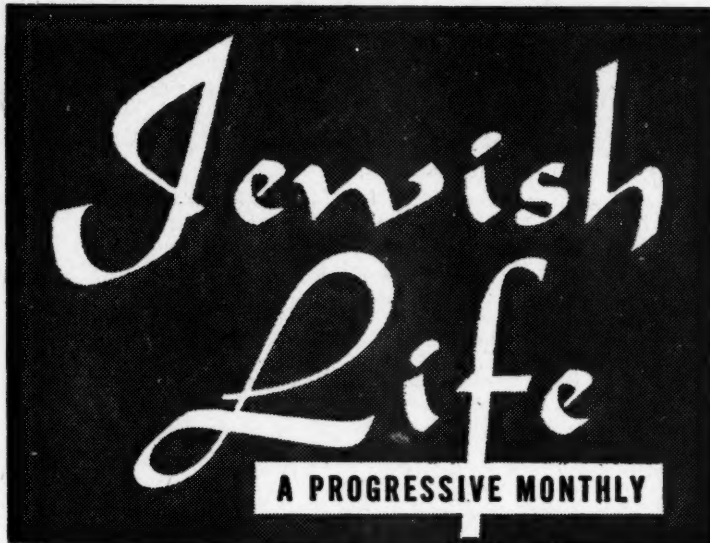


A Monumental People's Victory

by William L. Patterson



JULY 1954 • 25¢

JEWS AND AMERICAN LABOR, 1850-1880 *by Morris U. Schappes*

THE JEWS AND NEGRO RIGHTS *by Alice Citron*

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR *a short story by Louis Lerman*

MEDDLING IN ISRAEL'S AFFAIRS *by Esther Vilenska*

S. Andhil Fineberg's 'The Rosenberg Case' *book review by Louis Harap*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Upsurge of anti-Semitism. . . . The past weeks have seen outbreaks of anti-Semitism in many parts of the country. . . . On April 29, 20 prominent Jewish families in Dallas, Texas, received a note reading, "You Jews to pay \$200,000. How many you Jews be dead before you pay. Acid-dynamite fire-guns will make you pay. . . ." The extortioners designated Julius Schepps and his brother George to collect the money. The Schepps brothers contacted the FBI and on delivery of the supposed ransom two weeks later trapped the criminals, who turned out to be Brothers James H. and Barry Jones, prominent lawyers of Waco and Houston, Texas. . . . Philadelphia has been the scene of a series of anti-Semitic incidents. On May 16, vandals overturned 33 tombstones in the Mikveh Israel Beth-El-Emeth Cemetery. At least 33 of the stones in the 150-year old cemetery were broke or cracked. Some stones showed evidence of having been struck with sledge hammers or some heavy instrument. Three or four broken wine and beer bottles were found near the site of the vandalism. About the same time a flaming flare was attached to a two-family house with an accompanying message in German, "Jew," "Black Dagger" and "Deutschland Ueber Alles." Although neither family in the house is Jewish, a Jewish woman living there was known to have been threatened in violently anti-Semitic language because she protested a car parking in front of the house. The house is in the same area where Jewish children were beaten up by a gang of hoodlums, who have been apprehended and are being questioned by police. . . . The new \$600,000 South Shore Temple in Chicago was the target of a series of vandalisms in past months. On various occasions oil was thrown at the building, it was defaced with ink, and it was broken into and a typewriter damaged. Temple Rabbi Ahron Opher has complained to the mayor. . . . On the night of May 17, vandals desecrated 22 tombstones in the Workmen's Circle Cemetery in Cleveland. . . . On May 16, a series of attacks on the Salanter Yeshiva in the Bronx was climaxed by hoodlum entry into the Yeshiva and smashing of furniture, tearing of books and records and walls defaced with obscene anti-Semitic inscriptions. . . . On Easter Sunday, a number of tombstones, estimated at 80, in the Beth Olam Cemetery in Hollywood were turned over and chipped.

(Continued on page 31)

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Threat of Suppression

JEWISH LIFE, together with a number of other newspapers and magazines, is in danger of suppression. A bill (HR-9317) introduced into the House by Republican Representative Katherine St. George of New York on May 25 threatens to withdraw second class mailing rights from "publications, books, other printed matter and films containing material contrary to the best interests of the United States." The bill empowers the Postmaster General to revoke second class mailing rights if he has "reasonable grounds" to conclude that any publication "contains material which advocates, advises, or teaches, or explicitly or by implication favors the political, economic, international and governmental doctrines of communism or the establishment in the United States or any foreign state of a Communist or other totalitarian dictatorship" (emphasis added).

This means that any cited publication can send its numbers through the mail only at first class rates, which would be ruinous to any magazine. If passed, such a law would be tantamount to suppression. It is a flagrant violation of the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of the press.

Further, the wording of the law is so vague and all-embracing that *any* publication could be declared to come under this law at the whim of the Postmaster General and those behind him. As *Editor and Publisher*, leading trade journal of newspaper publishers, said editorially in opposition to the bill in mid-June: "When we attempt to restrain publications, either directly or by indirection through the postal service, we come into conflict with our free press guarantee."

With unmitigated McCarthyite arrogance, Mrs. St. George has named JEWISH LIFE as one of the publications "automatically" covered by her bill because some inquisitor, quite unknown to us and without a "hearing," has designated us as "subversive." Why? Because of our unrelenting fight for democracy and defense of the Jewish people and of progressive Jewish culture, against anti-Semitism, discrimination, McCarthyism, anti-democratic laws like the McCarran-Walter, McCarran, Smith and Taft-Hartley acts; against the rearmament of a renazified West German army, which would lead to World War III; support for a prosperous, independent and a peaceful Israel? Are these objectives "subversive?"

But we are not only concerned about ourselves, nor only about the effect on the dissenting press. We are concerned also that passage of this bill would be a grave blow against the Jewish people. For the fact that the Jewish people are the targets of anti-Semitism and discrimination of necessity puts them in greater or less degree among dissenters. This bill would endanger the expression of dissent of the Jewish people that is reflected in their press. This bill constitutes a danger not only to the American people as a whole. It threatens the Jewish people because where democracy is injured, the Jewish people suffer.

The St. George bill is a fascist measure out of the book of McCarthyism, which is American Hitlerism. It must be stopped cold in committee. The bill has been assigned to a subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. Mrs. St. George is chairman of the subcommittee dealing with the bill.

We strongly urge all our readers, if they would save our magazine and the freedom of the American press, to act quickly. This is what you can do:

Wire or write immediately to Rep. Katherine St. George demanding that the bill be dropped. Wire or write to Rep. Edward N. Rees (R-Kan.), chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, to defeat the bill. And write to the subcommittee members, especially those in your state, to defeat the bill. Subcommittee members: Rep. Katherine St. George (R-N.Y.), H.R. Gross (R-Ia.), Edward J. Bonin (R-Pa.), Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.), John Jarmon (D-Okla.), John Dowdy (D-Tex.), Edward P. Boland (D-Mass.), Frazer Reams (Ind-O.). Also suggest to your friends, neighbors, unions and other organizations to take similar action.

Act today!

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE H-BOMB AND NEGOTIATIONS

THE United States should use the atomic bomb in Indo-China "rather than use American troops," said Senator Styles Bridges on June 6. "To save American lives," he continued paradoxically, "I would use the atomic bomb anywhere." Perhaps someone should tell the senator that atomic bombing is a two-way process. Once we start dropping atomic bombs "anywhere," World War III may ensue, and then how many American lives would be saved? The mock nation-wide air raid staged on June 14, according to official estimates, would have killed a mere 12,000,000 people, only 2,175,000 in New York City. Need one say any more to prove how absolutely necessary it is for Washington's representatives at Geneva to continue negotiations until some peaceful settlement of the Indo-China question is reached? While Assistant Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith tries to hasten the end of the Geneva conference and is frustrated every time the Soviet Union or People's China or the Viet-Minh offers concessions. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles continues to talk of "massive retaliation" (as in Omaha in mid-June). Dulles has not yet learned the simple truth which Professor Ralph Barton Perry expressed in a letter to the *New York Times* on May 27. "The only alternative to a peace by negotiation," said Professor Perry with restrained understatement, "is a prolonged stalemate or an era of violence in which all parties are ruined together." In other words, negotiation or extinction.

As we write, the Geneva conference approaches its critical period. The fall of the Laniel government opens the way to direct negotiations between France and the Viet Minh. Dulles does not seem to realize that he is not dealing with a defeated Viet Minh, that he certainly can get no peace on conditions of virtual unconditional surrender, as the saner elements in France itself are aware.

The American people do not want war. Still less do they want their sons to die in defense of French colonialism or even an American receivership of that colonialism in Indo-China. They have already restrained the Eisenhower administration from intervention by their anti-war sentiment. This sentiment must be turned into open pressure. The people must let Dulles and President Eisenhower know this unmistakably. One immediately available way to help this is to cooperate with the American Peace Crusade plan for a deluge of postcards demanding peace. (See page 15.)

BYROADE GIVES "ADVICE"

THE Jewish community was disturbed by the speeches made by Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byroade

before the American Council for Judaism convention on May 1 and the speech at Dayton a few weeks earlier. In both speeches Byroade expressed his "impartial" friendship for Israel and the Arab states and "innocently" attributed the tension in the Middle East to Israel-Arab antagonisms. He also gave Israel a piece of advice about the curtailment of immigration. The Arabs, he said, fear "expansionist Zionism" and he suggested limitation of immigration.

It is distinctly out of place for a United States State Department official to tell the Israeli people what to legislate. This interference in internal Israel matters has properly aroused resentment in Israel among all sections of the population, from right to left. As Americans we should demand that the State Department refrain from such interference. Byroade was not expressing his personal opinion in his speech. He was carrying out the Dulles policy of trying to turn the entire Middle East into an anti-Soviet arsenal and creating a war atmosphere that is the real motive for such arrogant advice.

Byroade's professions of friendship must have had a hollow ring indeed to the masses of peace-loving Israeli and Arab peoples when one considers the recent United States agreement to send arms to Iraq. This act is a naked index of the real Washington policy. This stimulation of an arms race in the Middle East neither contributes to peace in the area nor is it in the interest of Arab or Israeli people. For it shows in stark reality that Washington has one interest in the Middle East—to exploit the peoples of the area as tools in its anti-Soviet military strategy. This was indicated in a revealing statement made on June 13 by Arthur Z. Gardner, political and economic adviser to the State Department on the Near East. The *New York Times* account (June 14) stated that "Mr. Gardner said that the effect of United States arms shipments to Iraq and the furnishing of advice that goes with them' could be similar in the long run to the stabilizing effect of British officers in the Arab Legion of Jordan." In other words, the purpose of the arms agreement is to convert Iraq into an American colony for manipulation in line with Washington's anti-Soviet military aims. Arms for Iraq entails the fatal danger that Israel may be forced to become the Korea or Indo-China of the Middle East.

Interference in Israel's internal affairs; arming Iraq and giving it "advice": all this is what is meant by "imperialism." Such a policy jeopardizes not only peace and settlement of differences between Israel and the Arab states. It also threatens peace for the American people. If war is to be avoided in the Middle East, the State Department needs to be told to stop the policy of interfering with the internal affairs of the countries of the area and of heating up a war atmosphere by starting an arms race.

INCITEMENT AGAINST RUMANIA

A NEW campaign of incitement has broken out in recent weeks about "anti-Semitism" in the people's democracies—this time against Rumania. A number of Zionist leaders were recently tried and sentenced in that country for criminal activities. As in the case of the Prague trial, legitimate actions by a government to punish violators of the law, who happen in this case to be Zionists, is made the occasion for cold war accusations of "anti-Semitism."

What are the facts? In a protest on June 4 against the campaign of incitement in Israel on this matter, the Rumanian government indicated that it had punished the people involved because they had disobeyed the law. That the activities of those convicted were indeed illegal is evident even from a statement made in the so-called "White Paper" issued in June by the World Jewish Congress on "Persecution of Jews in Rumania." "The prosecution," says the paper, "charged the defendants . . . with efforts to encourage and assist in the *illegal* immigration from Rumania . . . and with the distribution of funds supplied by the Israeli legation in Bucharest" (emphasis added). Is *illegal* Zionist activity immune from punishment? The people involved were not punished for opinions, but for *activities* which violated the law. As Meyer Vilner, Communist deputy in the Knesset, said in that body on May 24, "No Jew has ever been imprisoned in Rumania because of Zionist opinion" (*New York Times*, May 25).

This campaign of incitement is directed at the wrong address. For the truth is that in a country formerly a sink of anti-Semitism, the new Rumanian regime has outlawed anti-Semitism and racism of every kind and guarantees freedom of religious worship. Jews in Rumania today have achieved for the first time in that country equal status with all Rumanian citizens.

When one considers that anti-Semitism and discrimination against Jews are commonplace in our own country today and have thus far failed to arouse the slightest concrete action from the same governmental elements who so righteously—and without foundation—accuse Rumania of "anti-Semitism," the whole campaign becomes suspect. While some Jews have been misled in their protests on this issue, the real source of the campaign is the psychological warfare against the socialist countries and the cold war that is unfortunately being fed by many Jewish leaders. The Jewish people cannot afford to be stampeded by cold war hysteria into the false paths of the calculating psychological warriors. They must acknowledge the right of Rumania to demand obedience to its laws and not allow themselves to interpret this as "anti-Semitism" in line with the sinister war-inciting purposes of those who would precipitate an H-bomb war. Since this agitation against Rumania is an attempt to win over the Jewish people to the cold war program, they need to keep their heads and not allow themselves to be used for this end.

RESISTANCE AND AMNESTY

IF THE Army-McCarthy hearings did nothing else, they exposed to the American people McCarthyism in the raw. The result is that millions of Americans have awakened to the urgent need for resistance to what is now widely recognized as the American form of Hitlerism. And resistance is becoming broader and deeper every day.

At the same time the McCarthyites in government are not idle. Following hard upon the conviction of Ben Gold, president of the Furriers' Union, on the charge of alleged falsehood in his Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit, the National Labor Relations Board high-handedly is trying to decertify Gold's union. The anti-union nature of McCarthyism is thus nakedly manifested. The Smith act offensive against the liberties of the American people also lumbered forward. On May 30, six Communist leaders of Connecticut were arrested on Smith act charges.

The Connecticut arrests were preceded by a few days by the conviction under the Smith act of five Communist leaders of Missouri after a bare two and a half hours' deliberation over testimony of a four months' trial.

But the battle against McCarthyism rises nevertheless. Many Americans are pressing forward from the perception of the anti-democratic, anti-human character of McCarthy himself to a grasp of the McCarthyite nature of the national administration itself. Especially is there a growing comprehension among the trade unions of the mess of fascist, repressive legislation being pushed through Congress by Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

Several indications of the rising resistance to McCarthyism are appearing in connection with the Smith act. On May 30, Yale Law School professors Vern Countryman and Fowler Harper filed with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in the California Smith act case. The Smith act, said the brief, violated the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of speech.

These actions are encouraging in the fight against McCarthyism. But the people need to rise to greater activity in their mass organizations on the issue. Only by force of irresistible mass sentiment will the Smith act be defeated. And this is of central importance in the fight against McCarthyism. For the attack on the constitutional liberties of the Communists is the very foundation of the whole McCarthyite structure. McCarthyism will not be defeated finally and definitely unless the Constitution is restored by assurance of full liberties to the Communists. So long as communist ideas are suppressed and not debated in democratic fashion, so long will the liberties of *all* Americans be in danger. We must arouse the grass roots of America to the necessity of amnesty. All help must be given to the campaign being conducted by the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims (667 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.). Organizations and individuals should write at once to President Eisenhower urging amnesty for political prisoners.

A MONUMENTAL PEOPLE'S VICTORY

An evaluation of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools and the task remaining to us

By William L. Patterson

MAY 17 and 24, 1954 will forever be recorded as historic moments in the monumental struggle for Negro rights. On those days for years to come we will commemorate victories for democracy that reflect the interests of all Americans. On May 17 the Supreme Court outlawed segregation throughout this country's public school system. On May 24 it ruled against segregation in colleges, theaters and some places of public recreation. This is not a blanket ruling, however, and applies only to the places complained against. Both events are magnificent victories for the people.

The Supreme Court was driven by the pressure of the people to retreat from a position which that court took in 1896 when it made the infamous ruling that separate would constitute "equal" where Negroes were concerned. The doctrine of "separate but equal" which came out of the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* subverted the Bill of Rights and the 14th Amendment. More than that, it established segregation as a policy of government.

