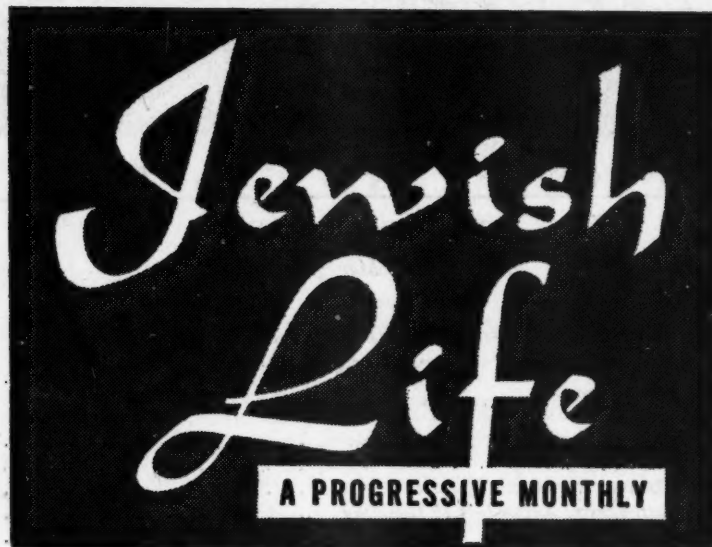


Story of Three Hundred Years: I



**JEWS COME TO
NEW AMSTERDAM, 1654**

by Morris U. Schappes

FEBRUARY 1954 • 25¢

PEACE AND McCARTHYISM

NEW PAGE IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE *an editorial article*

THREAT OF A REVIVED WEHRMACHT *by Esther Vilenska*

McCARTHY'S ANTI-SEMITIC ANTICS *by Jack Greenstein*

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

"FREEDOM ROAD" *a children's play by Alice Citron*

SHOWDOWN ON SCHOOL JIMCROW *by Elihu S. Hicks*

PILGRIMAGE TO ATLANTA *by Jennie Truchman*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Dr. Norman Salit, president of the Synagogue Council of America, in mid-December condemned the American Jewish Committee for accepting the invitation of the Velde Committee to confer with it together with Protestant and Catholic religious representatives because the AJ Committee had no right as a secular organization to speak for the Jews as a religious group. Salit charged the AJ Committee with "irreverence, self-inflation and bad manners." The AJ Congress had urged no collaboration whatever with the Velde Committee on religious matters. Nevertheless, on January 16, Rabbi Morris Kertzer and Edwin J. Lucas of the AJ Committee met with five Velde Committee members and Protestant and Catholic representatives in Washington. According to reports, proposals were made concerning the inquisitors' methods.

Notes on anti-Semitism . . . Anti-Semitic placards appeared in December in a number of places in Dade County, Florida (the Miami area) with slogans like "Stop Jewish Immigration" and "Is Communism Jewish?" The hate sheet *Common Sense* is also being circulated in the area. . . . A California bigot, Aldrich Blake, has started a hate group in Arizona called "Freedom of Choice" or "America Plus" to give legal sanction to employers, landlords, etc., to discriminate. Arizona was chosen because it has no anti-discrimination laws. . . . When the Nutley (N. J.) Human Relations Council announced a showing of the anti-racist film *The Brotherhood of Man* late in December, the so-called New Jersey Anti-Communist League and the *Nutley Sun* agitated against the showing because they maintained that the film advanced "the communist line about racial discrimination." The film was seen by a warmly approving audience of 42 representatives of local groups. The *Nutley Sun* reported that the FBI took down license numbers of cars outside the home where the film was shown.

The national CIO withdrew its support from the National Conference of Christians and Jews in December because some Conference affiliates, especially in the South, openly engaged in "discriminatory practices such as excluding Negroes from their deliberations or according them only limited participation."

Nikola De Kalei, Hungarian prime minister during the nazi occupation from (Continued on page 32)

Jewish Life

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

EISENHOWER AND HUMAN RIGHTS

ON issues of human rights, such as the McCarran-Walter law, civil rights legislation and civil liberties, President Eisenhower was consistently reactionary in his State of the Union message on January 7.

While campaigning for the presidency in 1952, General Eisenhower felt the tremendous opposition of the people to the racist-fascist McCarran-Walter law. He then found it expedient to call the law a "blasphemy against democracy," as indeed it is, and pledged that he would "get the bigotry out of it." But his State of the Union message contained not one word about revision or repeal of the fascist law. Protests at this conspicuous failure of the President to defend democracy when it most needs it, came from many quarters, including the major Jewish organizations. All the more urgent is the need, therefore, as Senator Herbert H. Lehman said on January 11, to generate "grass roots support" for revision.

Signs of broad movements in this direction have appeared. In Los Angeles on December 21 a great conference of over 500 Jewish leaders, addressed also by a representative of 75 Christian church bodies working against the law, discussed the fight for the proposed Lehman-Celler bill, which corrects many anti-democratic features of the law. In New York, the founding of a Co-ordinating Committee for Amending the McCarran-Walter Act under the guidance of Senator Lehman was announced early in January. A conference held on January 11 in New York, at which several hundred leaders were present, launched the group and discussed plans for actions, one of which is a Madison Square Garden meeting in the near future. Similar actions should be taken all over the country to change Eisenhower's mind about revision and to force open hearings on the Lehman-Celler bill.

The President's message proposed not a single measure on civil rights. He offered no measures at all on fair employment practices or on the fight for Negro equality. In this, as in other respects, the Democratic Party did not respond to such anti-democratic omissions from the President's message with a policy for fighting for enactment of FEPC. All organizations of the people, labor, Negro, Jewish and others, should join forces to work for action on civil rights.

Carrying his consistency one step further, the President not only failed to sound the alarm for our rapidly disintegrating civil liberties under the blows of McCarthyism, but he offered measures to speed this disintegration. His proposal for depriving native-born Smith act victims of citizenship—to make them "stateless persons," a status only too familiar to the Jewish people—represents a further step by the administration in the direction of fascism. This unconstitutional proposal, characterized by British sources as

a throwback to the 18th century, is of a piece with the shameless plunge of the Eisenhower administration into blatant McCarthyism in the White affair. The gathering anti-McCarthyite movement must therefore fight against this measure, as well as others, like the proposed legalizing of wire-tapping evidence and the destruction of the Fifth Amendment privilege.

DULLES OVER THE MIDDLE EAST

THE plans hatched by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles on his trip to the Middle East last spring are now beginning to unfold. Since the Washington-sponsored "censure" of Israel over the Kibya massacre without a pretense at promoting measures for peace in the Middle East, the press has been full of diplomatic discussions about military "aid" by Washington to Arab reactionary rulers. Dulles is trying to form a crescent of anti-Soviet military establishments in the American-dominated countries, reading from west to east, as follows: Turkey, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan. But except for Turkey, which is strictly a United States base now, Dulles is having trouble reaching his war-inciting goal. India, Israel and Afghanistan are protesting strongly the arming of their respective neighbors because they fear that the arms given by Washington will be used for local wars—a "second round" against Israel and border wars between India and Pakistan and Afghanistan and Pakistan. The myth of "Soviet aggression," on which Dulles bases his propaganda for an anti-Soviet military alliance, is not widely believed by the Arab and Asian peoples.

Dulles' efforts to saddle the Arab peoples with a war economy, to intensify war hysteria and the preparations for an anti-Soviet war are both anti-Arab and anti-Israel. They endanger all the peoples of the Middle East because they further a program for a war that would devastate the countries involved. Certainly Israel would suffer disaster in case of such a war, as well as the consequences of a heightened war atmosphere. The American people, and surely the Jews of our country, should protest this State Department scheme to spread the war preparations and deepen the danger of war thereby.

HONOR TO HOWARD FAST

THE Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE joins all Americans who are working for peace in extending our hearty congratulations to Howard Fast, outstanding American novelist and peace fighter, on his receipt of the 1953 Stalin Peace Prize. Mr. Fast's hope is our belief—that, as he said, "this award will contribute further to the struggle for peace."

NEW PAGE IN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE

The Big Four meeting and atomic energy talks offer new hope—if the people tell Dulles to negotiate in good faith

An Editorial Article

AS we go to press, the peoples of the world stand hopefully on the eve of the Big Four foreign ministers conference in Berlin on January 25. There is no doubt that the rising apprehension of the people at the awful prospect of a hydrogen bomb war compelled the calling of this conference and also of the talks planned between the United States and the Soviet Union on atomic energy. The people *will* have peace and a decent life and they are informing their respective governments that there must be negotiations.

The Berlin meeting faces a gargantuan task. On the one side is the position of John Foster Dulles, dragging along his hard-pressed, reluctant "allies," Britain and France. Dulles would like drastically to limit the agenda to the German and Austrian peace treaties. Further, Dulles asserts that the Soviet Union must acquiesce to inclusion of a German army in the "European Defense Community" (EDC), which he calls a "defensive alliance." Dulles also is calling for the holding of all-German elections before a unified government is set up.

The Soviet Union sees the primary objective of the meeting as the initiation of measures toward a general relaxation of international tensions in *all* areas.

The top item of its proposed agenda is therefore a top level meeting of the Big Five, including the government of 400 million Chinese. A second major objective is adoption of measures toward settlement of the German problem. This includes the formation of an all-German government, the holding of all-German elections and conclusion of a peace treaty. The Soviet position, with which the East German Republic agrees, is that the emergent unified Germany shall not participate in any military alliance but shall be kept neutral.

Big Five negotiations are necessary if the United States is to have peace. Refusal on the part of Dulles can thus only be interpreted as determination to sustain international tensions and ultimately to wage the most obliterating war the world has ever known. As Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver said in a speech on December 12 before the City Club of Cleveland, "Regardless of how powerful we become militarily, we shall still have to settle in time all our differences with Russia in one of two ways: war—atomic war, which is unthinkable, which everyone agrees would result only in a bloody stalemate on a global scale or in the possibility of civilization being destroyed altogether; and negotiation—the way of give and take, the way of statesmanship in which skilful and inspired diplomacy is perhaps more effective than any

assumed preponderance of power which can only be established in actual combat." Dr. Silver's is a counsel of sanity that the people of our country must in sheer self-preservation impress on Secretary of State Dulles to compel agreement on a Five Power meeting.

The German Problem

As to Dulles' brutal insistence on the raising of a revived Wehrmacht led by Hitler's ex-generals of the renazified Adenauer regime, it is one which the Jewish people have good reason to challenge. Dulles' view is based on a false premise: the fantasy of "aggressive intentions" on the part of the Soviet Union. The people of Europe, who have known war all-too-intimately and are not misled by McCarthyite hysteria, do not believe it. If the Soviet Union did have "aggressive intentions," why did it take the measures of the past year—including initiating discussions that led to the Korean armistice—to relax international tensions? Why does it press for discussions on the top level to negotiate outstanding differences? Why have Soviet leaders repeatedly called for peaceful co-existence of the two social systems? Why does the Soviet Union now favor a negotiated settlement of the Indo-Chinese war? Why did Premier Georgi Malenkov tell Kingsbury Smith, international press correspondent, at New Year's "that there are no intrinsic barriers to an improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States"?

On the German problem, all the experience of the past 30 years points to the necessity, if peace is to be preserved, of keeping Germany neutral. This is only emphasized by the character of the Adenauer regime, packed with nazis from top to bottom, whose leaders keep talking, like Hitler, of a drive for *Lebensraum*. Hans Seeböhm, Adenauer's minister of transport, talks like Hitler reincarnate. On August 10, 1953, Seeböhm blustered, "The German East includes not only the Elbe and the Oder but also Bohemia and all other lands at any time inhabited by Germans." This is not a wild private citizen of Germany talking: this is a top figure who represents government forces. A rearmed West Germany led by such neo-nazis, backed by the Dulles State Department, will loose a new war on the world. Many of the same men who executed Hitler's extermination plans against the Jews are back in power and with them are the aggressive nazi plans for war. These men were restored to influence by the plans of Washington which en-

visaged a revived Wehrmacht that would spearhead an anti-Soviet war.

The discussion of these problems at the Big Four conference alone will not ensure peace, for the Damocles sword hanging over the head of the world's peoples, the atom and hydrogen bombs, must also be removed. Preservation of the American people demands that we take up the offer of Premier Malenkov, made in the interview with Kingsbury Smith: "conclusion of an agreement between the states under which participants in the agreement would take upon themselves the solemn and unconditional obligation not to employ atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction." And he added that such an agreement would make possible "the establishment of strict international control for implementing the banning of the employment of atomic energy for military purposes."

Pressure for Peace

The proposal made by President Eisenhower on December 8 that private discussions be held with the Soviet Union for the pooling of a limited amount of atomic materials for peaceful purposes is good as far as it goes. But why did not the President go further and propose discussion of the real problem, banning the bomb altogether? As Hanson W. Baldwin said in the *New York Times* (January 13), "in itself (the Eisenhower plan) solves nothing and it must be complemented or followed by other measures if contemporary civilization is to live." Was the limited proposal a device for the President to alleviate the alarm of the American masses and the world's peoples at the threat of annihilation by an evasion of the real issue? Does Washington intend to negotiate this most terrible question of all? For its part, the Soviet Union pointed out in its note agree-

ing to take part in the talks, that at the coming discussions this most urgently needed step must be taken to allay the world's fear of an atomic holocaust. So great is the people's pressure on this score, that Dulles did not dare to exclude the possibility of such discussions in the projected meetings.

With the New Year, hope is breaking out under the inspiration of these prospective negotiations on the critical threats to world peace. But the Dulles speech of January 12 made it clear that these hopes will be shattered unless the people speak out through every possible means that the forthcoming negotiations must not fail. The sabre-rattling in this speech, which returned to the old "liberation" line and showed little disposition to negotiate a compromise, makes all the more imperative that Dulles should feel the pressure of the people's insistence on progress towards peace. As Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America said on January 9, "In the present crisis in world affairs the factor that may well decide whether we shall survive as a human race or wipe ourselves out in universal slaughter will be our ability to master the art of compromise." (See fuller text in box below.)

It will take maximum people's pressure to compel Dulles to practice this art. Certainly Jewish organizations should lend their weight to this people's pressure. Like all others, they share the common danger of extinction if efforts at peace should fail. Moreover, the Jewish people have special reason to exert themselves to the utmost against a revival of an aggressive Wehrmacht, which would endanger Israel and Jews everywhere. It is long past time for organized Jewish life to place questions of peace on its agenda. The Big Four Berlin conference and the prospective atomic energy talks offer an important point of departure for expressing the absolute necessity for preventing the State Department from torpedoing the conference by intransigence on German rearmament within the EDC framework.

RABBI EISENSTEIN SAYS: NEGOTIATE FOR PEACE

A "SIGNAL victory for peace" was won when the United States government decided to discuss peaceful use of atomic energy, said Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, in a sermon in New York on January 9, the *New York Times* reported on January 10. "In the present crisis in world affairs," he said, "the factor that may decide whether we shall survive as a human race or wipe ourselves out in universal slaughter will be our ability to master the art of compromise. The word compromise sounds at first like an invitation to appeasement and since Munich the word appeasement has been an ugly word—and rightly so, because appeasement is intolerable. But there is a vast difference between appeasement and compromise. Appeasement means capitulation to evil, knuckling under to fear, cowardice or, out of the desire to maintain an untenable status quo for selfish reasons. . . .

"Compromise is positive. It seeks the good and is willing to settle for less than the perfect. Compromise

has nobler motives and higher purposes. It represents accepting the lesser good; appeasement accepts the lesser evil." A struggle for perfection, he said, might lead to struggle in which even the good might be lost. "In such a situation," went on Rabbi Eisenstein, "compromise achieves the best possible under the circumstances without sacrificing one's commitment to ultimate goals." He was convinced that the Soviet response to the invitation to discuss atomic energy "has again raised the hopes of millions. The question is now in what spirit shall we approach the conference table. Shall we demand all or nothing? Or shall we acquire the art of compromise and achieve the best possible that the present situation can provide?"

"We all pray that both sides will have the patience and the wisdom to recognize that everything depends on the willingness to negotiate. The disposition to negotiate, to sit down together and yield on both sides is, in the ultimate sense, the criterion of a sincere love of peace."

