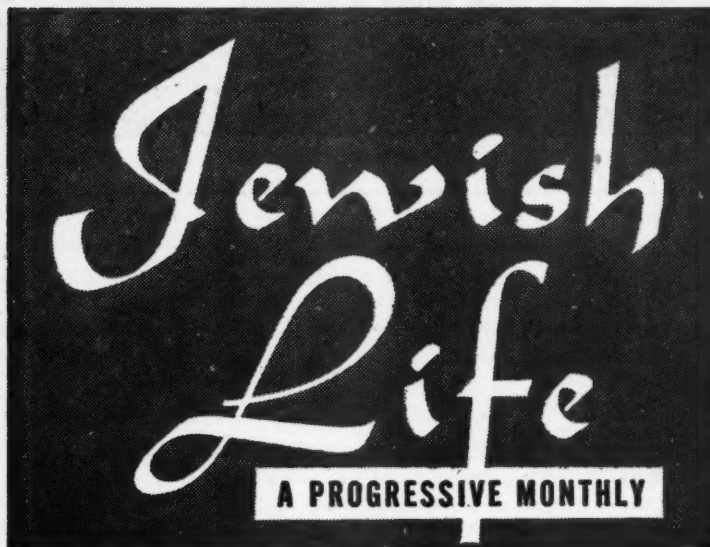


# The Arab Question and Zionism

by Morris U. Schappes



JUNE 1953 • 25¢

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**TIME TO TALK PEACE** *an editorial*

**POLAND KEEPS FAITH WITH GHETTO** *by Jozef Winiewics*

**THE PRICE OF "COLLABORATION"** *by Rachel Roth*

**RIGHTS OF THE FOREIGN BORN** *by George C. Crockett, Jr.*

**"HEDER" OF BYGONE DAYS** *by Sholem Aleichem*

**SENATOR LEHMAN'S ATTACK ON "CONGRESSIONAL VIGILANTES"**

## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

### AT HOME

**More resistance** . . . Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY) charged the Eisenhower administration on May 11 with choosing "the path of appeasement with McCarthy." . . . Among 14 noted Bostonian religious and educational leaders who on May 10 called on all Americans to assert their constitutional rights before congressional thought control committees, were Rabbi Abraham J. Klausner and Dr. Jacob Fine. In their statement the 14 affirmed that "Every American who treasures our heritage of freedom should resist the destruction of our liberties by these committees. He may do this in many ways—by standing on his rights before such a committee, by defending witnesses who have done so, by contributing defense funds, by working for the abolition of such committees, by joining civil liberties organizations and above all by speaking out fearlessly for our Constitutional liberties."

**Notes on anti-Semitism** . . . The Adath Jeshurun cemetery in Minneapolis was desecrated in mid-April. Vandals overturned 138 tombstones and damaged some. . . Rev. John M. Hauck of a Bronx church in a sermon in April charged that anti-Semitic vandals were responsible for three attacks in the past six weeks on his church because he preached friendship among peoples and published a monthly journal on the subject. . . . When pro-Nazi pianist Walter Gieseking played his first concert at Carnegie Hall on April 23, despite protests against the admittance to this country of the Hitler performer, his presence and performance were made the occasion for a demonstration. . . . An article in the *Jewish Day* on February 9, revealed that the State Department had a few years ago admitted a Rumanian named Viorel Trifa, who turns out to be a Nazi and Jew-hater whose sermons in Bucharest helped to incite the murder of 6,000 Jews in Yassy, Rumania, on June 19, 1941. Trifa is now Archbishop of the Rumanian Church in this country under the name of "Valerian." . . . William Fraenglass, a Brooklyn teacher, was summoned before the Jenner Committee late in April because a stoolpigeon charged him with statements about effective techniques of intercultural and interracial education in an officially approved course.

**The first wage** raise since November 1950 was awarded to 58,000 women's coat and suit makers in the New York area by industry arbitrator Sol A. Rosenblatt on May 14. The \$5.00 weekly increase, which

# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL. VII, No. 8 (80)

JUNE, 1953

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JEWISH LIFE, June 1953, Vol. VII, No. 8 (80). Published monthly by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y., WATKINS 4-5740-1. Single copies 25 cents. Subscription \$2.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$3.00 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1953 by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc.

was a little over half the ten per cent increase asked by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, is expected to be followed by a raise for about 80,000 dress workers in the area.

**The discrimination front** . . . The Jewish War Veterans of Bronx County at their April convention passed a resolution calling on the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to abandon its Jimcrow renting policies at the Parkchester housing project. . . . A survey of Florida resorts conducted by the Anti-Defamation League revealed in May that, except for the Miami area, Florida is the worst offender in discrimination against Jews. Of the 809 resorts and real estate agencies surveyed, only 28 per cent of the Jews applying were accepted, while 62 per cent of the non-Jews applying at the same time were accepted. The press report of the survey

made no mention of discrimination against Negroes in Florida. . . . A suit brought by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People against a segregated housing project in Savannah, Ga., partly built with public funds, was dismissed on April 21 by Federal Judge Alexander Holtzoff in Washington. The NAACP is appealing the decision to the Supreme Court. . . . The Columbia University chapter of the national Jewish fraternity Zeta Beta Tau resigned from the national organization late in April because of discriminatory rules against "certain racial and religious groups." A referendum in May of the students on the issue of fraternity discrimination resulted in a 1,011-540 vote against discrimination. This was followed on May 10 by a decision by the student-faculty-administration group, the Committee on Student (Continued on page 32)

# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## TIME TO TALK PEACE

**A** WAVE of optimism and relief swept over the world when People's China and North Korea proposed renewal of negotiations for a truce in Korea and when the Soviet Union renewed and extended the indications that a negotiated settlement of international differences was feasible. The wheels of negotiation are moving slowly but they move nevertheless. Despite attempts by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to dampen hope for peace, a cautious optimism remains. At Panmunjom the Dulles-Pentagon policy is to put up new obstacles each time the Chinese and North Koreans make a concession for the sake of peace. But such tragic obstruction is not achieving its purpose because the overwhelming peace sentiment is making it more difficult for Dulles and the Pentagon to break off negotiations. The door to peace thus unlocked can be pushed wide open only if the people put their shoulders to the task. For the masses of the people want to end war, cold or hot.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver has been giving voice to this people's interest in peace. For several years now Rabbi Silver has in many speeches and sermons been repeating that the capitalist and socialist systems can and must co-exist peacefully. At the biennial conference of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations on April 21, Rabbi Silver once more said that our country should find "the formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and the fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live; they may be irreconcilable in theory; they need not be in practice."

When one considers that the life or death of the people all over the world is at stake in the prevention of World War III—and this can only be achieved by peaceful co-existence of the two systems—it should be a matter of great concern to the Jewish people that Rabbi Silver is one of very few leaders of Jewish organized life outside of the organized peace movement to support this policy. For one does not at this late date have to speak at great length to show that another world war will threaten the survival of the Jewish people and of Israel. The urgent interest of the masses of the Jews, certainly no less than of all Americans, therefore demands that Jewish leaders give voice to this vital need for Jewish survival. Thus the National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Jesse Moss, is serving neither the Jewish people nor the country as a whole by his statement in Boston on April 19 in which he manifests a truculent attitude towards the peace offers of the Soviet Union, instead of welcoming the offer to negotiate. It does not help to create a favorable atmosphere for successful negotiations to say: "to drop our guard merely because the

Kremlin has decided to say a few kind words for peace would be to court disaster." The time rather calls for the mobilizing of the people's sentiments for peace so that Washington is pressed to conclude a truce in Korea.

More specifically, the Jewish leadership has the obligation to combat the Washington policies which have renazified West Germany in order to create a reactionary regime that will cooperate in reviving a renazified Wehrmacht to spearhead a war against the Soviet Union. Except for an occasional pious statement against West German renazification, most of the leaders of Jewish organized life have failed to face up to the fact that renazification is not a policy of *some* administrators of Washington's policy in Europe, but is basic policy which, if not changed, will move toward war. As the Los Angeles *B'nai B'rith Messenger* noted in its editorial of April 17, "a survey, now suppressed, showed that (West) Germans up to 44 per cent think that Hitler's methods were good rather than bad; that 25 per cent believe the Allies to be the real war criminals." This condition is not a result of individual nazi-inclined administrators: it is a consequence of Washington policy, a policy that must be changed if war is to be prevented. Surely the Jewish people must do their utmost to reverse such a policy and Jewish leaders should be made to enlist the membership of their organizations in this task.

Another vital sector of Jewish interest is peace in Israel. No one doubts that war would be catastrophic for that crisis-ridden country. The welfare of the people of Israel is not served by the war economy and belligerent Middle Eastern offensive war machine, miscalled a "defense command," which Washington is trying to set up. Drastic impoverishment of the Israeli masses and a heightened danger of war are the fruits of such a policy. The Jewish people have cause to be wary of the outcome of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' trip to the Middle East, on which he departed at this writing, to prepare the way for building up an anti-Soviet *cordon sanitaire* in the area. Jewish leaders fear that Dulles is planning to put main reliance on the Arab rulers in this endeavor and to put Israel in a subordinate position in his plans. Rather they should guard against Dulles' plan to set up Jewish and Arab armies as cannon fodder in an aggressive anti-Soviet war, which would mean destruction of Israel.

On all sides, therefore, the Jewish people are concerned to add their voice to the people's demand that the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union for a peaceful settlement of differences should be pushed to the active stage and, once undertaken, to continue pressure for their successful conclusion.



## MCCARRANISM ADVANCES

THE witch-hunting spirit of Democratic Attorneys General J. Howard McGrath and Thomas P. McGranery lives on in Republican Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. The Democratic executors of the Big Business assault on democracy began the fascist drive for registration of "subversive" organizations under the McCarran Internal Security act two years ago. On April 20 the Subversive Activities Control Board handed down its edict, following two years of hearings, that the Communist Party was a "subversive" organization and was required to register as foreign agents under the law. Two days later Attorney General Brownell ordered 12 "communist front" organizations, anti-fascist groups fighting for elementary democratic rights for the Negro people and all people, to register. A week later, on April 29, Brownell decreed that 62 more organizations be added to the Department of Justice "subversive list," bringing the total up to 254.

The Communist Party has announced that it will appeal the decision and the newly-accused organizations have said they will contest the order to register. One could expect nothing else from organizations which are fighting to maintain the democratic freedoms that are fast being taken away from the American people. The advance in the pro-fascist offensive signified by these events should deepen in the labor movement, among the Negro and Jewish people and among all Americans who cherish democracy, the resolve to resist more vigorously and with increased determination this effort to make our country a police state.

The attorneys for the Communist Party in the hearings before the Control Board stated the situation quite precisely. "When we undertook the defense of this proceeding two years ago," they said, "we said that the issue was not Communism but the Constitution. Developments since then have fully confirmed this statement. If today's decision were to stand, McCarthyism and McCarranism would replace the Constitution as the supreme law of the land for Communists and non-Communists alike." We should know what this means for the Jewish people and the American people as a whole from McCarthy-McCarran's predecessor, Hitler. The answer can only be *resistance*, if we are to avoid the fate of the German Jews and German people.

## PRESS FREEDOM IN DANGER

MCCARTHYISM is creeping rather rapidly into the arena of the press and is confronting America today with perhaps its greatest threat to a free press since the days of Peter Zenger in the eighteenth century. In recent weeks, the following has happened: Bucklin Moon, an associate fiction editor of *Collier's*, was fired on April 17 because an unnamed "pressure group" called him "subversive"; Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian*, was called before the Velde Committee during its invasion of New York early in May.

The most publicized recent development was the closed session quizzing by the McCarthy Committee of James

Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*, on April 24 and May 5, ostensibly because of Wechsler's brief sojourn in the Young Communist League as a youth. Wechsler maintained that McCarthy was using this as an excuse to injure the *Post* because that paper has been a severe critic of McCarthyism. A reading of the transcript of the hearings, released on May 7, totally confirms Wechsler's contention. It is unfortunate, and weakens the fight against McCarthyism, that Wechsler agreed to McCarthy's condition for releasing the transcript and submitted a list of about 60 names of people whom Wechsler says he knew as Communists,

There can be no question that these events, among others, place the press in danger of a McCarthyite *Gleichschaltung*. The Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors is now studying the Wechsler hearing transcript. The ASNE can perform an immense service to freedom of the press by taking decisive action on this case, as well as on other instances of violation of press freedom in the current McCarthyite offensive. For not only the freedom of the press is involved, important as that is. McCarthyism in this sphere is only one phase of the McCarthyite program to create a fascist America. The press must stand its ground and fight.

## SUPPRESSION OF BOOKS

THE McCarthyites do not literally have to burn books—although that method is used too, as in Chicago recently—to achieve fascist suppression of democratic thought. Senator Joseph McCarthy also uses the technique of suppression by naming a book in his committee. The authors of various books found in United States offices of information abroad are being subpoenaed to appear before the McCarthy committee if their books don't find favor with McCarthy, that is, if they are not fascist in content. In recent weeks the book-hunt has reached books on American Jewish history. Our fellow-editor, Morris U. Schappes, was hauled before the committee on April 2 because he committed the heinous crime of having one of his books, *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, found in the Tel Aviv United States Information Service library—which was interesting news to Mr. Schappes. Several weeks later the committee grilled the author of another book of American Jewish history, Dr. Philip Foner, because 75 copies of his *Jews in American History* were found in Information Service libraries all over the world. Action swiftly followed. The *New York Times* reported on April 5 that the Schappes book in the Tel Aviv library, "which had been borrowed by 20 persons during the two years it has been in the library," had been "withdrawn for study." Are the Jewish people and Americans generally going to let McCarthy get away with his fascist censorship of books that illumine the democratic past of the Jewish people in this country? This attack on American Jewish history is, of course, one part of the McCarthyite assault on the whole democratic structure. It must be resisted.



# POLAND KEEPS FAITH WITH GHETTO

*"Poland today is free of racial persecution," thus fulfilling the heritage of the ghetto fighters. Jewish life and culture flourish*

*By Jozef Winiewicz*

*Following is the address delivered by Jozef Winiewicz, ambassador of the People's Republic of Poland to the United States, at a Warsaw Ghetto Uprising commemoration sponsored by The United Committee to Commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on April 19 at Manhattan Center in New York. A capacity audience of about 4,000 persons attended the meeting and many were turned away for lack of room.—Eds.*

**D**EAR Friends: On this solemn occasion, when you are commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, it is a privilege for me to bring you the heartfelt greetings of the Polish people and of my government. Today, in the capital of Poland, thousands of my countrymen have gathered before the great Warsaw monument to the Ghetto martyrs in order to honor, as you do here, the memory of our Jewish brothers whose battle in the terrible April days of 1943, marked a brilliant chapter in Poland's struggle for liberation.

Despite the passing of a decade, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising remains as fresh and meaningful to us as it was in 1943 when the news of what was happening behind the Wall first roared across Europe. The Warsaw Ghetto heroes inspired new hope and determination during a time of tragedy and of unspeakable oppression. They were the comrades-in-arms of millions of embattled Poles, of the Soviet partisans and of all those who were fighting against the Nazi invaders for the liberation of occupied Europe.

## *Aim of Ghetto Struggle*

Even at the very moment when the Jewish heroes went down in a lost but memorable battle, they knew that others were continuing the gallant fight to crush the common enemy and would lay the foundations for a better world of peace and brotherhood. They were confident of the final outcome of this great struggle, inspired and strengthened in their trust for a better future by the heroic and immortal victory of Stalingrad. And they knew that the Ghetto struggle was only one of the milestones on the road to victory, a road paved with enormous sacrifices, tears and sweat, blood and toil, but leading towards ultimate triumph.

The Polish Jews who fought the Nazis within the Ghetto wall were also struggling for a new era of social justice in Poland. They were keenly aware that the defeat of the invader had a logic of its own that would inevitably result in the defeat of all oppression, an oppression which had, in the past, kept Poland in darkness and in poverty.

We therefore cherish the memory of the noble Ghetto fighters, not merely because of their uprising, but because they were also the gallant bearers of a tradition which many Jews in Poland who preceded them helped to forge. The Jews who, together with non-Jews, created the Polish workers' movement, built the militant trade unions and contributed so remarkably to a forward-looking Polish culture.