That racist doctrine was consistent with the demands of the rising industrialists. It reaffirmed the theory of white supremacy so seriously weakened by the military defeat of the slave oligarchy. It laid the basis for a split in the ranks of labor and the American people along the "color line" which has resulted in the super-exploitation of the Negro people and the growth among the majority of white Americans of a national chauvinism reviled the world over. Every branch of government consistently nourished and furthered this racist doctrine until this victory was wrested from the Supreme Court.

Let there be no illusions about charitable and benevolent concessions. This magnificent victory comes at the most critical period in American history. We face a crisis of national morality and of constitutional liberties here at home. This has been brought on by the political skulduggery of the McCarthyites; the antics of Herbert Brownell's traveling troupe of highly paid and more highly trained perjurers and informers; the war-mongering of Mr. Dulles' atomaniacs; the loyalty hearings and congressional inquiries

against the sum total of these attacks upon labor and the rights of the people, we call McCarthyism. Its existence creates grave doubts as to the future of America's democratic institutions. Its complete victory would literally wipe out the Supreme Court ruling. None of this was lost to the Supreme Court.

The anguished cries of the people of the Marshall Islands against the genocidal effects of our atomic bomb explosions; the voice of the wife of the President of Panama at the Caracas conference protesting our export of racist doctrine; the revolt against Yankee racist arrogance in Asian lands—these manifestations against the international phases of McCarthyism forced the doors of the cloistered hall of the Supreme Court. No one can fully measure the degree to which this world reaction of peoples seeking freedom from the American policy and practice of racism affected the thinking of those who dictate foreign policy and the decisions of our Supreme Court.

A Victory of the Negroes and Their Allies

But this great victory, led in its legal phases by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and fully supported by its splendid membership, belongs to the Negro people, those who waged the battles for the life of Willie McGee and Wesley Robert Wells, for the Trenton Six and the Martinsville Seven, for the apprehension and conviction of the murderers of Harry T. Moore, for the freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram, and those who see in the legal and extra-legal lynch practices and the psychological warfare constantly waged against the Negro people through Jimcrow and segregation as violations of the United Nations convention against genocide.

The victory belongs as well to the growing army of allies of the Negro people, to the labor and progressive forces daily increasing in American communities. These forces are beginning to understand that democracy is indivisible.

The Jewish people have played a conspicuous part among these elements. From the American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith to the left thinkers of American Jewry have come leaders demanding an end to segregation. Jewish organizations have closely cooperated on the legal phases of the battle to end segregation.

Out of their world-wide experiences in struggles against

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON is executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. This organization under Mr. Patterson's leadership has played an outstanding part in many struggles against Jimcrow and for civil liberties.

fascist reaction the Jewish people bring lessons extremely helpful to the embattled Negro people.

The Supreme Court decision is a victory that can only aid a world seeking an end to racism and national chauvinism. It must therefore be viewed as a part of the struggles for peace and against American fascism. The main people's struggle in America today is against the scourge of McCarthyism. Even while we celebrate this victory, men and women, Negro and white, who over the years contributed mightily to the fight for Negro rights are being labelled subversive and un-American and imprisoned for years. The McCarthyites must be beaten if this victory is not to be wiped out. Fascism will destroy every vestige of democracy.

There are those who hope that the Negro people will not see their fight in these larger aspects. They hope that the attention of the Negro people can be diverted from the larger struggle by this turn of events. American reactionaries hope that the Negro people over-excited by this victory can now be tricked into a reserve of forces for the war program and the attacks upon labor and militant leaders of the people now staged by the McCarthyites under the slogan: "We Must Beat the Communist." These intriguers hope that the colonial peoples will be led to believe that the Supreme Court decisions mark the death of racism and national chauvinism as domestic and foreign policies of the rulers of the United States. That can only happen if the struggles of the people are broadened and deepened. That is the task and a major problem of the victors. To consolidate the May victories the fight against McCarthyism must be sharpened.

Fight for Implementation

More specifically, the victory of the people on segregation is not complete as yet. For the ruling of the judicial branch of government is left without implementation. The attorney general appeared in behalf of the executive branch before the court with a brief supporting the complainants. But what branch of government will enforce the order? The 14th Amendment has always held that all forms of segregation are illegal but the federal government pliantly yielding to the theory of State's Rights permits its flagrant violation. We have now a unique situation—a federal government powerful enough to force the United Nations to send armed forces to Korea in the name of democracy, powerful enough to force the remilitarization of the nazis of Western Germany, of rearming the warlords of Japan and unequal to summarily ending the daily violation of the human dignity and the Constitutional liberties of 15 millions of Negro nationals. The executive branch of government can enforce this order and without great difficulties.

Herman Talmadge, fascist-minded governor of Georgia, has said that even federal troops can not give black Americans their constitutional rights in Georgia. Jimmy Byrnes, governor of South Carolina, has said his state will find a

way to violate the law of the land. So, too, has the governor of Mississippi. The implementation of the historic order of the Supreme Court is a monumental job for the people.

How will it be done? The Supreme Court will hear no argument on this momentous issue until its fall term. People's delegations should wait upon the President, requesting the formulation by the executive branch of government of steps to insure enforcement. These can come from the ranks of labor, the church and all manner of community groups.

Attorney General Herbert Brownell has brought about the introduction of measures in the legislative branch of government destructive of the constitutional rights of progressive organizations and leaders. His influence is clear. Let him be asked to immediately seek the introduction of enabling legislation around the Supreme Court order.

But most important of all is the development of broad people's struggle around every violation of the constitutional rights of the Negro people; the fight to end Smith act prosecutions and the use of the Subversive Activities Control Board to destroy people's organizations. The governors of Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina pose some interesting questions for S.A.C.B.

The fight for implementation can be won at an early date if the people are not now divided by the government's red-baiting campaign. A united front of the people in defense of free speech and assembly is indispensable to a successful struggle for the implementation of the orders of May 17-24.

It is necessary to denounce the State's Rights doctrine that is always honored by the federal government when some state denies to the Negro people the rights they have won with their blood. All acts of Jimcrow and segregation must everywhere be instantly challenged. The right of the Negro people to respect for their dignity as human beings is not an issue. The issue is how long will those who call themselves democrats permit this violation. Rose Lee Ingram, Ben Davis and Wesley Robert Wells must be freed. Amnesty should be granted those imprisoned because of the militancy of their fight for Negro rights.

The events of May 17th and 24th have set the stage for the enlargement of the resistance movement against McCarthyism and for a complete victory against all forms of racism and national chauvinism.

Jewish Bodies Greet Decision

THE historic Supreme Court decision of May 17 outlawing segregation in public schools was greeted by numerous Jewish organizations. The National Community Relations Advisory Council, coordinating body of the American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, all Jewish religious bodies and many local groups, issued a statement hailing the decision as "another major chapter in the history of the growth of true equality under law." The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and many individual rabbis also greeted the ruling.

THE JEWS AND NEGRO RIGHTS

Review of a first pamphlet on the vital topic of the need for full participation of Jews in the fight for equality for Negroes

By Alice Citron

THE roots of white superiority are as gnarled and stubborn as those of an oak tree. For it was 90 years ago that the landowning Bourbons of that day with conscious plan and design reinforced white supremacy as a political program. When it seemed that the alliance of poor whites and the ex-slaves would win equality for the Negro people, the master class feverishly fought this unity. To split the forces of emancipation and progress the "purity of Caucasian blood" became the slogan of the hour. A white man was likened unto a God and a Negro could be only a "barbarian."

It is this pernicious thinking that Sanford Goldner strongly challenges in a pamphlet, *The Jewish People and the Fight for Negro Rights*. (Published by The Committee for Negro-Jewish Relations, Post Office Box 3012, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, Calif., \$.25.) He addresses himself to the whole of the Jewish people to show how urgent is the clearest understanding by the Jewish people that Jews must be a real part of the liberation struggle of the Negro people. He tries to show that the Jews cannot maintain any degree of equality in a situation where 15,000,000 Negroes are subjected to feudalistic discrimination and oppression. The sharp increase in assaults against the Negro people and stepped-up anti-Semitic activities make it a paramount duty of Jews to engage in the battles of the hour for fair employment practices laws, for an end to segregation in housing and against the frame-up of Negroes.

Goldner indicates that the very history of the Negro people was smothered or distorted to help bring about this super-abuse. For the masters here as elsewhere believe that ignorance of the fighting traditions of the Negro people would hamper the activities of the Negro people. This ignorance would also hamper unity of the Negro people with the working class and others. Goldner reviews the Negro's forced arrival in this country and shows how industrialists and landowners profited from the Negro's enslavement. He documents charges of anti-Negro violence in daily practice such as police murder and forced labor on chain gangs. He asks: "Can we live with so much brutality in our midst and not ourselves be brutalized?"

Attention is given to the "Economics of Racism" in a documented chapter which shows that the annual wage of Negro workers is less than half of that of white workers. The link between this special oppression and anti-Semitism is made by showing that the Wall Street owners

of the South are also those who encourage and finance anti-Semitic groups such as the infamous American Liberty League, the Crusaders and the Sentinels of the Republic.

Yet, despite the fact that white supremacism is the common enemy of Negroes and Jews, this thinking pervades the Jews as well as non-Jewish whites. All classes of Jews are affected, not just factory owners and business entrepreneurs. Goldner calls sharp attention to an expression like "*shvartze*" (black) which is a specific Jewish form of belittlement and scorn of the Negro people. So long has this anti-Negro propaganda existed and so long has there been separation between the Negro and white people, that no segment of white American life can claim immunity from this type of thinking.

A Decade of Negro-Jewish Cooperation

During World War II there were great increases in mutual activity between Jewish groups and Negro organizations. Goldner skims over this development and therefore prevents a fair appreciation of what actually took place. This negates the possibilities that stem from this great experience. A more detailed examination of the lessons of the war period would give the reader a clearer understanding of where he, himself, can begin to put into life the conclusions drawn by the author. While it is true that through the long and arduous years of the Negro people's struggle for full equality, allies were fleeting, the war years brought about many changes. Since anti-Semitism was being propagated on a mass scale by Coughlinites and other forces mentioned by Goldner, Jews became more conscious of the need to cooperate in the fight of the Negro. The firm resolve to defeat Hitler and the powerful efforts of the Negro people to be an *equal* part of the anti-fascist war helped the Jewish people understand better the significance for them of the Negro's fight for equality.

A direct result of the mass outcry of the Negro people was a tremendous Citizens Emergency Conference for Interracial Unity held in New York on September 25, 1943. Among the initiators were Marian Anderson, Dr. Channing Tobias, Hon. Stanley M. Isaacs and Dr. Stephen S. Wise. Such planks as "Action to End Employment Discrimination" and "National Campaign for Democracy in the Armed Forces" brought to numerous Jewish delegates a better grasp of what the Negro people still had to win.

A few years later the promise of this conference resulted in discussions on the FEPC bill in New York, the first passed on a state level. So strong was the sentiment that Governor Thomas E. Dewey recommended anti-discrimination legislation to "place our State in the forefront of our nation in the handling of this vital issue." Many Jewish groups participated in the hearings on the bill. Louis Hollander said: "Let me say right now that representing the CIO of this State as well as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the city, we are very much for a law that will bar discrimination permanently." The remarks made by the representatives of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Congress and others did not differ much from those of the Negro and left wing supporters of the measure. Out of such actions came the agreement between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress to issue jointly an annual *Balance Sheet of Group Relations in the United States*. Six have already appeared.

In the past decade, perhaps more than ever before, Jewish organizations have cooperated with Negro groups on issues of Jimcrow and discrimination. Immediately after the war the American Jewish Congress even advocated and carried on mass participation on these issues. But unfortunately this was soon abandoned in favor of top level action by specialists. At present the AJ Congress and other organizations like the American Jewish Committee carry on top level activity with Negro leaders on discrimination and segregation in the legislative area and in court actions. Despite the limited nature of such activity, it is not accurate to say, as Goldner does, that "in organized Jewish life we have barely begun to stir from the dead center of inactivity." This implies, erroneously, we believe, that the average Jew had no organized foundation on which he can build. But the fight against Jimcrow and discrimination is part of the program of many Jewish organizations and the Jew who wants to fight on these issues can therefore base his activity on the existent programs in his organizations.

Toward Greater Membership Participation

Goldner erred in not having fully discussed the level of activity that does exist in Jewish organized life. A few examples will indicate this. Many Jewish organizations appeared in the FEPC Senate hearings in February. Among them were representatives of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (coordinating body for major Jewish organizations), the Anti-Defamation League and the National Council of Jewish Women. Another highly significant example is the joint work of Jewish figures with NAACP leaders before the platform committee of the 1952 Democratic convention in an attempt to force adoption of an FEPC plank with teeth. Many other instances could be given.

One might well ask, "But all this activity is carried on

by the top leadership. How are the masses of Jews being drawn into such actions?" Although the memberships are not on the whole being involved, it remains of utmost importance that these programs on discrimination do provide a basis for drawing the Jewish masses into activity. And this shows that Goldner fell into a serious error by completely underestimating the really great extent of already existing relationships between Jewish organizations and the largest Negro organizations. While it is essential to maintain a critical attitude toward the existing relationships in the interest of making them more effective in dealing with discrimination, it serves no purpose to omit consideration of such activities.

The leadership of Jewish organized life has for the most part always tried to stifle mass activity because they fear genuine democracy in their organizations. Today there is an added reason why many Jewish leaders are fearful of mass participation. They are terrified of being smeared as "reds." Nevertheless, the activity that is carried on has positive elements and has the potentiality of being expanded and extended into the kind of mass activity that will go a long way to achieve results in the fight against Jimcrow and discrimination of all kinds.

This is a starting point for Jews who are in earnest about getting results. Members of Jewish organizations who absorb the information on oppression of the Negro people presented by Goldner are in a position in their groups to give effect to what they learned because of the programs on Jimcrow and discrimination to which these organizations are committed. They can insist that the programs of Jewish organizations leave the printed page, leave conference rooms and are brought to the entire memberships. They can demonstrate that action will bring Jews closer to a very significant ally—the Negro people. California, undoubtedly, has much to add on this issue to the numerous experiences in the East.

A chapter in the pamphlet that had set forth the actual, existing relationships between Negro and Jewish organizations would have rounded out a fine and unique contribution to the understanding of what American Jews must do to further alliance with a powerful ally. California is to be congratulated that one of its sons gave of his varied and important experiences to all Jews who have the eyes to see and the mind to understand. Surely, a wide audience for Dr. Goldner's work will help to break the walls of resistance and pave the way for a better fight for democracy.

Who Lifted What Curtain?

EXCERPTS from a release and pictures issued by the Polish Embassy in Washington were printed in the *Intermountain Jewish News* (Denver) of May 13 under the headline, "Poland Lifts Iron Curtain to Reveal 60,000 Jews and How They Live."

Since, as any JEWISH LIFE reader knows, information about the life of Polish Jews is easily available (see various issues of this magazine), one wonders if the headline should not have read: "We Lift Our Curtain on Polish Jews and How They Live."

FOREBODING AND RESISTANCE

A DRAMATIC anti-McCarthy speech was made by Republican Senator Ralph E. Flanders on the floor of the Senate on June 1, in which he brought into the open the apprehension of the Jewish community concerning McCarthyism. Said the senator: "Note, for instance, the foreboding which he (McCarthy) inspires in our fellow citizens of Jewish blood and faith. Among them this is well nigh universal, in spite of the fact that some of his closest associates are Hebrews. In seeking the origin of this foreboding, I have been led to remember the part the senator played in the investigation of the Malmedy massacres and the strange tenderness he displayed toward the nazi ruffians involved. Perhaps this would not be enough to perpetuate foreboding but his anti-communism so closely parallels that of Adolf Hitler as to strike fear into the hearts of any defenseless minority."

But the Jewish people, like the American people in increasing measure, are not taking McCarthyism lying down, even though in too many instances they weaken the fight by acceptance of the McCarthyite myth of the "Communist menace." Following are some instances of resistance in the Jewish community.

