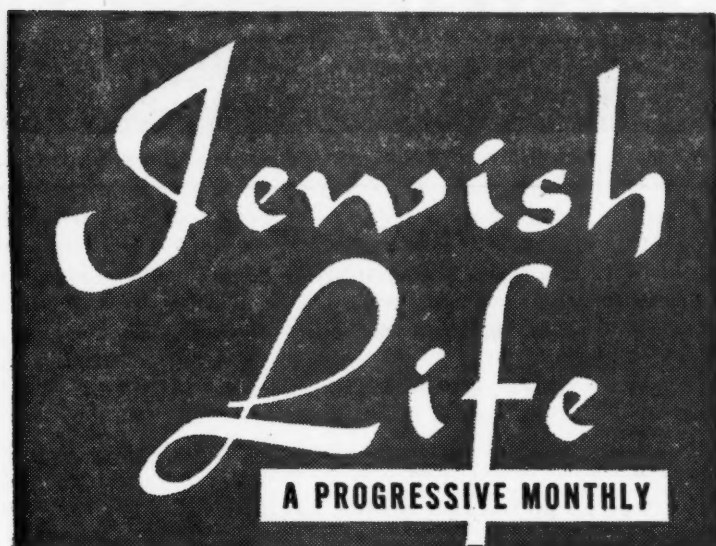


Stories of Three Hundred Years: VII



**BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH
TRADE UNIONISM**

by Morris U. Schappes

SEPTEMBER 1954 • 25¢

THE MENACE OF A REARMED GERMANY

by Jeremiah Lesser

THE CORE OF ANTI-McCARTHYISM

by Louis Harap

McCARTHY AND MALMEDY *by Charles R. Allen, Jr.*

OUR CHILDREN AND JEWISH SCHOOLS *by Sam Pevzner*

WE WERE ALWAYS PART OF AMERICA *Declaration of Committee for
300th Anniversary of Jews in USA*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY) fought a valiant battle in July in the Judiciary Committee against the Brownell bill to grant "immunity" to witnesses, removing the protection of the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination. He also, together with Rep. Herman B. Eberharter, on August 4, blocked a bill to extend to General Douglas MacArthur the "profound gratitude and abiding appreciation" of Congress. . . . Among the 55 votes in the House against this "immunity" bill that would destroy the Fifth Amendment were those of seven Jewish congressmen: Democrats Celler (NY), Chudoff (Pa.), Fine (NY), Dollinger (NY), Klein (NY), Multer (NY), and Republican Javits (NY). . . . Jewish War Veterans National Commander Harry T. Madison early in July called on the Associated Press to correct its error in reporting that the JWV had been a sponsoring organization of the dinner for McCarthy's ex-counsel Roy Cohn on July 28. "The error," wrote Madison, "has done our organization incalculable harm." He called attention to the "JWV's long and consistent stand against McCarthyism and its opposition to Senator McCarthy." . . . Mrs. Agnes Meyer, wife of the publisher of the Washington Post and Times Herald, told the National Education convention early in July that Senator McCarthy and his supporters are "creating the same divisions and rivalries among our people on which Hitler thrived, and some of them are just as anti-Semitic. . . . The country is approaching the same condition of intellectual sabotage, disorder, frustration and fear that Hitler created in Germany to establish himself as dictator."

After Ben Gold was convicted recently of falsely swearing to a non-communist Taft-Hartley affidavit, the National Labor Relations Board cut the Fur Union from its NLRB status. This was overturned on July 20 when Judge Edward Tamm of the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia ordered the NLRB to grant full compliance status to the Fur Union.

Notes on anti-Semitism . . . An editorial in *The Nation* (July 24) condemned the current witch-hunt in Miami, stating that it has "unmistakable overtones of anti-Semitism." In an article on the Miami situation in *The Nation* of August (Continued on page 32)

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL. VIII, No. 11 (95)

SEPTEMBER, 1954

EDITORIAL BOARD

LOUIS HARAP, *Managing Editor*
ALICE CITRON SAM PEVZNER MORRIS U. SCHAPPES
LESTER BLICKSTEIN, *Business Manager*

CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
YOU MUST HELP; ISRAEL AND THE SUEZ PACT; THE PEOPLE DEMAND CENSURE	3
SEVEN-LEAGUE STRIDE TOWARD FASCISM; VITO MARCANTONIO	4
MENACE OF A REARMED GERMANY by <i>Jeremiah Lesser</i>	5
DECLARATION OF COMMITTEE FOR THE 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN USA: WE WERE ALWAYS PART OF AMERICA	7
PUSH BOYS, <i>painting by Philip Reisman</i>	8
THE CORE OF ANTI-McCARTHYISM by <i>Louis Harap</i>	10
POETRY FOR AMNESTY by <i>Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein</i>	12
McCARTHY AND MALMEDY by <i>Charles R. Allen, Jr.</i>	13
ROSH HASHONA: DAY OF JUDGMENT by <i>Kalman Marmor</i>	17
OUR CHILDREN AND JEWISH SCHOOLS by <i>Sam Pevzner</i>	18
BALLAD FOR THE GOOD BISHOP, a poem by <i>Max Rosenfeld</i>	20
STORIES OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS: VII, THE 1880's—BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH TRADE UNIONISM by <i>Morris U. Schappes</i>	21
ARNOLD ZWIG AND THE RUMOR MILL by <i>Dr. Leo Katz (Vienna)</i>	25
ISRAEL AND ASIAN LIBERATION by <i>Dr. Moshe Sneh (Tel Aviv)</i>	26
BOOK REVIEW: A NOVEL OF NEGRO REALITY by <i>Frank Cantor</i>	27
LETTERS FROM READERS by <i>N. K., Alice Citron and Morris U. Schappes</i>	28
OBSERVATION POST by <i>Sam Pevzner</i>	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by <i>Louis Harap</i>	32

JEWISH LIFE, September, 1954, Vol. VIII, No. 11 (95). Published monthly by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y., WATKINS 4-5740-1. Single copies 25 cents. Subscription \$2.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$3.00 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1954 by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc. 209

Make your preparations now to spread the
SPECIAL TERCENTENARY ISSUE (NOVEMBER)

This will also be our 8th Anniversary Number

The special issue
will be devoted to prose and poetry
on 300 years of Jewish life in the USA

Special rates for bundles. Send in your orders now!