What moved and inspired the Ghetto fighters was the unconquerable desire to destroy the walls of prejudice and discrimination, to build a society truly internationalist in spirit and deeds. They fought for a land which would contribute all its strength towards the making of a durable peace in a world of fruitful cooperation of nations. This was also the banner of all the others who fought in the Polish underground for the defeat of the Nazis as the embodiment of intolerance, national oppression and racial antagonism.

## *People's Poland Keeps Faith*

Today, I appear before you with the profound assurance that this banner continues to fly over the entire Polish nation. We have kept faith with the millions who fell in the terrible struggle to destroy fascism, among them the martyrs of the Ghetto. Poland today is free of racial persecution.

The new Polish Constitution, whose final draft was passed by the Polish Parliament last July after months of intense nation-wide discussions in which all the workers and all the farmers participated, embodies the most noble progressive traditions of the Polish nation and gives effect to the emancipation ideals of the working masses. Thus the Constitution, among other basic laws, clearly forbids the spreading of hatred or contempt, or the humiliation of citizens because of national, racial or religious differences.

All citizens, regardless of nationality, race or religion, enjoy all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Our



**Shockworker Roman Klodowski of the General Swierczewski Workers' Cooperative in Walbrzych, Silesia. One-fourth of the cooperative workers are Jewish. Klodowski, a turner, averages 250 per cent of his norm and earns 2,200 zlotys a month (\$550 at the rate of exchange).**

criminal code provides for severe punishment of violations of these guarantees. There is, for instance, the decree on Freedom of Conscience and Religion, of August 5, 1949, which provides a penalty of up to five years in prison for any person who would limit or infringe upon the rights of the citizen in connection with his religious faith, for anyone who would offend the religious sentiments of a citizen or publicly stir up dissension on religious grounds.

Dr. Skrzyszewski, the Foreign Minister of Poland, therefore recently said at the meeting of the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly that: "The basic rights of our citizens became possible thanks only to the victory of the people's democratic system which uprooted, and which will, in the future, pursue and prosecute all forms of discrimination in our country."

These constitutional and legal provisions are strictly observed. The courts of the Polish People's Republic, in a number of concrete cases, have already punished violations of these laws. May I add that in the course of several such trials, it has been proved that criminal activities of this kind were inspired by alien elements, hostile to our State.

Our new Constitution, our new laws, reflect the changes

in the social and political bases of Poland. They reflect the tremendous difference between our past and our present life, a past when our Jewish brothers were discriminated against and when the workers and farmers were exploited by a system which, in our country, is dead forever and cannot be revived.

In a nation a thousand years old eight years is the smallest span of time—but in eight years, despite our enormous losses in material and in human wealth suffered during the last war, we have made great strides forward towards becoming a modern, industrial society with a constantly rising standard of living. We have built dozens of new factories and we are now producing machines, tools and materials never made in Poland before. We are building new cities and modernizing old ones. We have expanded and increased the number of our universities and cultural institutions. We have begun the mechanization of our agriculture and we are taking the village out of its past dismal existence.

### ***Release of Creative Energy***

These are the first fruits of the vast creative energies released in a people free of exploitation and discrimination of any kind. It is no surprise then that in my country, the largest possible satisfaction of the growing cultural and material needs of the people is the basic principle of the economy and the basic task of the government. And it is this key truth that gives our new Constitution its essential meaning. The civil rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution are not and cannot be fictitious because they have the strong and unfailing support of our social and economic transformation, a lasting transformation.

My friends! Three million Jews—Polish citizens—perished in concentration camps and gas chambers during World War II. The number of those Polish citizens belonging to the Jewish group who survived this tragic holocaust



**Aron Igor, at the wheel of the tractor at plowing time this Spring, is one of the many Jewish founders and members of cooperative farms at Piesze Dolny in Dzierzoniow, in the Wroclaw area.**



of nazi extermination is now relatively small. But all of those who survived enjoy all the great achievements of People's Poland and all of them participate in our struggle to create an even better future for everyone. Thousands of Jewish workers in Poland are now peacefully engaged in building our industry and agriculture. Every field of endeavor is open to Jews as a matter of elementary citizenship rights. Not only do Jews occupy positions in key branches of industry, but they hold jobs in public administration on every level. They take part in the cultural life of my nation. Many Polish Jews have received, in the past few years, the highest decorations and awards from my government for their outstanding achievements.

At the same time, People's Poland made it possible for our citizens belonging to the Jewish group fully to develop their own Jewish culture. At the end of March, in Warsaw, a convention was held of the Jewish Social and Cultural Society. Two thousand delegates, representing numerous Jewish cultural centers from all parts of Poland, gathered and took account of the achievements of Jewish life in Poland. A member of our Cabinet attended and addressed the meeting. In the past year, the branches of this large organization had more than 1500 cultural meetings.

### ***Jewish Institutions***

In publishing, outstanding work is being done by the "*Yiddische Buch*" Publishing House, which last year issued 31 books with an average edition of 5500 copies for each book. Among the books published, selected works by Jewish classical writers predominated. The publishing house is now preparing an anthology of Jewish writers who were murdered by the nazis.

There are many dailies and periodicals published in Poland in the Jewish language. Brilliant work is being done by the Jewish State Theater. There exist, all over Poland, Jewish libraries and Houses of Culture, with theater halls which enable extensive activities of Jewish amateur theater



**Two budding young biologists in action. Bronia Widawska and Hania Strykewska are students at the I. L. Peretz School, named after the classic Polish Jewish writer.**



**Abram Boden, who has worked as a miner since 1946, is now a driller at the Thank God shaft of the Maurice Thorez Mine in Walbrzych, Lower Silesia. Boden averages 125 per cent of his norm and earns 2,400 zlotys a month (\$600 at the rate of exchange).**

groups playing in factories and villages and received with great enthusiasm by Polish workers and peasants.

A large Central Jewish Library is being created in Warsaw in order to supply the regional libraries with Jewish books. The Jewish Library in Lodz contains over 10,000 valuable Jewish volumes, saved from the systematic and pedantic destruction to which the nazis submitted every trace of Jewish culture in Poland they could grasp. The Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, a world-famous and unique institution, is collecting historical evidence of the persecution of the Jews in other days and is conducting extensive studies on Jewish martyrology, especially on the crimes committed against the Jews by the nazi aggressors.

For all those of our Jewish compatriots who wish to have children educated in the Jewish language, there are 11 Jewish schools, from the elementary to the junior college level—all completely supported by State funds and forming an integral part of our national educational system. The State Textbook Publishing House, which supplies books for all of our schools, also issues textbooks in Yiddish. May I add that the text of the Polish Constitution has also been published in Yiddish.



All the Jewish institutions in Poland, libraries, schools, dormitories, children's homes, homes for the aged and research centers, are supported financially by the State. In addition, large sums have been allocated from the State budget for the reconstruction of synagogues.

People's Poland assisted in the renaissance of Jewish cultural life as part of the great cultural renaissance now sweeping all over my country. And Jewish culture is emerging freed of blind, narrow nationalism and completely expressive of the devotion which the Jewish group of Polish citizens shares with the broad masses of the Polish people for People's Poland. Our Jewish brothers and sisters, citizens of the same land, are inspired by the same ideas and purposes to which the rest of the Polish nation is faithful. We live, work and march forward, hand in hand.

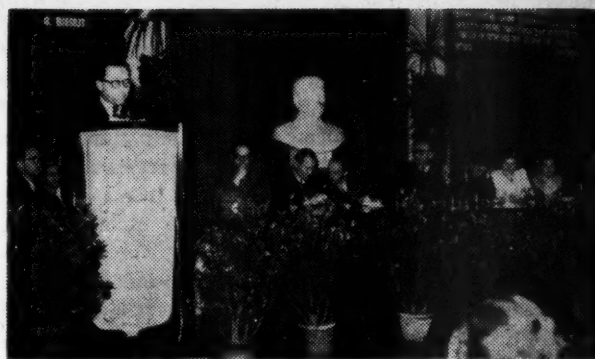
### ***False Accusations***

There is therefore no need for me to devote too much time to those who, either out of ignorance or malice, besmirch my country with false accusations. It cannot, however remain unnoticed that the same people who are inventing "anti-Semitism" where it does not exist because it is not tolerated, pass over in silence the danger of anti-Semitism where it is growing. Thus they pass over in silence the situation in Western Germany where former Hitler generals and other nazis are returning to power—the same nazis who were responsible for the terrible suffering of millions of Europeans and for the death of the Ghetto heroes whom we honor today. But whatever slanders and maneuvers are attempted, they will not affect the national unity and determination of Poland.

Dear friends! The unity, confidence and determination of all the citizens of my country are not merely the result of a stable society created by the elimination of all forms of exploitation. They are not merely the result of our obvious achievements of the last years. They are also the result



*A scene from the Yiddish play, Hershel from Ostropole, produced during the current season at the Jewish State Theater in Lodz.*



*Dr. David Sfar, general secretary of the Jewish Social and Cultural Society in Poland, addressing the two-day convention of the society held at Warsaw March 21-22. The society has almost 12,000 members and 34 branches in Poland.*

of the brotherly cooperation forged and strengthened between Poland and the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the common struggle against the nazi invaders. They are a reflection of the unselfish assistance and help which Poland has received and is receiving from the Soviet Union, first for the reconstruction and now for the development of our country.

There is no force in the world which could weaken those links—and even less—to break them. This cooperation endangers and threatens no one. It is based on our fervent desire for the preservation of world peace. It is based on the firm understanding that different political systems can co-exist in peace, such relationships being built on mutual confidence, mutual respect and the development of normal international trade.

### ***Peace—the Cornerstone***

Peace is the very cornerstone of our policy. The climate of peace is for us most natural, for only too well we know the price of war, having suffered the loss of six million citizens and enormous material destruction during the last war. Without peace, we cannot build and fulfill the great goals of construction we have set ourselves. Peace is the cornerstone of our policy, for there is no one in our country who can profit from war and no one to become panicky at the very sound of the word "peace."

My friends! I can therefore assure you that Poland is more than ready to offer her hand to all who will clasp it with the earnest purpose of ending the tensions none of us wants. Between the Polish and American peoples, there is a rich and vigorous tradition of friendship that goes back to the earliest days of your republic. Even though the setting may be different, old friendships can become the point of departure for meeting and solving today's problems.

This is the message I bring you on this solemn occasion—a message that is our renewed pledge to keep faith with the immortal struggle of the Warsaw Ghetto martyrs and with the immortal sacrifices of the millions of Poles who perished during the last war.

# THE "CONGRESSIONAL VIGILANTES"

*A forceful speech by Senator Lehman challenging all democrats and the Democratic Party to make uncompromising war on McCarthyism*

*One of the most forthright, hard-hitting statements about the peril of McCarthyism was made by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, of New York, on April 29. Though we do not concur in every detail, this statement gains importance by the auspices under which it was made—a \$100-a-plate dinner of the New York State Democratic Party at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Below is the text of the speech, except for the introductory remarks of warm greeting to New York State Democratic Chairman Paul Fitzpatrick. —Eds.*

**N**EVER in my memory, which is a long one, has the Democratic Party faced a greater challenge. Never have all of us, not only as Democrats but as Americans, confronted such difficult prospects and issues whose solution involves the fate not only of our party but of our country, and the free world.

For the first time in 20 years we have met defeat in a national election. We are, for the first time in two decades, the party of the opposition. Yet, although the role of the opposition party is traditionally the lighter one, we face, in fact, as heavy a responsibility as ever we faced as the party in power.

Some of the problems and issues have already been sketched by my distinguished friends and colleagues who were so generous with their time as to come to New York for this important discussion tonight.

And I should like to add, parenthetically, what a noble addition there was to the Senate last November, despite the national set-back, when such able, courageous and fighting young liberals as Scoop [Henry M.] Jackson [of Washington State] and Mike Mansfield [of Montana] came to join us. In the few months of their first session of the Senate, they have been thrown into the front ranks of battle. They have won their spurs. They deserve the acclaim and the gratitude of all of us.

We have need of these young valiants. And it is significant that although the American people, last November, elected a Republican President, and by a very narrow margin turned the Congress over to the Republicans, the people also turned out of office some of the most reactionary of the Members of the Congress and elected good liberals in their place. Senators Jackson and Mansfield were among those who breasted the tide and won outstanding victories.

Powerful members of the reactionary core of the Re-

publican Party were, however, reelected. It is about them and the trend which they represent that I would talk to you tonight—the growing disease of McCarthyism and Jenneritis.

Much was said during the presidential campaign and even in more recent months about the danger of "Creeping Socialism." Of course, this danger was pure hobgoblin, raised by those who wanted to frighten the American people into unthinking fear and mistrust of the Democratic administration.

But there was and is a real danger. That danger is "Creeping McCarthyism"—a subtle poison which has already eaten deep into the muscles and sinews of our entire body politic. It has sapped the courage of millions of our fellow citizens. It has gnawed at the roots of our faith in civil liberty. It has weakened the fabric of our faith in democracy itself.

## "Creeping McCarthyism"

I have often spoken on the subject of civil rights. I have regularly denounced the denial of basic rights to some of our fellow Americans because of race, creed, color or national origin.

And, indeed, such denial and discrimination are terrible evils which cruelly violate our national conscience. We must not rest until these inequities are completely corrected. The Democratic Party will lose its soul if it retreats one step from its advocacy and efforts in behalf of all the measures necessary to eliminate this shame from our national life.

But while we continue to strive for equality of rights for all our citizens, we dare not overlook the creeping blight which threatens to destroy, with equal disdain for all, the very structure of all our liberties.

This, my friends, is what we have come to. I say to you with all the conviction at my command that our very faith in our basic liberties is being steadily, dangerously undermined. We have already experienced a lessening in our courage to defend these liberties.

Step by step we have retreated in the past four years. The presumption of guilt now surrounds anyone accused by McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and their ilk. The Investigators, who might better be called the Inquisitors, have taken office, self-nominated and self-elected, as the Anointed Guardians of our national security, the High Prosecutors of

the disloyal and the Supreme Judges of the loyalty and morality of everyone.

Questioning the political past, the intimate morals and the personal associations of all our citizens has now become routine and accepted. Gradually we have become accustomed to practices which at an earlier time would surely have revolted us. Already we tolerate without public complaint that congressional investigation committees should subpoena novelists, essayists, and magazine and newspaper editors, professors, scholars and school administrators to inquire into their political backgrounds and personal habits, back to the days of their youth and their childhood.

Even newspapermen are called before these committees and grilled as to their political beliefs.

It may be that some few individuals in these professions are or at one time were Communists.

I have no use for Communist conspirators. Any one of them who can be shown to plot and intrigue against the security of the United States should be duly punished under law. Any one of them who commits espionage or sabotage should be punished to the fullest extent of the law.

But I believe that the police agencies of the United States, including the FBI, are competent to deal with violations of our laws. And the courts are equipped to weigh the evidence and to pass judgment upon these subversive law-breakers.

### ***Freedom from "Thought Police"***

Above all I believe that the time-tested institutions of America which are synonymous with freedom and for whose protection the Bill of Rights was written into the Constitution—the press, the stage, our colleges and universities and our churches—all these must be completely free from intimidation or coercion by the would-be thought police of congressional investigating committees. These great American institutions must be depended upon to police and regulate themselves, insofar as the political beliefs and private morals of the individuals employed in these fields is concerned. For Congressional committees to interfere in these matters is to sap the roots of our freedom and the pillars of our democracy.

Is it a fact that our schools and universities are indoctrinating our youth with Communist ideology? Of course not. Are the press and publishing industry succumbing to Communist influence? This, too, is ridiculous even to suggest.

I certainly have no fear of the Communist ideology in the free market place of ideas. I believe in democracy. I believe in the people. I am confident that the American people can tell the difference between the true and the false, between what is good for America and what would be fatal to America. And the American people have, in fact, shown that they hate and reject the Communist ideology.

Then why this panic? Why have we given over to the McCarthys and the Jenners the awful power to prosecute and to judge not only public servants but private citizens—

scholars, writers, teachers, and scientists—on the basis not only of their beliefs but of their associations, past and present?

Why have we so degraded ourselves and so exposed ourselves to international contempt and ridicule as to permit our country to be stampeded by these Congressional vigilantes? How can we tolerate such a spectacle as that presented by the recent European tour of two brash and brazen youths who, under the aegis of the McCarthy Committee, turned all our embassies and foreign missions upside down and who presumed to sit in solemn judgment on the loyalty of the American ambassador to Great Britain?

