

JUNE 1954 • 25c

Remember the Rosenbergs!...

*Anniversary issue... poetry and
prose by Michael Gold, Louis Aragon,
Alice Citron, Ray Waterman*

**RECESSION OUTLOOK FOR WHITE COLLAR,
TRADE AND PROFESSIONS . . .**

by Victor Perlo

JEWS AND THE CIVIL WAR . . .

by Morris U. Schappes



From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . Former Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind said before the Boston Chapter of the American Jewish Committee on April 25 that Americans must soon decide whether the Fifth Amendment "has lost all significance or will continue as one of the most cherished provisions" of the Constitution. The "assumption," he said, that protection of the Fifth Amendment "is an admission of guilt" is a "startling innovation." . . . The Jewish War Veterans of Cayuga County, Ohio (including Cleveland), passed a resolution early in May condemning McCarthy aides Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine as having abused their offices and having brought "shame upon the Jewish people of America." . . . The Civil Rights Committee of the Department of New York Jewish War Veterans held a mass meeting at Hotel Astor, New York, on April 29 on the theme, "How Shall the Invasion of Civil Liberties of Witnesses by Congressional Investigating Committees be Stopped?" . . . Rabbi Elias Charry, of Germantown (Pa.) Jewish Center, joined seven other noted citizens of Philadelphia late in April in a letter to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, expressing the hope that in the local Smith act trial now going on, "the government will refrain from using as witnesses government informers who have perjured themselves." (*Afro-American*, Phila. ed.). . . . The Board of Directors of the National Council of Jewish Women at their annual Spring meeting in mid-April issued a statement declaring that "despite President Eisenhower's strong condemnation of some of that law's (McCarran-Walter) provisions over a year ago, he has not yet requested Congress to take steps to amend it; nor is any action being taken in Congress to do so." (*Sentinel*, 4/22.)

"For America," a new organization
(Continued on page 32)

COVER PICTURE

THE reproduction on the cover is of a sculpture of the Rosenbergs by Georges Salendre, French sculptor. It was executed by cutting directly into the stone (*pierre taille directe*), a difficult process because the artist does not, as is usual, work from a plaster of paris model.

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE ISSUE IN INDO-CHINA

IN a speech before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention on May 12, Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon put his finger on a few truths. "What you have to face is that for decades the people of southeast Asia . . . are making it clear they are going to fight on until there is an end of western domination of southeast Asia." This is the nub of the Indo-Chinese war—a fight to free that land from colonialism. This is indeed the issue at the Geneva conference, quite simply, despite the smudge fire of "communist aggression" that State Secretary John Foster Dulles is trying to fan in order to obscure the issue in his effort to keep the administration war drive rolling. Our own country was created in the struggle to throw off colonial domination. We have no business a century and a half later to prevent Asian lands from achieving the same victory.

But even more is involved. This effort to prevent the Indo-Chinese from winning independence plunges our own country and the whole world in the gravest danger of an apocalyptic H-bomb war. Senator Morse sounded the alarm in this respect also in his denunciation of the Dulles policy. "I am satisfied," he said, "that once the American people come to understand this situation, they will, by overwhelming majority, make clear to the Eisenhower administration they want no coffins from Indo-China." American boys must not be allowed to die to preserve colonialism in Asia, nor can the world be allowed to go down to destruction for this cause. It is no wonder that Senator Morse characterized the Republican Party as "the war-party," although Democratic Party policy is no less a war program for Indo-China.

But this war program, which threatens to be implemented by intervention in Indo-China, has thus far been frustrated by the unmistakable sentiment of the American people that they want no "coffins from Indo-China." World sentiment, too, is unmistakably for a negotiated peace in that area. But we dare not be under the illusion that the danger of precipitating world war is past. Dulles and his Wall Street mentors are desperate men. War can be averted only by continuing vocal and organized pressure from the labor movement and organizations of the people.

EXILE TO ISRAEL

THE House was debating the fascist Mundt bill in the summer of 1948. In opposing the bill Rep. Leo Isacson charged that champions of Palestine might be called "communist fronts" under the bill. To which the vile-mouthed anti-Negro and anti-Semitic fascist Rep. John Rankin sneered: "Let them all go to Palestine with one-way passports."

In this, as in so many other aspects of the witch-hunt, the proposals of fascists, rejected by decent-minded Ameri-

cans only a few years ago, have today become government policy. For on March 31, Mrs. Anna Taffler, of Brooklyn, was ordered by the Justice Department to apply for deportation to Israel under the McCarran-Walter law. Mrs. Taffler is 55, a 40-year resident of this country, mother of two native-born sons, one of whom is a World War II veteran. Deportation proceedings were begun against her in 1948 for alleged past membership in the Communist Party. Since her native country, the Soviet Union, has refused her application for entry as it does in all such cases, the Justice Department has decided to make a test case of her to compel deportation of Jews to Israel.

Mrs. Taffler has no desire to go to Israel. She wants to remain in this country with her family. To compel her to apply for entry to Israel is discriminatory treatment of a McCarran-Walter victim simply because she is Jewish. Non-Jewish victims will not be ordered to apply for entrance to Israel. This directive is therefore anti-Semitic, since it is punitive treatment based on the fact that the victim is Jewish. Is it too far-fetched that, if this precedent is established in Mrs. Taffler's case, the beginnings will have been made to render this country *Judenrein*? This precedent will not be lost on American fascists, who can be relied upon to agitate for more general use of it. In 1954, Rankin's suggestion of 1948 becomes Department of Justice policy. To the Jews and all democratic-minded people of our country, this attempted exile to Israel is an ominous warning note. All Jewish organizations and progressive Americans should protest this anti-Semitic act of the Justice Department.

THE CHASANOW CASE

TO the anti-Semitic background of the "security" suspensions at Fort Monmouth must now be added the "security" suspension of Abraham Chasanow. How many similar unpublicized cases there are, we do not know.

Abraham Chasanow had been an employee of the Navy for 23 years. In post-war years he had been judged a "reactionary" member of the Greenbelt, Md., community, where he worked. He led a local fight for adoption of a "loyalty oath" for home owners; he even voted for Joe McCarthy's man John H. Butler for the Senate in 1950. Yet, some weeks ago, he was suspended as a "security risk." Further, employed with him at the Navy Hydrographic Office at Greenbelt were five Jews and eight non-Jews. All five Jews are charged with being "security risks"; none of the non-Jews is so charged. Chasanow has said that "it may well be believed that the proceedings which led to that action (his suspension), were tainted by anti-Semitism."

The outcry against this blatant example of anti-Semitism has caused the Navy to order a rehearing in the case. But what is needed is to remove the basic cause of this fascist action. The whole "loyalty" program is based on the un-

democratic premise of thought control, of penalizing Americans not for acts but for the crime of being Jewish or holding non-conformist opinions.

As has been so fulsomely demonstrated in the past few decades and once again shown by this case, such a fascist-like program inevitably draws anti-Semitism in its wake. Jews and all democratic-minded Americans should act upon the conclusion from these facts: restoration of democratic liberties demands the suspension of the whole "loyalty" to a fascist-like America.

AMNESTY MONTH

SUPPRESSION of communists has everywhere been the earmark of fascism. In our country, too, suppression of communists has been the spearhead of the McCarthyite assault on democratic liberties. The Smith act

has been a primary agency for this attack and already 105 Communists have been indicted; almost all of those brought to trial have been convicted, and some 19 already imprisoned. On July 2, it will be three years since the first Smith act victims were imprisoned.

An effective struggle against McCarthyism, which uses anti-communism to bring on fascism, therefore demands a drive against the Smith act. The long tradition of amnesty for political prisoners should be brought to bear in the widening fight against McCarthyism. In the end, this fight cannot be won unless the democratic rights of Communists are protected. All militant defenders of democracy should therefore take the occasion provided by the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims (667 Madison Avenue, Room 611, N.Y.C.), which has proclaimed June as Amnesty Month, to petition the President for amnesty for all Smith act victims (See box on page 11.)

Our journal belongs to you...

A MAGAZINE like JEWISH LIFE belongs to its readers and through them to the Jewish workers and the masses of Jews. Our readers recognize this: that is why we have a devoted readership such as few journals can claim. Because you are readers of that kind, we should like to discuss with you some of the goals we—the staff of the magazine and you—need to set ourselves in order that we—you and we—may continue to function.

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How can this be done? Of course, by personal solicitation. Or, better, by getting up house parties where you read articles or some of the inspiring poetry and fiction published in the magazine and discuss the role that the magazine has been playing for the nearly eight years of its existence. Or, by visiting friends, neighbors and relatives individually to obtain subscriptions.

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OUTLOOK FOR WHITE COLLAR, TRADE AND THE PROFESSIONS

Second of Two Articles
By Victor Perlo

THE current recession of course hits the Jewish people of our country like everybody else. But the occupational distribution of the Jews is more restricted than that of the general population. It is therefore possible to observe the economic condition of most Jews by studying those occupations in which they are mainly found. As we indicated

in the first article, a majority of Jews in the labor force are to be found among the garment and other light industry workers, in clerical and sales work, in the professions and in trade. In the first article we examined the situation in the garment industry. In this article we shall study the effects of the recession in the other fields named.

SITUATION OF THE WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

A high percentage of Jews work in white collar jobs—clerical and sales.

The war boom years have not been good years for white collar workers. Instead, they have lost much of their traditional advantage over factory workers. According to a recent report of the International Labor Organization, as summarized in the *New York Times* (May 9): "Mechanization is bringing the status and the chores of 'white collar' jobs in offices ever closer to factory levels. The tempo of the transfer to machines . . . is far faster . . . than it was in industry."

At the same time these workers are largely unorganized and lack the protection which factory workers enjoy through trade unions. So their advantage in earnings has all but vanished and they have not been able to win salary increases nearly commensurate with the rise in the cost of living.

According to figures of the Census Bureau, in 1939 the average clerical worker earned 35 per cent more and the average sales worker 21 per cent more than the average

factory operative. But in 1952 the average clerical worker earned 5 per cent less and the average sales worker 13 per cent less than the average factory operative.

Many Jewish workers are employed in New York City department stores, mainly as sales and clerical workers. According to a recent study by this writer, the real weekly earnings of New York City department store workers fell 13 per cent between 1949 and 1953. And this is in a relatively well-organized section of white collar work.

The decline in consumer purchases does not immediately result in widespread unemployment among white collar workers. But they feel the effects in different ways. Employers greatly speed-up their clerical staff and find indirect methods of cutting wages. Recently it was announced that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company was installing a "mechanical brain," displacing large numbers of clerical workers. The International Labor Office report tells of one company that reduced its staff by 39 per cent through mechanization while increasing by four per cent the volume of work handled. The department stores, in addition to job-cutting rationalization (efficiency) schemes, are making increasing use of part-time work by housewives in the sales departments. These workers are not paid commissions and their lower wages tend to cut the earnings of the sales force as a whole.

Some companies meet declining sales by hiring more salesmen. These salesmen are thus forced by the increased competition to work longer hours to earn proper wages.

VICTOR PERLO is a noted economist and the author of *American Imperialism*, *The Negro in Southern Agriculture* and the pamphlet *Israel and Dollar Diplomacy*, which is a reprint of his series of articles in *JEWISH LIFE*, September 1952 to January 1953.

A 56-hour week has become common in New York auto retail firms. The salespeople are forced to divide a smaller total pie among a larger number of people and their per-hour earnings are cut even further.

If the drop in business goes further and lasts longer, large-scale layoffs among white collar workers will be added to the present hardships.

The white collar workers have every interest in promoting the general New Deal-type program of working people as a whole. Certain specific features are of particular importance to them. First is the need to defeat Taft-Hartleyism and McCarthyism in order to achieve the all-around trade union organization of white collar workers.

Because union organization started later in the white collar field than among manual workers, they were caught by the post-war anti-labor drive before they had consolidated their organizations to withstand this attack. However, if conditions similar to those under the Wagner Act could be restored, there is little doubt that this lag in white collar organization would be made up. Of course, the fight by white collar workers *now* to achieve union organization is a vital part of the fight against the Taft-Hartley act.

Organization of white collar workers, especially around New York, was spearheaded by progressive-led unions, such as the former United Office and Professional Workers of America and the present Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union. Red-baiting hit these unions with

particular force. The first no longer has an independent existence. The second, despite its own internal "purge," was hit by raids and has merged with CIO unions. White collar workers have an urgent need to combat red-baiting among them in order to create conditions for the unity of existing unions and to destroy this main weapon of the employers for preventing militant unionism.

The fight against discrimination is also most important for white collar workers. The traditional exclusion of Negro workers from white collar work in most industries is a standing disgrace. Recently there has been a limited progress in this field but of a character which yields little credit to the employers. Because of the stagnation of white collar salaries, the lower-paying white collar jobs became so undesirable that employers could not get white workers, who could get higher-paying jobs, but were forced to hire Negro workers.

Jewish white collar workers are also victims of discrimination, although to a lesser extent. The big utilities and financial houses, which generally pay higher salaries than the ordinary manufacturing or trading houses for clerical work, hire very few Jewish workers.

The fight against discrimination, by bringing militant Negro workers into all levels of white collar work, will greatly strengthen the bargaining power of clerical and sales workers generally; and at the same time will help put an end to the specific discrimination against Jewish white collar workers.

PLIGHT OF THE TRADESMAN

Retail trade, in which large numbers of Jews are engaged, is most sensitive to the well-being of working people. In the crisis years between 1929 and 1932 the income of unincorporated retailers dropped over four-fifths. In 1932 the average retail proprietor cleared the munificent sum of \$233. Even in the minor dip of 1949, income of retailers dropped 10 per cent. The tax and price burden on workers resulting from the cold war has undermined their purchasing power. This means less business and tightened retail profit margins. In 1952 retailers' income was about the same as in 1946, which means it was far below 1946 in purchasing power. Thus retailers have not shared in the gigantic Korean War boom of the monopoly corporations but have suffered from it. Now, with the drop in business activity, their very existence is menaced.

The current rate of business failures is about 12,000 yearly, 3,000 more than during the 1949 recession. About half of the failures are retailers. And the legally registered failures are but a small fraction of those forced to sell out their business. The failure rate in New York State, where Jewish business men are concentrated, is almost three times the national average.

The small retailer is the man in the middle. He resents bitterly the practices of the trusts—the manufacturers who

sell to him and dictate his terms of operation, the chain retailers that can sell some goods cheaper than he can buy them, the banks which discriminate against him on credit. But many retailers also dislike unions, which make it necessary for him to raise wages for his few employees.