Write to: JEWISH LIFE, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

YOU MUST HELP

AS OUR readers know, the August issue was delayed a week. We had to scurry about to pay the printer before he would release the issue. As we write this, we don't know if the September issue will appear. If it does, you—and you only—will have made it possible. The truth is that our magazine is in the throes of the most serious financial crisis of its entire existence. We have crucially important issues coming up—an election issue in October and a Tercentenary issue in November. *But unless you send us contributions immediately, we just don't know if these issues will appear.* So please don't wait—sit down now and send us a contribution right away!

If you don't respond in sufficient numbers, there will be no JEWISH LIFE. This *can* happen. It *will* happen unless you come across immediately. We know you won't fail us.

ISRAEL AND THE SUEZ PACT

THE danger of a "second round" of the war against Israel is real. Its foundation is the sending of arms by Washington to the reactionary Arab leaders in Iraq and, more recently, in Egypt.

The ending of the British occupation of the Suez Canal zone can only be welcomed by all who believe in national independence and sovereignty. However, the circumstances under which this agreement was concluded on July 27 do not bode well for the masses in Egypt or Israel or the whole Middle Eastern area. For Washington exploited the situation to advance its own purposes in the Middle East: to supplant British by Washington domination of the area and to arm the area in preparation for an anti-Soviet war. In line with these aims, Washington promised the reactionary Nasser dictatorship grants of arms and technical military "aid" in building up an anti-Soviet military force.

But the Nasser dictatorship has its own ideas. Representatives of the Nasser government were quick to let the world know them. While not directly saying so, they know, as indeed all the peoples of the Middle East know, that the Soviet Union is no "menace" to the area. Premier Nasser considers Israel as Egypt's "Enemy Number One," as he said recently. It is clear that Nasser intends to exploit the Suez military base and the arms and military equipment supplied by Washington against Israel.

No commitments regarding Israel were in fact received by Washington as a condition for the arms promised to Egypt. A dispatch from Cairo in the *New York Times* (August 3) acknowledged that an official Egyptian source stated "that Mr. [Jefferson] Caffrey [United States ambassador to Egypt] . . . had stopped far short of settling agreement to make peace with Israel as a price for aid."

The quality of Washington's desire for peace can be

judged from the fact that this arms agreement was made with a government whose policy, as expressed by one of its members, Saleh Salem, on July 2, provides that the Palestine problem "will not be solved except by force."

The new threats of war in the Middle East from the agreements first to send arms to Iraq and more recently to arm the Egyptian dictators to the teeth makes ever more clear the primary source of that danger. It stems from the Washington obsession with erecting a global anti-Soviet military offensive force and Washington's frantic efforts to build up such a force in the Middle East. The danger to the peace of the Middle East has become so acute that the Democratic Party's House minority whip, Rep. John McCormack, said on the floor of the House early in August that Dulles' policy of arming Iraq and other Arab states was making "hopes for peace become dimmer in the area." We are "giving our weapons to those who boast publicly of their intention of destroying, not aggressors, but a peace-loving neighbor."

Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharett correctly emphasized in his speech to the Knesset following the signing of the Suez agreement that the apprehension of Israel over this agreement does not issue from the fact that Egypt has won its independence from Britain. The fear comes rather from the quick arming of Egypt by Washington and the open assumption by the Egyptian regime of a more belligerent attitude toward Israel as a result of the agreement. Sharett rightly put the Israeli people on the alert. But the solution does not lie in Washington's supplying Israel with arms, but rather in a change in Washington policy. Outstanding differences between Israel and the Arab countries, between Washington and the Socialist countries, must be settled by negotiations instead of preparing for war. The latter policy is a threat to the common people of the whole Middle East, Jews and Arabs. We cannot agree with the *California Jewish Voice* in its editorial (June 25), that "The Arabs do not want peace." The Arab masses do not want war anymore than the people of Israel or of any other country. It is rather the Arab reactionary leaders who seek war with Israel. But we agree with the conclusion of that editorial, which states: "A State Department that arms such entities is then a provoker of war, not a defender of peace."

It is the job of the American people, and of the Jews who are understandably concerned for the peril to peace for Israel, to change this war-provoking policy of the Eisenhower administration.

THE PEOPLE DEMAND CENSURE

THE most significant feature of the Senate committee investigation into the proposal to censure Senator

Joseph McCarthy was that it was voted. There are few men in the Senate with Senator Ralph E. Flanders' determination in relation to McCarthy. Flanders' integrity in this connection made him tenacious in pursuing his motion to get Senate censure of the would-be Fuehrer from Wisconsin. There was every indication that the Senate would evade the issue altogether. Much as the senators wanted to table this motion, they were deterred by one big fact—the American people would not brook this evasion and would let the politicians know about it in the coming elections. Republican Majority Leader William F. Knowland sensed this fact and consequently permitted the censure vote to be debated for three days despite the last minute rush of the Senate. The alternative to evasion was to try to defer and if possible to distribute responsibility for a vote on McCarthy. So a committee that was not needed because the facts about McCarthy's disreputable, fascist behavior were plain as the nose on his face, was used as an alternative to total evasion. The issue could not be dodged completely because the people wouldn't stand for it.

The same was true of the next to the last investigation, the Army-McCarthy affair. In this instance also the ruling elements in the country, both Republican and Democratic, would have preferred to forget the whole rotten affair. But the people were far too much concerned to have the affair quietly forgotten. The investigation went on because the politicians feared that the consequences of evasion would turn up at the ballot box.

