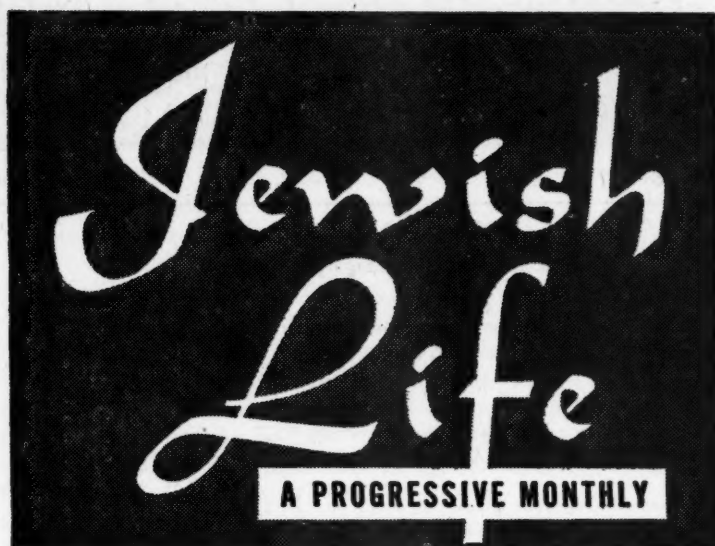


Stories of Three Hundred Years: II



**JEW IN THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

by Morris U. Schappes

MARCH 1954 • 25¢

First time in English!

A Weaver's Love

A long short-story by ISAAC LOEB PERETZ

Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld

Illustrated by Philip Reisman

CONGRESS STALLS ON FEPC

by Russ Nixon

GRASS-ROOTS VS. McCARRAN-WALTER

by Jack Greenstein

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance Notes . . . The irresponsibility of congressional investigating committees and the pall they cast on civil liberties and freedom of the pulpit were condemned at a conference of the Rabbinical Council of America (Orthodox) on January 27. . . . Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Reform), announced at a press conference in mid-January that the Reform synagogue movement was undertaking formation of "social action" groups "on the local level" effectively to "give voice and act against the invasion of the freedom of the individual" by congressional investigating committees. . . . In a speech before the Americans for Democratic Action in Boston on January 24, Senator Herbert H. Lehman criticized the Eisenhower administration for its "timidity in the face of evil [that is, McCarthyism]." The administration "has merged in tacit partnership with the evil," he said. As examples of inroads on liberty Lehman cited the "malevolent" Internal Security Act of 1950 (the McCarran act) and the McCarran-Walter law. . . . In his weekly column of January 29, *Jewish Criterion* (Pittsburgh) editor Milton K. Susman sharply criticized Pennsylvania Supreme Court Judge Michael Musmano for a TV speech in which the fascist-minded judge "excoriated his colleagues of the Supreme Court for a recent decision with which he disagreed [throwing out the 'sedition' verdict and indictment in the Steve Nelson case]. . . . His judicial robes are beginning to wear badly." . . . Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, of Boston, issued a statement on January 17 condemning McCarthy's committee hearings in Boston as "infamous investigations." . . . Rabbi Zev Zahavy, of New York, condemned the notorious snooping foray of the Norwalk Veterans of Foreign Wars as "self-appointed vigilantes" and "a great disservice to the American tradition of fair play," as well as "ungodly, undemocratic and a severe violation of the Biblical code" in his sermon before his congregation on January 20. . . . A mass meeting sponsored by the Brooklyn and Brooklyn Women's Divisions of the American Jewish Congress was held on January 25 on the topic, "America's Answer, Freedom, Not Fear!" Speakers were Rep. Emanuel Celler, Thomas K. Finletter, former Secretary of the Air Force, and Michael Straight, editor of the *New Republic*. . . . *Hadassah Newsletter* for

(Continued on page 32)

Jewish Life

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CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE	3
EMANUEL H. BLOCH, 1901-1954; FACIST FANTASY OF THE SACB	4
DANGER FOR ISRAEL—AND PEACE; AJ COMMITTEE AND THE INQUISITION; WESLEY WELLS CAN BE SAVED!	5
CONGRESS STALLS ON FEPC by Russ Nixon	6
GRASS-ROOTS VS. MCCARRAN-WALTER by Jack Greenstein	9
A WEAVER'S LOVE, a story by Isaac Loeb Peretz, translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld, with an introduction by Ezra Levy	11
ILLUSTRATIONS drawn by Philip Reisman	13, 16, 18
SONNET (for Ben Davis), a poem by Walter Lowenfels	19
PURIM GREETINGS, with a drawing by Zuni Maud	20
STORIES OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS: II	
Jews IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Morris U. Schappes	21
BOOK REVIEWS	
AUSUBEL'S "PICTORIAL HISTORY" by Morris U. Schappes	26
PASSION FOR JUSTICE by Louis Harap	27
PORTRAIT OF NEW YORK'S WORKERS by Frank Cantor	28
LETTERS FROM READERS	29
STATEMENT OF FORMER IWO OFFICERS: A NEW VIOLATION OF FREE ASSOCIATION	30
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by Louis Harap	2, 32

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

AS we write, the Big Four Berlin conference, begun on January 25, enters its last few days. It now appears that no questions for which the conference was called, were settled. Agreement was not reached on the questions of Germany and Austria.

What then has happened at Berlin? The proposals of Soviet Foreign Minister V. M. Molotov to hold a Big Five conference on all outstanding problems, to discuss disarmament, to promote East-West trade were all rejected by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. It was quite apparent that Dulles aimed to keep negotiation of any and all problems down to a minimum. For Dulles' eyes were glued on fixing in place the keystone of the anti-Soviet strategic military scheme, a West German Wehrmacht as the spearhead of a "European Army." This presents the gravest danger to the peoples of the world—and the Jewish people should have an especial awareness of this danger.

For his part, Molotov was determined that German rearmament should not be permitted. Over and over again Molotov pointed out that the basis for this position was the need for peace, not only for his own country, but for the entire world. For he reiterated what is known to everyone, that two world wars have already been precipitated by a militarized Germany and that the only way to avert a third world war was to keep Germany demilitarized and neutral. Hence Molotov made a series of proposals. Why should not the German people themselves, said Molotov, decide by plebiscite whether they wish integration of a German army into the "European Defense Community" or a peace treaty making Germany independent and neutral? This was rejected by Dulles. Molotov then proposed a 50-year collective security treaty entered in by all 32 European nations and withdrawal of all foreign troops six months after the conclusion of such a treaty. This too was rejected by Dulles.

The issue is thus clearly drawn; which plan will guarantee European—and world—peace, a rearmed Germany or a neutral Germany?

Let us look at the Germany which Dulles so desperately wants to rearm. The facts are well known. Adenauer's Germany is a renazified state. Eighty-five per cent of the key positions of West Germany are held by nazis. Four of Adenauer's cabinet ministers were important nazis. One of Adenauer's chief assistants, Dr. Hans Globke, was the author of the Nuremberg Laws. The cartellists, like Krupp, are back in the saddle. Anti-Semitism, which was not even outlawed, is growing. These nazis already have their provocation for World War III, the reconquest of the territory

between the Elbe and the Oder and, as Minister of Transport Hans Seeborn said recently, "all other lands at any time inhabited by Germans."

Molotov was determined to realize what the United States, British and Soviet governments had agreed at Yalta. "It is our inflexible purpose," they declared while the war was in its last stages in February 1945, "to destroy German militarism and nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces." It was obvious to everyone then that this was the only way to guarantee peace in the future. The Soviet Union has adhered to that objective and Molotov was trying to realize it at Berlin. That was why he refused to agree to elections which could well bring the nazis back to power and proposed instead an election in which the renazified elements, the nazi veterans organizations and the nazi parties, would be forbidden to take part in the elections. Instead he proposed that an all-German government be set up to set the rules for elections that would make sure that the fascists would not return to endanger the peace. And it was Dulles who wanted elections that would result in return of these fascist elements, who are his mainstay in the remilitarization of Germany, with the ultimate objective of launching a war of revenge that would bring devastation on the whole world.

What is the outcome of the Berlin conference? Although it is too early at this writing to answer this question too fully, one thing is evident: a rearmed West Germany that would plunge the world into war is by no means assured by the indecisive outcome of Berlin. For, after all, the last and decisive arbiter of this question is *the people*.

Will the French people allow their representatives to agree to the "European Army" with a revived Wehrmacht as its backbone that will once more lay waste their country? Will the peoples of all countries permit their governments to lead them by the nose into the abyss of atomic war? While the decision is still in the hands of the people, there is hope that peace may be preserved in spite of Dulles' ruthless support of a renazified West Germany. The American people must press upon Dulles that peace demands a denazified, demilitarized Germany. This cause is especially close to the Jewish people, who have good reason to prevent the return to power of the very men who directed the slaughter of one-third of their number. The stake for the American people, as for all peoples, in keeping West Germany demilitarized cannot be greater. It is life or death, peace or war.

EMANUEL H. BLOCH, 1901-1954

EMANUEL H. BLOCH, heroic attorney for the heroic Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, has passed into history.

With the suddenness of an earthquake, a heart attack snatched him from the living. A spasm of grief shook many millions in our own country and all over the world who had fought and spoken against the monstrous injustice of the execution of the Rosenbergs. Manny Bloch's untimely death only gave emphasis to the greatness of the work he did. With a passionate belief in their innocence he fought for the Rosenbergs alone until an intimidated country awoke to the enormity of the impending crime against justice and took up the battle with him. Like a fearless Hebrew Prophet he carried with honor and integrity the mountainous burden of legal defense through an anguished three years. He bore with devotion the guardianship of the two Rosenberg children. When the Department of Justice was done with the Rosenbergs, the McCarthyites in the legal profession set after this courageous attorney and threatened him with disbarment.

Manny Bloch is beyond their reach now. History will render its judgment on these small McCarthyite minds who killed the Rosenbergs and will give the highest place to Manny Bloch among America's great advocates.

FASCIST FANTASY OF THE SACB

ON January 14 the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB) ordered the International Workers Order to register as a "Communist Front Organization." Behind this order lies a story of fantasy, frame-up and fascism.

The IWO was ordered to register by "default" because, said the SACB, no one had appeared to defend the IWO. On the three occasions that the SACB scheduled preliminary hearings, the former officers of the IWO were present to make their defense. But the SACB refused to allow them to speak for the IWO and to defend its members because the SACB maintained that they were no longer officers. New York State Superintendent of Insurance, Alfred J. Bohlinger, who is now in sole charge of the IWO, refused to defend the IWO. Thus, because of a vicious squeeze play executed by the SACB, the Superintendent of Insurance and Judge Henry Clay Greenberg, the members of the IWO are deprived of defense against the McCarthyite assault on their rights and are subject to the evil consequences.

In other words, the IWO was not *permitted to defend itself* as provided by the McCarran law. One doesn't have to be a legal genius to see that this is a most flagrant vio-

lation of the right to due process of law. When the former national officers of the IWO offered to defend the organization and its 100,000 members, they were told by the SACB that the basis for this refusal was that Judge Henry Clay Greenberg, the New York Supreme Court justice who passed the death sentence on the IWO in the courts, had written in his decision that "in legal contemplation the corporate respondent (the IWO) has ceased to exist." Thus, according to the SACB, this non-existent organization could not defend itself because its non-existent officers, who were present in the hearing room and prepared to defend the 100,000 members of the IWO, no longer existed as officers!

When the former officers then asked to intervene and to defend themselves *as individual members of the IWO* who were subject to the penalties of the SACB decision, this was denied, too. The ground was that the officers were either "Communists" or "immersed in Communism." Said the SACB: all the officers, except for Rockwell Kent, availed themselves of the Fifth Amendment during the hearings before Judge Greenberg—therefore, they are Communists, according to the McCarthyite perversion of the protection of the Fifth Amendment. Therefore, goes on the SACB, they will suffer the penalties under the SACB's citation of the Communist Party as a "Communist Action Organization." So, concludes the SACB, they have nothing more to lose; neither the right nor the need to intervene in the IWO case exists.

This fantasy has another feature. The IWO has been under the complete supervision of the New York Insurance Department since December 15, 1950, when Judge Greenberg issued the liquidation order. The McCarran law provides that the order to register applies to the time when the order is issued—in this case, January 14. Obviously Insurance Superintendent Bohlinger will not agree that he was in charge of a "Communist Front Organization." If *he* therefore doesn't register, *who* is to register as officers of the IWO, if the courts do not reverse the SACB order to register? The Justice Department has already indicated that it wants the former IWO officers to register but the SACB doesn't accept them. So where are we?

However you slice it, it is still violation of due process. Those who will be penalized by the order to register have been forbidden to defend themselves. The former IWO officers have appealed and will carry the case to the Supreme Court, if necessary. In the meantime, two individual members of the IWO have demanded that they be allowed to appear before the SACB to defend their individual rights. Pending the outcome of these appeals, registration of the officers and the other provisions of the McCarran law do not go into effect.

This is a fascist frame-up against the 100,000 members of the IWO. It is more, too: it is a danger to the elementary rights of all Americans. For when *any* Americans are deprived of the right of due process of law, all Americans are endangered. This flagrant flouting of constitutional rights must not be allowed to stand.

DANGER TO ISRAEL—AND PEACE

THE policy of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles regarding the Middle East continues to cause events that threaten the peace of Israel and the Arab States, as well as of the world. It was reliably reported in the middle of January that in line with its anti-Soviet military plans the State Department would send arms to Iraq and Saudi Arabia. This was followed by the assertion by King Saud of Saudi Arabia that Israel was the "cancer of the Arab world"; he urged the destruction of Israel "even if it cost 10,000,000 Arab lives."

Quite naturally, the Israel government protested to Washington at the threat of arming King Saud in the name of "defense" against "Soviet aggression." Protests have also come from Jews and others at home at this threat to the peace. What is not yet realized by Zionist leaders is that this dangerous move by Dulles is part of the very same anti-Soviet foreign policy which they approve in general and which promotes war in various parts of the world and not only in the Middle East.

The same war aims were at the core of the Security Council resolution offered by the United States, British and French UN delegations in response to Syria's complaint that Israel's work on the Huleh water project in the demilitarized zone was a violation of the armistice. The resolution provided that General Vagn Bennike, head of the UN Middle East Commission, be given power to permit Israel to resume work on the water project after an investigation. The resolution was vetoed on January 22 by Soviet UN Delegate Andrei Vishinsky. His reasons were that such power to General Bennike was "passing the buck" and would not solve the problem, for a peaceful settlement demands that all questions about the demilitarized zone should be agreed to by both parties to the armistice, Israel and Syria. Otherwise, peace in the area is jeopardized, since Syria insists on approval of any proposed solution. It is further to be noted that in case of unrest resulting from any unilateral Israel action on the question, an opening is given for the import of United States troops, with the resulting domination of the area and military dangers entailed.

Nevertheless, the Israel government has decided that the Soviet veto constitutes defeat of the Syrian complaint and the cabinet has decided that work on the project is to be resumed. This decision—it has at this writing not been acted upon—is a dangerous one for Israel. It involves the danger of military action by Syria. As the independent conservative Tel Aviv daily, *Haaretz*, said after the veto, it would be unwise to resume the project; the government should "consider very carefully before it listens to those who would seek to push the state into adventurous courses." It was in the interest of peace, to prevent such "adventurous courses," that Vishinsky vetoed the resolution, following the general Soviet peace policy of resolving tensions by negotiation between the parties involved. The Security Council can for its part advance peace by enforcing such

negotiation by *both* parties.

This vetoed resolution is further evidence of the divide-and-rule tactics by which Dulles hopes to keep control over the Middle East in furtherance of anti-Soviet plans. For the resolution could only result in continued unrest that gives rise to the danger of war in the area. If the Zionist leadership values the welfare of the people of Israel, it will oppose the whole Dulles policy and not only those aspects which aim to keep the pot boiling in the Middle East.