THREAT OF A REVIVED WEHRMACHT

If we allow the renazified Adenauer regime to raise a new army, the nazi forces of "revenge" will try to bring war on the world

By Esther Vilenska

On December 9 the Communist and Left-Socialist Parties of Israel jointly introduced in the Knesset a proposal to protest the revival of a nazi army in Germany. However, debate on the question was not permitted by the ruling Mapai and General Zionist Parties. When the proposal was put before the Knesset, the following speech was delivered by Esther Vilenska, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Israel.—Eds.

ESTABLISHMENT of the nazi Wehrmacht is a grave danger to world peace and to the peace of our people. It is well known that the Adenauer government, with the encouragement of Washington, is building an army for a new world war. German militarism and fascism are being re-established in order to create an army of shock-troops for aggression in Europe and throughout the world. Many Hitlerite Wehrmacht generals, war criminals who had been condemned to death or life imprisonment, have been freed. Even the *New York Times* has admitted that energetic preparations are being made in West Germany for the production of arms and weapons of mass destruction. The giant chemical and arms plants of I. G. Farben Industries have re-opened and in their administration are the same men who prepared the gas and other chemical materials for the nazi death camps.

In December 1952 the West German premier declared that the borders of his Republic, *on the East and on the West*, are not satisfactory. The day after the elections in September 1953 he stated that it was necessary to assure German youth that their "*Lebensraum*" (living space) would be extended beyond the present boundaries of Germany. According to the latest official statements of Adenauer's minister of war, Blank, the newly re-established German army will consist of at least a half-million soldiers.

The "European Army" is for the "Revanchists" (inciters of a war of revenge) a camouflage for the rearmament of Germany. The German militarists are now proclaiming that the SS troops of Hitler were the first "European Army" to "defend the West." It is intended that the nazi army will be a participating force in the European Army. It is also intended that the plan for this army will set up a Revanchist army in West Germany, will pit one part of Europe against the other and will ignite the flames of a European war which will endanger peace throughout the world.

The agreements of Bonn and Paris make it clear that the governments and parliaments of those states which are

participants in the European Army will not be allowed to adopt any independent stand on the question of war. The right to make decisions on this question has been delegated to a "European Command," at whose head are nazi generals and American overseers.

Clearly the conspiracy to establish the so-called European Army means the establishment of a dangerous base for aggression. The European nations which experienced at first-hand the horrors of the Hitler occupation are strengthening their fight against the revival of the nazi beast, against the establishment of the European Army, against the ratification of the Bonn and Paris agreements.

In France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Poland and many other countries, a movement of the peoples is growing against this renewal of German militarism. The struggle is broadening in such proportions that in many countries it has reached the governing groups themselves.

Revival of the nazi army is a terrible danger for Israel and for the Jewish people throughout the world. It is heavy with the threat of terrible pogroms which, as is well known, paved the way for the Hitler extermination-camps in Auschwitz. It is manifestly clear to our people that if the warmongers succeed with the help of the nazi army in starting a third world war, then all the peoples, *with the Jewish people as the first victim*, will be in danger of mass destruction and annihilation.

Upon all the peoples, among them the Jewish people, lies a great responsibility—to defeat the re-establishment of the nazi army.

Underestimation of the extent of the danger, lack of political activity against the danger and indifference to the revival of the nazi Wehrmacht are against the most fundamental interests of our people.

The destruction of six million Jews and the horrors of the second World War are burned deeply into the memory of our people. It is in the interests of our people to prevent extinction, and it is therefore our duty to fight against the setting up of this nazi force which will be the shock-troops of the next world war.

The basic national interests of our people and our country demand that the Knesset raise its voice against the revival of German militarism. This struggle can and should unite the entire people.

We demand that a debate be allowed on this question, so that the Knesset can decide to instruct the Israel delegation in the UN to fight energetically in the world forum against German militarism.

McCARTHY'S ANTI-SEMITIC ANTICS

The evidence mounts that McCarthy is building his fascist house on foundations that include anti-Semitism in the Hitler manner.

By Jack Greenstein

THERE are too many Jews in Washington."

Who said that? On December 20, 1953, the *Milwaukee Journal* published an interview with Texas rancher E. M. Biggers, in which he warned the Republicans to adopt McCarthyism or face defeat. The report added:

"Biggers said he thought a large part of the country's trouble stemmed from the fact that 'there are too many Jews in Washington.'"

Who is E. M. Biggers? It was Biggers who presented Senator Joseph McCarthy and his bride with a Cadillac on behalf of McCarthy's millionaire Texas backers.

At this writing, McCarthy has not found it necessary to repudiate Biggers' crude anti-Semitism, as he has failed to do in dozens of similar cases where Jew-baiting and white supremacy went hand in hand with the boosting of McCarthy.

He has failed, for instance, to repudiate the McCarthy-for-President movement in West Texas, headed by a distributor of anti-Semitic literature, Austin F. Hancock, who raised \$5,000 for McCarthy's 1952 election campaign through his racist American Heritage Protective Committee.

"I tell you, McCarthy will sweep the country in 1956," Hancock told a recent visitor, "Nothing will stop him—not even the Jews."

E. M. Biggers, however, is not just an anti-Semite who likes Joe McCarthy. He is one of the group of Texas millionaires who have made huge contributions to McCarthy, who are blatant in their support for him as the standard bearer for their program of violent union-busting and KKK-like white supremacy and anti-Semitism. Less crude, but even more important in their backing of McCarthyism because of the tremendous power they wield, are the huge industrial and financial interests in the North and mid-West, whose support for McCarthyism is reflected in their newspaper voices: the Hearst, McCormick-Patterson and Scripps-Howard newspaper chains.

This big business backing, as well as the increasing clearness of the ideology, methods and objectives of McCarthyism are causing a growing awareness in our country that McCarthyism is an American brand of fascism.

Railway Clerk, official paper of the largest and most influential of the Railroad Brotherhoods, put it this way in an editorial on Dec. 1, 1953:

"It will be well to remember that the type of men most active in the present smear campaign were among those

who thought we could do business with Hitler and approved Hitler's method of handling the German workingmen. *They are, to speak plainly—and this is a time for plain speaking—incipient American fascists and they will stop at nothing to accomplish their purpose*" (emphasis added).

The rise of an American fascism poses a tremendous threat to all Americans and to all the world, especially since the major aspect of fascism and of present-day McCarthyism is a blatant war-like policy. In addition, fascism has a special meaning for Jews. A classic symptom of fascism is violent anti-Semitism. McCarthy fascism poses a Hitler-like threat to American Jews. The record on this aspect of McCarthyism grows longer every passing day.

At least verbal recognition was accorded to this danger by Henry E. Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, who can hardly be considered either an alarmist or—on the basis of ADL's dealings with McCarthy and Rep. Harold Velde—a militant anti-McCarthyite. The ADL chairman was quoted by Jewish Telegraphic Agency Washington correspondent Milton Friedman in his syndicated column of June 22, 1953, thus:

"We have had a unique opportunity to watch the professional bigot, the super-patriots, the dark reactionaries, under the pretense of fighting Communism—*striking not at Communism*, but the free institutions which have made America great. Such a coalition *faces us with a constant threat*, for it gives sanction to bigotry and *provides an atmosphere in which organized anti-Semitism* can play upon the fears of people. With the shadow of war over us, *the danger of acute, violent anti-Semitism is always present*" (emphasis added).

New Whitewash of Nazis?

The McCarthyite witch-hunt has been going full blast toward providing "an atmosphere in which organized anti-Semitism" can grow and is growing. There has been an increasing undertone of anti-Semitism in the witch-hunts. An all out fight on McCarthy fascism thus becomes the number one task of all Jewish Americans, whatever their political or other differences.

On McCarthy's agenda for the coming year is an investigation of 125 refugees from nazi Germany who "infiltrated" the post-war American Military Government, including

many who held positions "in the investigation and prosecution staffs of the Nuremberg War Crimes trials." This was revealed on January 8 by Milton Friedman, JTA columnist quoted earlier, who reported that, "Since a majority of those who fled Germany did so to escape religious persecution, organizations concerned with anti-Semitism are carefully observing this new undertaking of McCarthy."

McCarthy announced that he has received the list of 125 "alleged Communists" in the occupation government from Earl J. Carroll, an American attorney practicing in Germany. He declared that he would call Gen. Telford Taylor, chief United States prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, to testify before his committee.

McCarthy's interest in smearing the Nuremberg trials of nazi war criminals coincides, Friedman reveals, with a neo-nazi campaign, directed at members of Congress, to "Open the Landsberg prison gates," behind which there still remain the few hundred nazis convicted of crimes against humanity who have not yet been freed by Washington and Bonn. Congressmen have been receiving letters from Bad Godesberg, in the American zone of Germany, linking "the Kremlin" and a "hate group" (obviously Jews) as opponents of complete amnesty for Gestapo and SS leaders. Friedman names August Fischer, president of the "Association of Returnees, POW's and Family-Members of Missing Germans," as the author of the appeals.

McCarthy, who was praised at a conference of neo-nazis in Germany as one of "Germany's true friends in the United States" (*New York Times*, July 20, 1953), has already earned the gratitude of nazi war criminals as a result of his efforts, in 1949, to smear the American prosecution of 74 SS-men indicted for the cold-blooded machine-gunning of hundreds of American POWs at Malmedy, Belgium, during the 1944 Battle of the Bulge. (For the full details on McCarthy and the Malmedy murderers, see "McCarthy and Anti-Semitism," by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff, *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1953.)

Anti-Semitism and the Monmouth Affair

Sen. McCarthy's star chamber inquisition of civilian employees at Fort Monmouth was both a colossal hoax and a colossal flop as far as "uncovering espionage" was concerned. McCarthy was finally forced to admit that he had not exposed proof or evidence of any espionage at the Army Signal Corps center (*New York Times*, December 16, 1953)—but only after the country had been drenched for weeks in McCarthy pronouncements about "still-functioning spy rings."

That anti-Semitism played a large part in this witch-hunt was strongly intimated by Walter Millis, columnist for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, who condemned (December 8, 1953) the "processes of witch-hunting, bigotry, cowardice, race prejudice and sheer incompetence which have turned one of our top-level military-scientific operations into a mare's nest of exasperation, fear and futility. . . . The strong elements of racial and religious bigotry and

prejudice in the case can only increase the damage it has done" (emphasis added).

What led Millis to make such a charge? Why, when McCarthy began to unfold the "case," did all the rabbis in the Fort Monmouth-Redbank, N. J., area schedule a meeting with representatives of 50 local Jewish organizations, on November 15, 1953, to discuss the implications of the witch-hunt? Why did Rabbi Arthur Hershon, for 14 years the Jewish chaplain at Monmouth, "feel that all his patient efforts at building interfaith relations are now ruined" (*New York Post*, November 12, 1953)?

It is an open secret in the surrounding community that a group of Fort Monmouth employees have for years been trying to "get" the civilian Jewish and Negro engineers, who constitute about one-fourth of the 600 civilian specialists there. In 1948, they succeeded in having 18 scientists suspended on charges of "subversion." Sixteen were Jews, the other two, Negroes. The 16 who appealed were reinstated and the racist-inspired charges dismissed.

Again, in January 1952, a group of three army officers and six or seven civilian employees at Monmouth revived the same charges. This time, they enlisted the aid of Sens. Pat McCarran and McCarthy and Rep. Velde and received front-page publicity from the Jew-baiting *Chicago Tribune*. In March 1952 the army announced that "No evidence has been uncovered to establish the existence of any subversive elements in the agency. The 'suspicious actions of certain of their colleagues' charged by the petitioning



officers and civilian employees *are the result . . . of personality clashes and jealousies.*" McCarthy, McCarran and Velde did not object to the army's findings in 1952.

McCarthy's revival of these discredited charges gave them nation-wide publicity, trumpeting the Jewish names of those accused. As in the case of Anna N. Rosenberg, when he used "facts" supplied to him by Gerald L. K. Smith, McCarthy had again served as the powerful press agent of false charges launched by anti-Semitic elements.

"The Wrong College"

The animus behind the charges became clear to Rabbi Hershon when the commandant of Fort Monmouth, Maj. Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, told the chaplain that many of the accused scientists "*went to the wrong college.*" About half of the accused attended the City College of New York, known as "Jew-CCNY" by professional anti-Semites.

McCarthy also employed this anti-Semitic innuendo in the nation's press on December 10, 1953, when he pointed out that three witnesses at that day's hearings had all attended CCNY at the same time as Julius Rosenberg. After he had made the point in questioning Aaron M. Coleman and Nathan Sussman and after asking the same question of Harry N. Shoiket, McCarthy remarked, in a voice heavily loaded with sarcasm:

"I think we can have a class reunion."

McCarthy then forbade Shoiket to deny, under oath, that he had ever engaged in espionage. Reacting immediately to McCarthy's slur, CCNY President Dr. Buell C. Gallagher declared that any "class reunion" should include the over 15,000 CCNY students who served in World War II and added: "We regret that the 307 students and alumni who were killed in action . . . will not be able to attend any such reunion called by the Senator" (*New York Post*, December 11, 1953).

In addition, the *New York Post* (November 12, 1953) reported that the Ft. Monmouth community and the lawyers for the accused were concerned over the fact that as in the 1948 suspensions, when 16 of the 18 suspended were Jewish and the other two were Negro, of the 40 Monmouth scientists by then suspended in the recent witch-hunt, 35 were Jews and one a Negro. By the end of McCarthy's investigation, 40 of the 50 scientists suspended were Jews.

All these facts more than justify the conclusion of the *Herald-Tribune* columnist and many others that anti-Semitism was operating in the Fort Monmouth hoax.

The facts led Dr. Edward U. Condon, former director of the National Bureau of Standards, to compare McCarthy to Hitler's propaganda chief Goebbels. Dr. Condon pointed to the anti-Semitism in the Monmouth hearings while lecturing at the Liberal Forum of the St. Louis, Mo., YM-YWHA. (*National Jewish Post*, December 4, 1953). The appearance of Condon—himself a victim of the witch-hunt—in a large Jewish community center and his outspoken condemnation of McCarthy fascism is one of the recent indications that Jewish organizations are becoming in-

creasingly aware of the danger of McCarthyism due, in part, to Rep. Harold Velde's Un-American Committee assault on Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes.

Velde Over Philly

Following the Wise-Magnes smear, a closer watch is being kept on McCarthy's *alter ego* in the House. And he bears watching. After the committee completed three days of hearings of teachers in Philadelphia last November, the Philadelphia *Jewish Times* carried a front-page story (December 4, 1953) reporting that the Jewish Community Relations Council "has asked the Jewish community to report promptly any anti-Semitic incidents which might develop as an aftermath of the [Velde] investigation into alleged Communism in the Philadelphia school system."

Neither the Philadelphia Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) nor its parent National Community Relations Advisory Council are in the habit of making public announcements about anticipated anti-Semitic incidents unless the situation is urgent. If anything, they tend to play down evidence of anti-Semitism.

Yet Nathan Edelstein, president of the JCRC, was quoted by the *Jewish Times* as saying that the JCRC's board had devoted most of its meeting to examining the effect of the Velde hearings. "A number of complaints have already been received by the JCRC," the *Jewish Times* reported, adding cautiously that "some . . . could not be substantiated and others . . . have not yet been either proven or disproven." Edelstein flatly declared that "the JCRC believes the witnesses were denied a fair opportunity for defending themselves," the *Jewish Times* said. It also reported Edel-

McCarthy Says:

If You're Against Anti-Semitism, That Proves You're a Red

HON. Joseph McCarthy, reporting on last spring's book-burning hearings on the United States Information Service libraries overseas, cited the following "evidence" that the administrators of the program showed "a curious color-blindness to anything red or pink."

The investigation "failed to disclose a single book of a fascist, anti-Semitic or extremist type by any American writer," McCarthy declared (*New York Post*, January 11).

Interestingly, McCarthy considers fascism and anti-Semitism as separate from the "extremist type" of ideology.

Defending himself against charges of book-burning, McCarthy added:

"It is interesting to note that many of those who now complain of 'book burning' apparently made no public protests when the United States government itself in 1946 destroyed literally hundreds of thousands if not millions of books in occupied Germany."

The books McCarthy refers to so solicitously were nazi textbooks and propaganda.

stein's cautious note "against making any charges of religious bias against any investigating committee unless and until there is substantial proof to back up the allegations."

It is already known that violence erupted against Philadelphia school teachers as an aftermath of the Velde hearings, the pupils at one school pelting a group of teachers with rocks. The very fact that the JCRC made a public statement is a clear indication that there is additional "substantial proof" available. Where you have McCarthyism, anti-Semitism is not far behind.