Yet the fact is that we now take these things for granted. We take for granted that a congressional committee has the moral as well as the legal right to sit in judgment on the standards of teaching in our schools and colleges and to take over the responsibilities of the boards of trustees and of the school administrators in deciding who is and who is not a proper teacher in these educational institutions.

I am a member of the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate. We have recently considered legislation to provide stand-by authority to impose price and wage controls in time of war and national emergency. Spokesmen for the publishing industry came before us and demanded that we exempt the newspapers of this country from any such controls on the ground that the imposition of price and wage controls on the publishing industry, even during a war or a national emergency, would be an abridgment of the freedom of the press.

Yet spokesmen of the publishing industry are mostly silent when a Congressional committee without the benefit of law presumes to tell the editors who is or is not a proper employee, a capable reporter, a suitable writer, on the basis of his political beliefs.

Oh, this is not being done frontally. It is being done obliquely. These Congressional inquisitors are not attacking the *New York Times* or the *Herald Tribune*. They are going after individual newspapermen, here and there, on one pretext or another.

But they are establishing a precedent. They are getting us accustomed to the idea of investigating the press, as they have already accustomed us to an investigation of our educational institutions, as they may soon accustom us to an investigation of our churches.

### ***"Challenge to Democratic Party"***

What a spectacle we present to the rest of the world. We have convinced our own people that this great democracy of ours is honeycombed with traitors, spies, subversives and sexual deviates. Our democracy is portrayed as so weak a system that it must devote all its internal energies to investigation, recrimination and denunciation.

What is happening today, my friends, is that we are, in fact, abridging our Bill of Rights without being conscious that it is being abridged, by indirection, innuendo, smear and attack.



All this is being accomplished subtly, gradually, almost imperceptibly. This is the great achievement of McCarthy, Jenner and the others of similar attitude. Even if they, themselves, were suddenly and miraculously to disappear from the political scene at this moment or were to be successfully restrained by the administration—and I see no prospect of this—the result they have already achieved would long remain.

The total impact of their efforts is not confined to the headlines. It finds its way into the body of our laws. I need mention only one example—the McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act—which is an outstanding instance of legislation based on fear and hysteria.

I have drawn a black picture. I have done so intentionally. I have tried to bring out as forcefully as I could what has happened and is happening to us all. I would not so depict it unless I thought we all needed to be shocked into affirmative action. We need to be reminded of the wisdom of Thomas Jefferson's words when he said, that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

This is a challenge to the Democratic Party and to all its leaders. Whether we win or lose the elections of 1954

or 1956, we have a duty and responsibility to ourselves, to our great past, and to the future of our country and of freedom in the world.

It may be that a frontal attack on McCarthyism is not the way to political victory. It may be that the majority of the people of our country have grown to tolerate and accept McCarthyism. Certainly a great number have, and this is our greatest danger.

But regardless of its effects on our prospects for political victory, we cannot compromise with this evil thing. If we can save the cause of freedom in our country, by risking political defeat in the next election, let us take the risk. Let us keep faith with freedom.

No promise of political victory can compensate for the prospect of freedom's end.

We, of the Democratic Party of New York, can serve as the standard-bearers for the cause of freedom. The traditions of our political past—of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt—shall give us arms and courage for this battle.

And I am confident that in this holy cause, we will prevail.

## TALKING BACK TO THE INQUISITORS

**T**HE fight back campaign against McCarthyism gathered strength in the past month.

The Velde version of McCarthyism hit New York early in May when the House Un-American Activities Committee with Rep. Harold H. Velde as chief inquisitor hauled up personalities of the film, theater and press before it. Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian*, refused to knuckle under and invoked the Fifth Amendment, as did others. Gravel-voiced actor Lionel Stander gave the committee a few uncomfortable minutes when he challenged the witch-hunt. "Just to be mentioned before this committee," he stormed, "is like the Spanish Inquisition—you may not be branded but you come away a little singed. I'd like to tell you about subversive activities of a group of people who are spreading hate across the land. They are spreaders of hate against Negroes, against Jews, and I have been a victim of this group." When Velde banged the gavel to stop Stander and threatened to order Stander from the room, Stander replied, "I am amazed. You don't want to hear about subversive activity. This subversive activity has put my name on the theatrical blacklist. It has barred me from television, radio and stage shows and the movies. . . . I know a group of fanatics who would deprive artists of life, liberty and property and due process of law. I can cite names. Also a group of ex-Bundists, America Firsters, anti-Semites who hate everybody including probably themselves."

Another militant witness was Lee Sabinson, Broadway producer of *Finian's Rainbow* and other hits. "Yes," said Mr. Sabinson, "I am familiar with subversive activities. And may I tell you that at 86th Street there was an American Bundist meeting Sunday night at which Senator McCarthy was hailed, and there will be—" Down came the gavel. The committee is not interested in

fascist and anti-Semitic subversion of American freedom.

In Boston, the Jenner Committee was holding its inquisition during the same week. Before it appeared Angus Cameron, formerly chief editor of Little, Brown publishers, who issued a fighting statement to the committee. "I believe," said Mr. Cameron, "that this committee's purpose is not to seek out subversion but to breed prejudice and ignorance and stifle truth and knowledge so that the undemocratic forces behind these committees may operate without fear that informed critical opinion will be brought to bear against their dangerous policies. . . . I welcome the chance to add my voice to the rising tide of opposition to this committee. . . ."

McCarthyism came in for sharp blows in Jewish organizational life. In his presidential address opening on April 19 the 80th anniversary biennial convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), attended by 3,000 delegates, Rabbi Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath called on Jews to be "daring" in defense of civil liberties. "Through inquisitorial dragnets and fear-mongering witch-hunts," he said, "self-appointed vigilantes would pervert the very freedom of which they hypocritically prate and thus betray from within the heritage of America." While expressing anti-communist views, the convention passed a resolution condemning "irresponsible attacks on our public school system" and urging that "investigations in our public schools should be conducted in the spirit of fair play, solely as a search for truth and without abuse of the constitutional rights of the witnesses." Another resolution stated that "The whipping up by Congressional committees of hysterical fears and the irresponsible attacks upon individuals who are not given an adequate opportunity to defend themselves . . . must be condemned as un-American and dangerous."

# RIGHTS OF THE FOREIGN BORN

*If non-citizens and naturalized citizens get a letter from immigration officials to come over to talk, what are their rights?*

*By George W. Crockett, Jr.*

*Not the least dangerous aspect of the McCarran-Walter immigration law is its potentiality for intimidation. In the past few months thousands of naturalized citizens and non-citizens have received letters asking them to appear on some pretext before an immigration official for questioning. We publish below an analysis of this new tactic of the Department of Justice by George W. Crockett, noted Detroit Negro attorney. Mr. Crockett, it will be recalled, was one of the lawyers for the Communist Eleven at the Foley Square trial who served a six-months sentence in jail for "contempt." The following is reprinted, with omissions, from a folder issued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.*

*The value of Mr. Crockett's analysis goes far beyond his acquainting prospective victims of the Department of Justice with their rights. It also shows how far our civil liberties have deteriorated under the vague, intimidating provisions of the McCarran-Walter law. It should spur us to further activity to compel repeal of that racist, fascist law.*  
—Eds.

**T**HE McCarran Internal Security act and McCarran-Walter immigration act are the latest in the never-ending pattern of restrictions. They attempt to prevent non-citizens from thinking, saying, writing or belonging to anything which the government might disapprove or from reading any newspaper or book or associating with any person whom the government might claim to be subversive. The Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice is given the responsibility of enforcing these restrictions upon the freedom of our non-citizens and the Service attempts to do this by holding out the threat of deportation proceedings.

Many lawyers are convinced that these provisions of the McCarran and McCarran-Walter acts violate the constitutional rights of our foreign born and are therefore null and void; and there are several cases now before the courts where it is expected that these illegal restrictions of the McCarran and McCarran-Walter acts will be eliminated.

A non-citizen who is called upon by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to obey these restrictions must, like free men everywhere, decide for himself whether he will voluntarily surrender his claim of freedom. The choice is his—to surrender or to fight for his rights and to speak, to

believe in and to associate with whatever and whomever he believes to be to his best interests and to the best interests of his fellow man. The best general legal advice that can be given to the non-citizen is that given by the late Supreme Court Justice Murphy.

"... Once an alien lawfully enters and resides in this country, he becomes invested with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all people within our borders. Such rights include those protected by the First and Fifth Amendments and by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. None of these provisions acknowledges any distinction between citizens and resident aliens. They extend their inalienable privileges to all 'persons' and guard against any encroachment on these rights by Federal or State authority. . . ."

In recent months the Immigration and Naturalization Service (the federal agency concerned with persons of foreign birth) has sent letters to large numbers of non-citizens and naturalized citizens asking them to come to the local immigration office for an interview concerning their immigration status. These letters and interviews are frequently the first move in the Service's effort to deport or denaturalize a person of foreign birth. The mere receipt of such a letter tends to cause uneasiness which may or may not be justified.

## *How Respond to Letters?*

Non-citizens, perhaps more so than naturalized citizens, have a very poor knowledge of their legal rights. In addition, they suffer a sense of fear and insecurity not generally shared by naturalized citizens. Frequently the non-citizen in his fear tends to "rush in" and "get it over with" where wisdom would dictate caution and deliberation.

The non-citizen should understand first and foremost that these "official" letters are not orders; they are invitations which may be accepted by him or rejected—and no penalty can be imposed upon anyone for failure to accept the invitation and appear voluntarily for such an interview. The non-citizen or anyone on his behalf can write or phone the local immigration office for a clearer statement of what it is they want of him; or, if he prefers, he can ignore the letter entirely and wait for a formal order.

Before deciding whether he will or will not accept the

invitation, the non-citizen should first talk with an attorney or a civil rights organization having some knowledge of such matters.

Whether the non-citizen should respond immediately to the "official" letter inviting him to an interview with the local immigration officials, or whether he should wait for a more formal order before coming in for an interview, is a question upon which only his lawyer can really advise him properly—and then only after the non-citizen has given to his lawyer all of the facts and circumstances of his case.

A non-citizen is regarded by the Immigration Service as "subversive" and his case becomes a "political case" if he is now or ever has been at any time a member of, or associated with, any of the organizations named on the attorney general's list or the House Un-American Activities Committee list of "subversive" organizations. These two lists contain more than 200 organizations.

Also, a non-citizen is regarded as a "subversive" and his case is a "political case" if he is now or ever has been a reader of publications labeled by these government agencies as "subversive"; or if he is closely related to or frequently associates with any person who is considered a "subversive"; or, if he has actively supported causes which these two government agencies think are "subversive," such as FEPC, repeal of the Taft-Hartley law or world peace. In such cases the non-citizen can look forward to getting an "official" letter inviting him to visit his local immigration office for an interview.

### ***What Are They Fishing For?***

The number of such letters to non-citizens, asking that they come in for an appointment "concerning your immigration status," has increased greatly since the passage of the McCarran and McCarran-Walter acts. Three reasons are usually given by the Service as to why the interview is desired: (1) to complete the record of the non-citizen's entry; or (2) to legalize his entry, or (3) to have him complete his registration.

However, if the non-citizen has been active in the support of a New Dealer for political office or in trade union activities; or if he has supported FEPC or the peace movement; or if he is a subscriber to a liberal language newspaper or was at any time a member of any one of the hundreds of organizations now labeled "subversive," he soon learns from the nature of the questions put to him that these interviews have one of the following purposes, or both:

First, to obtain from the non-citizen information useful to the Service in checking on some close friend, relative or other person who is a non-citizen or a naturalized citizen. In other words, to make the non-citizen himself an informer as to the political views or affiliations of his relatives and friends. Second, to obtain from the non-citizen, by means of threats or promises, a statement in writing or an admission which can later be used against the non-citizen himself in deportation proceedings.

The interview, therefore, can be likened to an investiga-

### ***Know Your Rights!***

ON March 17, Attorney General Herbert Brownell announced that the Justice Department is planning to use the Walter-McCarran law to revoke the citizenship of 10,000 naturalized American citizens on political grounds.

Since then, hundreds of naturalized American citizens have received letters from the Immigration and Naturalization Service asking them to appear for an interview "concerning an official matter."

Most of those who received such communications have exercised their rights as citizens and refused to appear. Those who did appear were subjected to hours of intimidation and endless questioning concerning their beliefs and activities before their naturalization as well as after they became American citizens. They were asked to give information concerning other citizens, including members of their own family.

These interviews are an illegal invasion of citizens' rights. The citizen is forced to give information under oath that may be self-incriminating, despite the clear provisions of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Naturalized citizens have the right to refuse to appear in response to such a communication from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which has no authority over American citizens.

*(From a fact sheet issued by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th St., N. Y.)*

tion by a detective or a prosecuting attorney who is "fishing" for information to serve as a basis for issuing a warrant or arresting and trying someone for some offense. The non-citizen may or may not be the suspected party but he takes a gamble in any event.

These interviews and other official pressures now being put upon the foreign born are integral parts of the current policy of the Department of Justice to stifle and suppress freedom of speech, thought and association in our country in a determined effort to enforce political and social conformity with all aspects of the administration's foreign and domestic policies.

When thus viewed in their true light, these "official" letters and these interviews are seen as by-products of the same governmental pattern which in recent years has produced the Smith act persecutions in New York, California, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Hawaii; the McCarran act hearings in Washington, D.C. and the loyalty purges all over the country; the increasing unemployment; and the suppression of the civil rights of all minority groups.

It is obvious, therefore, that a non-citizen who willingly goes in without a lawyer and testifies or makes a statement at such an interview, does so at his own risk. And since he is likely to be completely unaware of his legal rights, this risk may prove to be a very serious one.

In no case can he possibly meet his questioner on equal terms and hence he is under a decided disadvantage. He should be reminded that the regulations of the Immigra-



tion and Naturalization Service recognize the right of every non-citizen to be accompanied and represented by an attorney of his own choosing at all times, including the interview stage.

The questions asked at a typical interview fall into two groups: first, those which actually relate to the non-citizen's identity, his entry into the country and his registration; and second, those which have no such relation, but which seek to find out the non-citizen's organizational activities, his political views, reading habits and associates.

The second group of questions are the so-called "political questions." These seek to find out whether or not the non-citizen is a "subversive." A negative answer by the non-citizen, even where made under oath, does not settle the matter. A denial will not stop the Service from such further questioning as: "To what organization does the non-citizen belong?" "What meetings has he attended?" "What candidates or petitions did he work for or support?" "What newspapers and magazines does he read?" "Would he oppose a war with Russia?" "Does he support the administration's foreign policy?" and, of course, "Does he belong to the Communist Party"; or read the *Daily Worker* or any one of several liberal foreign language newspapers. A positive answer to any of these "political" questions will be used against him.

### ***Your Legal Right to Refuse***

The Immigration Service cannot *compel* the non-citizen to answer any questions. The immigration agent is not a judge. The non-citizen may answer some questions and refuse to answer others; or he can refuse to answer all. He has a legal right to refuse to answer *any* question unless and until he is required to do so by a judge. He need give no reason whatever for his refusal.

The Fifth Amendment to the Federal Constitution protects anyone—citizen or non-citizen—from being compelled to make any statement or answer any question which he reasonably believes may be used against him. As to such questions he need not gamble on whether his answer will be believed and all suspicions as to him removed. Nor need he "open the door" to further questions. He may rely upon the protection of the Fifth Amendment and thus prevent any further, illegal harassments of this kind. He has a right to remain silent!

Because of answers which they have given at these interviews, many non-citizens have been and are being intimidated and bullied by immigration officers and the FBI into changing their reading habits, their associates and their organizational affiliations. Such changes are a desertion of the very friends and agencies which in the past have been the greatest champions of fair play for our foreign born. Such desertion is a surrender to the unreasoning hysteria of our times.

Of course one has a right at any time to change his mind, to accept new beliefs and discard old ones. But such changes when and if made by any person—citizen or non-

citizen—should be principled changes and should result from a sincere and deliberate change of convictions.

A change brought about by fear is cowardly and unbecoming in a group who originally came to this land voluntarily in search of and with a desire to work and fight for the political and economic freedom of men and women everywhere.