Which side should the retailer choose? Experience should provide the answer. During the early crisis years in the 1930's, big banks, chain stores and giant manufacturers used anti-labor "trickle-down" policies to gobble up the small independents. Hundreds of thousands of retailers were wiped out through these operations. The same course is being followed by the present administration.

Retailers can survive only through support of the New Deal-type programs of the labor movement. It is not accidental that Jewish small businessmen overwhelmingly supported Roosevelt. Not a few Jewish and other small businessmen gave aid to striking workers during the critical organizing struggles of the 1930s. Even many Jewish big financiers, whose interests are mainly in consumers goods industries and trade, gave financial support to Roosevelt, contrary to the position of most of big business.

Today it is still more important for Jewish small businessmen to line up behind the labor movement in the fight that is forming over the course of action to combat the busi-

ABOMINATION

By Max Rosenfeld

I was a Jewish child,
And learned our lore,
And heard our Writ,
And sang our chants,
Before I knew
That two and two . . . made four.

And when, inquisitive,
I plied my teacher-Rabbi
With the prying questions:
"Who made God?"
And "What was here before the world?"
My brash impiety
Was more than curiosity
Alone.

It was a wish,
An unformed wish, to draw a picture
Of Infinity,
As children draw upon a wall.
A callow incapacity, it was,
A raw reluctance to accept
a hot and molten ball,
a vast and burning waste,
As mother of the earth.

So back and forth,
And back and forth,
my brain would chase,
From the sixth day of Creation
to the first.
But the flaming, faceless void
Beyond,

Would fill my sleep with childish fear
And cause my head to burst.

And now
My peace is murdered
By an adult fear,

—Again—

The same, flaming, faceless void,
Earth and everything, destroyed,
By twisted ingenuity of men.

Men?
How name them men,
Who speak of setting fire to a world;
Who calculate the casualties,
And prate about "a circle of immunity"
Like bullies counting swag,
Or global lunatics cavorting
In a deadly game of tag.

An island—
Blasted to the bottom of the sea.
A claw of flame
Tearing at the tortured sky.
A death's-horizon spreading out
As far as camera-eye can see.
A wind of poison pushing into
Every crack and crevice
of humanity.

They spit upon the God
Whom they profess,
Who'd use their science

To obliterate
"The heavens and the earth
And all the host of them,"
Who'd burn, befoul,
Contaminate
The works of God and men.

They will make "the earth without form
And the firmament without light
And the mountains will tremble
And there will be no man
And all the birds of the heavens will
flee
And the fruitful places will be wild
And the cities will be forsaken
And the world shall mourn."

Oh Jeremiahs!
Where your rage? Where the prophets
of the Age?
Where the condemnation, whiplash
castigation?
Rabbis! Teachers! Stewards of the soul!
Do not murmur softly in your tents,
While fiends prepare a never-ending
night!
Help us, brothers, help your people
separate
The darkness from the light!

(Max Rosenfeld is the staff Yiddish
translator of this magazine.)

ness decline. For the 10 million American families with incomes under \$2,000 per year are not big customers for the retailers today. Higher minimum wages and their extension to all now excluded, higher wages for workers generally, 100 per cent parity for farmers and land for sharecroppers would help make better times for retailers.

The millions of unemployed and their families are small customers today, with the ridiculously low unemployment insurance payments and the administrative and legal restrictions which prevent the majority of the unemployed from receiving even that small amount. Retailers need a liberal system of unemployment insurance, providing all unemployed workers with 65 per cent of their normal wage, as urged by the CIO. They need much bigger

old age pensions, health insurance and other forms of social security for their customers and for themselves. Finally, they need government provision of jobs for the unemployed at union wages and useful projects, so that their customers can be kept at full purchasing power. Low cost public housing and a reduction in rents will leave their customers with more money to spend in the store.

Retailers need an end to the "anti-communist" hysteria and the fear of McCarthyism, which Studebaker Chairman Paul Hoffman says, tends to keep people from buying cars because of insecurity about the future. They require instead a Justice Department which will really move against the illegal price-fixing schemes of the cartelized manufacturers, against the discriminatory pricing policies of the trusts and

discriminatory credit policies imposed by the banks.

Retailers need lower excises and higher tax exemptions for their customers, not more rapid tax-writeoffs and other dodges for increasing profits of the trusts. Too many retailers, Jewish and otherwise, discriminate against Negro workers in hiring their clerks. Yet the Republican Sec-

retary of Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, frequently quotes the estimate of \$15-\$30 billion yearly in business lost through discrimination. Retailers need the removal of trade barriers against socialist countries, to increase the variety of goods they have for sale; and not more war orders which result in shortages and black markets.

THE PROFESSIONAL AND HARD TIMES

THE percentage of Jews among professionals, especially in medicine, dentistry and law, is much higher than that of non-Jewish Americans. In Cleveland in 1938, for instance, Jews comprised about eight per cent of the population. But an estimated 21 per cent of the physicians, 18 per cent of the dentists and 23 per cent of the lawyers were Jewish. San Francisco had five lawyers, three dentists and five physicians for every 1,000 people; but for every 1,000 of the city's Jews, 17.7 were lawyers, 6.9 were dentists and 15.8 were physicians.

What is the prospect for these professionals in times of economic decline?

In hard times people cannot afford to pay for even the most essential medical care, not to speak of legal fees. The Commerce Department, which has studied the incomes of professionals, comments: "Since 1929 the average net income of non-salaried dentists, like that of other independent professional practitioners, has followed the trend in general economic conditions quite closely." There is no reason to suppose that professionals are exempt from such conditions today.

Between 1929 and 1933 the average income of lawyers fell 30 per cent, of physicians 44 per cent, while dentists' incomes were cut in half. In 1933 the average dentist cleared \$1,880, the average doctor and lawyer a few hundred dollars more. Those reduced incomes were received by those able to stay in business. Some 50,000 medical practitioners and 20,000 lawyers were forced out altogether.

During the Korean war period, as during World War II, many doctors and dentists were brought into the Armed Forces. As a result, there was a shortage of civilian medical personnel and the incomes of those remaining rose. Thus, in 1951, the average physician cleared over \$11,000, the average dentist and lawyer over \$6,000. Now that the armed forces are releasing some medical personnel and incomes of the population are declining, the doctors' and dentists' incomes will feel a double squeeze.

In New York City, where about half the country's Jewish population is concentrated, there are large numbers of Jewish professionals. They are forced to compete with one another for the New York market. In 1949 the income of the average New York City independent physician was *lowest* among the 32 largest cities in the country and \$2,561 below the national average. The same with dentists, who in 1948 earned \$4,417 in New York as compared with \$8,417 in San Francisco. These figures mean that many Jewish professionals are among the large num-

bers who, regardless of the averages, earn under \$5,000 per year and are little better off than workers.

Thus Jewish professionals have a particular interest in joining with labor to fight for those programs which seek to relieve the burden of the economic downturn by increasing the purchasing power of working people and by substituting peaceful construction for the works of war. Doctors, for example, have the job of combatting the reactionary leadership of the American Medical Association, which is almost the same as the National Association of Manufacturers in its lobbying activities. Doctors are subjected to a barrage of propaganda, as in the journal *Medical Economics*, to identify their interests with those of the worst enemies of the people. This propaganda tries to teach them to be hard-boiled with their patients, to look for their economic welfare in tax evasion and special tricks, rather than in the improved welfare of the people.

Jewish doctors and dentists also have a particular interest in special progressive measures in the field of health. Today some Jewish professionals, as well as non-Jewish, are buying Cadillacs and mink coats out of high private fees. But hard times for working people will make it difficult for most professionals, and especially the Jewish professionals, to carry even the mortgages on their homes.

The best security for doctors and dentists is the ability of all to get the medical care they need. Regardless of present high fees of some, the lasting interest of the majority, and of the overwhelming majority of Jewish medical people, is in a system of national health insurance. This is the only way to make certain that doctors and dentists will be able to treat *all patients*, regardless of hard times, and get paid for it.

At the same time the Jewish people have a particular interest in a large-scale federal program of building hospitals and medical schools. For these would provide doctors with the facilities to treat patients adequately and permit many thousands of young people to train for the professions where they are so sorely needed by working people. This, of course, again requires a break with the reactionary leadership of the American Medical Association and its propaganda about "socialized medicine."

For Jewish professionals, support of the campaign of labor, of organizations of the Negro people, the Jewish people and others, for a fair employment practices act with teeth is of great importance. What does it matter to the Jewish doctor or would-be doctor whether a Negro worker can get a job as a locomotive engineer? It does

matter because the fight against discrimination in industry is part of the same fight as that against the quota system which limits the number of Jews in medical schools.

Of course, it is not enough for professionals to fight discrimination generally. Jewish professionals have a special stake in combatting the exclusion of Negro students from medical schools, which is far worse than the exclusion of Jewish students. They have a special responsibility to overcome the exclusion of Negro patients from hospital facilities. Today the fight against anti-Semitism is in-

SOME CONCLUSIONS

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish people require a New Deal approach and not a Hoover-Eisenhower "trickle-down" approach, to meet the present economic problems. However, right now this need is little reflected in the day-to-day activities of most Jewish people. What is required to end this gap between needs and action?

The main thing is to end the paralysis of McCarthyism which grips the country. The 1954 election campaign is making this very clear. The Eisenhower administration knows it cannot get more than a tiny minority support for its big business program on the merits of the issue. Its spokesmen have announced their intention of making "communism" the main issue of the campaign. The CIO and the AFL are making the New Deal type fight against depression the main issue of their campaign, although not clearly or resolutely enough. The Democratic Party shares much of the responsibility for the present power of McCarthyism. But the Democrats do want to get back into office. So their national chairman has also announced that economic issues will be the center of their campaign.

Millions are still afraid to fight back in their own interests lest they be persecuted as "communists." But under pressure of unemployment and reduced income, more and more are overcoming their fear and taking effective action. The Jewish people played a valuable part in winning the New Deal under Roosevelt. They are among those bearing the brunt of McCarthyism today and they are also vigorously fighting McCarthyism. In America, as elsewhere, fascism means anti-Semitism and all that goes with it. No Jew can fail to have noted with deep and personal concern the large proportion—often the majority—of Jews among the groups singled out for McCarthyite attack.

The Jewish people in the United States need not and cannot afford to sit back until they are devoured. They can and must fight against McCarthyism, and for a New Deal-type program in their unions, their medical and other professional associations, their businessmen's groups, and in their community organizations. They can and must play an important part in the 1954 election campaign to further these objectives.

To beat McCarthyism it is necessary to discard the Big Lie of the "Soviet Menace." The economic side of this Big Lie is the substitution of armament orders for New Deal-

separable from the fight against Jimcrow. A strong fight against discrimination will weaken the quota system in professional schools. Thus this fight can open up professional careers for tens of thousands of young Jewish people, who otherwise would not stand a chance. It will mean the same for hundreds of thousands of young Negro people. While the latter fight is more urgent, great advantages can be won for the Jewish people in alliance with the Negro people and all men of good will to end discrimination.

type measures as an economic stimulant. Both major political parties, and the leaders of both major trade union centers, are guilty of this in varying degrees.

The fact that we have about five million unemployed alongside of \$50 billion yearly spent for war is the clearest proof of the fallacy of "prosperity through armaments." Armament prosperity is for the trusts. Little of it "trickles down." It brings poverty, not prosperity, to the majority. A successful people's program must speak out not only for government spending for public works and housing, but *against* high armament spending. It must speak out for the development of international trade, and *against* the anti-socialist war embargo that blocks trade. Such measures may not offer a final solution to the danger of economic crisis, but they can cushion its effects.

The Jewish people, by virtue of their occupations, can see the economic advantage of peace over war with particular clarity. This adds to the force of the overriding fact that today we need peace for survival. It means that the Jewish people cannot solve any problems, economic, political, or otherwise, without opposing the Dulles-Rockefeller-du Pont war policies.

Act for Amnesty!

WE HAVE indicated on page 4 why action for amnesty for victims of the Smith act is an essential part of the fight against McCarthyism. Following are some of the actions that you can carry on during June, Amnesty Month.

1. For residents of New York City and vicinity, presence at the Amnesty Rally on June 10 at Chateau Gardens (Second Avenue and East Houston Street) is an important step. Among the speakers will be Paul Robeson, Dr. Edward S. Barsky and James Aronson, with John Abt as chairman.

2. Write a letter—either individually or with others—to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, asking that he grant amnesty to the Smith Act prisoners.

3. Ask organizations to which you belong to discuss the question and to write to President Eisenhower urging amnesty.

4. Arrange forums at which the issues in the amnesty campaign will be discussed.

5. Write to the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims (667 Madison Avenue, Room 611, New York 21, N. Y.) for material and for speakers.

Remember the Rosenbergs!

First Anniversary of their Execution, June 19

I: A YEAR HAS PASSED

An Editorial Introduction

THE powers that indecently rushed Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to the electric chair on June 19, 1953, hoped thus to remove the possibility of exoneration. But now, one year later, the case is very much alive. It is not only that Morton Sobell, sentenced to 30 years on the flimsiest of evidence, resists the cruel intimidation of imprisonment at Alcatraz in the hope that he might "confess." It is also that the defense of the Rosenbergs is still very much alive: not only in this country, but all over the world. In May two new plays on the case opened in France and Poland: *Le Peur* (Fear), by Georges Soria, and *Ethel and Julius*, by Leon Kruczkowski. The meaning of the case, its injustice and the rare heroism and nobility of the Rosenbergs in their excruciating suffering will never be forgotten. Nor will mankind ever forget that in Emanuel H. Bloch, who followed them in death by a bare six months, the Rosenbergs found an advocate who was comparable to them in stature and moral grandeur.

What has happened in the year since their death? After they were safely dead, the government admitted that testimony of their chief witness, David Greenglass, was perjured. In its reply brief to the Sobell move in the Supreme Court in January for a new trial, the Attorney General's Office admitted that new evidence "at most . . . (tended) to show that the Greenglass had some motive to lie and some facts from which it might be inferred that they had done so." But these lies, says the government were "not incompatible with the central aspects of the case." But when it is considered that Greenglass in a memorandum had told his lawyer that—to mention only one point in the new evidence—"I didn't know who sent Gold to me," and then named the person at the trial as Julius Rosenberg, the government's case is severely shaken.