AJ COMMITTEE AND THE INQUISITION

THE American Jewish Committee persists in its collaboration with the Velde inquisitors. On January 16 two representatives of the AJC, Rabbi Morris Kertzer and chief counsel Edwin J. Lucas, met with five Velde Committee members. Also present were representatives of Protestant and Catholic churches. Velde said afterwards that suggestions were made for changing his committee procedures. By attending this meeting the AJ Committee had ignored protests from many quarters in Jewish life: some rightly pointed out that the AJC was arrogantly setting itself up as representative of the American Jewish religious community when it was actually a secular organization; others, like the American Jewish Congress, made a more basic criticism, that there should be *no collaboration* whatever with the Velde Committee's attempt to enter into "an inquiry that threatens religious freedom in our country." We believe further that Velde, McCarthy, Jenner and the assorted inquisitors *threaten our freedom altogether* and that there should be *no collaboration on any ground whatsoever* with these inquisitors. It is not only their methods, but their objective—fascism—that is fatal to freedom. To suppose that one can draw the fascist teeth out of these committees is as futile as were Jewish concessions to Hitlerism in Germany.

WESLEY WELLS CAN BE SAVED!

THE date of April 9 has been set for the killing of Wesley Robert Wells in the death chamber at San Quentin. As we explained in our last issue, Wells has been sentenced to death for throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard under extreme provocation in 1947. He is victim of the brutal Jimcrow system and of its extension into the prisons. The courts have refused all appeals.

In the last few crucial weeks we urge all our readers to pitch in to help avert this tragedy. Get your organizations to send demands for clemency; every one should write and get fellow-workers, colleagues, relations, friends and neighbors to write to Governor Goodwin J. Knight, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif., to grant clemency to Wells. Wells can be saved if the demand of the people is sufficiently massive.

CONGRESS STALLS ON FEPC

In this session of Congress, FEPC has been given a bipartisan run-around. An election year mass demand can improve this situation

By Russ Nixon

SEVERAL recent studies of discrimination against Jews in white collar jobs in Chicago, Los Angeles and in Maryland show disquietingly high percentages. In Chicago, more than 25 per cent of 2,000 advertised white collar jobs in banking, insurance, finance and investment, publishing and advertising specifically excluded Jews. A Los Angeles study showed that 17 per cent of 5,535 jobs advertised in January 1951 discriminated against Jews. Of the one-third professional and managerial jobs that were discriminatory, 50 per cent were specifically anti-Jewish. And in Maryland, a study in 1951 showed that more than one-third of the applications for workers at the State Employment Service specified that they wanted non-Jews.

These studies were discussed at a conference of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, coordinating agency of six major United States national Jewish organizations, held at the end of last December. The conference pointed with apprehension to the apathy toward the problem in the Jewish community. One reason for the complacency, it was there pointed out, may be the fact that fair employment practices laws exist in 12 states and 30 cities which cover three-fourths of the population of the country. But the figures revealed in the above studies indicate rather the need for greater organized Jewish activity for federal fair employment legislation.

As everyone knows, discrimination against Negroes is so much more drastic than against Jews that the two groups are hardly comparable in this respect. And the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the Negro press have been quite active in the matter.

But the fight for FEPC is very hard, especially in the present Congress. In 14 months the present Congress hasn't found a single day's time to hold hearings on FEPC legislation to provide millions of Americans, Negroes, Jews, Mexicans and other groups a measure of protection against job discrimination. What a contrast this furnishes with the endless days of congressional witch-hunt hearings aimed at repressing and scuttling the freedoms of all Americans. Ever since World War II (FEPC was killed in 1946), the politicians of both the Republican and Democratic parties have connived and maneuvered to betray

RUSS NIXON is national legislative and political action director of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (Independent).

their promises to Negro and other minority group Americans to end job discrimination.

Through all these years of politicians' trick promises the poverty, hardship and indignities of economic discrimination based on color or origin have daily taken a toll of millions of Americans. In his hour-long message on the State of the Union in January, President Eisenhower didn't find time or occasion even to *mention* the need for fair employment practices or other federal civil rights laws.

For the third time during this session of Congress, the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has postponed scheduled hearings on FEPC. The main FEPC bill in the Senate (S. 692) was introduced January 20, 1953, by Senator Irving Ives (R., N.Y.) and was co-sponsored by a bipartisan group of 18 other senators. Although some of its teeth have been pulled, this measure would make discrimination in employment unlawful. It is practically identical with the so-called Humphrey-Ives bill that was approved in 1952 by the Senate Labor Committee, but so belatedly that it never reached the Senate floor for debate.

One would think that a bill sponsored by 19 senators, including the majority of the Labor Committee before which it is pending, would at least be given a hearing. After 14 months of no action, one may well question whether the sponsors themselves are serious about FEPC.

Run-Around on Ives Bill

Under the leadership of Subcommittee Chairman Ives, the Civil Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee on May 14, 1953, postponed hearings on FEPC. Senator Ives said this was because "of the difficulties of rounding up witnesses on short notice." But hearings might be held in the fall of 1953, he said. The fall of 1953 passed without hearings. Then hearings were scheduled for January 12 of this year. This time Labor Committee Chairman H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.) ordered the scheduled hearings postponed until February 23.

This delay aroused many protests. Senator Ives, who was responsible for the earlier postponement, protested that the delay "may actually destroy the effectiveness of the hearings." Yet Ives is himself partially responsible for the postponement. He told Robert S. Allen (*New York Post*, December 28, 1953) that he had "no powerful support"

for his FEPC bill. This statement was based on the fact that 29 invitations had been issued for speakers at the proposed hearings, none of which were sent to the mass labor and Negro supporters of FEPC—and only six replies, all opposed, had been received. By his failure to mobilize the immense mass support that exists for FEPC, Ives was in effect slowing up the campaign.

Delay seriously harms the chances of FEPC. Calculated postponement leaves time only for reports "favoring FEPC" for election purposes and no time for action. This is particularly true when the danger of filibuster blocks the road to all civil rights legislation, unless there is time for a determined fight to blast away this obstacle.

Masses Could Be Mobilized

This conspiracy persists despite unmistakable majority sentiment in favor of FEPC. The entire labor movement—both AFL and CIO nationally—have repeatedly and as a matter of regular policy pressed for FEPC. Some unions, especially those with large Negro membership, like the Packinghouse Workers, the United Automobile Workers and the United Electrical Workers (UE), have carried on strong campaigns. Last year the first two held conferences on the problem of the Negro in industry. And the Negro people as a whole and in all their organizations, most of them coordinated with the NAACP, are fighting for FEPC. All the Jewish organizations, likewise, have expressed themselves in favor of FEPC and several actively campaign for it. To this must be added thousands of church and civic organizations throughout the country.

These postponements of hearings on FEPC are thus contrary to majority sentiment. The NAACP, the Progressive Party and others have protested the postponement. For instance, UE President Albert J. Fitzgerald wired Senator Smith protesting that "the postponement of these hearings comes at the very time when the need for considering and passing FEPC legislation is of critical urgency. Unemployment mounts daily throughout our nation. While this creates untold hardship on vast numbers of people, the group which suffers most bitterly from depressed conditions are the minority groups, especially the Negro workers. . . . Our union urges you to hold immediate hearings on FEPC legislation."

In the House of Representatives, the major FEPC bill is H.R. 170, introduced on January 3, 1953 by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.). This is a tough FEPC measure proposed by one of the two Negroes among the 531 members of the United States Congress. It is this Powell bill which was actually brought out of the House Labor Committee in 1950, only to be stopped by the machinations of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans on the floor of the House.

In the present Congress the Powell bill, entitled "The Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act," has caused not a ripple. Hearings in the House Labor Committee on FEPC have not been postponed because they

have never even been scheduled. With his bill silently pigeonholed in the House Labor Committee, Congressman Powell on June 23, 1953, filed a discharge petition in the House, which if signed by 218 members, would bring FEPC onto the floor of the House for debate and vote. Only a tiny handful of the 435 members of the House so far have signed the discharge petition. There is a great need to arouse all congressmen on this issue, for in truth FEPC is treated as a dead issue in the House of Representatives.

Some Diversions

The first battle on FEPC and all other civil rights legislation comes the very first day when the Senate meets to set its rules. It is at this time that the Dixiecrats and their allies nail down the power of a minority to stop civil rights legislation by filibuster. So it was in this Congress. In January 1953 it reaffirmed the power of a handful of senators to stop civil rights legislation. It will be recalled that in the Democratic Senate of 1949 the so-called "Hayden-Wherry resolution," worked out as a compromise between Democratic and Republican leadership, provided that a filibuster can be stopped (cloture voted) only by actual vote of two-thirds of the total membership of the Senate, that is, of 64 members. Efforts to remove this cloture vote block against civil rights legislation failed by a vote of 70 to 21. Forty-one Republicans and 29 Democrats voted to uphold the filibuster, while 5 Republicans and 15 Democrats voted against this undemocratic road block to FEPC.

While the power of filibuster under the present undemocratic rules of the Senate is a great weapon against FEPC, a filibuster *can* be broken if it is fought vigorously. Mr. Clarence Mitchell, head of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was right when he told a Senate committee in January 1954 "that a real, honest effort to break a filibuster" has never been made. Only a genuine will is lacking to remove the filibuster obstacle to FEPC.

Another trick used to kill FEPC is to kill it with kindness and gentleness, to pull its teeth. This is the way President Eisenhower seeks on FEPC to eat his political cake and have it too. When a NAACP delegation visited the President during his first days in office, he wept crocodile tears of sympathy for the victims of unfair employment practices. Then he nailed his true position down by saying that he opposes "using any sort of compulsion on anyone regarding employment in a place of business." That gave it away. And so it is with all politicians who seek to curry favor with minority groups while knifing FEPC.

When the effective Powell FEPC bill was killed in the House in 1950, its demise was achieved by a toothless substitute known as the McConnell (R., Pa.) bill. While Jim-crow takes its increasingly brutal toll, double-talking politicians hide behind a facade of opposition to "force" to end job discrimination.

A variation of this scheme to escape in any way possible from having to face up to a really effective FEPC, is the

device to make FEPC inapplicable in any state having its own state fair practices legislation. This opens the escape hatch for every state, simply through the adoption of a feeble and meaningless state fair practices measure. Even senators such as Humphrey, Ives and Douglas, who have reputations as leading supporters of FEPC, surrender to this method of weakening of effective federal fair employment legislation.

Another diversionary project has been legislation to establish a civil rights commission in the executive branch of the government. Two similar bills have been introduced by Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.), S. 1, and Senator Humphrey (D., Minn.), S. 535, to accomplish this purpose. Since it may be felt that this proposal in itself is not bad, civil rights groups have been split over the proposition. The American Veterans Committee and the Americans for Democratic Action have supported these proposals for the commission but the CIO has demanded that the Ives-Humphrey fair employment practices bill be substituted for these toothless propositions for a civil rights commission.

Senator Dirksen supported his measure and rejected suggestions that the commission would be ineffective, saying "that even a baby is born without teeth." Senator Humphrey, who has shown a remarkable willingness to be "reasonable" (meaning to *compromise* with FEPC enemies) declared that setting up such a commission would be "a vital first step in behalf of civil rights legislation." It was Mr. Clarence Mitchell who levied the really meaningful bitter attack on both the Dirksen and Humphrey bills to set up a civil rights commission. Mr. Mitchell charged that the Negro people had "many promises from both the Republican and Democratic parties and very little delivery on anything." He said that it is not possible for a colored person, if he is honest, "to say he is a staunch Republican or a staunch Democrat" because the principles of these parties too often "have a hollow ring." The NAACP leader charged that "neither of these bills would effectively remedy basic problems in the field of Negro rights. . . . I must tell you," he added, "that the colored people of the United States are tired of being studied. We already know there is employment discrimination. What we want is action to correct an existing evil."

Root of the Problem

To understand the stubborn and consistent betrayal of FEPC promises by the politicians, one must realize that the full force of industrial and financial power is at work to stop effective governmental action against job discrimination. Profits are being made from the low wages and wretched working conditions based on job discrimination. No wonder that, in spite of some "public relations" double-talk by some bosses, not a single corporation or bank is on record for an effective FEPC.

Employers and financiers, Northern and Southern alike, fear FEPC because, *first*: they use job discrimination to get cheap labor, and they use this cheap labor as an anchor

depressing wages and working conditions of all workers. *Second*, the undemocratic and reactionary political influence of most Southern politicians is absolutely essential to put across anti-labor, anti-people's legislation, such as Taft-Hartley, repressive legislation like the McCarran-Walter and Smith acts, and so forth. This political bloc of the South serving big business is rooted in the economic discrimination which would be attacked and destroyed by FEPC.

Hence the stubbornness of the congressional puppets of big business as they serve their masters and betray FEPC. The simple fact is that if the government and the politicians were honest and stopped betraying their election-time promises to the people, Jimcrow and all job discrimination could be licked in our country. The American Federation of Labor has correctly taken the position that, given the immense volume of government contracts, genuine enforcement of anti-discrimination clauses by companies doing government work would go far to wipe out social discrimination in major industry. They have presented their proposals to this effect to the President's Committee on Government Contracts, chaired by Vice-President Richard Nixon. So far this commission has been a do-nothing, false front operation. As the *Afro-American* editorialized on January 26, 1954, this committee "has marked time long enough. Let's get down to the serious business at hand, gentlemen."

If the people were to make their congressmen and senators vote the way they talk, all civil rights legislation could be passed. The time for anger, the time for no more patience with delay, and the time for no compromise with betrayals has come for all supporters of FEPC. Growing unemployment means that all the worst effects of "economic discrimination" are being redoubled and intensified.

Lacking the protection of FEPC and lashed by unemployment, Negro and other minority workers are being driven away from most of the advances they have made into the ranks of industry on an equal basis. The politicians' betrayal since 1946 now begins to bear throughout industry and business the bitter fruit of the second part of the shameful discrimination slogan, "the last to be hired and the first to be fired." Moreover, it is particularly in times of economic recession like the present, that the poverty of millions of American families resulting from job discrimination feeds depression and unemployment for all workers.

Practical steps can be taken now to fight for FEPC in 1954. *First*, in Congress: tell your congressman personally and through your organization to speak out for an effective FEPC and sign the discharge petition for the Powell bill, H.R. 170; tell your senator to demand and fight for action on FEPC in the Senate this year. *Second*, keep the score for 1954, for election-time 1954. Use the time of nominations, use the time of campaigning, and above all use the time of voting to declare war and destruction upon every enemy candidate and every summer soldier candidate in the fight for effective fair employment practices laws.

GRASS-ROOTS VS. McCARRAN-WALTER

United action is growing in many communities across the country to revise or repeal the racist immigration law. Much more is needed

By Jack Greenstein

A NATIONAL Washington lobby against the McCarran-Walter act, involving representatives of huge sections of the American people. . . .

A national committee to mobilize and coordinate the tremendous potential opposition to McCarran-Walter, already mushrooming in various parts of the country. . . .

A great mass meeting in New York, linked to the whole country by national radio hook-up. . . .

These are reported to be the planned opening guns in a long-overdue concerted effort to wipe off the books one of the major legislative steps toward fascism in our country, the racist McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality act. This law has placed millions of foreign born and native Americans under the shadow of a police state, has generated beginnings of concentration camps within our borders and recalls Hitler Germany by the political refugees it has created.

A mobilization of forces to repeal or at least make major revisions in the act has been many months a-borning. It will take extraordinary, concentrated effort to weld the potentially great, but still largely unorganized, opposition into politically effective pressure that can bear fruit before the 83rd Congress shuts up shop this summer. Such efforts will have to buck a backroom deal by the Eisenhower administration to scuttle its pre-election pledges to alter the McCarran-Walter act. The people are faced with an up-hill fight. But the prospects of support from every section of American life—right to left—make possible a major retreat by the McCarthyites, one that can lead to ever-greater defeats and eventually to a rout of the fascist march on American democracy.