Moreover, such enforced retreats are of no avail. Proof of changes in beliefs, opinions and associations will not prevent deportation. If the opinions, associations and memberships formerly held by the non-citizen are regarded by the courts to be "subversive," then the non-citizen is deportable under the new McCarran and McCarran-Walter acts whether or not he presently subscribes to those views or gave them up years ago. A "change of heart" will not save him.

A naturalized citizen has all of the rights that a native born citizen enjoys. Once a person becomes a citizen, he has no greater or different responsibility to the Immigration Service than has a native born citizen.

The only purpose for an interview with a naturalized citizen is to enable the Immigration Service to discover and develop some basis for instituting denaturalization proceedings against him or to make him a "stoolpigeon" against others. Obviously, if the Immigration Service already has evidence sufficient to warrant denaturalization proceedings, it will proceed in court for revocation of his citizenship. If it does not have such evidence and the citizen voluntarily appears for an interview, he may very possibly supply the Service with self-incriminating evidence and thus unwillingly aid the Service to deprive him of his citizenship.

### ***Loyalty Is to the People***

Our foreign born residents should be advised that loyalty to our government does not mean blind obedience to the wishes of every government employee in a uniform. Loyalty to our government means loyalty to our Constitution and to the people of the United States. This loyalty must be distinguished at all times from blind obedience to the will or the policies of whatever administration happens to be in office.

Our foreign born residents should understand, too, that notwithstanding the denial and violation of many of our civil rights today, ours is still a government of limited powers. We, the people, have placed these limits upon its powers precisely because we recognize the tendency of some government employees and officers to exceed their constitutional authority. It is our duty as residents of a free country to insist that these limits be observed by our government in each and every case.

We, The People, are the government of the United States. To demonstrate loyalty to the government of our land means to show in word, thought and deed our unswerving loyalty to the people of the United States and to their Constitution with its guarantees of freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom from racial, religious and political persecutions.

# THE ARAB QUESTION AND ZIONISM

*The Zionist movement has from the beginning refused to recognize Arab rights and in Israel the Arabs are objects of discrimination*

*Last of a Series*

*By Morris U. Schappes*

**I**MMEDIATELY after the announcement of the Soviet government's uncovering of the attempted frameup of the 15 Moscow doctors, a revealing "special" dispatch from Tel Aviv appeared in the *New York Times* (April 6). "The Israeli authorities," it reported, "are tensely awaiting sequels in the satellite countries. . . . Especially is Tel Aviv looking for the resumption of the emigration of Jews from the satellite countries." The earthy reason given by the *Times* correspondent to explain the tenseness with which "Israeli authorities" look for new East European immigrants: "In spite of the economic problems it would raise," writes the correspondent, "resumption of this immigration from the satellites would be welcomed here as an offset to immigration of 'Oriental Jews' from the Middle East and Africa." What concerns American Jews, Zionist and non-Zionist, who are trying to understand the class nature of the Zionist leadership and program, is this: the *Times* dispatch brings into the open in a crude fashion what has generally been hushed up.

In some Jewish circles the treatment of the "Oriental Jew" has long been a recognized scandal. For this is not merely a matter of "popular prejudice" that has not yet been dispelled; this is a matter of policy, of ruling class policy, of government program. Even an eminent Zionist like Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman has had publicly to raise the question, even though only in *The Alliance Review*, organ of the Sephardic Jews in the U.S., for January.

Of the Yemenite immigration, Dr. Schechtman says it is "a serious and painful problem . . . which has been dealt with by both the government and the people of Israel with an outstanding lack of tact and insight, thus creating among the Yemenites an acute feeling of being discriminated against. . . . Remarks to the effect that the Yemenite immigrants are childish, shiftless, unreliable, averse to cleanliness and unwilling to do steady work are being circulated with remarkable gusto."

The Iraqi Jews, facing similar treatment, staged a demonstration in July 1951, against "race discrimination in the Jewish State" before the Jewish Agency in Tel Aviv. Dr. Schechtman reports that the "demonstrators claimed that they were not being given equal treatment with the 'white' Ashkenazi Jews, that they have been relegated to a second-class category of Israel citizenship."

North African Jews from Morocco, Tunisia and Algiers are subjected to what Dr. Schechtman gently calls "a shocking lack of sympathy, tact and kindness on the part of the European majority of the Yishuv." Hebrew newspapers speak of them as rapists and are worried "that the crime rate will increase" because of them. All these and the other Eastern Jews of course face not only slanders but discrimination in employment, in housing, in education, in every sphere of Israel life. Dr. Schechtman concludes that "prejudice against the Oriental communities must therefore be declared 'Enemy Number One.'"

If the liberal and progressive American Jew is startled by this racist discrimination against Jews in Israel, he may still look at the title of this article and wonder, "what has this to do with the Arab Question and Zionism?" We reply with this leading question: "If the ruling capitalists and the Zionist government of Israel, in their own class interests, follow, a racist, a chauvinist policy with regard to Jews, is there any doubt that they follow such a policy with regard to the Arab people?"

Because Jews have so widely suffered from racist persecution, many of them recoil in indignation from the charge that the Israel government practices it. Progressive Americans have been confused on the Arab question and some progressive Jews particularly have been quite misled as to the seriousness of the question. The reason seems to be this: their failure to approach both the Arab and Jewish questions from a point of view that would differentiate between the masses of both peoples and their dominant classes.

## **"Ignoring" the Arab**

Obviously the reactionary feudal ruling classes of the Arabs are not really interested in the welfare of the Arab peasant masses, workers, and middle class when they attack the Zionist movement. Therefrom many well-intentioned Jews draw an oversimplified conclusion. If the Arab reactionaries, they think, with their Muftis and their nazi, Italian fascist and British imperialist (and now American imperialist) allies, are demagogues—and they certainly are—then the Zionist leaders must be right and just in their cause—which does not follow. For the Zionist leaders, as we have shown in the three preceding articles in this series,

are consistent bourgeois-nationalists, sacrificing the interests of the Jewish people to their own class interests and those of their imperialist allies.

In fact, it is the greatest indictment of the Zionist position on the Arab question that in every way this position played directly into the hands of Arab feudal reaction. Even in competing with the Arab big landowners for the favor of British imperialism, the Zionist leadership revealed its bourgeois class character. A working class approach to the Arab question would have led to opposite results, but of course the Zionist leadership was unable by its very nature to develop such an approach to the national liberation movement of the Arab masses. Let us explain briefly how Zionist policy played into the hands of Arab reaction.

Returning from a trip to Palestine, the veteran Zionist writer B. Z. Goldberg was led as late as November 2, 1946, shrewdly to observe in an article in the Yiddish Zionist daily, *The Day*, that "one of the mistakes that the Zionists have committed in Palestine is that they have ignored the Arab." "Ignoring" explains part of the method of the Zionist leaders. Thus Herzl literally ignored them; as the Zionist theoretician Leon Stein puts it, "He was, to judge from his [World Zionist] Congress Addresses, hardly aware that Palestine had settled inhabitants, and he had, in perfect good faith, omitted the Arab from his calculations." (*Zionism*, London, 1925, p. 99.)

From this approach of Herzl and his contemporaries there developed the old Zionist slogan, "The land without a people to the people without a land." How easy the Zionist movement made it for the Arab reactionary demagogue to appeal to the just fears of the Arab masses by pointing out: "You see, these Zionists who are coming into your country, they even call your country a land without a people. You don't count at all in their eyes."

As more Jews settled in Palestine, contact with Arabs made it impossible literally to ignore them. The Jews, it must be remembered, were coming from capitalist countries of Europe, with their capitalist industrial and to a certain extent agricultural technology. Moreover, the Jews were coming from the cities, where capitalism develops its cultural forms, including literacy, much more rapidly than in rural areas. The Palestine to which these Jews were coming, however, was still deep in ancient feudal economic relations and political oppression, with a backward Middle Eastern agricultural economy.

### ***Chauvinist Approach to Arabs***

An internationalist approach in such a situation would have led the Jewish immigrants to a policy devoid of chauvinist ideas of inherent superiority, to a policy of alliance with the Arab masses against European, especially British, imperialism and their Arab big-landlord allies. But the bourgeois-nationalist Zionist leadership, which in its strategy was an ally of British imperialism, could not ally itself with the Arab peasants. Proud of its powerful British

allies, the Zionist leaders looked down from their heights of European attainment upon the feudally oppressed masses. Many even pitied the poor Arabs. If the land the Zionists thought was without a people turned out after all to have a people—still, it was such a people.

After the Arab feudal reactionaries, themselves trying to cement an alliance with British imperialism, had incited Arabs to anti-Jewish riots in 1929, some Zionist leaders began to examine their approach to the Arabs. Thus Moses Beilinson, editor of *Davar*, organ of the Histadrut, published a series of articles, "Problems of a Jewish-Arab Rapprochement," in September and October 1929. Here he mildly objected to the widespread chauvinism of the Zionists. "Especially is there no justification and no common sense in giving a superficial and scornful evaluation of an entire people. The emphasis upon the difference between the various stages of the two nations who live in the country, one a people with a high culture, a European people, the other a savage or a semi-savage Oriental people—a contrast accepted by a certain section of our Yishuv—is an unnecessary burden on our political line, heavy as it already is. There is need to clarify to what extent such a contrast between the two people is correct. . . . Our lack of knowledge of the Arabs is terrifying. . . . Almost all of us pick up our knowledge about them from hazy notions, from stories, from superficial observations, and therefore we can be quite certain that we have a very faulty conception of this people." (Quoted in Enzo Sereni and R. E. Ashery, eds., *Jews and Arabs in Palestine, Studies in a National and Colonial Problem*, Hechalutz Press, New York, 1936, pp. 165-166.)

### ***Divide and Rule***

In proposing a solution, though, Beilinson reveals his bourgeois-nationalist lack of realism in expecting the British imperialists to cooperate with Zionism to break up the feudal land system and free the Arab fellah (peasant) from the effendi (Arab big landowner). Was Beilinson just unaware of the fact that imperialism never, to this day, makes alliances with the oppressed masses against their oppressors but always and only with the oppressing classes against the masses?

Professor Albert Einstein in his own way put his finger on the cause of Arab-Jewish conflicts when he testified before the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry into Palestine in 1946. "I believe," he said, "they are artificially created by the English. I believe if there would be a really honest government for the people there, which would get the Arabs and Jews together, there would be nothing to fear. . . . I find that the British rule is based on the native. . . . I find that everywhere there are big landowners who are exploiters of that race of people. These big landowners, of course, are in a precarious situation because they are always afraid they will be gotten rid of. The British are always in a passive alliance with those land-possessing owners who exploit the work of the people of the different



trades. . . . Palestine is a kind of small model of India. There is an attempt to dominate, with the help of a few officials, the people of Palestine, and it seems to me that the English rule in Palestine is absolutely of this kind." (Quoted by Bartley C. Crum, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, New York, 1947, pp. 25-26.)

There was one difference between the British rule of India and Palestine that Dr. Einstein did not notice. In India, the British developed a section of the native land-owners and bourgeoisie to help them dominate the masses and the entire country. In Palestine, Britain, while shoring up the Arab effendis, also used the Zionist movement for its strategic and class ends. Zionist policy fed Arab reaction.

The Arab leaders, for example, in their own quest for a firmer alliance with British imperialism, opposed the Mandate by which Britain was entrusted by the other imperialist powers in the League of Nations to help the Zionists establish the Jews in Palestine. These Arab reactionaries were trying to whip up Arab mass support against the Mandate and the Zionists. To meet this attack, what was the Zionist strategy? Ben Gurion expressed it bluntly in 1931 in an address, "Planning Zionist Policy," to the organizing convention of Mapai: "The Arabs demand the abolition of the Mandate and the establishment of a national government; we insist on the Mandate and deny the claim of the present inhabitants to sovereignty over the land." (Sereni and Ashery, work cited, p. 151.)

Such a policy and such statements continually strengthened the hand of the Mufti and the effendis, who were the more easily able to pose before the Arab masses as the true defenders of the Arabs against the British imperialists and their Zionist allies. Even in the touchy issue of mass Jewish immigration after Hitler's rise to power, an anti-imperialist orientation by the Zionist leaders would have opened the gates of Palestine wide with Arab consent. This was testified to ten years later by none other than Moshe Shertok (now Sharett) at the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. "Some Arab leaders," he declared, "seemed inclined to accept very substantial immigration, but they attached conditions which could not be fulfilled. It was not for the Jews to bring about the immediate liquidation of the British mandatory regime, nor did they at the time particularly cherish the prospect." (Cited in A. B. Magil, *Israel in Crisis*, New York, 1950, pp. 74-75.)

### **Arab Labor Is Jimcrowed**

If the Jews in Poland, Germany, Hungary and Rumania, suffering in 1936 under fascism, had been asked to vote on the issue of free mass immigration into Palestine or support of the British Mandate, which would they have chosen? But Shertok and the other Zionist leaders had made their decision long ago: alliance with imperialism at all costs. Is it any wonder that among the large majority of Arab masses their anti-imperialist sentiments, which in a crude form tend to express themselves as opposition to all white foreigners, became anti-Zionist? And since the Zion-

ist leaders in and out of Palestine tried to identify all Jews with Zionism, particularly in Palestine, reactionary Arab forces were not wanting to help transform anti-Zionism into anti-Semitism as a means of heading and beheading the Arab masses' national liberation ideals.

In carrying out a policy that played right into the hands of Arab reaction, the Jewish trade union movement, Histadrut, was particularly effective. The key to the approach of the Labor Zionists, of Mapai and of the Histadrut is to be found in Ben Gurion's statement to the Mapai convention in 1931: "From the very beginning of his coming to the land, the Jewish worker has been faced with the Arab Question in the form of the cheap Arab worker." So the Arab question became a question of competing with cheap labor!

Even at that, any trade unionist with an ounce of class understanding would know that the only suitable program in such a situation would be to organize the Arab and Jewish workers into one single union with the enforcement of the slogan, "Equal pay for equal work for Arab and Jew." Instead, the Histadrut followed the policy expressed in Ben Gurion's remark that the Jews had not come to Palestine to organize the Arabs. Not only did the Jews organize only the Jews, but the Histadrut even launched the campaign of the "Conquest of Labor" (*Kibbush Haavodah*). The object of this campaign was to compel Jewish employers to hire only Jewish workers. Since many Jewish employers had already hired Arab workers (at lower wages, of course), the Histadrut actually set out to drive Arab workers out of Jewish enterprises.

### **Histadrut and Arab Labor**

On April 8, 1935, the American Zionist *Jewish Morning Journal*, a Yiddish daily, carried the headline, "Zionist Party Will Expel Jews Employing Arab Labor," over the report of such a decision reached by the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization. After that *Davar*, Histadrut organ, published long lists of Jewish employers in Tel Aviv who were to be boycotted for employing Arab workers. Thousands of Arab workers had the personal experience of losing jobs because of the Zionist "Conquest of Labor." Arab reactionary propaganda took full advantage of this experience for its own purposes.

As early as 1927, the Histadrut began to speak of "organizing Arab workers." A separate union (Americans would call it a Jimcrow union) was set up for Arabs. But to join it, the Arab worker had to recognize the principle of the "Conquest of Labor," that is, of not accepting a job from a Jewish employer! Of course such organization was a failure, and Left labor Zionists began to point it out. Thus a member of the executive committee of Histadrut, Yakov Hazan, secretary of Hashomer Hatzair, declared in 1934 that "in the field of organizing the Arab worker, the retrogression of the Histadrut is most decided" (Sereni and Ashery, work cited, p. 237).

Nevertheless, there was no change in Histadrut policy.

The result is still Jimcrow unionism, with very few Arab workers organized in this way into the Histadrut. On July 25, 1952, the American Labor Zionist Yiddish weekly, *Idisher Kemfer*, published an article on the subject by a veteran Mapai leader who specializes in the Arab question, Michael Assaf. Assaf is such a specialist that he is even the editor of a daily Arab newspaper, *Al Yom*, published in Jaffa. (To explain why an Arab newspaper is edited by Jews, Assaf said in the *Idisher Kemfer* for March 2, 1951 that the Arabs do not have the forces to edit their own newspaper!) Discussing "The Histadrut and the Arab Worker," Assaf reviews the 25 years of official policy, and declares it bankrupt. The only solution, he concludes, is "to end the existence of the 'Brith Poale Yisroel' (the special 'union' of the Arab workers in Israel) . . . and to open the doors of the Histadrut to the Arab worker."