No Appeasement!

Despite all the evidence available, Benjamin R. Epstein, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, has written, "Our files reflect no evidence of anti-Semitic activity on the part of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy" (Chicago *Sentinel*, December 31, 1953). Every time McCarthy is charged with anti-Semitism, a disclaimer is issued in his behalf by some Jewish leaders.

Well, what about Joe McCarthy's anti-Semitism? What about the anti-Semitic character of McCarthy fascism as an ideology and a movement? Is it just a "Communist libel" as McCarthy's Jewish fig-leaf, "Rabbi" Benjamin Schultz, claims? Or is it a fact which is being suppressed by some Jewish leaders for the same "expedient"—and potentially catastrophic—reasons that led most German Jews to pooh-pooh the danger of Hitler fascism and some rich ones to support it financially?

The record makes it clear that the denial of McCarthy's anti-Semitism is a conscious effort at *appeasement* in the misguided hope that McCarthy will stick to pogroms on "Reds" and will leave open, blatant Jew-baiting to his supporters. This was tried before—in Germany in the thirties.

The most extreme expression of this appeasement is the statement by Prof. Edwin Sears of the Denver University law faculty, quoted in the *Intermountain Jewish News* (July 16, 1953). Said Sears: "The more Jews who are for McCarthy, the better it will be for Jews." Lest it be thought that Sears speaks only for himself, it must be noted that his statement was occasioned by and is related to a declaration two weeks earlier in the same newspaper by Dr. Solomon Andhil Fineberg, community service director of the American Jewish Committee. The *Intermountain Jewish News* (July 2, 1953) reported that Fineberg "is convinced that Jewish organizations are making 'a terrible error' by rushing pell-mell to condemn McCarthy and McCarthyism, when the Wisconsin Senator himself has never raised the Jewish issue. The AJC leader *fears that Jewish opposition may drive McCarthy to anti-Semitism*" (emphasis added.) Then, logically, Jewish support will help keep McCarthy away from anti-Semitism.

This fantastic and suicidal policy is based on the proposition that McCarthy is *not yet* anti-Semitic. We believe the evidence in this article, combined with the facts exposed by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff in the

THE PHILADELPHIA JEWISH TIMES | DECEMBER 4, 1953

JCRC Scrutinizes Velde Quiz Effects

Steps to prevent any wave of injustice being spawned in the wake of the recent Velde Congressional Committee hearings have been taken by the Jewish Community Relations Council.

It has asked the Jewish community to report promptly any anti-Semitic incidents which might develop as an aftermath of the investigation into alleged Communism in the Philadelphia school system.

Policy Agency

The JCRC is the official agency through which community relations policies and programs are formulated for 29 city-wide constituent Jewish organizations with a membership of approximately 400 lodges, chapters, post and auxiliaries.

In making the announcement, Nathan L. Edelstein, president of the Council, cautioned against making any charges of religious bias against any investigating committee unless and until there is substantial proof to back up the allegations.

Receive Complaints

The *Jewish Times* has learned that a number of complaints have already been received by the JCRC, some of which could not be substantiated and others which have not yet been either proven or disproven.

Edelstein disclosed that a meeting of the Council's board,

given over mainly to a study of the 3-day Velde hearings, noted that the methods used by the government probers emphasized the need for reform in procedures to protect the basic rights of those called to testify and the people as a whole.

He reaffirmed the JCRC's 15 years of active and open opposition to every form of totalitarianism, whether Communist or Fascist, and pointed out that it has been and continues to be alert for and condemns any un-American teachers or teachings in the public schools.

Defense Denied

After pointing out that the JCRC believes the witnesses were denied a fair opportunity for defending themselves, it feels that insufficient stress was given the important fact that 99 percent of the city's 8,000 school teachers are not under suspicion.

Instead, he pointed out, the widest publicity was given a handful of 27 testifying witnesses and some 23 additional persons still under subpoena. Because of this, he declared, the public may have developed a distorted picture which undeservedly does harm to the cause of public education and to the morale of teachers and pupils.

article cited earlier, provide adequate proof that McCarthy and McCarthyite fascism are organically tied to anti-Semitic movements and leaders, that much of the McCarthyite witch-hunt has been proven to be based on rehashed anti-Semitic "red" slanders.

There can no longer be any question as to McCarthy's anti-Semitism. How closely tied to anti-Semites must one be, how long and effectively must one serve the purpose of widely publicizing phony "subversion" stories cooked up by anti-Semites, before one stands convicted of anti-Semitism? If the Jewish people wait until McCarthy openly directs the fascist juggernaut against all Jews before they rally to the struggle against McCarthy fascism and anti-Semitism, they will have waited too long to halt the disastrous effects that such a declaration would bring.

Labor has seen McCarthyism as fascism by recognizing the tell-tale sign of big monopoly use of McCarthyism for union busting. The Negro people have tabbed McCarthyism's racist symptoms of fascism. The Jewish people and their organizations must recognize McCarthy fascism's anti-Semitism and extend the anti-fascist groundswell.

Negro History Week

February 8-14

I: "FREEDOM ROAD"

A Play for Children by Alice Citron

Based on "Freedom Road" by Howard Fast

Lively Prologue: *Children are on stage playing games in lively commotion: strains of "Hi-Ho Silver," "I'm Superman" are heard; group runs across stage playing tag . . . cries of "I got you, I got you." Group of girls jumping rope; girl putting ball under leg, "One, two, three a-lary, etc." Let children have free reign for a minute or two until an old man comes on the stage, shakes his head and:*

Old Man: (querulously) I declare. What's come over the children of nowadays. Play, play! Nothing but play! Stop your chatter!

Children: (loud cries) Why? It's a holiday and we need our fun. Don't be a crab.

Old Man: That's just why. It is a holiday. . . . On this day Abraham Lincoln was born. This is a day for thinking . . . for thinking about freedom . . . hear that song. . . . *(All listen attentively as strains of "Oh, Freedom" begin)*

Old Man: (sings quaveringly) "Oh, freedom" . . . up to "and before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave. . . ." *(Children sober down and hum with him)*

Old Man: Freedom Road . . . Freedom Road. It's not a highway made of sand and concrete. It's not an old dirt road on which covered wagons trod. It's a road you can't see, even with your young eyes. It's something in your mind . . . it's something that fills your whole body. It's something that whispers to you, "And before I'd be a slave I'd be buried in my grave." That's how Abraham Lincoln was . . . that's how Gideon Jackson was . . . yes, Gideon Jackson. . . .

Children: (aroused) Gideon Jackson! Who was he? Where did he live? What did he do? *(Different children hurl questions at old man)*

Children: (altogether) Gideon Jackson! Who was Gideon Jackson?

Old Man: Now, now. Stop your shouting. I'll tell you. Maybe you young rascals will do some thinking. . . .

Gideon Jackson, tall, brown and strong. . . . Gideon Jackson . . . in the year 1867, tall, brown and strong but tired, very tired. He had fought hard and long with Abraham Lincoln's army. He had come back to the plantation . . . no more a slave, a man . . . a free man. And this is what happened. . . . *(All leave stage)*

Scene I—Gideon's Cabin

(Rachel, Gideon's wife, and his three children are full of activity. A dog's barking is heard now and then. Jeff and Marcus are wrestling. Jenny is singing softly to herself.)

Rachel: Let go there, you fools. Let a body have peace. *(Boys continue to wrestle)* Get out of here, both of you. Get out! *(She laughs)* Shoo! *(Boys run)* Jenny, come and get your washing.

Jenny: No, mommy, no, mommy. I'm clean enough. You washed me only yesterday.

Rachel: No sassy talk, young lady. *(Grabs her by the hair and ducks her head)* What will your daddy say if his Jenny isn't shiny and beautiful. Daddy will be coming home soon. *(Motions of drying, etc.)* Now go and play. *(Rachel is stirring in a wooden bowl . . . then there is shouting and excitement outside . . . dogs bark repeatedly. . . .)*

Marcus: (Runs in) Mommy, mommy! Daddy's home from the voting! Whooeee!

Jeff: (Rushes in) Pa's here. Pa's here. The voting's over. *(Gideon comes in, Jenny hanging onto him. He is followed by Brother Peter and neighbors.)* Neighbors are excited and voices call out: What's this voting? How come you don't bring nothing back?

Brother Peter: Brothers, sisters and children, quiet. We all will give out them answers. *(Gideon distributes gifts)*

from his pack to his family. After exclamations of delight group quiets down. . . .)

Gideon: (strongly, but quietly) I signed my name in a book a white man gave me. I thanked God that I knew how to write my name. Then, a Yankee man said: "Pick a delegate." He hand out more ballots. The colored men signed and signed. Then, Brother Peter, he speak up and say, "Gideon's the man."

Brother Peter: God be praised.

Neighbors: Hallelujah! Hallelujah! Gideon's the man!

Scene II

In background, Marcus is doing chores . . . hoeing. Jeff is chopping wood. Rachel appears now and then to shake out her apron. Strains of a spiritual are heard. Group sings and hums. Brother Peter and Gideon are in serious discussion.

Brother Peter: When you plan to leave for Charleston, Gideon?

Gideon: Uh-huh.

Brother Peter: Why for you afraid?

Gideon: Can't read; can't write; hardly spell my name. White folks will make a fool of me.

Brother Peter: Our people want you for their leader, Gideon. The colored man is free now. Remember, Gideon, a slave got 300 lashes for learning to read? Remember, the boss man whipped a slave for thinking? Gideon, our people aren't hound dogs anymore. They picked you to lead them. Gideon, God says, you must go to the Convention.

Gideon: (very moved) How you figure this convention?

Brother Peter: Laws will be made. Make good laws. How come you got no reading, no writing?

Gideon: No schools for the colored folks, no schools for a slave.

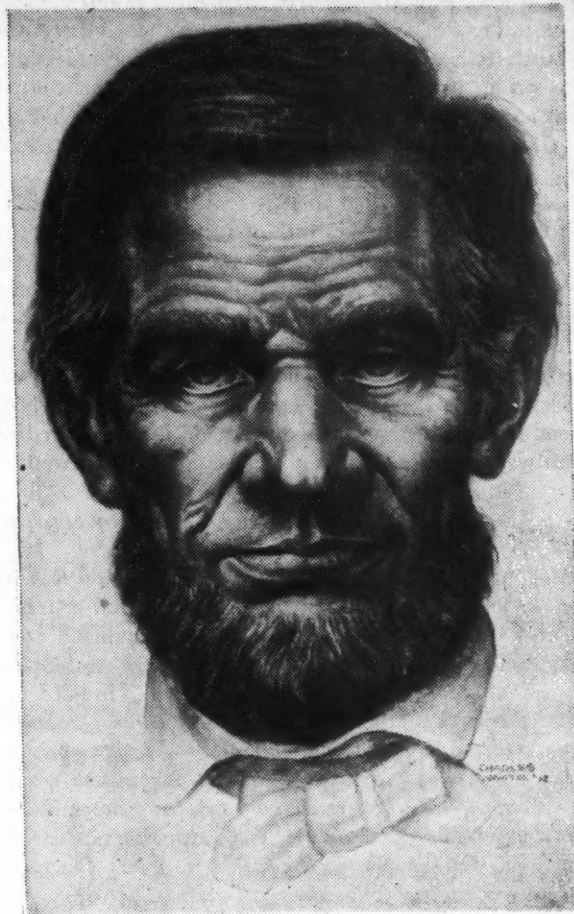
Brother Peter: (excitedly) That's how you'll begin, Gideon. Gideon, you're an honest man. You know right from wrong. Gideon, you'll make good laws for the colored and white folks. Gideon, who you think the smartest men in the world? Alive or dead.

Gideon: Old Abe Lincoln, I reckon is one. Come right out of the piney woods like me. Fred Douglass, once a slave like us. Reckon my heart is big like theirs?

Brother Peter: Gideon, Gideon. . . . You're going to Charleston. (a shout) Brother Gideon's going to Charleston. (Group sings strongly and triumphantly spiritual heard at beginning of scene.)

Scene III—Prologue

Old Man: Yes, Gideon received a letter. The first letter he had ever received in his life. Brother Peter read it to Gideon. "This will notify you that you have been elected delegate from the Carwell-Sinkerton district, South Carolina, to the State Constitutional Convention, to convene at



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Drawing by Charles White

Charleston, South Carolina." And Gideon walked, yes, walked *one hundred miles to Charleston*. And he sang the marching song of his regiment. (Several good boys' voices sing "Battle Cry of Freedom") It's easy enough to sing nowadays. But the song Gideon sang was a song a slave had never sung loud and clear before. Keep it in your mind . . . that a tall, strong, brown man walked *one hundred miles* to make laws in a convention. And while he walked he met a white man . . . Abner Lait.

(Brief dialogue)

Abner: How come a colored man sings that song?

Gideon: That's the song I sing when I marched with the Yankee men.

Abner: Where you a'going so happy like?

Gideon: (proudly) To the Convention at Charleston.

Abner: (scratching his head; perplexed and annoyed) If that don't beat all. A colored man at a convention!

Gideon: (firmly) That's where I be a'going!

Old Man: And Gideon kept on walking. His legs were strong. His heart was strong. That night Gideon looked for a place to sleep. He saw a cabin and there he met James Allenby, an old Negro man. A man nearly as old as

I am now. Mr. Allenby lived with three children that he was caring for. Gideon could hear them singing: (*music*) "Mister Rabbit, Mister Rabbit." Mr. Allenby told Gideon his sad life as a slave. But he told Gideon the most important thing he had ever heard in his life.

Gideon: (full of excitement) Sir, sir, you can read and write. You can bring learning to our people.

Allenby: I'm too old to start something new. There's a Freedman's Bureau takes care of such things.

Gideon: Think our folks can wait till doomsday! Get your things together. Go to my folks and ask for Brother Peter. They'll care for you good. Learning . . . think of it . . . folks will read and write. Mr. Allenby, you must go.

Old Man: So after Mr. Allenby said, "Yes," Gideon was off again. He slept on the ground at night. He chopped wood to make a meal. It thundered and it rained but freedom was singing in his heart and he got to Charleston.

Scene IV—The Convention

Major James: (brief soliloquy before convention begins) (full of anger) Trash! Trash! A convention full of trash! Colored delegates! What is the glorious Southland coming to! The land of ladies and gentlemen . . . colored and white trash, too. It's all that Lincoln's fault. He liked too many people. Pah! What a convention. (*Angrily countersigns credentials as Gideon and other delegates present them. Convention assembles. Delegates, Negro and white, take seats. A few reporters are busy scribbling notes. Then, a loud gavel. A voice intones:*) The convention of Charleston, South Carolina, is hereby called to order! Delegates will answer the roll-call.

Clerk: (Looking at a long scroll, calls out each name)

Delegate John Williams: Here!

Delegate Abner Smith: Here!

Delegate Gideon Jackson: Here!

Delegate Anderson Clay: Here!

Voice: (intones) We now have the privilege, we now have the honor to hear that great southern gentleman, that man of eloquence, the flower of the South, ex-Governor Orr. . . .

Orr: (pompously) Well, here we are. Yes, indeed, here we are. . . . And what I have to say is this. Yes, indeed, what I have to say is this. Oh, yes, what I have to say (*mops brow*). . . . Let no man here think that a slave is a man. Let no man think that our magnolia-like South will treat the slave like an equal. (*Bangs on the table*) No sireeee. Of course, gentlemen, we'll give them a little smattering of spelling . . . a few words. . . . But the vote . . . (*Screams*) . . . equal suffrage . . . that's against the laws of God, man and nature . . . yes siree . . . against the laws of God, man and natoore . . . (*collapses into his seat; much clearing of throats among the delegates; weak applause; three Southern "gentlemen" now appear in parody, arms around each other's shoulders in dance time*)

1st: I'm a Southern gentleman, yippee.

2nd: I'm a Dixie man, hip hooreee.

3rd: We're Southern gentlemen, ta-ra—ta-ree—ta-ra-ta-ree. (*Dance around*)

1st: I'm the brains of the South.

2nd: Hear the wisdom from his mouth.

3rd: We're the brains of the South (*Dance around*)

1st: Words of inequality, I preach.

2nd: Colored folks can't vote is my speech.