The emerging campaign against McCarran-Walter centers around the Lehman-Celler bills, but is not uncritically committed to them. The movement has been sparked by Senator Herbert H. Lehman and has received impetus by a series of grass-roots stirrings. Here are some recent developments:

Toward the end of February a broadly representative national committee will be announced (according to information at this writing), representing many of the hundreds of national and local organizations on record against McCarran-Walter. The program of the projected national committee will consequently be broad, concentrating on the demand for congressional hearings on any and all proposed changes in the law without expressing special preference for the Lehman-Celler bill. Senator Lehman himself

has repeatedly stressed that he would welcome support for "our own bill or any of the others."

A national conference and lobby in Washington is to be scheduled for some time in March, to intensify the campaign of pressure on Congress and a reluctant administration for immediate congressional hearings. It is here that the campaign will run into the nefarious deal worked out last summer between the Eisenhower administration and Senator McCarran. Rep. Emanuel Celler publicly charged the existence of this deal on January 10, following President Eisenhower's failure to include McCarran-Walter revision in this year's State of the Union message.

After the campaign has had time to unfold and as Congress begins to get into the legislative homestretch, a mass meeting of national scope is planned for New York's Madison Square Garden in May. A coast-to-coast radio hookup is part of the plans for the rally, with Adlai Stevenson virtually assured as the main speaker. This and other developments indicate the possibility that the McCarran-Walter act will loom large in the Democratic Party's campaign plans for the congressional elections this fall.

The past year has seen a slow but growing ferment in localities all over the country as the impact of the McCarran-Walter act began to be felt. There has been alarm over the wave of deportation proceedings against non-citizens and attempts by the Justice Department to revoke the citizenship of naturalized Americans under the varied pretexts provided by the law. Anti-democratic refusal of visas to distinguished foreigners has also brought into the glare of publicity the fascist nature of the law.

Grass-Roots Stir to Action

Grass-roots opposition has burgeoned from coast to coast. Los Angeles saw the largest meeting of the Jewish Community Council in recent years with over 600 delegates of every Jewish organization at an emergency conference on McCarran-Walter at the Wilshire Boulevard Temple on December 20, 1953. Parallel to the Jewish community's mobilization was the formation of the Los Angeles Conference on Immigration and Citizenship, comprising 75 leading Protestant and Catholic church groups, community organizations and trade unions. In Chicago, the North Side Council for the Bill of Rights mobilized 80 representatives of some 36 organizations into a planning workshop in December to map anti-McCarran-Walter action. Representatives of B'nai B'rith, A.J. Congress, Emma Lazarus

Federation and others joined to organize this workshop.

A major development was the formation, on January 11, of a provisional New York Coordinating Council for Amending the McCarran-Walter Act, headed by former Congressman (now Judge) Victor L. Anfuso, of Brooklyn. Representatives of the New York City CIO Council and AF of L Central Trades Council play a leading role in the group, which was founded by delegates from some 45 major organizations. The New York Coordinating Council is planning the Madison Square Garden rally mentioned above and has sparked plans for the March mobilization in Washington.

The same breadth and potential appears in similar groups in Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Boston (where the Catholic Archdiocese officially sponsored a conference), San Francisco and upstate New York. Jewish organizations have played important roles in all these developments, along with groups like the American Friends' Service Committee (Quakers), American Civil Liberties Union, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, social welfare agencies and Protestant and Catholic churches.

The basic trend is toward *action*, beyond the study and resolution stage, and this is the most promising aspect of these local and national developments. A campaign of real activity to get open committee hearings on bills to replace the McCarran-Walter act is the first step on the road toward its repeal. Progress on that road will be easier and quicker if some of the weaknesses now apparent are eliminated. First among these is the still-languid tempo of organization and action. Announcement of a national anti-McCarran-Walter committee, for instance, has been repeatedly delayed until widespread support could be assured. The organizers of this committee failed to take into account that a public call by them would have a galvanizing effect on producing grass-roots support. Similarly, fear of "the communist issue" has led to almost complete absence in the campaign of any effort to defend the victims of the McCarran-Walter act. This failure to take up the living proofs of McCarran-Walter's hideousness robs the campaign of an important source of vitality: human sympathy aroused by the spectacle of homes broken and lives ruined by deportation and denaturalization. Senator Lehman has given public recognition to this fact, devoting a large section of a militant speech on January 31 to depicting the horror wreaked by deportation and calling for defense of deportation victims.

In this speech before the annual meeting of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) at the Hotel Astor, Sen. Lehman said of "the iniquitous, the cruel and discriminatory McCarran-Walter act. . . . This problem consists, in part, of deportations, denaturalizations and new booby traps on the road to citizenship. Here the McCarran-Walter act is translated into specific cases of human hardship, of human tragedies which confront us every day, under our very eyes . . . breaking up homes, destroying lives, and flinging human victims aside with the unfeeling deliberateness of a bulldozer." Lehman referred to deportations be-

cause of mental illness, poverty, violations of laws abroad, technical errors in statements when immigrating, and because of membership in fraternal, community and cultural groups now considered "communist-controlled."

Need for Unified Resistance

The local and national anti-McCarran-Walter movements have up to now carefully refrained from including any left-of-center groups, notably the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, which has carried the lion's share of the day-to-day defense of deportation and denaturalization victims. For two years the American Committee has brought home the meaning of McCarran-Walter by publicizing the plight of its victims, thereby creating much of the sentiment which has led to the now-developing movement. There can be no question but that this heroic committee deserves not only a place, but a place of honor among the organizations joining together against the McCarran-Walter act.

The American Committee, which last December held a National Conference to Repeal the McCarran-Walter Law and Defend its Victims, is holding a similar conference in New York on Saturday, February 27th, at the Yugoslav-American Home, to mobilize support for the drive to win congressional hearings on the Lehman-Celler bill, as well as to aid the over 50 New York targets of deportation proceedings and the dozen local naturalized citizens facing denaturalization.

Certainly nobody—with the exception of the McCarrans or McCarthys—would see anything "dangerous" in such activity. Nobody, that is, but the leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee, whose frenzied anti-communism predates McCarthy by decades. This group issued a general warning to all organizations not to participate in the conference. The New York *World-Telegram and Sun* (February 3) eagerly seized on the JLC's warning, jubilantly headlining: "Jews Call Anti-McCarran Rally Red," thereby applying the red tar-brush to all McCarran-Walter opponents, including the Jewish Labor Committee.

The anti-McCarran-Walter movement is learning and will continue to learn that only *unity* of all democratic-minded people and groups can lead to victory over McCarran-Walter and the eventual reversal of the trend toward fascism of which this law is an important part. In the speech of Senator Lehman quoted above, he indicated the answer to the sowers of disunity:

"*These are human beings*," Lehman said, referring to the deportation victims of McCarran-Walter. "*These are our brothers*, of whatever national origin they may be and of whatever faith they may be." He went on: "It is far from enough to be satisfied in our own minds that the McCarran-Walter act is a bad law. We must, *each of us and all of us collectively*, assume the full responsibility of projecting this conviction throughout the length and breadth of our land, conviction throughout the length and breadth of our land."

A WEAVER'S LOVE

A long short-story by ISAAC LOEB PERETZ

Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld

Illustrated by Philip Reisman

INTRODUCTION

By Ezra Levy

A *WEAVER'S LOVE*, here translated into English for the first time, although a story typical of a specific period in Peretz' writings, is consistent with his countless stories, poems and plays. For Peretz peopled most of his stories with the "Children of Poverty" (his expression, "*Di Kinder Fun Dahlehs*")—the basement-dwellers, the Bontches (of *Bontche Shweig*), those who are downtrodden, crushed and oppressed by a cruel and compassionless life. But he does not describe their misery alone: he casts upon them the mantle of human greatness and dignity, heroism and humanism. "I want to speak in the name of the common Jew," says Peretz. He spoke not only in their name but also on their behalf. Their hopes and dreams become universalized in his ideal of a life which "must be judged and redeemed," a life in which "I construct newer, more beautiful and better worlds and I dwell in them," worlds where "he who is sick, starved and emaciated, he who is downtrodden like a worm, becomes the master."

By his inseparable link with the people and his humanism, despite his occasional excursions into mysticism and impressionism, Peretz was identified throughout his long writing career (from his early Hebrew poems in the 70's until his death in 1915) with those "who march on old

Sodom and want to overturn it," with those who use their art on behalf of the people. This link was especially strong during the nineties, when he was closely identified with and influenced by the young Jewish labor movement.

During the nineties the tempo of capitalist development in tsarist Russia was rapid. From 1890 to 1899 the number of industrial units increased by 40 per cent. In Poland the proletariat—that is, factory workers—doubled in number during this decade. Home industry was still prevalent. But the earlier system of home work by independent artisans and handicraftsmen changed to one in which the home worker worked for the contractor, the middle man for the manufacturer. Many artisans and small masters were also drawn into the factories. Conditions were so desperately bad that a wave of strikes engulfed the whole country.

In this decade in Poland alone 100,000 workers struck. In Lodz, in 1892, the first so-called *strike-kasses* (literally, strike-treasuries), funds to maintain the workers during a strike and forerunners of unions, were organized. In Bialystok, another textile-center, the Jewish weavers struck in 1895; on May Day in 1897, soldiers and police were stationed in the city to prevent demonstrations, and in that year Jewish weavers of the city sent greetings to a confer-

ence of French weavers in Roubaix.

This development brought with it a growth of class consciousness among the Jewish workers and a need for agitation and education. A pamphlet-literature in Yiddish grew up rapidly and was widely read. Such titles as *The Work Day, Wages, On Propaganda* and many others are known. The writings of the American Yiddish labor poets—Morris Rosenfeld, David Edelshtat, Joseph Bovshover and Morris Winchevsky—were well-known and widely read or repeated by word of mouth. In 1894-1897 the first illegal workers' newspapers in Yiddish appeared in Minsk, Vilna and other cities. Most of them were either hectographed or circulated in manuscript. In 1896 the first issue of the first printed paper, *Der Yiddisher Arbeiter* (The Jewish Worker), appeared, written and edited in Vilna and printed in London.

This is the background from which Peretz' writings of the 90's—*A Weaver's Love* was printed first in 1897 in the

United States—should be read. Peretz was among those who performed an important historical task, education of the young Jewish labor movement in Yiddish, the only language which they understood. Peretz' close relationship with the Jewish labor movement left a lasting imprint upon the great artist, just as he left his imprint upon the Jewish labor movement of the day. To many a young worker Peretz' *Bontche Shweig* or the anti-clerical *Di Frume Katz* (The Pious Cat) were the first introduction to consciousness of the labor movement, the first inkling of the potentialities of organized strength. It was at an illegal meeting of Jewish workers in 1899 (officially an "engagement party") that Peretz was arrested by the tsarist police, while reading one of his stories to the audience. He spent three months in the Warsaw fortress-prison. This is the Peretz of the short story that follows.

(A fuller discussion of Peretz' significance as a Jewish people's writer will appear in a future issue.—Eds.)

FIRST LETTER

MY dear intended brother-in-law:

You ask how things are with me? As bad as with a sinner in the next world! Among the shoemakers—you write—things are pretty bad now. Well, we weavers have already given up hope that we will ever see good times again. People say things have really gone to the dogs. You can imagine what an average young weaver like me makes if old experienced men are earning only four or five rubles a week. And even for this we have to work like slaves, sitting at the loom from seven in the morning till ten at night, working 15-16 hours a day. And we are the lucky ones, because at least we are working; many weavers are walking the streets half-starved and doing nothing.

It's this way, brother. Old timers say that among the weavers there used to be a lot of pride, that they worked only when and where they pleased; today even the hardest jobs are sought after, tracked down, begged for. And when you do land the job, you have to shiver and tremble in fear of losing it; or in fear that the boss, God forbid, will run out of work. Let him pour it on, let him work you to death! Because what will you do when he has no more work to give you?

And how about your old age? What will happen when you get old and feeble and the shuttle drops from your hand? When you look around and see so many old, worn-out weavers, it's no wonder you can't forget that we all get old some day. And really, with working 15-16 hours a day, breathing glue and pieces of dyed yarn into your lungs, living on bread and herring and maybe one skimpy

hot meal at night, sickness is a frequent visitor and there's no use dreaming about a ripe and healthy old age. And of course, some of the men have wives and children, and you know what that means. It's not enough you have to drown, you've got to have a weight around your neck!

You should see how a weaver comes home at night, how he sneaks a glance at his exhausted wife, at his kids, mostly skin and bones, and how he bolts his supper and falls into bed! His only thought is to sleep, at least to close his eyes, so that he can shut out the sight of the troubles around him. But even sleep is not much help. A bad life only brings bad dreams. . . . He dreams about his wife, that she is sick and he can't help her . . . that one child has injured another in a fight over a piece of bread . . . that the landlord has come and stands in the middle of the room stamping his feet, "Pay the rent, or out into the snow!" And when he wakes up in the morning, he doesn't know whether he's awake or still asleep, his dreams and his life are so much alike!

When old weavers get together nowadays, all they talk about is better days—not better days that will come in the future, they don't believe in that anymore!—but the better days that used to be, when the weaver worked for himself, with his own yarn, at his own loom, and sold his goods himself. A weaver could earn 15-20 rubles a week, he was his own boss, a free man with something to say even in community affairs. They say that a weaver was once a big shot in the town council! Today a weaver is a common worker, the yarn is not his, the finished goods belong to somebody else. He doesn't know how much the yarn cost; and how much is paid for his work,

that's none of his business. He just gets paid by the piece, and seven or eight kopeks a piece is supposed to be a royal price!

BUT I FORGOT THAT I'M TALKING TO A SHOEMAKER, WHO doesn't even know what is meant by "piece-work." I'll try to explain it. Imagine that you're living in a big city, that you're not working for your own customers, that you don't buy your own leather, that you never measure anybody for boots, that you never even break in anybody's shoes for them! You know only one customer: he brings you the leather to make up, takes away your work when it's finished and pays you so much and so much for each pair of shoes.

This, you understand, is piece work. You do all the work "wholesale" for one customer. He's the one that gets the profit and to you he gives just enough for the water in your soup. And you can't say anything because others are not even getting that. And already there is talk about a machine which will make shoes without using a shoemaker's hands. You understand now? And that's how things are with us. Seven-eight kopeks a "piece" is enough to drive a man crazy!

But tell me, how is my Miriam? Is she still embroidering handkerchiefs for other people's noses? Does she still sing while she works? Does the house still ring with her golden voice? Are her eyes still young and fresh and blue as the sky? Does she still blush as much as she used to? And you—how have you been? Are you thinking perhaps that now while Greece is at war with Turkey, it would be a good time to sneak into Palestine and visit the grave of Father Abraham? Or perhaps you'd rather go to Argentina and wage your own war with the locusts? I tell you, brother, staying here is bitter as gall!

Or perhaps you're still deep in your Bible Commentaries and entertain yourself with Thousand-and-One-Nights, Jewish style? Write to me! Maybe Miriam wants to add a word, too. Listen, whenever I dream of Miriam with her eyes red from crying, I walk around all day with my hands clenched into fists! . . . But that's something you wouldn't understand.

YOUR DEVOTED FUTURE BROTHER-IN-LAW.

SECOND LETTER

MY dear intended brother-in-law:

When you asked me several times in one letter how things are going with me, I read your meaning between the lines and understood that my dear future brother-in-law was really asking me: "Well, when will the wedding take place?" And when I sent you a long list of weaver's troubles, you must have begun to catch on that this meant, "Not so soon!"

You've got a hard head, my dear future-brother-in-law, and things have to be driven into it with a hammer before you understand anything! But since you've spread every-

thing out clear, like a fresh herring on a clean plate, I must give you a plain, uncomplicated answer.

I can not, I dare not get married!

You ask whether I haven't forgotten what I promised, whether someone else has come along and caused me to have a change of heart; or is it only "out of sight, out of mind"?

I hope, no, I am sure, that my Miriam did not see your letter, because she would never ask me such questions; she knows that our hearts are bound together forever, through life or death.

Oh brother, brother! I want to get married as much as anybody else! As much as anybody else who wants to be free of loneliness, of heartache, of frustration. I want to get married—but who cares what a weaver wants?

