law tomorrow. The lessons of an age-old history clearly show that Jews, in order to survive, must join the camp of peace and progress; for the Iew it is suicide to join the camp of those who are now the allies of the SS.

The Polish Jews who survived the carnage have learned the lesson of Stalingrad. What about you? Yes, what about you?

IV: A "SHOCHET" WRITES FROM POLAND

The following is taken from a letter written recently by a shochet (ritual slaughterer) in Poland to his sister, Mrs. Miriam Deutsch, of Tucson, Arizona.—Eds.

Dzherzhdanov, Poland.

Dear Sister Miriam:

Several weeks passed since I received your letter, which made me very happy. A few days after your letter came, Father's photograph arrived, for which I am thankful. . . . Not a day passes but I-say to my wife, that if only my father and mother could see my two lovely children, if they could only see me, a shochet at work, if they could see how I live, how happy and satisfied they would be.

If father and mother could see the favor which is bestowed on me as one of the best shochtim here and how I stood before an audience of over 1,000 people in shul (synagogue) last Rosh Hashonah and spoke to them for over an hour, they would be proud. Yes, if only father and mother were alive. Maia Leah wrote me that they were able to be evacuated with her, because the Soviet government allowed everyone

to leave.

Father would never have believed that in a Communist Poland religion would be so well treated. I can also add that here in my city the *Kehillah* (Jewish community council) pays me out of the earnings of the *shochtim*. In other cities, the state pays the *shochet*. Not only that. Since many Jews have gone to Israel, there is a shortage of *shochtim*. So there is a school for *shochtim* and the cost of the school is covered by the government.

Once we had the problem of getting enough wood for the winter. We often suffered from the cold. But today I go to a coal office, pay very little out of my monthly salary and get coal delivered for the winter a few days later. I live in a three-room apartment with a kitchen and bathroom and the monthly rent is no more than the cost of the cigarettes for one day's smoking. And cigarettes are inexpensive, too. My children are well fed and scamper joyfully through the apartment, knocking over everything in their way.

You ask about my daughter? She is now three years and eight months old (may she live to be 120!). She is so sweet and lovely that I doubt if any other children are like her except perhaps yours. I will send you a photograph of my two little treasures. My son doesn't like to admit that his sister Hana Dvora has outgrown him. So he says that he'll eat more so he

can be bigger than she is.

You write that the children keep you busy and that you are kept occupied with your business. What can I say to you? Here we have no such worries. Small children like ours go to a nursery school and there they eat their midday lunch. The institutions are fully equipped with all the luxuries and necessities and are as beautiful as palaces. Parents can attend to their own affairs all day.

I have already written to Faigel about the problems you mention about your work. If the world situation were not so tense, I would long ago have invited you to come here to live. You would be able to rest your bones and have a nice personal and social life.

... Write me if your daughter is learning Yiddish.

Are there any Jews in your city?

May you always be strong and healthy,

Ітгнок

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN SAYS:

"SPEAK UP! FREEDOM NEEDS EXERCISE!"

Out of the vast silence of the major lewish organizations on the Smith and McCarran acts has at last come the voice of the National Council of Jewish Women, which has a membership of 94,000 Jewish women in 240 communities. The following statement appeared in the January Spotlight, bulletin of the council, which was the opening gun of a "Campaign for Freedom" launched by the organization. It is unfortunate, however, that the council reiterates current misconceptions about Communists. But the council is making a courageous contribution to American freedom by the campaign outlined below.

REEDOM in America today is under heavy attack. Newspaper headlines ring with unproven charges of disloyalty. The search for truth is being circumscribed by self-appointed custodians of 100 per cent Americanism. The government is being deprived of the services of able men who refuse to be exposed to public

And, most important of all, there is a growing fear which is making people quiet. Fewer people are speaking up for what they believe in. The areas of open disagreement are narrowing. The number of unpopular

but tolerated views are growing smaller.

This is not the first time in our history that freedom has been threatened. It has never been absolutely safe. It has always had its inconveniences; its "friends" who would put it away for safekeeping. But the good sense of the American people and their basic belief in freedom has always come forward to defeat its enemies.

Perhaps the current attacks seem more dangerous because the bigness and impersonality of modern society appear to reduce the value of the individual and his opinion. People who are used to getting all the answers from columnists and commentators are slow to form their own opinions and state their own views. Moreover, those who attack our liberties have taken full advantage of the devices of mass propaganda. They are sensational; they "make news." Attacks on freedom are being made in the name of freedom.

The majority of Americans have been slow to realize what is happening. They must be mobilized and aroused. And most important of all, they must be given the strength that comes with knowing that they are not alone. The best antidote to fear is concerted action.

That is why we, in the National Council of Jewish Women, are making plans for a "campaign for freedom." If all of us who believe in freedom spoke up and exercised it, the danger would soon be overcome.

We hope that through our campaign we will strengthen the determination of our own members to live freedom and defend freedom. We hope we will be able to reinforce all members of the community in their devotion to freedom.

We shall try to make freedom a positive, crusading cause, not a defensive one. We shall endeavor to make freedom speak to modern men and women in language they

understand—in the press, over the radio, and on public platforms. We shall try to see that these great instruments of mass communication are used in the service of freedom-not sensationally, never slanderously, never in a way to stifle thought.

We approach our task humbly but with determina-

tion and high purpose.

Will you join us in this campaign for freedom? MRS. IRVING M. ENGEL, National President MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, Chairman National Committee on Education and Social Action

Mrs. Herbert Erdman, Chairman National Committee on Public Relations

Keep Your Objectives Before You

To encourage and support people in speaking up for what they believe is right.

To promote the view that the newspapers, radio, and public platforms should provide an open "market place" for all views, whether they have popular support or not.

To defend the rights of all people unjustly accused or

deprived of privileges.

To insure the universal application of the basic legal and civil guarantees of the Constitution and the Bill of

To develop a widespread understanding of the meaning

of freedom.

Freedom demands knowledge. Help your members to understand what is going on in the world-and in your own community. Show them the importance of keeping an open mind and examining all approaches to a problem.

Promote full and free discussion of all issues. Encourage people to speak up for what they believe is right and to respect the beliefs of others. Majority vote may elect a congressman but it does not prove the rightness of an opinion.

Plan a Program of "Action for Civil Liberties" on these Important Issues

1. The growth of legal restrictions on civil liberties as exemplified by the McCarran Act and the Smith Act.

"Vigilantism" by private groups and individuals which destroys reputations and deprives people of their

3. Meaningless "loyalty tests" which fail to uncover actual subversives but undermine public confidence in teachers and government officials.

4. Loose talk, both private and public, which casts suspicion of disloyalty upon people and organizations.

5. Attacks on the public schools seeking to limit free inquiry and to force a return to the "3 R's."

6. Efforts to gag free expression when there is no "clear

and present" danger to our own form of government.

HITLER YOUTH OVER PHILADELPHIA

A festering reactionary atmosphere in Philadelphia has given rise to storm-trooper violence by fascist-minded youth through the city

By Walter Lowenfels

Philadelphia

I spent Monday, March 3rd, as one of five journalists permitted to attend the closed juvenile court hearing of Philadelphia's so-called Hitler Youth Group. I listened all day to investigating detectives testify and to Hitler-Heiling youth themselves. Their names, according to juvenile court rules, may not be made public. There were 21 of them in court, all aged 15 and 16 except one, who was 17. Four told how they came to fire-bomb the B'nai Israel Synagogue in the Olney area on January 18, and a nearby movie theater on New Year's Day. They and the others told how they flaunted swastika armbands and nazi salutes at the Olney High School, in the streets, at the movies and at a golf club where they caddied.

But Philadelphia experienced other fire-bomb outrages and attacks on synagogues this winter that were not charged against this group of 21 Olney High School pupils. These incidents include the following:

Vandalism against two synagogues in different areas of the city with considerable damage amounting to \$3,000 in one case.

A swastika-labelled fire-bomb (gasoline-filled milk bottle) found smouldering outside the Beth Judah Synagogue in West Philadelphia while 20 Jewish girl scouts were inside.

Two smouldering fire-bombs found at Olney High School after an adult meeting attended by Rabbi Isidor Budrick of the fire-bombed B'nai Israel Synagogue.

A gasoline bomb found at a West Philadelphia suburban Pennsylvania Railroad Station. Four churches in the Olney area were burned or vandalized.

In addition, there has been a rise in the number of organized beatings of Jewish youth in various areas. In one case, two 11-year-old Jewish girls were beaten in a vacant lot by a group of older girls attending the same school several miles from Olney.

Most of these events took place in January and February. As late as February 17, five boys, one of whom had a nazi flag draped over his shoulder, were arrested in the Olney area. They were released by police, who passed off the demonstration as a "prank."

From this brief summary it is apparent that the "Hitler Youth Group" and their two fire-bombings are only one part of an outbreak of fascist violence that is not confined to any school, group or section of the city. However, the "Hitler Youth" are the only fire-bombers who have been apprehended. Several groups of synagogue vandals—aged seven to 14—have been arrested. So have several gangs who beat up Jewish children. But as I write, there are still unknown fire-bombers at large in Philadelphia.

However, there is a prevailing tendency among the city's leading Jewish defense organizations, as well as in official circles, to limit the problem to one of "juvenile delinquency." In line with this tendency, a number of revelant questions were not asked at the March 3rd hearings of the "Hitler Youth Group" which I attended.