We do not at this writing know what the outcome of this latest investigation of Inquisitor Number One will bring. But the fact that it is taking place shows that the masses of the people are deeply aroused at the dangers of McCarthyism and want to put an end to the dragging in the muck of the Bill of Rights and of elementary human decency. The trend in the primaries all over the country thus far shows that McCarthyism may very well receive a resounding electoral defeat in November. Every responsible citizen should do his share in ensuring such a defeat.

SEVEN-LEAGUE STRIDE TOWARD FASCISM

ON August 12 Senate liberals, ironically enough, added a provision to the Butler anti-labor bill, placing unions at the mercy of the Subversive Activities Control Board, outlawing the Communist Party. If this bill with its outlawing rider becomes law—we write before the session's end—it will be one of the longest strides ever taken in this country towards fascism. More than this, a bill which is a flagrant violation of the Constitution was admittedly a politicians' maneuver. "No less certain," said the *New York Times* (August 14) "was the consideration—freely conceded on either side of the Senate aisle today—that the whole idea of outlawing the Communist Party by legislation had its origin in partisan politics." The Democrats wanted to prove to the country that they were just as anti-communist, if not more so, than the Republicans. Thus

does one of the most sacred freedoms of American history become a casual victim of partisan politics.

Let not these Senate liberals—and the other anti-McCarthyites—be deceived as to the import of this measure, if it becomes law. It will not by some magical formula mean one thing for Hitler to outlaw the Communist Party and another for the Congress of the United States to do so: Hitler's decree was and this congressional measure is a very long step toward full-blown fascism. The anti-McCarthyites in our country have not yet learned—and the time is quickly getting shorter for them to learn—that McCarthyism can be defeated finally only if the anti-communist hysteria is recognized as the heart of it and rejected—that a defense of the rights of the Communist Party is the first line of defense of freedom for all. (See article by Louis Harap on page 10.)

VITO MARCANTONIO

WHEN Vito Marcantonio died on August 9 with the suddenness of a bullet to the heart in battle, he was mourned by the people. No higher honor can come to a man than this, that the people should look on him as their friend. The last time this could be said of a political figure in this country was when Franklin D. Roosevelt died. Thousands of ordinary people—Puerto Ricans, Negroes, Jews, and many others—stood in deep grief as the body of Vito Marcantonio was taken to the cemetery. For Marcantonio was no election-day politician. Every day, in political office and out of it, he was at the service of the common people of his district. He was one of the greatest political figures ever to go to Congress, where he held an unequalled record as a fighter for labor and for the masses of men, not only when the tide ran with him, but not less when the post-war hysteria made him a lonely fighter in Congress. He was the finest defender of the people's rights in Congress in our time. The people's loss at his untimely death was the greater in that it happened in the midst of preparations for a campaign to regain his seat in Congress.

The Jewish people lost in him a defender against anti-Semitism and discrimination, just as the Negro and the Puerto Rican people and all minority groups lost an uncompromising fighter for full equality. The whole American people lost in him one of its most effective fighters against encroaching fascism, which he hated with all his prodigious energy. The cause of equality, freedom, economic security and peace has suffered an irreparable loss that it can ill afford. We pledge that we will work all the harder for the democratic goals to which he devoted his entire life, so as to compensate in some measure for the incalculable gap left by his passing.

Happy New Year!

MENACE OF A REARMED GERMANY

Dr. Otto John exposed the extent of West German renazification and showed how disastrous it would be to rearm that government

By Jeremiah Lesser

WITH the conclusion of the truce in Indo-China, the focus of world attention has shifted to the question of West German rearmament. And well it may, for on the outcome of this question hinges war or peace in Europe and in the world. Within West Germany itself powerful voices have been speaking up for defeat of the "European Defense Community" (EDC) army. On June 4, former Chancellor Heinrich Bruening, speaking before a group of West German industrial magnates—who naturally look with longing eyes at the rich trade possibilities with the socialist world—stated that German reunification would be impossible if an EDC army were created and that adoption of EDC would deprive West Germany of its sovereignty. He saw a solution in a neutral Germany between East and West. The next day, another former Chancellor, Dr. Hans Luther, supported Bruening's view that neutrality was the best policy.

At the same time, the French people, aware that an EDC army would set the stage for a third world war with particular danger to France, were pressing their deputies to reject the EDC treaty and thus doom the State Department's plan for a German army. Increasing British resistance to EDC, particularly in the labor movement, was also shaping up as a barrier to rearmament. The Soviet Union, for its part, was proposing for Europe a collective security treaty to embrace all European countries, instead of the six-power EDC that excludes a majority of European countries.

Into this growing resistance to EDC fell the bombshell of Dr. Otto John's defection to East Germany on June 20. This leading figure was head of West Germany's internal security apparatus and hence knew affairs from the inside. The statements he has made since going to East Germany have opened the eyes of many people, particularly in West Germany itself. As M. S. Handler reported from Bonn in the *New York Times* (August 15), "John struck certain notes in the German consciousness because reunification is desired, a democratic order is hoped for and another world war is feared."

Just what did Dr. John say? His views were stated before several hundred correspondents of Eastern and Western worlds in Berlin on August 11. His views were epitomized by M. S. Handler in the *New York Times* (August 12) as follows: "Dr. John said today that he had defected to East Germany because he was convinced the policies of the United States and West German government ultimately

would result in the renazification and remilitarization of Germany. He said their purpose was to wage a disastrous Western military crusade against communism."

To evaluate Dr. John's statement, one should know that his apparatus kept track of nazis, as well as communists. He was therefore in a position to know how far renazification had gone. He was convinced that it would ultimately lead to a repetition of Hitlerism. The entire West German economy, he said, "is again in the hands of the nazis." "He felt," wrote Handler (*New York Times*, July 26), "that the problem confronting the Federal Republic was not communism but the return of former nazis to key positions in public life." Handler adds, "He had an accurate count of the number of former nazis who occupied important posts."

Further, Dr. John asserted that United States policies were bringing these nazis back into control as soldiers in the anti-communist crusade. In his press interview, he stated that the Adenauer regime planned to build a strong German army in EDC and then to "absorb the other EDC contingents, including the French army, through sheer physical preponderance. France and West Europe would again be taken over by German militarism. . . . All this means that a new attempt is being made to carry out the strategy of Hitler and his general staff, which aimed at conducting a war against the East from the basis of a militarily united West."