3rd: Inequality we preach. (*Convention continues*)

Gideon Jackson: My fellow delegates, I move you that there be free and equal education for the white and colored people of the South. Only ignorant people can be slaves. No people can be free without learning about it. . . . (*pause*) I move you, delegates, free and equal schools for all. Let it be the law of the land. (*a chorus of Ayes, a few Nays*)

Clerk: (intones) So carried. Delegate Anderson Clay is recognized. (*white delegate*)

Clay: Brothers, four years I fought in the war. All that time my wife fed the kids, put in the crop and worked as good as a man. I can vote. Why can't my wife? Delegates, I move you, the vote for women.

Gideon: My wife and I were slaves. We were the same beasts in our masters' eyes. My wife is equal to me. I second, the vote for women.

(*Ayes, weak, the Nays are stronger.*)

Gideon: Gentlemen, the time will come when women will vote. Men will see what we did not see today. (*pause*) Now, another matter. The colored men of the South have given their toil to our land. We have sweated to make cotton grow and all the food that our nation eats. I move you, gentlemen, no discrimination against the Negro in voting. (*Chorus of Ayes drowns out Nays. Loud cheers and applause.*)

Clerk: Convention adjourned for today, gentlemen. . . . Convention adjourned.

(*Clay and Gideon are left on stage.*)

Clay: I guess a white man can work with a Negro?

Gideon: I guess he can. (*Shake hands vigorously; three Southerners appear again on stage*)

1st: Did you hear, did you hear?

2nd: Free education, I fear, I fear.

3rd: Let's cry into our beer.

All: We cry into our beer. (*Weep copiously*)

1st: Is it true, is it true. . . .

2nd: Shaking hands those two. (*points in horror*)

3rd: What's our Southland coming to?

All: Boo hoo, boo hoo. (*Group sings satirically*)

"And they heard the news,
The Free and Equal Blues."

Old Man: Gideon stayed many months in Charleston. He learned how to read and write. He knew what freedom meant. He became wise and fearless. Then he went back to his people. When he came home it was a beautiful sunny day.

Scene V

(*In one corner of stage Allenby is teaching a group of*

children. "3x5," etc. is heard. In another corner of stage, Rachel is scanning the horizon. Then with a shout half laughing, half crying)

Rachel: Gideon's come, Gideon's come home.

(Allenby motions to class and as Gideon walks in Group sings "John Brown's Body." Brother Peter, Marcus, Jenny run onto stage and hug Gideon. Neighbors pour onto stage)

Neighbors: Gideon, Gideon, what happened?

Gideon: We made good laws for our land. We made us free men. But free men must fight to keep their freedom and we will fight our whole life long. Will you be with me, sisters and brothers?

Neighbors: (shouts of) Yes, Gideon. Amen, Gideon.

All: Our whole life, Gideon. (strong)

(Chorus of "John Brown's Body")

Last Scene

Old Man: (children on stage, now listening soberly) So Abe Lincoln, Fred Douglass, Gideon, others began the fight for us and we're fighting still. Freedom Road is something that fills your whole body and mind. It's something that says no man must trample on another man. It says that Senators like McCarthy must not occupy the seats that Lincoln and Gideon Jackson made holy. It's something that whispers to you, "And before I'd be a slave, I'd be buried in my grave." Will you remember?

Children: (slowly) Yes, we will remember.

Epilogue

All: (strong and clearly) And McCarthy heard the news ... and McCarthy heard the news ... (sing "The Free and Equal Blues.")

II: SHOWDOWN ON SCHOOL JIMCROW

The 80-year fight against Jimcrow in education faces a major battle in the recent Supreme Court hearings on three test cases

By Elihu S. Hicks

"A WORD now as to the question of education. Sir, I know that, indeed, some of our Republican friends are even a little weak on the school clause of this bill; but sir, the education of the race, the education of the nation, is paramount to all other considerations. I regard it important, therefore, that the colored people should take place in the educational march of this nation and I would suggest that there should be no discrimination. It is against discrimination in this particular that we complain. . . .

"The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Vance) also says that the colored men should not come begging at the doors of Congress for their rights. I agree with him. I want to say that we do not come here begging for our rights. We come here clothed in the garb of American citizenship. We come demanding our rights in the name of justice. We come, with no arrogance on our part, asking that this great nation . . . guarantee us the protection from outrage. We come here, five millions of people—more than composed this whole nation when it had its great tea party in Boston Harbor and demanded its rights at the point of the bayonet—asking that unjust discriminations against us be forbidden. . . ." (Congressional Record, 43rd Congress, 1st Session, vol. II, part 1, pp. 565-67.)

ELIHU S. HICKS is a reporter for the *Daily Worker* who covered the Supreme Court hearings on the school segregation cases for that paper.

This was the powerful plea of Richard Harvey Cain, Negro Representative from South Carolina, to the House of Representatives on January 10, 1874. Cain was pleading for the inclusion of a clause illegalizing discrimination in the public schools to be included in the Civil Rights law which was passed—without the school clause—a year later.

From December 7 to 9, 1953, spokesmen for the Negro people again petitioned the government to outlaw Jimcrow in public education. The pleas made to the United States Supreme Court by a battery of lawyers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, led by NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall, were basically the same as those made 80 years ago in the Reconstruction Congress.

Demanding full enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the NAACP attorneys who addressed the Supreme Court had a distinct advantage over their predecessor, Richard Harvey Cain. In the 80 years since the 43rd Congress, a great democratic movement, including the powerful labor movement, organizations such as the Urban League, the American Jewish Congress, the Negro Masons and Elks, and others, has made its impress on the nation. No small contributions have been made by progressive organizations. Significant victories, such as the outlawing of segregation in interstate commerce, integration in the armed forces, the invalidation in federal

courts of restrictive covenants—and more—have been registered in the war against Jimcrow.

Dramatic testimony to this democratic growth was the unprecedented human outpouring at the Supreme Court building. A line began to form at dawn on the first day of the hearings. Elderly Negroes, some seemingly in their eighties, stood side by side with white students; young Negro mothers side by side with young white mothers—all waiting for high noon when the nine black-frocked justices would take their seats. At 1:00 PM, when the preliminaries had been completed and with every inch of the courtroom jammed with impatient Americans, the line in the court lobby numbered more than 200 people who would wait quietly in hopes of being admitted.

The Opposing Legal Batteries

In fact, the executive branch of the government itself had been forced to go on record for the abolishment of segregation in education. The Department of Justice, acting as "friend of the court," had submitted a brief supporting the petition of the NAACP. While the Justice Department brief, signed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, bore strong signs of an administrative attempt to appease the Dixiecrats, its very existence was a tribute to the advancing democratic movement in the nation.

Forthright and convincing *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs were presented by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Federation of Teachers and the American Veterans Committee. These briefs pointed out in the strongest terms that the issue of discrimination is no longer regarded as one to be worried about and fought only by the Negro people. Again and again the *amicus* briefs declared that segregation in education is do-

ing a grave disservice to white children as well as Negro and to the nation in general.

Not one organization from anywhere in the United States submitted a brief in behalf of segregation.

Even among the respondents in the suits to invalidate the Jimcrow laws, profound splits developed. The Topeka, Kansas, school board, original respondent in the Kansas case, accepted a lower court ruling invalidating discrimination and voted to abolish the practice within the area of its jurisdiction.

Similarly, the District of Columbia corporation counsel appearing before the high court to defend segregation was challenged as to his competency to represent the D.C. school board. Several justices took note of the fact that members of the school board had spoken sharply against the D.C. brief submitted earlier. The corporation counsel was forced to admit in open court that there was some indication that the school board would abolish segregation of its own accord.

While the lawyers for Virginia, South Carolina and Delaware argued vehemently against an upset of the status quo, their ground, too, was shifting sand. In the case of Delaware, Negro children have been admitted to the formerly lily-white schools after a lower court decided on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine (that segregated schools are permissible if the facilities for Negro and white schools are "equal") that the available Negro schools did not have "equal" facilities. The case is still pending in a higher court but the fact that this integration had been accomplished swiftly and without the "social upheaval" prophesied by the white supremacist stalwarts, cut more ground from beneath their feet.

Octogenarian John W. Davis, New York lawyer hired by South Carolina to lead the Dixiecrat forces before the



HARVEST TALK

Drawing by Charles White

Supreme Court, had the backing of South Carolina Gov. James F. Byrnes and the state legislature which defiantly threatened to abolish the public school system rather than raise the iron curtain of Jimcrow. Georgia's racist governor, Herman Talmadge, had joined with Byrnes in threatening to defy a democratic court dictum.

The menacing growls, however, frightened no one, except possibly Assistant Attorney General J. Lee Rankin, who couldn't conceive how possibly to make the Dixiecrats conform with a Supreme Court decision.

The Arguments

The oral arguments by the NAACP attorneys were simple. The issue was clear: segregation is a form of discrimination, based on race. The Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the states from enacting legislation based on racial discrimination and therefore the school segregation laws are unconstitutional and the court should so decree.

The arguments raised by the pro-segregationists were significant in a number of respects. They remind one of something which Mark Twain once wrote in introducing himself as editor of the *Buffalo Express* "Such is my platform. I do not see any earthly use in it but custom is law and custom must be obeyed, no matter how much violence it may do to one's feelings. And the custom I am slavishly following is surely one of the least necessary that ever came into vogue. . . ."

While the pro-Jimcrow lawyers can hardly be accused of being as honest as Mark Twain, their arguments, if taken literally, could be summed up as in the above quotation. Not daring to spout the white supremacist dogma of their employers, the states' lawyers could only offer the "law" of custom in defense of segregation. Why, the schools of our state have been segregated for a hundred years; to change that now would be to upset a sacred custom! We certainly don't accept the theories of white supremacy, declared the attorney general of Delaware, segregation just happens to be the system we find best for our schools.

Obviously conscious of the legal and moral bankruptcy of such a position, the states placed their main hope on a blanket challenge of the Supreme Court's power to rule on the issue. Confidence in this strategy was based in the court's history of masterfully skirting the issue. Since 1896 the court has accepted the "separate but equal" dodge laid down in a case involving discrimination in transportation. Even in those cases in recent years where the court ordered Negroes admitted to white colleges, it did so on the basis that the facilities set aside for Negroes were inferior to those for whites. Thus, it has evaded the responsibility of recognizing that there can be no equality where there is segregation.

A second factor which recommended this tack to the segregationists is that two of the more liberal justices, Hugo Black and Felix Frankfurter, have repeatedly expressed reluctance to deal with any issue which could con-

"People Enlightened"

The following letter appeared in the Afro-American of December 19, 1953, under the heading, "People Enlightened":

NEW YORK—Senator Joseph McCarthy is the hateful symbol of home-grown fascism. The *Afro* is to be congratulated on enlightening colored people of his true role as it affects them.

The *Afro's* reprint from *JEWISH LIFE* of Charles R. Allen's article ["McCarthy: Enemy of the Negro People," in the November 1953 issue—*Eds.*] exposes the Wisconsin senator's thinking on racial matters. It is without parallel in colored journalism.

Colored people, as second class citizens, have tremendous values at stake here.

JAMES W. FORD

ceivably be handled by Congress. The basis of their argument on the question of jurisdiction, therefore, was that, if Congress wanted to outlaw school segregation, it had full power to do so and that it was not for the court to usurp that power.

The NAACP lawyers, supported by the Justice Department and the briefs of the CIO, American Veterans Committee and the American Federation of Teachers (AFL), stood firm on the simple position that the Fourteenth Amendment is just such a law, passed by Congress in 1866, and that the Supreme Court has the responsibility of interpreting it.

"Never Mind the Technicalities"

On the third day, after a total of 11 hours of argument, the hearings ended. A Negro reporter, during a discussion of some of the legal questions that had been raised, made a statement which seems to sum up the feelings of the hundreds who jammed the courtroom and the millions more who were there in spirit: "Never mind the legal technicalities, those justices can find some way or another to come to the right conclusion."

When the decision is rendered, some time before June, it may well end another chapter in the Negro people's long fight against what Richard Harvey Cain termed "unjust discrimination." The law journals will probably record this part of the fight as a brief one; beginning three years ago with the petition of a number of Negro parents in Clarendon County, S. C., for the admission of their children to the public school now reserved for white children only, and ending with a Supreme Court decision. History, however, will record this as an issue which, but for a cynical conspiracy, should have been settled almost 90 years ago. The reactionary section of the Republican Party, in the 1860's, headed then by Andrew Johnson, sold out to the Southern plantation owners, whose plantation system produced the black codes of which the school segregation laws

are part. If not for this sellout, the conspiracy would have been smashed by the victorious alliance of Southern Negroes, exploited whites, and Northern radicals.

As the justices ponder the fate of this remaining "black code," the danger of a strikingly similar conspiracy, involving the very same economic interests, hangs menacing the outcome today.

The iniquitous love affair between General Motors' Eisenhower administration and the Dixiecrat darling James Byrnes had already spawned the compromising position taken by the Justice Department in its brief and in open court. With the probability of a split decision and the new Eisenhower appointee Earl Warren sitting as chief justice, all the ingredients are present for a repetition on a smaller scale of the Andrew Johnson sellout.

The one factor that can prevent such a sellout—an organized Negro people's movement and a labor movement united on the issue—is the main positive difference in today's picture.

Even given a favorable decision by the court, there is many a slip twixt the decision and enforcement. It was on the question of enforcement that the Justice Department was vaguest, with Assistant Attorney General Rankin unable to suggest a "reasonable" time limit. The Council of Southern Governors, spearheaded by Govs. Byrnes and Talmadge, has openly and repeatedly vowed to fight enforcement of such a decision. Given a national executive determined to enforce the law of the land and willing to use the full police power, including the armed forces if necessary, such vows and threats can be easily emptied of powder. Given, on the other hand, an executive anxious not to alienate the affections of the Dixiecrats, the best Supreme Court decision can be made as empty as election day promises.

The final result, therefore, rests with the people of the United States, led by the labor movement and the organizations of progress. Theirs is the master whip, which, if cracked, can bring the white supremacist wolves to heel.

III: PILGRIMAGE TO ATLANTA

Negro and white women, united, travel to petition Governor Talmadge to free Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, victim of oppression

By Jennie Truchman

IT was a cold December morning when 23 of us, white and Negro women, marched onto the train at New York's Penn Station with our banner, "Free Mrs. Rosa Ingram." We were on our way to Atlanta, Georgia, to meet delegations from other states and together to see Governor Herman Talmadge to petition him to pardon Mrs. Ingram and her two sons, who are serving life terms in a Georgia jail. The national delegation had been organized by the Women's Committee for Equal Justice, headed by Mrs. Mary Church Terrell.

In the approaching Christmas season, when "Good will towards men" was on everyone's lips, we wanted to put good will towards Mrs. Ingram, mother of 12 living children, on the order of the day. Didn't a Negro mother have the right to defend herself against the aggressions of a white man? And hadn't two sons the right to defend their mother from violation? The three had already spent six years in prison for this "crime" of defense against the offending white man who was killed in the scuffle.

The thought that kept racing through my head was that as a Jewish woman I had a deep kinship with Mrs. Ingram, that I had a responsibility to help get her free.

JENNIE TRUCHMAN was New York representative of the Emma Lazarus Clubs to the Atlanta delegation to petition Governor Talmadge for the freedom of Mrs. Ingram.

My organization, the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs, was sending two delegates, a woman from Florida and myself; it hadn't forgotten the Hitlerite crimes committed against Jewish women in that period of terror. We know that hatred against one group eventually means the effort to strangle others. The enemy of the Jew and the Negro is the same, though the Negro is far more intensely the object of that enmity. Jewish women have to take a stand to defend the democratic rights of the Negro people and especially of Negro women. It is time to end the 300-year old story of the many Mrs. Ingrams.

The 21-hour train trip to Atlanta was an unforgettable experience. This time spent with our Negro friends brought us closer to them, to their anger. We all joined in the singing of Christmas carols and spirituals. Never had the singing of "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men" meant so much to me. Amidst smiles mingled with defiance the group burst into *Oh, Freedom!*

On arrival at Atlanta, we had to separate to travel to a Negro restaurant in town, where we came together again. On our way we talked with the Negro auto driver. He left us with the remark, "Beautiful, beautiful Atlanta. Only trouble is that it's in Georgia."

Then we went to the Georgia Capitol steps for our prayer meeting. The 75 delegates from New York, California,



Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram

Texas, North Carolina, Missouri, Florida, Illinois and Pennsylvania were joined on the steps by a number of local Negro women on their lunch hour. A Negro woman at my side remarked to me about the greatness of this event that was taking place in the heart of the South—black and white women arm in arm. The prayer meeting ended with the spiritual *Let My People Go*.