Anti-McCarthyism was a recurrent theme at the end of May of the 102nd annual convention of District Lodge No. 1 of B'nai B'rith, comprising 85,000 members in New York State, New England and Eastern Canada. In a speech on May 31, Judge David A. Ross of Boston, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League National Civil Rights Committee, called attention to the fact that "all the evaluations of public opinion" indicate that "Americans of the Jewish faith are deeply concerned with current threats to civil liberties." Other racial and ethnic minorities, he said, "are among those most aware of the high cost of what is described as McCarthyism." He pleaded for increasing awareness of the dangers of "weakening or destroying individual civil liberties under the guise of bolstering national security." Other speakers and officers stressed the anti-McCarthyite theme.

Robert E. Segal commented in the *American Israelite* (April 29) on a press conference of Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson on the Oppenheimer affair in which Mr. Wilson hedged on a question of the security measures against former nazi scientists working at our military establishments. Segal commented, among other things, as follows: "One wonders whether that section of the press . . . placing high trust in former Communists who turned reactionaries . . . ever would have raised questions about Dr. Oppenheimer's past if, by a twist of fate, his German father had not come to this country and he, again by a long shot of chance, had been eligible for membership in the Nazi Party and had indeed become a nazi rocket expert. . . . Instead he (Oppenheimer) grieved over the mad course of Hitler; and he stood with those who believed passionately in American principles and wanted to curb the rise of fascism. Such a display of fortitude is out of style now. Your true American patriot today is one who stands with Dictator

Franco. And if, by additional foresight, he chances to have stood with Franco in the days of the Spanish Civil War, he is an American of even a brighter degree of red, white and blue coloration."

Charles S. Zimmerman, vice president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, said at the 54th annual convention of the Workmen's Circle on May 19, that Senator McCarthy, "under the guise of fighting communism is sowing fear and distrust in our midst. He utterly disregards the fundamental civil rights of the individual guaranteed by our Constitution. He has even established his own spy system within our government with complete disregard for violations of our basic laws."

In an editorial, "A 'Dirty Business,'" *Congress Weekly* (May 17) expressed its opposition to a wire-tapping law in these terms: "We are firmly of the opinion that none of the (wire-tapping) measures now before Congress should be adopted. These measures violate the right of privacy, one of the most basic of all rights guaranteed by a free society."

Among 13 leading New York organizations opposing a resolution before the City Council requesting the Board of Education to require officers of parent-teachers associations to take loyalty oaths, were the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee and the Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith. The groups warned that the resolution would create a "reign of terror" among parents, "sow dissension" and "instigate neighbor against neighbor" and was "a dangerous and unwarranted intrusion of a government body into the internal affairs of voluntary civic organizations. . . ." The Board of Rabbis of Northern California early in May denounced a recently-enacted California law requiring a loyalty oath of all tax-exempt groups as "an hysterical gesture symptomatic of the invasion of free thought and discussion reaching out even beyond the violation of religious freedom." (*Sentinel*, May 13.)

A great meeting attended by about 4,000 persons at the Hunter College auditorium in New York on May 20 to discuss "The People vs. McCarthy" was sponsored by the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish Labor Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations. Main speaker was McCarthy antagonist, former Senator William Benton of Connecticut.

Hillel Rogoff, editor of the bitterly anti-Soviet *Daily Jewish Forward*, on June 3 called for a negotiated understanding with the Soviet Union. He wrote the article in reply to one of his chief editorial writers, rabidly anti-Soviet R. Abramovitch, who had on June 1 published an article in the *Forward* calling for an early start of war on the Soviet Union "before it is too late." Rogoff disagreed with Abramovitch's assertion that the anti-war sentiments of the masses of the people should be ignored. "It is the primary duty of the democratic countries," wrote Rogoff, "to do everything possible, even at the greatest risk, to prevent a war. No one can deny that the masses of the people feel this way."

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND THE BENCHES

A Short Story

By Louis Lerman

ON THE east side of Second Avenue there is the *Anshei Zvi Lomzer* Home for Old Men. On the west side of Second Avenue, almost directly across the Home, is a small triangle of grass enclosed by three benches. On sunny afternoons in spring and summer the old men walk slowly with shuffling flatfooted steps along the benches taking a constitutional. They sit on the benches reading newspapers or watch the children skate by. They smooth their beards out to the sun, shut their eyes, doze off.

For the 18 years since its founding the Home has been unnoticed and quiet. Its world, circumscribed by the small synagogue on the first floor, the three benches across the street in the sun, the monthly relatives' day, has shut out the noisy, faster world outside. The Executive Director long ago learned to deal with the cataclysms of preference and complaint—stewed prunes three times in the same week, the quality of the mattresses. In past years only once has Mr. Rabinow had to shout, to tear at his bald head and to threaten expulsion. That was in connection with the benches across the street.

For 15 years the benches had stood there, between the hours of ten and three on weekdays sacred to the old men. Women with carriages sunning their babies brought camp chairs and boxes, recognized without comment the traditional priority of the old men. Children climbing on the benches were shooed off, admonished to play elsewhere. But even so, there were only three benches, and three benches meant only 18 places.

In general, however, things adjusted themselves. The women almost always gave up their camp chairs and boxes to the surplus old men and by this token stored up for themselves at least one friendly word in heaven. The old men took turns sitting in the sun, the time regulated by the quality of persuasion of those waiting for a seat, arguments to which all contributed, always ending in new factions and changed alignments.

The administration kept its own counsel, aloof from all partisanship, and distributed its praise and its blame, its scolding and its punishment with Jehovian impartiality. Usually Mr. Rabinow, busy placating the board of directors, stretching the inadequate endowment, acting the consoling executive to sons, daughters, relatives seeing their old men buried finally, half relieved, half sorrowful, at the end of their conscience trips to the Home, was too harried

to pay much attention to the old men and their bickerings. The budget to Mr. Rabinow was a Procrustean bed upon which he lay forever racked, trying forever to stretch himself. And at intervals, there was the board of directors and the chill faces and the stony phrase, "Charity has to run like a business, Rabinow."

Mr. Rabinow had his budget, the old men had their three benches and both seemed established as unalterable permanencies, with one day fading unnoticed into the next, time punctuated at intervals by a long remembered event, talked about and chewed over until nothing was left of it. Then the incident of the benches.

IT WAS ALMOST INCONCEIVABLE, THAT SIGHT. THE STOUT woman sitting spread on the middle bench, the child jumping from one bench to another, the stout woman looking on complacently, from time to time yelling calmly, "Shirley, get off, you'll fall." Shirley screeching a delighted reply but still jumping. The other benches vacant and the women, sitting by on boxes and folding chairs, glaring.

The stout woman's shrill yelp, "Shirley, get off," and Shirley's petulant whine, "Do wanna," are louder, more penetrating than the howl of the traffic on the Avenue. The stout woman becomes aware of the edged whispering around her. She raises her eyebrows, looks away, then glares back, but her face is puzzled, uncomfortably aware of the three benches empty except for her and Shirley. She looks around her for a "Fresh Paint" sign, calls out sharply, "Shirley, get off this minute or I'll slap you." Shirley yells, "Do wanna," makes a last lingering tour of the benches, then jumps down. Now the stout woman looks around her challenging, but the whispers continue, sharper, if anything.

It is almost one o'clock now. In a few minutes lunch will be over, the doors of the Home will open, the old men will come out and walking in small hurried groups to the corner, will wait for the traffic light to change, their eyes centered on the sun flooded triangle of grass and their benches. The women excitedly turn toward the old men, then back to the stout woman. The stout woman looks up bewildered at the six old men who line up before the bench. The women rock their baby carriages viciously, "... somebody ought to teach her respect ... old people ... a shame ... somebody ought to throw her out."

The stout woman's face is now red, but set hard. The women leave their baby carriages, stand like a rear guard behind the old men. One of them thrusts a finger almost in the stout woman's face, "She ought to be ashamed of herself, fat slob." The stout woman jumps up and yells, "Fat slob—I'll fat slob you!" The other women stir ominously. The stout woman stands a moment facing them, then muttering, "We'll see about that. This isn't the last thing you'll hear about that," she yanks Shirley up from play, and with Shirley loudly protesting, walks stiff-backed down the Avenue.

The women exchange complacent glances and the old men, smoothing their ruffled beards, sit down. The women make room for the surplus old men on their boxes and camp chairs, and after the event has been passed from hand to hand, the triangle once more grows peaceful, the sun shines as brightly in the calm sky as if nothing had happened and the old men doze off to the quiet monotonous clicking of the women's knitting needles.

BUT THAT WAS NO MORE THAN THE THIN WIND THAT BLOWS in the storm behind it. The old men were sitting down to supper when Mr. Rabinow came in, his face clouded, his step firm. He stood over them at the head of the table until the prayer was said, then as the old men were reaching for the bread, he hammered on the table for attention. Mr. Rabinow's voice was quiet but his gestures and his red face belied the quiet tones. Mr. Rabinow was working himself up to a passion.

"This afternoon," he began, "I got a complaint. It is not enough that we have here a charity organization where we have to depend upon contributions from the public. But we have to make trouble. We have to get complaints from people. We have to insult people. We have to take up every seat in the park so nobody else can sit down. Do I have to tell you that we can't afford to have complaints? It is enough to be a Jew and to know that a Jew should keep still, should keep quiet and not make trouble. But a Jew who lives on charity! What if the directors should hear about it? What do you think they will say? Here we pay money, here we support this charity and what do we get? Complaints from the public." As Mr. Rabinow spoke his voice rose. "Trouble, all we get from you is trouble. Suppose they should close the Home. What do you think will happen? Or maybe you think it can't happen. Well, let me tell you—that's a lie, it's wrong. It could happen. Tomorrow the directors hear about it and . . ." — one snap of the fingers — ". . . finished. Rabinow, close up. That's all. And then where are we? . . ." He caught himself, ". . . Where are you? In the street, that's where you are."

Mr. Rabinow took a breath. The old men, their spoons suspended above their plates, began to set to. He shouted out, "Can't you even stop eating for a second while I'm talking." It was evident from Mr. Rabinow's shout that he still had something to say. "Only one thing more I have to say," with a thrust of his forefinger at the faces

looking up at him, "Nobody sits in the park. Nobody, you hear me. From now on you stay on this side of the street. Goodbye."

There was quiet for a while after Mr. Rabinow left, the only sound the clatter of spoons against plates. Then an occasional whisper began to rise above the other sounds of the dining room, an angry buzzing which rose and fell until the waiters began to clear the tables and the old men, talking together in small excited groups, slowly moved upstairs to the synagogue.

THE NEXT DAY WAS HOT, AS IF THE DEVIL HIMSELF WERE PERSONALLY supervising the weather. On the landing outside the synagogue where the old men met for things secular, a perfect babel, with arguments and counter-arguments. Cutting through the noise Shmulik's voice, thin and strident, "What you should do, you ask. You should sit on your behind and do nothing. That you can do very well. For 70 years you've practiced."

Menashe shouts back, "Hero. Go, throw a bomb. Assassinate him."

Avrum, moderator, "Maybe if we went to him, apologized. . . ."

Shmulik doesn't let him finish, "Apologize! What do we have to apologize for? Is this America or the tsar's army? Maybe we should put a crown on his head and call him Nicholas."

"And what would you suggest?" asks Avrum.

"We should go and sit," says Shmulik flatly.

"Maccabee," says Menashe scornfully. "Go and sit. Who's stopping you."

"No," says Avrum quickly, before Shmulik can open his mouth to shout an insult. "Send a committee."

Quiet. A murmur of approval. A nodding of heads. "A committee."

Avrum turns to Menashe. "Menashe, you'll serve?" Menashe nods.

Avrum turns to Shmulik. "And you, you'll serve, Shmulik?"

"I'll serve," says Shmulik.

"Who will speak?" asks Avrum.

"Who?" says Menashe. "The bomb thrower. Who else?"

FINE TO MAKE A DECISION. ALLRIGHT TO SEND A COMMITTEE to see Mr. Rabinow. The trouble was that Mr. Rabinow refused to see a committee. Perhaps if the scrawl had not appeared on the wall of the Home the next day, it may be that nothing further would have happened. It may be that the anger of the old men would have simmered down, added itself to the list of complaints which they compounded daily. It may even be that Mr. Rabinow, given time, would have decided that enough is enough and looked the other way after a while. But here was something new to be considered. For the 18 years since its founding, the Home had been unnoticed, its world circumscribed. This was the end of an epoch. For unknown to Mr. Rabinow and the board of directors, with the coinci-

dence of the benches and the ugly splash of paint on the wall, the Home had entered the orbit of the world struggle against fascism.

That is not to say that before this Mr. Rabinow did not know what fascism was. Granted that he didn't read newspapers, busy as he was with bills and vouchers and insurance claims and an occasional fight with the porters about wages and hours and nuisances like the benches. Still he talked to people, once in a while he went to the movies, sometimes he stopped to read a headline on the newsstand. And there were times when for a while Rabinow lost his feeling of a warm little world. But on Second Avenue it was quiet and if you have sense you'll stay away from places where you'll get into trouble, and old men there were still plenty. Until that day when he saw scrawled on the walls of the *Anshe Zvi Lomzer* Home for Old Men a swastika and under it in paint like a running sore KILL THE JEWS. For Mr. Rabinow the fascists had come to America!

Rabinow was called down from his apartment. He had not yet shaved and his coat collar was turned up around his neck. He stood for a while looking at the wall, then he went back into the Home. The porters came out with brushes and pails. The crowd broke up. By the time Miss Rosen, the bookkeeper, came to work, Rabinow was shaved and dressed. His eyes were a little bloodshot, he had been up late the night before working on the budget.

"What happened?" Miss Rosen asked him.

"What happened?" Rabinow repeated. "Nothing. Kids wrote on the wall with paint."

"What did they write?"

"Nothing. Dirty words."

"Did you call the police station?"

"No," said Rabinow. "And please tell me why you have to ask so many questions this morning?"

"For goodness sakes, a person can't even ask a question. I just wanted to know what you're going to do about it."

"What you do," snapped Rabinow. "You wash it off. What else do you do?"

You wash it off, he said, but words like that don't wash off so easily. They eat like an acid into the brain. For the first time in his 18 years Mr. Rabinow sat in his armchair on a weekday morning looking down at Second Avenue, at the automobiles stopping and going, at people hurrying to work and he saw nothing. He got up, brushed the hair back behind his ears, straightened his tie like a man who knew where he was going. Then he sat down again. Where was there to go, he asked himself. The world was suddenly small, shrunk like a frozen apple and there was no place to go.

It was late when he came down from his apartment. He spoke to Miss Rosen, took a look at the menu and the dietician's report, signed a few checks, just as though this was a day like any other day, given to vouchers and checks and reports and budgets. What was Rabinow trying to do? What he had been doing successfully all his life—keep his eyes closed and his ears stopped up. Every-

body in the Home waited for him to do something, to make a decision. They didn't know that Rabinow had made his decision 18 years ago. Rabinow had never been so quiet but at the same time he had never moved with so much firmness, one foot straight before the other, as though he knew exactly where he was going. True, you might say, that isn't firmness, Rabinow is trying to build up a scaffold of bills and vouchers to support him, otherwise he'd fall on his face. And you would be right, because when the decision was made, it wasn't Rabinow who made it, it was Shmulik.

AFTER THE WHOLE THING WAS OVER, THE TALK AND THE excitement and the newspapers, somebody asked the members of the committee how they had been able to persuade the women to leave their baby carriages and join the delegation to see Mr. Rabinow. "In the first place," answered Shmulik—he spoke for the committee—"we appointed another committee to watch the babies, and in the second place, we asked them and they came. You have to be 70 years old to fight the Hitlers?"

When the women came in, Miss Rosen asked them, "What is it you would like to see the director about?"

"A complaint," the women said.

Miss Rosen showed them into Mr. Rabinow's office. The old men marched in after them. Miss Rosen yelled, "Where are you going?" But the old men brushed by into the office. Miss Rosen stood at the door for a moment, threw up her hands, "Well, I tried to stop them," she said, as though there were somebody to listen to her, and went back to her work.

Rabinow stood up as the women came in. "How do you do, ladies," he said. His tone changed when he saw the old men, "And what are you doing here?"

"We're all together," one of the women said emphatically, "a committee." They sat down. Rabinow stood, his neck above the white collar beginning to flush. He tapped slowly on the desk with the cover of his fountain pen.

"This is Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Rubinstein and I'm Mrs. Tolchinsky."

Rabinow nodded abruptly.