Not only is the validity of the government's case being increasingly challenged. The procedure is also coming under fire. In a careful study of the case, the *Columbia Law Review* in February stated that "The inevitable conclusion is that in this last stage [before the Supreme Court] of an extraordinarily protracted litigation, the rights of the Rosenbergs did not receive the precise and extensive considera-

tion that must characterize the administration of criminal law. Whether the Rosenbergs were in fact guilty is beside the point." In addition, the article concluded that there is strong merit in Sobell's argument for a new trial.

The very foundation of the government case, that the Rosenbergs even *could* have given the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union, has been undermined by a high atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb," said the *Times* reported a speech by Dr. James Beckerly, director of the Atomic Energy Commission Classification Office. "The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb," said the *Times*, "were not stolen from us by spies, Dr. Beckerly emphasized. Espionage played a minor role in the attainment of successful weapons by the Soviets, he said. . . . Atom bombs are not matters that can be stolen and transmitted in the form of information, Dr. Beckerly said, in emphasizing the relative unimportance of spying in nuclear physics." Once again the contention of the Rosenberg defense that there were no atomic "secrets" to be stolen, is confirmed.

The weakness of the case has not of course prevented McCarthyites in high places from exploiting the case for their own fascist purposes. Senator Joe McCarthy himself made fascist-like use of guilt by association in his fraudulent Monmouth investigation by insinuating espionage, for which he had not a shred of evidence, among people alleged to have known Julius Rosenberg. At several tight spots in the Army-McCarthy investigation the would-be Wisconsin Fuehrer dragged in the fake Rosenberg-Sobell "spy rings." And the Eisenhower administration McCarthyite, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, is exploiting the precedent of the death penalty against the Rosenbergs in peace time by proposing legislation for the death penalty in cases of peace-time "espionage" or "treason," which in the McCarthyite book are interpreted to mean participation in non-conformist movements.

The struggle for the vindication of the Rosenbergs and a new trial for Morton Sobell goes on. It should be made more and more a part of the rising resistance to McCarthyism and to the struggle against the war danger. New currents are sweeping through our country and the world and

hope for averting fascism and war is constantly rising.

The Rosenbergs set an example of fortitude and determination not to surrender their dignity and adherence to truth. If there is anything that we the living can learn

from the martyred Rosenbergs, it is that no amount of intimidation, of hysteria and of McCarthyite persecution can succeed in bending men of good will from resistance against the forces making for war and fascism.

II: THE ROSENBERG CANTATA

By Michael Gold

History

From their cells in the dark death house
Ethel and Julius Rosenberg saw the sun go down
The sun of justice was going down in America
And in the darkness a Beast hunted the People
He poisoned the green Jefferson fields
He shattered the cities of Roosevelt
He was armed with a Bomb and a Lie!

The Beast

It is the American Century!
The Rosenbergs stole our Bomb!
Kill kill kill kill!

Ethel

How can one live without love?
There is no love in a prison
Julius where are you?
Have we lost the darling boys?

Julius

Our love grows through life and death
And the People will set us free

The Beast

I have muddled the People's brain with movies and television
I have deadened their hearts with money and dead art
I have deafened them to the great voices
The People can never hear you
And every bank and steel mill has sworn
That this is the American Century
And the Rosenbergs must die

The Children

Mummy and Daddy please come home
The house is so lonesome

MIKE GOLD is the veteran proletarian poet, fiction writer and critic whose sixtieth birthday is currently being celebrated in many parts of the country. A collection of his writings with an introduction by Samuel Sillen, *The Mike Gold Reader*, has just been issued by International Publishers. Gold is the author of one of the most important novels on Jewish life in this country, *Jews Without Money*.

Ethel

We'll be home in the spring
With the flowers and joyful birds
Wait for us darlings!

Children

Daddy and Mummy does it hurt
To die in an electric chair?

Congregation of Old Jews

And the rulers worshipped a Golden Calf
And they worshipped a Hydrogen Bomb
And they killed the Prophets and burned the Jews
And murdered Sacco-Vanzetti and Willie McGee
O God of Justice spare the Rosenbergs!
Thy humble prophets of the poor!

The People

We are the People
In song and suffering
And blood of martyrs
We are the People
Steadfast in sorrow
We build a new world

History

The stench of a dying world
Poisons the streets and homes the schools and courtrooms
Imperialist decay rots the young promises of America
Yet slowly a miracle deeply stirs
The world can never end
In every age and in every clime
Miracles of the People are born
To save man's world anew
In a dark death cell the Rosenberg miracle is born
To testify that Lincoln still lives
And their name rings like a sacred bugle cry through the world

Children

Mummy and Daddy tell us the wedding story again

Ethel

Your father was so thin and poor and serious
Like a pale young East Side prophet
That I loved him for his hunger and dreams

Julius

Your mother was a beautiful Queen Esther
And her singing so moved my heart
I thought the tenements were a green forest
And she the sweetest singer there

Ethel

The Rabbi married us under the canopy
We began in joy! we lived in joy!

Julius

I waltzed my bride around the hall
The guests applauded and drank red wine
O beautiful swan with white wings
Where is our family joy?

Both Rosenbergs

Beast! give us back our children!

The Beast

All are at the feast of life but you
The auto roads and sunny beaches swarm with happy
Americans

They rejoice in their autos and frigidaires
And their children play around them in joy
But you have sacrificed your family joy
To your beehive bitter god

(a silence)

Confess only that you stole the Bomb

I need your confession

It is a battle won

In the war for the American Century

(a silence)

Here is the key to your prison

Confess and live

You can gain the bright crown of success

Confess daily at treason trials and on television

Become famous informers rich and admired like Holly-
wood stars

And your children will have joy

(a silence)

Be practical, make a deal and live

Justice and truth are commodities

The world is a jungle

Its only law victory or death

Congregation of Old Jews

And they tortured the Jews to confess

That we had betrayed the State and drunk Christian blood
at our Passovers

They burned and tortured us through the centuries

But we never surrendered to their great lie

Or gave up our Jewish song in man's symphony

The Rosenbergs

We cannot take the road of the beast and informer

We will follow the road of brotherhood

That leads to the shining festival

Where every child will be loved

And hearts are united and a Bomb no longer is God

Man is the meaning of the universe

And Brotherhood is the meaning of Man

And here in the lonely prison dark

Our cells are alight with faith

We will persist in love

And if the Beast crushes our hearts

Our dark agony may bring a bright blessing

To all the children of Man

O happy children of tomorrow remember the Rosenbergs

Who were steadfast on the road of Man

The Beast

Executioner

Set up the Chair

History

The Rosenbergs have chosen

As all must choose in this hour

Man who has fought upward from the primeval slime

Now comes to his final hour of birth or death

This is the turning point

Here the roads part forever

Man must choose hate and greed and the Hell Bomb death

The final fascist flame and explosion of the world

Or world brotherhood

The Beast

They are trapped in a mine

They are alone

History

No stars shone down there was only silence

In that dark night when Spartacus died on the cross

But Man is awake now at last

And millions of hearts beat with the Rosenbergs on their
cross

It is the century of Man

And on the five continents the People are marching

Take heart take heart we have come a long way!

The Rosenbergs

Listen children! The People are marching!

Take heart we are coming home

With the lilacs and joyful birds!

The People

The world conscience is marching on picketlines

All the cities stand watch with bared heads in the sunlight
squares

On the sacred hills of Rome and in the vineyards of Chile

Miners scholars and priests unite for the Rosenbergs

Great China arises, the people of a new planet of labor
and peace

The mothers and soldiers of China cry out for the New
York martyrs

And Africa rises in her wrath and affirms her ancient
freedom

And joins humanity's watch over the Rosenbergs

The Latin Americans the brave oppressed peoples declare
their fierce love for the Rosenbergs

The France of Joan of Arc and the Bastille unites again

As against the Nazi to thunder with the voice of resistance
for the Rosenbergs

And the great world pioneers ever faithful to the human
hope

The Soviet people the heroes of Stalingrad march for the

Rosenbergs

Man is awake he pleads in a hundred tongues
For the Rosenbergs for the pure souls of the Rosenbergs

History

I History tell you again America
America stands alone
Free the Rosenbergs to save America

The Beast

Executioner make ready the chair
America can stand alone

The People

Our picket lines ringed the White House
Jefferson and Lincoln America spoke to the America of
Eisenhower

We the People were rejected
American mothers machinists doctors and seamen
We the delegates of the people
Clothing workers miners and brave sharecroppers
From Florida to Canada and California to Maine
Dishwashers steel workers and poets
Beautiful young girls with hearts aflame
The hungry the strong the young and the old the Negro
and white Americans
All marching for justice in the American dark
To save the Rosenbergs

The Beast

Executioner are you ready?
In the name of the American Century
Throw the switch FOREVER

(a sudden scream, the cry of the children,
the anger and weeping of masses)

The People

It is done. The Rosenbergs are dead. A cry of horror rises
from the earth.

The Beast has won another battle. He has flung the bodies
of the Rosenbergs at the People.

He roars his challenge to the stars.

If he cannot rule the earth he will end it in flame and
gas

As he did with the Rosenbergs.

He murdered Spartacus and Joan of Arc. He killed Joe Hill
and Sacco Vanzetti and the men of Haymarket.

But the rivers still flow to the sea.

The sun rises each morning and the People are marching
on.

The great revolutions come like strong winds into his
house of death.

Miracles of the People renew the dying world.

His faithless informers his lying teachers scientists and
writers

His sneaks and whores and human monsters born of money
Rally behind the standard of the Hydrogen Bomb and
Death

But they cannot build a world.

And the People rally about the flag of Life

Americans do you hear the voice of the Rosenbergs

Calling you to brotherhood and joy?

The Bomb cannot build a world!

Only love can build a world!

We are the People

We are the People

We are the builders



In song and suffering
And the blood of our martyrs
We build a new world

History

The Rosenbergs reborn
In all the skies
The dawn is red
And the birds of history
Sing a new song

The People

Cities and streets and towns named Rosenberg
Glowing in a new world
Life radiant in home and factory
And the green earth lit with joy
And all our beautiful sons and daughters
Growing in a world of brothers
Will sing of the people's martyrs
And bless each people's hero
And remember the sacred Rosenbergs
Whose suffering was a seed of brotherhood

III: TOWARD FREEDOM FOR SOBELL

The weakness of the case against Morton Sobell grows more apparent while he languishes at Alcatraz. He should be given a new trial

By Alice Citron

ALCATRAZ is our Devil's Island. Its cold, unyielding walls look down on the "unrelenting criminals" our society produces. Within this cruel gray, a soft-spoken, modest scientist, in contrast to the others, watches his creative years going to waste. For Morton Sobell is one of the most punished victims of the relentless drive to petrify Americans.

Recent events show that when McCarthy's lies are nailed, he thunders the reply, "Spy." When a faked picture is exposed, he sneers, "What about espionage?" Last fall, the press blazoned the purported news of a "Rosenberg" espionage ring at Fort Monmouth. Of all the unproved charges that McCarthy has made, this stands out as one of the biggest political frauds of all times. Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens has stated that there is no evidence of espionage at Fort Monmouth. But at the Senate hearings on May 6 the familiar refrain was repeated. McCarthy again spoke of a "Sobell-Rosenberg spy ring" at Fort Monmouth. One can expect the words "spy" and "espionage" to be a constant in McCarthy's vocabulary. As more and more people reject his fascistic philosophy, the equation of communism plus spy plus espionage equals a communist, will be shouted by the McCarthyites.

It is this type of hysterical unreason that brought death to the Rosenbergs and a "living death" of 30 years for Morton Sobell. Though Sobell was never charged with giving away "atomic secrets," though the case against him was amazingly weak, the government knew it could win conviction because of the ready-made atmosphere. An examination of the trial record shows that Sobell was not convicted for anything he "did" but because he chose to

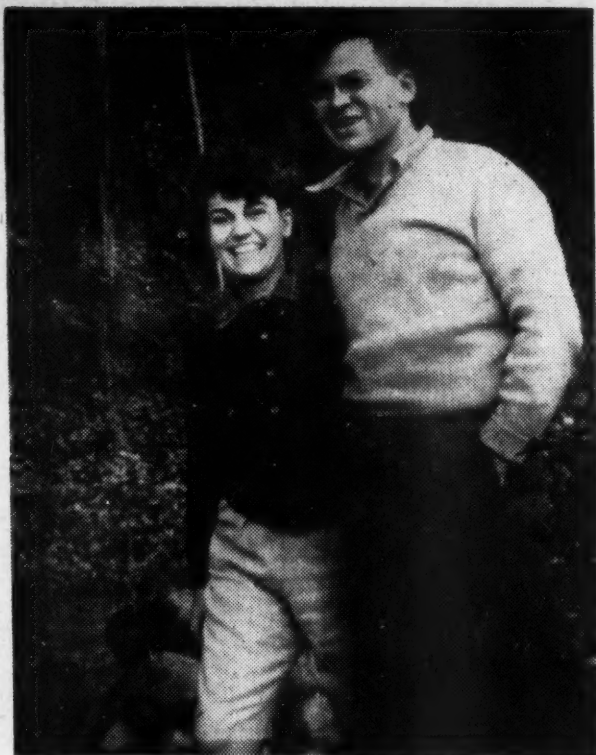
resist the government's efforts to create Reichstag fires, occasions for anti-democratic hysteria.

In a penetrating analysis of the trial record as it concerns Sobell,¹ the noted British barrister D. N. Pritt calls the case against Sobell "singularly weak." Stephen S. Love, professor of law at Northwestern University, came to the same conclusion (JEWISH LIFE, January). Dr. Harold Urey concurs in this view. Then, why a sentence of 30 years? Here, it is necessary to review the setting of the trial and conviction of the Rosenbergs and Sobell.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell were indicted during the summer of 1950. The United States had embarked on the Korean war era. New York City newspapers were full of headlines of suspended school teachers; progressive organizations were labeled "subversive"; Communist leaders were under attack; the deportation drive had begun. Above all, the flames of hate were roaring against the Soviet Union. Not a day went by without "evidence" of some act of "perfidy" by the "Kremlin." The impression was being created that the Russians were doing nothing else but plotting to take away our "American way of life."

With imperialist arrogance another impression was being sought. The Russians were so dumb that they couldn't create anything without our help. Since they couldn't get our solicitous aid, secrets had to be stolen from the United States. Forgotten was the "Katusha," the Soviet multi-barrelled rocket-gun that was given such beaming praise during the Second World War. In the public mind, the Soviet Union was to be reduced to a second rate power. It became a crime to sign the Stockholm Peace Appeal to

¹The Case of Morton Sobell, by D. N. Pritt. A pamphlet published by The National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in The Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18, N. Y.