Nobody dealt with the contradiction posed by the whitehaired, earnest jurist who presided, President Judge John A. Boyle, when he declared: "We are going over into Germany, trying to instill into Germany some sort of democratic ideas. And right here at home we find a situation that is worse than in the Western part of Berlin."

According to the testimony, a half-dozen of the young gangsters began practicing their nazi salutes and "Heil Hitlers" a few days after Christmas. But nobody asked whether they had gotten the idea of fire-bombing the Olney Theatre, with its audience of over a thousand, from the Christmas Day bombings in Florida. Or whether they were trying to emulate the nazi General Rommel, "hero" of the movie, The Desert Fox. Or if they were affected by the character of Fagin in the anti-Semitic movie, Oliver Twist.

Adult Instigators

The judge sternly characterized the four gangsters who fire-bombed a synagogue and theater as "cold, cruel, persistent . . . with a callousness akin to the callousness of Hitlerism itself." He called the hatred of the Jews that was "festering in their brain," a "cancerous growth." In sentencing the four most active boys to reform institutions and putting the others on probation, he said, "I think their removal from a nauseous atmosphere is indicated." But no one in the court intimated why this "nauseous atmosphere" had moved from nazi Germany to this country. Or whether the foreign policy of Washington, which is forcing the revival of a renazified West Germany and a new Wehrmacht, is not also responsible for the emergence of young fascists in the USA who try to destroy synagogues.

"If there were any adult instigators," Judge Boyle ob-

served, "the authorities have not been able to discover them." But is there any mystery about the adult instigators? Hasn't the "anti-communist" hysteria—reminiscent of Hitler—churned up in its wake anti-Semitic and anti-Negro bombings, from Florida to Philadelphia?

One local manifestation of the "nauseous atmosphere" among adults was brought out for the first time at the March third hearing. On the night of January 18, just before the B'nai Israel Synagogue was bombed, five of the youth met a 23-year-old man seated in his car. He was named as a newspaper distributor and part time employer of one of the Heil-Hitlering group not directly involved in the bombing. One of the 15-year-old bombers described the scene, according to my rough notes on his testimony, as follows:

"We, (the five youths and the older man) started talking against the Jews....'Jews aren't any good.'... We all said it. Then we started saluting. We said we intended to bomb the synagogue. Everybody started laughing. They all approved. 'Are you really going to do it?' the man asked. We said 'Yes.' We were all laughing. Someone said: 'Heil Hitler!' M. (one of the boys) asked the man to pick us up in his car after the synagogue was bombed. But he didn't wait and went off...."

This was the first, and last, at this writing, that has been heard of this adult who knew the synagogue was to be bombed, approved and laughed. A personal check reveals that his identity and at least tacit participation, was well known to investigators. He had been visited by them. They knew he worked in a government plant and that he was a rabid Jew-baiter, Apparently, such adults do not fit into an investigation of "juvenile delinquency."

Perhaps Philadelphians are fortunate that local officials were able to arrest the young Hitlerites themselves, considering that the FBI and the whole federal government have been careful not to apprehend the Florida murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Moore?

One of the four synagogue-bombers said in court, "If we weren't caught, it might have led to something bigger—maybe to someone being killed. All of a sudden it started to grow bigger and if we had gotten away with the synagogue something else would be happened." He admitted that plans had been discussed to fire another synagogue at C street and Roosevelt Boulevard. 'We joked that all synagogues had to go."

"Had to go" was the phrase used by the gang. The movie theater "had to go." The synagogue "had to go." My trial notes are full of references to laughter and joking. The testimony revealed the spirit of casual fun in which the Jew-hunting developed rapidly from Heil-Hitlering to fire bombs. It recalled the holiday atmosphere that accompanies a southern lynching bee.

One of the 15-year-olds testified that before meeting the newspaper distributor and proceeding with the synagogue-bombing, the group stood up in the nearby Felton Theater, gave the nazi salute, and shouted "Heil Hitler!" Several other groups in the audience followed suit. All in all, it is

clear that several thousands had seen the group aping their storm-trooper models before the bombings. Apparently their actions were taken as a "fad," just a trifle more extreme, perhaps, than wearing the gray caps of the Civil War slavocracy.

Olney High School Group

All the group denied that there was any organization as such with dues, regular meetings, meeting places or elected leaders. One swastika armband was admitted in evidence, apparently the only one remaining of the three that figured in the case. Armbands had been sold by one of the group. An uncle in the United States Army, this one testified, had sent them to him as souvenirs some time ago from Germay.

Newspapers have featured the fact that all members of the group attended Olney High School, which has 4,000 pupils, a majority of them Jewish, and a number of Jewish teachers. However, the evidence showed that the Hitler movement was brought into the school by a half dozen boys who "went together." They started Heil Hitlering, saluting and occasionally goose-stepping and flashing the swastika armbands in the corridors, cafeteria and playground. The "fad" caught on and spread to others, including some of the girls.

The Olney principal, like many others in the ctiy, showed no signs of being free of the "normal" prejudices against Jews and Negroes. Even after the fire-bombing was linked to Olney students, he pooh-poohed the whole matter. Nevertheless, the attempts to center the guilt on this one particular school can be seen only as part of the general build up of a "juvenile delinquency" approach.

It is true that the Olney area has been a hotbed of nazi Bund and anti-Semitic activity for years. In this district there is a relatively small area, mainly non-Jewish, surrounded by a growing community of middle and upper middle class Jewish families. During the early days of World War II, a local unit of the nazi German-American Bund was uncovered in the neighborhood. Jewish residents report that in 1942 and 1943, a number of attacks on Jewish school children occurred. One group of nazi sympathizers was organized in the Philadelphia Rifle Club. They celebrated Hitler's birthday in 1940 at the headquarters of the Amerika-Deutsch Volksbund.

But 1952 is not 1940. Attempts to center responsibility on a possible and yet undiscovered revival of Bundism as such divert attention from the known facts: it is the McCarran act today, not Hitler's Nuremberg laws, that provide the stimulus for fascist activities and concentration camps in the USA. The "nauseous atmosphere" of the McCarran act is fertilizing nazi thinking in these boys' minds.

He Read "Mein Kampf"

Let us return for a moment to the court scene.
"Why did you do it?" Judge Boyle asked a boy involved

in the theater burning.

"I just wanted to annoy the manager."

"Why would you do such a thing?" the judge asked one of the synagogue bombers.

"I don't really know what got into our heads."

Pressed further by the judge, he admitted, "We did not like the Jews. That is true."

"Did you read Mein Kampf?"

"About half of it."

"What did you find in Mein Kampf?"

"We read that Hitler hated the Jews, that Hitler said the Jews are profiteers. . . . In several cases it stated about

synagogues being burned."

Only the "grace of God," said Judge Boyle, and prompt action by the 60 people in the B'nai Israel Synagogue and by the Colney Theater manager prevented men and women and children from being burned alive by Philadelphia's fire-bombers.

Jewish Defense

The campaign of exposure of this festering group was initiated by a local English-Jewish weekly, The Jewish Times. For several weeks this paper carried factual expose articles on the situation and its background. Yet it cannot be said that as yet any popular movement is under way to stop fascist violence in Philadelphia. The leading local Jewish defense organization, the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC), is composed of some 25 affiliated groups, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish War Veterans. JCRC has played a leading role in investigating the anti-Semitic outbreaks. A JCRC survey of the situation ends wih the comment "There appears to be no basis for alarm, even though all groups should be gravely concerned."

But the JCRC has hampered efforts in various neighborhoods to organize a popular mass movement uniting all sections of the population against fascist violence. For the JCRC insists that action by member groups must be "cleared" with JCRC and this body is unfriendly to the idea of mass action. A rabbi in Olney told a delegation that a Protestant minister who urged united action to rouse the area, asked him, "What are you going to do-wait until you have gas chambers here?"

No Unity of Action As Yet

A progressive Jewish community leader told me: "The JCRC is trying to limit the anti-Semitic outbreaks to a question of juvenile delinquency to prevent a broader examination into the sources of racism. The Jewish defense organizations here do not want to admit any tie-up with other issues, particularly brutality and discrimination against the Negro people. Yet, anti-Semitic violence can only be licked in a broad movement that will unite all parts of the population and tackle problems such as jobs, housing, and education."

Various other groups in the community have begun to take action. The Jewish People's Fraternal Order, several progressive trade union leaders, the Progressive Party, the Community Party and the Civil Rights Congress have called for a united community effort to deal with fascist violence. After the Philadelphia City Council unanimously passed a resolution urging federal action against the Florida bomb slayers and the bombers of synagogues and churches in Philadelphia, John Holton, Negro leader and Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress director warned, "The Florida tree is spreading its branches to Philadelphia." Only by united action can this spread be prevented.

A group of trade union and civil leaders, headed by Ike Freedman, business agent of Local 53, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union, have begun to take action. A delegation from this group asked the Board of Education to establish a brotherhood and fellowship program in the schools and to issue a declaration of policy for an integrated pupil and teacher school system that would eliminate lily-white and all-Negro schools and teaching staffs. Similar proposals are being made by other liberal and labor groups. The Progressive Party has asked the city's Human Relations Commission, which the Mayor ordered to investigate the "Hitler Youth," to hold open hearings and enlist the aid of the whole citizenry. Some small local neighborhood meetings on the issue have been held. However, it cannot be said that a popular movement

Justice Douglas to Jewish Youth

is under way to stop fascist violence in Philadelphia.