"We all live in the neighborhood and use the park," continued Mrs. Tolchinsky. "That's so you'll know we have an interest. We want to tell you that when the old men sit in the park, it's no trouble, it's a pleasure. When I heard on account of that fat slob, you wouldn't let them sit in the park, I thought it was a shame. I said to Mrs. Rubinstein, not to let old men like that to sit in the park, you have to have a heart of, I don't know, stone maybe."

"That's right," said Mrs. Rubinstein.

Mr. Rabinow's pen stopped tapping on the desk. The red flushed up to his face. "Please, ladies," he said, his voice controlled, "I'm glad you take an interest but I don't need you to tell me how to run the Home. Maybe if you went back and attended to your baby carriages, everybody would be happier."

"And maybe if you had a little consideration for old people, they would also be happier."

"Look, lady," said Mr. Rabinow, "for 18 years I'm running this Home. You heard of anybody starving, sleeping on the floor, walking around without a coat in the snow? What do you talk about when you don't know?" Mr. Rabinow was struggling to keep his temper. "Furthermore, these are the trouble makers, these three, especially him," pointing to Shmulik. "Committees. I haven't got enough trouble, I need committees. Believe me, about this committee business I'm going to do something, right away. Communists we don't need here."

"Don't call names right away, Mr. Director," said Mrs. Tolchinsky. "And don't holler so much. Me you don't frighten. I can holler as good as you any day."

"Who's hollering," shouted Mr. Rabinow. "I want to know why you take such a sudden interest all of a sudden."

"Because it's a shame, that's what I think," Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Rubinstein nodded their heads vigorously. "Look who he's hollering on," her hands moved sharply toward the old men. "Maybe you should do a little hollering about the Hitlers who painted on the wall."

"Who told you?"

"What's the difference who told me. I know," said Mrs. Tolchinsky angry. "And what's such a secret about?"

"I suppose," said Mr. Rabinow, his voice cutting, "I should hang up a big sign on the wall, everybody should see it. The board of directors wishes to announce that somebody painted in red paint on the Home a sign Kill the Jews."

"And I suppose if you put your head in the sand, nobody will see your behind sticking up," said Mrs. Tolchinsky.

Rabinow's face flamed up. "Insults I don't have to listen to," he said. "Goodbye." He threw the door open. The ladies stalked out. He turned around, picked up the telephone. "Miss Rosen, who told you to send in committees? Well, why don't you ask them what kind of complaints? What's the matter, you're bashful to ask?" He began to shout, "Next time, don't send me committees, you hear." He banged the receiver on the hook.

He sat at his desk. From his office window he could see the benches, the women talking together, excitedly pointing across the street to the Home, toward his office window, it seemed to him. He pushed his chair away from the window. But he couldn't shut his ears to the buzzing in all the odd corners of the Home, the stir and excitement like the day before Passover. It buzzed about in his ears like a fly against a windowpane.

AFTER LUNCH THE HOME IS SUDDENLY QUIET. THE BENCHES are empty but the women with their carriages and the old men are clustered at the curb waiting for the traffic light to change. The light changes, the traffic stops and, oblivious to the stares of the passers-by, to the traffic cop scratching his head, to the truckdrivers nudging each

other, the women with their carriages and the old men march across the street and parade in a slow circle in front of the Home. An American flag flies from each one of the baby carriages and at the head of the parade march Shmulik and Mrs. Tolchinsky holding between them a big piece of cardboard and on it:

WE ARE MARCHING AGAINST THE HITLERS
WHO PAINTED ON THE WALLS OF THE HOME

It didn't last long, no more than ten, 12 minutes. But on Second Avenue a crowd doesn't need much time to gather, with people trying to push through and the cop yelling, "Break it up," and trying to find out what the old men and the women are doing with flags and baby carriages and Shmulik trying to answer the policeman's questions in Yiddish and the policeman sweaty and uncomprehending and Mrs. Tolchinsky trying to explain and translate at the same time and a reporter on the scene from nowhere talking to everybody at the same time—and the parade is over.

RABINOW DIDN'T COME INTO THE DINING ROOM THAT NIGHT. He waited, his mouth flat and his stomach shrunken, for the morning paper and the board of directors. The paper came first, a long column headed, "Old Men's Home Demonstrates," and underneath, "Neighborhood Women and Old Men Protest Local Vandalism." Rabinow had not yet finished the article when the phone call came from Judge Mortimer. Judge Mortimer was chairman of the board. As Rabinow listened, you could tell what the chairman was saying by the way Rabinow's face changed color. You could hear Judge Mortimer's voice coming through the telephone, metallic and angry, "What the hell, Rabinow, it isn't hard enough getting endowments, you have to get us written up in the papers like a bunch of goddam reds. Who ever heard of that kind of thing in an old men's home? First thing you know they'll be organizing a union. If you can't run the Home better than that, we'll get somebody who can."

Rabinow didn't say anything. He was mixed up and empty and angry; feeling that in some way he didn't know he should have been able to prevent the whole thing from happening—the writing on the wall, the benches, the committee, the newspapers—a troubled and bewildered anger. Strange that not once did it occur to him that perhaps not everybody felt the way he and Judge Mortimer did, that perhaps what the old men and the women had done was not something to hide away from. By the end of the day, Rabinow's whole world was upside down, or else he was standing on his head, he was too mixed up to find out which was which. Where there had been one reporter the day before, now the phone rang without stopping, with Rabinow running from one call to another, his collar wilted, his tie awry, perspiration rolling down his face, answering questions and making statements—how old was Mr. Shmulik and who were the women with

the baby carriages and what did Mr. Rabinow think was the best way of fighting anti-Semitism—with Rabinow pushed into a picture with the committee, a crooked photographer's smile on his face and his tie swung around the side of his neck.

As soon as the evening papers came out, a crowd gathered outside the Home. In half an hour the street was full and more photographers taking pictures and cigarette butts all over the lobby and discarded flashlight bulbs all over the chairs and supper Lord knows when and a statement from the mayor about "the lengths of vandalism and indecency to which hoodlums and gangster-minded elements will go to instill race hatred" and wishing "to take this opportunity to commend the administration of the *Anshe Zvi Lomer* Home for Old Men for bringing this outrage so dramatically to the overwhelming body of decent-minded democratic citizens in our city." And alongside a picture of Mr. Rabinow with the caption "P. A. Rabinow, Executive Director of the A.Z.L. Home for Old Men, Commended by the Mayor."

By the time Judge Mortimer called again later in the evening, the Home had calmed down, Mr. Rabinow had changed into a clean starched collar, his tie was knotted and straight and the hair on the side of his head brushed down. When Miss Rosen called him to the phone, he walked down the lobby like a man who knew where he was going, one foot before the other, his step springy. He picked up the phone. "Hello," he said, "... It's all right. . . . We all get a little excited sometimes. . . . Don't even mention it. . . . I will be delighted. . . . Good-bye." Mr. Rabinow turned to Miss Rosen, "Miss Rosen, put down in my appointment book dinner with the Mortimers next Wednesday."

WELL, WHAT'S LEFT TO TELL? THE NEXT DAY SHMULIK WAS standing in the middle of a group of the old men when Rabinow walked down the lobby. "It's a nice day," said Shmulik in a loud voice. "Let's go sit in the park."

Mr. Rabinow smiled as he walked by and nodded pleasantly to Shmulik, "A fine day," he said.

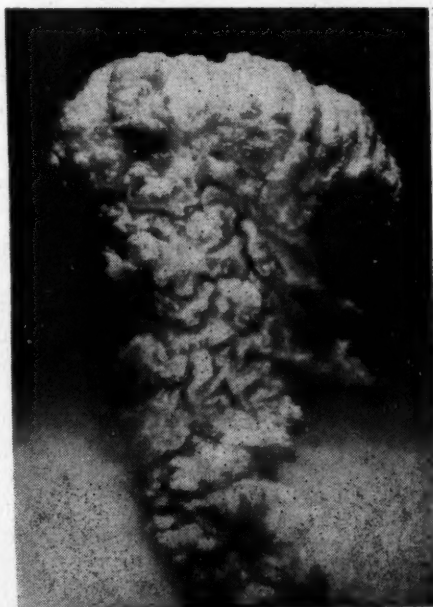
POSTCARDS FOR PEACE!

A million messages to the President and Congress

BELOW is a cut of a postcard issued by the American Peace Crusade in its drive to have one million postcards sent to the President and members of the Senate and House to keep American boys out of Indo-China and to prevent H-bomb war.

Flood Indo-China intervention and the H-bomb away on a sea of postcards!

These postcards, addressed either "Dear Mr. President" or "Dear Senator" or "Dear Congressman," can be ordered from the American Peace Crusade, 35 West 26 Street, New York 10, N. Y. Cost is 1c each; 1/2c each for orders over 1000. Orders must be prepaid and include cost of postage and 10c handling charge.



DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Keep our boys out of Indo-China.

The fighting must be stopped before it becomes an H-Bomb war.

There must be a world-wide ban on the H-Bomb.

Keep peace talks going.

NAME

ADDRESS

JUNE 18-19

By Isabel Pearlman

Our minds and hearts alive, elevated

For Douglas, a justice, had studied
and Douglas, a man, had stated:

"Before we allow human lives to be snuffed out,
we must be sure—emphatically sure—lest lingering doubts
plague the conscience. . . ."

We walked and talked, and walked and waited
as the brute-reared hoodlums scowled and baited
and the law stood, irritated, unsated.

The White House gleamed coldly in the hot sun
and gentle squirrels played on the White House lawn.
We strained for mercy
from the power within.
The iron bars were there
but we believed our human hearts had kin.

Justice had not spoken.
It rested for the night.
We walked and talked, and walked and waited.
The morning light played upon the white, white
stoniness of the House of White
where our hopes were fated.

High Noon, and Justice spoke
that Injustice shall prevail. . . .
A smothered wail:
The Law clenched their clubs,
tensed their bodies and pressed against us.
We walked a moment with heads descended
but the truths we carried raised our eyes
to the sunlit whiteness of that House.
Six hundred from the people—the unspeaking delegation
seeking mercy
from the head of our nation.

The gates were guarded and bolted
(Like the gates that held the man and wife . . . but they
were innocent!)
The gates did not open to the man who had come to speak
for the innocent;
The iron gates were well protected
while Mercy's gates lay unresurrected.

"No, I don't believe it. I can't believe it" . . . a choked
whisper.
The cameras flashed. Our hearts twisted.

The people massed, awaiting the sinister night.
There was no friend in the House of White.
But there were friends in the Nation's city;
softly, with simple deed,
people unknown soothed and caressed the weary strength
of the 600
walking with their eyes toward the sun. . . .

Has the Sabbath yet begun?
Have the Rabbis done with their Sabbath meal?
Have they on their Sabbatical robes?
Have they rehearsed in hushed sonorial tones the prayers
for the dead?
Mother and Father living at sundown are now dead.

I sought in the Word we all hold precious
An angry, anguished accusation
From the Leaders among men
to release those benumbed with fear
and passionately charge them
to the fast falling shadows on the mansion of state
Before the glowering heat of hate made life too late?

I sought in vain.
They carefully concealed their cowardly deed
And a world in agony did bleed.

Oh, my people were there—the Jewish and Puerto Ricans,
the Negro and Irish, the Italian and Slav and all the
peoples of the universe
But not those self-appointed Masters of Labor and State
of Justice and Mercy and Righteousness.
Oh, shame. How will you live with this blame?

And you, the Power of our Nation—
We grasp the rails and speechlessly implore
How will you live behind that white door?

And the crowds that have gathered to watch
Do not respond to the dull-sensed
ghouliness of the hoodlum handful.
They are silent too.
Are you not afraid of all this thunderous silence
Are you not afraid of Ethel and Julius and Michael
and Robert and the millions and millions of
Michaels and Roberts to come?
And the millions who spoke and the millions who will
speak?

June 20, 1953.

JEWS AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1850-1880

By Morris U. Schappes

IT IS not until the 1880s that a distinct Jewish sector emerges in the general labor movement in the United States and maintains its identity for some half a century thereafter. But the participation of Jews in the American labor movement goes back, so far as is known, at least to 1850, and additional systematic research may push the beginnings still further back, as well as multiply our very spotty information about the three decades before 1880.

In the 1850s we find only individuals here and there. They pop onto the stage, perhaps in a scanty newspaper account, leave their faint, beginner's mark and then sometimes disappear without a trace or sometimes drift away from the labor movement into the liberalism of the middle class.

After the Civil War, labor leaders become aware of a noticeable growth in the number of Jewish workers that, like other workers, need to be organized. Again individual Jews here and there come into the record as minor leaders of workers' organizations.

The 1870s, dominated by the great crisis of 1873 to 1878, are marked by major class conflicts. In this period, for the first time conspicuous numbers of Jews appear in strike struggles, while at the time individual Jews come forward as leaders in the economic and political arena.

Journeyman Tailors' Strike, 1850

The beginning, then, was in the summer of 1850. On July 16 the journeymen tailors in New York, several thousand of them, had struck for higher wages. The workers were American, Irish, Scottish, German and, as we shall see, Jewish. Much of the work was being done at home by the tailors, so picketing was complicated. But if you could not picket to prevent scabs from working, you could try to prevent them from delivering finished clothing to the employer or from taking the cloth home to work on. And that was all that Morris Bernstein did that Saturday morning, July 20, down on Center Street. A scab and his wife were wending their way down the block laden down with unmade garments. Several strikers stopped them and were taking them to the strike headquarters to persuade them to join the strikers when a cop interfered and picked out Paul Gansert and Morris Bernstein for arrest. Now if

Bernstein is Jewish—and we have so far only his name to go by—he is the first Jew known to have participated in a strike, the first Jew to be arrested for picketing. Three days later they were still in jail awaiting trial. The newspapers that reported the arrest did not report the outcome.

Were there other Jews involved in the strike? Yes, there were, on both sides. Not only do the names of some Jewish employers appear in the press, but early Thursday morning, July 25, "at the corner of John Street and Broadway, as three or four Jews were taking home tailors' work, they were surrounded by a number of journeymen tailors, who took down their names, but did not offer them any further molestation." On the other hand, three weeks later, when the clothing cutters organized, they elected as secretary one Israel Kolb, who may be Jewish.

Meanwhile the majority of the commercial press was continually red-baiting the striking tailors. The *Journal of Commerce* was sure the strike was inspired by the "red-hot socialists of Paris," and other dailies cried "anarchy" and "Red Republicanism." One incensed German who signed himself dubiously as "Friends of Laborers" reacted bitterly to these incitations. In a piece in the *New Yorker Demokrat*, he flailed wildly in all directions, denouncing "Priests and Jesuits" and each hostile newspaper by name. When he came to the *Journal of Commerce* he skidded into anti-Semitism with the cry, "thou pious Jew-soul"—although the publisher of the *Journal* was not a Jew. At the same time it was reported that in Baltimore a meeting called to organize a tailors' trades association passed a resolution, after "much debate" and "considerable excitement," to keep "Jews from attending the meeting." Also at the same time, the most widely known Jew in the country, the Tammany leader Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, was using his *Sunday Times and Noah's Weekly Messenger* to try to incite Negroes to violence against the strikers!

Yet, although class lines were not free from distortion by national animosities, the strikers did succeed in raising wage rates about 25 per cent by the time the strike ended in the middle of September.¹

At the same time there came on the scene a socialist of

¹ *The New York Herald*, July 21, 1850; *New-York Daily Tribune*, July 23, 1850; *The Morning Star*, July 22, 1850; *Herald*, July 26; *Tribune*, August 15; *The New York Journal of Commerce*, July 31, August 16; *Herald*, August 13, 1850.

considerable influence, the 25 year old German Jewish "Forty-eighter," Sigismund Kaufmann, then a pocketbook worker, and a private teacher of German and French. On June 6, 1850, Kaufmann was leading a secession of 36 members of the New York Turn-Verein (German gymnastic society) to form a *Socialist Turn-Verein*.

Sigismund Kaufmann, Labor Editor

Of perhaps lasting importance is the service Kaufmann rendered the American working class by publishing the works of Marxists when he was elected editor, late in 1851, of the *Turn-Zeitung*, the official national organ of the league of socialist gymnastic societies. Joseph Weydemeyer, co-worker of Marx and the first Marxist to settle and work in the United States, arrived in New York just a week before Kaufmann began to issue the *Turn-Zeitung* on November 15, 1851 (and every two weeks thereafter). The introduction declared that one purpose of the paper was "the dissemination of socialist ideas." Not himself a Marxist, Kaufmann promptly recognized Weydemeyer's clarity and vigor of analysis, and Weydemeyer became a regular contributor to the *Turn-Zeitung*. His first article, "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," appeared on January 1, 1852—the first Marxist treatment of that theme to be published in our country! On January 5, when Weydemeyer wrote a letter to Marx in London describing in detail the many German-language newspapers in the United States, he singled out the *Turn-Zeitung* for special praise.