Helen and Morton Sobell—before the arrest.

outlaw the atom bomb. The press was full of "beatings" of circulators of this appeal. Shortly before the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois was indicted as an "agent of a foreign organization" because he headed the Peace Information Center.

In this setting, the prosecution had but to give emphasis to the fact that Julius Rosenberg and Sobell had engaged in "Communist youth activities." The newspapers had tried and convicted the Rosenbergs and Sobell even before the jury did.

Morton Sobell, who had dreamed of "putting my scientific knowledge to use in the medical field—not only relating to diseases, but aiding the blind, the crippled and the deaf," became yet another of those caught in the horrible web of repression. It must be noted that he is of that America that will not be stampeded into "false confessions." He is of that America that cannot be terrorized into telling lies even for man's greatest gift—personal freedom. The worst that Alcatraz could do to him has not caused his spirits to flag. He wrote recently to his daughter: "I don't know how much longer it will take, but we'll see it through, we will."

Those who believe in peace must do everything to lift the fight for a new trial for Morton Sobell to greater heights. Those who despise McCarthyism must join in the petition drive to get Morton Sobell out of Alcatraz. Those who hate frame-ups will join with the Rosenberg-Sobell Committees to win freedom for a heroic, peace-loving Morton Sobell.

ACT TO TRANSFER SOBELL FROM ALCATRAZ!

HOW should we mark the memorial period of the first anniversary of the execution of the Rosenbergs? Most of all by *action*.

Morton Sobell, co-defendant and fellow-victim of the Rosenbergs, suffers the severest punishment possible to federal prisoners, imprisonment in Alcatraz. This prison, called "The Rock," is set aside for hardened, incorrigible criminals. Why is Sobell there? Is it because the Justice Department wants to force a "confession" from Sobell by this cruel, unusual and unprecedented punishment? By no stretch of the imagination can it be said that Sobell in any way is the kind of prisoner for whom Alcatraz is designed.

Sobell must be removed from Alcatraz! The National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case has mounted a campaign to gather signatures to a petition demanding Sobell's transfer to a regular federal institution. These petitions are directed to:

James V. Bennett
Director of Prisons
Justice Department
Washington, D. C.

Get petitions from the Rosenberg-Sobell Committee (1050 Sixth Avenue, New York City) and obtain as many signatures as you can. In the meantime, write a letter to Mr. Bennett and get all your relatives and friends to write also demanding transfer of Morton Sobell from Alcatraz.

REMEMBER THE ROSENBERGS—

JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL

ROSENBERG MEMORIAL MEETING

THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 8 P.M.

CHATEAU GARDENS (corner East Houston Street
and Second Avenue) New York City

ADMISSION, \$1.00, tax incl.

Tickets at Rosenberg-Sobell Committee, 1050 Sixth
Avenue, N. Y. C.

Auspices: National Committee to Secure Justice for
Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case.

IV: PERSONAL STORY OF A CAMPAIGN

An English fighter for the Rosenbergs gives a moving account of her devoted participation in the movement to save them from execution

By Ray Waterman

BEHIND the heavy wire netting the face of the woman was proud and terribly calm; there was strength, but also sadness, in the man's. The photograph and accompanying article in a Sunday paper about the middle of 1952 were my first introduction to the Rosenberg story.

At first I thought, as so many people did, that they were guilty. But as I learned more about the case and all its ramifications, and in particular about the characters of the Rosenbergs, I gradually became convinced of their innocence. But that is by the way; I would have acted similarly had I believed in their guilt because the sentence was monstrous in relation to the supposed crime. British lawyers assured me their maximum punishment in this country would have been two years' imprisonment. British and American scientists of world famous reputation demonstrated that the data they were presumed to have stolen was insignificant, if not worthless.

It was Howard Fast's telegram to the London *Daily Worker* which first prodded me into action. The American writer appealed for clemency petitions to be rushed to President Truman.

A Holborn [London borough] Defense Committee, which had come into existence after the Howard Fast telegram, rapidly developed into the National Rosenberg Defense Committee. An office was lent free of charge, labor was given voluntarily and things began to move.

The first time I saw the office I was taken aback at its

smallness. Two desks and chairs took up a good deal of the space and whoever sat near the door was frozen. The shelves and cupboards being almost filled by the possessions of the permanent tenant, much of the publicity material, stationery, a spare typewriter and so on, had to be stacked on the floor. But that is often the way campaigns have to be carried out in the labor movement and I have always felt proud of what is achieved in spite of such conditions.

I took home a pile of literature and after supper the whole family sat around the table reading it. It was our first world picture of the Rosenberg case. The appeal for clemency was being supported in France and Belgium, in Italy and Israel, in England and America, by people of all professions, all religions and all classes.

There was one small pamphlet which did more than any other single factor to determine my attitude in this matter. It contained selections from the Rosenbergs' letters to each other, their children, their relatives, their lawyers.

THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ROSENBERG DEFENSE COMMITTEE worked splendidly. All were people known and honored in the professions, in the labor movement and in various religious denominations. Many of them no longer young, some not very well, they gave up all the time they could, organizing deputations to the United States Embassy, writing to the press, travelling about the country in foul weather to conduct protest meetings in the provinces.

But I want to pay special tribute to Judy and Felicity, the two young women who started the campaign going and became assistant treasurer and assistant secretary to the committee. They were both working full time earning a living and had homes to run as well; they had no previous experience of this kind of work and they did a magnificent job at the expense of all rest and leisure for many months on end.

I know there were others who worked as hard—perhaps harder: the people who gave up their lunch hours day after day to picket the Embassy and to parade, continually harried and badgered by the police, round Grosvenor Square; the people who nightly talked themselves hoarse in Hyde Park, who carried the platform to and fro—the Jimmy Higginses of the campaign, anonymous heroes every one. But I mention the girls particularly because they accepted



RAY WATERMAN is a secretary and housewife. She is at present assistant secretary of the British Rosenberg Defense Committee and treasurer of the Michael and Robert Rosenberg Fund. She is 40, married, and mother of two sons, aged 19 and 18. Her uncle, Oiser Wasawski, author of the widely read and translated Yiddish novel *Smugglers*, was killed in a Nazi death camp in 1944.

so much responsibility and so willingly.

Neither shall I ever forget the two American students, man and wife, who ran the daily work of the office during college vacations, knowingly risking deportation in so doing. (The two Americans were deported from Great Britain in July 1953.) People like these help me to keep a sense of balance about America.

From the outset it hurt me that in England no Jewish rabbi had come forward to associate himself with the campaign for clemency. I was assured that none would unless the Chief Rabbi set an example and I undertook to assemble a deputation of well-known Jews willing to approach the Chief Rabbi with this request.

When my completed list was sent him, he replied through his secretary that he did not consider it within his province to meet this deputation nor to make a direct clemency appeal himself. From other sources I heard that he was willing, should the Union of Anglo-Jewish Preachers make such an appeal, to convey it to the United States Embassy on their behalf. However, when the resolution proposed by one of their members was turned down, the Chief Rabbi washed his hands of the matter until a week before the end and then only after some Manchester rabbis had taken the initiative. At the time I felt bitterly ashamed that the man who, in the eyes of the world, was the spiritual leader of my people, would not take upon himself the simple humanitarian responsibility of appealing for the lives of a Jewish father and mother.

AT THE END OF MAY [1953], EISENHOWER FINALLY REFUSED the clemency pleas and the execution was fixed for the week of June 15th. I was out of London until June 12th and was met on my return with news of the upsurge of activity in London and the provinces and in practically every country in the world. In France and Italy, left, right and center were unitedly for the Rosenbergs. A Frenchman wrote, I think, in *Le Monde*: "The Rosenbergs have united Europe."

In America what seemed to be the last desperate legal moves were being made: for a retrial to consider recently acquired evidence; for a further stay of execution; for commutation of the death sentence. One after another they were rejected.

Again crowds flocked to the Hyde Park meetings; again poster parades marched through the West End; deputations and telegrams flowed anew into the United States Embassy. The executive committees of the most powerful trade unions in Great Britain registered their support of the appeal for money. On June 11th the British Chief Rabbi caught up with the rest of the world.

On Sunday, June 13th, the mass meeting in Hyde Park was the biggest I had yet seen in the open air. Over 5,000 people came. Most of the National Committee members spoke, some with emotion, others with cold facts, together building up a damning indictment of this latest item in the long list of America's legal frameups. Burning anger appeared on people's faces. Two deputations were elected,



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg: from a woodcut poster issued by the Taller de Grafica Popular of Mexico.

one to protest to the Embassy in the name of the meeting, the other to lay a wreath on Roosevelt's statue in the garden of Grosvenor Square. I saw this wreath later. It was inscribed: "That Roosevelt's ideals shall live, the Rosenbergs must not die."

The meeting was closing when there were demands from all parts of the crowd for a demonstration in support of the deputations. I was afraid the police would forbid it. Throughout the preceding months there had been trouble whenever demonstrations had gone to the Square—in January a fine of 50 pounds had been imposed on one youngster for standing outside the Embassy with a Rosenberg poster.

Perhaps we were too many, perhaps too determined to be stopped. Had the police intervened at that moment I feel certain there'd have been serious clashes. Perhaps too it was a result of the heightened anti-American feeling in the country generally—whatever the reason there was no attempt to interfere when the whole multitude marched rapidly out of the park with a single banner at the head—a charcoal drawing of the Rosenberg family in prison, the children held in the mother's embrace.

As it left the park gates, the cry "They Must Not Die" rose up from every part of that dense mass. I have never heard a slogan cried with such passion; I have never heard one cried so consistently. Traffic was held up for half an hour as we marched down Oxford Street six to eight abreast and poured into Grosvenor Square, filling all four sides of it.

"They Must Not Die!" Twice we marched round the square, the slogan ringing out ceaselessly. Unsuspected reserves of strength kept us going—I, who usually tire easily, felt as if I had just begun and I heard others say the same.

But the police (or was it the Americans?) had had enough. Prevented, with some difficulty, from making a third round, we gathered in the garden opposite the Embassy. For still another hour the Americans had to listen to that slogan. At last the police prepared to drive the crowd away. A member of the committee jumped on to a bench and appealed to us to leave peaceably.

My husband and I caught sight of Peter, our younger son, who had been at the head of the demonstration and who remained some way behind us with his friends. We were about to turn into Oxford Street when there was some sort of skirmish with the police, too far away to be seen clearly. We stopped, and as the Black Maria passed us, I said to my husband Alex half-jokingly, "Suppose our Peter's in there!" We spent the evening with friends and not until we arrived home at midnight did we hear that our Peter had indeed been "in there." Believing a friend unjustly arrested, he had demanded the inspector's name and number, and was forthwith hauled in to the van for "obstruction."

THE NEXT DAY I OPENED THE NEWSPAPERS WITH SOME EAGERNESS. I was convinced that this time we'd be in the news. There were plenty of press photographers on the route, not all from the *Daily Worker*. And once the public were aware of what was going on, the protest movement was certain to be strengthened.

I might have known better. Beyond the bare announcement of arrests there was not a word about that great demonstration either in the morning or in the afternoon press. And all that went on in the following week was to be similarly ignored. It was not news that night after night the largest meetings London had seen for years were gathering in Hyde Park. It was not news that demonstrations big enough to hold up traffic were nightly marching through Oxford Street and gathering at the United States Embassy—or as close as they were permitted to get. It was not news when on Thursday evening between one and two thousand people stood for several hours outside Parliament waiting to lobby their MP's.

But wait; let us give honor where it is due. One demonstration was fully and fairly reported, with good photographs, in the *News Chronicle* and the *Times*. When? On June 20th. One strong protest, headed "A Black Day for Western Democracy," was courageously published by *Reynolds News*. When? On June 21st. One Sunday newspaper dared to shake the conscience of its readers by printing extracts from the beautiful correspondence of the Rosenbergs. When? Again, on June 21st.

On June 20th, the Rosenbergs were safely dead.

Again and again that week I asked myself the question:

Why did people care so much about the Rosenbergs? Why did I? What was it that brought us on the streets night after night—not for an hour or two but for four, five and six hours at a time? What was it about this one issue which was uniting in common activity people of diverse political and religious beliefs?

In those same six days terrible things were happening all over the world—in Malaya, in Kenya, in Germany, in Korea—things which involved not one family, but countless families, in loss and calamity, and many of us taking part in the Rosenberg campaign were keenly aware of these events. Yet it was the Rosenbergs who at this time dominated our thoughts and actions. Why was it?

An artist has explained the peculiar effectiveness of the miniature in these words: "You can see it all at once." Perhaps that is part of the answer—that in this one struggle between the Rosenbergs and the American government we saw *all at once* the life and death struggles being fought out everywhere between the deprived and the privileged.

But more than that. In their persons, in their bearing, in their sane and tender writings, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg symbolized for us the greatness of little people. I think this above all was why we worked so hard for their release.

WHEN I ARRIVED HOME FROM WORK ON WEDNESDAY EVENING, June 17 (I had stopped working at the Rosenberg office in the spring), two of my neighbors met me at my door with splendid news. A stay of execution had been granted! Justice William O. Douglas, a member of the Supreme Court, had allowed that the Rosenbergs might have been tried under the wrong act. If this were so, their conviction was false on that ground alone.

In Hyde Park it was a victory meeting in all but name. The crowd was even bigger than Sunday's. When one speaker—I think it was the Rev. Donald Soper, the Methodist—expressed the hope that the Rosenbergs might in the near future come to England on a victory tour, he simply voiced a belief that was strong in many hearts that night.

To this cheerful gathering the announcement was made of the recall of the Supreme Court to overturn Justice Douglas's decision and of his threatened impeachment. For what crime? His most un-American act of staying an execution he believed unjustly ordered.

The news sobered us at once. In that atmosphere of intimidation, who would support Douglas? From the platform came the suggestion that the British Prime Minister should join the French President in intervening for the Rosenbergs. People clutched at the idea: of course, that was the next step. It was agreed that Members of Parliament be lobbied at once to back the appeal to Sir Winston

Remember Morton Sobell! Get him out of Alcatraz!

Churchill. I was too tired to go, but my husband, returning home at 1:30 A.M., told me that by midnight some hundreds of people had arrived for the lobbying.

On Thursday morning, June 18th, I was in possession of new leaflets appealing to the general public for last-minute efforts. After handing them around to my local shops for display, I caught my usual bus to the office. I thought of getting up and giving each passenger a leaflet, but somehow I could not make myself do it. As a poor alternative I left a few on my own seat and the empty one in front, and changed buses twice, leaving a few behind me each time. At lunch time I walked about placing the leaflets in telephone kiosks and in the local post office, giving away what was left outside the station.