My boss's daughter wanted to get married, so she got married and quite a happy wedding it was! They didn't even forget the weavers—they gave us all a drink of schnapps! The road from their home to the synagogue was all lit up and strewn with flowers, the music played and the moon and the stars stayed up all night to dance. They wanted to, so they got married. . . .

And now they are somewhere on a honeymoon trip. But me and my Miriam can't start our life together, even though we need each other as much as we need air and water and bread. And even though our thoughts have become as one, even though she has become part of my flesh and blood, still she must remain back there alone and make herself blind over her embroidery; and I, I have to stay here all alone and weave and weave, while my brain whirls feverishly and a hopeless bitterness takes possession of me completely. But it is impossible to think of marriage!

You should take a look at a "husband and father" among us weavers. You should see how he bows and scrapes before the boss and his flunkies; how he crawls at their feet and quakes and trembles before he is finally "rewarded" with a favorable glance. . . . My marrow freezes



"You should see how he bows and scrapes before the boss. . . ."

when I watch them! No! I will never allow myself to reach that state! Let an endless gloom settle upon me without a ray of hope or a sign of consolation; let me suffer hunger and loneliness; let me wander unprotected under a weeping sky, but I will never come to that! And if things never do get better, well, then I have lost! Let my Miriam forget me, if she can; otherwise, let her suffer along with me, even though we suffer each in his own loneliness. Things must get better sometime!

I cannot finish this letter. My window has suddenly become red with flames—there is a fire somewhere—maybe it's the factory. . . .

THIRD LETTER

YOU ask, why are things so bad? Why they get worse instead of better? It's a simple thing; lean your big ears over this way and I'll explain it to you.

Who sets the rates for the weaver's work? The weaver and his boss. The weaver wants to live like a human being so he sells his work as high as possible; the boss, on the other hand, wants as much profit as he can make and therefore he pays as little as possible. Now—whenever there is a lot of work and few weavers, the manufacturer must pay what the weavers ask. But whenever there are a lot of weavers and little work, it's the other way around and the weaver must take whatever the boss gives him. And the number of weavers, thank God, is multiplying every day. . . . Even a child in a cradle knows this bit of wisdom but after all, you're a shoemaker, and a shoemaker who even studies Bible Commentaries, so maybe you never heard it.

The competition between the weavers grows fiercer from day to day. The younger ones, who can work harder and longer, squeeze out the older ones; the single fellows, who can get along with less money, chase out the married ones; then come the apprentices and drive out the ones that are left! And the wages fall every day . . . and just today we heard that some new "philanthropists" are going to open another trade school that will turn out hundreds of new weavers every year!

It's not enough that things are bad, it's got to be as plain and unmistakable as a rope around your neck!

If it continues this way, there will come a time when seven weavers will take hold of one manufacturer and beg him: "Give us work, we'll work for half-price, we'll work for nothing, but give us something to do, so we can forget that our wives and children are begging on the streets. . . ."

You think I'm exaggerating? You think that everything has a limit and can go only so far and no further? I think that work is also a kind of drunkenness that deadens the mind, makes you forget about yourself and everything else. Work, too, is a kind of schnapps!

But of course there is a new freedom in the world today! No one can force me to work, I am nobody's subject! I work when I like and I do whatever I please. I'm as free

as a bird but the hunter is free, too; whoever wants to, can shoot me, pluck my feathers and put me in his pot to stew! And I really would be a free man, if it weren't for my stomach, which is always crying for food, and if I didn't have to live somewhere and pay rent. If I had to work only for the "pleasureable" things in life, then I could set a different value on my labor. But today?

Today I want as much as I can get and the boss wants to give me as little as I'll take; we're both free but yet, he can get along without me and I can't get along without him. If I lose my job today, they throw me out of my room tomorrow; the day after tomorrow I'm already suffering hunger cramps; another day and I'm standing somewhere looking at a window full of bread. . . . I can't tear myself away, the bread keeps me rooted like a magnet.

So far, it has never happened to me but I have already seen this standing and looking at a bread; I have already seen such eyes—only hungry wolves in the forest stare the same way. . . .

Well, I'll tell you more about it some other time; now it is late and my head is splitting like an old pot.

FOURTH LETTER

MANY thanks for your words of consolation, or rather for your good intentions; after all, it's not your fault that to the mind of even the poorest shoemaker, the world appears better than it is.

When I translate your shoemaker ideas into my weaver language, it would seem that good times and bad times come in cycles, like summer and winter; that if there is no work and plenty of hands today, then eventually the reserve will be used up and things will be the other way: plenty of work and not enough weavers! And then we'll have heaven on earth! They will be searching for us with candles and when they find us they'll say, "Name your own price, but come to work! Skin us alive, but get the shuttle back in your hand!" They will pay unheard-of rates and weavers will walk around with pockets full of gold. . . .

And then I'll just whistle and you'll come running with my Miriam and we'll put up the wedding canopy in good fortune, in God's blessing and much happiness. . . .

Oh, you *are* an old fool! What a beautiful soap-bubble you've blown up! You remind me of a story: Once upon a time there was a sorcerer who wanted to destroy a certain town and torment its people. But it was a very pious town, full of holy things, and his evil power was of no avail against these holy things. So he considered the situation well and disguised himself as a peddler and began to buy these holy things from the townspeople at fantastic prices—a gold piece for a prayer-shawl, a gold piece for a prayer-book, a gold piece for a *mezzuzah*; just bring it out to him and he'd pay for it! Supposedly he was sending all these things to America, a new place had opened up for these symbols of *Yiddishkeit*! The townspeople believed him, and began to sell him their things. The first to be entrapped

were the plain people—the porters, the water carriers, etc.; then the artisans, the mechanics; then the richer Jews and finally the synagogue caretakers, the cantors, the *shochtim* (ritual slaughterers) . . . nobody was able to withstand the gold, not even the rabbi, who emptied his house of all his holy things. And why not? They knew that with money they could buy more of these things somewhere else.

And when they had finally sold everything, the sorcerer was able to exercise his power over the little town and the people began to fall prey to sickness and disease and all sorts of misfortune.

But they had nothing with which to protect themselves: no *mezzuzah* on the door, no amulet on the window, no holy word anywhere in the house! There was nothing to exorcise the evil-eye, nothing to recite a psalm from, not even a prayer-book to say a prayer from. And when they decided to send for new books and more *mezzuzahs*, they found—pieces of broken glass!

MY DEAR INTENDED BROTHER-IN-LAW! THE SAME THING ONCE happened to us. Not exactly to me, because it was a few years before I came here, but I have heard the story many times.

Once upon a time it happened that things were going very well with the weaving trade, things were going brilliantly. There were not enough weavers to turn out all the work that was in demand, the factory owners, like the sorcerer, were paying out gold and it kept on like that for a whole year. But when the year was over, there was nothing left but troubles and broken glass!

Our weavers didn't have the sense to take advantage of the good times, to raise the prices for their work; together they might have been able to do it, but acting separately as they were, each one tried to get more and more work for himself, each one tried to gobble up as much money as possible for himself. The weaver attacked his work as though it were a plate of hot pancakes; there was a grabbing and a quarreling; there was screaming and weeping and fighting and cursing—all for the work! The boss rubbed his hands in joy as he watched the weavers working themselves to death, not 15-16 hours a day, but 20! Sick weavers left their beds, the weakest ones became Samsons; they worked and were paid, they worked and were paid, until they sold their last bit of strength. With money, they thought, they would buy new strength!

But when their strength ran out and their fingers could no longer hold the shuttle and the money ran out too, they looked around and saw that there was no more work either.

That's how it was then and let the same "good times" come tomorrow, they'll do the same thing again! As long as one weaver competes with the other, it can't be otherwise; each one grabs more work for himself and the more he grabs, the longer he works; the longer he works, the less work there is; the less work there is, the fewer weavers they need; the fewer weavers they need, the fiercer grows the competition; the greater the competition, the lower the

pay! Again the same old thing—a rope around our necks!

And as though that were not enough, we've also got our "contractors"—but of that in my next letter.

FIFTH LETTER

YOU don't know what a "contractor" is? I will explain it to you short and snappy; I forgot I was talking to a shoemaker, not a weaver.

The "contractor," brother, is not a manufacturer, not a weaver; he doesn't do any work himself and he has no work to give to others; he is a middleman—he takes the work from the manufacturer and he gives it to his workers; that is, he stands in the middle between the manufacturer and the weavers and as soon as a mouthful of food is thrown by the manufacturer to the weaver, he grabs it out of the air, bites half of it off—sometimes he swallows the whole thing—and he never seems to choke on it!

And this contractor never gives his work to experienced weavers but only to apprentices, who work under his supervision—they "learn the trade" and work for nothing. So the contractor has two virtues: first, every year he sends a new crop of weavers into the world, all of them out-and-out paupers, who keep on lowering the price in order to get work; and second, he himself lowers the rates because he works with cheap hands and can afford it. Naturally, the weaver who works for himself must follow along.

What do you think, brother? Don't you think these "contractors" deserve the best in this world and the next, too?

About the next world, of course, I know very little; it is a long time since I heard from anybody there. But I am sure they enjoy this one. The manufacturer lives a lot better than the contractor, but the contractor's wife, too, wears pearls around her neck and blesses the Sabbath candles in a pair of big, silver candlesticks.

But I am afraid my Miriam will say that I, who was always so kind, have now become too bitter; that there was a time when I never cared what was cooking in my neighbor's pot, but now everything bothers me and my eyes peer into every corner. . . .

Oh, Miriam, you are right, and yet you are wrong!

True, once I was "kind"—but that was when my father, may he rest in peace, was still alive and I was at home. True, I had no mother and my father was busy with his shuttles all day long but I always had enough to eat and drink and a place to lay my head . . . and if as a child I had too much time and too few friends and used to sit alone and think about everything around me—still, it did me no harm; I thought a lot and understood little. Later, I learned my father's trade. Half in fun, but the trade pleased me, it seemed to me a great skill, a piece of artistry; it did not occur to me that it could be anything else.

MY FATHER, YOU MAY REMEMBER, WAS PALE AND THIN, WITH moist, red-rimmed eyes and sunken cheeks. What of it? The Almighty, blessed be His name, created the world

and placed upon it many different kinds of people, some fat, some thin, some short, some tall, and on each one a different face; as long as I loved my father, and he loved me, nothing else concerned me! I had no complaints to God because as long as I could remember my father, he looked the same way and it never occurred to me that he was once a healthy, hearty, strong young man, with warm sparkling eyes which had charmed my mother when she was a girl. I did know that once I had had a mother and as though in a dream I used to remember her moving about the house, a young wife with clear white skin and dark brows and deep blue eyes. But people told me that God, blessed be His name, had taken her to his bosom . . . she probably pleased Him too.

Who was there to tell me that she took her leave of this world because she needed fresh meat and drink for her health and that neither of these things are for the wives of the poor? They kept it a secret from me just as they kept it a secret from me that the weaving trade sucks the marrow out of your bones and that it was the weaving which made my father pale and thin and blind. . . .

My father suffered from asthma. Did I know that this was due to the dust of the yarn? The same God who gave me a pale, thin father, gave him the moist eyes and the asthma—and why? What a silly question! I had a teacher, I studied Torah and I knew that even angels sinned, let alone a man of flesh and blood, let alone a weaver . . . and God punishes us so that we may pay for our sins in *this* world and be spared the trouble in the next!

When I used to wake up at night and see how my father had to sleep almost sitting up because of his labored breathing, I used to weep childish, pious tears and pray God that if my father had sinned against Him, let Him rather punish me! And when my pleas were of no avail, I did not wonder overmuch, for what merit could a weaver's child like me have in the eyes of such a great and terrible God, that he should listen to my prayer?

But often I awoke and my father was still sitting at his loom. . . . Sometimes the morning was already dawning, its tiny rays stealing in through the cracks in the shutter. "Tatte," I would beg him, "put away your work, and come to sleep." He would barely hear me, and his answer would come from far away. "Soon, soon, my child, I just want to finish this 'piece'." Many times I fell asleep with the thought that my father must be an obstinate man, to want to keep on working even though his eyes were hurting! Sometimes in the winter I would wake up cold and alone in our bed and become very bitter, thinking that my father preferred his "piece of cloth" to me, even though the loom would not freeze overnight, while I was shivering from the cold.

My teacher told me everything and interpreted everything but one thing he never told me: that my father hated that piece of cloth, that it was not the cloth he was worried about, but the fresh bagel for my breakfast; that he worked at night because he had to, not because he wanted to spite his weak eyes. Just as nobody had ever told me that yarn-dust will give you asthma. . . .

TODAY I KNOW ALL THESE THINGS AND THEREFORE I CAN NOT be as "kind"! Today I know that the wicked, unmerciful world had once said to my father: "You just keep on working more and more, and we will pay you less and less—for sustenance you can pray to God! You just keep on working at night, turn out a lot of 'pieces'—and pray to God to cure your eyes! You just sit for 18 hours bent over your loom, swallow the poisoned dust; and should you get the asthma, you have a justified claim against the Almighty! What does it matter to *you* that we put your work on our backs, or that we make a little money out of it?"

And now the world says the same thing to me!

My father believed and religiously and quietly he suffered; or maybe in his own quiet way he knew everything and suffered a thousand times more than I? With children you don't discuss these things!

Or did my teacher know whom he served? Did it ever occur to him that he was fettering my soul in a net of pious cobwebs stronger than chains and tossing it into the streets? How was he to know? He himself was a weaver too, he himself had to serve his masters. My father died of asthma and my teacher—of consumption!

Well, is it any wonder then that, deceived by everyone around me, I lived a life of "ease" and grew up "good" and "kind"?



"I awoke and my father was still sitting at his loom. . . ."

Especially later, when I met a certain happy girl and used to sit with her every night behind the gate? A wonderful new life began for me, sweet nights and sweeter dreams. Almighty God! How happy I was! How happy I was at the Services for the New Moon, when the cantor sang "*Thm Kol Yisroel Aheyhem*"—all Jews are brothers! That's not a laughing matter—a person has seven-eight million brothers and sisters—and little Miriam among them! I felt so big, so strong, so proud!

It was only later I discovered that Fortune could tear me out of my home and toss me like a rotten apple into some distant corner, where my heart would break of longing; and that she would stay behind and stitch and weep and weep and stitch in loneliness. Only later I discovered that Moritz Feinbach, my boss, is no brother of mine, that he has more pity for his horse than he has for me! But at that time I didn't know, and so, with a smile on my young face, with dream-filled eyes and outstretched arms I went out to face the world. . . .

Today I know it all, I know too much. . . . But do I envy anybody anything? Do I want the contractor's silver candlesticks? Or my boss's bag of money? No! That is not what I want. My dreams are about a clean home with wooden beds, with one or two pillows, and white, snow-white sheets! A fresh bread in the white wooden cupboard; a half-pound of meat for dinner; and if God grants a child, enough milk in the mother's breast—not gall, not poison—but milk. My clothes will be plain, but clean; they can even be patched as long as they're not torn! And what else do I want?

That my wife and the mother of my child shall be the one for whom I long with all my heart and soul! That is all I want but even this cannot happen, because my labor feeds others while I go hungry! I am not envious of anybody yet it is galling to be ever "the pipe which carries the water but never drinks any itself."

SIXTH LETTER

YOU write that I am sinful, that I demand too much, that nobody ever promised me anything. So Miriam thinks that as long as two people love each other they can live on next to nothing! I thought so too, once; but I have seen how my comrades live; and I have seen some terrible things. When I received my first week's pay of two rubles, I let out a yell and leaped for joy. My first thought was to send you a telegram to get ready. But I never sent the telegram—I didn't want to waste the money, after all, it was Miriam's as well as mine! So I wrote a letter in the evening . . . but I never sent it. . . .

That night I went to visit a friend of mine—a weaver. I knew that he had been married only three years and I hoped to catch a glimpse of a happy home, to peek into a corner of the life which I hoped would soon be mine. I wanted to see . . . and I saw. . . .