We See the Governor

Then we went to the governor's office. This is how the local Negro paper, *Atlanta Daily World*, described what happened: "Following the prayers the petitioners moved . . . to the governor's office where each was obliged to sign his or her name and address on a register before moving into the actual waiting room. . . . Upon entering the door of the waiting room . . . pictures were made by a motion picture camera . . . Governor Talmadge made his appearance . . . after the last of the petitioners, newsmen, etc., had been duly registered, 'announced' and photographed."

We all understood the meaning of this slow-motion procedure that was intended to frighten us.

Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, 90-year old colored woman leader who headed the delegation, sat in a chair while we were all packed in the room behind her. She spoke to the governor, pleading with him to use his high office to free Mrs. Ingram. Mrs. Halois Robinson, leader of the New York delegation, spoke. But all to no avail. Governor Talmadge told us that the matter was wholly in the hands of the Pardons and Parole Board, whom we could consult.

So we went to the Parole Board, which listened to one speaker after another. There were two white women from Atlanta; Mrs. Shivery, a retired school teacher who spoke in the name of 14,000 Negro Episcopalians; Mrs. Mayme Reece, president of the Georgia Federation of Colored

Women's Clubs; Mrs. Geneva Rushin, Mrs. Ingram's daughter; Karen Morley, actress, and others. The Parole Board's response was that "parole cannot be considered before November 1955," when the seven-year period was over. Mrs. Terrell's words to the board stand out in my mind. The integrity of our country, she said, was being questioned abroad. "Four-fifths of the world are colored. They are watching this case."

We felt that these events were a real accomplishment. This was the first time that Governor Talmadge had met with such a delegation. Never before, too, had such a delegation been so broadly representative.

The breadth of representation was even greater at the conference which followed at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA. Attending were delegates from trade unions, the Elks, the Atlanta Federation of Colored Women, a local branch of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, prominent professionals, writers, a Southern newspaper publisher and others. The conference also showed a considerable local Atlanta participation. In contrast to the experience of other delegations, this one was enthusiastically welcomed by the Negro people and some white Southerners. Over 400 homes in Atlanta had registered at the YMCA to provide housing, and cars with chauffeurs were supplied by local Negro morticians. The day ended with a dinner given to the delegates by the Negro community: Elk's lodges, business people, ministers, professionals and the local Negro paper, the *Atlanta Daily World*.

At the end of this full day, we were back on the train speeding homewards. We were glad that we had passed beyond the talking stage about Mrs. Ingram's case and had gone right into the heart of the South in unity with Negro women to do our part in getting freedom for Mrs. Ingram. Now we must fulfill the plans made to carry on the fight.



Some leading members of the delegation to Atlanta: seated, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell (left), Karen Morley; standing, Mrs. Halois Robinson (left), Mrs. Rosalee McGee.

JEWS IN NEW AMSTERDAM, 1654: THEY FOUGHT FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

By Morris U. Schappes

This article opens a series of chapters on three hundred years of the history of Jews in the United States by the noted Jewish scholar and historian, Morris U. Schappes. We suggest that the reader save these essays for use in connection with Tercentenary discussions and meetings.—Eds.

WHY was it in the first week of September 1654 that 23 Jews arrived in New Amsterdam, a colony owned by the Dutch West India Company, to establish the first Jewish group settlement on the North American continent? Why had not such a settlement been made a century earlier, in 1554, or why was it not delayed until 1754? Or why did not these Jews come two years earlier, in 1652, or two years later, in 1656? Why 1654? There is nothing "fateful" in the year but there was a historical logic to it.

Viewed in broad historical perspective, this arrival of the Jews in New Amsterdam was a minor incident in the major conflict that was being waged in Europe in the seventeenth century. The conflict was between two social systems: feudalism, which was in decay, dying, and capitalism, which was emerging, rising against and subverting feudalism. This struggle was taking place internally in the states of western Europe; it was also being fought out *between* states. To challenge the overseas influence of feudal Spain and Portugal there arose the militant power of the bourgeoisie of England and the Netherlands. In 1579 the United Provinces of Netherland had wrested their independence from Spain. In 1588 the hitherto undefeated and arrogant fleet of the King of Spain, the Spanish Armada, had been shattered by the English navy. The once dominant power of Spain in western Europe and in the Western Hemisphere was cracked beyond repair.

It was in the first part of the seventeenth century that the English and the Dutch (the French too, but their role is not relevant to our focus on New Amsterdam) began to thrust out into the Atlantic basin with colonizing ventures. The old Papal bull decreeing that the entire Western Hemisphere was to be reserved to Spain and Portugal was of course disregarded. Between 1607 and 1660, the English founded colonies in Virginia, Maryland and New England. They also began pushing into the Caribbean, where to this day there are the British West Indies, British Guiana and so forth. The Dutch were not far behind and for our immediate foreground, they were more central.

On June 3, 1621, the Dutch West India Company was founded as a stock-holding corporation to promote the overseas expansion of the bourgeoisie of Holland by raiding Spanish commerce, invading the Portuguese hold on Brazil, hornning in on the bloody but vast profits of the African slave trade, cutting in on the high returns of the North American fur trade and establishing such settlements as would further these ends. Among the original investors in the Company there were Jewish capitalists in Amsterdam. Some of these Jews were "principal shareholders," having invested at least 6,000 guilders each; in 1656, the Jews were four per cent of the principal shareholders. This influence was, as we shall see, important when the Jews landed in New Amsterdam in 1654.

From 1623 to 1626, settlers of the Dutch West India Company occupied the Hudson Valley, ignoring British claims to the entire seaboard, and set up trading posts at Fort Orange (Albany) and on Manhattan Island. At the same time, the Dutch bored into Portuguese territory in Brazil, seizing Bahia in 1624 (but holding it less than a year) and the area around Recife (Pernambuco) in 1630. These conquests take us from the background of the general conflict between capitalism and feudalism into the foreground that will bring us into New Amsterdam in the first week of September 1654.

Dutch Jews in Brazil

For the Jews played a specific role in the Dutch penetration of Brazil. Jews in Holland were able, through their contacts with Marranos (converts to Catholicism who secretly maintained ties with or the practice of Judaism) in Brazil, to furnish valuable information to the Dutch that helped them in their conquests. The Dutch were generally appreciative of this aid but of course, if the fortunes of war led to a Portuguese reconquest of a position seized by the Dutch, then the Portuguese could be expected to be particularly vindictive against the Jews. Thus when the Portuguese recaptured Bahia 11 months after the Dutch fleet had won it, they executed Jews who had aided the Dutch invasion. Perhaps that was one reason why, when the Dutch captured Recife, some Marranos in Recife openly professed Judaism, while others held back, for they knew not how enduring the Dutch hold would be.

But the Dutch grasp was firm and the Dutch West India

Company helped the Recife colony develop extensively. Hundreds of Jewish families sailed from Holland to Dutch Brazil, having been guaranteed liberty of conscience both by the West India Company and the Dutch government. By 1653 there were some 5,000 Jews in and around Recife, centered in the Congregation Zur (Rock of) Israel.¹

Still there would have been no Jewish settlement in New Amsterdam in 1654 had not the Dutch hold on Recife slipped. Their energies diverted by a war with England begun in 1652, the Dutch found themselves unable to defend their possessions in Brazil from Portuguese counter-attack and on January 23, 1654 the colony, after stubborn defense in which the Jews fully participated, changed hands and reverted to the Portuguese, to a feudal power that although dying could still throw its weight around, and to the Inquisition, the terroristic instrument of feudal conformity. Caught in the middle, the Jews were in an exposed position. Taking the oaths of loyalty to Portuguese feudalism and Catholicism was open to them but the ferreting out of lapses from these devotions was the special task of the Inquisition, and the Jews now trapped in Recife may well have known that in 1639 in Lima, Peru, the Inquisition had burned scores of people including 56 Jews and that in Mexico in 1649 there had been a similar *auto-da-fé* (act of faith!).

Therefore the Jews in and around Recife preferred to evacuate themselves from the sphere of influence of Portugal, feudalism and the Inquisition into the sphere of Holland, mercantile capitalism and the "toleration" of religious liberty that was at that time more highly developed in Holland than in any other country of Europe and possibly of the world. Most of the Jews went back to Holland, some to Dutch possessions nearer Recife in the Caribbean, and our 23 found their way to the Dutch West India Company colony of New Amsterdam, arriving, after we know not how long a voyage with we know not what mishaps on the way, in the first week of September 1654.

"23 Souls" Arrive in New Amsterdam

"Poor and healthy" was the phrase later used by the New Amsterdam minister, John Megapolensis, to describe the condition of the "23 souls, big and little" that had arrived on the bark *St. Charles*, of which the Frenchman, Jacques de la Mothe, was Master.² But actually the Jews were worse than poor; they were in debt and they were unwelcome, at least in the eyes of the governing authorities and the ministry of the established church.

The debt was due the ship-master and his crew for board and passage. The contract, as exhibited in court on Monday, September 7, 1654, called for a payment of 2,500 guilders, with each of the 23 Jews "bound in *solidum*"

¹ The latest and best account of the functioning of this Jewish organized community is by Arnold Wiznitzer in the *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, volume 42, March 1953, pages 217-302. Please note that, unless otherwise stated, most of the sources for facts used in this article will be found in Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654 to 1875*, pages 1-13 and 565-568.

² Samuel Oppenheim, *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, volume 18 (1909), pages 73, 68.

(as a group) to use all his property to pay the entire sum. Payment of 900 guilders had been made. For the remainder the ship-master demanded that their furniture and other property be sold at auction. When the auction, held a week later, still left a debt of 495 guilders, two of the Jews were placed under civil arrest, with the ship-master required to pay the cost of imprisonment. Since this course could not possibly wring the money due him from propertyless Jews, the ship-master and crew were finally persuaded to wait for the payment until funds could be obtained from Jewish friends in Amsterdam. Thus the problem of the debts was on the way to settlement. More serious was the anti-Semitic hostility that they faced from the governor-general of the colony, Peter Stuyvesant, and his clerical and civil supporters.

Now in Holland itself in the middle of the seventeenth century the Jews suffered fewer restrictions and enjoyed more opportunities and a greater degree of equality than in any other country in the world. While they were still not allowed to live legally and openly in England, for example, in Holland the Jews could own real property, worship publicly and conduct foreign trade. It is true that by law they were forbidden to engage in mechanical pursuits or in retail trade (presumably because here they would be competing directly with Dutch non-Jews), to intermarry with Christians or to make converts to Judaism. But these disabilities still left the Jews more freedom of action and movement than they could find anywhere else. In Dutch Brazil, furthermore, the Jews had enjoyed the same degree of liberty as in Holland although in 1642 the Dutch Reformed Church in Recife had prevailed upon the civic powers to forbid Jews to hire Christians as "men servants and maid servants" and had continually agitated "that the Jews be checked in their insolence, and the Papists in their liberty."

They Meet Intolerance

Expecting to find the same degree of acceptance in New Amsterdam, our 23 were immediately disappointed. The settlement on the tip of Manhattan was a tiny town of less than 200 houses and a thousand inhabitants but because it was a trading center for the region it had a cosmopolitan character. A sharp-eared Jesuit priest had recorded that he had heard 18 different languages spoken in New Amsterdam, and the Rev. Megapolensis wrote unhappily that there were many, too many, religious sects already in town, what with Mennonites, Lutherans, Papists, Puritans, Independents and even "Atheists and various other servants of Baal . . . who conceal themselves under the name of Christians."

And here were the Jews, all 23 of them! Not that these were the first Jews ever to have come to New Amsterdam. In the summer of 1654 some Jews had come from Holland to trade but they had left, most of them. One Jew, Jacob

³ *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, Albany, 1901, volume I, pages 171, 223.

Barsimson, had arrived in New Amsterdam on August 22, 1654, and there may have been another Jew in town, Solomon Pietersen, when our 23 disembarked. But 23 of them all at one time and "poor and healthy" at that, and most of them wanting to stay in New Amsterdam—that was too much for Stuyvesant. Stuyvesant was having his hands full with the new municipal government forced upon him in 1653 to curb his own absolute rule—and here were the Jews to add to his troubles.

Yet what could he do? A few years before this, being director by remote control of the Dutch settlement in Curaçao, Stuyvesant had objected to the act of the Dutch West India Company in encouraging Jews to come to Curaçao. But the directors of the Company had written to him on April 4, 1652 that, yes, the Jews "are a crafty and generally treacherous people in whom therefore not too much confidence must be placed," but, withal, let them stay and "time must show" whether we shall benefit from them or not. Could it be that time had shown that Stuyvesant was right?

There was only one way to find out. Stuyvesant had already told the Jews "in a friendly way to depart" but they had declined. To drive the Jews out might get him in trouble with his Amsterdam employers. So, on September 22, 1654, Stuyvesant wrote to the Dutch West India Company that the Jews "be not allowed further to infect and trouble this colony." The reasons he set forth, in the order in which he displayed them, are worth analyzing, since this first anti-Semitic document in American Jewish history reflects the transition from a feudal to a capitalist society and uses arguments that in one form or another persist down to the present.

Stuyvesant's Charges

The charges Stuyvesant marshaled were, in his own sequence, the following: 1) Jews are guilty of "their customary usury"; 2) they are guilty of "deceitful trading with the Christians"; 3) they are poor and "the Deaconry" may have to support them "in the coming winter"; 4) they are "hateful enemies and blasphemers of the name of Christ." Is it accidental that in Stuyvesant's own mind the three economic reasons come first and that the appeal to religious hatred is then added to provide an emotional impact to the indictment?

Moreover, Stuyvesant's first two economic arguments reflect a feudal approach to economic relations. Under feudalism, usury meant the taking of *any* interest on a loan and was denounced by state and church. The medieval cry against the Jew was that he, not being bound by the Christian prohibition, did lend money at interest and was therefore by definition a usurer. (Note that Shylock is pilloried because he charges interest on a loan while Antonio, *the merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare's hero, also lends money *not at interest* but out of friendship for the borrower.) But under capitalism, which cannot function without money-lending at interest (banking), usury is

given a new definition to mean the taking of *excessive* interest. Similarly, the charge of "deceitful trading" is based on the feudal concept that the merchant obtains his profit by *cheating* the buyer. Here Stuyvesant's fear, based on capitalist relations, of the Jewish merchant as a competitor of non-Jewish merchants, is expressed in its old feudal form.

As for the third point, the poverty of the 23 Jews, born of the disaster at Recife, was unmistakable. And they did have to turn to the Rev. Magapolensis, from whom they did obtain Christian charity to the extent of "several hundred guilders." On March 18, 1655 the Rev. Magapolensis, complaining to his ecclesiastical superiors in Amsterdam of the influx of Jews (some more arrived from Holland early that spring), reports on his generosity to the needy Jews and asks for assistance in excluding the Jews from New Amsterdam on the ground that "these people have no other God than the unrighteous Mammon, and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property, and to win all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves." Like Stuyvesant, Rev. Megapolensis, desiring to fend off the competition of Jews, reveals that he has not yet absorbed the "pure" capitalist concept that money and property have neither smell nor religion, and he resorts to holy, or unholy, obscurantism.

Why the Jews Won Right to Stay

That the Jews did win the right to stay in New Amsterdam and that the Dutch West India Company did instruct Stuyvesant to this effect are obvious and well-known. But it is important to note the process by which they reached their decision and the reasoning they used to justify it to Stuyvesant. Helpful was the fact that our 23 Jews had as allies the Jews of Amsterdam, particularly those that had heavy investments in the Dutch West India Company. The same vessel that slowly carried Stuyvesant's letter across the Atlantic also carried appeals from our 23 to their brethren in Amsterdam, describing their condition and the obstacles that Stuyvesant and the New Amsterdam city fathers were putting in their way here. The Company's reply to Stuyvesant reflects the arguments vigorously put forward by the Amsterdam Jews in their protest and petition to the Directors of the Company, sent in January 1655.

The Directors of the Company begin their letter of April 26, 1655 by assuring Stuyvesant that "we would have liked" to exclude the Jews from New Amsterdam because "we foresee therefrom the same difficulties which you fear." Yet they have concluded that to do so "would be somewhat unreasonable and unfair" for two special reasons: "because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation, with others, in the taking of Brazil, as also because of the large amount of capital which they still have invested in the shares of this company." Therefore they have decided that the Jews "may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not

become a burden to the company or to the community, but be supported by their own nation.⁴ You will now govern yourself accordingly."