One step forward was finally taken at the October 28, 1952 meeting of the Histadrut Council, but it was a halting step. A Mapam proposal immediately to accept Arab workers into all sections of the Histadrut on a basis of full equality and equal rights was defeated by a majority vote. Following this, a resolution was passed unanimously admitting Arab workers to the social institutions of Histadrut, the trade unions and to the General Labor Exchanges (employment offices) from which Arabs had formerly been excluded. Arab spokesmen in Histadrut promptly pointed out that since the majority of Arabs were peasants who were not included in the proposal, the resolution was of limited value. Jewish farmers are of course accepted and form a large part of the membership of Histadrut. (*Israel Labour News*, Histadrut organ, Tel Aviv, November 7, 1952.)

These are only some of the reactionary policies followed by the bourgeois-nationalist Zionist leaders. They were policies harmful to the Arab masses and to the Jewish masses. The result is that today the Arab question is a central issue in Israel, connected with its diplomatic relations with the Arab States that surround Israel, and therefore with the question of peace in the Middle East, as well as with its relations to the Arab minority inside Israel. The much-publicized Arab refugee issue is only one aspect of the entire question.

### **Arabs as Third-Class Citizens**

There is no doubt that the 170,000 Arabs left inside Israel after the mass flights and expulsions during the patriotic war against the Arab invasion are an oppressed minority. If the "Oriental Jews" in Israel are "second-class citizens," the Arabs are at most third-class citizens, and even formal citizenship is begrudged them. In 1931, at the Mapai convention, Ben Gurion asserted that "we recognize without any reservations or conditions the full citizenship rights of all inhabitants of the land, both Arabs and Jews." But then in 1931 the Jews were a small minority in Palestine.

On April 1, 1952, however, Premier Ben Gurion forced through the Israel Knesset, by a vote of only 48 to 36, a

nationality bill that automatically recognizes the citizenship of all Jews with residential status in Israel. But Arabs have to *apply* for citizenship, which will be granted only if they meet certain length-of-residence requirements, if they know *Hebrew* (which at this moment the majority of Jews in Israel do not know), if they renounce former nationality and if they pass a loyalty test. By this time, reactionary Arab forces outside Israel have fully acquainted the Arab masses with the formal discrimination against the Arab population inside Israel.

If discrimination is put openly into the political code, it is no less blatant in the economic life of the Arabs. As Salim Quasim, secretary of the Arab Trade Union Congress in Israel wrote in *JEWISH LIFE* (August 1952), "The policy of discrimination in wages and employment is common in Israel, especially in government and semi-government enterprises. Wages of the Arab workers do not exceed 60 per cent of the wages of their Jewish colleagues engaged in the same work."

Not only is the Arab worker paid less for his work, but the Arab farmer is legally required to accept less payment for his produce! There is also discrimination against the Arab population in the matter of supplying health, education and other social services. In connection with the Arab schools, another issue has arisen, as the Zionist correspondent Judd L. Teller sees it (*Commentary*, December 1951): "But what are these schools to teach about the Arabs past and present? Arab textbooks in mandated Palestine conveyed to the pupils a passionate awareness that Palestine was and would remain an Arab land. They have been rewritten since, to present Zionism in a new light and Israel as the home by birthright of the Jew."

Teller also calls attention to the fact that "The Israel army sometimes acts as if the Arabs are the inhabitants of an occupied country." Even *Davar*, he reports, has "criticized the behavior of soldiers searching Arab villages for infiltrates."

Fortunately, as in all other respects with regard to Zionist and government policy in Israel, there has been opposition for a long time, some from Zionists, most of it from non-Zionists, in Palestine and now in Israel. Liberal, progressive and left forces in Israel are either questioning or more or less actively opposing the government policy of oppression of the Arab minority. They are advancing the slogan of complete equality for the Arab minority.

In the United States, this situation needs to be understood. Because the issue of peace in the Middle East is involved, the American people have a general stake in a change of policy in Israel, as they have in fighting against Jimcrow in our own country. Jews who are critically examining Zionist policy also need to recognize the harmful essence of the bourgeois-nationalist approach to the Arab question that is traditional in the Zionist movement. Zionist and non-Zionist in our country, exactly because of mass Jewish opposition to Jimcrow here, can help impress upon Israeli Zionists the vast dangers involved in their imposing third-class status upon the Arabs in Israel.



# "HEDER" OF BYGONE DAYS

*An Autobiographical Sketch*

*By Sholem Aleichem*

THE pupils were pleased with their new teacher. God had finally sent them a *Rebbe* who didn't beat them. He didn't believe in it. Except at times, when one of us became too obnoxious or refused to say his prayers or acted like a dull-witted wooden-head; then *Reb* Ruderman lost his patience, removed his soft velvet *yarmelke* (skull cap) from his head, put the boy across a bench, applied a few sharp licks and—let that be a lesson to you!

Another good point about *Rebbe* Ruderman—he owned a "hand-mill" for hulling buckwheat. The machine had a wheel with a handle and at the top was an opening into which you put an upside-down sack full of buckwheat. A slow turning of the wheel made the grains sift slowly into the bin; from the bin they dropped slowly onto the stone, the stone slowly rubbed them together, removed the hull and out of the buckwheat you made—groats! That was the mill.

Obviously, the whole secret of the "mill" lay in the turning of the wheel. The more you turned, the more groats. And for turning the wheel there were plenty of applicants. All the students. Every student was eager to help *Rebbe* Moshe David, who couldn't live by teaching alone, God help him, and had to rely on "side-lines"—he turned his "mill" and his wife baked bread. As for baking, don't think there's nothing to it! There's plenty of work! And here the children can help too. Not so much with the baking itself, as with the "patting." Rye-bread-with-honey must be patted and patted for a long time, with both hands, before you can get it into the correct shape. And who is a better "patter" than a *heder*-boy? Here, too, there were so many eager applicants for the job that it often came to blows, each one trying to get ahead of the other.

The reader should not be unduly puzzled here—what sort of work is this for students, turning mills, patting rye-bread! That's nothing compared to the chores we did for the teachers at Voronovka. For instance, at *Rebbe* Zorach's, every Friday afternoon, we gave the "floor" its weekly coat of lime; we carried out the garbage; we brought water from the peasant's well. We even took turns at "minding" the *Rebbetsin's* (teacher's wife's) children. For the latter privilege we cast lots. Fetching a fowl to the chicken-slaughterer—that was a commonplace chore; it was considered an honor for the children to help the *Rebbetsin* pluck the feathers.

Any kind of work would do, as long as you didn't have to "learn." In *heder*, the hardest chore was the "learning."

This would be a good place, I think, to describe the *heder*, as it looked in those days, so that coming generations who may be interested in the bygone life of the "blessed" Jewish Pale may have it before their eyes.

A SMALL PEASANT HUT WITH A STRAW-THATCHED ROOF, sometimes leaning a little to one side, sometimes without a roof, like a little boy who has lost his hat. One small window; at the best, two. The window-pane is long since gone. In its place is a sheet of paper, sometimes a little pillow. The "floor" is bare earth, for Sabbath and holidays covered with lime and sprinkled with sand. Most of the room is taken up by the big brick oven, and the little stall on top of the oven, and the oven-couch. The latter is the *Rebbe's* bed. His children sleep on "top-of-the-oven." Along another wall is the *Rebbetsin's* bed, with many cushions at the head and a heap of small pillows at the foot, piled almost to the ceiling. On this bed, upon a clean white sheet, you could sometimes find a sheet of dough for the noodles, or some cookies and bagel, sometimes even one of the *Rebbe's* children, if he were seriously ill. Under the oven is the hen-roost, where the chickens are raised—another means to the *Rebbe's* livelihood.

The third wall, crooked and swollen from the rain and wind, supports a cupboard for bread, pots, pans. On top of the cupboard are the metal utensils—a sieve, a strainer, a grater and other such tools. Near the door, as you entered the room, lay various tools for fixing the fire and removing the food from the deep, hot oven. Also, a slop-tub, always full; a wooden bucket for water, always leaking; and a towel, always wet, to dry your hands.

In the center of the room is a long table with a long bench on either side. This is the *heder* proper, where the *Rebbe* "learns" with his pupils. Everybody expresses himself at the top of his voice. The *Rebbe* and his pupils yell. The *Rebbe's* children, playing on "top-of-the-oven," screech. The *Rebbetsin*, busy in the "kitchen," screams at her children to stop screeching. The chickens in the hen-roost squawk; the cat has just made a surprise leap from the bed right into the roost and is tormenting the hens, devil take her!

That was the old Voronovka *heder*.

THE SCHOOL IN THE BIG CITY, PERYASLAV, WAS NOT MUCH better. The Peryaslav *Rebbe*, just as his colleague in Voronovka, studied with his pupils at the long table, winter in a cotton-wadded robe and a velvet *yarmelke*; summer



in a wide-sleeved, half-open shirt, through which peeked the fringes of his ritual "undergarment." Winter, when the *Rebbe* awoke, he drank his "linden-blossom tea," which wasn't really tea; summer—cold water from a wooden mug, strained through a cloth to "purify" it; first, of course, a fervent blessing for the water, "Everything is according to God's word"—and all the pupils answered Amen. If a youngster brought a fruit for the *Rebbe*, he would bless it: "Blessed is the fruit of the tree"—and all the pupils answered Amen. If it were a green cucumber, the *Rebbe* peeled it, said "Blessed is the fruit of the earth," and the pupils answered Amen.

Anything was worth the trouble, as long as you could postpone the "learning." The constant "learning" was a thorn in our side. There was no end to it. All day. Winter nights. Arise at dawn and study. Even Sabbath afternoons, when we were not studying, we sat in the *heder* and listened to the *Rebbe's* Admonitions.

THE *REBBE'S* ADMONITION WAS A MAGNIFICENT FANTASY from "Thousand-and-One-Nights." From the *Rebbe's* words you could see yourself in the next world, you could experience the torments of hell-fire, you could hear the Angel of Gehenna approach you on soundless feet, tear out your entrails and whip you across the face, "Wicked One, What is your name?" And then two demons grab hold of you and toss you back and forth, like a ball, from one end of Hell to the other. And if you have ever told a lie, they hang you up on a peg by your tongue like a piece of meat in a market. And if one morning you forgot to dip your nails in water, two devils hold you down and pull out your fingernails with a pincers. And perhaps, once, on a Friday, you were cutting your nails and accidentally a piece fell to the ground, then they send you back to earth until you find it.

These punishments are for minor sins. Imagine the tortures for real transgressions! For instance, for skipping over your prayers? For forgetting an afternoon service? For not saying your evening prayer? For an evil thought? For reveries and idle dreams? There is no mercy in that place, none at all! Penance, prayer, charity—these are only for this world. In that other world, it is too late, beyond all hope! "There you are the same as all the other sinners. From there you go straight into the everlasting fire, into the boiling cauldron, into Gehenna, you heathens, into Gehenna!"

Thus the *Rebbe* concludes his Admonition on Sabbath afternoon and the boys listen attentively and weep, feel penitent, beat their breasts and pledge themselves to be upright and pious. But no sooner has the *Rebbe* left the table, and with him the pupils, than the whole sermon is forgotten. The other world with its Gehenna, with all the devils, has disappeared like a shadow, like a dream that has flown away—and the gang returns to its sin and its guilt. Skipping a Benediction, forgetting a Service, to bed without prayers. What prayers? What services? Outdoors the sun shines brightly, the shadows climb the walls, wink to you, call to you, "Out, young fellow, come out! It is good here, it is pleasant! One good jump, and you're at the little bridge. Another jump and you've crossed the bridge, where the stream splashes and the brook sings; where the grass is green and the flowers golden, where the birds soar and the grasshoppers dance. The green field calls you, begs you to throw yourself upon the soft, sweet-smelling earth. . . ."

Suddenly your father appears or your mother or your older brother or your sister, "Have you said your prayers yet! To *heder* with you, you rascal, to *heder*!"

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld)

## RESISTANCE TO McCARRAN-WALTER

THE demand to repeal or revise America's "First Nuremberg Law," the racist McCarran-Walter immigration act, continues in full force. This demand was echoed at the triennial convention of B'nai B'rith, attended by 1,000 delegates representing over 350,000 members, at Washington early in May. The organization's leaders spoke out vigorously against the law. President Frank Goldman affirmed that the law weakened civil liberties of naturalized citizens, discriminated against racial groups and preserved racist tests for admission" and he called on the convention to urge revision "so that it will accord more with truly American concepts." Henry Edward Schultz, head of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, asserted that "nowhere have we so boldly enthroned the theories of racism, nowhere else have we so boldly denied the American thesis that a man is to be judged upon his merits as an individual and not on his color, his creed or his ethnic origin."

The pressure on Washington for revision has been so great that President Eisenhower on April 27 was at last

forced to request Congress to revise the law in certain respects. The President asked for changes on ten points that would remove from local consuls or immigration officials power arbitrarily to exclude prospective immigrants, would limit arbitrary deportation power of the attorney general and drop the interpretation of the law that allows admission of nazis and fascists.

These recommendations are very well as far as they go, but they omit some of the law's most anti-democratic features, such as denaturalization based on thought control and the racist immigration quota system under which western European immigrants are favored and others are discriminated against as less desirable prospective citizens. It has been pointed out that under this provision Jewish immigration would practically cease and immigration from the West Indies would be cut to 100.

Clearly it is necessary not only to work for the extension of the President's recommendations to Congress for revision, but also for repeal altogether of this racist law that threatens American democracy.

# THE PRICE OF "COLLABORATION"

*What has been the effect on workers' wages and conditions of the ILGWU leadership's policy of "collaboration" with the bosses?*

*Third of a Series*

*By Rachel Roth*

**I**N a *Time Magazine* "cover story" several years ago, David Dubinsky summarized in his own words the policy of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union under his leadership: "In the old days it was the class struggle and to hell with the boss. Now it is collaboration and concern about the industry." Dubinsky is "happy with the results," said *Time*. "The country over, the little extailor from Lodz is cited even by hard-shelled reactionaries as 'the one good labor leader.' . . . No other union is so popular with its employers."

It is this policy of "collaboration" with employers, publicly espoused by ILGWU leaders for the last 12 years, which has made it easier for garment manufacturers to rake in an unusually high rate of profit through all the "crises" of their industry—at the expense of the ladies garment workers. It is this policy of "collaboration," universally praised by business and industry organs, which has seen garment workers fall from among the highest paid in America to among the lowest paid, most exploited of all American factory workers today. (See *JEWISH LIFE*, April and May 1953.)

In its first three decades the ILGWU pioneered for the entire American labor movement, battling the employers in great strikes and militant shop struggles to wipe out sweatshop conditions, win decent wages, a 35-hour week, welfare benefits, and protective labor legislation. In those years the membership of the ILGWU was united in fighting for their common interests. But after Dubinsky took over the ILGWU presidency in 1936, this democratic unity was replaced by rigid machine control, and a new policy dictated by the top leadership with attempts to suppress all rank and file dissent. The ILGWU leadership formally turned their backs on the road of militant trade unionism and became the pioneers of a new concept of unionism, based on the premise that the workers' interests lie in whatever helps their employers make greater profits.

This policy was made public with great fanfare in 1941, when the ILGWU announced it would not seek higher wages and would even give up the 35-hour week, if the employers would accept the Hochman plan for "compulsory methods of productive efficiency to turn out more garments at less cost." Said Dubinsky: "We are vitally interested in employers' profits and hence in productive

efficiency." He did not say it would mean *speedup* for workers.

The newspapers were full of admiration for this plan. "The dress manufacturers hailed (it) as an innovation in labor relations, substituting collective planning for collective bargaining," reported the *New York Post*. Even the swanky *Vogue* magazine, existing on the advertising of the garment manufacturers, ran a tribute under the headlines: "It's a Nice Union: The powerful garment workers raise a startling new banner—'Bigger Profits for Employers.' For the first time a union has mustered all its power to force employers to make more money."

## *Sitting on the Wage Lid*

In 1942, the ILGWU assisted its employers by battling price control and demanding that garment manufacturers be permitted increased mark-ups. In 1946, the ILGWU denounced the strikes of the great CIO and AFL unions for wage increases as "inflationary." In 1947, the ILGWU leaders announced their union would throw its weight into helping manufacturers to reduce prices, rather than seek new wage increases. During those years of postwar boom profits, other unions went yearly to battle with employers to win wage increases for the workers. The ILGWU led its employers into establishing the New York Dress Institute to promote their products and stave off Paris competition.