But Weydemeyer's article was not the only Marxist work Kaufmann published in that January 1852 issue. It also contained the first installment of Engels' masterpiece, *The Peasant War in Germany*, which had appeared in 1850 in Hamburg in Marx's magazine, *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The serial continued until February 1, 1853. Marxist influence was also apparent at that time in the *Turn-Zeitung* position on American political questions, on trade-unionism and on the slavery question. In fact, there was more of Marxism in the official organ than some Western sections of the movement could approve and protests began to be made. If, in those few years and in those few years only, the Turnerbund was, as Hermann Schlueter judges, in the van of the labor movement among the German immigrants here, a good deal of this achievement was due to Kaufmann's editorial policy of opening his pages to Marxist writing. Later, Kaufmann and most of the non-Marxist socialists in the Turn-Verein allowed their socialism to be completely swallowed up in the anti-slavery movement and in post-war liberalism, Kaufmann becoming a leader in the New York Republican Party.²

Early Jewish Marxists

Another noteworthy Jewish figure connected with the

² Schapper, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, New York, rev. ed., 1952, p. 725, 539-542; *Turn Zeitung*, New York, Nov. 1, 1851 to Sept. 15, 1853; Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer, Pioneer of American Socialism*, New York, 1947, p. 35, 45; Hermann Schlueter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1907, p. 214.

Marxist movement at that time was the brilliant 23-year-old German physician, Abraham Jacobi. A follower of Marx and chairman of the Turnverein at Bonn University, Jacobi was arrested in May 1851 in Cologne and indicted with 10 others on a charge of conspiring to overthrow the Prussian government. Although Jacobi was one of four acquitted on November 12, 1852, the Prussian authorities held him in prison until the summer of 1853. After a vain attempt to establish a medical practice in Manchester, England (aided by Marx and Engels), Jacobi came to New York early in November 1853. His arrival was a boon to Weydemeyer and other Marxists, who had been for some time—busy repelling slanderous attacks on Marx and the Communist defendants in the Cologne trial. With a real live defendant now on hand to help set the record straight, Weydemeyer, in collaboration with Jacobi and another Marxist, wrote a long article for the *Belletristisches Journal und New-Yorker Criminal-Zeitung*, November 25, 1853, refuting the slanders and defending Marx's political program. After that, however, Jacobi had only a casual and waning contact with the Marxists and the labor movement, lecturing on medical subjects before the Socialist Turn-Verein and other workers' audiences, and as late as the 1870s taking part in a united front organization with Marxists. He made major contributions in medicine, becoming known as the founder of the science of child care (pediatrics). When he died in 1919, the socialist *New York Call* pointed out that "it was his knowledge of the underlying principles of living conditions which made him such a potent force in the world of medicine." The influence of Marxism, in other words, was more permanent than his contact with Marxists.³

Another Jacobi, unrelated to Dr. Abraham and even more active in Marxist circles in the 1850's, was young Fritz Jacobi. On October 25, 1857, the Marxists in the New York metropolitan area formed the Communist Club, the first one in the Western Hemisphere. Seventeen-year-old Fritz Jacobi was the first secretary of the organization and continued to hold his office at least until 1859. The constitution of the club bound all members to "recognize the complete equality of all people—no matter of what color or sex" and to "strive to abolish the bourgeois property system." The club corresponded with Marx and tried to stimulate the establishment here of a broad labor association to cooperate with similar movements in Europe. Another probably Jewish member of the club was (Max?) Cohnheim. The Club disbanded when the Civil War began because most of its members enlisted in the Union Army. Jacobi, then age 21, and Cohnheim, age 34, were among those who enlisted. Cohnheim became an artillery captain before his discharge in April 1863. Jacobi was a second lieutenant when he was wounded in action July 1, 1862 at Malvern Hill, Va. On his recovery, he was promoted to first lieutenant, returned to action, and was killed at Fredericksburg, Va., December 13, 1862.⁴

³ Schapper, "Two Humanists: Doctors Jacobi," *JEWISH LIFE*, September 1952.

Militant Unionists

In the first few years after the Civil War, facts about Jewish participation in the labor movement are scarce. Yet the nameless number of Jewish workers was growing and the leaders of labor knew this. In July 1867, the National Labor Union, preparing for its second Congress in Chicago in August, published an *Address . . . to the Workingmen of the United States*, in which they declared that "the interests of labor are one; that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile, Christian or Infidel. . . ." And when the Congress opened on August 19, one of the 71 delegates was Jacob G. Selig, probably Jewish, representing the Chicago Cigar Makers' Union. Although it lasted only until 1872, the National Labor Union, first national organization of American workers, was of far-reaching practical as well as historic significance.

In September 1867, the fourth Convention of the Cigar Makers' National Union opened in Buffalo; the delegates included Abraham Simons of the Westfield, Mass., local and Harry Jacobs of New York Local 15, either or both of whom may be Jewish. The list of Secretaries of Local Unions also contains the names of Joseph Levy of Norfolk, Va., Louis Benjamin of Cincinnati, Jacob Wolf of St. Louis, Louis Schneider of Troy, N. Y., and others who, like these, may be or probably are Jews. Among the thousands of German immigrants who were then in the cigar-making trade, there were undoubtedly many Jews.⁴

But it was the New York capmakers' general strike of 1874 that for the first time, so far as is known, brought hundreds of Jewish workers into a militant mass action. When in 1873 the great crisis struck, it hit the country like a social cyclone. In the first months of 1874, tens of thousands of homeless workers slept in police stations. *The World* printed many columns of names of the destitute unemployed, Jewish names among them. Cries for public relief were met with pious horror in the capitalist press and the *Jewish Messenger* feared "the utter subversion of society." The *Herald* got a reputation for "philanthropy" by financing four soup-kitchens, and a "model soup-house" for Jews was opened at 100 Mott Street.

It was amid such destitution that some 1,500 to 2,000 capmakers, their wage-rates cut over 50 per cent, were driven to strike. One-third of the strikers were Irish women and girls while the majority of the men were Germans, mostly Jews. Strike headquarters, interestingly enough, were at Covenant Hall, 56 Orchard Street, the headquarters of the B'nai B'rith! The secretary of the Central Union of Capmakers and the leader of the strike was M. Weiner. A couple of other officers, as well as members of the negotiating committee, were Jews. So, too, were

many of the leading cap manufacturers, whose wage-cutting pattern had provoked the strike.

The strikers' demands were for a 20-40 per cent increase in wage rates, a ten-hour day and the observation of certain union rules. When the employers protested against such extreme demands as constituting a 125 per cent increase, the workers countered by pointing out that such an increase would merely restore the scale to what it had been before the cuts; and they added: "Our craftsmen work, not like Christians or Jews, but like heathens, seven days in the week. . . ."

Capmakers in other cities sent their aid and the workers of New York also supported the strike. At the very height of the struggle, the Capmakers' Union affiliated with the Workingmen's Union, the largest central body in New York, embracing 30,000 workers. From the beginning of the strike on January 29, daily mass meetings, sometimes with as many as 1200 present, kept the workers mobilized and militant. By February 24, all except some of the biggest employers settled with the union for an average increase of 15 per cent and the strike was finally called off on March 9, 1874. The commercial press had called the workers foolish for striking at such a time of crisis. But the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, organ of the American Section of the Marxist International Workingmen's Association which had supported the strike, congratulated the workers on their victory under such difficult circumstances.⁵

The Great Cigar Makers' Strike, 1877-8

Another strike involving many hundreds of Jewish workers was the great cigarmakers' strike in New York from October 15, 1877 to February 3, 1878, in which from 11,000 to 15,000 workers fought bitterly to wrest a minimum living wage from the employers. The conditions can be judged from the fact that the main demand was a rate of \$6 per thousand cigars, when a fast worker might make 300 cigars in a long day's work. Moreover, the employers had developed the tenement system of production, in which the employers rented the tenements in which the cigarmakers and their families lived and worked, and deducted the rent weekly from the wages!

The cigarmakers were inspired in part by the great railroad strike of 1877 and in part by a couple of successful short strikes in cigar factories. In October thousands of tenement cigar makers, without consulting the Union, Local 144, poured out on strike. The cigar manufacturers on October 15 countered with a lockout and soon more than 11,000 workers and their families were involved in

⁴ Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, New York, 1947, p. 233; Schlueter, work cited, p. 161-162; *Sociale Republik*, New York, May 15, 1858, March 19, 1859; *Karl Marx Chronik Seines Lebens*, Moscow, 1934, p. 169, 173, 177, 182; *Trow's New York City Directory*, 1859/60, p. 168; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1865*, 3d ed., Albany, 1912, vol. 3, p. 2244; *A Record of the Commissioned Officers . . . in . . . New York . . . as taken from the Muster-in Rolls . . .*, Albany, 1864, vol. 1, p. 168.

⁵ Schappes, *Documentary History*, p. 509-510, 714; John R. Commons, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Cleveland, 1909-1911, vol. 9, p. 169; *Proceedings of the Fourth Session of the Cigar Makers' National Union*, Philadelphia, 1867, p. 4, 46. It is also necessary to correct here Dr. Foner's statement that the Mrs. Esther Greenleaf of Lynn, Mass., who was one of the leaders of the 1860 New England shoemakers' strike, is Jewish (*Jews in American History, 1654-1865*, New York, 1945, p. 47). There is no evidence that she is Jewish and Dr. Foner's assumption, which is based on her name alone, is without foundation, for Greenleaf is a common Christian New England name (as in John Greenleaf Whittier). Dr. Foner has informed me he intends to correct this as well as other errors whenever a revised edition is possible.

⁶ Schappes, *Documentary History*, p. 561-563, 733-736.

bitter struggle. Most of the strikers were women, who had been drawn into the craft when the mold was invented. The largest single national element were the Bohemians, with the Germans next, among whom were many Jews and a small number of Polish Jews.

The president of Local 144 was the 27-year-old Samuel Gompers, still working at the bench to provide for a wife and five children. He was active and effective, especially as a mass speaker, in the strike, but the day to day leadership was assumed by Adolph Strasser, who was also Jewish, a single man of 34 recently elected president of the Cigar-makers' International Union. Strasser became president of the Central Strike Committee, a democratic body with delegates from each striking shop, which met every day and developed an extraordinarily effective strike apparatus. Jewish participation was noticeable. On the Strike Executive Committee were Max Salamon and Adolf Rosenbaum. On the Strike Committee as delegates from shops there were Solomons, Isaacs, two M. Levys, L. Friedman, G. and H. Rosenbaum and Milton Kohn. The Packers Union, which joined the strike, had A. Rosenbaum as vice president, L. Eisner as secretary and M. Gluck as treasurer. On October 18 the *Sun* reported that the workers at Kerbs & Spiess, the biggest manufacturer, had all struck, "with the exception of a few Polish Jews," but the next day *The World* said the Polish Jews had struck too. Most of the manufacturers, especially the main ones, were also Jewish.

Strike-Breaking Measures

Strasser designated a Relief Committee of 25 (later 35) and appealed for financial and material aid. \$39,458.51 came in as contributions from workers all over the country, and from Canada, England and Belgium too. Hundreds of families were given weekly rations of food in three relief stores for the duration of the strike. (The first such store was given rent-free to the strikers by G. F. Cohn.) When medical service was needed, the Strike Committee enlisted the aid of doctors; when lawyers were needed to help arrested and evicted strikers, eminent lawyers volunteered their assistance.

The eviction tactic was the most vicious used by the bosses. One of the demands of the tenement cigarmakers was a \$1 reduction in the rent they paid their employers. The answer was the dreaded dispossession notice in the dead of winter. 1980 eviction notices were served, 630 were dismissed in court and 1300 were carried through. People who were sick, and in one case a woman in labor, were put out. The Strike Committee at once organized a Room Committee, which found over 100 "homes" for the evicted. This tactic of the bosses turned the sympathy of some lower middle class elements towards the strikers. Small landlords came forward with offers of rent-free apartments, J. Cohn of Pitt Street offering two dwellings on November 8, 1877. A few days before, in a court-room, the lawyer Elias G. Levy asked the court to be allowed

to withdraw from the case when he found that his client had engaged him to evict "poor men and their families into the streets just because the men are seeking to get higher wages." The court agreed and the landlord-employer had to drop this particular case.

The bosses used evictions, strikebreakers, threats to import Chinese contract laborers, police attacks and arrests, the shipping of work out of town—and red-baiting, crying that Strasser was not a real cigarmaker but "an avowed German Communist." Even the union's opening of a cigar factory on December 10 that put several hundred cigarmakers to work with Gompers as foreman could not turn the scales. As Gompers wrote, "The strike slowly crumbled away." Yet, "it was a wonderful fight. . . . Although we did not win, we learned the fundamentals and techniques which assured success later." In their approach to trade unionism at that period of their lives, both Gompers and Strasser were influenced by the Marxist emphasis on trade union organization.⁷

Organizing Activity

While this strike was crumbling away, a movement of another sort was forming. J. M. McDonnell, editor of *The Labor Standard* and an associate of the American Marxists, began to call for an organization that would amalgamate all the unions. Enthusiastic support for such a project was expressed in a letter to the *Standard* on January 20, 1878, written by P. Cohen, Secretary of Local No. 1 of the Slipper and Shoemakers Union, 28 Avenue B, New York. A few weeks later, the Marxists formed a united front with the leaders of the Eight Hour League and established the International Labor Union, the first organization in American labor history to set out to organize the unskilled workers. As President George E. McNeill put it, the aim was "to band together Jew, Greek, Irishman, American, English and German, and all nationalities in a grand labor brotherhood." A member of the Central Committee of this International Labor Union was Emil Levy, a cigarmaker in Evansville, Indiana, and corresponding secretary of the Cigar Makers' local in that city. Although the ILU lasted only until 1881, it too left its mark.⁸

Within a few years after such events as have here been described, the new mass immigration was going to change basically the character of the Jewish workers. While the participation of Jews in the general labor movement was to continue, a new feature was to emerge: the organization of Jewish workers as a distinct part of the American labor movement. That story begins in the 1880's.

⁷ *The World*, New York, October 15, 1877; Bernard Mandel, "Sam Gompers Leads a Strike," *The American Federationist*, December, 1953, p. 19-20; Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, New York, 1925, vol. 1, p. 144-154; *New York Herald*, October 16, 17, 18, 1877; *The Sun*, New York, November 5, 1877; *Financial Reports of the Cigar Makers' Central Organization*, New York, 1878; *World*, October 25, 1877; *The Labor Standard*, New York, December 23, 1877; *World*, November 9, 1877; *Sun*, November 4, 1877; *World*, October 31, 1877; Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888, p. 155-156; *Sun*, December 10, 1877; *Poner, History of the Labor Movement*, p. 516-517.

⁸ *Poner*, work cited, p. 500-504; *National Socialist*, Cincinnati (organ of the Socialist Labor Party), May 18, 1878; *Labor Standard*, July 14, 1878; letters by Emil Levy appear in the issues of January 13 and February 3, 1878.

MEDDLING IN ISRAEL'S AFFAIRS

By Esther Vilenska

Tel Aviv

On the eve of the Sixth Anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel, the American imperialists launched a new frontal attack upon that State. The speech of Assistant Secretary of State Henry A. Byroade (on May 1) concerning the policy of the United States government in the Middle East presages renewed, flagrant and intensified intervention of American imperialism in the internal affairs of our country. The speech is a warning that further attempts will be made by Washington to increase tension in the Middle East and to harness the countries of that part of the world into an aggressive alliance.

The speech set forth five characteristic "lines": 1. open intervention of the American government in the affairs of Israel and the request that Israel annul its repatriation laws; 2. hostile provocation between Jews and Arabs; 3. frightening the Arabs with the "Jewish danger" and frightening the Jews with the "Arab danger"; 4. use of the Arab refugee question as an excuse for continued meddling by the American imperialists on the borders of Israel; 5. a call to Israel and the other Middle East countries to prepare for an anti-Soviet war.