Two children sick with diphtheria . . . his wife bent over

a sewing machine . . . and he himself pacing back and forth, wringing his hands. When he spoke to me, his breath smelled of whiskey. . . . I left hastily but that night I could not sleep. I kept seeing the same tableau over and over again. . . . His wife bent over the machine, her face full of terror, her thin body trembling convulsively . . . and I could not get another picture out of my mind: a picture of his fist coming down wildly again and again on her bent-over shoulders. If it had not happened today, it would happen tomorrow—he would never come home sober again.

You would not understand the things that I see. We are weaving not only linen and woolen-cloth here; we are weaving new customs and new standards! We are also weaving shrouds for the good and pious world that we once knew, and it will be buried in them. . . . And in its place will arise another world, rotten through and through, and whoever has the least bit of decency left in his soul will run far away from the new world—so far that even a pair of your best-made shoes would wear out before they got there!

SEVENTH LETTER

MAZEL TOV! Finally I got a rise out of you! Hunger and want didn't bother you, but now you're afraid that the world is coming to an end, and that holiness and piety will disappear from the face of the earth!

And you hit on a solution: first of all, you say, we must get rid of the "contractors." I hate to tell you, brother, but you didn't discover America with this brilliant idea, either; someone thought of it before you. By this time even the birds on the roof are singing this song! But you deserve an explanation, and therefore I will tell you a story.

Once upon a time, and not so long ago at that, there was a weaver, a good weaver really, but just a little bit "touched in the head." He also had a big heart, big enough to hold the troubles of all the weavers except his own. . . . He himself didn't make out too badly—times were still a little better than they are now—he was even in love with a girl and planning to get married but he got an idea into his head and could think of nothing else. He had convinced himself that while each weaver as an individual was a helpless straw to be twisted around the finger of any contractor, still, all the pieces of straw bound together into one broom could sweep the contractors out into the garbage. But what to bind them with?

And he had one bad habit, this weaver. He couldn't keep his mouth shut and any little bird that was hatched in his head would fly out blithe and free into the wide world. Many of the older people warned him, "don't worry about the 'public,' your only reward will be a hail of stones"; his young lady threw her arms around his neck and tearfully begged him to stop thinking about a "broom," but it was no use. He had to find a way to bind the broom!

So he kept on talking—and with plenty of fire! For a

long time the weavers understood very little of what he said but they felt the truth in his words; they stood around him in bunches and some sighed and some cursed. But this was not enough for him! He used to say that a thousand sighs wouldn't buy one loaf of bread and that a million curses wouldn't even make a contractor lose his temper. We must make a broom!

He talked and talked until finally the weavers agreed to do no more work for contractors and it didn't take long before there was a lot of commotion in higher places. The contractors ran around scared of their shadows and even the manufacturers themselves became almost as polite and civil as ordinary human beings! The weavers were overjoyed. They had never known that there was such power in the hands of poor weavers; all you have to do is wake them up and they turn the world upside down! Such excitement!

It was a pretty soap bubble, full of brilliant colors, but it broke too soon! In the first place, there were the few "bad" weavers who had never had much work, for one reason or another, and they immediately sneaked back to the contractors. Others became a little frightened and scrambled back to their places; and when the rest of the weavers saw this they naturally had to go back on their own word and even kow-tow to the contractors, "Forgive us, please, please, you are welcome to skin us alive again!" The water was back in the pipe and life went on in the same old way.

But there was one thing different: the weaver with the big heart was thrown out of the factory, he couldn't find work anywhere else and his bride-to-be broke the engagement. The weavers were all struck dumb and kept their mouths shut—after all, you can't endanger your livelihood just for the sake of one man!

EIGHTH LETTER

I NEVER knew that my Miriam had so much influence with God! All she had to do in her last letter was utter the wish to see me at least once more and here I am planning to come home!

I don't have quite enough money yet but there are still several things left to sell. I've already taken care of my bed, my blanket and my mattress but I still have an extra coat and two or three shirts. I should be able to raise enough for my expenses but if not, I'll just walk part of the way.

Actually, I am coming home for a very simple reason: I have made a foolish mistake.

The story is this: Ever since I heard about the weaver with the big heart, I thought to myself: where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise; it is safer to open your door at night, than your mouth during the day; teeth are made to eat with but also to bite your tongue; man is above the beast because of his power of speech but "good morning" and "good night" is enough of a vocabulary these



"I told the weavers that they should stick together. . . ."

days. All these and many other wise and clever things I hammered into my brain so that I wouldn't have to go through the same thing as my friend with the big heart.

But man proposes and life disposes! No matter how tightly closed you keep your mind, a foolish thought is bound to slip in; and before you know what has happened you have done something silly and it's too late to undo it if you stood on your head. My ex-boss says he never expected it of me; as a matter of fact, I would not have believed it myself. But it must have happened, because I'm coming home!

BUT LET ME GET TO THE POINT. THERE USED TO BE A WEAVERS' society here called "The Society for the Dispensing of Charity." Everybody in town regarded it with faint suspicion because the members did nothing more than come together for services and Sabbath study. Or maybe the old weavers who founded it already felt that they had to pray separately from their employers, that their requests to the Almighty were quite different from those of the bosses. Who knows?

But in time, the Services went out of style, and instead

of studying Commentaries on Sabbath afternoons, the weavers took to promenading in the fields to get some of the dust out of their lungs. In time most of the weavers . . . except a few of the old ones with the big prayer-shawls embroidered in silver (a relic of the good old times) . . . forgot about the Society. But recently, when they suddenly cut our rates, everybody was steamed up, and there was a lot of mumbling and grumbling and complaining. What to do? What to do?

Out of nowhere somebody remembered that there was a Weaver's Society for the Dispensing of Charity, that it had a meeting place where the weavers could come together and study Commentaries! As though it had been pre-arranged, the weavers found themselves moving in a mass toward the Society's rooms—with me in the middle. There was no getting away!

Have you ever seen the sparks flying out of a blacksmith's shop? Millions of sparks and they don't set fire to one straw on the roof. But put them all together and they'll burn up the town! The same thing is true of a gang of weavers. As soon as they all came together, they ignited! The deaf began to hear, the mute to speak, the lame leaped up and down, the paralyzed ones insisted on beating up the contractors. Others screamed that until two or three bosses were found in the street with their bellies cut open, things would get no better!

For myself, I don't like "beating up" anyone, even contractors, and as for cutting bellies open, just the thought of it made me sick, so I tried to get away from this gang with the sharp tongues and the dull heads. Unfortunately they noticed me and there was a general hullabaloo, "Stop him! He's going to inform! Informer!"

This word "informer" stopped me in my tracks and, hardly knowing what I was doing, I leaped up on the nearest table and began to talk as though I too had suddenly become "touched in the head" and afflicted by a big heart. . . .

SHALL I TELL YOU THE FOOLISH THINGS I SAID? I TOLD THE weavers that they ought to act for their own good; that they should stick together; that the charity societies should be revived and made stronger, that we should collect money for the sick, for the aged, for the unemployed weavers and money to put away for the bad times, when it hardly pays to work. . . . And most important, I told them, there must be no more competition between the weavers, not in rates, not in the hours. . . . I told them that in other places weavers were working only 12 hours, that in other countries they were working only 10 hours and in some places even eight! I said that a man is not a horse and that even horses don't work as hard as the laziest weaver. And other such things I told them, things that a person with any sense would have kept locked in his own head.

Well, Miriam, do you think I did a foolish thing? You always did love to contradict me. But we can talk about that when I see you at home.

In the meantime this business didn't do me any good. The whole time during which you didn't get any letters from me I was "put away." And only after they had made sure that I hadn't said anything about "cutting bellies open," did they let me go—and only then on condition that I would leave the town and not come back. A weaver, they said, must sit at his loom and work, not leap up on tables and make speeches. . . .

Not so good . . . but two things make it easier to bear. First, I planted a seed and I am sure it will grow; and I can see that it has already started to sprout! It is growing as it should—in the corners, quietly and modestly, without any crowing from the housetops. And secondly, Miriam's wish will come true and we will see each other at last, very, very soon. . . .

THE ONE AND ONLY LETTER FROM THE SHOEMAKER TO THE WEAVER

I AM writing to you hastily and in a great worry. Please don't come home. Be a God-fearing man, go wherever you like, but don't come home. It took me a long, long time to convince my sister that she ought to see someone else—he's an honest workingman, a widower—. Poor Miriam, for many nights she wrung her hands and cried her eyes out before she agreed; now you will come home and ruin the whole thing! Admit it yourself—you don't want to get married and truthfully, the way things are now, you can't, so why stand in her way? Certainly, I can't support her, I have my own troubles. Be a good fellow, for God's sake, go wherever you like, but don't come home. . . .

SONNET

(for Ben Davis*)

By *Walter Lowenfels*

I one Jew tell you it will not be!
Not more undone unravelled human grain
gas chambers sacred with unhuman pain—
no not more (but why is Ben not free?)
Six million Jews lie here with us. We
your outposts—sentries watching sun or rain—
challenging: must the dead be dead again?
His prison measures all your liberty
as we did once. Read us! Our empty faces
were human once like yours—washed combed curled
fresh-checked like *you* we say! What jail he paces!—
not one black man—not Africa only—the world
beats from his bars—peace-truth—all human graces—
freedom's thunderbolts are being hurled!

* Former New York City Councilman, Negro leader and one of 15 Communists now serving five years in Federal prison for "subversive thoughts" under the Smith act.

Purim Greetings!



Drawing
By Zuni Maud

GUT YOM-TOV! Happy holiday! And a joyful holiday Purim (March 19) is. The joy of a people's victorious resistance to oppression and its final triumph has made inspiring telling throughout the storm-filled history of the Jewish people. It needs remembering and retelling in 1954.

The simple story of Mordecai and Esther, who won from the Persian King Ahasueros the right of the Jews to defend themselves from their would-be exterminators and so triumphed over the evil Haman, is more than a folk legend. It is an expression of the people's indomitable will to resist, to wrest freedom from the hands of its stranglers.

Haman, the villain of the folk-story, has assumed innumerable identities down through the years. Whoever merited the scorn and hatred of the people—Syrian overlord, Roman proconsul, Spanish inquisitor, mediaeval

noble, tsarist pogromist or Hitler hangman—was dubbed "Haman." And it is a lusty, healthy hate accorded Haman. He is laughed at, scorned, razzed, beaten. His name is written in chalk, to be the more easily erased, wiped out as a symbol of the oblivion history assigns to tyrants. Zuni Maud's fanciful puppet-show above doesn't even include Haman. He is gone—off the stage of life, displaced by the people's hero and heroine.

This Purim of 1954 lacks no McCarthy-Hamans or myriad assistant-Hamans, all brandishing their H (for Haman) bomb. But to overcome them there are, as always, the people and their eternal optimism and resistance. The people, joyously munching *Haman-tashn* (three-cornered poppy-seed tarts) remember the countless defeated Hamans. Their will to have peace gives promise that the future is with the people's *Haman-tash*—and not the Haman-bomb.

JEWS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The greatest majority of Jews sided with the American Revolutionists and zealously served the cause as soldiers and as financial aides

By Morris U. Schappes

THE American Revolution did more for the Jews than the Jews did, or could possibly have done, for the American Revolution. To say this does not by any means, as we shall see, detract from what the Jews actually did do in and for the Revolution. As part of the rebelling population of colonials molding themselves into Americans—*new* Americans all—the Jews took part in the revolutionary war and contributed to it with might and main, sweat and money, devotion and blood—and the understanding that made the loyalty and sacrifice possible.

But the fact is that among the total population of the 13 colonies of less than three million, there were only about 1,000 Jews. Obviously such a tiny minority could not have been important in such a vast struggle. Yet, although the course of the American Revolution was not altered by the devotion of the majority of American Jews to it, the course of the life and history of the Jews here—and in many other lands—was altered by the victory of the American people, the Jews—the few Jews—included.

For it was that kind of revolution: a great, really emancipatory, war against British colonial oppression. Our American Revolution set off a chain reaction that exploded almost immediately in France, stirred the masses and middle classes in Europe, had its echoes in England, inspired movements in Latin America, and spread its slogan and example round the wide world. And the Jews in many countries even behind thickest ghetto walls felt its electric emancipatory current.

Yet it was not an all emancipating war. It had cruel limits and boundaries created by the historic social relations of the time. It did not emancipate the Negroes from chattel slavery—how could it when slave-owning classes were part of the revolutionary coalition and leaders and fighters like Washington and Jefferson and on another level the Georgia Jew, Sheftall, were themselves slave-owners? It did not emancipate the working, productive masses from economic exploitation although it changed the form from feudal and colonial exploitation to that of classic “free enterprise” capitalism. But our American Revolution set the stage on which, in later eras, there would develop mighty movements for emancipation from old and new tyrannies, national, political, economic and social.

For the Jews, the American Revolution dealt a powerful blow for their emancipation from feudal restrictions and inequities, from legal handicaps and constitutional disabilities born of another age and other social relations and perpetuated in the colonies by reactionary classes and those they influenced. The democratic character of the Revolution, even though limited, promised equality before the law at least to all white people, and the Jews were often consciously included in this promise and of course always included themselves in the aspiration for equality. When the New York State Constitutional Convention met in the capital-in-exile in Kingston in 1777 and wrote Article 38, it is known it had the Jews in mind when, “by the authority of the good people of this state,” it did “ordain, determine and declare, that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind.” For the Jews, says Dr. Marcus, this “is the first emancipatory law in modern history, the most significant legislative deed since the Roman enfranchisement act sponsored by Caracalla . . . in the year 212.”¹

Toward Equality

Not all the legal walls of anti-Semitic restrictions came tumbling down in one heap as Jews and non-Jews, joined in our Revolution, blew blasts on the horn of equality. But by the time the first Congress of the new United States met in 1790, New York, Virginia, Georgia, Pennsylvania and South Carolina had enacted equalitarian legislation. The Federal Constitutional Convention, despite shocking compromises on the Negroes and on the popular franchise, had rejected all attempts to require a religious test for office. There were eight states that still had constitutional-legal disabilities on their statute books (one, New Hampshire, has them to this very day), but partial victories had been won, and they were historic. Their echoes were heard and heeded in many another land.

On May 27, 1777, Benjamin Franklin had written to his

¹ Jacob Rader Marcus, *Early American Jewry, 1655-1790*, Philadelphia, 1953, vol. 2, p. 530.

nephew from Paris that he hopes "to live to see the end of these troubles, and our country established in freedom, when it will soon become great and glorious, by being the asylum of all the oppressed in Europe." Jewish blood had already been shed and mingled with that of other patriots when these private words, reflecting a public hope, were written, and probably no Jew saw that letter then. But a few years later in Charleston, Jews and others read the statement appearing August 30, 1783 in *The South-Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*: "He who hates another man for not being a Christian is himself not a Christian. . . . The Jews have had a considerable share in our late Revolution. They have behaved well throughout. Let our government invite the Jews to our state and promise them a settlement in it. It will be a wise and politic stroke and give a place of rest at last to the tribe of Israel."²

A half-year later in Philadelphia *The Freeman's Journal* of January 21, 1784 published a plea by a non-Jewish correspondent urging the removal from the Pennsylvania constitution of a clause discriminating against Jews and arguing that to do this "would benefit the state, by inviting hither a great number of Jews, who for their wealth, their information, and their attachment to the cause of liberty, might be of extensive and permanent service."³ In their long history, Jews had often been invited to settle in a country to add their skills to the local economy, but this was the first time they had been invited to come as equals before the law, as citizens. That the invitations were often voiced in part as an answer to anti-Semitic utterances or conditions did not change the significance of the invitation. Anti-Semitism was an old story; legal equality was new—and how brightly it shone!

What Side Were They On?

The Jews like all the other colonials faced the issue that faced the country: what side were they on? Jews made their decisions as Americans and also as Jews. As Americans they would gain or lose what every other colonial gained or lost. The revolutionary coalition included sections of the merchant-shippers, the budding and frustrated manufacturing elements, the artisans and small landowners, and the plantation owners of the South. Jews in these categories responded similarly. At the same time, Jews were aware of a lack of equality imposed upon them by anti-Semitic restrictions. As Jews they stood to gain the legal equality with other white Americans that was still so widely denied to Jews.