In 1949, the ILGWU testified before the House Monopoly Investigating Committee in Washington, pleading for the right of garment manufacturers to form a price-fixing cartel without interference from the anti-trust prosecutors. In 1950, when the 75-cent minimum wage became law, the ILGWU joined garment manufacturers in demanding that a minimum wage of 65 cents an hour be permitted in the garment industry for "learners" up to eight weeks on the job.

When the Korean War brought the inequitable "stabilization" to freeze the wages of American workers while profits and prices were permitted to soar, other workers at least had in their pockets four and five postwar "rounds" of wage increases. But the general executive board of the ILGWU stated in September 1950: "In our own industry the wage adjustments have lagged behind. As a result of

business uncertainties in the last years, the union offered employers its full cooperation in order to give them the opportunity to stabilize wages." Noted the *New York Times*: "proud of what they call their 'industry-mindedness' . . . the ILGWU has not sought any general increases since 1946 in some branches, 1948 in others."

In the spring of 1951, the *New York Times* headlined: "ILGWU Won't Ask Pay Increases Now—Dubinsky Tells Union to Wait Until Trade Improves—Work-Week Cuts Cited." Dubinsky stated that the "decision to forego demands for higher pay was based on the fact that our industry has not been so fortunate, profit-wise, in the last year as the so-called hard industries." He "made it clear that the union did not intend to complicate the recovery problem by adding to production costs."

"Although the union is among the most powerful of labor organizations in the country, it operated on the philosophy that it should not demand economic concessions for its members if their attainment would impair the financial stability of the industry," said the *New York Times* (May 28, 1951).

In the spring of 1952, the *New York Times* headlined: "ILGWU Delays Pay Step—Says Rise Is Warranted, But Cites Conditions in Industry." The ILGWU board stated that because of the "low volume of work in the shops," it would not ask for the wage increases to which "the union's members are entitled" to meet the rise in living costs since the start of the Korean War. "Some firms are operating on margins close to the bone," said the ILGWU organ, *Justice*. But Dubinsky said garment workers had "no cause for alarm," stating: "The complaints being heard in some quarters were being raised only by those who, without reason, had expected war-induced prosperity to continue."

Last December, with the trade papers reporting total sales for 1952 greater than in years and expectations of even better business in 1953, *Women's Wear Daily* reported that Dubinsky saw "little likelihood of a round of wage increases in the apparel business as a whole." "Mr. Dubinsky pointed out that the garment industry is in a recuperative stage after a recession of nearly two years," said *Women's Wear Daily*. "For this reason, he said, there is a tendency to move slowly in the wage increase direction."

### **"More Steaks" for Workers?**

All these actions stem from the overall policy of "collaboration." In a *Reader's Digest* reprint (November 1947) Dubinsky put it in terms of "two simple premises: The workers get more steaks if the bosses make greater profits; a union finds it easier to prosper if it is blessed with favorable public opinion."

There is no question that this policy has succeeded in winning for the ILGWU "favorable public opinion." No other union in America is so frequently and highly praised in the newspapers, magazines, and even the usually anti-labor organs of industry.

*But despite its popularity with employers and the press,*

*the policy of "collaboration" which has guided ILGWU for the last decade has not won "more steaks for the garment workers." It has succeeded in making "more profits for the garment manufacturers," but instead of improving the welfare of the garment workers, it has actually intensified their problems.*

*Because wages in the garment industry have been pegged to the needs of the manufacturers rather than the needs of the workers, United States garment workers have suffered a 16 per cent cut in real wages since 1946. In the highest paid New York garment center, dressmakers have taken a 36 per cent cut, cloakmakers nearly 50 per cent.*

Unique among American wage earners, garment workers as a whole have not enjoyed a single, general, lasting wage increase since 1946. Average weekly earnings of United States factory workers increased \$24.40 a week in those years, while garment wages stood still or were cut. Every year since the war, garment wages have fallen steadily downward in relationship to other workers until today these one-time aristocrats of industry earn 20 per cent less than the United States average factory wage. And year by year the cost of living has moved steadily upward so that today the garment workers' average yearly earnings of \$2,312 are 44 per cent below the minimum subsistence budget (\$4,083) which the United States Department of Labor says is necessary to keep a city worker's family in health and decency.

### **Union "Flexibility" on Wages**

*Furthermore, the ILGWU policy of giving up wage increases in "good years" and "bad" to help the manufacturers solve their "problems," merely whetted the manufacturers' profit greed, and invited them to try direct and indirect means of cutting wages.*

Since 1946, the manufacturers have enjoyed some of the most profitable years in their history, as well as years of "recession" and years of "recuperation," but, throughout, their profits have been many times higher than they enjoyed before World War II and extremely high (93 to 145 per cent) in comparison with their invested capital. But garment manufacturers, like employers in every industry, always want to increase their profits. Unless they are stopped by economic weapons stronger than their own, they will do so at the expense of the workers.

When the ILGWU chose not to use its economic weapons to get the wage increases to which its members were entitled, the manufacturers saw nothing to prevent them from seeking wage cuts. The pages of *Justice* are full of examples of this: right after the ILGWU board announced that no wage increases would be sought that year, individual manufacturers immediately turned contract negotiations into a demand for direct wage reductions.

A *Saturday Evening Post* article several years ago, while commending the way ILGWU leaders have helped manufacturers by "reasonable compromise" on wages, went on to say: "The real test will come in the flexibility with which



## BOUQUETS FROM FALSE FRIENDS

**H**ERE are some revealing opinions from some right wing sources about the ILGWU under its present leadership.

The ILGWU is "probably the foremost example of a labor union that is truly industry-minded. . . . In this industry, the union does the kind of work handled in other industries by trade associations." (*Reader's Digest*)

The ILGWU "has shown responsibility toward the management problems of the industry. . . . The owners of the 9,000 small factories that make ladies' clothes admit that without the union they could not long endure. . . . To be sure, management dutifully cries that it is being bullied, bludgeoned and coerced by a power-driven ILGWU, but there is a smile behind its tears since management just now is making money—a lot of money." (*Fortune*)

"Often referred to as America's model labor union . . . the ILGWU became the principal spokesman for the dress manufacturing industry. Its interests were adequate profit margins and protected markets for its employers. . . . The ILGWU is a leading class collaborationist organization." (*Business Week*)

"Most manufacturers agree that (the ILGWU leaders) have exercised their great economic power with responsibility and restraint, pushing the wage and welfare standards of their members forward only as fast as the industry was able to bear the extra charge." (*New York Times*)

"He (Dubinsky) is still passionately concerned that the employers make reasonable profits. . . . It is labor

statesmanship of a high order." (*Reader's Digest*)

ILGWU shows "what can be accomplished when responsible unions and enlightened management collaborate for their mutual benefit." (*Catholic Commonweal*)

"Employers trust him (Dubinsky) because, with his union secure and its rights assured, he's often used it to help management solve its own problems. He maintains an entire department which does nothing but figure out ways for management to improve its position and maintain its competitive strategy." (*Newsweek*)

"Almost the only union chief to concede publicly that the Taft-Hartley law contains a good feature or two, (Dubinsky) has often been hailed as a model, reasonable and statesmanlike labor leader." (*Saturday Evening Post*)

Leaving behind the "philosophy that only by battling the bosses could the sewing-machine girl and her fellow workers win the good things in life," the ILGWU has become "a model of mature labor-management relationship . . . a union which has not called a serious strike in 15 years, which has kept many a manufacturer in business by understanding his problems." (*Survey Graphic*)

"David Dubinsky, long-time president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has played a unique role in the American labor movement. In a sweatshop industry torn by labor strife, he built a great and disciplined union, and with the power of that union has helped to create an exemplary pattern of peaceful labor-management relations." (*Commentary*)

Dubinsky relaxes wage scales as the country makes adjustments to postwar inflation. . . . So far Dubinsky has refused to sanction wage reductions. But with characteristic indirection, he has agreed that more work be added to a garment for the same pay, which amounts to a concealed wage cut."

These "concealed wage cuts" were effected through the piece rate structure as workers were subjected both to frequent and complicated style changes and to brutally intensified speedup in the postwar years. This is the reason why the small wage increases supposedly won for garment workers in 1948 and 1950 did not result in increases in their actual weekly earnings—they were swallowed up in speedup and piece price reductions.

### Union "Efficiency" Schemes

*The ILGWU policy of acquiescence to speedup—with its own "Management Engineering Department" to help manufacturers get greater "productive efficiency" out of the workers—may have increased the prosperity of the manu-*

*facturers, but it has greatly reduced the prosperity of the workers.* For this speedup has enabled garment manufacturers to eliminate 22,000 jobs since 1947, to increase their production per man-hour by 25 per cent, and to throw more workers out on the street every year. It is as a result of this speedup that five out of every eight workers in the industry are today unemployed an average of three months each year, while on the job they are forced to work at a brutal, health-destroying pace to turn out more garments for less pay.

The ILGWU cooperated with employers in setting up new shops under the "section work" system where new workers were hired to turn out garments at a pace unheard of in the older shops, and for far less pay. Then the ILGWU cooperated with employers in established shops to "lower production costs" so they could "compete" with the "section work" shops.

In an interview in the *New York Post* (February 12, 1941), the owner of one of the city's largest women's garment plants, Mitchell Schneider, advised other garment manufacturers that they didn't have to leave town to re-

duce labor costs: they could stay here and do it with the union's help. "Instead of being a hindrance to lower labor costs, the union has helped me," he said, describing how he and ILG officials together decided that "purchase of four new machines at \$300 apiece would lower labor costs on this sewing operation. The investment has paid for itself. The *piecework rates were adjusted downward slightly* to offset the investment, and the total weekly wage went up because of *more garments per worker*" (italics added). This is a clear example of speedup and the resultant "concealed wage cut" referred to above.

These "efficiency" schemes have had a drastic effect on garment wage standards, not only for the workers directly employed on section work, but for all garment workers in those garment centers or branches of the industry where section work has made inroads. In the coat and suit industry in Kansas City, dominated by section work, the average wage for all workers in September 1951, was \$1.33 an hour, compared with \$2.00 and \$2.05 in Cleveland and Boston, which had little section work. The average wage in eastern New Jersey coat and suit shops, mainly on the section system, was 50 cents an hour below the average across the river in New York where single hand shops still hold the edge.

In New York, sewing machine operators on section work averaged 50 cents an hour less than single-hand operators. And in contracting shops, which are mainly operating under the section system, all workers averaged 36 cents an hour less than in the inside manufacturing shops where three-fourths of the workers are still on the single hand system.

It is significant that it is the coat and suit industry where section work has made the greatest inroads and it is coat and suit workers who have suffered the greatest deterioration in their wage standards since 1946. New York coat and suit workers, forced to compete with out-of-town section work as well as the spreading section work in the city itself, have taken a \$3.71 cut per week in their money wages since 1946, and a cut of nearly 50 per cent in their real wages.

### **"Cooperation" on Union Contracts**

The third major area in which ILGWU has cooperated with employers with destructive effect on garment working conditions has been in "concessions" on contract standards and contract enforcement. ILGWU leaders have "cooperated" with manufacturers setting up new shops out of town by permitting them to retain wages and conditions far below established union standards. Then they have "cooperated" by relaxing contract standards or permitting their violation, to help established shops "compete" with out of town. They have "cooperated" on lower piece prices to help manufacturers get an order, and they have "cooperated" by letting jobbers ship work out to non-union contractors when they got a big order. They have permitted sub-standard wages and working conditions in the

mass production shops in the low price dress, coat and suit lines, in contracting shops and in the underwear and children's wear industries—where the workers are almost entirely new workers, women, Negroes and Puerto Ricans. This has gradually lowered wage standards affecting all the garment workers.

All of these concessions were supposed to help the workers by helping their bosses stay in business at a profit, which would supposedly insure more jobs for ILGWU members. But that's not the way it has worked out.

*The lower wages permitted in union shops "out-of-town," and the lower wages and conditions in the "unregistered" non-union contracting shops to which the union jobbers are permitted to ship out work, not only serve to lower the wages of all garment workers who must "compete" with them, but they act as an open invitation to all manufacturers to "lower production costs" even further by moving out of town themselves, or by escaping from the union altogether. This does not provide more jobs for union members, it takes them away.*

Neither the failure to fight for wage increases nor the cooperation on speedup nor the contract concessions have helped solve the economic problems of the garment industry. As we showed in our second article, these problems are the result of a shrinking consumer market as the high profits, prices and taxes of the new war economy take their toll on people's paychecks and their ability to buy new clothes. Despite these problems the manufacturers have not let their own high rate of gross profit be affected, nor their own lush salaries and expenses.

The turnover of firms in the garment industry has been no greater or less because of the many sacrifices of the garment workers. Most of the firms that went out of business were not "financial failures" but voluntary liquidations—after which the manufacturer set up again under a new name—and the motivation was frequently to escape from union conditions. If these "concessions" on workers' conditions did keep a few "marginal" firms in business (making profits for the employer), it was at the expense of all garment workers and their conditions. The ILGWU each year loans millions of dollars to keep "marginal" firms in business. But every shop that stays in business at the expense of lower wages and poorer conditions for its workers, competes with, or takes work and jobs away from other unionized shops and thus lowers conditions for all union members. And many of these "concessions" are not made to the little "marginal" firms but to the biggest, most profitable, mass production firms in the industry that could well afford higher wages and better conditions for their workers and still make huge profits.

### **There Is a Way Out**

In terms of dollars and cents in garment workers' pockets, in terms of job security and healthy working conditions, the policy of "collaboration" is leading the ILGWU down the road to disaster. The employers still profess "respect"

for the union and its leaders but in their actions they are showing increasing contempt. Two years ago the ILGWU was forced to call its first major strike in nearly 20 years to stop employers from making drastic open cuts in their piece work schedule. An increasing number of oldtime union employers are "getting tough" with the union, contemptuously ignoring contracts, or reorganizing as non-union shops. In recent attempts to organize new or run-away shops in the small towns of the South and the West, the ILGWU has come up against the same brutality, Ku Klux Klan violence, jailing and beating of organizers as the rest of the labor movement is facing under the Taft-Hartley law. And today, with the party of big business and open reaction in firm control of the government, with Taft, McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and McCarran thundering after every individual or organization who has ever spoken out for social progress, from the "communists" to Dubinsky's own anti-communist Americans for Democratic Action, there is less and less incentive for employers to play ball with even the most "cooperative" of unions, if they could make more profits by having no union at all.

### ***Needed: A Fighting Program***

There is only one road the ILGWU could take now to stop the drastic deterioration of its members' wages and working conditions before it is too late, and that is a return to the policy of fighting trade unionism that once wiped out the sweatshop and made the ILGWU a powerful union capable of protecting its workers against any employer. The ILGWU is still one of the most powerful unions in America, with millions of dollars in its treasury, hundreds of thousands of workers, a strong organization in many cities. Instead of using that power to help garment manufacturers solve their problems, it could be used to fight for the workers. The oldtime workers who have become depressed and demoralized and the new workers who are not aware of their union rights and might, could be mobilized again into a powerful force capable of exerting their full economic strength in their own true interests.

If a real fight were conducted to raise the wages and conditions of the "out-of-town" shops to the New York level, manufacturers would not be so tempted to move or ship work out of town, nor would ILGWU members in the garment centers be forced to accept lower piece prices to "compete."

If a fight were conducted to establish a single uniform wage scale and piece rate structure based on the whole garment, single hand, inside shops in New York—and if that scale were enforced in contracting shops and section shops and low prices-line mass production shops, in town and out of town, as conditions are enforced in the 200 "high standard" New York shops where manufacturers know the union will permit no violations—then the deterioration of wages and conditions throughout the garment industry might be stopped.

If a real fight were conducted against speedup, both in section mass production shops and in shops competing with them, if controls were established so that the piece price system could not be continually manipulated to the boss' advantage and so that the workers would not be forced to produce more and more for less pay, there would be less unemployment, more and healthier jobs for ILGWU members.