What Dr. John has said is not new. Any honest observer of the West German scene has been aware for years that renazification is galloping back into control under the aegis of State Department policy. The facts have been pouring in for several years. We cite only the most recent item, which was reported in the *New York Times* of July 22: the mass circulation pictorial magazines in West Germany have "used more cover photographs of Hitler, Goering and Goebbels than they did in the nazi period. Their articles glorify the exploits in the recent war of German U-boat commanders, air aces and Wehrmacht leaders. Brutality in Allied treatment of war criminals is charged. War crimes trials are ridiculed and the West accused of equal excesses." These pictorial magazines have an even higher circulation than newspapers—20,000,000 as against 13,000,000—and hence play a dominant role in shaping attitudes of West Germans.

But this is only one item out of many. The fact is that the defeat of the nazis, gained by the loss of millions of

lives, in addition to the six million slaughtered Jews, is being turned into victory for the "defeated." What is more, as John brings out, the military strategy of Hitler is once more in process of being reactivated through a proposed EDC army. Only this time, if the strategy is allowed to eventuate in war, it will be an H-bomb war and this means destruction of civilization altogether.

But the people are not allowing this to happen. The defection of John himself, an anti-communist, is only one significant sign that the people are not permitting themselves to be led to destruction. All over Europe the protest is rising against once more resurrecting the same forces that brought on two world wars.

The answer to the question of war or peace is being given by more and more people and by the leaders of nations. That answer is co-existence, as Churchill was forced to see under the blows of events and the nightmare of H-bomb war. President Eisenhower himself had to bow to these realities, in words at least, when he disowned the

clamor of the maniac Syngman Rhee and of General Mark Clark for a "preventive war" against the socialist countries and characterized such a war as "unthinkable" in the H-bomb era.

Co-existence in relation to the German question means to prevent the rearmament of West Germany, since the key to war or peace lies in that issue, and to erect a collective security system including *all* the countries of Europe. The people of the United States have no less a stake in preventing nazi rearmament than the German or the French people. For our own cities would be on the front lines of such a war just as much as those of France, Germany or any other country. The American people need therefore to see to it that our government pursues a policy of co-existence with the socialist world. As a step in that direction they must see to it that the East and West negotiate the reunification of Germany on a democratic, non-militarized, nazi-cleansed basis. The alternative is destruction of our own country.

Jewish Views on German Rearmament

JEWES of varied political views all over the world are aware of the grave dangers to the peace and the Jewish people of rearmament of a renazified Reich and are protesting. But from the Jews of our own country, almost total silence.

French Jews are united on the issue. At a great national rally in Paris held on June 27 under the auspices of the Movement Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace, delegates of varied religions, races and political views attended, including many Jews. Greetings were received from such varied figures as French Premier Pierre Mendes-France, Jacques Duclos, Edouard Daladier, Francois Mauriac, Rene Cassin, Felix Gouin, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Josephine Baker and Moscow Chief Rabbi Solomon Schliefer.

The congress adopted a manifesto which called on the people of France to strengthen the fight against racism and anti-Semitism and to reject the "European Defense Community" army under which West Germany would be rearmed. The congress called on the French Parliament to reject EDC.

There is much activity among British Jews on the issue of German rearmament. We note some recent instances. At the quarterly meeting of the Manchester Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen and Women in mid-July, a member reported that the group's main work in the recent period had been campaigning against German rearmament. It was pointed out that the national body of British Jewish veterans opposed German rearmament. The Manchester group planned factory gate meetings and leaflets on the issue.

Meetings were held in London on July 8 and 15 of the Jewish Youth Committee Against German Rearmament. Groups represented include Zionist and other youth of Habonim, Bachad, B'nai Akiva, the Inter-University Jewish Federation, Young Poale Zion, Young Mapam, Hechalutz, and Torah Va'Avodah. A resolution

strongly condemning proposed German rearmament was passed unanimously at the July 15 meeting.

But organized Jewish life in our own country says almost nothing on the issue. One of the few recent instances when the problem was even mentioned was in the Anti-Defamation League report on West Germany, issued in July. Three top ADL officials, at the invitation of the West German regime and in coordination with the State Department, spent four weeks in West Germany. Their report notes the persistence of anti-Semitic and pro-nazi attitudes.

One page of the report (page 22) is devoted to the question of German rearmament. The attitudes of German liberals, on whom the ADL leaders relied in the main, show "fear of German militaristic traditions." While these liberals want German participation in the "European Defense Community," they fear it. They hold that "EDC offered Germans the *least of the evils of rearmament* . . . and the strong hand of Adenauer would keep the military out of politics." They credit "one shrewd analyst" with this view: "We can depend on Adenauer and [President] Heuss. But after them there is *no guarantee* of anything except that in a short time the Germans may become the strongest element in an EDC army." The West Germans, say the reporters, "seek the best safeguards available and *hope* democratization will keep pace with militarization." (emphasis mine.—L.H.) One would hardly call this a strong case for EDC.

The ADL reporters apparently did not find it necessary to consult representatives of the millions of Germans who don't want remilitarization and war at all. Nor did they consider that they had any sort of mandate from the Jewish masses, whom they purport to "defend," to make any searching inquiry into this problem of rearmament of a renazified West Germany in which the heirs of the nazis and the plans of Hitler are being perpetuated.

DECLARATION OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE 300TH

ANNIVERSARY OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE U.S.A.:

WE ALWAYS WERE PART OF AMERICA

The significance of the Tercentenary celebration is stated in the following Declaration, adopted officially by the preliminary conference of the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the USA on June 19 in New York.—Eds.