Mordecai Levy of Philadelphia signed an unusual statement on July 17, 1775. It was exactly one month after the Battle of Bunker Hill—where the young Jew from Marblehead, Mass., Abraham Solomon, had been in the action,⁴

but Levy could hardly have known that. Levy, it seems, had been speaking "disrespectfully of the General Congress as well as of those military gentlemen who have associated for the Liberties of America." His mind apparently having been clarified by patriots, he now declares "that my conduct proceeded from the most contracted notions of the British Constitution and the rights of human nature." He says nothing about Jews but could he have failed in his own mind to include the rights of Jews to equality as among the rights of human nature? At any rate, his "most contracted notions" now expanded, Levy says simply: "I am sorry for my guilt and ashamed of my folly." Levy realizes that the British government is "now attempting to reduce the American Colonies to the lowest degree of slavery." Levy agrees that "kings are to be no longer feared or obeyed than while they execute just laws." He concludes with the hope "that the arms of America may always be crowned with success"—and that others who may utter his former "contracted" views "may not meet with the lenity which I have experienced."⁵ Thus the education of Mordecai Levy—in Americanism.

A year later a Jew born in New York and smarting under inequities gave a lesson in democracy and Americanism to patriots in Newport, Rhode Island. It was July 11, 1776. The Declaration of Independence was still being read as hot news and flaming wisdom. Moses Michael Hays had been summoned before a Committee of the Rhode Island General Assembly, which asked him to sign *once more* a declaration of loyalty to the American colonies and their war against Great Britain. Unspecified and anonymous charges had been made that, like many others in Newport, he was a loyalist (a Royalist). Sign again that you are not, Mr. Hays. Mr. Hays refused. He was a patriot, he told them, "of this my native land," and he supported the war as a "just" war. Who were his accusers?

Why did they not face him and present their evidence? He would sign no statement that was not required of everybody else. Then Hays raised—the Jewish question. Another reason he would not sign now was "that I am an Israelite and am not allowed the liberty of a vote, or voice in common with the rest of the voters though consistent with the Constitution, and the other Colonies." Furthermore, he went on, neither the "Continental Congress nor the General Assembly of this nor the Legislatures of the other Colonies have never in this contest taken any notice or countenance respecting the society of Israelites to which I belong. When any rule, order or directions is made by the Congress or General Assembly I shall to the utmost of my power adhere to the same." So, reads the record, spoke Moses Michael Hays. By petition, Hays promptly carried his fight from the Committee to the General Assembly itself. There the matter was dropped.⁶ Was Hays a mis-

² Marcus, work cited, p. 529.

³ Morris U. Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, New York, rev. ed., 1952, p. 66. Unless otherwise indicated, most of the facts in this article will be found in this volume, pages 38-40, 45-71, 77-84, 575-88.

⁴ Lee M. Friedman, *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, vol. 40, Sept. 1950, pages 76-77.

⁵ Morris Jastrow, *AJHSP*, vol. 1, 1893, p. 60.

⁶ Lee M. Friedman, *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots*, New York, 1943, pages 143-46.

guided leftist, holding back because the Revolution was not good enough, or deep enough, for him as a Jew? No, long before Congress or the Rhode Island legislature passed any Jewish emancipatory legislation, Hays was repeatedly offering his aid to the economic phase of the revolutionary war.

Meaningful though they may be, these personal dramas are overshadowed by the group dramatic conflict waged in the New York Jewish congregation as a whole in August 1776. Unlike Boston and Philadelphia, where the revolutionary movement held broad sway, New York was a center of loyalism, based on big-land ownership and rich merchant-shipping ties with England and on the dominance of the Anglican Church. As if in answer to the colonial upstart insolence of the Declaration of Independence, the British moved a large fleet and some 32,000 troops (including 9,000 hired Hessians) down upon New York, grouping their forces during July and early in August on Staten and Long Islands.

The New York Congregation

Obviously Washington's weak forces could not prevent the capture and occupation of New York by the British forces. What should the population do? What were the Jews to do? This issue, debated in July and August in the little synagogue on Mill Street, tore the congregation apart. Should they stay on under British occupation, collaborating with the British in the war, the strategic center of which was now to be, for the British, the city of New York? Or should they do something else: go into *voluntary* exile for the first time in more than a thousand years, refusing to collaborate with the British?

The patriotic young "rabbi" of the Congregation Shearith Israel, Gershom Mendes Seixas, was against collaboration and for leaving the city. So was the young president of the congregation, the merchant Solomon Simson. So, it turned out after protracted discussion, was the majority of the congregation! On August 22, 1776, when the British noose was already all but strangling the American forces defending the city on Long Island, Rev. Seixas removed all the ritual objects from the synagogue, packed up the congregational records, took his movable household belongings, and led this American Revolutionary exodus of Jews who refused to collaborate with the British occupation and went elsewhere to carry on the struggle for independence! Some went to Stratford, Conn., but most went directly to Philadelphia, the revolutionary capital of the country.

A minority of Jewish loyalists stayed behind in New York, to swell the welcome given to the British and Hessian invaders when they occupied the city on September 15, 1776. Some 15-16 Jews were among the 948 New Yorkers who on October 16 signed a craven address of loyalty to the conquerors, pledging "true allegiance" to George III "as well as warm affection to his sacred person, Crown and Dignity," echoing in the word "sacred" the concept of the

divine right of kings! And between 1776 and 1778 the names of some 15-16 Jews, not always the same as on the first list, are found on the rolls of the three Battalions of Loyalists in New York commanded by Brigadier-General Oliver De Lancey.

The "Loyalist" Minority

Is there a meaning in these facts about the minority of Jews who were loyalists? Now it is true that perhaps one third of the colonial population was hostile to the American Revolution. It is also true that almost 100,000 loyalists left the Thirteen States for Canada and Europe during and after the war, refugees from independence and democracy. And, as an American Jewish Committee pamphlet takes pains to state, about 25,000 loyalists bore arms for England in the American Revolution.⁷ It is even true, as Cecil Roth, British-Jewish historian, notes contentedly, that Benjamin Franklin's son "was a staunch Loyalist."⁸

But is it enough to say that there were two sides and that Jews of course had as much right as anybody else to be on *both* sides? Or that, since British loyalist and American patriot each *thought* he was doing right, there is no judging historically which *was* right? Roth states: "The Jews who supported the Loyalist cause acted according to their consciences at a cost which was sometimes no less than that paid on the opposing side. Moreover, the right at the time of the Revolution was not all on one side. There was after all a British point of view, as well as the American."

Is this history or nationalistic apologetics? In this view the United States nationalist historian will say the American patriots were right simply because they were Americans. The British will say the British were right, because they were British. The Jewish nationalist will say both (which means neither) were right because Jews were on both sides. And history becomes meaningless as a science in this whirl of nationalistic apologetics. Yet the historian, and those who want to learn from history, is obliged to answer the historic question: *which cause was right* not from narrow nationalist points of view but from the point of view of human progress and emancipation, which includes the progress and emancipation of the American *and* the British people, and the progress and emancipation of Jews here and everywhere.

No matter what his nationality, the historian is asked: who was right, the London rabbi, Moseh Cohen D'Azevado, who in a London sermon on December 13, 1776 said: "We Thy servants pray before Thee today for our master the King against the American Provinces which rebelled against their King and refused to acknowledge his rule according to the law and custom of the Kingdom";⁹ or the New York rabbi Seixas and the majority of the congrega-

⁷ *This Is Our Home*, 7: *The Fight for Freedom*, New York, 1952, p. 4.

⁸ Cecil Roth, "Some Jewish Loyalists in the War of American Independence," *AJHSP*, vol. 38, Dec. 1948, p. 82.

⁹ *Orden de la Oracion* . . . London, 1776, cited in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America *Register*, 1944-1945, p. 84.

tion? To refuse to evaluate or deny the propriety or possibility of evaluation is to confuse the cause of progress and emancipation and therefore to set oneself in opposition to it. Historic evaluation need not, should not of course descend to petty, vulgar "blame." In fact the evaluation will be historic and not narrowly partisan only if it takes into proper account all the attending circumstances, subjective and objective, but the evaluation must not be withheld or its function denied on the spurious ground that there are attending circumstances.

Jews on the Battlefield

Having taken their stand on the side of the Revolution, the majority of American Jews served the cause in many ways, in the armed forces, in outfitting privateers that harassed British shipping, in economic and financial support. Small though their numbers were, they were on innumerable fields of battle. Perhaps the first to die was the wealthy South Carolina plantation owner Francis Salvador. On July 31, 1776, Salvador was one of a company of 300 men that rode out to give battle to Cherokee Indians, who had been organized for war against the patriots by the British and their loyalist supporters. The company was ambushed by the Indians; Salvador fell with three bullets in his body, and in the dark an Indian scalped him. "He died," Major Andrew Williamson wrote later to the President of South Carolina, "about half after two o'clock in the morning; forty-five minutes after he received the wounds, sensible to the last. When I came up to him, after dislodging the enemy, and speaking to him, he asked, whether I had beat the enemy? I told him yes. He said he was glad of it, and shook me by the hand—and bade me farewell—and said, he would die in a few minutes."

For the writing of history Salvador was fortunate in having a major who could record his passing in prose alive with the very rhythm used by Malory to describe the death of King Arthur. Not so fortunate but equally noteworthy is the undescribed death of the humble Joseph Solomon and the wounding of his comrade Ephraim Abrams, members of Captain Richard Lushington's Company at the Battle of Beaufort, S. C., in February 1779.¹⁰ Pathetic without or beyond words is the bare fact of the death of the child Rachel Moses and her anonymous nurse, both killed by one cannon-ball in the Siege of Charleston early in 1780.¹¹

In Philadelphia on September 18, 1777 Solomon Bush was severely wounded. On July 5 he had been appointed deputy adjutant general of the Pennsylvania State Militia with the rank of major. In mid-November, lying in bed and listening to the continuing cannonade, Bush wrote to

¹⁰ This Company, which got to be called the "Jew Company," was a conscripted militia outfit assembled in the part of Charleston in which the Jews lived. All males from 16 to 60 were required to be in it. Of the 60 enrolled in the company, perhaps 26-28 were Jews, but not all were able-bodied and available for service. Charles Reznikoff, *The Jews of Charleston*, Philadelphia, 1950, pages 41-43.

¹¹ Marcus, work cited, pages 361-62.

a Jewish friend in Virginia that his thigh had been broken "and the surgeons pronounced my wound Mortal," but here he was slowly recovering, and "my wishes are to be able to get Satisfaction and revenge the Rongs of my injured Country. . . ."¹² Nearby, at Valley Forge during that bitter winter of 1777-78, when American soldiers were freezing and hungering and almost rotting, Philip Moses Russell was among them as a surgeon's mate. When in June 1778 the survivors of the winter went into action at the Battle of Monmouth, Russell was with them too.¹³

The 17-year-old Isaac Franks, while serving in Colonel Leshner's New York Volunteers, was imprisoned when the British captured New York in 1776. Three months later he escaped, rejoined the army at West Point, was commissioned an ensign early in 1781. He served until June 1782 when, sick, he resigned on the advice of the regimental surgeon. To get into the American Revolution, the 20-year-old Benjamin Nones had to come all the way from Bordeaux in France, but he came and served in our army from 1777 to the end of the war in 1783, fighting in many battles, including the Siege of Savannah in 1779, where his "daring conduct" under fire won "the esteem of General Pulaski" and a written commendation from the captain, Verdier. After the war Nones was to distinguish himself even more conspicuously as a Jeffersonian radical.

Although completeness in the recording of Jewish heroism is impossible in a short article, note must still be taken of at least one Jewish heroine, Esther Hays of Bedford, N. Y. On July 11, 1779, her husband David was away in the army and her grown son Jacob away on a venture to try to get cattle through the British lines into the hands of the American troops. Esther Hays was, according to family tradition, lying abed nursing a new-born infant when loyalist neighbors raided her house and demanded she reveal certain information about the position of the patriots. Despite threats that her house would be burned over her head, Mrs. Hays refused to be a traitor and an informer. The loyalists set fire to the house. Esther Hays and her infant were rescued and taken to shelter in the woods by two Negro slaves she had brought with her from Baltimore as part of her dowry.¹⁴

On the Supply and Financial Front

Less dramatic than these incidents, but equally useful in support of the war were the energies expended by Jewish merchants and brokers in procuring supplies of all kinds for the troops. The Gratz brothers of Philadelphia, Aaron Lopez of Newport, the Sheftalls of Georgia, Israel Joseph of Charleston, Simon Nathan and Manuel Josephson of New York (the latter furnished "guns, cutlasses and bayonets") and a score of others obtained and sold the materials of warfare to the American armed forces.

¹² *AJHSP*, vol. 23, 1915, p. 177.

¹³ Henry Samuel Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894, p. 457.

¹⁴ Solomon Solis-Cohen, *AJHSP*, vol. 2, 1894, pages 65-66.

Having entered upon the revolutionary war with a weak central state apparatus, virtually no treasury and primitive taxing powers, the American government was continually in difficult and sometimes in desperate financial straits. Men of wealth, Jews among them, were found with sufficient patriotism and confidence in the future victory to lend money to the state and federal governments. When in 1780 the first national bank was being organized in Philadelphia, Isaac Moses pledged to subscribe 3,000 pounds of the total 300,000 pounds capital. In Baltimore on April 18, 1781, when Lafayette stopped there on the way to Virginia, Jacob Hart, Sr., loaned 2,000 pounds out of a 5,000 pound fund to pay the troops, and was repaid on May 27, 1782.¹⁵

Haym Salomon, not being a rich man, did not lend money but he served our country well by raising a couple of hundred thousand dollars for the Treasury through the sale of government securities or bonds, then known as bills-of-exchange. He was the most energetic, resourceful and successful of the many brokers, several of them Jews, who thus served the Office of Finance. Therefore, on his own request, he was permitted to advertise himself as "Broker to the Office of Finance" after his brother-in-law, Isaac Franks, the discharged veteran, had come to Philadelphia and opened a rival broker's office right near Salomon's office. His service was so substantial that it need not be exaggerated by falsification.¹⁶

"Zealous Attachment to the Sacred Cause"

No wonder that, when the voluntarily exiled Jews of New York returned to their city after the British had been compelled to evacuate it in 1783, they wrote in an address of congratulation to Governor George Clinton that, "though the society we belong to is but small when compared with other religious societies, yet we flatter ourselves that none has manifested a more zealous attachment to the sacred cause of America in the late war with Great Britain."

Was this "zealous attachment" going to stop the mouths of anti-Semites? Hardly. The very next year a pamphlet was circulated in Georgia lamenting that Jews were "eternally obtruding themselves as volunteers upon every public occasion" and asking, "What are we to expect but to have Christianity enacted into a capital heresy . . . ?" with the Jews running everything. Of course the rejoinder, published in the *Georgia Gazette*, January 13, 1785, denounced the pamphlet, pointing to the patriotism of the Jewish population.¹⁷ Patriotism was never going to be sufficient to abolish anti-Semitism in a democracy limited by the bourgeoisie which, for its own class purposes, breeds its own anti-Semitism. It was under such conditions of the pressure of anti-Semitism that Jewish organized life

was molded.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the American people, the Jews included, had won the Revolution. For the Jews, there were many gains, as we have noted at the beginning, in the direction of political-legal equality. So on August 17, 1790, when the Jews of Newport wrote to the first President, Washington, they felt they could describe the new federal government as "a Government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance."

Meanwhile, on January 29, 1790, the Jews of France had petitioned the National Assembly for emancipation, citing the American example: "The word *toleration*," the French Jews declared, "which, after so many centuries and so many acts of intolerance, appeared to be a word full of humanity and reason, is no longer suitable to a nation that wishes to firmly place its rights upon the eternal foundations of justice. America, to which politics will owe so many useful lessons, has rejected the word from its code, as a term tending to compromise individual liberty and to sacrifice certain classes of men to other classes. To tolerate is, in fact, to suffer that which you could, if you wished, prevent and prohibit."¹⁹ So equality and not toleration became the slogan, equality and emancipation for Jews as well as others.