If a fight were conducted to bring the minimums in all contracts up to the highest union wage standards and to enforce those contract minimums without exception, the large numbers of women, Negro and Puerto Rican workers—who are now being paid at starvation minimums or wages below the minimums in contracting shops, mass production shops, children's wear and underwear shops, and in the unskilled occupations in all shops—could no longer be used as a wage-cutting wedge by the bosses.

Garment workers could be protected most effectively from speedup and concealed wage cuts if a fight were conducted to get the industry off the piece rate system and back to hourly wages, as was done years ago in the fur industry. As a result, there is no speedup or wage cutting in the fur industry today, even though fur manufacturers have worse "problems" than garment bosses. And if garment contracts were strictly enforced, with the members themselves educated to vigilance as they are in the fur industry, then the work that is now shipped out to "unregistered" low wage, non-union contractors by union jobbers could provide more work and longer employment at union wages for ILGWU members.

If the ILGWU used all its economic power to fight for the wage increases its workers need to make up for the loss in purchasing power they have suffered since 1946—increases which might be as high as \$10 to \$30 a week if garment workers are really to catch up with the cost of living and with other factory workers—then the road back to the sweatshop might be blocked before it is too late.

The manufacturers might not like it, they might stop flattering ILGWU leaders, but their growing contempt for union conditions would be replaced by healthy respect. Garment manufacturers might make a few cents less profit, but their take on their investment would still be high. If ILGWU wanted to help solve the industry's real economic problems, they could fight to return this country to a peace time economy governed in the interests of higher wages, welfare and security of all the people instead of higher profits for big business. And the money now being taken out of people's pockets to finance the taxes and profiteering of war mobilization would enable them once again to buy the clothes they need.

Finally, in order to save their union standards from destruction, ILGWU members would have to recognize and fight the wage discrimination in the garment industry which is perhaps the most insidious weapon being used today by their bosses today. We will deal with this problem in the concluding article of this series next month.

*(To be continued)*



## A MAGNIFICENT PRODUCTION

By Joshua Hope

The production of *The World of Sholem Aleichem*, which ran for three weeks in May at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater in New York, was an event of major importance in the American theater. Though the life and struggles of that "world" are a thing of the past in "the old country," this production has vitality. *The World of Sholem Aleichem* is a dramatization of folk-tales of Chelm and of short stories by Sholem Aleichem and Peretz. The production captured, for the most part, the true folk fantasy, humor and essential optimism of the people and provided its audience with a joyful, affirmative theater experience.

Starting with the highly creative dramatization by Arnold Perl and shaped by Howard Da Silva's vital directorial conception, the entire production and the work of every artist in it was dedicated to the affirmation of the socially positive elements inherent in the writing of Peretz and Sholem Aleichem.

Only upon re-reading the stories in Yiddish does one fully realize the contribution that Arnold Perl has made. His dramatization added much original material. While remaining true to the intention and spirit of the Yiddish, he helped to define more clearly the social motivations in the authors' works.

Howard Da Silva, both as director and actor, achieved in this production a high point in his creative work. As an actor, his characterization of Mendele the bookseller, compassionate, sadly humorous, yet optimistic, sets the key and provides the connecting link for the production. By his direction Da Silva sharply focused the theater values in each playlet and helped the actors to understand the milieu of the plays. Consequently they act with clarity, simplicity and with love.

This was notably true in the case of Morris Carnovsky, who created in Sholem Aleichem's *The High School* one of the most brilliantly clear and heart-warming characterizations of his rich career. His Aaron Katz captured the essence of the man, particularly in the last moment of *The High School*. We are moved to tears and at the same time uplifted.

In the opening *Tale of Chelm*, Will Lee creates a true Chelmit. His Melamed is earnest and honest. A Chagall-like figure, he creates the controversial goat of the play for us by pulling him (and then her) with an imaginary string in a virtual folk ballet in which he utilizes Hassidic ele-

ments in movement, not merely in a formalistic sense. For Will Lee's performance is an organically realistic one.

Gilbert Green's diverse characterization in excellently realized roles sets the pattern for the cast, most of whom play several parts. And so with Phoebe Brand and Sarah Cunningham, who acts Hannah with sincerity, the forward-looking mother who is determined that her son shall get an education.

Marjorie Nelson acts with a true talent, but her characterization is marred by an insufficient realization of the actuality of the situation. Were she, as Angel Rochele, more deeply concerned with the seriousness of her error, which is responsible for Chelm being filled with Foolish Souls, her work would not be as overly "cute" as it is now. One would not mention this if her characterization were not typical of an incorrect atmosphere that sets the stage for Peretz's beautiful story. This is not to suggest that director Da Silva does not understand *Bontche Schweig*, but rather that the style selected does not always flow organically from the content of the material.

Bontche Schweig is a working man, the symbol of all the oppressed, humiliated and exploited, who are benumbed by their indignities and suffering into silence. While the Angels in Heaven would be excitedly expectant at his arrival, there should not be an atmosphere of cute child-like charm in their excitement. The Heaven that Bontche Schweig comes to for judgment must be one more fully cognizant of his worth, and this would color more deeply whatever humor exists in the scurrying preparation of the Angels.

Ruby Dee's Defending Angel is a warm and passionate portrayal—militantly, almost heroically, the defender becomes an accuser. In her recital of Bontche's sufferings she fights for all oppressed peoples. This becomes especially significant when played by this gifted Negro actress. Peretz' intention is precisely this—to accuse and to teach us that we must not be silent. But in Peretz' story the Defending Angel is not quite so effective a speaker. Ruby Dee's portrayal would become even more effective and meaningful if the facts of Bontche's life were stated more simply and even more personally. Each fact in itself would then become an even more terrible accusation.

The gifted comedian Jack Gilford obviously understands and respects the mean-

ing of Bontche but he has not as yet found the means as an actor to convey to us the man's inner life. The down-to-earth facts of Bontche's hard life are not experienced by Gilford in his acting. Peretz's Bontche is deeply convinced that a serious mistake is being made; he is terrified upon his arrival in Heaven. We see his doubt and confusion—till he slowly realizes that they are speaking about him. In the last moment, however, Gilford captures the content of the role. It should be possible for him to achieve Peretz's intention more fully throughout.

We owe thanks to every artist who participated in this production. To Aline Bernstein for the colorfully characteristic costumes, which were impeccably correct throughout. The musical score by Serge Hovey and Robert De Cormier, drawing heavily on Jewish folk music and traditional folk dances, was intertwined through the texture of the production. Possibly over-orchestrated at times and on occasion too dominant, it nevertheless served to heighten and to intensify the meaning of the work. Production manager Bernard Gersten did a brilliantly creative job with the lighting and made an organic part of the production, unobtrusive, yet always meaningful. Ossie Davis' contribution as stage manager can best be appreciated by professionals; it was craftsmanlike and sure. And we in the audience give thanks to actors Jack Banning, Warren Logan and Vincent Beck.

*The World of Sholem Aleichem* is a major contribution of Yiddish culture to the American theater scene. It will help to bring the work of Sholem Aleichem and Peretz to a broader audience than heretofore. In this production Jewish people are presented with dignity as whole human beings—not as glorified sentimental clichés. Although the tone of the evening is dominantly humorous, no caricature or self-ridicule exists. The cast of Jewish and non-Jewish actors who present the work act together on the stage as a cohesive unit. This production challenges Broadway to explore the rich heritage of the real Jewish culture.

This production should effectively refute for all time the nonsensical conception treasured by certain "experts in Jewish culture" that Yiddish is so "special" that it cannot be properly translated. All languages lose something in translation, but whatever may be lost is regained by the greater understanding that is achieved by a new audience and by the enrichment of general culture that the translation creates. Sholem Aleichem and Peretz are as much the property of world culture as Mark Twain and Whitman, as Gorky and Pushkin. *The World of Sholem Aleichem* has helped to make that contribution an actuality.

# PASSOVER IN PRAGUE

By Eleanor Wheeler

## Prague

Rabbi Gustav Sicher met me in his office, which is a few feet from the oldest synagogue in Europe, with a firm hand-clasp and a firm statement: "I want to say that not only do I have no complaints about our situation and my religious work, but I am enthusiastic, especially over the results and experiences of our Passover—thanks to the help given us by our government. Our facilities are getting better all the time and are much superior to the situation in the First or 'liberal' Republic." He emphasized that he wished to speak primarily of religious matters and, since I had come to find out how Passover was celebrated this year in Prague, this fit in with my plans for the interview and we sailed into it.

"The preparations for Passover were made much easier," said Rabbi Sicher, "by the aid that the government offered us. The Ministry of Food Industries ordered special quantities of specially milled flour to be made available for the *matzos*. Kosher wine was sent from Vizovice at a low price for the four goblets of wine at *Seder*, so that in accordance with *Seder* custom even the poorest Jew could have ceremonial wine." Even kosher *slivovice* or plum brandy was available.

Financial support was also given the communal celebration of *Seder* which was attended by 96 in a large hall in the community headquarters, in addition to the family celebrations. "I wish you could have seen that hall, beautifully and tastefully decorated, quietly glowing with happy faces and a peaceful holiday atmosphere." The *Seder* ceremony proceeded according to ancient ritual, with the big plate of symbolic objects, the burnt bone, the egg, the bitter herbs, the almond-apple-nut mixture brick-colored with cinnamon, the salt water and the green parsley. Then the four questions beginning with "How does this evening differ from all other evenings?" And following the prayer the washing of the host's hands, the reading from the *Hagada*, the washing of hands, the *matzos*, the bitter herb and then the feast—beginning "*ab ovo*."

A good deal of voluntary work went into the *Seder* preparations, showing the good spirit in the little Jewish community of four and a half to five thousand (before the Hitler occupation the figure was 35,000). Rabbi Sicher expressed the opin-

ion that the spirit is deeper and profounder than before.

It is hoped that the community spirit which was shown in the *Seder* preparations will lead to the setting up of a community dining room at popular prices, similar to thousands of such canteens which are attached to factories, offices, schools, etc., throughout the Republic. In this the Jewish community will have the full co-operation of the government as it did in the setting up of kosher meat shops. Here, in contrast to the situation where profit plays a governing role, kosher meat is sold at fixed prices which are the same as for non-kosher meat. That is, on the ration cards meat sells at 45 cents to 55 cents a pound according to quality and cut, and on the free market from a dollar a pound on up—usually around two dollars. Most of the family needs are supplied on the ration tickets, however, and now even the poorest family can buy up the whole ration of meat.

As Chief Rabbi Dr. Gustav Sicher was talking (and, by the way, his name is Sicher, not Sichel, as stated in the interview with the London *Daily Worker's* Sam Russell) the chairman of the Prague Jewish Community, Artur Busch, and the general-secretary of the Council of Jewish Communities, Dr. Rudolf Iltis, were listening to our conversation and nodding in approval to the Rabbi's remarks.

I pursued my questions to find out things which seem ordinary, and every day here in Prague but which are perhaps not known in the United States: that the religious functionaries are paid a salary by

the government and that this includes salaries and upkeep of the ritual baths for women, cantors supplied to a small community like Teplice even if it is not organized as a full Jewish community, that maintenance of buildings is financed by the government.

Just recently Rabbi Dr. Richard Feder was named regional Rabbi for all the Moravian Jewish communities, Rabbi Emil Davidovic for the Plzen region, Ceske Budejovice, Pardubice and region around Prague.

Rabbi Sicher and his associates feel completely at home with the representatives of the government with whom they negotiate these administrative matters. After all, the Hitlerites who sent Dr. Sicher and his fellow Jews to concentration camps also sent the people who have become outstanding in the present government: the Communists, the Socialists, the trade union officials. President Zapotocky was quite emaciated when he was liberated from the concentration camp. So they have suffered together under fascism and are together enjoying the full benefits of a People's Democracy.

As we finished our discussion, Dr. Sicher ended on the same note on which it began, saying, "Please say that I am not just satisfied. I am enthusiastic about the way the government understands and helps us in religious and ritual matters."

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# TWO SOVIET RABBIS ON PEACE

By Rabbi Solomon Schliefer

Two Soviet rabbis participated in the Conference in Defense of Peace of all Churches and Religious Associations in the USSR that took place in Zagorsk on May 9-12, 1952. The full texts of the speeches of the rabbis have just become available in English here and we are printing them below in the belief that our readers will find informative the attitude of Soviet Jewish religious leaders towards the problem of peace. Rabbi Solomon Schliefer is head of the Moscow Synagogue and of the Moscow Jewish community and Rabbi Iśko Shechtman is the leader of the Kiev religious community.—Eds.

Peace unto ye, dear brethren, headed by the initiator and organizer of this conference, His Holiness Alexis, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and Metropolitan Nicholas, member of the World Peace Council.

On behalf of the Moscow Jewish religious community I extend cordial greetings to the delegates and guests of the Conference of all the Churches and Religious Associations of the USSR, devoted to the problem of defending peace in all the world.

Although in the Soviet Union the church is separated from the state and we ministers of religion do not engage in politics, when the "books of life and death" are open and the enemies of peace threaten humanity with a new world war, we believers cannot remain passive and must exert maximum effort in this sacred fight for the defense of mankind from impending extermination.

For us Jewish believers the word *peace*, besides its general meaning of peace, understood as tranquility and friendship among nations, has a profoundly religious symbolic significance, since *peace*, *Shalom*, is one of the names of our Lord God, the Ruler of the universe, and we must fight for this sacred idea without sparing ourselves.

We say in our daily prayers: "He who makes peace on his heights, may He make peace among us," and in our customs and behavior we must imitate Him. *The Book of Genesis* (i, 27) says: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created He him." Hence follows, as He makes the universe so we must make peace.

The Soviet Union carries on its foreign

policy in accordance with the words of our leader Stalin: "Every nation, whether big or small, has its distinctive qualitative features, its specific character, which it alone possesses and which other nations do not. These distinctive features constitute the contribution which each nation makes to the common treasure store of world culture, supplementing and enriching it." Proceeding from this, the Soviet Union of its own free will concludes treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with all peace-loving nations on the basis of equality.

Our home policy is also conducted in the interests of peace, order and tranquility; the Soviet Union bends all its efforts to improve the living conditions of the working people.

We religious Jews have been brought up in the spirit of our sages and prophets who taught: "Therefore love the truth and peace." (*Zachariah*, viii, 19.) "The universe must be upheld by three pillars: truth, justice and peace among men." (*Sayings of the Fathers*, i, 18.) "Peace is all, without peace there is chaos." (*Siphra*.)

It is but natural, therefore, that the Jewish people are filled with deep gratitude to the government of the Soviet Union for its incessant and consistent fight for peace throughout the world.

We Jewish believers must take an especially active part in this sacred fight, for, while no people has entirely healed the wounds inflicted by the Second World War, we Jews have lost six million brothers and sisters at the hands of the execrable fascist criminals and this loss lies heavy on our hearts.

Jews in the Soviet Union and in all the

world must not forget that they owe their salvation to the victory of the valorous Soviet Army headed by the great Stalin.

From this lofty rostrum I am addressing rabbis, heads of Jewish religious communities of all the world, and first and foremost, the rabbis and heads of Jewish communities in the United States and Britain.

We must never forget that it was only in the Soviet Union that, after 1,800 years of continuous anguish and sufferings, the like of which are unknown in world history, in the long course of its existence the Jewish people for the first time obtained full human and civic rights.

And now that the warmongers are preparing a new slaughter, planning to deprive us of the freedoms gained and to destroy them, we Jews, like one man, must enter the ranks of fighters for peace.

Together with the other Soviet peoples we Soviet Jews fought in the Great Patriotic War, together with them we are realizing the grand construction projects of Communism. Let us, then, fight together for peace in all the world.

The Soviet Union sincerely strives for peace, repairs the destructions caused by the war, improves the economic standard of the population, erects vast constructions, turning all this to the benefit and happiness of the people.

In their race for conquests and profits the capitalist countries are utilizing the forces of nature and science to exterminate mankind.

## MEMORIAL MEETING

To commemorate the 12th Anniversary of the slaughter of Jews in Yassy, Roumania, on June 29, 1941.

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Dear delegates!

The Sixth Commandment which Moses gave the people on Mount Sinai reads: "Thou shalt not kill."

For us religious Jews this commandment has a special significance.

As a rabbi and member of a large Jewish community I deem it my duty to let it be known to all the religious Jews of the world that in our country all Jews have entered the ranks of fighters for peace, and we are profoundly convinced that not only Jews in the Soviet Union, but all honest Jews of the globe yearn for peace.