THREE centuries ago, in September 1654, the first group of 23 immigrants, homeless, persecuted, fleeing the Inquisition, stepped upon the shore of New Amsterdam. Today, with pride and honor, we signalize this three-century-old date as one of the most important events in the long history of the Jewish people, the beginning of the great American Jewish community which now numbers five millions. We mark it, too, as an important date in the history of the United States—the beginning of a historic period which saw the development of the American Jew as co-creator of and co-fighter for American democracy.

Jews are bound up with America from its very beginnings, even before 1654, from the first voyage of Columbus in 1492. September 1654 marks the beginning of Jewish settlement in the U.S.A.

Like most of the other national groups, Jews came here to breathe the air of freedom, to enjoy equal rights, for which they had to struggle. Our 300 years were centuries of struggle for existence, for rights—a struggle carried on jointly with the entire American people to implement the noble promise of the Declaration of Independence: "the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Jews helped to extend American democracy; they fought for its liberties; and every victory of democracy and progress in America made our own advancement and our own welfare more secure, precisely as every *backward* step of American freedom and every assault of reaction threatened our rights and gave support to anti-Semitism. This interconnection between the lot of the Jewish people and the victory of the progressive forces has been tested and confirmed during the entire period of America's development, especially during the critical moments of its history.

AS AMONG ALL OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS, SO AMONG THE JEWS there have always been those who, because of their group interests, identified themselves with the side of the anti-democratic forces in our country—during the Revolution, during the Civil War, during the time of the inhuman sweatshop; just as today there are those among the Jews

who incite to war and serve reaction. But *their* heritage is not ours, and it is not *their* deeds that we look to for inspiration on this 300th anniversary holiday!

We proudly commemorate the historic fact that the majority of Jews during all these years were in the camp of democratic America in its fight for the expansion of democracy and the safeguarding of freedom. We take inspiration from Jews who fought for the American Revolution, the Jewish Abolitionists, the soldiers in Lincoln's army of freedom; the heroic Jews who fought in the battles of the American working class, in the struggles for women's rights and free public education, in the broad mass movements supporting the "New Deal," in their ultimate sacrifices in the war against fascism. With pride we remember them today—from Francis Salvador to Ben Leider, from August Bondi to Meyer Levin. We recall the names of Benjamin Nones and Isadore Bush, of Rabbi David Einhorn and Ernestine Rose, of Sidney Hillman and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. These are our "Sons of Liberty," immigrants and children of immigrants, who in every epoch knit their lives into America's fight for freedom. It is *their* legacy that we accept.

We have become part of the warp and woof of America, have ourselves supplied the stuff of which America is made. Like other national groups and peoples we brought our share to America. America's dream and the shape of her liberty, as well as her culture, were enriched by the contribution of every immigrant group.

At every stage of America's development the contribution of the Jews has been significant and lasting. Jews have taken an active part in furthering the economic development of the country, helped to develop its technology and its science. In American jurisprudence, in its law-making, in its medicine, in every aspect of culture—especially in literature, the theater and art—the part and influence of American Jews has been significant. Emma Lazarus, Albert Michelson, Albert Einstein, Louis D. Brandeis, Franz Boas, Simon Flexner, Zalman Waxman, George Gershwin, Ernest Bloch, Leonard Bernstein, Max Weber, Elmer Rice, Howard Fast, Michael Gold, Vladimir Horowitz, Jascha Heifetz—these are only some of the names of personalities who bear witness to this contribution. Drawn by the light which the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution cast throughout the world, we have come in masses to America. Each successive wave of Jewish immigrants brought its tradition of struggle for freedom and its great

craving for security, a passion to realize the maxim that "All men are created equal."

We brought with us the dream of Isaiah: "... it shall come to pass in the last days . . .," that vision of a world at peace; and we brought with us Jeremiah's outcry against social injustice: "Woe to him who buildeth his house in unrighteousness!" We brought with us the passion for freedom of the Maccabees and Bar Kochba and Spinoza's zeal for the right of free thought. We were the bearers of the encompassing humanism of the modern Jewish writers; from our ranks came the first Jewish worker-fighters with their traditions of a socialist labor movement.

Our participation in America was unstinted and our reward has been lavish; the legacy of Jefferson and Paine, Lincoln and Debs and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

WE POINT WITH PRIDE TO THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF JEWS OF THE "first" (Spanish-Portuguese) immigration and of the "second" (German) immigration. We bear with pride the great heritage of the Jewish labor movement in America. The "third" wave of immigration of the 1880's gave a mass character to Jewish life in America. From the new immigrant tide, savagely persecuted in the old country, which settled compactly in the Eastern states of a country speedily industrializing itself, the Jewish labor movement was born. The Jewish worker mastered his new life by sweat and tears and bitter struggle; through his association with the American working class he discovered in himself the strength and understanding of his own destiny, the realization of his own dignity. American life was enriched as a result of the early struggles of the Jewish workers in the 80's and 90's and the opening years of the twentieth century and of their glorious traditions of contending for social justice, against the heavy-handed despotism of the sweat-shop. The powerful unions which the Jewish workers created, the countless strikes of the dressmakers, waist-makers, cloakmakers, tailors, furriers, brought added

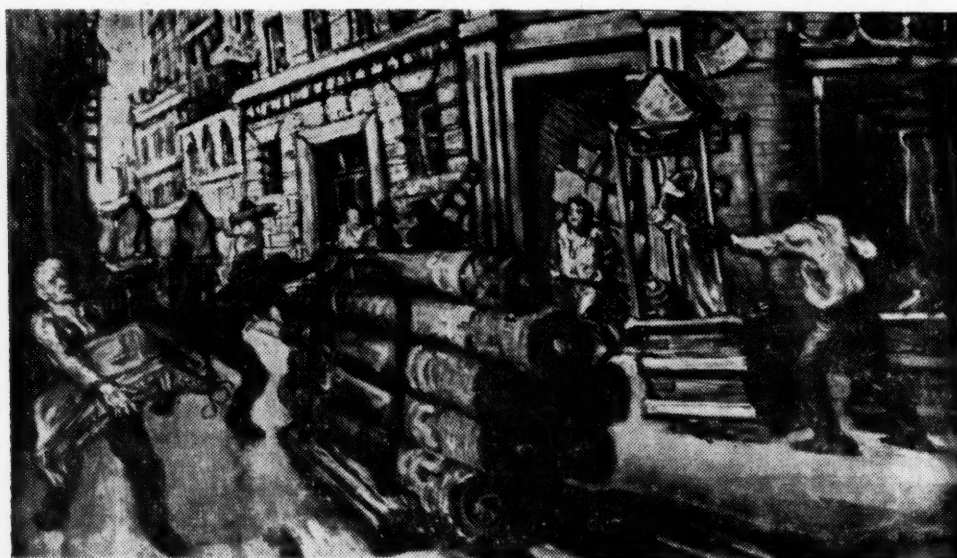
strength and inspiration to the mighty movement of the nation's working class, which, after decades of struggle, had improved the economic standard of the American worker and had helped him take his rightful place in shaping the destiny of the American people.