And so when I arrived home that evening half-asleep and was met with a message from the Rosenberg office that the execution might after all be carried out at midnight, my languor vanished. The committee called for a mass lobbying of MP's. For the next hour or two I sat at the telephone contacting friends and acquaintances. It was heartwarming to get their instant response. I still have the sheet of paper on which I scribbled against their names:

"Yes, will go at once."

"Will go and take others with me."

"Can't leave the baby, but will telephone friends." Nobody refused, nobody was too busy, nobody said, "What's the good?" They left whatever they were doing, and went. And the same was going on in many other homes that the committee had been able to reach.

THUS I REACHED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AT NINE O'CLOCK to find the biggest queue I have ever seen there. Some people had already been waiting for two hours. At different times that evening there were between one and two thousand people in the queue. Only a few at a time were allowed in and we moved along slowly. Petitions passed down the lines. Surreptitious collections of money were made. News trickled out of the House that a large number of MP's had signed a telegram to Eisenhower.

At last my husband and I were in a group that was allowed in. From the tense little groups in the lobby we gathered that few, apart from those who had already acted for the Rosenbergs, had come out to see their constituents. Presently we were informed that our MP was not in the House. We asked for another whom we knew personally and waited. Someone said it was possible to get into the Strangers' Gallery. My husband and I looked at each other.

"Shall we?" I said doubtfully.

"Yes," said Alec. "Let's see what's holding them!"

We went up, signed a declaration that we would make no disturbance and were ushered in. It was like going in to church during a service. Silence in the Gallery, quiet down below. We tiptoed to some empty seats in the front row and gazed down upon the well-lit scene.

Some 60 MP's were present. One was standing, discussing Central African Federation. Some had their feet up comfortably on the Order Table; others were, or appeared to



A conference on the Rosenberg children: left to right, Abel and Ann Meerapol, foster parents of the children before the recent guardianship action; Gloria Agrin, defense associate of Emanuel Bloch; Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, mother of Julius.

be peacefully asleep and the rest looked thoroughly bored. The speaker went on and on, occasionally making a little quip which caused a ripple of amusement among those who were awake. We watched and listened as if in a trance.

Opposite us the big clock ticked away the minutes. Five past 11, June 18th, the Rosenbergs' 14th wedding anniversary. Another 55 movements of the minute hand and they might be walking to the electric chair. A terrible restlessness possessed me. Down there were the men who could press the Prime Minister to intervene. Outside were all those people who had waited for hours to ask them to do so. And here were we, sitting with our hands folded.

I thought of that moment in the bus when I had not had the simple courage to stand up and give away a few leaflets.

As the speaker sat down, I got up, shouting very loud and clear:

THE ROSENBERGS ARE ABOUT TO DIE!

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

THEY ARE INNOCENT!

SAVE THE ROSENBERGS. . . .

Two men gripped my arms and the back of my neck as if I were a dangerous criminal and thrust me from the Gallery.

It had been a transformation scene. As my voice rang round the chamber, everyone faced in one direction, everyone awake, everyone interested. How I regretted not having said something more intelligent, more compelling.

"You can let me go now," I said to the man who still held me tight. "I've finished. I'm going."

"Oh no, madam," he said bitterly. "You're coming with me. You're coming with me!"

I wondered why he was so angry. It was not his fault.

The House rose at midnight and I was at once released. As Alec and I came out, we were met with the news that there had been a further short stay of execution: the Supreme Court were still deliberating. The crowd had dispersed, but we joined the little groups of people making their way along Whitehall to Downing Street. There we scribbled a letter to the Prime Minister in the name of those who had been lobbying, and handed it in to No. 10 Downing Street.

ON FRIDAY I WENT STRAIGHT FROM WORK TO THE ROSENBERG office. At the door I met the two Americans coming out. I was struck by their extreme pallor; even their lips were white.

"What's happening?" I asked them.

"We've lost," he said. "The Supreme Court voted 6 to 3.

They'll be executed tonight—one A.M. British time."

I looked at his wife. "It's true," she said.

I would not believe it. There must still be a loophole somewhere. But a cold finger touched my heart.

In the office they were preparing for the evening's meeting. Felicity was on the phone trying to contact Mr. Nehru in Switzerland. Perhaps he would intervene. Judy and I each took a bunch of leaflets to distribute along Oxford Street. It was raining, the leaflets got wet, people were in a hurry and wouldn't take them.

Nonetheless, when the meeting opened an enormous crowd gathered from nowhere. It was suggested that people should send personal telegrams to Churchill. Judy, myself and one or two others standing at the Park gates with the telegram forms, were almost overwhelmed by the press of people coming to write their messages and

V: THE CHILDREN

The Question:

And you who plunge your hands into the thunder
The dollar, the Plague, the a-bomb ray gamma
Great masters of fear heroes of Hiroshima
What is it tears your Pentagon asunder?

Italians, Persians, pygmies from down under
Who man your bases France to Panama
What song unites the world's vast panorama
But *Yank Go Home!* Doesn't this make you wonder?

What unknown atom gives you your neurosis?
Or is it Syngman Rhee your faithful double?
Or Chiang Kai-shek who lives by pure osmosis?

Your footsteps tremble. What then is your trouble?
Can two small boys choke your apotheosis
And rip your Pentagonic myths to rubble?

II

The Response:

Yes they're the tar drops in the honey pot
The green leaves that a skyscraper outlaws
America outflanked by two small boys
New York in danger, Cossacks within gun shot.

Such criminals of peace each tiny tot
Their plaintive voices ring out from their toys

Three Sonnets by Louis Aragon

Adapted from the French by Walter Lowenfels

But their small quiet stops the world's great noise
Their tears are bombs that make the White House rock

The Pentagon colossus smells a rose
Its thorns he senses pricking his clay feet
He arms himself though why he hardly knows

Cursing us as he stalks his lonesome street
He crushes two small boys with frightened blows
Making us live for them in each heart beat.

III

... And the Moral:

It wasn't enough to put this double love
Of theirs this natural love of sons to death
Even as the whole world sought to their last breath
To keep their own hearts beating. It wasn't enough

To turn the light of Mother Father off
But still these butchers keep on playing deaf
At two small children murmuring in their grief.
What other murders are they dreaming of?

And when their foster parent was found dead
Their lawyer and defender Emanuel Bloch
How could the White House sleep?

Take them from bed
Snuff out their souls and let their pillows rock
Your memories to sleep while in your head
You crush this family with the laws you mock!

paying us to send them off. To make things more difficult still, the police continually moved us about.

At nine o'clock we decided to stop. Some friends took us in their car with our hundreds of telegrams and our pocketful of money to the Central Telegraph Office in the City.

At last it was done. Our friends gave us a lift to the bottom of the Strand, where the traffic was too dense for the car to proceed further. We made our way on foot to the office.

Felicity, her flaming hair hanging limp, was still glued to the telephone, giving and receiving news. A young man told us a huge demonstration had left the Park and was moving towards Downing Street. He offered to take us in his car to join it and for the next hour we crawled through the traffic trying to find the marchers. I was nearly suffocating with frustration. On this, of all nights, to be immobilized in a motor car, looking for a lost demonstration. Eventually we phoned the office and were told the demonstrators were proceeding individually to No. 10. There at last we joined them.

A frail, elderly woman told me what had happened. Shouting "Stop the murder—Churchill must act!" they had marched down Oxford Street and into Regent Street. When the police wished to divert them—no demonstration being permitted within a mile of the Houses of Parliament when in session—the whole multitude, men and women, old and young, sat down in the road. Faced with the prospect of complete dislocation of traffic, the police compromised, allowing them to march around Piccadilly (well within the mile) and thence back to the park.

"It was really a wonderful sight," said my friend. "The word was passed along—*sit down*—and first of all the front ranks and gradually all down the lines, everyone sat. It was like an oncoming wave. The discipline was terrific. You can imagine it wasn't easy to maintain one's dignity, sitting there in the middle of the road! But apart from a few sneers, people on the pavements looked sympathetic, even moved."

And meanwhile, Stanley Evans and a deputation of six others were on their way to Chartwell, to interview the Prime Minister, whose reply, as we heard later, was "It is not within my power or duty to intervene in this matter."

It was after midnight when the car dropped us at Downing Street. A cordon of police was stretched across each end of it, and as the marchers arrived, swelling the crowd to several hundreds, the police would not permit us to stand there. We began crossing from curb to curb, meeting and passing each other on the way, a silently pacing crowd. So many people, and so quiet.

I said to the woman next to me: "Is this all? Is there nothing to be said or done?"

"If you can think of anything to say or do," she said, "do it."

BUT THERE WAS NOTHING LEFT TO DO. UNTIL THAT MOMENT I had not believed it. But looking at the faces of the people

and seeing the sadness and anger written on them, I at last began to believe it too. The American government was spitting in the face of humanity. The enormity of it was almost too much to bear. Instinctively I looked up at the calm night sky. What I expected to see I do not know. An angel with a flaming sword? An aeroplane writing some message there?

Just before one o'clock a man stepped out into the road and raised his hand, so that we all stopped, a solid mass in front of Downing Street. At once the police moved forward. He faced them squarely and said, "No power on earth will move us from this spot." They left us alone.

The man said in a low voice: "Let us stand in silence for two minutes in memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

Big Ben struck the hour, a Catholic knelt down in the road and prayed. There was some stifled weeping.

Our friend raised his head. "Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have been killed. But the cause for which they fought can never be silenced. We pledge ourselves to continue the fight. We pledge ourselves to vindicate their names."

Some inspired person began to sing *Joe Hill* and all who could master themselves joined in.

Joe Hill has taken on a fresh connotation since that night. The last words still hung on the air when the police moved in among us.

"Come on now, break it up, break it up." But neither their voices nor their movements were as brusque as usual.

We turned away. It was over, they were dead. Dead the man who as a youngster had stopped to listen to a meeting on the Scottsboro case and added his few cents to the collection. Dead the father who in a prison cell heard his ten-year old boy whisper: "You must come home soon, Dad. There's a lump in my stomach every day, even when I go to bed."

Dead the woman who had said "Life can be bought too dearly. . . . I will not act the harlot to political procurers." Dead the mother who had written, "Make no mistake, this mother's heart is being slowly and methodically broken."

Dead the pair of them, that loving man and woman, who in full health and in the vigor and passion of youth went to their death with these deathless words:

"For peace, bread and roses, in a simple dignity, we face the executioner with courage, confidence and perspective, never losing faith."

Remember those words; carry them in your heart always; let them fly as a banner over the daily struggle, the struggle to end for all time man's inhumanity to man.

A New Trial for Morton Sobell!

JEWS AND THE CIVIL WAR

There were Jews on both sides of the slavery issue. When the civil war came, about 6,500 Jews fought in the Union army, some heroically

By Morris U. Schappes

ON THE eve of the second Rosh Hashana of the Civil War, *The Jewish Record* of New York appeared on September 24, 1862 with an editorial, "Our New Year," denouncing the "arrant treason and unholy rebellion" of the South. "Fraternal blood," it went on, "has been spilled by violent hands, and, to our regret, we are compelled to add that the hand of the Southern Israelite has been found raised against his Northern brother. But a truce to such reflections on the first day of a New Year: we prefer to dwell upon the noble record which the loyal Israelites of the North, and especially of the Northwest, have established. . . ."

In a nutshell, these few words sum up the political and military division that developed among the 200,000 Jews in the United States with regard to the Civil War. This division was true for the American white population as a whole: treason and rebellion led by the slaveowners in the South; general loyalty to the Union in the North, but particularly among the farmers, workers and middle classes of the old Northwest (from the Ohio to the Mississippi), where the anti-slavery sentiment, and also the Republican party, had their greatest strength.

Of course "the noble record" of the Jews loyal to the Union had its prologue in the anti-slavery activities of Jews in the decade before the war. In this decade, the immigration of almost 100,000 Jews from Central and Eastern Europe had increased the Jewish population from about 50,000 to 200,000, most of them recent arrivals faced with the difficult problems of making a place for themselves in a new country. New Jewish centers of population developed at that time in Newark, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco, and also in New Orleans. Among these new immigrant masses there was no "tradition" or background of slaveholding or slave trading. Nor had their senses and values been dulled by having "lived with" slavery in the same country for generations or even decades.

In the Anti-Slavery Movement

Therefore as the slavery question pushed itself ever forward to become the central, major issue in the country, such Jews came into the anti-slavery movement, influencing

others to move in the same direction. In September 1855 the Reform Rabbi David Einhorn arrived in Baltimore, the heart of a slave state, to fill the pulpit of the Har Sinai Congregation. In February 1856 he is already editing the German-language monthly, *Sinai*, and in a very short time he is hailing the new "so-called Black Republican Party" and backing Fremont for president as the best way to fight slavery, "the cancer of the Union."¹

Or take a youngster like August Bondi. When he arrived in New Orleans in November 1848 he was only a little over 15—but already a "veteran" of the Academic Legion which had taken part in the March uprising in Vienna. In January 1849 he is already attending anti-slavery rallies in St. Louis. Two years later in Texas he personally witnesses the brutality dealt out to Negro slaves. He gets a juicy marriage offer, but turns it down: the girl and her family were slaveowners. "I disliked to marry a woman with slaves," he wrote later in his fascinating *Autobiography*. "I felt that my father's son was not to be a slave-driver." This was the man, by this time fully 21, who in 1855 responded to an appeal in the anti-slavery *New York Daily Tribune* for people to settle in Kansas to keep Southern colonists from making a slave state out of Kansas. Bondi took another Jew, Jacob Benjamin, with him; in Kansas they teamed up with a third, Theodore Weiner, a 250-pound Polish Jew. All three of them joined John Brown's guerrilla band in Kansas in 1856, Bondi fighting at Blackjack, Osawatimie and other engagements. Later he fought for three years in the Civil War, until he was seriously wounded.²

It was mainly from such types among the newer immigrants—as well as from the older immigration and even from American-born Jews—that the new anti-slavery Republican Party got its Jewish builders and supporters from 1854 to the election of Lincoln. It is true that in 1856 the Reform rabbi and editor of Cincinnati, Isaac Mayer Wise,

¹Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, New York, rev. ed., 1952, p. 445. Unless otherwise noted, the main facts and documentation for this article will be found in this book, pages 349-64, 394-401, 405-441, 444-459, 462-509, 664-670, 678-680, 682-714. Useful for its copious facts is *American Jewry and the Civil War* by Bertram W. Korn (Philadelphia, 1951), but for its major deficiencies see this writer's review in *Jewish Life*, October 1951, and Louis Ruchames, "The Abolitionists and the Jews," *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, Vol. 42 (1952), p. 131-155.