The instructions were clear and unmistakable but Stuyvesant did not "govern himself accordingly." There was good reason why in New Amsterdam he was known as "*Hardkoppige Piet*" (Hardhead—pigheaded?—Pete) and he preferred to sabotage his instructions, counting on transatlantic distances to play into his hands. Thus the Jews in New Amsterdam had to bestir themselves to enforce the Company instructions, the nature of which they had been informed of undoubtedly by their brethren in Amsterdam. There began a series of struggles that lasted two years to win in practice the exercise of some of the rights they had in Holland itself. They had to, and did, fight for the right to travel and trade in the entire territory of New Netherland, to have a separate burial ground, to serve in the local militia rather than pay a tax for being "excused," to own real estate and houses, to sell at retail and to become "burghers" or citizens.

Taking part in these struggles were some of our 23, reinforced by Jews who came directly from Holland in the spring of 1655 and possibly thereafter. Of the 23 from Recife, by the way, the names of only six are known: Moses Ambrosius, Abram and David Israel and Assar Leeven (Levy) among the men, and two women, Ricke Nunes and Judicq de Mereda. It is not even certain that among the 23 there were ten males over 13 years of age to make a *minyon* for a religious service or congregation. However, by July 1655 the Jews had effected some kind of organization, for three of them appear as spokesmen for all of them in presenting a petition for the right to buy a separate burial ground. The petitioners were Abraham de Lucena and Salvador Dandrada, who had arrived in the spring of 1655 and Jacob Cohen, who may have come with them although it is known that a person of the same name had been in Recife and may therefore have been one of our 23.⁵

Fight for Their Religious Rights

The answer of the New Amsterdam Council was that when the need arose, a plot "of the free land belonging to the Company" would be granted the Jews for a cemetery. Well, in February 1656 the need had arisen, or was about to arise, the petitioners petitioned again and the Council appointed a committee to select "a little hook of land situate outside of this city for a burial place." To this day who was buried there and where the "hook of land" was is not known, but this unlocated cemetery is the first publicly recognized Jewish institution in the land.⁶

⁴ This usage of the word "nation" should not be taken as Nathan Ausubel does in his *Pictorial History of the Jewish People*, New York, 1953, p. 1, as evidence that the Jews were or even considered themselves a nation in the modern sense. In these same documents the Amsterdam Jews refer to themselves as "merchants of the Portuguese Nation" and later on the Directors of the Company refer to the New Amsterdam Jews as "the Jewish or Portuguese Nation" (Schappes, work cited, pages 4, 12).

⁵ Arnold Wiznitzer, *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, volume 42, June, 1953, page 394.

⁶ Oppenheim, work cited, page 75.

Was there a congregation established and a synagogue in New Amsterdam? There is no record of either. It is known that on February 1, 1656 a law was passed forbidding any religious assembly other than that of the Dutch Reformed Church, thereby prohibiting public worship by Lutherans, Mennonites, Puritans, Catholics and so forth, including the Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews, having had this right in Amsterdam, applied to Stuyvesant for the right to "erect a synagogue," an application vigorously opposed by the Church authorities in Amsterdam, who wrote to the New Amsterdam church consistory on May 26, 1656 that they should all "employ all diligence to frustrate all such plans, that the wolves may be warded off from the tender lambs of Christ." Stuyvesant, in the meantime, had written to the Directors of the Company for instructions and in this instance the Company retreated. In a reply dated March 13, 1656 the Directors informed Stuyvesant that the "civil and political liberties" extended the Jews did not entitle the "said Jews . . . to exercise and carry on their religion in synagogues or gatherings." But the Jews having continued to pester Stuyvesant for what he called "the free and public exercise of their abominable religion," the Company Directors on June 14, 1656 advised him that the Jews may "exercise in all quietness their religion within their houses, for which end they must without doubt endeavor to build their houses close together. . . ." At the same time it should be noted that the much more numerous Lutherans were also forbidden public worship, and when the Quakers arrived in 1657, they were even prohibited from private "gatherings."

A second issue raised by the Jews, while the matter of the cemetery was still pending, was connected with the right to stand guard in the local militia. On August 28, 1655 the Council had ruled that, since the "Captains and officers" of the guard had reported there were objections to admitting Jews to this service and since no precedent existed in Holland itself, the Jews were to be excluded and that for this discriminatory exemption every male Jew from 16 to 60 was to have the privilege of being compelled to pay a monthly tax of 65 stivers (a stiver is about two cents). While some Jews began to pay this special tax, two of the poorer Jews objected. On November 5, 1655 Jacob Barsimson and Asser Levy petitioned for the right to "keep guard with other burghers" or to be exempted from the special tax. The reason they gave for opposing the tax was that "they must earn their living by manual labor." The petition was denied on both counts but by April 1657 it is recorded that Levy at least had won the right to stand guard.

Extending Their Economic Freedom

Before the year was out Jewish petitioners were again before Stuyvesant and the Council. Protesting against hindrances to their trading down the Delaware and up the

⁷ *Ecclesiastical Records*, volume I, page 348.

⁸ Oppenheim, work cited, page 21.

Hudson, De Lucena, Dandrada and Jacob Cohen presented a petition on November 29th. Despite the clear instructions of the West India Company Directors, the Council disputed the right in principle while they grudgingly yielded in practice. These obstructive tactics were to continue until Stuyvesant got the definitive and stern rebuke from the Directors in Amsterdam dated June 14, 1656, which, as we shall see, settled several issues.

Meanwhile, Dandrada raised the question of whether Jews here had the right to own real estate by buying at public auction the house he had rented and lived in since arriving from Holland. His petition of December 17th for the right to consummate the purchase and take possession of the property was curtly denied on December 23 "for pregnant reasons"—undisclosed. Even the protests of the Dutch citizen who wanted the fine price of 1860 guilders offered by Dandrada were of no avail and the house in question was resold at a lower price to a non-Jew.

On March 14, 1656 the Jews returned to their petitioning, protesting continued interference with their freedom to trade and with the right to own real estate. Added weight was given to this petition by the signature of Joseph d'Acosta, who had arrived from Holland in the summer of 1655 and who was also a "principal shareholder" of the Dutch West India Company. (There had been a Joseph Da Costa in Recife who may have gone back to Holland in 1654.) Nevertheless the Council quibbled blandly and suggested the whole matter be referred back again to—the Directors in Amsterdam.

When the Directors wrote to Stuyvesant on June 14, their tone was one of mild exasperation. "We have seen and learned with displeasure," they stated, of this interference of the right of the Jews to trade and to buy real estate, "which is allowed them here in this country without any difficulty, and we wish that this had not occurred but that your Honors had obeyed our orders which you must hereafter execute punctually and with more respect." Then it is explained that since in Holland Jews are not allowed "to establish themselves as mechanics" or to "have open retail shops," the same restrictions are to apply in New Amsterdam. However, they are to have the same right to trade and to own real estate as they have in Holland and they may even, as they do in Amsterdam, build their houses close together to facilitate private worship within those houses. Even "Hardheaded Pete" understood this language and the harassment and sabotage ceased.

But there was still the matter of the right to have open retail shops, which was denied in Amsterdam, it is true, but might be won here. In fact by January 8, 1657, right or no right, the Minutes of the Council show that it was aware that "Jews and all foreigners" were without permission "keeping open store and selling by retail." Yet on April 11, 1657, when Jacob Cohen petitioned for the right "to bake and sell bread within this City, as other bakers, but with closed door," the Burgomasters' Court triumphantly

denied the request as "contrary to the privilege granted" by the Directors of the Dutch West India Company.

The Claim to the "Burgher Right"

On that very day, however, an even more important issue was raised. A call having been issued that all who claimed the "burgher right" should present themselves within a specified time to the Burgomasters, Asser Levy did so, claiming his right and showing a Burgher certificate from Amsterdam to demonstrate that Jews in Amsterdam had that right. This request was too much for the Burgomasters to handle so they referred it to Stuyvesant and the Council. At this juncture Asser Levy obtained the reinforcement of the wealthier Jews of New Amsterdam. On April 20, 1657, Dandrada, Cohen, De Lucena and D'Acosta petitioned the Council on behalf of Levy and the other Jews in the city, annexing a Burgher certificate from Amsterdam to prove their right. Quietly the Council yielded and instructed the Burgomasters to admit Jews to the burgher right. Interestingly enough, by the definition of the Council, however, those who had the burgher right could, on the payment of 20 guilders, obtain permission to open a store to sell at retail!

With these rights won, the Jews could square their shoulders. For instance, when Jacob Barsimson on June 3, 1658 was supposed to appear in court as a defendant, he did not come because it was the Sabbath and the court excused his absence without holding him in default. Again, in August of 1658 Joseph D'Acosta instituted a court action against "Sieur Joannes Vervelen" for insulting both Jacob Cohen and himself. It seems that Jacob Cohen had sold some nails to a woman, Grytie Maas, who thought she was short-weighted. Vervelen, hearing the "abuse and evil speech of Grytie Maas" against Cohen, "mingled therein increasing the abuse and shoving him," D'Acosta. Wherefore D'Acosta, filing a complaint, demanded "maintenance of himself and Nation." Specifically it was also charged that Vervelen had said to Cohen: "You are a Jew, you are all cheats together."

In court, Vervelen felt himself in a tough spot. He denied ever saying such a thing. When the official weigher testified to the accuracy of Cohen's weight of the nails, Grytie Maas's case was dismissed. As to Vervelen's anti-Semitic utterance, with Cohen having left the city, D'Acosta could not affirmatively prove that Cohen and he had been abused and the matter ended thus. Nevertheless the implication is clear in the record that both the Jews and Vervelen assumed that had the charge been proved there would have been some punishment resulting.

On another occasion Asser Levy appeared October 15, 1660 with several other persons before the Burgomasters, asking that they be sworn in as publicly licensed butchers. When the regulations were read to them, the applicants agreed to abide by them with one exception requested. Levy asked "to be excused from killing hogs, as his religion

⁹ Oppenheim, work cited, page 34.

does not allow him to do it." The request granted, Levy seems to have objected to taking the same oath as the Christians even though there was nothing christological in the text of the oath, and he was allowed to "take the oath which the Jews are accustomed to take." Two weeks later Moses Lucena also applied to be sworn in as a butcher, and was also granted both exceptions.¹⁰ While Levy and Lucena were of course butchers for the general public, it may be, although the record does not show it, that one of them acted as *shohet* for Jews wanting kosher meat.

Access to Courts

Noteworthy also in estimating the attitude of the Jews to the general community and vice-versa is the fact that from the very beginning Jews in New Amsterdam did what in Recife they would not have been allowed to do without the consent of the governing board (the *Mahamad*) of the congregation: they resorted to the general courts to settle issues that arose between Jew and Jew. Thus within a week after they had disembarked from the *St. Charles*, on September 14, 1654, Asser Levy was suing Ricke Nunes in court for money she presumably owed him. In a few weeks Ricke Nunes was filing a counterclaim against Levy! To handle Levy's claim, "The Worshipful Court referred the Parties to two Arbitrators, Sieur Govert Loockermans and Sieur Johannes de Peyster..." What the decision was is unrecorded, but the record does show that she won her counter-claim. Similarly in April 1656 when Isaac Israel struck Jacob Barsimson in the face in the presence of Abraham de Lucena, the outraged Barsimson haled the offending Israel into court and had the Law on him. There was obviously no feeling that such matters should be settled within the Jewish fold.

If Asser Levy has broken into these pages so often, it is because he broke into the public records even more often. Obviously he was an aggressive fellow, something of a scrapper. Where he asserted his right to equality and won, he helped win rights for his fellow-Jews too. Very often, however, he appears in the records as fighting only for his personal vindication or welfare, especially in his many suits against delinquent debtors. He started out in New Amsterdam as a poor man, as "a manual laborer," although what he labored at is not known. Sworn in as a humble butcher in 1660, he built a slaughter-house 18 years later with a non-Jew as partner, the first instance of a business partnership between Jew and non-Jew in our country. Under the Dutch in 1657, we have seen, he was perhaps the first Jew to obtain the burgher right. He prospered and went from one venture to another, being in turn a tavern-keeper, a real estate operator and a trader, and became a figure of sufficient standing to be sought out by non-Jews as their advocate in court proceedings. In 1671 he became the first Jew to serve on a jury. This was already under the first English occupation (1664-1672; the English finally

conquered the city in 1674) and the defendant in the case was none other than—Peter Stuyvesant! The jury, with Asser Levy among the 12, brought in a verdict in favor of the defendant, Stuyvesant. Did Levy take juridical but private note of the fact that the man who had in 1654 required him and his fellows of our 23 "in a friendly way to depart" was now subject to a law under which a Levy could try him?¹¹

Leitmotif: Fight for Equal Rights

In perspective, the fight for equality of rights for Jews is the main theme revealed by the extant records of the brief New Amsterdam chapter in American Jewish history. In the context of the general struggle of the time between declining feudalism and revolutionary capitalism, the Jews of old Amsterdam and New Amsterdam made advances that had been impossible under feudal domination. The battle for equal rights was a battle against anti-Semitic barriers set up in economic, religious and political fields.

The Jews of New Amsterdam asserted and fought for their rights, at least to the extent that they had won them in Holland. But their own forces would have been insufficient to win. The Jews here needed and had allies that were decisive. First was the Dutch bourgeoisie that was dominant in the West India Company and that knew the benefit it had itself derived from Jewish participation in this capitalist enterprise. Second was the Jewish bourgeoisie in Holland, which did not hesitate to remind the Dutch West India Company of that participation.

The main victories gained by the New Amsterdam Jews were in the economic realm, where they won the right to trade, own real estate and sell at retail, although they were denied the right to "mechanical pursuits." In the religious field the gain was very limited, the right to public worship being still in dispute. Politically, the type of burgher right the Jews won was of course a step forward although the "great burgher right," which included the right to be elected to office, was not achieved. Personal relations with non-Jews continued to be affected and disturbed by anti-Semitic attitudes.

Organization of the Jews in New Amsterdam took place in the framework of the hostility they encountered and in line with previous practices. They organized to beat back anti-Semitic restrictions and to arrange for private religious services. They organized to obtain a Jewish cemetery and, since both the Deaconry of New Amsterdam and the Dutch West India Company had insisted that thereafter Christian charity was to be for Christians only, they may have organized a Jewish charity as the need and the means appeared.

Three hundred years later the struggles of the tiny Jewish community in New Amsterdam are seen to be a small but historic incident pregnant with significance, of which the essence is: they had to fight hard to win the small measure of equality they attained.

¹⁰ *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674*, New York, 1897, volume 7, pages 259, 261.

¹¹ *The Records of New Amsterdam*, volume 6, page 275.

JEWISH LIFE IN RUMANIA

A Polish visitor to the Jewish community of Rumania tells what he learned there about various aspects of the new life of Jews

By A. Kwaterko

Warsaw

ON OUR recent visit to Bucharest we met a great many Jews of various callings: workers, officials, doctors, engineers, writers, journalists, housewives, young people. We learned many details of Jewish life in the Rumanian People's Republic in our talks with them.

In the cities and towns of Rumania close to 250,000 Jews live now, 100,000 of them in Bucharest. Most of the Jewish population are engaged in productive work in heavy industry—in the factories, oil-fields, metallurgy combines, shipyards and transport—as well as in the labor cooperatives and in state trade. Only a small number have their own businesses and are in private industry.

The Rumanian People's Republic guarantees absolutely equal rights to its Jewish population. There is no sphere of political, scientific, cultural and governmental life in which the Jews are not represented. Jews occupy important posts in the government and in the Rumanian Workers Party. They are active in the arts. The following names, for instance, are famous throughout Rumania: Academician Barbu Lazarenu, one of the world's best-known linguists; the mathematician Prof. M. Haimovitch; the composer A. Mendelsohn, and the artist Beota Predanov. Among the constantly growing number of Stakhanovite workers are Solomon Haimovitch and Isaac Rabinovitch of Bucharest, Albert Greenfeld of Timisoara, E. Gutman of Arad, and many others.