Truly an emancipatory war, the War of the American Revolution. The Jews who supported and fought in it had fought for the emancipation of Americans, of Jews here and everywhere, of humanity.

¹⁵ Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1953, pages 27-28.

¹⁹ Lewis Rosenthal, *America and France*, New York, 1882, pages 207-08.

Persecution of Michael and Robbie

AT the last moment before this issue went to press, the latest and, in some ways, the most inhumane horror of the Rosenberg case broke upon us. We can give you only some essential details now. More in April.

On Wednesday night, February 17, in the closest secrecy and without warning, several officials of the New York City Department of Welfare and a representative of the Jewish Board of Guardians descended on Michael and Robbie Rosenberg's new home, where they had found great happiness, and presented papers for the surrender of the children. The new parents refused to give up the children until the next morning, when a hearing for surrender of the boys to the custody of the Department of Welfare was heard before Judge Jacob Panken. Hundreds gathered outside the judge's chambers. Defending the boys were Professor Malcolm Sharp, a member of the children's Trust Fund; Alexander Bloch, Manny's father; and Gloria Agrin, who had worked on the case with Manny from the beginning. Judge Panken ordered the children from the home where the boys had begun to rebuild their lives and remanded them to a city institution until resumption of hearings on February 23.

An outraged citizenry cannot allow this infamous persecution of Michael and Robbie to go through. If the children have not been returned to their new parents by the time you see this, wire immediately to Mayor Robert F. Wagner, City Hall, New York 7, to stop this degrading cruelty to the children.

¹⁶ David de Sola Pool, *Portraits Etched in Stone*, New York, 1952, pages 387, 411-12.

¹⁷ For further information on Salomon's achievements and their distortion, see Schappes, work cited, pages 52-53, 578-80; also Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1952, p. 30, and Marcus, work cited, pages 132-64.

¹⁸ Max J. Kohler, *AJHSP*, vol. 13, 1905, p. 28.

Book Reviews

AUSUBEL'S "PICTORIAL HISTORY"

By Morris U. Schappes

Pictorial History of the Jewish People, by Nathan Ausubel. Crown Publishers, New York. \$5.

The large audience among progressive readers that Nathan Ausubel won for himself by his widely-read compilation, *A Treasury of Jewish Folklore*, will be sorely disappointed in this new volume. The attractive format with its large magazine-size, double-column page and 1200 illustrations may ensure a big sale for the book, but the content of the text is unfortunately of little value to those persons who have been seeking one that would be historically more sound than those volumes by rabbis and nationalists already available.

While one could not assume the responsibility of recommending these other one-volume histories of the Jews, one could still direct the careful reader to many useful facts and even occasionally illuminating interpretations in Grayzel, or Sachar, or Margolis and Marx, or in the miniature work by Landman and Efron. The sorry thing that needs to be reported about Ausubel's over-ambitious effort to present a history of the Jewish people "from Bible Times to Our Own Day Throughout the World," as it is subtitled, is that it is generally inferior to these other sadly inadequate and frequently misleading books.

One could not have expected from Mr. Ausubel a historical materialist method of presenting the history of the Jews as a product of complex internal and external class relations and conflicts. But one might have hoped to find at least the same degree of by now commonplace sociological insight that one notes in a Grayzel or a Sachar, who reflect no matter how weakly the elementary principle that historical events need to be presented and can be understood only in their social context. But it is in this respect that Mr. Ausubel's work is most lacking, reducing it generally to a not too well organized chronicle of unilluminated facts—with 1200 pictures. No matter how attractive the pictures, lavish illustration is no substitute for historical illumination.

Consider Ausubel's two pages on the Dreyfus Case. One gets the bare facts, but not even in as meaningful a context

as Sachar and Grayzel provide. In his two pages, Sachar (*A History of the Jews*, 2d, ed., p. 345-47) begins thus: "The establishment of the third French Republic in 1870 meant a serious diminution of clerical influence in the State; in fact, the new government was definitely anti-clerical in its policies. The discomfited group joined with the Royalists, who were also desperately inimical to the bourgeoisie, in denouncing the whole liberal movement as a Jewish conspiracy. Because France had attracted a large number of German Jewish financial adventurers, they maintained that the Jews were in a league with Germany to destroy France, repeating the arguments of the German anti-Semites that the Jews were in a league with France to destroy Germany." Against such a background the facts take on some meaning, which is missing in Ausubel's bare-boned facts.

Or consider Ausubel's presentation of the tragic position of the Jews in relation to the Ukrainian rising against Polish domination in 1648. Margolis and Marx (*A History of the Jewish People*, p. 551-52) write that the insurrection "was directed against the Polish gentry, who stood forth as economic oppressors, political tyrants and heretics in religion. Between the two opposing forces the Jew was lodged . . . the middleman who as agent of the *pans* drew upon himself the hatred of the exploited Ruthenian peasants."

Similarly Grayzel (*A History of the Jews*, p. 509-10) says: "A system developed whereby the Jews would either rent the vast farms of the landlords or become resident overseers. The Polish noble . . . would go to Warsaw or Paris, living on the money squeezed out of the peasant by means of the Jewish overseer. . . . It stands to reason that the Ukrainian peasants associated the Jews with the hated Poles." But to Ausubel the situation is simply this: Khmel'nitsky, the leader of the rising, was "an intelligent but brutal Cossack leader who wished not only to wipe out the hated Poles but also the Jews, whom he indirectly associated with the oppression of his people. Judging superficially, he saw many Jews serving as stewards on the estates of the Polish kings and of the *pans*, acting as their financial agents and factors, tax-collectors and money

lenders—a class of people he despised" (emphasis added—M. U. S.). Thus what "stands to reason" for Grayzel and Margolis and Marx is superficial judgment to Ausubel, who therefore reduces the tragedy of the historical necessity in these circumstances to the farce of subjective, malicious "anti-Semitism."

Innumerable other comparisons call for notation but two small ones will suffice. In describing the "autonomous" Jewish community structure in old Poland known as the *kahal*, Ausubel ignores the class divisions in the community (p. 135). But Grayzel is much more candid, noting bluntly that "the rule of the *kahal* [was] by an aristocracy of wealth. . . . As a result, community life was not always peaceful" (p. 451). Anyone who for any reason had expected Mr. Ausubel to elaborate that last sentence of Grayzel's must be startled to observe that he does not even go as far in such matters as Grayzel does. Finally, to compare Ausubel's treatment of the Hebrew prophets (10 lines to Amos, 27 to Isaiah, much more on Jeremiah) with that of, say, Landman and Efron is to measure how deeply disappointing the book actually is.

The section on the United States is

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crowded with inexcusable errors of fact easily avoidable. The one page on organized labor is overshadowed by the space given to "Wealth and Philanthropy." The page on Yiddish culture here lists a large number of writers by name—without so much as a sentence about their content. The chapter on Israel reads like an elaborate handout by the cultural attaché of some Israel embassy, omitting anything "controversial," like the relation of United States imperialism to Israel, or the class

nature of Zionist strategy. In his nine skimpy pages on the Soviet Union, Mr. Ausubel gingerly tries to "offend" nobody and "please everybody," with the result that he clarifies very little and, while giving some useful data, repeats some common errors and misrepresentations.

Had Mr. Ausubel tried to do less he might have achieved more: 1200 pictures with brief descriptive captions might have made a vivid, if not a very important, volume.

national protest, especially in Italy, native land of the two victims, where the people's protest forced even the fascist Mussolini to make a consciously futile gesture for clemency for Sacco and Vanzetti. And there are moving scenes of the vigil in Union Square on the last day that are reminiscent of similar scenes 26 years later on that harrowing last day of the Rosenbergs.

One leaves the book, however, with some questions. It is true, as Fast indicates, that many well known intellectuals, writers and public figures courageously came forward in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Such persons are amply represented by Fast. But among these, Fast confines himself largely to liberals. Yet it is a fact that left wingers of various hues were at least equally active in the case.

Fast's depiction of the labor movement in the defense is also inadequate. For it is known that both at home and abroad labor played a primary role in the fight. But the novel does not place the labor movement in the central position that belongs to it. Only a single chapter is given over to the labor participation in the case; otherwise labor figures only in passing in relation to important personages.

Despite such questions, however, this book is a significant contribution to the fight against the fascist danger today, as indeed we should expect from Howard Fast. This people's novelist has done the country an enormous service by acquainting the younger generation—and reacquainting the older generation—with essentials of the case which reveal the real face of McCarthyism. This revelation helps us more effectively to fight against it. And the people owe a debt to Howard Fast for clinging ever more firmly to the responsibility of the creative artist in our day when so few writers have the fortitude, steadiness of outlook and integrity to cleave to democratic principles.

PASSION FOR JUSTICE

By Louis Harap

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti: a New England Legend, by Howard Fast. The Blue Heron Press, New York. \$3.00.

There is no doubt that the Rosenberg case moved Howard Fast to write this "legend" of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. For the parallels, despite large differences of circumstances and social contexts, are striking and illuminating. Both cases were products of postwar anti-progressivism and were generated by a prevailing anti-labor offensive, by a witch-hunt that afflicted normal reasoning processes with hysterical paralysis, by callous rejection of new evidence and the flouting of vast, world-wide sentiment opposed to the carrying out of the death sentence.

But Fast's novel is of course far more than a parallel with the Rosenberg case. It is a parable of justice under the thumb of the moneyed class which is in many ways being manifested every day in the courts and in all phases of life by McCarthyism today. And Fast's authorship of this book is a part of the logic of our time. Twenty years ago Howard Fast began to chronicle many crucial figures and episodes of struggle in America's democratic tradition, including *Freedom Road*, probably his most important book to date. While the current intimidation has sent the overwhelming majority of American writers scurrying for cover, the witch-hunt only intensified Fast's determination to defend and advance the democratic tradition in its hour of greatest danger. Indeed, the witch-hunt has inflicted three months in jail upon Fast. One cannot help feeling Fast's personal knowledge of prison life in his description of prison happenings in the novel.

It is logical that Fast should have chosen to move the American people to a realization of the fascist danger through an impassioned depiction of the post-World

War I version of McCarthyism. He has done this by giving the reader a sweeping view of the Sacco-Vanzetti case through a number of occurrences during the last 18 hours of the life of these two labor martyrs on August 22, 1927.

The novel traverses the ground of the case by correlating events in many parts of the world, as well as in this country and in the Charlestown prison where the cobbler and fish-peddler awaited their death. By the use of the flashback technique, essential facts of the case and of the struggle against this most brazen frame-up in American history are sketched. And all this is told with that skill of the story-teller that has made Fast more widely read over the world than any living American author. The novel is charged with profound conviction and succeeds in communicating this to the reader. The rare humanity and selflessness of Sacco and Vanzetti are conveyed in terms that touch the reader to the quick.

The final chapters of the book bring out the greatness of character of Sacco and Vanzetti: in their touching, compassionate relation to Madeiros, the ill-fated young man who confessed vainly to participation with others in the crime for which the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti were being taken; in the magnanimous last talk of the two with William G. Thompson, their attorney, and in the final dignity with which they went to the electric chair. There are chapters in which some of the chief actors in this tragedy are exposed without mercy for their callous, gigantic prejudice—the Harvard President (Lowell), the Governor (Fuller), the Judge (Thayer), the President (Coolidge). The anti-Semitism against one of the important fighters for the martyrs, then Professor Felix Frankfurter, exposes this phase of the reactionary mentality that killed the two innocent Italian workers.

The book also recalls the massive inter-

We Omitted to Say . . .

THERE were two inadvertent omissions in the February issue:

1. The drawings by Charles White (on pages 13 and 16) were reproduced from *The Art of Charles White*, a folio of six drawings, published by *Masses and Mainstream*.

2. The quotation dating from 1874 at the opening of Elihu S. Hick's article (page 15) was drawn from Herbert Aptheker's *A Documentary History of the Negro People of the United States* (Cited Press, New York), pages 609-610.

By Frank Cantor

Brownstone: A Novel of New York, by Arthur Kahn. Independence Publishers (G.P.O. Box 42, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.). \$3.00.

To the growing body of independently published works that throw light on the true American scene, add this first novel by Arthur Kahn, author of the non-fiction *Betrayal* and *Speak Out*. Here is an often eloquently written book abounding in portrayals of real people who make up the mass of America but are rarely, if ever, met in the current listings of the publishing houses.

In *Brownstone*, Kahn displays a genuine talent devoted to the people's interests. He uses a large canvas and dares a bold, democratic theme. He grapples with craft and social problems left virtually untouched in these days of drugstore drama. And, to a great extent, he surpasses the most hopeful expectations from a first novel so ambitiously conceived.

Through a number of characters, considered as a cross-section of the city, Kahn tells a story of "everyday, ordinary people (who) have to show the intelligence and courage of soldiers at the front." Using a kind of *Grand Hotel* technique, he presents the residents of a New York brownstone rooming house who, in the words of one of them, learn "how much we need each other and . . . to make each other's burdens easier to bear." And this rich, vital learning process is depicted by Kahn with considerable insight into the lives of flesh and blood human beings.

Here is a gallery of people you will remember: Martha, the indomitable Negro house-worker, prototype of Negro women who march well up front in the battle for liberation; Clara Feit, the middle-aged Jewish woman who has ruptured an oppressive marriage and gone to work in a department store that is being organized; Ray Hammond, young veteran and office worker, filled with saggy illusions; Miguel, the arthritic Puerto Rican, suffering but proud; Lillie, the single woman in her thirties, breaking out of a stale relationship in which "she had existed Tuesday and Thursday evenings"; Margaret, the beaten but still spirited, in-name-only owner of the brownstone, dominated by the coarse, malevolent Hoffman; Joe and Ada Rushko, stalwart progressives; Danny, the young New Englander, fleeing the draft board, and many more. One after the other, Kahn reveals them thinking

and doing, interconnected by their lives in the brownstone and by what befalls it. And the gratifying thing, in a work of such scope, is how often Kahn's characters come alive so that they are not paper puppets to be pushed around.

What deserves to be singled out in *Brownstone* is Kahn's skillful handling of women characters. Many of them are roundly portrayed living individuals, deeply perceived in their sisterhood of common, though varied oppression. Even when changes in them do not come about with the force of inevitability, the reader's understanding is deepened, emotions aroused. One comes away with a heightened consciousness of what the lives of women in our society really are—what resourcefulness and leadership is developed in them.

Here also, perhaps for the first time in United States fiction, a Puerto Rican is portrayed with great sensitivity and understanding. Miguel, the pain-stricken, arthritic garment worker, though briefly revealed, emerges with tremendous dignity. Chapter 20, on his dream, is a moving piece of writing, irradiated with great beauty and power.

Readers of *JEWISH LIFE* are apt to be especially interested in Clara Feit, the main Jewish character in the book. Though not typical of the great number of Jewish working class women in New York, she has much in common with those sections of Jewish petty bourgeois women who find their class moorings shifting. Kahn handles her with great sympathy and tenderness. The conflicting pressures in her are well presented and her emergence on the road toward a newer, broader life sheds light on the resilience to be found in this stratum of American Jewry.

Kahn's style, throughout the book, has a quality and texture that has been drained out of the mainstream of our country's fiction by the hard-boiled Hemingway school. His writing, rich without being mannered, is full of sensuous images—the sharpness of memory, the complexity of thought. When his people ring true—as so many of them do—it is because he has carefully observed them and seen them in motion, understanding what is growing in them and causing them to change, even when the characters themselves do not.

What weaknesses there are in *Brownstone* seem to me to flow from the ambi-

tious attempt to mirror the times through a faithful cross-section of society, rather than through the sustained unfolding of a basic theme and story line. The very structure of the book, with about a dozen main characters, tends to diffuse the narrative and make for a somewhat static quality that creeps in as Kahn weaves from one character to the other and back again. Even so, more skillful editing could have overcome a considerable part of this weakness, as well as Kahn's tendency to overwrite.