N a statement sent to the National Jewish Youth Conference in February, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas urged youth to preserve its "historic role" in meeting the challenge to civil liberties. The text of his message follows:

Today fear of free thought, fear of free speech, fear of the market place of ideas have reached the campuses and classrooms. The censor looks over the shoulders of many teachers. A deadening orthodoxy has settled in our communities. The military mind has pressed our thinking into a standard mold.

People are afraid to disagree with the popular side for fear of being branded a subversive. Youth is paralyzed and silent when it sheuld be vociferous. The great role youth has served in the past has been to challenge the prejudices of their elders and put the accepted idea to the test of criticism and debate.

Youth must somehow resume its historic role. It must no longer be cowed by the orthodox view. The nation needs balance and perspective in its thinking on foreign and domestic issues. Youth has the energy, the freshness we throw off the shackles of orthodoxy and get a fresh in point of view, the courage for this leadership. Unless start, we will become prisoners of ideas that will destroy

NEWS OF NEGRO STRUGGLE

A call for Negro unity was issued on February 14 by William L. Patterson, national executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress and editor-in-chief of the historic We Charge Genocide petition to the United Nations. The letter was addressed to Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People

"I am writing to you," said Patterson, "on the eve of the conference which the leadership of the NAACP will convene in Washington, D. C., on the 17th of this month, as the call implies, to bring together those forces, Negro and white, whose unity of purpose, sterling leadership and fearlessness in struggle can guarantee that an end is put to the mounting terror that seems about to engulf black men and women in America. . . . This letter is a plea for real unity. It is a plea that we put an end to the artificial separation of the Negro people. That separation can only help our common enemy. We believe our unity could have saved the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee. We do not welcome this isolation of death. . . . Invite the Civil Rights Congress and other militant organizations to participate in those deliberations in Washington. That move will fill our enemies with dismay. . . .

"I do not ask you personally, or any of you, to renounce your political or your religious convictions. I do not call for the merging of our organizations. . . . Our unity in struggle, together with our white allies, will win these rights for us permanently. That unity must be without distinction as to political or religious faith. Such unity can rally millions of the American people in national stoppages of labor, in mass demonstrations and mass rallies of great significance. . . ."

Although the Washington conference on February 17-18 refused to admit the Civil Rights Congress and some conference speakers diverted the struggle for civil rights legislation by calling it "a blow to communism," a stiffer atti-

tude towards President Truman's abandonment of the fight for civil rights was manifested by Walter White and others. Mr. White insisted that "there can be no 'cease-fire' in the fight to achieve full civil rights for all Americans." He also called the attitude of leading presidential aspirants on civil rights issues "entirely unsatisfactory" and warned candidates that they "must come clear, or else." A lobby of the 800 delegates from 31 states and more than 50 organizations with a membership of about 35,000,000, concluded after visits to representatives and senators that it was necessary to "change the membership of Congress." A chief target of the conference was the present cloture role in the Senate, which has made civil rights legislation difficult because it allows filibustering to kill such legislation. Many Jewish organizations participated in the conference.

Three months have passed since the FBI moved into the case of the killing of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Mims, Florida. Yet not one single sign of any arrest or solution of the racist murders has come forth. Isn't it strange that the much-publicized, many-million-dollar apparatus of crime detection that the FBI boasts, has been "impotent" in this case? We wonder why?

The jury in the trial of Police Chief Erwin Konovsky of Cicero, Illinois, for misconduct in the handling of the Cicero riots to prevent the Negro family of Harvey Clarke, Jr., from occupying an apartment in Cicero, on March 12 approved the directed verdict of innocent by Judge Frank Leonard of Cook County Criminal Court. A chance to obtain justice in this racist violence case remains, however. For Konovsky still must stand trial on the federal indictment charging that he violated Mr. Clarke's civil rights in the Cicero riots. Konovsky also is under state indictment on a charge of failure to suppress gambling.

Several victories were won in New

York against discrimination in housing in February. Following on the heels of the great Stuyvesant Town victory, a threat of eviction of the Ross family in Levittown for having several Negro children as guests in the Nassau County housing project, was averted for the time being. Levitt & Sons had ordered Adolph Ross, his wife and two children evicted on February 19. The Rosses invited many friends and supporters to breakfast on the eviction morning and about 400 others came and went during the day. The authorities did not show up to enforce the eviction. . . . After several years of struggle, Mortimer Peterkin, a young Negro worker, gained right to retain his apartment in Chelsea; and Mr. and Mrs. David Pauker, Negro couple, obtained their lease to a Washington Heights apartment from landlord Mrs. Ethel Feldman. Both victories were won by the mass community actions of the Manhattan Tenants Council.

Walter Lee Irvin, 24-year-old Negro veteran who was for a second time conevicted of "rape" in the Groveland case on February 15 in Ocala, Florida, by a lily-white jury, rejected a deal to save him from the death sentence. This was revealed by Richard Carter, New York Daily Compass reporter, on February 17. Carter wrote that Florida's Governor Fuller Warren offered Irvin a life sentence if Irvin would plead guilty. Irvin refused with the answer, "I'm innocent." Warren's intermediary in the deal was his special investigator, Jefferson J. Elliott, who was revealed by Stetson Kennedy to have told Kennedy a few months ago that he is a Klans-

A Jewish businessman, Maurice Dickstein, of Birmingham, Ala., has lived for months under a nightmare of telephone calls threatening his life. Last May, Dickstein was foreman of a jury that refused to convict a Negro of a police-framed murder charge. The threats, he said, were "coming from crackpots who hate me because I am a Jew and because the jury wouldn't take the life of a Negro."

SIX POEMS

By Joseph Bovshover

Translated from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer

IN MEMORY OF DAVID EDELSHTAT

(Written on the day of Edelshtat's death)

Sun, go off and hide your visage; wrap the splendor of your light in a vast, vast cloud of mourning dark and gloomy as the night . . .

Now my heart is full of darkness I don't want to see your gold: now its every, every corner has more pain than it can hold.

Let a great cloud be rolled open like a shroud across the skies; let no thing but grief be seen now: only grief before my eyes.

Let the birds on all the branches sit in grief and make no sound; let the flowers in the meadow turn their faces to the ground.

On whatever path I stumble let me only sorrow find; let all Nature grieve as I grieve for a true friend of mankind!

MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

A mother's at the washtub; her daughter stands there, too. They wash and scrub together until the clothes look new.

All week at home the mother does everything herself. The girl has only Sundays to stay at home and help.

The mother's thin and feeble; her skin's a sickly hue. The daughter is a flower that fades for want of dew. The mother loves her daughter, but she herself's half-gone. The daughter loves her mother, and helps the wash get done.

And in the small apartment I watch the weary pair. It really is quite common, but more than I can bear.

THE SIGHING VOICE

The air hangs heavy: night begins. Slowly the far-off sun descends. Upon my wall the evening spins a black thread with its nimble hands.

Soon through the air a voice of woe cries out to me, and cries again.

The mournful sound spills out as though it is a river in my brain.

And deep inside my heart it pours, and wakes the sorrow sleeping there, and with a frightful sob implores: "Why are you sitting in your chair?

"Begone!"—I listen, look around: all quiet . . . not a leaf has stirred. Yet, workingman, I know the sound: it was your silence that I heard.

VERSES

Old songs, why do you want me songs of a vanished day? Why do you come to haunt me from regions far away?

I hear your notes resounding, but can't take up the strain. My head's already pounding with too much grief and pain.

TO MY BROTHERS

If I am the lyre, then you are the strings. You waken my voice and bid me to sing.

For every new song-I thank you alone without you I grow as silent as stone,

If I love you no more, and suddenly tire, no music again shall leap from the lyre.

MY FINAL WISH

Oh brothers! I wish I could live till the hour, the hour when you've stricken your enemy down, when chains will no longer imprison your power, and Freedom will gleam on your hair like a crown. And then, when you meet for a great celebration to honor the rise of humanity's sun, that only through torment, through grief and privation, through bitter, through terrible war you have won—

oh then, when the sound of your jubilant singing will float over meadows of opening buds, and merrily breezes will run to you, bringing your own song of joy from the echoing woods—

when faces, transfigured by bliss, will be beaming as sunlight transfigures the slumbering lands when eyes, like the heavenly lights, will be gleaming: the eyes of mankind in its victory dance;

oh then I would wish, brothers, just for a second to witness the scene through a conqueror's tears! The pulse of my heart would be suddenly quickened; its wounds would be healed, after so many years . . .

And then I would sing you a song before leaving, until my heart drowns in a whirlpool of glee; and then I could welcome my death without grieving, with Freedom alone to wear mourning for me.

THE ROSENBERG CAMPAIGN BROADENS

THE campaign for justice in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, condemned to death for alleged atomic espionage—a charge that the record of their trial before Judge Irving Kaufman in March 1951 hardly sustains beyond reasonable doubt—has broadened and deepened in the past few months. The anti-Semitic implications of the case (see "Anti-Semitism and the Rosenbergs," by Louis Harap in the January 1952 issue) are being widely recognized.

The First District Court of Appeals upheld the lower court in a unanimous decision on February 25. The opinion, interestingly enough, was written by Judge Jerome Frank, who is Jewish, thus continuing the pattern of a Jewish prosecutor (Irving Saypol) and a Jewish trial judge (Irving Kaufman). Among the many challengeable statements in Judge Frank's opinion was one which affirmed that "it is impossible to say that the community is shocked and outraged" by the decision. One wonders where Judge Frank has been this past year.