Gone forever are the days of racial and national discrimination, of lawlessness against a Jewish population without rights that flourished under the rule of the Goga-Cuza government and the Antonescu-Legionnaire regime. On the first day of its existence the government of the Rumanian People's Republic abolished all the anti-Jewish laws. It solved the Jewish problem, as it did that of the many other national minorities, in the spirit of the Leninist-Stalinist policy on the national question.

The constitution of the Rumanian People's Republic guarantees to the Jewish population free and unrestricted opportunity to maintain its language and culture. The government has implemented this guarantee by undertaking the administration of all Jewish institutions—schools,

theaters, children's homes, people's choruses, clubs, newspapers and book publishing.

A rich, full-bodied cultural life has developed among the Jews of the Rumanian People's Republic. In a number of cities such as Bucharest, Jassy, Galacz, Botosani, Timisoara and Piatranatz there are government schools in which the language of instruction is Yiddish. In Bucharest there is a teachers' training institute which graduates 80 Jewish teachers every year. In addition there are more than 6,000 Jewish children now studying Yiddish in 40 Rumanian schools in Bucharest.

A Full Cultural Life

New Yiddish textbooks are issued each year by the government publishing house. They are edited by Special School Inspector Fala Barash and the well known cultural worker, Joseph Dubovis. This year an anthology of Yiddish literature and a Yiddish grammar were published for more advanced classes. The Jewish cultural worker H. Vigdor told us that the Yiddish writers of Poland are very popular among the students, who study the work of Binem Heller, Hadassah Rubin, L. Olitsky, Hersh Smoliar, Ber Mark, A. Reisman, L. Kupersmidt and K. Segal and recite from works of these writers at school functions.

A wide network of people's clubs has been established for the general Jewish population. Some clubs bear the names of Sholom Aleichem, Eliezer Steinberg and Solomon Mikhoels. Fruitful cultural activity is carried on in these clubs. Meetings and concerts on social and cultural themes are held regularly and systematically. Recently there have been lectures by well-known Jewish and Rumanian writers on the lives and works of Vladimir Mayakovsky, Abraham Goldfaden and Eliezer Steinberg.

Thanks to the help of the Rumanian People's Republic and the Rumanian Workers Party, favorable conditions have been created for the development of Yiddish literature. In the Rumanian writers' organization a large group of Yiddish writers carries on many-sided activities. The government publishing house has already issued the poems of Jacob Gropper, A. Stolper and Berl Shnabel and the prose works of David Rubin and V. Tambur. Also published are the poems of Simele Sneider, I. Bercovitch, L. Vigdor, Idel Veidfeld, A. Spigelblatt, A. Miller, E. Blai,

A. KWATERKO is a young Jewish writer of Poland.

Ephraim Issacovitch, Malvina Kohn, the works of the young dramatist L. Bruckstein and the prose works of Sara Finer and I. Laivenland.

In contrast to their previous work, in which these writers mainly described the sufferings of the Jewish population in old capitalist-feudal Rumania, they now deal with current themes. The poems, stories and reports are saturated with love for their homeland: they portray the deepening state of brotherhood between the Jewish population and the Rumanian, as well as the other national minorities; they delineate the new Jewish individual, who is being educated in the spirit of profound patriotism and proletarian internationalism; they bring into the open the class struggle on the Jewish scene, the fight against Jewish nationalism and against Zionism.

Each year the Jewish writers' group is enriched with new forces. A number of younger writers attend the two year literary school. After graduation they are employed in writing for the literary journals and literary supplements of the daily press. An associate of the Literature School, Laibish Leontin, has written a well-constructed play on an anti-Zionist theme which will shortly be produced in the Bucharest Yiddish State Theater. The writers' group is now preparing an anthology of its work.

Yiddish Theater and Radio

Along with the other Rumanian writers, the Jewish writers benefit from government appropriations for literary activities. They spend vacations at the splendid resorts of the Writers' Union located near the Black Sea in the Transylvanian mountains.

There is close cooperation between the Jewish writers' group and the Jewish institutions of Rumania, especially the schools and the two Jewish State Theaters in Bucharest and Jassy. The Jewish writers supply poems and stories for the children and help the schools with study materials, anthologies and text-books. The writer Reli Blai teaches in the Jewish school at Rorevitz, as do S. Sneider and Malvina Kohn. The writers have an organic connection with the Jewish State Theater, for which they supply plays for the repertory. Julian Schwartz and Israel Bercovitch have dramatized Mendele Moicher Sforim's *Travels of Benjamin the Third*. L. Bruckstein has written several plays: *Night Shift*, which deals with the theme of Jewish suffering and torture in Hitler's death camps at Auschwitz, and *The Greenfeld Family*, a modern play about the industrialization of the country. Several writers are working on texts for songs and some act with the State Theater.

The Jewish State Theater plays a powerful role in Jewish life. This institution is much loved by the Jewish population, including even the non-Yiddish speaking section. All performances play to packed houses and many people attend the same plays several times. The greatest recent success was Molière's *Malade Imaginaire* (The Hypochondriac), which was highly praised by all the leading critics of the Rumanian press. A deep impression was left by

these plays: *In the Shadow of the Palm Tree*, by the Rumanian writer Ceranu; *The Strange Demon*, by K. Simonov; *The Unlucky Heritage*, by Sheinen; *The Young Partner*, by Fervenzev, and the plays of Sholem Aleichem and Abraham Goldfaden. The Jewish State Theater has a capable company of actors and its own composers, directors, choreographers and artists. Besides the two State Theaters in Bucharest and Jassy there is also a Yiddish Puppet Theater in Jassy for children which is directed by N. Grunia.

The Jewish radio programs, conducted by I. Lainvant, Rubiner and I. Bercovitch, are very popular. Twice a day the radio broadcasts a program of Jewish music, selections from Jewish literature and news and information about Jewish life in the Rumanian People's Republic. We listened to one of these broadcasts. The pleasant voice of the announcer was reporting on the life and creative activity of the Jewish population. Each word breathed love for her homeland, thankfulness to the Rumanian Workers Party and the people's government, which had opened to the Jews the broadest possibilities for social advancement. We heard the names of Jewish Stakhanovites in the factories who are fulfilling and overfulfilling their production plans, who are achieving feats in the building of socialism. We were filled with pride for our Jewish-Rumanian comrades. At the same time we despised Jewish reaction, which is agitating against the Rumanian People's Republic in the service of American imperialism. How futile is their hatred and their slander in the light of reality!

Love for Their Homeland

When we told our Jewish comrades in Bucharest about the base lies which are being spread abroad against their country, they received the information with a smile. "Let reaction howl," said J. Dubovis, "we will continue our work in behalf of the Jewish people and of our homeland. We are familiar with those who invent fantastic lies about the arrests of cultural workers."

We also had several talks with religious Jews, who told us of the unrestricted freedom to practice their religion. In Bucharest alone there are close to 40 synagogues and Houses of Study. There is also a synagogue for the Sephardic Jews. During Passover the government distributed kosher wines and meat and flour for *matzos*.

The Jewish population of Rumania loves its homeland and is ready to give its strength on behalf of its further growth and development. This tie to People's Rumania was expressed best by Madame Idelevitch. She told us with enthusiasm of the land's rich resources, of the speedy industrialization, of the plans for the new canal which will connect Bucharest with the Danube and of the flourishing of art and culture. It was moving to hear the conviction and enthusiasm with which she spoke about her homeland. There are many such Jewish patriots in Rumania; they are by far the greatest majority of the Jewish population.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld).

Book Reviews

NOVEL OF POWER AND LIGHT

By Ben Field

Burning Valley, by Phillip Bonosky. Masses & Mainstream (832 Broadway, N. Y. C.). \$2.75.

Phillip Bonosky's *Burning Valley* is a beautiful and deeply moving novel. It is as American as the Appalachians and Pittsburgh, the iron heart of the country in relation to which its action takes place.

I am hard put to think of another novel since *The Grapes of Wrath* which has cut out such a fresh chunk of the life of the working people. It is a more honest book than Steinbeck's, is less pretentious, has fewer tricks. In its boldness and directness, it reminds me of the proletarian novels of the depression days, but it shows infinitely more art and understanding.

The very first sentence sets the tone. "I will be a saint," Benedict said. "I will live humbly all my life. I will be poor." Benedict Bulmanis is the hero, a boy "almost 15," whom we follow like a ray in this valley in western Pennsylvania in the 1920's.

This son of a Lithuanian immigrant, this idealist and zealot means every word he utters with such conviction and breathless adoration. His activities quiver like the Chinese bulb which, dropped into water, breaks before our eyes, blooming with astonishing colors in a matter of a few hours. Here, however, it is in a sea of sweat and blood that we see the flowering.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for Benedict to stick to his determination to become a saint, although innocently unaware of the reasons for that. The opening of the story shows him on his way from his home in "Hunky Hollow" to the parish church where he is in charge of the altar boys and assists in other ways the broken-down plug of God, Father Dahr. As he makes his confession before the Father, he finds him drunk again. The new pastor, Father Brumbaugh, arrives, coming from the Boston of the Calvin Coolidge who broke the police strike, from the New England which murdered the "foreigners" Sacco and Vanzetti.

Thus at the outset the contrast is drawn between these men, two clashing worlds between which Benedict is caught, to reject both finally and decisively. The old

priest comes of the people, but he has little faith in them, believing that the working class is eternally doomed to suffer, and he goes down in the ruins of the church and passes shabbily out of the picture. The newcomer, a blueblood, sniffs at strong smells, comports himself like an alien among the steel-workers and hence sides with the mill-owners in their savage attack against the workers.

In a double sense the plot consists of the attempt of the mill-owners to scoop the workers out of Hunky Hollow in order to have additional dumping ground for their slag and a site for another mill. They burn down the tarpaper shacks of the Negroes, whom they had brought up as strikebreakers during the 1919 strike. They buy up the homes of the workers through the bank which controls the mortgages. They apply force to those who resist, like Benedict's father, by shanghaiing and herding them into the mill to entertain them with whores and whiskey. Evictions are enforced by the troopers and the sheriff. The church is violated. Men are slugged and killed. The workers who escape from the mill and assemble in the woods are hunted down like rabbits. The wildcat strike is crushed, the Hollow flooded and in the destruction homes are uprooted, the meager stock of the workers is washed away and Joey, Benedict's younger brother, is drowned.

The leader of this struggle to save their homes is Dobrik, a Communist, whom Benedict meets in the jail to which he is committed because of his obstinacy in shielding Joey, who has stolen the wagon belonging to a son of one of the straw-bosses of the mill. It is a fine touch, this confronting the saintly boy with the tough Communist, one jailed because he shields his brother, the other because he shields his brothers, the workers. In a scene which resembles in its intensity and horror the famous episode in Julius Fuchik's *Notes from the Gallows*, Dobrik is bloodied by three dicks while the boy looks on, terrified, paralyzed, unable to lift a hand to ward off the brutal blows. It is in this blood and agony, and in the blood of the slugged and exploited and in the blood of his beloved Joey, that Benedict is baptized

anew and reconverted, drawn from the arms of God and the Church into the arms of his people. The end of the book sees him entering the jail with a bag of oranges for Dobrik, who has been arrested once more.

In *Burning Valley* the Lithuanian American comes into his own. Benedict's father, his mother and their neighbors are drawn with such warmth and understanding, their actions have such an inevitability about them, their humanity and decency gleam so brightly through the sweat and blood and leavings which stain them in their bondage, that the reader is possessed by them and bound to them long before he lays down their story. Therein lies Bonosky's art.

Through them Bonosky hammers home what must be repeated endlessly: there is no great divide separating men but the divide of class. His book illustrates the thesis that the minorities in our country, whether they are Jews, Lithuanians, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, have to contend against prejudices and violence which are the instruments of the same forces, that to save themselves they must pool their strength and resources. Furthermore, he shows by example how a son of these people can find great themes and magnificent material in the lives of the immigrant, the poor, the hard-pressed, the working class. The American writer of foreign descent is not in double jeopardy. On the contrary, he is safest, sitting on two knees, suckled by two breasts.

The novel moves on a number of levels. In its masterful fusion of diverse and seemingly contradictory elements it releases light and power. The American is juxtaposed to the foreigner. The Protestant city is used as a foil for the Catholic semi-rural community. A church service is counterposed to a secret night meeting of the workers. Blocks of realism, bristling with descriptions of the sordid and the brutal, are often followed by images showing the most delicate of feelings and the subtlest of insights. And like all good novelists, Bonosky is a poet who does not shun the flute, the bird, the rose.

And then there are chapters like the one on Joe Magarac, the Slovak Paul Bunyan, and the one in which Benedict's father gives him a lecture on honesty which are a delight; they flow over with the worker's strength, shrewdness, his wit and humor and slyness, his humanity; and they are so right that they must eventually find their way into anthologies.

A review does scant justice to this novel: it leaves so much unsaid. To illustrate: Benedict is a pure character in every sense of the word. He is single-minded, of one piece. Nowhere do we see him playing ball although there is one reference to it,

or engaging in any of the numerous other activities which typify the American boy. One wonders whether thus deliberately limited the boy's heart is not overloaded; in his heart are the church, the working people of the Hollow, and the author, for the author unfolds the story in and through him. To pose this question is not to detract from Bonosky's achievement.

It is to indicate how challenging a novel this is, so important that it would be tragic if its readers are the few who can afford to pay \$2.75 for it. It must find its way in a paperback cheap edition to the tens of thousands, to the workers so that they can see their lineaments and real dimensions in its beautiful bright mirror.

sneak the scabs in.

No picketing—and the triumph of bosses' hate, hunger.

The emergency meeting called by the union local brings an outpouring of the women. Everyone is aware of the crisis. Everyone is aware that this is it!

The women demand the right to take over the picket line! Esperanza says: "And so it was debated. Most of the men opposed the plan. One of them said we'd make the local the laughing stock of the trade union movement. . . ."

Gonzales pleads: "I say give the sisters a chance. . . ." Through clever parliamentary strategy, born of necessity, the women win the right to take over the picket lines.

MOVIE SCRIPT OF A HEROIC STRIKE

By Alice Citron

Salt of the Earth, a screen play by Michael Wilson, in *The California Quarterly* (7070 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles), Summer, 1953. \$0.75.

New Mexico's tourist agencies woo the visitor with words of enchantment. The skies are the bluest. Nature's own fairyland, Carlsbad Cavern, is visited by thousands. Artists sing in rhapsodic chants of the purple shadows and haunting hues of the sandstone cliffs. One can also add that many of the mountains are mineral cornucopias of zinc, ore, copper, potash, bauxite.

One might envy the artist who lives only to paint the turquoises and the greens. But one cannot envy the miner who never sees the sky in its radiant blues. Nor can one envy his toil-worn wife who struggles with primitive facilities and wonders each day whether "her man" will come out of the earth whole.

Salt of the Earth, the script of a movie made in Silver City, New Mexico, tells passionately and vibrantly of the struggle for life of the miners of Mexican origin. They are not of the Mayflower clan. Their ancestors came with the conquistadores on foot and with the *carretas* to wrest the earth's riches for the exploiters. The Mexican-Americans are the "untouchables" of New Mexico.

Salt of the Earth centers around a strike struggle of Mexican-American zinc miners organized in the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. The miners had long struggled against the "separate but equal" propaganda of the Kennecott Company. Their wives and children hated the company shacks with not a single decent sanitary facility. The separate schools were a constant affront and a reminder of "inferiority." Above all, the company was determined to keep the Mexican-Americans and "Anglos" divided.

Strike sentiment had been brewing for

some time. The men were determined to win the same safety regulations that existed in the mines where "Anglos" worked. The men were negotiating to come out in "one piece." Early in the negotiations the company made it clear that it would dare anything rather than yield to Mexican-Americans. The superintendent tells the committee: "You tell your people we'll abandon the mine before we give in to such demands."

When the strike began, precipitated by injury to one of the miners, one of labor's most epic and courageous chapters was written. The struggle is a two-fold one and unique. The courage of the miners is stirring indeed but the fight of the women is so extraordinarily magnificent that one blesses the union, the script writers and all who participated for making a permanent record of it.

The women had to fight the bosses, too. But they had another battle; an age-old one. They had to fight the scorn of their husbands. They had to overlook the painful humiliations from their loved ones to prove the simple truth that in unity there is victory. They had to overcome their own fears that it wasn't "womanly" to be articulate and militant.

For eight months the women had spooned out the bean rations to their families. For eight months they served the men with food at the picket line. They learned how to mimeograph leaflets. But they weren't accepted as full partners in the fight for life, not yet. The work had to be done but they were still joked about.