The Jewish workers and common people built *landsman-shaften* and great fraternal orders which played a historic role in the life of the immigrant masses; organizations which in their progressive manifestations became, in large measure, the forerunners and advance fighters for social security and social legislation.

In the course of these struggles the Jewish masses created their unique American-Jewish mass culture—a synthesis of Old Country heritage and American reality. This culture hurled a challenge at the anti-democratic "forced assimilationism" and the lie of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony. The Yiddish people's culture in America drew its inspiration from Mendele Mocher Sforim, Sholom Aleichem and I. L. Peretz in the old country, and from Whitman and Emerson in the new. It was a culture of faith in the people, closely in touch with their life and needs, a culture that expressed the people's traditions of humanism and justice.

In summing up our centuries in America, we pledge to uphold and carry forward the banner of human dignity in the fight against injustice—the banner given into our hands by Winchevsky, Rosenfeld, Edelshtadt, Bovshover, Libin, Gordon, Kobrin, Emma Lazarus, Yehoash, Olgin, Zhitlovsky, Raboi. We pledge to advance their language, Yiddish, which struck such deep roots in America and upon which a rich Yiddish-American literature was built; to safeguard the cultural institutions—press, publishing houses, children's schools, choruses, theaters—which the Jewish masses have erected.

THE SUMMATION COMMANDS RESPECT. TODAY, AS ALWAYS, OUR roots are deep in America and we have forged fraternal ties. We rejoice in this kinship, this close association of



PUSH BOYS
Painting by
Philip Reisman

struggle and destiny with the sons and daughters of the peoples of Europe, Africa and Asia—in the family of peoples which is America.

In fraternity—native and foreign-born—we stand ready to defend our rights against the racists and anti-Semites, as we have done before during the 300 years. Against the un-American Walter-McCarran law we hold aloft and protect the Rooseveltian banner of "Immigrants All—Americans All." Democracy and freedom must be defended and nourished. Inspired by the history of struggle for Liberty and Right, we will not today, at the start of the 301st year of Jewish settlement in America, disgrace our past nor betray our future.

The Jewish people, as an integral part of the entire American people, again face a seriously critical moment in their history. Reaction is reinforcing itself and endangering the security of the nation; the right of the people to live and think freely is perverted into a sham; Jewish teachers, scientists, trade unionists, are persecuted and dismissed from their posts; the Walter-McCarran law threatens the rights of native as well as foreign born Americans and gives impetus to a growing anti-Semitism and racism; the rights of the Jewish masses, which generations of fighters gave their lives to maintain, are jeopardized; the McCarthyite attacks upon the American people bring on the danger of fascism; the shadow of the H-bomb and the peril of a new world war hover over us all. In this critical moment, as in previous crises of American history, the Jewish workers and common people will find the necessary strength and wisdom to stand firm on the side of progress and peace, against McCarthyism, reaction and war.

With dignity and faith in our future we call upon the Jewish masses in our country to evaluate the meaning of our 300 years. Let us make our anniversary a source of inspiration in the defense of our rights and liberties and the security of our children in an America where equal rights are a reality for all the people; let us act in unison with all groups in America and especially with the Negro people—who suffer most from reaction and fascism—in order to defend our democratic rights. Let us build a democratic Jewish life in America, strengthened and enriched by a Jewish people's culture in the heroic tradition of our 300 years on American soil.

Above all, we call upon the Jewish people to defend the peace. Too deep are the wounds inflicted upon us by the wars and too great the number of our dead. For us the meaning of peace is plain: Shall we live, or shall we die? . . . because only in a world at peace can there be a secure existence for the Jewish communities of the world.

WHEN WE DRAW UP THE BLOODY RECKONING OF WORLD WAR II, of the numberless victims exacted from the Jewish people, we remember not only the martyrs murdered in the ghettos and Hitler's slaughter camps, but also those Jews who wrote a chapter in the book of Jewish heroism. We recall those Jews of Israel who heroically fought through to independence on the hills of Judea and the battlefields of the Negev and Galilee. We remember the Jews of

Eastern Europe who through the flames of the ghetto and the hell of concentration camps heroically fought their way to a new life.

We remain true to the watchword: "Never to forgive and never to forget." On this solemn occasion we recall with the deepest pain the memory of the six million Jews who perished at the hands of the nazis. We promise them with all our strength, never again to permit such calamities in the life of our people. We pledge to resist fascism, the eternal enemy of the Jewish people—and of all peoples; to fight against those who would reestablish the armies which slaughtered our brothers; to devote our lives to secure the peace.

With faith in ourselves as American Jews, with confidence in the future of a creative, democratic, free Jewish life on American soil, with deep love for the democratic traditions of our country, with readiness to protect the rights and freedom of the people, with certainty that the promise of equality will be realized, with determination to safeguard peace on earth, we cross the threshold of our fourth century.

COMMITTEE FOR 300TH ANNIVERSARY
OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE U.S.A.

The Jewish Religion in Rumania

Following are excerpts from a Rumanian document detailing provisions for the Jewish religion there:

JUNE 1 marks the fifth anniversary of the adoption by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic of the Statute for the organization and functioning of the Mosaic Cult [Judaism] in the Rumanian People's Republic.