One of the central points in Byroade's speech was his brazen demand for the nullification of an Israel law. This is actually an open attempt at dictation: it is brutal interference in the internal affairs of Israel. The Communists have been saying for a long time that America's rulers are intervening in the internal affairs of our country. We said it when the intervention began with the acceptance of the first American loan. One paragraph of the loan agreement specifically obliged Israel to submit regular reports to the American government about "economic problems." These reports were requested by the United States as a means of interfering in the economic affairs of Israel, to fit its economy into Washington's strategic aim of subjugation. The intervention, which began quietly in economic questions, was gradually intensified until it encompassed all other spheres. Now it is being carried out with great fanfare in the speech of Byroade, which actually contains "instructions from Washington" on the annulment of an Israel statute.

This meddling has gone so far that the

Development Budget of Israel must have the official approval of the American economic delegation and has finally reached a point where the American government intervenes openly to change the laws of the State of Israel. But only the Israeli people have the right and the power to make decisions on the question of *Aliyah* (immigration) to Israel and on Israel's laws. All the forces in our society that have the freedom of our country close to their hearts must unite to fight against this American intervention in Israel's problems and for the independence of Israel.

The American imperialists unblushingly "establish" today that Israel is "aggressive" in order that tomorrow they may "establish" that the Arab countries are "aggressive." They have adopted the system of shouting "Stop Thief!" in order to distract the attention of the peoples from the real aggressor and the chief intriguer, American imperialism, which is organizing the bloodshed on the Israel-Arab borders with the help of its agents in Israel and the Arab countries.

The Israeli people and the peoples of the Arab countries want peace. They know that the best thing for them is a peaceful life and they will not spare any effort to persuade their governments to begin direct negotiations for a democratic peace.

The Israeli government did not protest the hostile speech of Byroade and his insolent interference in the inner affairs of our people. The day after Byroade's speech the government made public a "Statement of Its Reaction" to the speech. But this reaction was limited to the section dealing with interference in the question of immigration. The government opinion is that Byroade's speech can lead to "a serious strain in the relations between Israel and the Arab countries." The government did not go so far as to sever its friendship with the war-inciters and the enslavers of peoples. It only "issued a statement" about the "serious strain."

The conservative paper *Haaretz* explains the reasons for such a reaction on the part of the government. "A central place in our policy has been set aside for our relations with America," says the paper, "and our dependence upon her is so decisive that we must deal more cautiously in every reaction that can affect these relations."

The government "reacts" and knuckles under. It "reacts" and continues the policy of cooperation with the Washington "observers" on our borders. It "reacts" and continues the policy of helping Washington's anti-Soviet foreign policy. It "reacts" and proceeds to maintain the slavish agreements with the Washington rulers and to beg them for military aid, which leads to tightening control over Israel by the American government.

The Israel government is satisfied with this "statement" and with submissiveness. The masses of the people, however, are protesting against this imperialist interference in our problems. They are intensifying the struggle for dissolution of the enslaving agreements, for direct peace negotiations with the Arab countries and for a secure peace throughout the world.

(*Esther Vilenska is a Communist deputy in the Knesset of Israel.*)

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Book Reviews

SLANDER, FICTION AND FACT

By Louis Harap

THE brutal raid on the foster home of Michael and Robbie Rosenberg on February 17, about two weeks after the sudden death of their guardian Emanuel Bloch, did not come entirely as a surprise. For an anticipatory tremor had been felt in December 1953 with the publication of *The Rosenberg Case: Fact and Fiction*, by Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg. Characteristic of the falsification with which this book is packed—as we shall see in detail presently—Fineberg charged that the children were exploited in the clemency campaign and were taken to “appear at highly emotional demonstrations” (p. 129). The section on the children concludes: “Should these children be left in the custody of people who may exploit them further? Efforts will certainly be made to take them out of the power of such ‘guardians’” (p. 132). This was published about three months before the move was made against the children.

The truth is that the children were shielded from personal involvement in the campaign with the utmost scrupulousness. Only on one occasion, in the last days of the campaign in June 1953, did they personally participate by attempting to plead personally with President Eisenhower for the life of their parents. Who will dare to assert that it was an “exploitation” of the children to give them an opportunity to share in this last minute effort to save their parents from execution? The malicious falsity of the cry of “exploitation” was crushingly demonstrated on April 2, when New York Surrogate William T. Collins threw out of court the charge by the New York City authorities that the children had been “exploited” for alleged “propaganda” purposes.

Who Is Fineberg?

Who is this harbinger of the scandalous intrusion on the contented and anonymous life which their guardian, the late Emanuel Bloch, had finally won for the Rosenberg children? Some acquaintance with Fineberg's background will help us to understand the author of this vicious and inept book. Fineberg is director of

the Community Service Department of the American Jewish Committee, organization of the country's wealthiest Jews. He fancies himself as the originator of the “silent treatment” technique as a method for “combating” anti-Semitism. The essence of this method is to prevent resistance against anti-Semitism and fascism by the Jewish masses. In reality, “silent treatment” was a new name for the ancient “hush-hush” (*sha-sha*, in Yiddish) technique which has been used by wealthy Jewish appeasers for centuries.¹ Fineberg's “silent treatment” aroused such resentment in the Jewish community in 1947 that he coined a new name, “quarantine treatment.” Even this name has fallen out of use but Fineberg continues to use the hush-hush method without labeling it.

Fineberg stirred up the Jewish community again last summer by his application of this cowardly method to the fight against McCarthyism. He then stated in an interview that it was a “grave mistake” for Jewish organizations as such to fight against McCarthyism. He asserted that McCarthy was not an anti-Semite and that if Jews attack McCarthy as Jews they “may drive him (McCarthy) to anti-Semitism!” To this day this writer is unaware of any statement by Fineberg attacking McCarthy or McCarthyism.

Why This Book?

Fineberg's book is one of the most scandalous recent expressions of hush-hush. In order to ward off fascist assertions that all Jews are “communists,” the hush-hush elements try to represent Jews as 150 per cent Americans. Because the Rosenbergs were Jewish and the case was involved in fascist agitation about the “Jew-communist-spy” stereotype, the hush-hush Jews, with Fineberg as their mouthpiece, felt obliged to defend the

¹ One striking illustration of hush-hush is given in the second volume of the diaries of Harold Ickes under the date of September 18, 1938: “Tom Corcoran says that the President has decided upon Felix Frankfurter as a successor to Justice Benjamin Cardozo, but the rich Jews are objecting—not because they are opposed to Frankfurter, but because they think his appointment would increase prejudice in this country against the Jews.”

killing of the Rosenbergs. There is no doubt that the American Jewish Committee, in accordance with its usual procedure in cases involving left wing Jews, did its utmost to prevent Jewish organizations and individual Jews from playing an active role in the clemency campaign.

But the work of the American Jewish Committee and of Fineberg was not finished with the execution. For everyone knows that the case did not end on June 19, 1953. Resentment against Washington over the callous execution in the face of world-wide sentiment for clemency has left its mark all over the world. Having done his utmost to assure the execution of the Rosenbergs, Fineberg then proceeded after their death to attempt to justify this act before the world. One should not suppose that this book was an “independent” venture on Fineberg's part, close as it no doubt is to his heart. There is strong reason to believe that the job was done under the inspiration of the State Department. Having failed in its own efforts to still protest before the execution the State Department now uses a Jewish “leader” for this purpose. In fact, it is obvious from a reading of the book that it is aimed primarily at a foreign audience. Most convincing evidence of this is the inclusion of a chapter called, “American Justice,” which purports to be an essay on American judicial procedure obviously intended to convince foreigners of the absolute fairness of the United States judicial system.

Further evidence is the letter sent out by Fineberg's own American Jewish Committee (reproduced on page 23). This letter makes clear that the State Department is cooperating in foreign distribution of the book: “The U.S. State Department has purchased copies of the book for all American Information Centers and has recommended it to all of our embassies,” says the letter. Moreover, the letter promises that the book “will be published in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and other languages. The Yiddish and Hebrew editions will be printed in Israel.” Clearly, this book is a cold war, State Department operation to try to offset the incalculable damage *Anti-Semitism* in the case, issued by the Rosenberg case, and not to seek the truth in the case. Fineberg has put himself at the service of the State Department to convince millions of non-communist and anti-communist people all over the world that the Rosenberg case was a model of justice. The State Department is making further use of Fineberg: it has arranged for Fineberg's present trip to West Germany to consult with West German leaders on “new methods” of fighting anti-Semitism—that is, hush-hush in the cold war style.

A McCarthyite Product

Fineberg's book is in fact a staggering compendium of lies, half-truths, contemptible scholarship, falsification by omission and puerile reasoning. The book is a flop commercially. It would be beneath notice if not for the fact that many copies are being distributed free and translations are in prospect. It would be hopeless within the compass of a single magazine article to expose all the book's falsifications. We can only deal with a few typical examples here.

The book is essentially a McCarthyite product. Consider, for instance, Fineberg's statement that "facts concerning espionage linked to Julius Rosenberg at Fort Monmouth—Julius Rosenberg was employed there in 1942 and 1943—came to light four months after the Rosenbergs were executed" (p. 146). This is a clear reference to the McCarthy "investigation" of Monmouth. As every sane person knows, and as even Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens has declared, no proof or evidence of espionage at all was uncovered. McCarthy himself was at last forced to admit this (*New York Times*, December 16, 1953). Fineberg's acceptance of the McCarthyite hoax is shocking enough in any public person, but more so in a "leader" in a Jewish "defense" organization. For, as even the Anti-Defamation League has now been forced to admit, "rampant anti-Semitism" (the ADL's phrase) was one of the motives for the groundless Monmouth charges.

"The Charge of Anti-Semitism"

Fineberg devotes one section to "The Charge of Anti-Semitism." He tries to make the reader believe that the "communists" were the sole and exclusive source of this charge. Nowhere in his book does Fineberg refer to any other source. This is a deliberate falsification by omission. The fact is that *this charge originated in the anti-communist Yiddish press*, as this writer has repeatedly pointed out and documented (*Jewish Life*, January and July, 1952.) Significantly, Fineberg does not refer to the *Fact Sheet on Anti-Semitism* in the case, issued by the Rosenberg Committee, with which Fineberg is undoubtedly acquainted, as he must also have been with the extensive quotations from the Yiddish press cited.

Anti-Semitism entered the case, basically, through the fact that Judge Irving Kaufman decreed the death sentence in order to appease the anti-Semites and that the case is exploited by anti-Semites. This was stated in one form or another in non-left and anti-communist Yiddish and English-Jewish sources. (For instance, Mr. Danzis in the *Jewish Day*, April 12,

1951—note the date!—the Yiddish poet H. Leivik, *Day*, April 16, 1951; also Rabbi Louis D. Gross, *Jewish Examiner*, March 14, 1952; Rabbi G. George Fox, *Chicago Sentinel*, February 14, 1952.) Finally, a memorandum dated June 19, 1950, from the files of the Greenglass attorneys summarizing an interview of the lawyers with Ruth Greenglass, states that she said that "The *Jewish Daily Forward*, which is certainly not a leftist newspaper, is very excited about the anti-Semitic issue and has offered a lawyer." It is a lie, therefore, that the Rosenberg Committee "injected the false issue of anti-Semitism into the case," as a statement by major Jewish organizations approvingly quoted by Fineberg (p. 69) asserts.

The book is in fact a collection of the lies about the Rosenberg case. "The Rosen-

bergs had long neglected any contact or connection with Jewish religious, educational or social organizations," says Fineberg (p. 69). This lie is significantly answered by the reproduction on page 25 of photostats of purchases by Ethel and Julius Rosenbergs of "Trees in Israel" for Julius' mother and father, Sophie and Harry Rosenberg, in 1948, two years before their arrest.

Certainly one of Fineberg's most stupid, blatant McCarthyite fabrications is his "explanation" of the tidal wave of protest on the case abroad after December 1952, especially in France and Italy but also in every part of the world. "The international Communist network," he says (p. 55), used the campaign "to diminish world-wide wrath about the Prague trials" (p. 57), which had ended on December



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November 20, 1953

Dear Rabbi:

Herewith is a brief description of THE ROSENBERG CASE -- FACT AND FICTION, a cloth bound book of 160 pages, which I have written on that subject. This book will be published in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and other languages. The Hebrew and Yiddish editions will be printed in Israel. The U. S. State Department has purchased copies of the book for all American Information Centers and has recommended it to all of our embassies.

The American edition will be \$2.50 per copy in all bookstores in the United States. The publication date is December 9th. An advance copy will be sent to you now if you wish, at \$1.75, (30% discount) by the American Jewish Committee. Kindly use the coupon at the foot of this page.

SAF/lhp

Sincerely yours,

S. Andhil Fineberg
Rabbi S. ANDHIL FINEBERG
Community Service Director

To the Community Service Department of the American Jewish Committee:

Kindly send me a copy of THE ROSENBERG CASE -- FACT AND FICTION (an Oceana Publication) by S. Andhil Fineberg. I enclose \$1.75 (check, money order or cash).

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Reproduction of a mimeographed letter sent out on official American Jewish Committee stationery to promote Fineberg's book on the Rosenbergs. Fineberg is director of the Committee's Community Service Department. This letter indicates close cooperation between Fineberg and the Committee with the State Department in international promotion of this book.

3, 1952. One has no need of this malicious, fantastic fabrication to explain the world-wide demand for clemency. For the international surge of activity was due, quite naturally and simply, to the fact that the Supreme Court had refused on October 12, 1952, to review the case; that on November 17, 1952, it rejected a second plea for a review; and that on November 21, 1952, Judge Irving Kaufman set January 12, 1953, as the date of execution.

Unproved "Proof"

As to Fineberg's attempt to prove that the guilt of the Rosenbergs was demonstrated and that they received a fair hearing in the American courts, it is not only superficial and inadequate, but also misleads by malicious, prejudiced and vague statements. It is impossible here to take up all the points of his bumbling reasoning. We shall discuss only a few.

The case stands or falls with the testimony of David and Ruth Greenglass, as the opinion of the Federal Court of Appeals stated: "Doubtless if that (Greenglass) testimony were disregarded, the conviction could not stand." Fineberg's defense of the Greenglass testimony is full of deception. One of the main contentions of the defense was that Greenglass had so much to gain from a "confession" that his whole testimony against the Rosenbergs is impugned and cannot be the basis for proving guilt. Fineberg tries to make it appear that Greenglass "in deep contrition revealed all that he knew" (p. 14). Fineberg carefully avoids giving the reader the real facts on this score: that the defense charged a "deal" between Greenglass and the government in return for a light sentence (he got 15 years in prison with opportunity for parole after five years) and his wife Ruth was not even indicted. Fineberg fails to tell the reader that Ruth Greenglass, whom he calls "only an intermediary" (p. 63) in the case, was named in the indictment as a "co-conspirator" but not as defendant.

"It remains true," said the eminent British attorney D. N. Pritt in his incisive analysis of the case, "that not one word of his (Greenglass') story against them (the Rosenbergs) was corroborated by anyone but his wife, nor by any circumstance or material object. It is my considered opinion that a conviction based on such evidence from such sources, without independent corroboration, cannot be regarded as reliable and should not be sustained. That not merely a conviction but a sentence of death should be based upon such evidence runs counter, in my opinion, to all normal standards of criminal procedure and of the

administration of justice." Fineberg disposes of Pritt's analysis in typical McCarthyite fashion. He red-baits this distinguished international lawyer, but says not one single word about Pritt's argument (pp. 136-137).

Fineberg makes a great deal of the fact that Ethel Rosenberg invoked the Fifth Amendment at a grand jury hearing for a long series of questions and then answered some of these same questions at the trial. This, Fineberg asserts, is proof positive that "Between the time of the grand jury hearing and the time of the trial Ethel Rosenberg must have decided to go right ahead and perjure herself completely" (p. 30). In McCarthyite fashion, Fineberg assumes that silence is evidence of guilt—a complete perversion of Anglo-Saxon law. Fineberg abused the Fifth Amendment by his reliance on its use as evidence of guilt. Just because this use of the Fifth Amendment may have impressed the jury as presumption of "guilt"—contrary to law—Fineberg adduces it as an argument to support "guilt."