Judge Frank would have seen plenty of evidence of shock and outrage not only against the decision but against the conviction altogether if he had been present at the moving mass meeting held by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case at Pythian Hall in New York on March 12. The hall itself was jammed with over 1,100 people while literally hundreds of people who were unable to obtain admittance waited in the streets below. A fabulous collection of over \$3,000 for the work of the committee was achieved. The audience was on several occasions moved to tears, especially during an eloquent speech by Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the Rosenbergs' co-defendant Morton Sobell, who re-

ceived a 30-year sentence and whose conviction was upheld by the appeals court by 2-1, Judge Frank dissenting. The meeting agreed to help obtain signatures for a people's *Amicus* brief, signed by thousands of Americans, urging the Supreme Court to grant a new trial.

Judge Frank should read the English-Jewish press, which has begun to speak out on the case. Rabbi Dr. George C. Fox, of the Chicago Sentinel, wrote in his column on February 7, "I am certain that Judge Kaufman's decision . . . will be found unjust, if not illegal" and he urged a "grass roots letter and telegram protest to President Truman."

This is what Samuel B. Gach, editor of the California Jewish Voice and an intense anti-communist, wrote in his column on February 29: "My only concern [in the case] was why a Jewish judge had to outdo the ADL [Anti-Defamation League] and decide a death penalty for peace-time espionage and so scribble a shameful precedent on the pages of American jurisprudence. It could only have been because the legal killer, Judge Irving Kaufman, is a Jew, and the defendants were Jews; and to prove that he was (ahem) unbiased, he acquiesced to legal murder in time of national hysteria and only because the be-robed and politically anointed punk was a scared and synthetic American and a weaker than no-good Jew."

In the March 14 issue of the Brooklyn Jewish Examiner, Rabbi Louis D. Gross, publisher of the weekly and a sponsor of the Rosenberg Committee, wrote: "After plowing through volumes of evidence presented in this tragic case, I am not convinced, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the Rosenbergs are guilty."

REPRESSION IN NEW YORK SCHOOLS

The Board of Education renews its inquisition by suspending eight Jewish teachers, fighters for democracy. The community is aroused

By Cyril Graze

WHEN the news was blazoned forth on January 31 that eight more Jewish teachers had been suspended by New York's Superintendent of Schools William Jansen, the Jewish community was deeply disturbed and aroused. This feeling was reflected in an article by B. Z. Goldberg in the Jewish Day on February 8. "There is in it," wrote Mr. Goldberg, "a foul stench, which, regardless of the perfume poured over it, still gives out the rotten odor of anti-Semitism." The total of persecuted Jewish teachers now numbers 18: eight this year, eight dismissed last year, one the year before that and one who committed suicide. Wherever Jewish people discussed the matter, nearly always there was an invariable reaction, that anti-Semitism was closely tied with the affair.

This reaction has a firm foundation. For it was fresh in memory that many teachers who had been guilty of expressions of hatred against the Jewish people, the Negro people and the foreign born still teach undisturbed in the New York School system. The roster of such teachers is known: the notorious May Quinn; Gladys Laubenheimer, who in her classroom referred to immigrants as "the scum of Europe" and "garbage"; Principal Eudora Fletcher, who told a parent, "What do you Jews want to do, control all of America?"; Gladys Mann, who beat up an eight-year-old youngster recently arrived from Puerto Rico. The benevolent attitude of the school officials toward teachers like these contrasts significantly with the ruthless action against Jewish teachers with a record of love and devotion toward the children they taught.

The Roll of Honor

Consider for a moment the backgrounds of the eight teachers currently under attack. All entered the school system either shortly before or during the depression of the early thirties. They had absorbed the traditions of progressivism and militant-trade-unionism of Jewish working people in this country. They joined the Teachers Union and became active members. During this period they achieved enviable records as teachers. Never at any time during their average of 20 years of service had any of them received an adverse rating of any kind. On the contrary, their record is replete with testimonials of esteem in which they have

been held by their students, the parents of these students, by their colleagues and by their supervisors. Moreover they worked selflessly after school hours to help improve school conditions in the areas in which they taught. Here they are:

Mrs. Mildred Flacks, mother of two children, became a leader in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Negro community of Brooklyn in which she had taught for 20 years. She gained recognition for her work in helping to secure needed school improvements in an area traditionally neglected by school officials, by being elected vice president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Neighborhood Council, a leading community civic organization.

Arthur Newman carried on a similar campaign among the Jewish, Negro and Puerto Rican people of the southeast Bronx and has served for many years as chairman of the Better Schools Committee of that area.

Mrs. Dorothy Rand, who taught in Harlem for many years, worked actively to secure better school and health facilities there, to remove biased material from textbooks and to promote the study of Negro history in the schools.

Cyril Graze, chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee of the Teachers Union, has become known for his leadership in the fight against May Quinn and for his exposure of what he publicly called the "cesspool of bigotry at the Board of Education."

Samuel Wallach is present vice-president and former president of the Teachers Union, an organization well known for its militant fight on behalf of the children.

Julius Lemansky has had a distinguished career as a teacher of social studies and, in October 1951, was reelected unanimously by his fellow teachers at Boys' High School to serve as the chairman of their Teachers' Interest Committee.

Dorothy Bloch has taught English for 15 years and served as acting chairman of her department in the school annex at which she taught.

Hyman Koppelman has had an unblemished teaching career of over 25 years and like the other teachers has been an active member of the Teachers Union.

All eight, each in his or her own way, helped resist the inroads of bigotry in the schools and made a significant contribution to the cause of equality in education. They conducted themselves in the best traditions of the Jewish people and of the American people. As the Negro weekly New York Age wrote on February 9, "The axe appears

CYRIL GRAZE is one of the eight suspended teachers. He is chairman of the Teachers Union Academic Freedom Committee.

directed primarily at Jews, and most of these teachers have been active in fighting against discrimination, and for better housing, recreation, health facilities and school improvements among minority groups."

"Reorientation" Toward Fascism?

The charge of anti-Semitism in the conduct of New York schools and the attack upon the eight Jewish teachers cannot be understood in isolation from the general wave of repression in the country at large which has been generated by war preparations. It is this reactionary atmosphere that accounts for the growing violence against the Negro people and the recurrent bombings of Negro and Jewish buildings, the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Henry T. Moore in Florida, the rise of a "Hitler Youth" in Philadelphia and the countless other manifestations of racism and persecution of minorities. The anti-Semitic aspects of New York school policy are part of this same pattern. Three years ago Superintendent Jansen, together with General Eisenhower and other "educators" issued a statement calling for a "psychological reorientation of the American people" because of what they called the "threat of war." What this "reorientation" really means is a turn toward racism and repression, as events have amply shown.

One has only to recall recent developments in the New York schools to be convinced of this fact. The story is too well known to need repetition here. (For details, see Searchlight, Teachers Center Press, 206 West 15 Street, New York). A few facts about George Timone, Board of Education member who is spearheading the attack on the teachers and who was appointed from a list submitted by Cardinal Spellman, show the direction. Timone has been characterized by fascist Gerald L. K. Smith as a "follower of Father Coughlin." Timone was recently reappointed to the board with the support of the notorious anti-Semite Allen Zoll, whose organization, "The American Council on Education" was characterized in the past year by publications of the National Education Association and the Public Education Association as an enemy of public education. Timone recently issued the statement that, next to the "reds," the "new enemy" are those who are opposed to prayers in public schools and released time for religious education. It is well known that many Jewish organizations, such as the New York Board of Rabbis and American Jewish Congress, have opposed these programs as undermining the separation of church and state.

The Board of Education is squirming under the criticism that has met its persecution of the eight Jewish teachers. The New York Post, for instance, said editorially on the collapse of a school building, on February 28, that "Our schools are not red, but they are rotting," One answer to the charge of bigotry has been to remove at long last a few of the many anti-Negro and anti-Semitic textbooks in use for many years, against whose continued use the Teachers Union has vigorously fought. And Superintendent Jansen has tried to reply to the obvious record of the persecuted teachers of struggle against bias and to charges of anti-

Semitism by pointing to "testimonials" from certain careerist Jewish teacher leaders.

The Inquisition

In carrying through its persecution, the Board of Education has tried to negate charges of anti-Semitism by appointing Jews to carry through the persecution. The lawyer who carried on the inquisition was Saul Moskoff, and another Jew, Colonel Arthur Leavitt, has been appointed to sit as trial examiner of the eight. But this use of a Jewish prosecutor and judge should fool no one, but should rather recall the *Judenrat*, the use of Jews by the nazis to carry out their decrees against the ghettoes.

Superintendent Jansen has been trying to give the misleading impression that the inquisitorial questions asked of the teachers were the "usual" ones about communism: "Are you now or have you ever been . . . ?" This is not true. Teachers have been asked such questions as: "Did you ever recommend the reading of these books?" "Did you ever say that the United States was imperialistic?" "Did you say the following at a school assembly eight months ago as described in this anonymous letter?" "What did your father do?" "Were you ever at the home of . . .?" "Do you know the following people?" Incredible as it may seem, school officials insist that a teacher should turn informer in order to keep his job. This ferocious attack which is at the moment directed almost exclusively at Jewish teachers bears the stamp of the mentality of George Timone.