²Schappes, "August Bondi, Anti-Slavery Fighter," *Jewish Life*, November 1949.

spoke of these supporters in *The Israelite* as "red republicans and habitual revolutionaries, who feed on excitement and delight in civil wars." But such red-baiting could not deter a campaigner for Fremont like Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal of Madison, Indiana, who had arrived in our country in 1854 and from the first knew the anti-slavery score.

So among the early Republicans one finds an Adolph Loeb, a Charles Kozminski and an Abraham Kohn in Chicago, where the local pro-slavery Democrats called the latter "one of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists"; and in Missouri a Moritz Pinner and an Isidor Bush; and in Maryland not only Einhorn but Dr. Abraham B. Arnold; and in Brooklyn, New York, a Joseph Goldmark and a Sigismund Kaufmann; in Philadelphia a Moses Dropsie and in Elizabeth, N. J., a Moses Naar; and in New York the influential Jonathan Nathan (and his young brother, Gershon) and an Abram J. Dittenhoefer.³ Obviously the Jews did not act as a bloc and in all probability the majority of Jews voted for the Democratic party against Lincoln. But it was the minority of hundreds of Jewish republicans who bore the banner of progress for all, including the Jews.

"Israelites with Egyptian Principles"

It was not until the late 1850's that the relationship of Jews as Jews to slavery became a pointed public issue, and brought a specific Jewish note into the anti-slavery chorus. In the United States Senate there were two Jews, David Levy Yulee of Florida and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana. Benjamin was the most eloquent, persistent and effective defender of slavery in the Senate, his vaunted eloquence being ever-ready for that evil cause. Replying to one of these orations on March 13, 1858, Senator Benjamin F. Wade of Ohio spoke scornfully of "doughfaces," Northerners who supported slavery. "Why, sir," he said, "when old Moses . . . enticed a whole nation of slaves, and ran away . . . to old Canaan . . . there were not wanting those who loved Egypt better than they loved liberty . . . they were Israelites with Egyptian principles."

Picked up promptly by the anti-slavery press and affixed unshakably to Judah Benjamin, this pointed witticism cut many a torpid Jewish conscience to the quick. While it could have no effect on the thick slavery-encrusted hide of a Benjamin himself and very little if any influence on the conduct of Jews in the South, it did change the outlook and the very life of a 22-year-old lawyer like Abram Dittenhoefer. Born in Charleston but educated in New York and graduated from Columbia College, young Dittenhoefer was being steered by his merchant father for a political career in the Democratic party. "And yet," he tells us in an autobiographical work, "my convictions were irrevocably changed by the reading of Wade's speech in answer to Benjamin." Dittenhoefer immediately changed his course of action, converted his father also to the Republican

Party, and became a leading figure in the 1860 and 1864 campaigns for Lincoln. If Benjamin would play Pharaoh, Abram was going to be Moses.⁴

But then Pharaoh suddenly appeared in the regalia of an orthodox rabbi, a man learned in God's own language, the holy tongue itself, who proved from the original Hebrew Scripture that Pharaoh was justified by God himself. Thus spake Rabbi Morris Jacob Raphall on January 4, 1861 to his Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York—and to many non-Jewish Southern ladies and gentlemen who had come to the synagogue to hear a rabbi justify the ways of Pharaoh to Israel and to the world. The date had been proclaimed as a National Fast Day by James Buchanan, the outgoing Democratic President. With Lincoln elected but not yet inaugurated, the insurgent South and its allies in the Democratic Party in the North sought thus to rally all its forces for an ideological attack on the abolitionists. South Carolina had already seceded when on January 4 the pulpit-barrage of thousands of pro-slavery preachers began. But none got as much attention as Rabbi Raphall.

Raphall added nothing to what had been said on the subject for 160 years, pro and con, each side interpreting, reinterpreting and misinterpreting the biblical texts to prove that God sanctioned slavery—or regarded it as a crime and a sin. But now the old arguments were being intoned by a Hebrew scholar and rabbi of national reputation. Verily if this was not revelation it was absolutely authoritative confirmation, and the Southern gentlemen who had conceived the bright idea of asking Raphall to preach this sermon were pleased, mighty pleased.

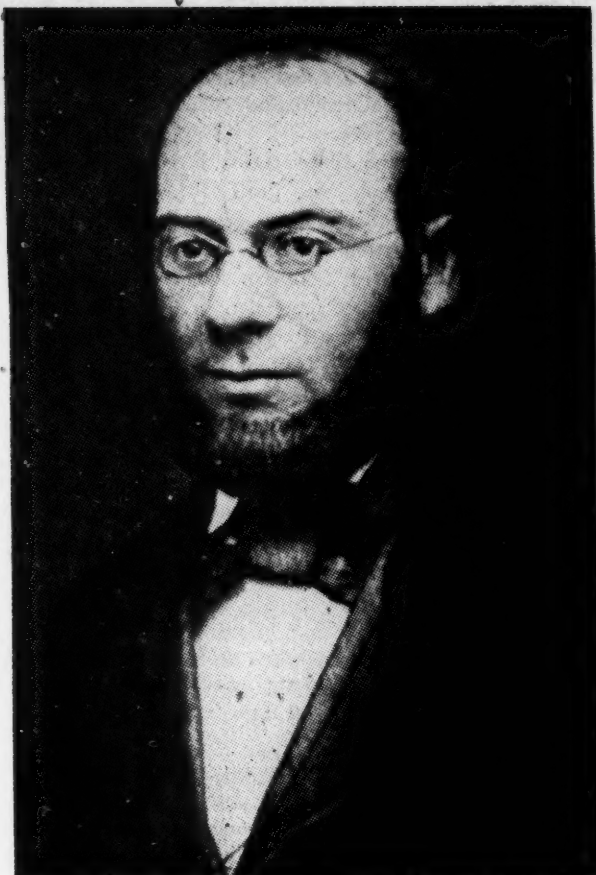
And they took the text and proclaimed it throughout the land, many columns in the newspapers, in pamphlet, in book, north and south and west. But soon Einhorn in Baltimore, also a rabbi, was ready with a reply in German in *Sinai*, which was quickly translated into English and issued as a pamphlet in New York. Reaching a wider audience, and more effective as a refutation, was an indignant but thorough and scholarly blast by Michael Heilprin, zestfully published in full in Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Heilprin, since he had arrived here in 1856 as a refugee from the counter-revolutions after 1848, had been opposed to slavery. He was a linguist and a scholar of encyclopedic scope. He knew well how to wrap effective argument in wrath. "Must the stigma of Egyptian principles," he demanded, "be fastened on the people of Israel by Israelitish lips themselves?" And then he proved it was not so.⁵

The anti-slavery movement had thus been provided with its answer by equally learned Jews, and they used it until the issue was settled, not by dispute of words but of arms. Yet no Anglo-Jewish periodical, not the *Occident* in Philadelphia nor the *Israelite* in Cincinnati nor the *Jewish Messenger* in New York, reprinted or even quoted from Einhorn's or Heilprin's anti-slavery replies, nor would the

³ Schappes, "Jews in Lincoln's Third Party, 1854-1860," *JEWISH LIFE*, October 1948.

⁴ Schappes, "Judah P. Benjamin, Statesman of an Evil Cause," *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1948.

⁵ Schappes, "Jews Debate Slavery, 1861," *JEWISH LIFE*, April 1952.



Courtesy of American Jewish Archives

Abraham Kohn: "One of the blackest Republicans and Abolitionists."

Messenger print letters received from readers on the subject of slavery.

The War—"Stand by the Flag!"

But when Fort Sumter was captured, April 13, 1861, and Lincoln's call to arms came on April 15, political differences on the slavery question were subordinated, in the North and Northwest, to the prime issue of the defense of the Union. At this point the *Jewish Messenger* nailed the Stars and Stripes to its masthead and kept it there. "Stand by the Flag!" it called editorially on April 26. The experience and hopes of Jews were in the question: "The Union—which binds together, by so many sacred ties, millions of freemen—which extends its hearty invitation to the oppressed of all nations, to come and be sheltered beneath its protecting wings—shall it be severed, destroyed, or even impaired?"

Although the *Israelite* in Cincinnati was too busily anti-abolitionist to give more than lip-service to the Union and the monthly *Occident* in Philadelphia was really helping the Confederate cause by a pose of neutrality, the Jewish people got the call to arms in many ways. They rallied first as volunteers and, later, in the draft. Reliable sta-

tistics are unavailable. But if the incomplete and not-too-accurate compilation of Simon Wolf in *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, made in 1895, is used, there would be about 6,500 Jews in the Union Army. New York, with about 40,000 Jews, contributed about 2,100; the Northwest, with a much smaller Jewish population, contributed about 3,000 from Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin.

Instances of heroism were not uncommon, and seven Jews were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest of decorations. Leopold Karpeles of the 57th Massachusetts Infantry won his at the Battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864.

There were also many Jewish officers in the Union Army, several of them in full command of regiments as colonels. The highest rank was that attained by the Hungarian Jew, Frederick Knefler, who rose from the rank of private in the 79th Indiana Infantry to command of his regiment, and then was brevetted a brigadier-general (a nominal rank without the pay or the command that would come with the actual rank). Similarly Colonel Edward Selig Salomon was brevetted brigadier-general for distinguished service with the 82nd Illinois Infantry, of which Company C, incidentally, was known as the Israelite Company although there were some non-Jews in it.

Jews and the Confederacy

In the South, the contrast was very sharp. When the *Jewish Messenger's* editorial, "Stand by the Flag!" was read by the Hebrew congregation of Shreveport, La., the congregation passed a resolution to "scorn and repel" the advice, to regard the periodical "as a black republican paper," to rally to "the holy cause" of the "Southern Confederacy." Cancellation of subscriptions by Southern readers almost put the *Messenger* out of business, forcing it for a time to publish every two weeks instead of weekly.

In Baltimore Einhorn had to flee to Philadelphia to escape a secessionist mob; and he refused to return to his Baltimore pulpit when his congregation insisted that he agree not to discuss politics.

J. Barrett Cohen of Charleston was practicing law in New York when the war began, but "he promptly closed his office and hastened to share the fate of his fellow Southerners." To this day there are those who are strangely "proud" of facts such as that "Mrs. Solomon Cohen saw 32 of her descendants—children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren—wearing the gray and occupying positions from 'mere privates' to Quartermaster-General."⁶

In Richmond, Va., Rev. M. J. Michelbacher preached a typical pro-slavery Confederate sermon to the German Hebrew Congregation on May 27, 1863. The Jews, he declared, "well understand their duties as citizens and as soldiers, and the young men do not require the persuasion of conscription to convert them into soldiers to defend, as

⁶ Jacob S. Raisin, *Centennial Booklet Commemorating The Introduction of Reform Judaism in America at Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim of Charleston, S. C., Charleston, 1925*, p. 31.

they verily believe, the only free government in North America." The prayer that Michelbacher offered up after the sermon included this defense of slavery: "The man servants and the maid servants Thou has given unto us, that we may be merciful to them in righteousness and bear rule over them, the enemy are attempting to seduce, that they, too, may turn against us, whom Thou hast appointed over them as instructors in Thy wise dispensation. . . ."

Moved by such attitudes, sentiments and ideas, the Jewish youth in the Confederate States volunteered for the war. Simon Wolf lists the names of some 1,300 Jews who bore arms against the Union. By and large the remainder of the Jewish population in the South supported the Confederacy as civilians. Yet it may be, as Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal of Chicago said on June 6, 1862, that hundreds of Jews in the South endured the "martyrdom of silence" while deep in their hearts they impatiently waited for the day when the rebelling slave-owners will have their heads ground in the dust.⁸

Anti-Semitism During the War

In part this "martyrdom of silence" was imposed by the pressure of anti-Semitism, which was widely felt during the Civil War in both camps. Of course anti-Semitism was not the issue in the war, but undoubtedly the fact of spreading anti-Semitism affected the conduct of the Jews, making many of them, in order to defend themselves against imputations of disloyalty, strive to out-conform the conformers.

Specific official discriminatory acts were comparatively easy to handle. Much has been made of the law passed by the United States Congress in 1861 that allowed only Christian clergymen to be military chaplains in the Union Army. But general public opinion and the pressure organized by the Jews themselves speedily got the law amended, and Jewish military chaplains were then appointed (while in the Confederacy, although there was no discriminatory law to amend, there were also no Confederate Jewish chaplains). And when General Ulysses S. Grant, in the winter of 1862, issued his anti-Semitic Order No. 11, expelling Jews "as a class" from the Department of the Tennessee, it took only a couple of weeks before a delegation of Jews met with Lincoln and he countermanded the order.

But more difficult to deal with than such single actions was the anti-Semitic agitation that broke out in part of the public press and in areas of public life. In the Confederate Congress, anti-Semitic speeches were not uncommon. On January 13, 1863, Henry S. Foote of Tennessee argued that "if the present state of things were to continue, the end of the war would probably find nearly all the property of the Confederacy in the hands of Jewish Shylocks." Hilton of Florida echoed Foote with the charge

that the Jews "had swarmed here" and "ate up the substance of the country." In the spring of 1863, Foote was telling the Confederate Congress that after victory was won, he would propose to amend the Confederate constitution to forbid Jews to come within 12 miles of the capital, and—"a round of applause from the Congressmen themselves swept the chamber." The Jews of Richmond became alarmed. On October 1, 1863, Congregation Beth Ahabah wrote to Congregation Beth Shalome proposing cooperation to consider how "to vindicate their character as Jews and good citizens, which has been repeatedly and grossly assailed in public prints." Beth Shalome declined, preferring to treat this anti-Semitism with silent contempt.⁹

In the North, too, the anti-Semitic agitation was extensive and commanded much attention in the Anglo-Jewish press. In *The Israelite*, concentration on anti-Semitism became a device to cover up virtual support for the Confederacy. But loyal Unionists also were compelled to react by defending the Jews against slanders.