The New Evidence

Fineberg is cavalier in his discussion of the new evidence produced after the conviction. The French newspaper *Combat* published some highly damaging memoranda obtained from the files of Greenglass' lawyer. (It is revealing of Fineberg's "scholarship" that he states that the memoranda were first published in a "French Communist newspaper" (p. 89)—while *Combat* is in fact anti-communist.) The new evidence casts doubt on Greenglass' credibility because in the memoranda he admits that there were discrepancies between what he told the FBI and his testimony on the witness stand. For instance, Greenglass said in one memorandum, "But this I'll tell you, I can honestly say the information I gave Gold may be not at all what I said in the statement." Also, another memorandum said that "As to her (Ruth Greenglass') husband, she stated that he had a 'tendency to hysteria.' At other times he would become delirious and once when he had the grippe he ran nude through the hallway, shrieking of 'elephants' and 'lead pants.' She had known him since he was ten years old. She said that he would say things that were so even if they were not." In the memoranda Greenglass owned up to a number of contradictions between his FBI statement and his actual recollection. It was also discovered that the government had a hold on Greenglass because he had stolen uranium from the government and had been interrogated by the FBI on the matter.

Fineberg calls all this new evidence

"relatively insignificant revelations" (p. 93). But is it "insignificant" that Greenglass admitted in the memorandum that "I didn't know who sent Gold to me" and then later named Julius Rosenberg as that person at the trial? Even Fineberg is forced to admit that, "If this material stood alone without a background of fact, it would tend to cast doubt on the reliability of David Greenglass" (p. 91). He asserts that "It was his credibility in regard to what he said in court that mattered" (p. 91). The distinguished nuclear scientist Dr. Harold G. Urey said in a letter to the *New York Times* after reading a transcript of the trial, "I found the Rosenberg testimony more believable than Greenglass." Despite the fact that two lives are at stake, Fineberg asserts that the Rosenbergs' "guilt" had been established in the face of the doubt cast on Greenglass' credibility by these documents and by his powerful motive to lie in order to save his own skin and to save his wife from prosecution altogether.

Did They Receive Justice?

Fineberg is at great pains to 'prove' that the Rosenbergs received the full measure of justice from the courts. He labors to detail the numerous court actions in connection with the case and in typical McCarthyite fashion drags in the irrelevancies of legal process in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. But the fact is that, with the exception of the original court and the federal court of appeals, no other court examined the evidence in the case. This applies particularly to the Supreme Court, which refused to review the case. Fineberg approvingly quotes: "The case came before the Supreme Court seven times" (p. vii). Yet, in his dissent to the refusal of a review, Justice Hugo Black wrote: "It is not amiss to point out that this (Supreme) Court has never reviewed this record and has never affirmed the fairness of the trial below. Without an affirmation of the fairness of the trial by the highest court in the land there may always be questions as to whether these executions were legally and rightfully carried out."

The most flagrant and obvious violation of due process in the case was the indecent, unprecedented haste with which the Supreme Court was recalled from vacation in order to set aside Justice William O. Douglas' stay of execution. It will be sufficient to cite from Justice Frankfurter's opinion on this question: "Neither Counsel nor the Court, in the time available, were able to go below the surface of the question raised by the application for a stay which Mr. Justice Douglas granted. More time was needed than was



The lie that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were not interested in Jewish affairs is refuted by these reproductions of certificates from the Jewish National Fund of Palestine. The certificates show that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg jointly presented a tree in Israel in memory of Julius' deceased father

Harry Rosenberg and a tree in honor of Julius' mother Sophie Rosenberg. Both certificates are dated 1948. These documents could be supplemented by many facts to demonstrate Jewish interests on the part of the Rosenbergs, despite many false statements to the contrary.

had for adequate consideration. . . . We have not had the basis for reaching conclusions and supporting them in opinions. Can it be said that there was time to go through the process by which cases are customarily denied here?"

In an extended study of the case in the *Columbia Law Review* (February 1954), the editors concluded, "Even assuming the validity of the decisions, there is still doubt as to the propriety of deciding them with the extreme haste exhibited by the Supreme Court." But with Fineberg, abject apologist for the State Department and the Department of Justice, these doubts about the Supreme Court actions carry no weight at all.

Rejection of clemency by President Eisenhower of course also has the complete approval of Fineberg. How much thought and how much prejudice went into this approval, we can judge from the following facts, Fineberg quotes with approval an editorial from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* which includes this statement: "President Eisenhower has the record before him and knows a good deal more about the case than any newspaper reader could possibly know." What *did* Eisenhower know about the case? Fineberg says (p. 27): "No one has claimed that they (the Rosenbergs) acted as spies because of monetary reward." Yet, it is a fact that President Eisenhower—no casual person in relation to the case, since he possessed power of life or death at the end—*did* think that the alleged espionage was done for money. We have incontestable proof of this—from his own mouth—and Fineberg must have known this, else he is a far

worse "scholar" than even appears in this book. On June 16, 1953, Bernard M. Loomer, dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, together with two Christian clergymen and one rabbi, visited President Eisenhower at the White House to plead for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Dr. Loomer published an account of this interview in *The Progressive* (Wisconsin) of September 1953. Dr. Loomer wrote: "These people (the Rosenbergs), said the President flatly, did what they did for money." This gives sufficient indication of how well the Department of Justice had misinformed the President. And it tells volumes about the reliability of Fineberg's book.

An "International Communist Plot"

Finally, there is the question of Fineberg's charge that the world campaign for clemency was a plot of what he calls the "international communist network." All the millions of non-communists and anti-communists who urgently and even passionately petitioned for clemency were "dupes" of the communists, "unsophisticated people," etc., etc. Such a statement can only have been made by the most prejudiced McCarthyite bigot. Consider Fineberg's colossal ignorance—or worse—when he talks about "the alleged American hysteria about Russia" (p. 73, emphasis added). French President Vincent Auriol, French writers, the Pope, cardinals and other church dignitaries from all over the world, labor leaders, the British and French chief rabbis and hundreds of clergymen and rabbis all over the world,

including Israel, 2400 United States churchmen and rabbis, practically the entire people of France and Italy as well as vast sections of Western Europe, Asia and Latin America—all of these called for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Fineberg would have us believe that they were innocent "dupes" of a "Communist plot"! In his review of Fineberg's book, Claude Julien wrote in *Le Monde* (French counterpart of the *New York Times*) on February 2: "From M. Edouard Herriot to Cardinal Feltrin, the French who intervened on behalf of the Rosenbergs are presented (by Fineberg) as marionettes of the Kremlin, as accomplices in the 'communist campaign,' as agents of the 'international communist network,' as propagandists for the 'great deception' launched by the 'reds.' The absurdity of this thesis would turn back on its authors if in the full length of a book of 160 pages the thesis did not lean on a certain number of arguments capable of troubling those who are ill-acquainted with the record of the case."

Mr. Julien has touched a sensitive nerve of this book. Fineberg has traded on the lack of public knowledge of the case and aims to confuse the public further. As the evidence brought forward in this review shows, Fineberg is a McCarthyite and Judenrat element in the Jewish community. He has with this book done a profound disservice to American justice and democracy and to the Jewish people. Just as the Rosenberg case itself was staged in order to promote the "cold war," so the book is designed to serve the same purpose.

CLARITY AND MURK ON WALTER-McCARRAN

By Abner Green

The Golden Door: The Irony of Our Immigration Policy, by J. Campbell Bruce. Random House, New York. \$3.75.

A California newspaperman, J. Campbell Bruce, has written a "popular" book about the Walter-McCarran law which demonstrates a clarity in dealing with the law and its provisions but a dangerous confusion in dealing with the background and purposes of the law.

Mr. Bruce describes the Walter-McCarran law as follows: "Into this 302-page omnibus bill Congress packed all the hypocrisy, the malevolence, the arrogance, the racial resentments of earlier laws and earlier moods." He condemns the Immigration and Naturalization Service with statements like, "Due process has long been overdue in the operations of the Immigration Service" and "Countless instances of almost incredible cruelty and injustice strain the history of our Immigration Service."

Mr. Bruce speaks out unequivocally against the Walter-McCarran law. In this, he is one with the overwhelming majority of the American people, who oppose the law and insist on its repeal or revision. He expresses his position succinctly in the following statement: "We need an immi-

gration law that is not written in fear, nor rooted in racial discrimination. And those who administer the law need a change of attitude toward the immigrant and the visitor, an attitude that is not cynical, malevolent and beyond all regard for due process."

The Golden Door indicates the breadth and vitality of the fight against the Walter-McCarran law. Published almost two years after passage of the law, the book speaks for a sector of the anti-Walter-McCarran law front which finds itself a part of the mass people's movement in a limited and qualified manner. This reflects a strength in the growth of this people's movement, which is composed of many varied interests whose sole agreement is opposition to the Walter-McCarran law. Unfortunately, Mr. Bruce brings to this loosely-knit coalition of people's forces a political approach that can result in a confusion that would undermine and weaken the fight against the Walter-McCarran law.

Mr. Bruce presents graphically and heatedly the cases of many non-citizens victimized by the provisions of the Walter-McCarran law. He voices a deep anger at the deportations, exclusions and frame-ups of non-citizens. And he is horrified mainly at the fact that these countless

non-citizens he discusses are all anti-communists! Mr. Bruce sees the effect of the McCarthyite drive without apparently being able to understand its significance. The main point of *The Golden Door* appears to be that the Walter-McCarran law would be all right if it did not hurt anti-communists but would be used only against communists and so-called fellow-travelers.

The author ignores the clearly-demonstrated lesson of world and American history that attacks on the rights of communists undermine and destroy the rights of all. The current deportation hysteria started in 1946 with an attack on the rights of non-citizens who were past or present members of the Communist Party and was developed gradually over the years until we see today the threatened total destruction of all liberties for 3,000,000 non-citizens in the United States and the rights of 11,000,000 naturalized American citizens.

The fight to repeal the Walter-McCarran law, to be successful, must eventually succeed in re-establishing the democratic rights and liberties of non-citizens in the United States. This includes the right to

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hold and exercise political beliefs and to participate in the political life of the country. Otherwise, the basis for future deportation drives and future Walter-McCarran laws would remain to plague the American people.

Mr. Bruce's political bias prevents him from portraying any part of the vicious police-state aspects of the Walter-McCarran law. No mention is to be found in *The Golden Door* of the 350 non-citizens, life-time residents of the United States, arrested in deportation proceedings on political grounds and threatened with life-time separation from their families and friends. No mention is found of the 50 naturalized American citizens threatened with revocation of their American citizenship on political grounds. No mention is found of the 25 non-citizens who have been held without bail upwards of six months each during the past two years.

Mr. Bruce fails completely to grasp the real viciousness of the law's police-state provisions of supervisory parole for non-citizens ordered deported, self-deportation and others. This failure flows from Mr. Bruce's inability to understand, because of his political bias, that the entire Walter-McCarran law structure of repression and discrimination is based on the un-American premise that non-citizens have no political rights.

The author's political bias leads him into speculations that raise serious questions as to his honesty. He has obviously read a great deal of material issued by many sources discussing the law. His statement, therefore, that "the Communists heartily favor this law," is clearly dishonest. He speculates further—and it is pure speculation unsupported by facts—that, "the more blatantly the Reds oppose, the more tenaciously the act's sponsors cling to it. For such is the devious party line: discredit the thing you want, support the thing you don't want. This has been the traceable pattern over the years."

"*The Golden Door*" performs a disservice insofar as it would disorient and confuse the people movement against the Walter-McCarran law. Since 1952, this people's movement has maintained consistently as its principal objective the repeal or revision of the Walter-McCarran law. The red-baiting and divisive attacks have come principally from Senator Pat McCarran, Rep. Francis E. Walter and the Justice Department. The many varied forces in the coalition movement have refused to weaken their fight by submitting to the McCarthyite red-baiting. This coalition movement is today engaged in seeking to win public hearings for the Lehman-Celler bill, which provides for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran law. Mr. Bruce's attempt to disorganize the

fight against the Walter-McCarran law will fail. The fight against the Walter-McCarran law will grow as a part of the people's fight against McCarthyism and tascism in the United States. One of the valid statements in *The Golden Door* is not the author's but a quotation from Solo-

mon: "This too shall pass." But not of its own accord; it must be stamped out, as were all others, by action of the people.

(Abner Green is executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.)

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SINGING YOUTH AND A PREMIERE

By Nathaniel Buchwald

A great deal of earnest effort was put into the third annual concert of the Jewish Young Folksingers, which was presented with dash and verve at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on May 22. Serious results were achieved in the artistic-musical as well as in the social-cultural sense. The very fact that such a chorus was created and has already established itself, is really an important attainment and it is further proof that our youth is a serious, creative cultural force. All the leaders of the Jewish Young Folksingers are young. Of the five directors who arranged the production only one, Robert de Cormier, is a musician with years of experience. The others—Madeleine Simon, Hal Coulter, Guy Carawan and Harvey Shreibman—are young shoots of our cultural gardens.

Both in the program and in its execution there was a healthy and vital blending of tradition and innovation—a seeking for new paths, new forms of expression. Our singing youth showed that it knows how to learn from its elders and that it has something itself to teach the elders.

There was a singular magic in the way our young people accepted these traditional Jewish folksongs and made them their own. You might wonder—what does a boy or girl of the Bronx know about *Dire gelt, bozhe moi, dire gelt* (the rent; my God, the rent!)? And what did the Negro girl, a neighbor and schoolmate of the young Jewish folksingers, have to do with *Yomele, Yomele, zing mir a lidele* (Yomele, Yomele, sing me a song)? But how true, how natural, how intimately personal did these old traditional Jewish folksongs sound on the lips and in the spirit of the Jewish Young Folksingers, plus the Negro folksingers!

I could not take my eyes off the Negro girl in the center of the stage or the Negro boy on the right of the chorus. They did not have to look at a paper for the words. With fervor and complete devotion they sang the Jewish words of *Dire Gelt* and *Hoib Oif*. It was the same complete devotion, the same fervent, cultural enthusiasm with which our Bronx and Brooklyn Jewish boys and girls sang the Negro spirituals or the American folksongs of work and want. The young singers were no less moved by the folksongs of other peoples: a Polish love song,

a Puerto Rican song, a song of the Rumanian people. And how naturally the Israel song fit into this symphony of people's friendship which the chorus carried through with so much fire and spirit!

American folksongs of "toil and want"—Negro and others—rounded out this symphony of folk melodies. With that alone the young Jewish chorus pointed a way for the adult Jewish folk choruses. In the matter of putting together a balanced program the veterans of the progressive music world have something to learn from the "kids."

We should also take note of the originality of the young directors in their interpretation of the familiar folksongs.

But the young directors did not always display the required familiarity with the material which they presented. Madeleine Simon was too superficial in her interpretation of the Jewish folksongs; Harvey Shreibman, on the other hand, was too conventional and not individual enough in his "standard" interpretation of *Hoib Oif* and *S'falt a Shney*; a regrettable error was committed by the leadership of the chorus when it permitted to present *Zog Nit Keynmol* in an "arrangement" with musical ornamentation of dubious quality. *Zog Nit Keynmol* has become a Jewish hymn (as is acknowledged in the program notes) and it is not permissible to present this hymn as an ordinary song with musical embellishments. The simple, unembellished melody has become traditional and is obligatory.

On the other hand, the same young directors showed a delightful freshness, a creative drive and a promise of great accomplishment in the future.

And now we come to an item which some regard as the very essence of the program: the new musical composition, *Sholom Aleichem Suite*, by the young yet very mature composer Serge Hovey. It is outside our competence to appraise Serge Hovey's work. We can only report that the *Sholom Aleichem Suite* made a tremendous impression on the audience and on the writer of these lines. It should also be reported that after the concert, musicians were speaking with much respect about the composition. And the audience could not shake off its exalted enchantment. Whether they were connoisseurs or not, the listeners had the feeling that

they had been present at an important premiere and that they were witnesses to an important cultural event.

The *Sholom Aleichem Suite* is based Jewish motifs, folk and popular. It is not a choral work, the chorus here being used only as an auxiliary element. The suite is based on the incidental music which the same composer, together with conductor Bob de Cormier, wrote for the theatrical production, *The World of Sholom Aleichem*. The new composition, however, is richer in thematic material and musical form. It stands on its own feet and is not tied to the theater-piece. Musicians say there is a great deal of imagination inventiveness and professional competence in the work—in the orchestration and in the development of the musical themes. Those who are not versed in the musical p's and q's were carried away and bewitched by the thematic material itself. Such folksongs as *Ut axoy neyt a shneider* (This way sews a tailor) or *Dorn, dorn, ibern vasserl* (yonder, yonder, beyond the stream), especially when they are sung competently cannot but enchant the Jewish listener. The choral task in the suite fell mainly to a selected group of singers with splendid voices, splendidly coached. This is Bob deCormier's "Choral Workshop." With such a group of singers, under the magic baton of such a fine musician, Serge Hovey's suite sparkled like a multi-faceted diamond.