The implications of this repression in the schools are sinister. Not only are the children deprived of teachers who have shown them the greatest care and affection. Teachers who have risked their jobs to fight racist and religious bigotry in the schools are now in danger of dismissal. The stifling of freedom of thought in the schools involved in this witch-hunt is incalculable in its deformation of the minds of the coming generation. As Rabbi Louis I. Newman is reported in the New York Herald-Tribune on March 2 to have said in a sermon, "The campaign to enforce conformity among persons of independent thought is likely to create a generation of supine and spineless young men and women who cannot serve their community and country aright."

Effects of Repression

The witch-hunt is also likely to have a disastrous effect on young people, particularly Jewish, who are about to enter the teaching profession. "The fear of young people," continued Rabbi Newman in the sermon cited above, "that if they show inclinations toward liberalism, they will be placed on a blacklist tends to inhibit the less courageous from the rightful experimentation which is the heritage of youth." Hitherto teaching was considered one of the fields in New York City into which Jewish young men and women could enter freely without fear of discrimination and with prospects of advancement. How many of the in-

30th Birthday Greetings to "Morning Freiheit"

N APRIL 2, 1922, the *Freiheit* was born. In the 30 years of its existence, this daily paper of the progressive Yiddish-speaking masses has proved its fighting quality and its devotion to the interests of the broad masses of the Jewish people. It has carried on in the best traditions of the Jewish people and of American democracy.

We of JEWISH LIFE owe a special debt to the *Morning Freiheit*, for we are its English-speaking offspring.

Long life to the *Morning Freiheit!* Together with the true voices of America, may it help to keep fascism and war from our country.

THE EDITORS

dependent-minded youth will now be deterred from going into teaching because of the prevailing atmosphere and because as college students they spoke their minds on discrimination, democracy and peace?

There is great danger that the undermining of the public schools that has taken place in New York under the pressure of George Timone and those behind him, may now spread over the country. Especially is this so because of the recent Supreme Court 6-3 decision confirming the "constitutionality" of the Feinberg Law, which legalizes the witch-hunt in the schools. The plain-speaking dissenting opinion of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas points to this danger. "Where suspicion fills the air," he wrote, "and holds scholars in line for fear of their jobs there can be no exercise of the free intellect. . . . Fear stalks the classroom. . . . A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. . . . A school system producing students trained as robots threatens to rob the generation of a versatility that has been, perhaps, our greatest distinction. . . . So long as she (the teacher) is a law abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public school meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her."

Support from Parents

It is regrettable that no response has as yet came from major Jewish organizations. Large numbers of parents, Jew and non-Jew, have shown a wonderfully sympathetic response throughout New York City to the cause of the teachers. A number of highly successful and spirited affairs have been held in defense of the persecuted teachers. In southeast Bronx, parents tendered a testimonial dinner to Arthur Newman in which they expressed their warm affection and regard for him. A similar dinner was given to

Cyril Graze in Forest Hills with more than 250 parents, teachers and former students in attendance. Two of the teachers who live in the Greenwich Village area, Dorothy Bloch and Hyman Koppelman, helped organize a large and successful rally in their community.

In Crown Heights in Brooklyn, 300 persons attended a rousing meeting to aid the campaign of the teachers and more than \$700 were raised there. Colleagues of Julius Lemansky contributed more than \$300. A large rally for Samuel Wallach is planned for the end of March and still other meetings are planned for the Flatbush area and elsewhere. In Bedford-Stuyvesant a conference has been organized to discuss school problems and particularly the suspension of Mrs. Mildred Flacks, who has received overwhelming support from parent leaders in the area. Another parents' committee has been formed in Harlem to support Dorothy Rand and a large leaflet distribution is already under way. Probably the largest parents' demonstration ever held at the Board of Education occurred on February 28, when nearly 300 mothers left their household chores and gathered in defense of the teachers. They promised to return in even greater numbers. Finally, on February 29, the Teachers Union held a stirring rally of more than 1200 parents and teachers at City Center Casino, where those present pledged even greater efforts in the fight for freedom in the schools.

These activities are only a beginning. But they will have to be multiplied many times over. They are significant in that they have demonstrated to the teachers that the community is genuinely stirred by encroachments on civil liberties. Those concerned with the education of their children should take up the issue in their parents' association. They should write and form delegations to Arthur Leavitt (110 Livingston Street, Brooklyn) urging him not to lend himself to these sordid proceedings.

JEWS DEBATE SLAVERY, 1861

A rabbi, prompted by slavocrats, tries to "justify" slavery from the Bible. He is quickly exposed by his fellow-Jews in this country

By Morris U. Schappes

LINCOLN had just been elected on a platform that squarely opposed the extension of slavery. The slave-owners were alarmed and began to organize the secession of the southern states and the smashing of the Union, working fast in order to carry through their plan before Lincoln was inaugurated as president on March 4, 1861.

In the White House there sat a Pennsylvania Democrat, Buchanan, who had sided with the slaveowners on every important issue. Now he was taking the position that he was against secession, but—the Federal government could do nothing to stop it! He could think of one thing, however: he appointed January 4, 1861, first Sunday of the new year, as a National Fast Day on which all churches were to pray for peace. On December 20, 1860, South Carolina declared its secession from the United States.

The pro-slavery forces in the North, mainly merchants who had business connections with the South, moved rapidly to turn this National Fast Day into an opportunity to mobilize sentiment in favor of slavery. Clergymen who reflected the interests of these pro-slavery merchants were to make another attempt to attack the abolitionists and to "justify" slavery. How were they to do this?

The slaveowners' argument that the Bible "justified" slavery had been used endless times since 1701, when it had been first advanced. For a century and a half, however, the opponents of slavery, especially the abolitionists, had refuted this argument and branded slavery as a moral crime, a sin. But if nothing fresh could be said on the subject this January 4, 1861, perhaps a new angle could be found in terms of who would repeat the old pro-slavery Bible "justifications"!

All these years the battle of Biblical quotations, interpretations and misinterpretations had been waged by Christian clergymen in hundreds of sermons, pamphlets, articles and books. Their quotations were from the Old Testament as translated into English. Would it not be sensational if at this point the pro-slavers could find a well-known rabbi, preferably a Hebrew scholar, who would publicly testify that on his own scholarly, personal and rabbinical reading of the *Hebrew text* he found that slavery was sanctioned in the Bible and that those who denied it were actually guilty of blasphemy before the Lord?

Such a rabbi was found. Born in 1798 in Stockholm and educated in Denmark and Germany, Morris Jacob Raphall

had spent 25 years in England before coming to the New York in 1849 to become the rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun at a salary said to be the highest paid to a clergyman of any denomination in the country. His lectures and his book on the poetry of the ancient Hebrews had established his reputation as a Hebrew scholar. In New York he moved in literary, business and Democratic party circles (pro-Southern) that had only recently engineered an unprecedented honor for him: On February 1, 1860, he had become the first rabbi to say the opening prayer at the session of the House of Representatives.

Biblical "Justification" for Slavery

A group of prominent non-Jewish personalities approached Rabbi Raphall. Would he deliver such a sermon at a special service of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun on January 4th? He would! There was rejoicing. That Sunday, non-Jewish Southern gentlemen sat among the Jews in the synagogue in high expectation to hear the rabbi "sanction" their "peculiar institution"; their Southern ladies excitedly sat in the women's balcony.

Everything went off beautifully. Rabbi Raphall "proved" all over again that the Bible "justified" slavery, but he quoted Hebrew to make his point and that was decisive. He dissembled a bit by declaring that he was in his discourse dealing only with slavery among the ancient Hebrews and not with Southern slavery, but later in a sudden flush of candor he blurted out in the middle of his address, "I find I am delivering a pro-slavery discourse." As if he had not known what the effect of his sermon would be, was in fact intended to be by those who proposed he deliver it!

Of course, no sooner was the sermon delivered than it was spread throughout the country by the pro-slavers. In New York, the Herald, the Daily News and Evening Express published the long text in full, the Herald putting it on its front page. A score of similar sermons delivered that same day by Christian clergymen were ignored or relegated to a minor place while the Rabbi's "learning" was displayed in a hundred newspapers. In the Southern city of Baltimore, it was printed as a pamphlet. In Virgina, the Richmond Daily Dispatch praised the sermon as "the most powerful argument delivered" in the Bible controversy on slavery.

Less than two weeks later Raphall was again "prevailed

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upon" to deliver his discourse at a public meeting called by important pro-Southern New York merchants, who there discussed how to give Raphall's talk even greater distribution. By that time, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama had already seceded from the Union.

A Quick Answer

The anti-slavery forces of course reacted strongly to Raphall's attack, and newspaper editorials began to pick apart his arguments. But since the issue of "Hebrew scholarship" and a "learned Jew" had been injected into the picture, the question was: would Raphall be answered on his own ground? Within a week after the sermon appeared in the press the devastating and profoundly scholarly rejoinder to it was on its way to the New York Daily Tribune, which jubilantly printed it on January 15, 1861.