We must never forget the wounds not yet healed which were inflicted on the Jewish people by the abominable fascist criminals in Oswiecim, Maidanek, Babi Yar and many other death factories. All these horrors pale before those which are in store should a new world war break out. We may cite as an example Korea, where the chemical and bacteriological weapons are employed for the wholesale extermination of a people whose only fault lies in that it is heroically defending its national freedom and independence.

As one who has personally experienced bereavements in the First and Second World Wars and who is sorrowing for the great calamities and sufferings of entire humanity, I call on you in brotherly love to rally round the great and sacred ideal of the fight for peace throughout the world.

Everyone of us, without exception, must welcome and support the decisions and measures of the World Peace Council directed against the threat of a third world war, against the plans for the extermination of people by means of atomic, bacteriological and other criminal weapons of wholesale murder.

Respected rabbis of the world!

We rabbis must bring up Jewish believers in the spirit of peace and friendship among nations and call upon all Jews who have not yet espoused the sacred cause of peace, to join the ranks of the world-wide army of peace champions.

Our religious community's participation in the fight for peace throughout the world has taken the following forms:

1. Our community took an active part in collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal;
2. It took an active part in collecting signatures to the World Peace Council's Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact;
3. It sent a delegate to the Third USSR Peace Conference;
4. It received 15 delegates from different countries of Europe, Asia, the United States and Australia, conducted educational talks with them in the form of questions and answers, repudiating the

slandrous insinuations against the Soviet Union spread in capitalist countries;

5. I personally, as the rabbi and head of my community, always dwell in my sermons on the problems of peace and defense of peace.

All the members of our community pray that peace may be granted unto the multi-million Soviet people and all peace-loving peoples.

It is a known fact that many of the major instigators of war, the atom-mongers, also pharisaically pray to God to send "peace and well-being to humanity."

At the same time they forge atomic bombs and use the germ weapon for the mass extermination of people in the Far East.

Bacteriological warfare is a heinous outrage, a monstrous crime against humanity!

Can the prayer of such bigots and hypocrites be acceptable to God? Never! For the prophet has said: "Yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood." (*Isaiah*, i, 15.)

We trust our prayer: "Grant this for the sake of guileless babes" and "Make it for the innocent babes' sake," which mothers the world over repeat, and only such a prayer can reach God.

We religious Jews are sure that peace will triumph over war not only because the fighters for peace reckon hundreds of millions, but also because war means death, war means destruction, suffering and tears, while peace means life, happiness, well-being and light, since it has

been said that the tiniest particle of light dispels great darkness.

We believe that the prophet's words: "And they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation" (*Isaiah*, ii, 4), will come true.

May there be Peace throughout the world as wish all men of good will headed by the bulwark of peace, the great Soviet Union, which is led by the standard-bearer of peace, the leader and inspirer of peace-loving peoples, the great Stalin! Amen!

## **The Truth About Wall Street Over Israel!**

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### By Rabbi Itsko Shechtman

**Allow me** on behalf of the Jewish religious communities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic to greet this Conference of all Churches and Religious Associations in the USSR.

The history of religion furnishes no instance of a similar congress of ecclesiastics representing different religions for achieving one great aim that would ensure further spiritual and material progress of mankind.

The great aim uniting us today is the consolidation of world peace, the appeal to the masses, imbued with the spirit of peace, humanitarianism and justice, to fight for peace against the threat of a third world war, for only the road of peace is the true road along which entire humanity's productive and spiritual forces can develop.

We know that war means mass extermination of people, of their dwellings and houses of prayer; it means the destruction of the nations' material and cultural values. War brings in its wake moral devastation, moral impoverishment of the human race and subjects it to a destroying and annihilating holocaust.

German fascism, which was responsible for the unleashing of the Second World War that brought humanity untold woe and suffering, unfolded before the world such horrible pictures of wholesale murder of peaceable citizens, women, children and old men, pictures of such monstrous atrocities and violence, that they undoubtedly will be among the darkest deeds recorded in the history of mankind. Were not the beastlike murderers of people in Babi Yar plunged in complete moral savagery, depraved by the man-hating racial theories of fascism? Were not the fiendish constructors of "murder vans" and of the terrible enterprises of mass murder, such as Maidanek of evil memory, and other death factories, as well as the introduction into use, for the first time in human history, of such objects as soap made of human fat and ladies' bags of human skin, were not these facts glaring proof of the depth of moral degradation to which human beings were brought, by militarism, chauvinism, fratricidal wars—the chief instruments of the politics of the war lords and the warlike advocates of capitalism?

**Fascism left** behind it mountains of corpses, rivers of blood and peoples' tears and wounds not yet healed.

The United States imperialists, conducting a cruel and bloody intervention in Korea, have lately resorted to the horrible biological weapon and are spreading death among thousands of Korea's peaceful and industrious population.

The threat of a new war hovering over human civilization has awakened the religious conscience of people adhering to different creeds and united them in an ardent and concerted protest against those who are plotting against the lives of millions, the lives of children, women and old people, against their dwellings, temples and meeting houses where the word of God urges the nations to tread the paths of peace, happiness and well-being.

The historic moment has come when we representatives of churches and different religious communities of the Soviet Union must declare for the world to hear that the religious conscience of the masses of the Soviet Union's believers cannot accept a future of evil, blood, horrors and calamities, a future in which God's and man's laws alike will be violated, which the oncoming new world war, now being feverishly prepared by its United States-British instigators, holds out.

All the principles of love for peace and humanitarianism on which religious doctrines are based contain calls against war and defend the peaceful progress of mankind.

The sacred books of the Jews record the words of the prophets warning against war, Biblical dogmas and doctrines educating the religious conscience of the faithful Jews, teaching them to love peaceful

occupations, to abhor war, fostering in them the spirit of peaceful friendship among nations.

The prophet Isaiah prophesied that the time would come when humanity would attain the summit of consciousness and when the instruments of war would be destroyed and nations would live in peace and harmony.

Faithful Jews repeat three times a day a prayer which closes with the petition to the Almighty to grant peace.

We ministers of religion are proud of the fact that only in the camp of democracy and socialism does the call for peace resound freely and loudly, and people are called upon to strengthen friendly ties among nations. In the countries of imperialist reaction the words of peace are banned and fighters for peace are severely persecuted.

I hope that religious-minded men in all countries will heed the voice of our conference and God's words for peace will swell the ranks of the millions of fighters for the happiness of humanity.

Long live peace in all the world!

Long live the Soviet Union, the bulwark of peace and of progressive humanity's brightest hopes!

Long live the glorious standard-bearer of peace, our wise leader Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin!

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# OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

## The Sholem Aleichem Party

The JEWISH LIFE theater party at *The World of Sholem Aleichem* on May 13 was a grand success. The many friends of the magazine who attended acclaimed the sensitive and flavorful interpretation of the classicists Sholem Aleichem and I. L. Peretz and the folk-tale of Chelm. They felt that all the artists working with Arnold Perl, Morris Carnovsky and Howard Da Silva gave them not only a rare evening in the theater but opened new doors and perspectives for bringing great Yiddish works to the English speaking audience. For some it was a discovery of a heritage kept from them before by the barrier of language.

## Good Word for Philly

The Philadelphia folks are perking up. Speaking of the Jewish Life Committee there, of course. They have pledged to surpass their quota when Morris U. Schappes and Lester Blickstein spend a weekend with them May 23-24 to attend a round of meetings and parties. They are also organizing the work to increase the circulation of the mag.

## Two Orchids

The Miami Beach Committee has overfulfilled its quota with a money order for \$35 from fund drive driver Mrs. F. Carroll. This money was raised at a house party given by the Morris Holtman Reading Circle. Mrs. Carroll writes that she plans to keep the money coming. Note well, Jewish Life Committees!

Detroit more than any other city keeps a regular flow of subscriptions coming in. Hope we could say the same about Cleveland, Boston and other cities.

## Opportunity Knocks

Morris U. Schappes was haled before the McCarthy investigating committee because his book *Documentary History of the Jews in the U.S.* was found in overseas United States Information libraries, especially, horror of horrors, in Tel Aviv. What will happen to our country if people overseas read a book of authentic documents depicting the role of Jews in American history when they should be spending their time reading Joe McCarthy's *Mein Kampf*—pardon me—*McCarthyism*? McCarthy's attack on Schappes and his book is an attack not only on the freedom of scholarship but on the Jewish people of the United States.

JEWISH LIFE wants to help all our read-

ers and friends get Schappes' book and therefore makes a combination offer of one year's subscription to JEWISH LIFE plus a copy of the *Documentary History of the Jews in the U.S.*—both for \$5.50. Certainly no reader should be without Schappes' book now. The subscription can be a renewal to go into effect when your present subscription expires or you may make it a gift subscription to someone. Take advantage of a gift subscription to someone.

## Fight Back Convention

One of the most disgraceful un-American acts of persecution and destruction is the attempt of the Insurance Department of the State of New York to liquidate the solvent International Workers Order. Despite the fundamental constitutional issues involved—such as free speech, free assembly and the property rights of the policyholders—the courts of New York State have gone along with Tom Dewey's act of legal vandalism against the members of the Order. Only a few weeks ago the Appeals Court of New York State affirmed the lower court decision granting the Insurance Department the right to liquidate the IWO.

The Alice-in-Wonderland nature of things today in the hysteria-laden atmosphere explains how one can get in the Appeals Court opinion a repudiation of the main contention of the Insurance Department and two lower courts that the IWO is a financial hazard (it was on the term "hazard," which is interpreted as "social hazard," in the Insurance Law that the Insurance Department sought to lean its case against the Order). The Appeals Court decision says that the term "Hazardous," contrary to the assertion of the Superintendent of Insurance, encompasses only dangers financial in nature. This was the argument of the Order throughout the case—and thus by all legal and other logic, if the Appeals

Court established the true intent of the word "hazard" in the law as dealing with financial status, the liquidation order should have been thrown out, because there was agreement all around that the IWO is financially sound.

But the court goes on to state that the Order is a social hazard and that its "political course of action" violated the IWO charter. In other words, the IWO is to be liquidated because a few seamy stool-pigeons fingered officers of the Order and because the Order's activity for equality and for Negro rights, for the welfare of labor, for social security parallels the "line" of the Communist Party, which proves of course that the organization is "dominated" by the Communist Party.

The people's reaction to this monstrous liquidation order, and to McCarthyism in every facet of American life, can get the courts to make decisions in defense of the constitution and the Bill of Rights. The IWO case is now being appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and the voice of the people can certainly help the Court see the police state character of the liquidation ruling.

In defending the Order the members of the IWO are fighting for the rights of all Americans. Permit the Dewey-McCarthyite wrecking crew to destroy the IWO and no organization, left wing, right wing or no wing is safe.

The fight back spirit of IWO members is reflected in a series of state conventions which have been organized by the IWO Policyholders Protective Committee throughout the country. In New York this committee will hold its state convention on June 7. The convention will be followed on the same day, at 7 P.M., by a gigantic mass protest meeting at St. Nicholas Arena. Every reader of JEWISH LIFE, every member of trade unions and fraternal organizations, every decent American should be at St. Nicholas Arena on Sunday, June 7th and tell the world that America won't stand for the Hitler-like liquidation of a people's organization which has a proud record as a fraternal organization and as a defender of American democracy.

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# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Organizations, that recognition would be withdrawn from all campus organizations, except religious groups, which exclude anyone from membership because of race, color or religion, if they do not abandon discrimination by 1960. . . . The Boston University chapter of the Phi Sigma Kappa fraternity was suspended from the national organization in May after it elected a Negro in violation of Jimcrow rules.

**Victories against Jimcrow** . . . Dr. Peter Marshall Murray, head of the obstetrics and gynecology department of the Harlem Hospital, was the first Negro to be elected president of the New York County Medical Society, an affiliate of the American Medical Association. Dr. Murray, a member of the conservative controlling group, was unopposed. The liberal Physicians Forum group, which has fought for Negro representation in the AMA, did not put up any candidate against Dr. Murray. . . . Negroes were elected to municipal posts in municipal elections in Atlanta, Ga., in May for the first time since Reconstruction days. Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University, was elected to the city board of education; Negro attorney Austin T. Walden and druggist Miles Amos were elected to the city executive committee. . . . The first Negro councilman in California was elected to the Bakersfield City Council in April. He is the Rev. Henry H. Collins.

## EUROPE

**The Soviet** ten-man chess team (four are Jewish: world champion Mikhail Botvinnik, Jacob Auerbach, Isaac Boleslavsky, Yefim Geller) accepted the invitation of the United States Chess Federation to come to the United States to compete with our chess masters on June 10-18—that is, if they receive visas. Officials can grant them visas, despite their being "communists," if they judge this to be "in the national interest."

**The British fascist** Union Movement, it was reported in April, is on the verge of collapse. Eight leading members have left and there are less than 100 active members, of whom about 20 are in London.

**A report** on Germany, East and West, by Dr. G. Warburg was submitted to the Jewish Board of Deputies in London in April. The report stated that in East Germany "there are no anti-Jewish laws or decrees and Jews as Jews are not barred from vocations and professions." Of West

Germany he said that neo-nazism and infiltration of nazis had so penetrated that with "a suitable slogan, a skilful leader and suitable political and economic conditions a new type of nazi experiment may well be successful."

**Bishop Otto Debelius**, head of the All-German Protestant Council, has been agitating against efforts of the East German regime to combat illegal activities by church groups in West Germany, was revealed to have said in a confidential church Easter letter dated April 3, 1928: "Despite the ugly sound which has often attached itself to the word, I have always regarded myself as an anti-Semite. The fact cannot be concealed that the Jews have played a leading part in all the symptoms of disintegration in modern civilizations."

**Renazification notes** . . . A book by one Peter Kleist published in Heidelberg in April asserted that the nazis killed only 1,277,212 Jews. . . . The Jewish cemetery at Emden, near Hamburg, was desecrated in April and 16 tombstones were badly damaged. . . . Nazi Field Marshall Erich von Mannstein, sentenced to 18 years in prison in 1949 by the British and responsible for the death of hundreds of thousands of Jews, was freed on May 7. . . . Nazi Field Marshall Albert Kesselring, freed by the British on October 27, 1952, before ending his war crimes sentence, took over headship on May 10 of the Stahlhelm, West German War veterans organization. He is agitating for release of remaining imprisoned war criminals.

## ISRAEL

**Tel Aviv** was an armed camp for the arrival of United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles for a 24-hour visit on May 13. On May 11, Zvi Erich Breistein, editor of communist daily *Kol Haam*, was arrested under a 1936 mandate ordinance on the charge of responsibility for publication in his paper of articles strenuously opposing and exposing Dulles as a war-monger. In the evening, several distributors of leaflets saying "Dulles, Go Home," were arrested. A demonstration was held in downtown Tel Aviv on May 12 in which speakers charged that "Dulles is trying to send you and yours to fight a war that isn't yours." At the close of Dulles' visit, Prime Minister Ben Gurion asked Dulles for a \$75,000,000 loan.

**The Histadrut** did not hold a May Day parade this year but held a demonstration

in the Tel Aviv Stadium attended by 10,000 workers. The Mapam and Communist Party groups, however, did conduct parades to the Stadium. The *New York Times* reported on May 2 that the Histadrut executive "made a May Day gesture to the Arabs of Israel, announcing that it would open the doors of trade unions to the Arabs this month. This means that Arab workers could get protection and social benefits, but would not become full-fledged members of the Histadrut, which is a Zionist body."

**The Mapam youth** organizations, including the youth of Dr. Moshe Sneh's left fraction, decided in May to affiliate with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Mapam youth will soon meet with the Communist youth to organize the Israel section of the WFDY.

**A demonstration** by several hundred unemployed was held in Jerusalem against the inaction of the Ben Gurion regime on the unemployment situation. The demonstrators entered the offices of the Central Labor Exchange, and an altercation with police ensued at which two policemen were injured and six unemployed arrested.

**Lakshi Menon**, Parliamentary Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Nehru government in India, stated in the New Delhi Parliament on May 11 that of 2,395 Indians who had migrated to Israel, 337 returned because of the Jimcrow they encountered there.

**The ultra-religious** workers organization, Poalei Agudat Israel, joined the Histadrut in April. About 6,000 workers were involved. All Jewish religious workers are now in the Histadrut.

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