Yet the enthusiastic opinion of many of the listeners was tinged with doubts. It seemed that the chorus had been dragged into a composition which in its essence is not at all choral. The Yiddish lyrics "stuck out" of the suite and were in no way organically integrated with the orchestral sections. The composer and the sensitive conductor (de Cormier) did not always understand the nature of the thematic material. Thus, the playfully satiric folksong, *Vie Axoy Trinkt der Keyser Tay* (How does the tsar drink tea), was interpreted as a tempestuously dramatic folk protest. Also, the song *Din Torah Mit Gott*, was dragged in without rhyme or reason and the rendition of this particular song was pretty bad. On the other hand, we find in the composition no revolutionary Jewish workers' songs, which were certainly in the spirit of the Sholom Aleichem epoch.

But all in all, one felt that this was the work of a fine, sensitive musician who displayed a great deal of imagination and experimentation. The *Sholom Aleichem Suite* was a fitting finale to an evening of high inspiration. The Jewish Young Folksingers honestly earned the ovations of the audience, not only because they are young, but mainly because they are bold and creative.

Letters from Readers

From the Rosenberg-Sobell Comm.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We wish to thank the staff of JEWISH LIFE for the very excellent Rosenberg Anniversary Issue published this month (June). Among other things, it serves to remind us that your magazine was among the first periodicals to bring enlightenment and to urge action in the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

We were particularly pleased that your article asked not only for remembrance, but for positive acts on behalf of Morton Sobell.

Once again, our appreciation for your understanding and courage.

COMM. TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR
MORTON SOBELL IN THE RO-
SENBERG CASE

JOSEPH BRAININ
DAVE ALMAN

For the Committee

New York City

A Letter to Dore Schary

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I thought you and your readers might be interested in the following letter which I sent on May 30 to Dore Schary, the movie executive.

Dear Mr. Schary:

My wife and I attended the services at the First Unitarian Church this morning and we heard the report of the Minister Stephen H. Fritchman, on the National Conclave at Boston just ended. We learned that Corliss Lamont is lecturing there tonight on a very pertinent subject: "Co-Existence or Co-Destruction." We also learned that his address under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union has been cancelled due to your efforts since your recent appointment to the Board.

Knowing you as a liberal during and following the World War Two days, and knowing something about your background, I was at first dismayed at hearing of your action. But after meditating for a moment, I began to realize that this is the role played by most liberals when they advance in rank and position, particularly when the going gets rough, as in this fear-ridden era of intimidation and witch-hunting.

Now you are perfectly respectable, Mr. Schary; now that you have demonstrated

your allegiance to the High and Mighty, you have achieved absolution from your former sins as a liberal. You should go far as an obedient servant of the present Rulers of America.

As a fellow Jew, I have the right to remind you of the similar behavior of prominent Jews in Germany in the early days of the ascendancy of Hitler and the nazis. Jews like you have learned nothing from the horrible and costly example of Germany. And the irony of it all is that the son of a poor Jew in America rises to the position where he dominates a meeting to prevent a great American, the son of a partner of the House of Morgan, from sounding out against War and Fascism, and advocating in its stead Co-Existence at this late and vital hour, when humanity in general, and the Jew in particular, are in jeopardy of total annihilation.

I feel sorry for you, Mr. Schary, and for all men of your ilk. Your souls are not your own. You will live to see and regret the error and the impending tragedy of your ways.

Los Angeles

H. I. LEWIS

In Memoriam: Alfred Girard

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Friends in San Francisco on June 1 mourned the death of Alfred Girard, who was killed in a Memorial weekend auto accident near Bend, Ore. The Girard family, including two of the three children, Ilana, ten, and Byron, eight, were visiting relatives when their car skidded off a rain-slicked road. The children were not hurt and Girard's wife Bertha was injured.

Girard was well known for his leading work in the San Francisco Kindershule, a progressive Jewish Sunday school, where he was head instructor. He was a lecturer on Jewish history at the California Labor School and at the time of his death was engaged in organizing a celebration of 300 years of Jewish history.

San Francisco

T. C.

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Check enclosed. "Sunnyland" will enjoy Alice—but will she have time to write? Her stories and articles can't be sacrificed to expediency—just because she's such a good organizing and fund-raising force.

I suspect that's what smothered the writing for years until recently.

I know you'd have a wonderful section for kids and teen-agers if you had more funds, no need to suggest it. Will try to get at least one sub. Couldn't be without the magazine.

Montrose, N. Y.

B. V.

Editorial note: As you will read in "Observation Post," a last minute severe illness prevented Alice from going to "Sunnyland" after all. We're very happy about her recovery from a major operation. But she has fine writing plans now which will be realized in these pages from time to time.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I am enclosing a check for \$2.50 for a subscription.

I've been reading JEWISH LIFE for some time now and know of no other Jewish publication in magazine form that gives the real story of developments in our national life and on the international scene, as they affect the people generally and the Jewish community specifically.

Please start my sub as soon as possible.

F. T. S.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I'm sorry I couldn't make some kind of a contribution with my renewal but I'm sure you understand how hard it is for us in Detroit.

My first opportunity to scrape up something, I'll send it right on. Continue your fine magazine and never, never give up.

K. B.

Highland Park, Mich.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your letter of March 4, addressed to "Dear Ex-Subscriber," has been on my desk for a long time.

I have not subscribed again due to not having the time to read all of the liberal literature (or shall I say progressive) that I would like to read. I am a farmer and busy a good share of the day at manual work and I get pretty tired by night. Besides, I'm nearly 77 years old.

However, I agree with your ideas 100 per cent. I am not a Jew but the Jews have my sympathy. For a while I gave the magazine to a Jewish student. Now Uncle Sam has him in the service. I would gladly pay for his subscription if he dared receive it.

If you have some student who would like to receive the magazine and cannot afford to pay for a subscription, I will pay for it. I think the magazine should have a wide reading.

Albany, Oregon

B. D. J.

OBSERVATION POST

Bad Break—OK Now

A day before she was to fly to Los Angeles for JEWISH LIFE, Alice Citron was ordered to the hospital for an emergency operation. Thus the trip to Sunnyland did not materialize for Alice, but what is most important, we are happy to announce that Alice is out of the hospital and well on her way to recovery.

At a day's notice Business Manager Lester Blickstein had to pack his bags, prepare notes for a number of lectures which had been scheduled for Alice and take to the air for the West Coast. This demonstrates the versatility of the staff (this is modesty?). Joking aside, a tour to the West Coast is an exacting and rewarding experience because the Jewish Life Committee in L.A. arranges a schedule which demands versatility and preparation. You may be sure that Lester filled the bill as he did in 1953 despite the fact that he didn't know he was going only two days before he boarded the plane.

They Prevent Blackout

Lester and the L. A. Committee unwittingly played a role in a tense little drama which unfolded in the editorial chambers of your magazine. Three of us (Harap, Schappes and your columnist) were assembled to discuss the rather dour situation of the printer's refusal to go ahead with the July issue unless we came across with \$700 by the end of the week. Loan sources had been exhausted, the fund drive had fallen far short of the mark, and the money in the bank was a shadow above zero. In hushed tones (not typical of our editorial board) suggestions were discussed to break the deadlock. It was decided to send wires to all Jewish Life committees asking that they beg, borrow or raise money for immediate transmittal. Five minutes after the wires were dispatched a special delivery letter came in from L. A. with a check for \$700. The day was saved (but only *that* day, for a big debt still hangs over our heads) and the board was able to go about discussing the contents of the coming issues without the heavy mist of uncertainty in the air. Thus far Detroit and Miami Beach have responded.

Think for a moment, however, that this issue would probably not have appeared if it weren't for the Jack Dalton intercession of the L. A. Committee. Think too of the fact that we are not out of the

woods and that emergency action is required by our committees, readers and friends if the August and following issues are to appear.

Compliments and Cash

While we are writing these words, our desk is covered with letters praising the magazine. Heartfelt appreciation is expressed for the recent issues and for the all-around job the mag is doing. Some of them are found in the "Letters" column. And this we feel is nothing compared to the reaction we are confident will come when the subsequent issues see the light. Especially can we venture a guess that there will be tremendous enthusiasm for the coming November issue, which will be dedicated to the 300th Anniversary of Jewish settlement in the United States. This will also be the 8th Anniversary issue of the magazine. But frankly, all our plans for coming issues can come to nought unless YOU help the magazine through contributions, solicitation of subscriptions, parties and other money-making ventures. We call upon our readers to make the summertime *Jewish Lifetime*. It's a good time to get that sub from the friend in the country or camp and to raise the cash that must accompany the compliments if the mag is to live. Especially do we urge all our readers and friends to become "sustainers" by pledging to send the maximum possible every month—from a dollar up.

Hail Archie!

JEWISH LIFE extends birthday greetings to its ace subscription and circulation partisan on the Philadelphia committee: Archie Coleman. His sixtieth birthday was celebrated at a party given by the Jewish Life Committee on June 18. Archie has been mainly responsible for the recent increase in circulation in Philly. He is one of those irrepressible hard-working brothers whose energy belies his 60 years. JEWISH LIFE is his constant companion and whether he speaks to an individual or organization he introduces his companion. We salute Archie Coleman!

Tercentenary Data

Plans and activities are shifting to high gear for the celebration of 300 years of Jewish Life in the United States. . . . In a week after this writing a New York

area preliminary conference on the Tercentenary will be held at the Capitol Hotel. . . . This conference will precede a larger conference in the fall and establish the basis for stimulating the celebration in labor, youth, fraternal, women's and cultural organizations. . . . The Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A., which sponsors the conference, has already published the first issue (June) of its Bulletin under the editorship of J. M. Budish. . . . It is published in Yiddish and English; all organizations and interested individuals should write for copies at the committee's address, 189 Second Avenue, New York City. . . . The climax of the committee's activity will be a Grand Celebration of 300 Years in Carnegie Hall on Saturday Evening, October 16, 1954. . . . All organizations should reserve that date and plan to make this celebration their event by selling tickets to their members and friends. . . . Morris U. Schappes, whose series on 300 Years in JEWISH LIFE is a major contribution to the Tercentenary celebration, has appeared in a number of scholarly historical journals recently. In the light of the Tercentenary our readers may be interested in these reviews: In *New York History* (quarterly journal of the New York State Historical Association), reviews of David de Sola Pool's *Portraits Etched in Stone*, July 1953; Hannah London's *Miniatures of Early American Jews*, January 1954; Jeanette W. Rosenbaum's *Myer Myers, Goldsmith, 1723-1795*, April 1954; and Stuart E. Rosenberg's *The Jewish Community in Rochester, 1843-1925*, July 1954; also a review of Jacob Rader Marcus' *Early American Jewry*, in *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, October 1953.

Appreciation Appreciated

The response to the June Rosenberg-Sobell issue of JEWISH LIFE has been warmly articulated by many readers. Especially gratifying has been the appreciation expressed by many people who were and are active on the Rosenberg-Sobell Committees throughout the land. They felt the issue was a fitting tribute to the martyred Rosenbergs and a strong call for action to secure justice for Morton Sobell. The powerful "Rosenberg Cantata" by Michael Gold and the three sonnets by Louiș Aragon have already been publicly read in many places and may well become classical expressions of the anger of the peoples of the world against the McCarthyite murder of the Rosenbergs and of the deep-hearted mass outcry for vindication of the Rosenbergs and for justice for Sobell. The June issue should reach thousands of new readers.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Jack B. Tenney, a California state senator, formerly that state's witch-hunter No. 1 when he was head of the state un-American Committee, known as a "junior McCarthy" and a close ally of fascist Gerald L. K. Smith, ran in the California primary for Republican renomination to the State Senate. He indulged in anti-Semitism in his campaign on the radio, attacking "organized Jewry" and especially the Anti-Defamation League. When the votes were counted early in June, Tenney had lost by 2-1 to Mrs. Mildred Younger, a Warren Republican.

No bar was raised by the McCarran-Walter act, which had excluded so many eminent scientists, scholars and artists for having been supporters of democracy, to the entry of Max Schmeling for a visit in mid-May. Schmeling, former heavyweight boxing champion, was knocked out in the first round by Joe Louis in 1938, much to the chagrin of Hitler. Schmeling was a nazi.

The Anti-Defamation League was named in mid-May in a report by Norman Dodd, research director of the Special House Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, as promoting "subversive" indoctrination of school children. This "investigation" is the latest congressional inquisition.

A young Jewish engineer, a naval veteran working for a company doing confidential work for the Navy, has been suspended as a "security risk" because he served as an officer in 1947 on a ship bringing refugees and arms to Palestine.

On the Jimerow front. . . . Four Negroes in Alabama have filed suit in a federal court on May 6 against the Bullock County Board of Registers because they were refused registration to vote. . . . The partly-built home of a Negro in a white section of Birmingham, Ala., was burned by racists in mid-May. . . . The house of a Negro family in Louisville, Ky., in a white section had rocks thrown at it, shots fired at it and a cross burnt on an adjacent empty lot in May.

EUROPE

Thousands of Jews and non-Jews attended a ceremony in Warsaw at the monument to the Ghetto heroes on the 11th anniversary of the uprising on April 19. There were present hundreds of delegates from every Jewish community in

Poland, representatives of the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Peasant Party and other political groups. A group of Polish officers served as honor guard. A meeting of 1500 was held at the hall of the Polish Railway Workers Union later in the day under the auspices of the Social and Cultural Union of Jews in Poland.

News of Soviet Jews. . . . A broadcast from Birtbidjan monitored in London hailed the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region. The "ardor of full-blooded life" flourished in the Region, said the announcer. . . . It is significant that a Jewish woman, Rachel Moisseyeva, is the one positive and admirable character in one of the most popular movies produced in the Soviet Union in 1953, *The Mistress*, from a play by Maxim Gorky. The movie is currently being shown in the United States.

Three of the four top ranking officials confirmed at the Hungarian Communist Party meeting on May 31, are Jews. First is Matyas Rakosi. A Reuters dispatch in the *New York Times* of June 1 says that "Rumor has 'purged' Mr. Rakosi, a 62-year-old Jew, more than any other European Communist leader." Second is a non-Jew, Imre Nagy; third is Ernoe Geroe and fourth is Gen. Mihaly Farkas.

"Bavaria Is Called a Haven of Fascists" was the headline on a *New York Times* story (June 4) which reported charges by Zachariah Shuster, European director of the American Jewish Committee, that pro-fascist Central European and Russian emigre organizations were operating in West Germany. Shuster said that most of the pro-fascist groups "in their native lands were fascist and pro-nazi in outlook." These groups, he said, were well-financed and carried out publishing in many languages.

The Czech radio repeated by request several times in April a drama, *The Rosenbergs*, by the German playwright Maximilian Scheer. The play is based on the court record of the trial and subsequent events.

ISRAEL

A May Day rally heard Dr. Moshé Sneh, head of the Left Wing Socialists, charge that Menachem Beigin and Ben-Gurion are "dragging Israel into attacking its neighbors." He said that this might cause the destruction of Israel since "Washington and London would seize the opportunity of liquidating the State."

A three-day strike of all Israel doctors employed by the government and national institutions took place from May 18-21. Three thousand doctors in private practice also went out on a sympathy strike. The doctors demand a raise in their pay, which averages 240 Israel pounds (\$133) a month, and struck at a refusal to negotiate. The Israel Medical Association maintained a skeleton medical crew working during the walkout. The Histadrut, which disapproved of the strike, threatened to "break" the doctors' organization. A threat of a longer strike was made if demands are not met.

The exodus of Rumania Jews from Israel back to their home countries continues. Early in May, 50 more embarked from Haifa for Rumania. . . . A Rumanian trade delegation has arrived in Israel to negotiate a trade agreement.

An Israeli trade delegation left for Poland late in May to negotiate a trade agreement. Citrus fruits will be offered in exchange for Polish barley, sugar and lumber for boxes.

A Congress of the World Sephardic Federation was held in Jerusalem in mid-May. It was brought out at the meetings that there was discrimination against Sephardic Jews (that is, those coming from around the Mediterranean and the Orient) in Israel. It was pointed out that, although about 40 per cent of the Israeli population is Sephardic, only six of the 120 Knesset deputies come from this group.

About 4,000 Immigrants entered Israel in the six months ending March 1954, but 3,000 left the country in the same period.

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