However, granting the author's approach, I think he deprived his tale of some of its vigor by failing to include at least one main character typical of the mass of organized, though not class-conscious, trade unionists in the city. There are a number of such characters in the book, briefly but sharply portrayed, yet none central to his story. However, Kahn himself would surely agree they are the most vital stratum of the population, capable of realizing his theme in action.

Yet these weaknesses do not minimize Arthur Kahn's accomplishments in *Brownstone* nor destroy the pleasure you will find in reading the book. Independently published, as were his two previous works, *Brownstone* should obtain a wide circulation among readers who know that the most exciting stories are those drawn from real life and written with that partisanship that leads to genuine objectivity. It's well worth the money to read the work of so finely equipped a people's writer.

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Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Just came from the hospital and will have to go back again. That is why I did not write to you after Volume III finally reached me. I read it day and night and forgot all my pains. The questions which I asked in my letter [February issue, p. 30] are mostly answered there.

Enclosed is \$5.00. There must be a February issue! If you have some more old issues, single ones [yes, we have—Eds.], I would love to have them. Enclose a bill and I will send you money by return mail. I sent the Prague Trial pamphlet and the Perlo pamphlet on *Israel and Dollar Diplomacy* to my friends.

You will hear from me when I am in better shape. I do hope you got the money you needed.

A. N.

Mill Valley, Calif.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Here is my very small contribution of \$5.00 in response to your letter of January 12. I cannot imagine how those of us who have read the magazine for the last few years can get along without this very instructive periodical. I know it is a source of information to me. I hope you will raise the amount you require and continue successfully.

A. B.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I am very much impressed with your magazine. You are doing a heroic service for the Jewish community and the nation as a whole. JEWISH LIFE and publications of a similar strain are needed today more than ever.

I wish I could be of more financial assistance to you than I can. I am old and not employed but feel compelled to send at least \$2.00. I am a charter subscriber.

Yours for a better future.

A. T.

Denver, Colo.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is my check for \$10.00. I know it's late, but now, please use \$5.00 as a contribution for January and \$5.00 for February. If you will remind me, I will send you \$5.00 every month after that.

I sent your letter of January 12 to a friend.

E. B.

Chicago

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Please accept \$15.00 for our part in helping keep alive the most marvelous magazine. I wish you lots of luck in your effort to stay live and active.

Chicago

S. T.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The Emma Lazarus Club of Fall River sends this gift of \$10.00 in appreciation for the privilege of having such a gift as your magazine. We hope to do better as we go along. With best wishes and gratitude from all our sisters.

Fall River, Mass.

B. B.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The magazine is very valuable to me. I have learned from it some things I've wanted to know for years. Nevertheless, it is not possible for me to send at present an amount that I should like to send. I enclose \$5.00, a "drop in the bucket," and expect to send the same amount next month.

I hope people who can afford to do send large amounts.

E. H. T.

Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$5.00 for an indispensable publication.

I. L.

Flushing, N. Y.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$1.00. Sorry I can't spare more. Yours is a fine publication and meets a growing need in America today. Lots of luck.

M. L.

New York City

The Drive Picks Up Steam . . .

YOUR response last month to our appeal to save the magazine was better. A number of readers sent us checks from \$1.00 to \$100.00. Some Jewish Life committees—Miami Beach, for instance—came through with large donations. We knew you wouldn't let us down.

But we dare not deceive ourselves. We are not yet out of the woods. Not by some thousands of dollars. This is a gentle hint to the hundreds of our readers and subscribers who have not been heard from. Send us your contribution *today*. Get up house parties for the magazine. You'll find that many people are glad of the opportunity to contribute to our fighting journal. And Jewish Life committees—speed up your activities toward your quotas!

THE EDITORS

NEW VIOLATION OF FREE ASSOCIATION

The following statement was issued on February 5 by the former national office and heads of national group sections of the International Workers Order.—Eds.

The Insurance Department of the State of New York, under the signature of Mr. Bohlinger, sent a letter to members of the International Workers Order which contains an open threat against any attempt of the members to associate with one another or to keep up in the future any fraternal, cultural and friendship ties which the people have built up for the last 24 years.

Here is the exact quotation: "You should note, however, that joining or maintaining any connection with any fraternal, cultural, social or other group which has been organized or which may be organized by former officers or leaders of the former IWO, Inc., or any of its lodges or subsidiary organizations may well be considered to be membership in a subversive or a Communist-front organization."

This indeed is a piece of fascist impudence. It is McCarthy's guilt by association brought to a new low, not only of past and present but an attempt to condemn people for their future association. This threat to members of the Order of consequences if they join any organization of which former national or lodge officers may be a part, is the crassest example of thought control and a violation of the basic rights of free association guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

This latest act of the Insurance Department exposes further the whole frame-up of the liquidation attack on the IWO. It tears down the curtain which the Superintendent of Insurance tried to impose upon this case. It tears to pieces the attempt of Mr. Bohlinger to prove that the liquidation order has nothing to do with the basic civil rights of the members but it was the result of the so-called "violation" of the insurance law.

This threat, on future association of members, confirms fully our contention that the objective of the Insurance Department in smashing the IWO has nothing to do with any violation of the insurance law but it is a political attempt to liquidate a progressive fraternal society simply because it has so faithfully served the people of America.

By this threat aimed at the right of free association, the Superintendent not only

overstepped his legal bounds and powers, but entered the field of thought control by prescribing to Americans to what organizations to belong even if such organizations have nothing to do with the insurance business. He has thus assumed police state powers and violated the basic provisions of the insurance law which he swore to uphold.

Furthermore, Mr. Bohlinger has in a high-handed manner violated the order of Judge Greenberg who tried very hard but unsuccessfully to prove that the liquidation of the IWO has nothing to do with the basic civil rights of the membership. In his opinion on the IWO case, Judge Henry Clay Greenberg said:

"... The present proceeding in no way operates to affect any of these vital constitutional guarantees and no such interpretation can be read into the disposition here made. Any or all of the officers of this Order or employees have a right to go upon the highways and byways and speak their minds, write as they please and assemble (our emphasis) without molestation to express their grievances or for other lawful purposes."

Thus in his attempt to intimidate the membership of the Order against the exercise of their rights, the Superintendent of Insurance violated the opinion of Judge Greenberg. Mr. Bohlinger's letter to the membership which entered the field of constitutional rights is therefore flagrantly unlawful, and should be condemned and rejected.

This fraud against the basic rights of the people requires, however, more than just rejecting his threat. The fundamental question involved here is simply this: Shall a government official dictate to the American people on the basis of his fascist-minded standards what Americans shall say, do, join or belong to? This new role of Mr. Bohlinger must be challenged otherwise this may well open the flood gates of attack by other governmental agencies to prescribe what union, church or club or organization you may belong to.

Every decent person who believes in democratic principles must in his own interest challenge Mr. Bohlinger's threat to the the IWO members.

Now, when everything decent is being branded as subversive, we have the sacred responsibility to maintain and exercise our rights to belong where we want to and to fight for the principles which we consider in our own interests and the interests of the American people. The time has come

when all of us must show that America will not and cannot be terrorized by McCarthy dictates and his desire to control our thoughts and actions.

Let us take counsel and advice from Professor Albert Einstein who so clearly pointed out the need to stand up and become fighters against creeping fascism which is engulfing our country.

PETER SHIPKA
SAM MILGROM
RUBIN SALTZMAN
DAVE GREENE
WALTER RIBACK
DANIEL KASUSTCHIK
CHARLES KORENIC
EDWARD L. NELSON
LOUIS DATTLER

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MICHAEL LOGOYDA
C. LIPPA
ONNIE KAAARTINEN
CASIMIR NOWACKI
GEORGE VOCILA
LEO BACICH
NICK BALTICH
NICK TSERMEGAS

Observation Post

—was omitted this month, we regret to say, because we thought it important to print the statement carried on this page. The column will of course be resumed next month.

Next issue is the Warsaw Ghetto-Pasover number with our annual special section on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. And, as is the custom, we are asking our friends and supporters to express their solidarity with the magazine on this appropriate occasion by *sending in greetings*. Please send in individual and organizational greetings *promptly*. (Rates: 1 inch —\$5; 2 inches—\$10; ½ col.—\$20; 1 col.—\$40; ½ page—\$60; 1 page—\$100). Deadline is March 15.

The Fund Drive is coming along. There are signs of activity all over the country. Several Jewish Life committees have already crashed through in style. Miami Beach sent in \$200 of its \$400 quota; Chicago came in with \$200 of its \$1000 quota. Parties are being planned in Manhattan, Bronx and Brooklyn.

JEWISH LIFE had a standing-room-only theater party of The Mobile Theater's production of *The Madwoman of Chailot* on February 14.

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Puccini-Tosca (with libretto), 3-12" record album	18.50	10.00	Gallops, Polkas and Potpourris	3.95	2.00
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Rimsky-Korsakoff-Symphonietta on Russian Themes, Dvorak-Slovakian Rhapsodie G. Minor Op. 45, No. 2	5.95	3.00	Bloch-Israel Symphony	5.95	3.00
Prokofief-Scythian Suite Op. 20, Lieutenant Kije Suite Op. 60	5.95	3.00	Gliere-The Red Poppy, Suite No. 2	5.95	3.00
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Bach J. S.-Brandenburg Concerto No. 2 in F Major, Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G Major	5.95	3.00	Copland-Appalachian Spring, El Salon Mexico	5.95	3.00
Beethoven-Concerto No. 5, Piano & Orch. Op. 73 ("Emperor")	5.95	3.00	Rimsky-Korsakoff-Le Coq D'Or Suite, Mousorgsky-A Night on Bald Mountain	5.95	3.00
Prokofief-Winter Holiday (Children's Suite), Peike-Moldavian Suite	5.95	3.00	Kabalevsky-Concerto for Violin and Orch. Op. 48	5.95	3.00
Kalennikov-Symphony No. 1 in G Minor	5.95	3.00	Khrennikov-Much Ado About Nothing Suite, Prokofief-On Guard for Peace-Ontario	5.95	3.00
Chopin-Ballade in G Minor Op. 23, Ballade in A Minor Op. 38, Ballade in A Flat Major Op. 47, Ballade in F Minor Op. 52	5.95	3.00	Khachaturian-Concerto for Cello & Orch.	5.95	3.00
Beethoven-Symphony No. 3 in E Flat Major Op. 55 ("Eroica")	5.95	3.00	Music of Poland, Vol. 11, 7 Folk Songs, Lutoslawski-Little Suite for Chamber Orch., Lutoslawski-6 Children's Songs	5.95	3.00
			Four centuries of Polish Music	5.95	3.00
			Sibelius-Valse Triste, Grieg-Norwegian Dance No. 1	1.58	.85
			Paul Robeson-Robeson Sings-Solid Rock	3.95	2.00
				(each)	(each)
			Jewish Songs		
			Martha Schlamme-13 Jewish Songs	3.98	2.60
			Ruth Rubin-2 Albums Jewish Folk Songs	2.50	1.50
				(p. album)	(p. album)
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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

January carried an article by lawyer Osmond K. Fraenkel defending the privilege of the Fifth Amendment from current attacks.

Republican Senate Majority Leader William F. Knowland on February 6 addressed the 28th annual convention of the Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, an extremely reactionary organization. Conference representatives distributed publications to the delegates among which was found the following statement: "While the Russian Arms Banner and the United Nations flag bear this striking similarity in design, the reader must not forget that the Jew Palestine flag is the same color as the United Nations flag. So it turns out that our Korean heroes are being asked to die under the Jew colors of a flag copied from the Russian Arms Banner."

The "master list" of "anti-communist" literature currently being distributed by the American Legion includes the virulent anti-Semitic tract, John Beaty's *Iron Curtain Over America*, and *Rise America*, by Peter Xavier, who is described by Gerald L. K. Smith as "a true Christian Nationalist."

The anti-Semitic *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* have been sent to all the members of the state legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut in recent weeks by hateler Conde McGinley. The Post Office has been asked to investigate.

A Gallup poll on attitudes toward McCarthy reported in *Time* (January 25) revealed that the Wisconsin would-be Fuehrer's rating among "religious" groups is as follows:

	Favorable	Unfavorable	No Opinion
Protestants	49%	28%	23%
Catholics	58	23	19
Jewish	15	71	14

On the Jimcrow front . . . President Eisenhower's order to end Jimcrow schools on Army posts by September 1, 1953 was revised by Defense Department officials and Welfare Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby to postpone conformance to the order until 1955. . . . Clarence S. Wilson, Negro manufacturer, and his family were forced late in January to sell their new house in Copiague, L. I., after two fires were set at the house and many threatening letters signed "KKK" were received. . . . The

Birmingham, Ala., City Commission on January 26 voted unanimously to rescind the ban against Negroes playing football and baseball with whites.

EUROPE

The British Section of the World Jewish Congress on January 21 at its biennial conference passed a resolution condemning rearmament of any part of Germany, rehabilitation of former nazis, clemency to war criminals and decried the "glorification" in movies or literature of former nazi military leaders.

The "Jewish Autonomous Region" (Birobidjan) was listed in *Pravda* of January 13 among the Soviet republics and regions, etc., which will send representatives to the Supreme Soviet for which elections will be held on March 13. The "Jewish Autonomous Region" will send deputies from the five districts of the Region. The London *Jewish Chronicle* reported (January 24) that a recent regional radio broadcast of a leading article in Birobidjan paper *Zvezda* (The Star) stated that "Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Jews and representatives of other nationalities are working amicably in the various enterprises in Birobidjan" and that new settlers were expected to come in a few months. It was not stated if they were Jews.

A Yiddish edition of the *Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg* was published late in 1953 in Warsaw by the "Yiddish Buch" Publishing House in an edition of 6,500. . . . The play, *Julius and Ethel*, about the Rosenbergs, by Kruczkowski, is in rehearsal. . . . The archives of the Lodz Ghetto, consisting of 60 cases of diaries, notebooks and other documents relating to the entire period of the nazi occupation, have been unearthed from the ruins of the ghetto in the center of Lodz. Scholars of the Jewish Historical Institute are examining the material and preparing some of it for publication.

Albert Norden and Alexander Abusch, both Jewish, were appointed to the rank of State Secretary in East Germany in mid-January.

Albert Kesselring, one of Hitler's leading field marshalls, war criminal who was recently released from prison, is a rising star in renazified West Germany. He was on January 31 re-elected as president of the Stahlhelm, nazi veterans' organization, and early in February toured a United States Air Force base in West Germany with about 20 top ex-Luftwaffe pilots.

ISRAEL

A huge mass meeting was held in Tel Aviv in January demanding conclusion of peace between Israel and the Arab states. The meeting, which also condemned German rearmament, was chaired by Mapam leader M. Yuri. Other speakers were scholar Dr. S. Eisenshtadt, poet A. Shlansky, Arab Communist deputy A. Habibi and others. Present as guests were representatives of the Soviet, Czech, Rumanian and Bulgarian embassies.

The new Israel government with Moshe Sharett as Prime Minister was approved by the Knesset on January 25 by a vote of 75 to 23 with five abstentions. Opposition votes came from the Communist Party, Mapam, Left Socialists, Herut and Agudists, and the Progressives and Poale Agudists abstained. The dominant Mapai and General Zionist Parties in the cabinet are joined by the Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi (religious workers). Mapai has nine ministers, General Zionists four, Hapoel Hamizrachi two. Subsequently the Progressives accepted one post in the cabinet on condition that consideration of the government proposal that no party polling less than 4.2 per cent of the vote be given representation in the Knesset, would be suspended for three months. It is known that the cost exacted by the General Zionists, party of the industrialists and big landowners, for participation in the government was a greater role in shaping the country's economy.

Forty crew members of the Israel liner "Jerusalem" were denied visas to the United States in Haifa late in January under the McCarran-Walter law. On the previous trip to the United States of the same liner, 26 crew members were refused visas.

Jewish Life

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