At meetings held by the rabbinate and heads of the communities of Ashkenazic, Orthodox and Sefardic Jews in 1948 and 1949, Mosaic believers of the Rumanian People's Republic worked out for the first time in their history on a purely voluntary basis their own statute for their organization and functioning.

There are functioning in Rumania today 126 communities in which daily services are held in synagogues and temples. In Bucharest there are 50 synagogues, in Iasi 75, and Botosani 45.

Ritual slaughter is provided in all communities. There are six slaughter houses in Bucharest and six in Iasi.

There are 68 ritual baths maintained by the communities and supervised by authorized religious personnel. There are also 32 Talmud Torahs functioning under community supervision as well as Jewish cemeteries administered by the communities.

With the help of the state the Federation of Jewish Communities has restored tens of synagogues and temples such as the Temple of the Sibiu community and the great synagogues of Iasi, Bucharest, Orasul Stalin, Toplita, Petrova and others.

In the five years of its functioning the Statute of the Mosaic Cult has succeeded in realizing in practice the policy of guaranteeing to Mosaic Believers the principle of freedom of religious worship of the regime of the people's democracy.

THE CORE OF ANTI-McCARTHYISM

*It is more urgent than ever that anti-McCarthyites realize
that the basis of McCarthyism is hysterical anti-communism*

By Louis Harap

THE past few months have seen encouraging developments in the fight against McCarthyism. The masses of the people, leaders of labor, of the Jewish community and of many sectors of American life have come to a sharper and more outspoken realization that McCarthyism means an American form of Hitlerism. Senator Ralph E. Flanders, whose courageous and persistent action in the Senate to censure Joseph McCarthy gives that body an opportunity to deal a blow at the would-be Fuehrer, on July 18 explicitly drew "parallels between the amateurish (McCarthy) and the accomplished and successful Hitler."

In its editorial comment on Flanders' parallel between McCarthy and Hitler, the *B'nai Brith Messenger* (Los Angeles, July 23) adds a sound conclusion: "But unless more senators think and act like Senator Flanders; unless the American people back up this kind of thinking and action, this parallel may become a dangerous fact."

How can we prevent "this parallel" from becoming a "dangerous fact"?

The beginning of wisdom on this matter is the realization that McCarthyism is far more than the evil senator from Wisconsin. Pastor Martin Niemöller, head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in West Germany, who knows the phenomenon at first hand, called McCarthyism a "form of totalitarianism" (in Chicago on August 8). McCarthy himself is only one manifestation of the trend toward fascism since 1946. The parallel with Hitler extends to the inquisition *as a whole* that is spreading through all of American life. It includes the flock of police state legislation, the Taft-Hartley, Smith, McCarran, McCarran-Walter and other "anti-subversive" acts that now sully the law of our country. It extends to the package of "anti-subversive" bills that Attorney General Brownell is trying to push through Congress at this writing.

The fact that Brownell—and the forces behind him—are at least as great a danger to our freedom as McCarthy, is not widely enough recognized. All branches of the labor movement have recognized this threat by their strong denunciations as "police state measures" of the Brownell anti-labor bills (to deprive allegedly "Communist infiltrated" unions of collective bargaining rights). These bills, said *Advance* (August 1), organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, "threaten the very existence of American trade unionism." The paper recalls that it warned some months ago in connection with the Harry Dexter White affair, that "when our chief law enforcement officer, the attorney general, out-McCarthy McCarthy, we'd better

watch out. Such a political climate may very well destroy every one of our liberties and they may never be restored." Yet Jewish organizations have been silent on this Brownell threat. Honorable exceptions are the American Jewish Congress and the Decalogue Society of Lawyers, both of which came out forthrightly against Brownell's bill to legalize wire-tapping evidence.

If the danger from the Eisenhower administration through Brownell is not sufficiently recognized, it is because the real nature of the anti-communist technique as the breeding ground for fascism has not been fully grasped. This is evident, for instance, in the formula used so widely that one is opposed to McCarthy's methods and not his aims. For instance, Jewish War Veterans National Commander Harry T. Madison said last April, "There's nothing wrong with Joe McCarthy, it's only his methods."

But is not the aim of McCarthy—and Brownell—and McCarthyism—to bring about a fascist America? Is not their *method* the same as Hitler's—anti-communism? It is the technique of the Reichstag Fire—to fabricate a "danger" and blame it on the "communists." This is how Henry E. Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, described it some months ago: "A showcase example of the use of prejudice to get ahead in a confused world was the burning of the Reichstag building in the early years of the Nazi climb in Germany. It was 'proved' in a widely publicized trial that 'Communists' had destroyed the building. Public opinion was inflamed against the 'enemy.' Soon after, the Nazis turned these carefully nurtured hatreds against the Jews."

Fascist Aim of McCarthyism

Did the anti-communist hysteria generated by Hitler have a different aim from that nurtured in this country since the end of World War II? Every day it becomes clearer that there is no essential difference. Has the anti-communist campaign in this country had a different effect on Americans that Hitler's had on the Germans? The answer must be no, if we look at the grave and growing deterioration of civil liberties since 1946. If we are to stop this degeneration of freedom in our country, these facts indicate that we must carry on a full-barrelled fight against McCarthyism in *all* its forms—and this means against the anti-communist hysteria *in every department*—if our country is not to end up substantially where the Germans landed. And to Jews this has special meaning.

Of course anti-communist hysteria is a very different thing from disagreement with or opposition to communism. In a genuinely democratic society one *debates* against communism, one does not *suppress* communists. Anti-communist hysteria gives rise to the trend to exclude the communists from the democratic process of free exchange of ideas.