The author was Michael Heilprin, who in 1842 had fled from his native Poland to Hungary to escape political persecution, had taken an active part in the 1848 Hungarian revolution led by Kossuth, had come to New York in 1856, and for several years had been applying his vast learning and mastery of 12 languages to work on the New American Cyclopedia. With noble indignation and calculated taunt, Heilprin out-Hebrewed Raphall's Hebrew, challenged not only his misconceptions but his mistranslations and with modern scholarship at his fingertips corrected the profound ignorance of Raphall's contemptuous statements about the peoples of Africa. Calling Raphall "the Hebrew defamer of the law of his nation," Heilprin argued (as many Christian clergymen had in fact done since 1836) that the Hebrew word ebed was to be more accurately translated as servant rather than, as Raphall had done, as

Published in the Tribune, Heilprin's answer was the one that got the largest circulation, but other Jews also leaped to the defense of the anti-slavery cause. The three Anglo-Jewish periodicals in New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati, it is true, having widely reported Raphall's views, maintained a strange "neutrality" by refusing to report the refutation. But in Baltimore, the abolitionist Reform rabbi, David Einhorn, promptly wrote a flaming article in German for his monthly, Sinai. Before the magazine was out, an English translation had been published in pamphlet form in New York by three Jewish printers and William Cullen Bryant was quoting it in an editorial in the New York Evening Post on January 17, the very day Raphall was repeating his sermon before the pro-Southern merchants of New York.

Across the ocean, in Manchester, England, textile center in which the British workers led the struggle to keep Britain from supporting the Confederacy, a young rabbi,

PASSOVER GREETINGS TO OUR READERS

The Warsaw Chetto Uprising, which began on the first day of Passover in 1943, carried on the age-old tradition of struggle against oppressors which is celebrated in the Passover festival, this year falling from 11-17 of April. This is a time of renewal of that ancient tradition of fighting for freedom.

THE EDITORS

Gustav Gottheil, delivered two sermons in answer to Raphall on January 26 and February 2; they were published as a pamphlet, *Moses versus Slavery*, in Manchester and London. Even in 1863, in San Francisco, the issue was still alive, and a Jewish layman, J. L. Stone, issued a pamphlet in criticism of Raphall's defense of slavery.

The Answer of History

By that time, however, the field of controversy had changed. The slaveowners' ideological offensive had not been enough. The political offensive of secession, launched in full at the first Confederate Congress on February 4, had but paved the way for the military offensive of April 12, when the Confederates fired on Fort Sumter. The war was on—to save the Union and, in order to save the Union, to abolish slavery. For a time the Northern merchants rallied to the Union standard. Rabbi Morris Jacob Raphall supported the Union. His son, Alfred, enlisted in the Union Army and rose to the rank of major; in the Battle of Gettysburg, he lost an arm.

Heilprin, Einhorn and the Raphalls were ranged by history on the same side—of a war that had to abolish slavery. The pro-slavers had intended to ennoble their vicious cause by getting a rabbi to use his Hebrew knowledge to stamp the seal of kosher on their anti-human product. It is to the honor of the Jewish people that they had other scholars who tore the seal away when a rabbi was found to attach it. The Northern masses, including the Jews, were not misled by the pious fraud.

Confronting frauds today, the Jewish people find this incident meaningful, in view of the attempt to make the rearmament of a renazified Germany kosher by a Jewish deal with Adenauer.

¹ The full texts of Raphall's sermon and Heilprin's reply, together with the carefully documented facts for this present article are to be found in pages 405-428 and 682-687 of Morris U. Schappes, A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875, The Citadel Press, New York, 1950.

LET MY PEOPLE GO!

Read to your children this interpretation of the meaning of Passover. It shows how this Jewish festival of liberation has significance today

By Alice Citron

DASSOVER comes in the springtime. Some people say that Passover celebrations came about as a resjoicing at the end of winter. All people who work as farmers welcome the spring. Then the planting begins and everyone is happy because the people can look forward to a good harvest, if all goes well. A very long time ago, before there were machines and most of the families worked on the land, springtime festivals took place throughout the world. They take place this very day.

But Passover is much more than a celebration of springtime. It is a holiday in which Jews remind themselves and other people about the time that they struggled for free-

dom. It happened this way:

Very long ago, thousands of years ago, there were cruel men who wanted to make slaves of the people in Asia Minor and Syria. Many people fled from Asia just as people had from Europe to this country in colonial times hoping to find freedom from cruel kings.

Among those who sought to escape to Egypt were a group called Hebrews. The Hebrew immigrants settled in the Land of Goshen, a fertile valley. If you look at a map, you will get an idea of where this ancient land was. It was at the mouth of the Nile River in what is now known as the Suez Canal Zone.

For a time the Hebrew immigrants tilled the land and were not as oppressed as before. The same thing happened in our own country. The new settlers in our country worked the new land but then had to revolt against the oppression of England. Things began to change, and the Hebrew immigrants were regarded as "dangerous" elements by the Pharaohs (Kings) of Egypt. The Pharaohs were busy at the time in conquering other peoples in Asia. They didn't trust the Hebrew immigrants who had come from Asia, too. They started a campaign of persecution, a little bit like the persecution of "foreign born" men and women by our own government. Rameses II (1298-1232 B.C.) increased the attacks against the Hebrews. They made slaves of the Hebrews and forced them into work on all the construction going on. Much later, our own country forced this type of slavery upon the Negro people in the South.

No people like to be slaves and under the bondage of masters. Many revolts have taken place among those so enslaved and courageous, brilliant leaders have appeared to take their people out of slavery. So Spartacus, the slave, led a furious struggle against the Romans. So Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth fought slavery in our land. So Moses arose thousands of years ago to lead his people out of Egypt.

It is hard to find out everything about things that happened so long ago. When conquerors enslave any group of people, they try to destroy the history of the people. In this way they hope to keep knowledge from the enslaved peoples and to ward off revolt against the enslavement. It is said that Moses used religion to help in bringing about

the freedom of his people.

It is known that people of ancient times believed in particular gods. There were very many of these and all were thought to be found in different places. Moses conceived of the idea of asking permission to hold a festival to Jehovah. The reason he did this was that Jehovah was thought to be a god in a place outside of Egypt. Then he could lead his people out of Egypt and never come back! It was in this way that the great exodus from Egypt took place. It was an organized flight from the oppression of the Pharoahs of Egypt.

There's a beautiful song that is sung the world over, that pays tribute to this blow for freedom of the Jews of

long ago.

Go down Moses, Way down in Egypt land, Tell old Pharaoh, To let my people go.

Passover is celebrated in millions of Jewish homes. Most of us visit relatives for the Seder or have our relatives come to our own homes. But many have forgotten that the most important part of Passover is not the different ceremonials that have become attached to it over these thousands of years. Passover should make us proud that Jews struggled for their independence and gave us a wonderful heritage.

Passover should remind us that now terrible attacks are taking place against the Negro people, the Jews, progressives and Communists and all who speak for equality and peace. Children can help to keep themselves free by learning their own history and the history of others. So when you sit at the table during the Passover holidays, remember this story of freedom. Remember that millions of people are struggling for this same freedom today. *

OFF THE PRESS

Edited by Hershl Hartman

Introduction To A Program

Prof. Nathan E. Cohen, writing in The Reconstructionist (Feb. 22), presents a program for liberals—weakened by serious blind spots of conformity, but nevertheless valuable in its call for action to combat reaction. He recognizes that "the complete extinction of the human race" is threatened by war and that present domestic and foreign policy encourages McCarthyite reactionaries, who look to mobilization "as an opportunity for an all-out war against the social gains of the last 25 years." He points to the Big Business (his term) control of the war economy and underlines the attack on public welfare and education. He declares: "we have entered the era of the 'investigator.' . . . the technique of the day is guilt by association."

Reviewing many glaring contradictions in the Truman administration's policies, Prof. Cohen calls on liberals to understand that "a repressive and reactionary program on the home front cannot give birth to a creative and forward looking foreign policy. . . . One of the priority tasks before us is to break through the curtain of fear." (Italics mine.—H.H.)

In the light of this sincere evaluation, one regrets that Prof. Cohen did not follow his own advice by giving an example of fearless leadership: calling for united action against the McCarran and Smith acts and Truman's "loyalty" program, which form the "curtain of fear." His basically good program suffers by ignoring the witch-hunt against progressive Jewish teachers while stating lukewarm generalities about defending education. Prof. Cohen's Reconstructionist article is a good general introduction to a program for liberals. Let us hope that he—and others—will soon present and carry out such a program concretely.

Examining Racism in Israel

In the midst of heated denials of racist discrimination in Israel, Congress Weekly (Feb. 18) presents an article by Jon Kimche giving evidence of the inferior status into which Oriental Jews and Arabs have been placed. "The proportion of Oriental Jews and Arabs . . . has reached something like 40 per cent of the total population. . . . The representation of Oriental Jews in the Knesset is perhaps

less than that of the Arabs and university students, teachers, etc., are drawn almost entirely from the non-Oriental commu-nities," Kimche declares. Ignoring the root causes of racism as a prime weapon of class oppression, Kimche talks of "Oriental Jewish labor being available below trade union rates" (My italics— H.H.) as though Israeli employers were not directly responsible for underpaying Oriental Jews and Arabs in order to cut wages generally. However, Kimche shows insight in recommending that "Oriental Jews (be) given special (not merely equal) opportunities . . . to play the same part in the life of the nation as the Western Jews" (My italics-H.H.), while offering no program for guaranteeing the rights of Israel's second-class citizens the Arab population.

Whose Iron Curtain?

The American Jewish Committee was accused of setting up censorship by the National Jewish Post (Feb. 22), which wants to know, "why is the press excluded from the national conventions of the Committee? . . . The suspicion must be warranted that the Committee . . . has something to hide."