Finally, the company emerged with the blow that it was sure would bring lasting defeat to the strike. The infamous Taft-Hartley law is invoked and the sheriff and marshal triumphantly present the injunction against picketing to the miners.

No picketing—and the company could

When they are mocked and insulted by the sheriff and his deputy, they look with scorn on them. When a car rides down one of the pickets, they surround the deputies and remove their weapons. Their phalanx cannot be moved. They are flung into jail but their relentless cries of "*Queremos comida!*" (We want food), "*Queremos camas!*" (We want beds), "*Queremos banos!*" (We want baths), put the jail authorities into a panic.

The men, meanwhile, who have been forced to care for and feed the children, learn, at first hand, of the drab and dreary daily life of their wives. They learn the truth of Luz' irony early in the script: "We ought to be in the wood choppers' union. Chop wood for breakfast. Chop wood to wash his clothes. Chop wood, heat the iron. . . . And you know what he'll say when he gets home? 'What you been doing all day?'"

The strike is won after 15 months. But more has been won than strikers' demands. Ramon, a strike leader who resisted his wife Esperanza's activities even more than some of the other men says:

"Ramon. It isn't over yet. Esperanza: No. Ramon: But this day we have won. Esperanza: Yes. . . . Ramon: Esperanza . . . thank you . . . for your dignity. You were right. Together we can push everything up as we go."

Salt of the Earth should be read, of course. But above all, it cries aloud to be seen. The women pouring from the hills to the line; the men determinedly marching; the strike meeting, the unity forged between the Mexican and Anglo miners should be on the screen. Vigilantes moved in on Silver City while the film was being made. They forced the leading actress, Miss Revueltas, to go back to Mexico. A truthful picture of working class life is too cultured for those who would destroy man's proud achievements. We must create the audience for this wonderful story. The movie is scheduled for release early in the new year.

Letters from Readers

Arab Anti-Imperialism

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

It appears to me that one of your contributors to the December issue of JEWISH LIFE has not got his facts straight.

The author of the article "The USSR and the Middle East," William Mandel, naively believes that the Arab people exerted pressure on their governments "to conduct their foreign relations in closer accord with the interests of world peace and the struggle against imperialism," e.g., in their anti-United States votes at crucial moments during the UN Assembly's deliberations.

Mr. Mandel tends to forget that the only government that is elected democratically in the Middle East is Israel's. All the rest are composed of maneuvering cliques which jostle one another for position or power. If these governments happen to vote against the United States on important issues, e.g., inclusion of India in Korean peace talks, this is a chance occurrence and is *not* a manifestation of a positive social philosophy at work in the international political arena. The Arab governments have nothing to lose by trying to bluff the United States into a more extreme anti-Israel position; so they vote against her on such issues. After all, Dulles won't stop the oil royalties from going into the Arabs' treasuries.

But Israel is in a totally different economic position. Her planned economy requires many economic transfusions; and the Israeli people are not downtrodden peasants as are the vast majority of the Arabs but an emancipated and highly educated group. It is the Israel government, which aside from its inexperience, is the government most reflective of the people's wishes. Although I may tend to agree with Mr. Mandel's criticism in certain respects, e.g., the insufficiency of trade with the socialist half of the world; this and anti-progressive votes at the UN are not evidence enough to make the essentially reactionary Arab governments appear democratic (responsive to grass roots pressures) in any real sense, in opposition to the Israel government.

GAVRIEL

Editorial note: *We agree with Mr. Mandel. The anti-imperialist (not "anti-United States") voting of Arab UN delegates is not a "chance occurrence" but dictated primarily by the fact that the Arab masses,*

despite the lack of formal democracy, are in active ferment for national liberation from the colonial, imperialist powers. How else, for example, can one explain the expropriation of the British in Iran? While reactionary feudal Arab leaders must respond to this intense anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses, they also use it for bargaining purposes with the imperialists.

Israel, far from having a "planned economy," is experiencing a constant lowering of living standards and impoverishment of its economy thanks to the ravages of free enterprise dictated by Washington. As for the Israeli masses, who thus suffer from United States imperialist policies, it is to be hoped that they will use the opportunities offered by formal democracy to compel their leaders to heighten their opposition to Washington's imperialist policies in the UN.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Thanks for all those back issues, which my friends on the other hill are enjoying already. I am the last in line. Bought a number of your last issues and sent them to people here and friends in other countries. The article about Birobidjan [by Andrew Rothstein, October 1953] astounded my friends overseas, some like us did not know anything about it. Could we hear more about it and Jewish artists in the USSR and the people's democracies? How is the progress in the new communities in Silesia?

Enclosed \$5, but wish it would be more, but my husband's employer does not think so.

A. N.

Mill Valley, Calif.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I assure you that we in Miami will raise our quota for JEWISH LIFE because we feel that this magazine has done a magnificent job in behalf of the Jewish people. Increase our monthly order.

F. Carroll

Miami Beach, Fla.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed find \$10.00 for the "Save Jewish Life Fund." I suggest you do as some other progressive papers are doing—request your readers to pledge a certain amount for sustaining fund each month—\$1 or \$2 or \$5—and then remind them

monthly, with stamped, self-addressed envelope.

I sure would hate to be without you. This is no time to quit.

E. B.

Chicago, Ill.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Will you please send me a subscription to JEWISH LIFE and a recording of *The World of Sholem Aleichem* for \$5.50 which I enclose. I am also enclosing a five-dollar bill as a contribution to your wonderful magazine which teaches me so much and which must continue to come into Jewish homes.

Lots of success. A happy New Year.

A. C.

Chicago, Ill.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed you will find \$4.00 which was raised at one of our women's club meetings. I wish I could send more. JEWISH LIFE is better than ever, it must go on.

M. M.

Bronx, N. Y.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The story, "Susan's Hanukkah Report" [by Alice Citron in the December issue] is charming. I'm sending a copy to my kids.

N. C.

Don't Miss This— MASSES & MAINSTREAM

Negro History Week Issue

Abner W. Berry, Herbert Aptheker, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, William Z. Foster, James W. Ford, Doxey Wilkerson.

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IN MEMORY OF OUR
BELOVED FRIEND

JENNY CORES

DIED JANUARY 16, 1948

OBSERVATION POST

Statements of Former I. W. O. Officers

By Sam Pevzner

The Drive—the Drive!

The appeal on page three speaks for itself. The fund drive must begin to unfold with more speed and fast results. There must be immediate money-raising efforts. To stimulate and help organize the \$15,000 fund drive for JEWISH LIFE, Manager Lester Blickstein will visit Pittsburgh on February 26, Cleveland on February 27-28, Detroit on March 1-2, and then Chicago (all dates tentative). Lester's visit to these cities must not be the starting point for the drive but a way-station for achievement of the quotas. In other words, we call upon these cities to do the necessary work *now* to be able to present Lester with the largest portion of the quota achieved when he gets there. Other cities and all organizations are called upon to work like blazes for speedy results. *Your* magazine is in danger.

Looks Good, Newark

The Newark, N. J., Jewish Life Committee is following up on the standing-room-only affair it conducted several months ago. It will hold a celebration on 300 years of Jewish life in the USA on Sunday evening, March 7, at the Jewish Cultural Center, 516 Clinton Avenue, Newark. Morris U. Schappes will speak and the popular Mrs. Birnbaum, folk singer, will round out the program. Friends of the magazine from all over the state are expected to come.

Items and Dots

Visited Springfield, Mass., recently and had pleasant experience of "falling in" on a "reading circle" which meets regularly every Friday. The evening I was there a member read Harap's article "Collaboration Is a Boomerang" from December JEWISH LIFE. Interesting discussion followed. Thought came to me that such reading circles should be organized all over. Makes for interesting evenings and is valuable educator. . . . The fiftieth birthdays of two boosters of JEWISH LIFE and the *Morning Freiheit*, Nathan and Clara Schneider of the Bronx, will be celebrated at a banquet on February 27 at the C & L Restaurant in New York. JEWISH LIFE takes this opportunity to congratulate the Schneiders, whose leadership and activities in the trade union, fraternal and cultural movements are a source of pride to all who know them.

On Reinsurance

On December 30, 1953 the Committee of Former IWO Officers on Reinsurance sent a letter to all former officers of the lodges of the IWO. Since this letter is of great interest to all members of the organization, now in process of liquidation, we reprint the following excerpts from it:

"The removal of the officers and the dissolution of the lodges does not end the fight. While the officers were removed . . . and the lodges banned from meeting, all of us have now a great responsibility to watch over our assets and see to it that the proposed reinsurance is in the best interest of the individual members. We also have a duty to see to it that all the rights of the membership are safeguarded in the process of liquidation.

"For the purpose of participating in the negotiations for reinsurance, which was guaranteed by the court, your former officers have organized themselves as a *Committee of Former IWO Officers on Reinsurance* which is located at 799 Broadway, Room 233 (GRamercy 5-2020). . . .

"We received the first draft of the Reinsurance Plan. The committee of your former officers is preparing now a number of amendments to this plan, which in our opinion will guarantee the kind of reinsurance you are entitled to. We shall submit for your individual consideration all proposals which will be made. . . .

"We must, however, stress that the IWO members should be informed that in order to get reinsurance or get their share of distributive assets, they must be in good standing and be paid up in dues. The members will get individual statements and should pay directly to the office at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

"We are sure that the crime committed against the IWO will arouse the conscience of the people for a greater fight against McCarthyism, which gnaws at the body of America, and we are confident the people will win out in this fight for peace and democracy."

The above letter was signed by the former general officers: Rockwell Kent, Peter Shipka, Sam Milgrom, Rubin Saltzman and Dave Greene; also by the former leading officer of each national group society of the IWO.

On SACB Decision

Sam Milgrom, Dave Green, Peter Shipka and Rubin Saltzman, former officers of the International Workers Order, issued the following statement on

the decision of the Subversive Activities Control Board on January 15 ordering the IWO to register as a "Communist-front":

"We have just been informed that the Subversive Activities Control Board has denied our application to intervene in the proceeding against the IWO and to defend the rights of its officers and members. Instead, the Board has entered a default order requiring the IWO to register as a "Communist-front" organization.

"By this action, the IWO and its members have been made the victims of a double squeeze play. On the one hand, the New York Superintendent of Insurance refused to permit the organization or its officers to defend against the Attorney General's false charges on the pretext that the IWO was already dead. On the other hand, the Board denied the officers, as individuals, the right to enter the case and disprove the "Communist-front" charge and ordered this 'dead' organization to register without any hearing whatsoever.

"Although we have not yet seen the Board's decision, it is obvious that its action is a flagrant violation of due process and fair play. In the first place, the labeling of the IWO as a 'Communist Front' is based on an outright lie, since—as the Board is well aware—the organization has been operated under the complete supervision of the Superintendent of Insurance and the Supreme Court of New York since December 15, 1950, and has been under the sole control of the Superintendent since December 15, 1953.

"Moreover, the failure of the IWO to defend itself before the Board was due solely to the fact that the Superintendent of Insurance refused to authorize the defense and the Supreme Court of New York had enjoined the officers from doing so on behalf of the organization. The refusal of the Board, under these circumstances, to permit the officers to intervene as individuals and defend themselves and the 100,000 IWO members against the serious consequences of a registration order is a shocking exhibition of McCarthyism. We will, of course, appeal to the courts from this attempted frame-up and take every step necessary to protect the IWO membership. The Board's registration order does not go into effect while the appeal is pending. This order entered in outright disregard of the basic constitutional rights of the IWO and its members is not worth the paper it is written on, and we have full confidence that the courts will so decide."

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

1942 to 1944, arrived in this country late in December to "help the fight against communism."

Joseph B. Kennan, secretary of the AFL Building Trades Department, said in Chicago early in January that labor should organize politically at a time when "we are going the road of Germany. . . . Hitler kept hitting the people on their blind side. Here they keep crowning us with this 'communist' business. I'm not worried about communism. The great danger in this country is not communism but fascism!"

A company of the enormously successful *The World of Sholem Aleichem* with Jacob Ben-Ami as star is opening in Chicago on February 13.

Chief Soviet UN delegate Andrei Vyshinsky was a rapt listener at the annual Jacob Schaefer concert of the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus in New York on January 10. "The brilliant Jewish songs were beautifully sung," he said after the performance.

On the Jimcrow front . . . Twenty-one Negro organizations issued a year-end statement charging that the Eisenhower administration had broken its anti-Jimcrow pledges and that the Democratic Party was dropping its civil rights program in order to win the South. . . . Franklin H. Williams, West Coast regional secretary and counsel of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, told a conference of California NAACP leaders on January 16 that gains in Negro rights were outweighed by an intensification of Jimcrow in the area. . . . About 200 hoodlums rioted, shouted and threw fire bombs at the Trumbull Park project where Negroes have moved in, in Chicago on January 4. No arrests were made. . . . The Bronx Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress cited Rep. Adam Clayton Powell on December 17 for "significant contributions in behalf of civil rights." . . . An attempt by ward commissioners in Newark to gerrymander the Negro sections so as to assure a white majority in four wards was frustrated by the New Jersey Negro Labor Council early in January. Careful study by the Council of the election laws and census figures showed that the authorities had tried to circumvent election rules.

EUROPE

News from Poland . . . The Polish ministry of education complied with requests by Jewish parents to introduce

teaching of Yiddish in a number of Polish state schools. Yiddish will be taught in six schools for a start. . . . In a Yiddish broadcast from Warsaw early in December, Isaac Volkovits, Lower Silesia chairman of the Cultural-Social Union of Jews in Poland, reported on the activities of the Union. There are 16 branches in Lower Silesia, Wroclaw, Lignicia, Dzierzenio and Walbrzych with houses of culture for recreation and cultural activities and libraries with 20,686 books in Yiddish and Polish. . . . Bielova named an avenue after Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in December. . . . Julian Tuvim, outstanding poet of Poland, who was Jewish, died on December 27, at the age of 50. . . . Radio Warsaw announced in December that Ber Mark's Yiddish work, *The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*, will be translated into German for publication in East Germany.

We quote the following from the December 11, 1953 issue of the London *Jewish Chronicle*: "Anna Pauker, former Rumanian foreign minister, is at liberty and . . . all reports of her imprisonment and of her being used for the purpose of staging an anti-Jewish trial have proved groundless. She is reported to be working in a minor post in the foreign ministry."

Two members of the 23-member committee that conducted the Bulgarian general elections in December were Jews . . . Emil Aladjemov, secretary of the Central Electoral Committee, and Colonel David Elazar.

An account of the presentation of credentials of Dr. Samuel Eliashiv, Israeli Ambassador to the Soviet Union, to Soviet President K. Voroshilov was carried in a three-column story on the front page of *Pravda* on December 17 with the texts of the exchange of greetings and hopes for friendly relations between the two countries.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Circle Friendly Society in Britain early in December passed a resolution affirming "its strong opposition to German rearmament, in either zone, which is a danger to peace, and look forward to the negotiation of a settlement on Germany by a Four Power conference. The Central Committee urges the Board of Deputies to reaffirm the Board's previous resolutions on German rearmament and instructs the society's deputy to press this viewpoint."

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Hitler's financial wizard and former president of the

Reichsbank under Hitler, is back in the banking business. The city of Hamburg on January 9 withdrew its objections to the move. . . . Jewish cemeteries in Hemerden, North Rhine-Westphalia, and Niederhochstadt, Southwestern Germany, were desecrated in December.

ISRAEL

A one-day stoppage was staged in mid-December by 300 of 350 top government officials against refusal of the government to increase their salaries. . . . The Haifa Institute of Technology was closed early in December by a strike of students against an increase in tuition fees.

The Israel government on January 13 asked permission of the Big Four for a representative to attend the Berlin conference as an observer.

A trade agreement was signed in Moscow early in December between the Soviet ministry of foreign trade and the Israel trade delegation for the barter of 100,000 tons of fuel oil and option on another 100,000 tons in exchange for citrus fruits and bananas from Israel. The first shipment of 10,000 tons of oil arrived in Haifa in December. This oil is not only cheaper than that previously purchased from Venezuela but the cost of shipping is cut in half. At a banquet in Tel Aviv in January attended by Soviet Ambassador Abramov, he said in a speech that the Soviet Union is ready to increase trade between the two countries. It is reported that the Israel trade representatives in Moscow are negotiating for the purchase of coal.

Jewish Life

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