Late in 1864, Simon Wolf of Washington wrote a long letter on the subject to William Cullen Bryant, editor of the *New York Evening Post*, which was promptly reprinted in the *Washington Sunday Chronicle*, and in *The Jewish Record*, December 2, 1864. "My heart is sick," Wolf wrote, "my brain weary, my hopes dampened by these manifestations, not alone in the social, but radiating from the highest official circles." He appeals to Bryant directly: "We have been branded and outraged for four long years, until discretion has ceased to be a virtue, and it is incumbent upon you, the father of the American press, to give us a hearing through the columns of your valuable journal." Then come examples of Jewish heroism in the Union Army, of Jewish abolitionists and leading republicans, two long columns of facts to refute the "lie that we are cowards" and speculators and copperheads.

Isidor Bush: Abolitionist

In atmospheres like these, many would prefer the "martyrdom of silence" who did not have the courage or the resourcefulness to practice the ideal of justice, which in this war lay on the side of the Union and emancipation.

Of special interest, therefore, is a figure like Isidor Bush, who in the border state of Missouri led a vigorous struggle for the emancipation of the slaves in Missouri. Bush, with a background in the 1848 Revolution in Vienna, was a firm and militant advocate of democratic principles for all, including the Negro people, slave and free. A leader in the German and Jewish communities of St. Louis, Bush was among those that kept this border state in the Union. As a member of the Missouri State Constitutional Convention, which acted as the legislature during the war, Bush became increasingly influential. On the convention Committee on Emancipation he opposed those who sought to

⁸ *The Jewish Record*, June 5, 1863.

⁹ *Sinai*, July, 1862, p. 160, reprinting an article by Felsenthal in the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, June 6, 1862, commenting on a New Orleans correspondent who, the day before, had reported that the Jews of New Orleans were "strongly for secession, and some of them were 'real fire-eaters.'"

⁹ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, Vol. 47 (1930), p. 122-23; Herbert T. Ezekiel, *The Jews of Richmond During the Civil War*, Richmond, 1915, no pagination; *Congregation Beth Ahabah, 1841-1941*, Richmond, 1941, p. 20.

delay emancipation to the year 1876 and helped set the date for January 1865. But Bush, far in advance even of many abolitionists, fought also to refute the white supremacist theories and lies found even among abolitionists.

For example, ending an address in a debate on emancipation, Bush turned on those who had argued that after emancipation the Negroes would have to be deported. "They tell us," he exclaimed, "that the Negroes would be but one great band of idlers and vagabonds, robbers, murderers, and thieves." Using the statistics of the Census of 1860, Bush refutes the charge and goes on: "I have no words for such slanders against poor human beings, so much sinned against. It is not enough that you hold them in bondage, toys of your whim and your lust, but you must charge them with crimes they never committed and never dreamt of. I pray you have pity for yourselves, *not* for the Negro." Later, it was Isidor Bush who opposed Jimcrow schools in Missouri.

The issue that united the coalition that rallied to the Union and won the war was—the Union. The forces of the left that pressed for abolition had to persuade Lincoln that emancipation was a necessary *war measure* to save the

Union. Among the Jews the Union likewise was the rallying center. The only Jewish periodical that was anti-slavery was Einhorn's German-language *Sinai*, which had a much smaller circulation than the English weeklies. Yet there was anti-slavery sentiment, finding its expression through figures like Einhorn, Bush, Ernestine L. Rose, Dittenhoefer, Felsenthal and many others. For Jews and for all Americans, what was at stake in the war fundamentally was summed up in a speech by a Jewish member of the Assembly of the newly admitted State of Nevada, on January 16, 1865. Sherman had torn through Georgia and victory was near. Its cost, said H. M. Bien, was "a deadly struggle with traitors in arms . . . but, sir, the prize, nearly achieved, will be not only the release from slavery of the black man, but the unmitigated liberty of the white man in the North, so long suffering, aching and struggling under the dictation of the South." (*The Jewish Record*, March 17, 1865.)

The abolition of slavery removed the barriers to American industrial development. The need for workers attracted many millions of Europeans to our shores. Among them were the hundreds of thousands of Jews, who were to write new pages of American Jewish history.

NAZIS SAY: EDC IS A NEW WAFFEN-SS

IS THE projected "European Defense Community," with a remilitarized Germany as its core, designed to defend freedom in the world? The extent to which Western Germany has been renazified, with nazis in the Adenauer cabinet, with nazis riddling every level of West German life and with the old cartellists who were the backbone of Hitler back in the saddle, throws the gravest doubt on this claim.

But a true picture of the EDC army is offered in the parallels drawn by important West German figures between the "international" army coralled by the nazis during World War II and Dulles' EDC. Here are some such statements.

War criminal Field Marshal Kesselring said in the *Stahlhelm* (No. 11, 1953): "I should like to refer once again to the German Wehrmacht, which was an absolutely classical example for the development of such supra-national Wehrmacht. . . . Have we reason to despair of the EDC when we have such pace-makers?"

Colonel General Heinz Guderian, chief of Hitler's General Staff, in his preface to SS-General Hauser's *Waffen SS im Einsatz*: "We should not forget that the conception of Europe was turned into reality in these troops (the SS) for the first time and that links were forged between the nations of Europe which should not have been destroyed."

SS tank officer Peiper, whose sentence to death for his part in the Malmedy massacre was commuted to life imprisonment (thanks to Senator Joseph McCarthy, among others), is quoted in the book by SS General Hauser cited above in a message from Landsberg prison to "all who have remained true to the great ideals of the SS": "Do not forget that the first Europeans fell in the ranks of the Waffen-SS. . . . Do not stop half

way along the path. The European conception is the only political ideal which is worth fighting for today. We were never before so close to turning it into reality."

SS General Hauser says in the cited book: "We were unrelenting opponents of bolshevism and we were proud when we saw the divisions of all European countries, the European legions, voluntary Europeans who wanted with us to hold back the Bolshevik tide. Were they not pioneers of a united Europe? . . . Slowly but surely citizens of nearly all European nations met here (in the SS) in the common fight against bolshevism. The idea of European unity received its baptism of fire."

From *Wiking-Ruf*, organ of a nazi veterans' organization (Hanover, June 21, 1953): "The men of the former Waffen-SS have a right to speak of Europe, of the European Community and the defense of Europe. In our ranks this European Community was converted into reality for the first time on the field of battle."

Is it any wonder that the people of Britain and France—and the overwhelming majority of Jews in those countries—are pulling back their Dulles-tied leaders from joining in a European army with a remilitarized Germany? They want neither a re-creation of the nazi monster nor a new world war, which the renazified West Germans are planning for recovery of their "lost" territories. No wonder, then, that Hugh Dalton, former Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labor Government, opposes German rearmament and warned (*New York Times*, May 9) that such territorial claims were "one of the most likely causes of a third world war."

For peace, for freedom and against a resurgence of racism, the Jewish people, no less than all men of good will, must oppose the rearmament of Germany!

BRITISH JEWS AND GERMAN REARMAMENT

By Dr. N. S. Malimson

In unfortunate contrast to organized Jewish life in our own country, Jewish organizations in Britain are presently engaged in a lively discussion of the question of German rearmament. The following article by Dr. Malimson, a British physician, analyzes the trend of this discussion in the Jewish Board of Deputies, the all-inclusive British federated body of Jewish organizations. We reprint the article from the April issue of the British Jewish Clarion.—Eds.

What is the record of the Board of Deputies on the question of German rearmament?

The Board has passed resolutions protesting against German rearmament and presented them to the appropriate government departments. *But there the matter rests.*

The Board will not go out to the Jews of the whole country, call meetings and lead a militant campaign on this question; and when asked why they do not do so, the answer given is that this is a political matter, and hence the Board, which is a "non-political" body, cannot take any further action.

This is the kind of argument which was used before the war, when the Jewish rank and file clamored for all possible action against Hitler and his nazis, and at the least, for a boycott against German goods.

Strenuous arguments were used by the Board of Deputies and by our leaders in the provinces against any active measures and against the boycott.

The arguments were of the specious canting variety which sound good, and even sacrosanct at first and coming from such sources, but which on investigation could be torn apart and exposed in all their shabby hypocrisy.

The boycott was enforced in spite of them.

More recently the question cropped up of the treatment of Jews in the Eastern Democracies. The question of what is political and what is non-political then appeared to have different definitions.

How quickly halls were booked, and with what a frenzy of energy did the Deputies and their leaders stomp up and down the country addressing speedily convened meetings.

What inspired them? Was it solely their anxious concern for their fellow Jews, or was there not in addition the factor of hatred of the Eastern Democracies. And was this matter non-political? And who, among the deputies, defines when a thing is political and when it is non-political?

Is it not that this terminology is merely used to shelter behind, when they find positive action inconvenient and even repugnant?

Are their real reasons for not leading the fight against German rearmament:

a) The timidity they have always shown when confronted with a policy which is not popular with the government, and

b) That behind their facade of detestation of German rearmament they have a sneaking sympathy for it, because they are so blinded by their fear of Communism, that once again they are willing, by default, to connive at the rearmament of the murderers of six millions of their brethren.

The Board of Deputies in its present form survived its pre-war betrayal of the Jewish people. Is it only to betray us again?

The Jewish people are shocked and enormously moved by the specter of Ger-

man nazi rearmament which now appears imminent.

They raise their hands imploringly to their leaders and beg them to shed their fears, to stop being so ultra-respectable, and to really lead them in active dynamic protest in every possible way against German rearmament.

ACTIVITY in British Jewish life in protest against West German rearmament under the "European Defense Community" is a part of the movement of the workers and other large sectors of the British people on this issue.

Speaking before the London Jewish Graduates Association in mid-April, Labor MP William Warbey said that there was little doubt that the overwhelming majority of Labor Party members opposed German rearmament. He stated that the steel barons and those who helped Hitler to power were back in the saddle and would try to reconquer lost territories. He said that the only solution was a neutralized, demilitarized Germany as provided by the Potsdam agreement.

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IRAQI APPEAL FOR ARAB-ISRAEL AMITY

A plea for Arab-Israel friendship was issued in Baghdad in November 1953 by the illegal Student Union of Iraq. The student proclamation was a reply to an article by Asaf-Vani, reactionary Iraqi politician and editor of Ali-Akzah, in which he attacked the students for their opposition to military training in the schools and universities and for their friendly attitude toward the Israeli people. Following are brief excerpts from the student proclamation, which is a long and important document. These excerpts appeared in April in Freie Ysroel (Free Israel), Tel Aviv weekly, and are here translated from the Yiddish.—Eds.

The law concerning military training in the schools and universities is fascistic because it was adopted by the apparatus of dictatorial and reactionary rulers who are enslaved to imperialism. The present revival of the law comes at a moment when the student movement in Iraq is conducting, together with the international liberation movement, a successful fight to drive the dictatorial, reactionary government of Iraq out of its last stronghold.

The organization of Iraqi students believes that friendship among peoples is the only guarantee for the independence and security of every people. The solution of the "Israel problem" does not fall outside the sphere of this law of peoples' friendship. Those Iraqis and all workers who appeal for friendship among peoples (including the Israeli people) are neither "disguised Jews" nor "Jewish-influenced slaves."

As a result of years of immigration and colonization in Palestine between the first and second world wars, during the second world war and after it and up to the moment when the Palestine question was taken up at the UN in 1947, a new society was in the process of formation in Israel. It was an Israel society which bears the distinguishing features of a nation: a common language, a common territory, a common economy and common customs, expressed in a common culture.

This new fact can no longer be ignored in any solution of the Israel problem, especially since public opinion in many influential countries was sympathetic to the masses of uprooted Jews who were victims of nazi barbarism.

The British-American intrigues and the contradictions between them have prevented the Arab peoples and the Israeli people from coming to a mutual understanding. The howling of Iraqi reaction-

aries, maniacs and betrayers of the type of Azaf-Vani, can not hide the facts from

the students and the masses of the people. The people will find the correct path to a solution of the Israel problem in the common struggle of the Arab peoples together with the Israeli people against British-American imperialism and its agents and against their aggressive war plans.

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Sobell must be removed from Alcatraz. There must be a new trial. There must be new ads, books, pamphlets, leaflets—every conceivable means to reach the hearts and minds of the American people.

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If June 19th and the Rosenbergs still burn in your heart like a wound . . . please give as much as you can so that their unconquerable truth may go marching on.

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JEW IN SOVIET TEXTBOOKS

By Itzhok Sheiner

is marked with the number "12" and with the following legend: "12. Yevreiskaya Autonomia Oblast" (Jewish Autonomous Region).

Montevideo, Uruguay

The Soviet population is well-informed about the Jews in the Soviet Union, as one can judge from some Soviet schoolbooks which appeared only last year, in 1953. Of course, we do not have available all the materials on this topic which appear in the Soviet Union and in Birobidjan itself. But two textbooks just received contain a number of references to Jews and to the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan.

One book, *Geography of the USSR*, by C. V. Chefronov, is a textbook for the seventh grade and was issued by the Soviet Ministry of Education. In the chapter, "The Population," the nationalities of the Soviet Union are listed in order of size of population. First is the Slavonic-speaking group, Russian, Ukrainian and White Russian. Second is the Turkish-speaking group: Kirghiz, Tartar, Azerbaidzhan, Chuvash, Kirghiz, Bashkir, Turkomen and Yakut. Third comes the Ugro-Finnish group. "Among the peoples who settled in our territory later," says the textbooks, "the most numerous are the Jews, who live mainly in the west and southwest of European Russia and in the Far East in the Jewish Autonomous Region" (p. 49).

Let us take a look at the chapters dealing with the various Soviet republics. In the Baltic republics, "ranking first in order of population are: in Esthonia, the Esthonians, in Latvia, the Letts. . . . The rest of the population on the Baltic consists of Russians, Jews, Poles, etc. . . ." (p. 80).

Chapter Four is devoted to the geography of the Western regions of European Russia. "In the western section of the White Russian Republic, the most numerous are the White Russians; in the eastern and southern, the Russians. A large percentage of the population consists of Jews, who live throughout the Republic, mostly in the cities" (p. 85).

Students in the Middle Schools (high school and junior college) are well-informed about the present life of the Jews in the Soviet Union. A student in the seventh grade knows, for instance, that in the Ukraine, "throughout the entire state, Jews constitute a large percentage of the urban population" (p. 93).

Or let us take Moldavia, one of the youngest of the Soviet Republics (1940). "After the Moldavians, in order of population, come the Ukrainians. In addition,

there are Russians, Jews, Bulgarians, etc." (p. 98).

In the Soviet Far East: "In the political-administrative respect, the Far East is divided into two parts: Primorsk with [the city of] Vladivostok as center and Khabarovsk with [the city of] Khabarovsk as center. In the latter is included the Jewish Autonomous Region with the city of Birobidjan as center. . . . Within the borders of the Far East there are Jews in lesser numbers (in the Jewish Autonomous Region)" (p. 172).