ADL: "No Comment" On Jimcrow

Blatant white supremacy on the part of an anti-Semitic doctor doesn't disturb the editor of ADL Bulletin (Jan.), organ of the B'nai Brith's Anti-Defamation League. While the lead article on discrimination in hospitals does examine Jimcrow practices-pointing out the much greater brutal discrimination against Negro patients and doctors—the editor develops a "blind spot" in commenting on the racist views of a famous doctor. The doctor's off-the-cuff remarks are printed along with critical marginal notes which expose his anti-Semitic bias. But the following drew no marginal comment from ADL's editor: "There aren't many good Negro doctors in the country. My (employee) had a bad case of arthritis a while back. She went to a dozen Negro doctors who didn't do anything for her. They fooled around. . . They prescribed aspirin. . . . I referred her to a specialist-a white doctor -who cured her in three days. So many Negro doctors have developed bad habits of practice."

The American Jewish Committee is still at it: shielding racists under cover of appeals to "leave it to the experts." This time Edward N. Saveth, writing in AJC's Commentary (Feb.), warns of "The Pitfalls of Pressure Tactics" in relation to racist lies and distortions in textbooks. He points out that pro-fascist groups led by Allen A. Zoll and others (Saveth "overlooks" Zoll's ally, "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz) are seeking to purge textbooks which do not conform with their "100 per cent Americanism." He then lumps these would-be purgers of truth and stiflers of opinion with others, who are seeking to eliminate racist lies and distortions from textbooks and damns both groups. But Saveth leaves no doubt as to which group he considers the most harmful: his sharpest attacks are on the Teachers Union exposé of Bias and Prejudice in Text Books, against the NAACP's campaign against a history text which distorted the role of the Negro people during slavery and Reconstruction and against Jewish organizations which condemn racist treatment of East European immigrants in most history textbooks.

Assuming, on the one hand, a nonexistent scholarly objectivity on the part of textbook writers who make only "simple-minded," "naive" errors, and on the other hand, a sort of capricious desire on the part of Negroes, Jews and others to see themselves depicted in a certain light, Saveth proposes a good-natured correction:

"If the NAACP is disturbed at the way two of America's most distinguished historians treat the history of the American Negro—then it might be more constructive to encourage criticism and research to show they are wrong than to mobilize political resources in a power struggle to ban the book. . . . This is properly work for educators, sociologists, historians and cultural critics" (My italics—H.H.). But even experts are suspect unless they support Saveth's conclusions: "the techniques of 'content analysis' used in the Teachers' Union report are, to put it mildly, not above suspicion." In other words: leave it to the hush-hush, do-nothing experts.

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.

NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

Rumania

The following letter, written by a British Jew after a visit to Rumania, was sent to the London Jewish Chronicle, which refused to print it on the ground of "lack of space."—Eds.

The Editor, Jewish Chronicle.

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I have read with interest the various reports on Jewish life "behind the iron curtain" which appeared in your issue of September 14th. [Some of this material was published in our November 1951 issue—Eds.]

I have just returned from a visit to Rumania and I think your readers will be interested in some of the experiences I had. As I speak Yiddish fluently and have had a Hebrew education, I was able to make a direct approach to members of the Jewish community in Bucharest. I was given every opportunity to speak to people on their own and spoke with many Jewish doctors on their work.

I spoke to the Reverends, the Inspector of Synagogues, the president of a synagogue, the chief cantor and many of the congregation, including a very orthodox man aged 83. They all assured me that they had complete religious freedom. I attended part of the service at three synagogues, one of which, the most orthodox, was crowded.

My discussion with doctors and other Jewish workers showed that the great majority of them were happy in their work and life and in their new-found freedom from religious persecution. Anti-Semitism is now a crime and I was told the legal punishment was strictly applied.

The general policy of the Rumanian government is against persecution of any national minority. We were assured by Jewish people that anyone who wished to leave for Israel could do so, with the

exception of a small minority who held responsible positions in industry or the professions and could not immediately be replaced. Efforts were made to train people to take their place as soon as possible.

I had ample evidence of the encouragement of Jewish cultural life and brought home with me Yiddish textbooks on many subjects such as geography, physics, mathematics, etc. Jewish children in Rumanian schools learn Yiddish and *Gemorrah* is taught at special classes. The koshering of meat, which was once illegal, is now allowed and there is a State factory for matzos and for kosher wine.

No system can give complete and absolute freedom to everyone and therefore can be criticised; but before criticising the amount of freedom given to the Jews in Rumania, one must remember the political persecution of the Antonescu regime and the anti-Semitism which exists in many Western countries today. A fair and reasonable comparison would show that the life and opportunities of the Jewish community in Rumania today is of a very high standard.

Yours faithfully,
S. Leff
M.D., D.P.H., Barrister-at-Law

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The Life and Death of a Steel Worker Phillip Bososky

Gorky and Dostoyevsky

B. Bysik

Li'l David and the Atom Bomb

Lloyd L. Brown

The Glory of Robert Emmet (story)

Meridel Le Sueur

Save the Rosenbergs! Howard Fast

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Letters from Readers

Editors, Jewish Life:

Enclosed is two dollars for your drive. Here is hoping that you raise the money promptly. I only wish I could send much more. I am a subscriber to Jewish Life and must say that it is great journal of truth and progressive thought.

I might add that I am not Jewish myself but have subscribed for some time to Jewish Life and would not want to be without this fine publication. Naturally your monthly is devoted mostly to news and problems of the Jewish people but I find it interesting and very informative to anyone seeking the truth and, I think, very valuable to any progressive. This all proves that the real test of any real progressive is his interest not only in the common people but other peoples than his own, like the Jewish and Negro peoples.

Yours for a greater Jewish Life.
San Diego, Cal. R.G.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I think that Jewish Life is a wonderful magazine to read for all people, young and old, no matter what color, race or religion they are.

Brooklyn, N. Y. M.A.

Editors, Jewish Life:

I've been away from home since December and my mail has piled up till today. So now, enclosed please find two dollars for the renewal to my subscription. I hope to read Jewish Life for many years to come. I'm now going on to my 82nd year. Chicago

Editors, Jewish Life:

I heed your warning to renew and since I cannot do without this most informative and interesting publication, enclosed please find two dollars for one year renewal. Thank you for reminding me.

Los Angeles E.I.

Editors, Jewish Life:

I agree with everything that William A. Reuben and Louis Harap have said on the Rosenberg case: it is an anti-progressive, anti-Semitic, anti-democratic illegal frame-up.

One fact was unmentioned, however: Judge Kaufman, by his brutality, was not only trying to "absolve" Jews of "atomspying," but also trying to absolve Jews of liberalism. It was Kaufman, you will remember, who presided at the first Alger

Hiss trial in which Hiss was victorious (later reversed). It is said that fellow lawyers and jurists shunned him (Kaufman) as a result at his lawyers' club and this was his way of making amends.

We must protest this frame-up in the same way that we protested the McGee, Martinsville and Trenton cases.

Enclosed find two dollars. Moreno Highlands, Cal.

M.C.

Correction

In the article, "How the Knesset Voted," by I. Elsky, in the March issue, there was an error in translation. Third column, lines 23-25, should have read: ". . . and the imbroglio of ex-Irgunists and other terrorists with the police. . . ."

GREETINGS

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We Shall Meet

It is a long time since the editors and management committee of Jewish Life have had the opportunity to meet an as-semblage of readers and friends of the magazine. This opportunity comes at last with the Tribute to the Warsaw Ghetto Fighters conducted by the magazine on Wednesday, April 16th, 8:15 P.M. at Hotel Diplomat in New York. The program is a distinguished one with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Albert E. Kahn and Morris U. Schappes as speakers. The artists who will appear are the renowned actor Morris Carnovsky, Lucy Brown-pianist, Hilda Haynes-actress, and two ensembles which will present vital material dedicated to the fighters of the Warsaw ghetto; the Mitlshul Dance Group under the direction of Edith Segal and the 80-voice Jewish Young Folk Singers conducted by Bob de Cormier. Louis Harap will also speak.

The entire program will be dramatized through a script written by Hershl Hartman, editorial board member. Readers and friends of the magazine are urged to promote this great event in their organizations. Tickets, priced at \$1.20, should be picked up at the Jewish Life office, Room 601, 22 East 17 Street, New York 3. We shall meet—yes?

Campaign Landmark

The Warsaw Ghetto Tribute will also be the climax of the \$25,000 campaign for Jewish Life. Organizations and groups are urged to pep up their campaign—so that they can come to the Hotel Diplomat affair with a good record. One of the best tributes to the fighters of the ghetto would be to make sure that the magazine which fights in the tradition of the Jewish heroes of Warsaw shall be able to continue.

What Ho! Chicago!

There is a fellow in Chicago who is beginning to write the kind of letter that gladdens the hearts of Jewish Life devotees. He is a leader of the JL Commit-

HOMAGE TO THE HEROES OF THE WARSAW GHETTO

MARIAN

Los Angeles

California

tee in the Windy City and his letters are brief but to the point. For example, "Enclosed you will find checks in the amount of \$151.00, for 36 subs to JL and the remainder a donation." Then, with a desperation nothing short of heroic, he writes "I would like to have 500 more subscription blanks! Please!" This same fellow assures us that the Chicago committee quota of \$1500 will be achieved. We believe him. But with campaign time a-flying we would like to see more of the green just to be sure everything is going according to plan.

In Our Detroit Corner

Get acquainted with someone who carries the ball for IL in Detroit. Her name is Ida and it seems that she refuses to rest until she makes Detroit a big JL city, just as it is a giant of American industry. She and her committee, knowing that the authoritative, progressive voice of JL is essential to all Jewish community leaders, whether they agree with everything the magazine stands for or not, has given gift subscriptions to a number of leading rabbis in the city. In addition Detroit regularly sends in a batch of subs. They are also working on the financial campaign. Other cities ought to consider that gift subscription idea. Get the magazine into the hands of those who wield influence in the American Jewish com-

GREETINGS

from

MINNIE and HARRY

Ocean Park, California

We, members of Wendell Phillips Lodge, will never forget the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto. We also join the many in wishing JEWISH LIFE success in its struggle for peace and freedom.

Wendell Phillips Lodge

No. 828, JPFO—IWO Brighton, Massachusetts Ruth, new director of Jewish Life activity in Cleveland, writes: "I'd like to tell you that there are still signs of the enthusiasm which Morris Schappes was able to instill in so many people in Cleveland. We were so fortunate in having such a devoted fighter for peace in our city for several days and we are looking forward to another visit from him." Ruth and her committee have just begun to work—and it looks good. Her letter in-

We are grateful to Jewish Life for guidance in fighting for a better life for all of us.

EMMA LAZARUS CLUB MIAMI BEACH, FLA.

We greet the memory of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto. Let us work together for a better world of peace

and equality
EMMA LAZARUS CLUB
of MIAMI, FLA.

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GREETINGS

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LEE WINTNER, Director

Jewish Life

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cluded a number of new subs and a starting bundle order for 50 copies with the hope that this will be increased very soon. Go to it, Ruth and committee, you have made a good start.

And now, Philly too

It was good to hear from Philadelphia that it has set up a JL committee at last. Mrs. Sylvia B. is chairman of the committee and already there is action in a city which has been all too inactive on building the magazine for a long time. The committee has met and set itself goals, planning parties and other events to assure achievement. The best sign is the increase in bundle orders and subs from Philly.

Big Doings in L. A.

In every issue we point with pride to the Los Angeles Jewish Life Committee. It conducted a conference on JL on March 1st with Paul Novick, editor of the Morning Freiheit, and Joe Johnson, Negro labor leader and Port Agent of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, as guest speakers. All local Jewish Life committees and a number of organizations sent delegates, including landsmanshaften, trade unions and various cultural organizations. The

conference agreed to conduct a JL campaign for \$4000 and 500 subs. JL committees are being built in different parts of the city, with one of the West Side already working and others being planned on the East Side and in the Valley.

On February 24th the West Side Committee ran a highly successful symposium on Samuel Ornitz' novel Bride of the Sabbath, a book which has stirred much controversy. Four prominent L. A. Jewish leaders took part: Rabbi Franklin Cohn of Kadimah Temple; Alvin Wilder, news commentator and columnist; Mrs. Sylvia Miller, active clubwoman; and Dr. Stanford Goldner, cultural director of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order. The report from Clara Lutz, executive secretary of the IL committee states that Kadimah Temple was jammed with 500 people. Many were turned back due to lack of space.

A whole series of forums, symposia and lectures are now being planned by L. A.

Emmå Lazarus Clubs

June Gordon, executive director of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs, sent a letter to all clubs recommending Jewish Life as a guide to educational directors and other leaders.

In addition it was suggested that clubs get bundles of the magazine and subs. The recognition by this very active women's organization of the value of Jewish Life for its members is appreciated by JL and is matched only by the warm regard JL has for the splendid educational and community work carried on by the Federation. An almost immediate response was received from the Emma Lazarus chapters of New England, which placed a bundle

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2) bucks, American money."

"Representatives of 60 leading organizations of various faiths and racial backgrounds" met in Miami early in February and formed a Dade County Council on Community Relations, according to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency dispatch. E. Herman Fisher, president of the Coral Gables Jewish Center, was one of the representatives. Details of the groups, including Negro, are unknown to this editor.

Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, sharply warned in mid-February that hooliganism reminiscent of nazi Germany might emerge if the law was not enforced in places like Florida. He demanded prompt, vigorous action by federal authorities against Florida terror. Otherwise, he said, "religious and civil liberties will be lost to all."... On March 5, Potofsky denounced the death sentences on the nine leaders of the Barcelona general strike last year.

A. L. Sachar, president of Brandeis University, criticised at Ford Hall Forum in Boston early in February the attempt by American college faculty members to "play safe" at a time when an orthodoxy of ideas was being imposed on the country and many people were taking advantage of anti-communist feeling to label the unorthodox or liberal as "subversive."

Jimerow against performers in Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., DAR headquarters, was broken for the first time since 1939 on February 17, when Dorothy Maynor, noted Negro artist, gave a concert there.

EUROPE

Rabbi Peter Levinson, an American who has been the sole rabbi in East and West Berlin for the past 18 months, warned on February 23 of the danger of a resurgence of anti-Semitism and nazism in Germany. If this happened, he said, the western powers would have a great responsibility for it because of their backing of rightists. He himself had been a victim of anti-Semitic attacks recently, he said.

10,000 German officers will be invited to come to the United States for "special training" this summer, according to a correspondent of the conservative Milan newspaper *Il Corriere Della Sera* early in March. He also said that Generals Heusinger and Speidel, slated to head a revived Wehrmacht, will visit the United States this summer.

Disorders occurred in Rome early in March when *The Desert Fox*, Hollywood film glorification of nazi General Rommel, was shown in that city.

Showing of an anti-fascist film in Rome early in February was followed by anti-Semitic manifestations by neo-fascist groups. Rome's Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff brought this to the attention of Interior Minister Mario Scelba, as well as the fact that he (the rabbi) had received threatening phone calls and that garbage had been thrown around a memorial to Jewish Italian veterans of World War I.

An appeal was made early in March by 12 democratic organizations in Osnabruck (West Germany) to local movie owners not to show anti-Semitic Veit Harlan's film. . . . 200 university students in Freiburg demonstrated against the showing of Harlan's movie early in February. An anti-Jewish crowd attacked the students and hurled anti-Semitic epithets as the police pitched into the students with their clubs. The state of South Baden later banned the showing of the film.

Photostated documents were produced by German Democratic Report, an English paper published in East Berlin, to show that Dr. Robert Lehr, minister of the interior in Adenauer's government, signed orders in 1933 while he was mayor of Duesseldorf forbidding purchases by the city from Jews and cutting off all Jewish lawyers from practice for the city.

Anti-Semitic, neo-fascist papers in Paris number 28 and have a combined circulation of 400,000, according to a survey, Le Neo-Vichyisme, published recently by Comite de l'Action de la Resistance, a Jewish resistance group.

Jewish men and women veterans were warned at a veterans (Ajex) rally in London late in January that they must prepare to meet the danger of a revival of fascist and anti-Semiite activity in England. Fascist slogans are appearing in increasing number on walls in the East End of London.

ISRAEL

Israel participation in the forthcoming Moscow conference in April on East-West trade was prepared by a committee elected at the end of February, among whom are Shlomo Rosen, chairman of the Israel Agricultural State Bank; Dr. Moshe Sneh; Aaron Zisling and Mordecai Bentov, former ministers of agriculture and labor, respectively. Interest in the conference was

shown by Prof. Hyman, of the Haifa Technical High School, and Joseph Asriel, owner of one of Israel's largest printing plants. The Israel Weekly Economic Review, English organ of Israeli industrialists, in February emphasized that normal trade relations between Israel and the socialist countries was very important and that Israel could benefit substantially from the economic and technical aid from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Kol Haam, Communist daily, wrote editorially on February 8, that the solution of Israel's present economic crisis depends in large measure on the international economic conference being held in Moscow and on Israel's active participation in that conference. The paper pointed out that Israel could buy oil from Rumania for 15 million dollars for which she would have to pay. 45 million dollars if bought from the Gulf of Mexico. The executive committee of the Histadrut rejected an invitation to the Moscow economic conference over the objection of the left in the labor movement.

Two Mapam Deputies in the Kaesset, Mrs. Hanna Lamdan and David Lifshitz, resigned from the Mapam Party because they regarded it as "indistinguishable" from the Communist Party. (While Mapam has a similar position to the CP on a number of issues, the two parties still have basic differences and Mapam has repeatedly refused the offer of the CP to join in a common election slate.) The two deputies have been expelled from Mapam, which now holds 13 seats in the Knesset.

The new valuation of the Israeli pound (one change is that foreign investors will be able to pay only \$1.00 for a pound as against \$2.80 before) is a symptom of a serious economic crisis in Israel. A new economic program instituted by the government in February has started prices rising. Already the cost of bread has gone up 15 per cent, the price of some vegetables and other foods has risen, fares went up 25 per cent, shoes increased 60 per cent, etc. One immediate effect of the new economic program was an increase in unemployment (for instance, 1000 government workers were laid off). Israeli manufacturers welcomed the new program but the masses are resentful, for it means a still lower standard of living for them. Wage increases are, as the phrase for speedup goes, "tied to output and efficiency" and the work week was increased from 43 to 47 hours per week.

The marriage rate In Israel is the highest of all states in the world that keep marriage statistics. The rate is 15 per thousand in the population. The rate in the United States was 11 per thousand in 1950.

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