A reference to the building of Birobidjan is found on page 174. "The new cities which arose in the years of the Soviet power grew up with amazing rapidity: Komsomolsk-Na-Amma, Monadaz and Birobidjan (center of the Jewish Autonomous Region)."

Jews also live in Central Asia, inhabited mainly by the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Kirghiz and Turkomen peoples. Russians comprise only six per cent of the population here. "Among the remaining smaller populations there are the Bukharans, Jews, the Chinese-Duhngan, etc." (p. 193).

The books contain political-administrative maps of the Soviet Union. Birobidjan

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Letters from Readers

Plea to the Artist

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I would like to enter a plea for a new kind of novel about Jews in America. I'm getting a little bored with the countless repetitions of the lives of Jews in Poland and immigrants newly arrived in America. Not that these wonderful books aren't serving a valuable purpose, but very little new is being said.

The main stream of immigration stopped over 30 years ago. The young men and women of that day are the grandparents of today. Jewish life in the United States is no longer the struggle of the newly arrived refugees from tsarist tyranny facing hardship in a new world. That story is important but the story of the American born generations needs to be told.

Where is the novel—the progressive novel—about my generation? How are the progressive Jewish writers handling the problems of finding a Jewish identity, of facing American anti-Semitism, of raising our children in our world?

I can't help but feel that *Lantern for Jeremy* [by V. J. Jerome] is an unnecessary luxury coming from an author who has an obligation to fulfill. Progressive writers must write books that will help solve today's problems. Even the most brilliant rehashing of overworked themes adds but little to the struggle to unite our people in America.

Is it too much to hope that we will shortly see a novel reflecting our current problems?

Enclosed is my check renewing my subscription to our very wonderful magazine.

M.L.

Los Angeles

Editors' note: We agree that M. L. has made a very important point in urgently calling for fictional treatment of the second, third and fourth generation Jews and their problems. But we cannot agree with his judgment that *A Lantern for Jeremy* is merely one more novel about the shtetl (Jewish small town in the Pale). Jerome's novel seems to us a profound treatment of Jewish working class life; it exemplifies in life the workings of bourgeois nationalism and throws into relief, again from life, the real meaning of working class internationalism. *Lantern* has implications that go far beyond the Jewish question. It is interesting to note that this

novel has already been translated into Dutch, German, Italian, Czechoslovak and Chinese. We urge our friend M. L. to take a closer look at this work.

Impact of "A Weaver's Love"

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I have read "A Weaver's Love" [by I. L. Peretz, translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld, in the March issue], read it again, really just can't stop thinking about it!

All through my more literary days in high school and college before I relaxed into the comforts of precise knowledge, the argument of most of my critical papers consisted in showing that a work of art was a work of art because of its form rather than its contents, . . . that it had merit in spite of the lesson it had to teach, not because of it; because the more lesson it had to teach, the more axe there was to grind, the less chance it had of survival and applicability beyond its immediate culture. . . .

But . . . you are undermining my thesis. . . . I really found the story quite touching, the gently ironic understated ending and all those bits of familiar Jewish masochism. And reading it in English seemed by no means a hindrance. . . . It came out an extremely well-written piece—a work of art, to be sure.

Frankly, I was not brought up with an extreme awareness of Jewishness and whatever training I had, left a rather bad taste; but . . . you've shown me things I have gotten in only rare flashes in the past. I've always assumed Jewish literature to be a somewhat narrower edition of Sinclair Lewis, but it is not. . . .

A. B.

Philadelphia

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed please find a check for \$60 which was raised at a house party on a Saturday evening in April. Included in the \$60 are eight subscriptions to the magazine.

I hope many more friends of this fine magazine do the same—I mean, arrange house parties. It's a very easy way to raise funds and discuss JEWISH LIFE.

C. F.

Tucson, Arizona

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Congratulations! Just completed "Warsaw Ghetto Uprising" in the April issue. Of the many articles I have read on this matter, my impression is that the contents in this recent issue are the most stirring.

B. S.

Los Angeles

We Omitted to Say . . .

ON page 18 of the May issue we reproduced a document legalizing the manumission (freeing) of four slaves by Jacob Levy, of New York, in 1817. By an oversight we omitted to say that this document was reproduced by courtesy of The New-York Historical Society.

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OBSERVATION POST

Drama Page

At a meeting in Brooklyn commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, popular movie-stage star Karen Morley presented a fitting program with readings from material in *JEWISH LIFE*. She read excerpts from Peretz' "Weaver's Love," also poems by Yuri Suhl and Binem Heller. As show biz people would say, the presentation received a rave, not only for the artistry of Karen Morley but for the rich material. Which brings us to a lesson. Too many people and organizations searching for progressive cultural material for their meetings, affairs or parties don't see the riches ready at hand between the covers of our own little mag *JEWISH LIFE*. Many clubs and societies are giving their programs more emphasis on progressive Jewish culture. They should take advantage of *JEWISH LIFE* and use its material for their programs. Incidentally, this does not hurt in spreading the magazine among the members and getting subs. This tip is in place to all educational and cultural directors of Jewish organizations: A file of *JEWISH LIFE* plus the current issues can give you enough material to plan stimulating cultural programs for many years of meetings. Ask Karen Morley.

Children's Hour

Speaking of progressive Jewish culture, we call the attention of our readers to the present campaign to raise funds for the children's school movement. These progressive Jewish schools answer many serious problems faced by parents in today's atmosphere of hysteria. They offer an antidote to the brutality, racism and war-incitement of much of the child's environment these days. In addition they answer the parents' desire for the child's appreciation of Jewish history, Jewish progressive culture, Yiddish and the holi-

days. All from a secular and progressive viewpoint. They deserve the aid of all readers and friends of *JEWISH LIFE*. Make your contributions to the society conducting the drive in your locality.

By Sam Pevzner

Lecture Bureau

Morris U. Schappes is giving a series of lectures on the Tercentenary for the Philadelphia Jewish Life Committee. Another project of the committee deserves the highest commendation. It is printing a series of very interesting leaflets (tabloid size) on important issues before the Jewish community. They are educational leaflets jammed with interesting material taken from *JEWISH LIFE* (what can't you get from *JEWISH LIFE*?). Leaflets have been issued on the Warsaw Ghetto Anniversary and the Tercentenary already. Good work, Philly.

Come 8, Come 300

Just a leak from the secret editorial chambers of your magazine. Plans are afoot for a tremendous issue marking the beginning of the Celebration of 300 years of Jewish life in the United States. The Tercentenary will open officially on September 12, 1954—but *JEWISH LIFE* will unveil its big issue on 300 years in November. This is being done with benevolence aforethought because the November issue is also the eighth anniversary issue of *JEWISH LIFE*. And the editors, whose sagacity no one will question, have decided it would be most fitting to celebrate both the 300 and the 8 together. What a combo: eight years of your fighting magazine and 300 years of the Jewish people in the United States. The issue will be a real contribution to the celebrations—and you, dear reader, will be able to send greetings on the double anniversary as well.

Travel Note

Alice Citron's trip to Los Angeles and other West Coast points is being mapped

out by the LA committee—and good results are expected from the point of view of popularizing the important role of the magazine and of raising funds. Alice has already been tipped off by Morris U. Schappes and Lester Blickstein, who carried the ball for the magazine on previous trips to LA, that she can expect as busy a time as the human organism can stand. Meetings, lectures, conferences, classes, consultations and fund raising events are being organized for Alice. The central theme of her visit is the need to develop unity of the Jewish people with labor, the Negro people and others in the fight against McCarthyism and the H-bomb madness.

Finance

An appeal has been sent to many readers to enroll as sustainers of *JEWISH LIFE* by pledging to send the maximum possible (from \$1.00 and up) every month to the magazine. A number of readers have already responded. It is vital that many more join the sustainers' list. A good sustainer response could drag the magazine out of its state of recurring crisis—and the prospect for the coming months in this respect is serious. So, how about sending in your pledge for a monthly sustainer and help guarantee the continuance of the good fight *JEWISH LIFE* is conducting.

Jenkins' Anti-Semitism

LOOK into the background of Ray Jenkins, "impartial" counsel for the McCarthy Committee in the Army-McCarthy hearings, reveals that he was involved in an anti-Semitic political campaign in Tennessee in 1950. A local attorney, Mrs. Harry Strauss, was running for Domestic Relations court judge against Republican incumbent Judge H. B. Webster in Knox County. A whispering campaign got under way because she was Jewish. After this anti-Semitism was exposed by the *NewsSentinel*, an open debate took place. In the course of this, Republican politician Ray Jenkins said that a "devil's crusade" against Christian principles was being conducted. In a thinly veiled anti-Semitic comment, Jenkins said, "It is a campaign of fanatics—a select group—that will stop at nothing and yet have the nerve to call it a crusade. They conducted the same crusade against Christ and they carry on down into the present day and those who believe in the things Christ stood for will not tolerate it." (For further details, see the Anti-Defamation League report (1952), *The Troublemakers*, pp. 236-238.)

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

formed in Chicago on May 7 by many of the stalwarts of "America First," pre-World War II pro-fascist isolationist grouping, has as its aim to combat "super-internationalism and interventionism" in both major parties and to work for a national political realignment. Among the organizers are Col. Robert R. McCormick, Gen. Robert E. Wood, Hamilton Fish and like pro-fascist figures. (N.Y.T., 5/7.)

Anti-Semitic front . . . Two 16-year-old Jewish youths were attacked and beaten by about 15 hoodlums early in April in the Oxford Circle area of Philadelphia. One hoodlum was heard to urge the attackers on with, "Because the Jews hate Sen. McCarthy!" Police have rounded up 19 youths of a band said to number 50. (Phila. Jewish Times, 4/9, 16). . . . Mrs. Henry Strack, Trenton (N. J.) anti-Semite, endorsed early in April a bill to set up a little McCarthy Committee in the state. . . . A leading Catholic sociologist, Father Albert S. Foley, S.J., warned in April in *Integrity*, Catholic periodical, that anti-Semitism in the country is on the upsurge. He warned that "fears of real and imagined infiltration of communist spies send the gullible off into tirades against the perennial scapegoats for many of the West's frustrations." He said, "For the last time I have unprotestingly listened in silence to anti-Jewish jokes as they are bandied about in Catholic circles." . . . A life-sized statue of the late Sen. Theodore Bilbo, virulent racist, was unveiled in April at the Mississippi State Capitol.

On the Jimcrow front . . . The Supreme Court on May 3 unanimously reversed a murder conviction of a Texas Mexican-American on the ground that Mexican-Americans were excluded from the list of jurors from which his jury was drawn. . . . Psychiatrist Dr. Frederic Wertham charged before an Urban League luncheon in New York on April 28 that racism, especially against the Negro, was fed by comic books, which teach children more racism "than at any time in the previous 100 years." (N.Y.T., 4/29). . . . The New York City Board of Education was on April 24 called upon to investigate segregation of Negro and Puerto Rican children and lower education standards for these children in the city's school system. The charges were made at a conference of the Intergroup Committee of the New York Public Schools, which includes representatives from the United Parents Associations, United Neighborhood Houses, NAACP, Urban

League and 40 other bodies. (N.Y.T., 4/25).

EUROPE

A recorded message from the Warsaw chief rabbi and lay leaders of Poland was heard at a London meeting to commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising early in April. "The present Polish democratic people's government," said the chief rabbi, "sees that we are provided with all necessary religious requisites, such as *matzos* for Passover. . . . The government also provides us with *etrogim* from Israel. All religious Jews who wish to observe Sabbath and festivals have full freedom to do so. . . . We have Jewish kitchens for Jews who wish to eat *kasher*; we have Talmud Torahs in many cities; we have a *schochet*; we have *mohelim*. In today's democratic people's Poland we feel ourselves to be free citizens with full rights." (London Jewish Chronicle, 4/9).

The reorganization of the Soviet Council of Ministers (the cabinet) approved by the Supreme Soviet on April 27 shows that of the 55 ministers, two are Jewish, Lazar Kaganovich, who retains his post as first deputy premier, and David Yakovlich Raizer, minister of construction of metallurgical and chemical plants. (N.Y.T., 4/28).

In addition to the four Jews noted last month on this page as members of the Supreme Soviet (Lazar Kaganovich, Ilya Ehrenburg and two from Birobidjan, Ilya K. Bobyr and Rakhail G. Freidkina), there are at least two more: Mark Sidovich Spivak and Konstantin Naumovich Dlugoshevsky.

The Soviet Union has ratified the UN Genocide Convention and the signing of the pact took place at the United Nations on May 3.

Renazification notes . . . Several hundred former nazi officials demanded in Munich on May 2, "moral, legal and economic restitution" for those denazified after the war. . . . An intense campaign is going on in West Germany to forbid *shechitah* (ritual slaughter). . . . A close associate of nazi youth Fuehrer Baldur von Shirach, Herr Stotke, has been re-appointed as headmaster of a school in the American sector of Berlin. Stotke headed the school under the nazis and propagated racial theories.

ISRAEL

The Washington decision to send arms to Iraq was protested by Israelis at a

meeting of the Israel America Friendship League in Jerusalem on May 9. *New York Times* correspondent Harry Gilroy reported (May 10) that at this meeting "The possibility that the Arab nations would attack Israel appeared to concern the speakers far more than the United States warnings that the danger of Soviet aggression was growing in the Middle East." These views bear out the concern felt in Washington that not only the Arabs, but also the Israelis do not take seriously the "threat of Soviet aggression" in the Middle East. Speaking before the American Council for Judaism in Philadelphia on May 1, Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byrode tried to frighten his listeners with the assertion that further unrest in the Middle East could mean that the area would come under "the control and influence" of the Soviet Union. "It is necessary to understand," he said, "that we do see an increasing danger that the Middle East may be relegated to satellite status under the Soviet Union. . . . Most people in the Middle East who read this statement will label it as 'alarmist' and without foundation of fact. The very fact that this reaction will exist is partly the cause for our concern." (N.Y.T., 5/2).

The Communist Party of Israel won six of the 15 seats to the Nazareth Municipal Council in an election held in mid-April. The party received 38 per cent of the votes in the all-Arab city, thus making it the largest party there. Eighty-three per cent of the eligible votes were cast.

Eighty more Jews, mostly older people, left Haifa to return to Rumania late in April.

Israel publishes 221 daily papers and periodicals. Of these, 104 are published in these foreign languages: Yiddish, French, German, Hungarian and Arabic.

Jewish Life

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