The very basis of the anti-communist hysteria and therefore of the undermining of the structure of civil liberties is deprivation of the constitutional rights of the communists. But this is only the starting point of an inexorable chain that threatens to enslave the whole people. It is an essential part of the anti-communist technique that the concept of the "communist" is stretched ever more widely until it finally includes anyone who does not agree with the Fuehrer and his clique. A small but significant instance in Minneapolis illustrates the point. Rep. Roy Weir of that city recently inserted an anti-McCarthy editorial from the *American Jewish World* in the *Congressional Record*, whereupon Weir was charged by a local McCarthyite with being "pro-communist."

We know all this, many people will say. But do we really? The many leaders and peoples who say that they agree with McCarthy's aim but disagree with his methods do *not* know this. The basic fascist technique of depriving the communist of his right of freedom of speech, press and association is unfortunately accepted by many who are genuinely anti-fascist in their intentions.

First Amendment and Smith Act

What is at issue here is not the validity of the communist viewpoint. It is simply the necessity, if freedom for *all* is to be maintained, that the communist retain the guarantees of the Bill of Rights. The point was made by Milton K. Susman, editor of the *Jewish Criterion* of Pittsburgh and himself a hater of communism, in his condemnation on July 16 of the St. George bill to deprive non-conformist publications of second class mailing rights. "We prefer," said Susman, "to play along with the authors of the First Amendment. In their simple way they believed that society had more to fear from the suppression of ideas—even heretical ideas—than from expression of them." Yet many courageous anti-McCarthyites, such as Senator Herbert H. Lehman, for instance, who would agree with this affirmation of the First Amendment, nevertheless fail to see its application in such cases as the Smith act. Communists are not being jailed under the Smith act for any overt acts against the government but for their ideas.

Communists are being jailed for *teaching and advocating*, for exercising their rights under the First Amendment. Unless the anti-McCarthyite movement undertakes to reject this persecution of the communists, the First Amendment will be mortally endangered. Suppression of communists, whether done by Hitler or by McCarthyites or even by well-meaning but misled Americans, may lead to a fascist America.

McCarthyism can be turned back only by *action* of all

elements, separately and together, in every form and manner, who detest fascism and are determined that America be spared this devastating experience. At present all sorts of groups and organizations, including the communists, are participating in the anti-McCarthyite movement.

Freedom and the Rights of Communists

An example of the dangerous detours taken by some leaders whose interests lie in a straightforward, hard-fisted struggle against McCarthyism is found in the six-session seminar, entitled "Anti-Communism Without McCarthyism," sponsored by the New York City Affairs Panel of the Jewish Labor Committee in March and April to "discuss how communist infiltration into their groups can be prevented without sacrifice to their internal democracy" (*New York Times*, March 28). This was occasioned by the publication in March of *The American Way*, the draft program of the Communist Party. The whole notion behind the title is self-contradictory and illustrates the point that we have been trying to drive home. For these anti-McCarthyites—and no one questions that most of those who attended these sessions were opposed to McCarthy in some degree—take as their point of departure that McCarthyism is to be fought at the same time that the communists are to be deprived of their democratic rights. But democracy in this country cannot be saved by recognizing freedom of expression and association for everyone *except the communists*.

How can the "internal democracy" of organizations be preserved if communists and those who cooperate with communists are to be excluded from activity in such organizations? For internal democracy means that there shall be no discrimination against or suppression of any one who abides by the laws and program of the organization. Thus to exclude anyone on the basis of ideas imputed to him rather than his actual performance in an organization is itself a repressive technique and as such hinders the fight for the saving of democracy. On a nationwide scale this same type of repression of communists is exactly the technique that threatens to destroy the Bill of Rights. Hence we can see that an effective anti-McCarthyite position demands adherence to democratic rights and procedures for *everyone* and resistance against the anti-communist hysteria that excludes from these rights communists or those who cooperate with communists.

The Jews of our country, not only as Americans, but also as Jews, stand to lose too much from fascism to permit themselves to be deluded into the McCarthyite tactic of communist repression at the same time that they are almost unanimous in their opposition to McCarthyism. The anti-Semitic consequences of McCarthyism, already evident in numerous ways in the past few years, as this magazine has continuously shown, give to Jews an added motive for clear thinking and opposition to anti-democratic approaches to communists in the fight against an American fascism. This realization should come now, rather than as tragic hindsight as in the instance of Germany.

THE PRISONERS

by WALTER LOWENFELS

WALTER LOWENFELS is a poet who has given us no volume of poetry for 17 years. Of course, that is not to say that his pen has been idle since 1937. He has during that time had over a half a million words published in newspapers and magazines, half a million words devoted to a defense of his fellows' right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. But as the great poet and pamphleteer John Milton said three centuries ago, a poet writes only with his left hand when he writes even the most urgent and vital prose. And today, under pressure of the sharpest necessity Walter Lowenfels, like his great predecessor, again raises his own most characteristic voice.

His slender volume, *The Prisoners* (Whittier Press, P.O. Box 5405, Kingsessing Station, Phila. 43, Pa., \$1.00), presents with the clarity and precision of real poetry, lighting sketches of his Smith act co-defendants and other victims of this act, brief personal messages to wife and children and passionate political comment.

For example, the heroic figure of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, victorious veteran of so many seemingly hopeless struggles for freedom, now herself threatened by the prison doors she helped unlock for so many others, emerges in the simple lines of a brief lyric beginning

"Is there not a cause?"

David leapt up and cried—"

and concluding

"Goliath seemed a giant
till David laid him low,
the strength of all his people
in one great freedom blow."

And the character of Walter Lowenfels himself emerges not less clearly in the warmth of this and other poems of

POETRY FOR AMNESTY

By Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

living admiration addressed to such comrades as Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, Steve Nelson and Claudia Jones.

That character is also richly revealed in the long biographical note by a former colleague and companion at arms, the great French poet Louis Aragon, and in the prose "Credo" of a progressive poet-journalist with which Walter Lowenfels concludes his volume.

In the most immediate and living sense we are ourselves, each one of us, threatened by a living death of prison walls as long as jail continues to loom for men and women of good will like Lowenfels himself and the more than a hundred other Smith act victims. Each new insolent act of persecution immobilizes still another of our best and foremost fighters for freedom.

It is heartbreaking to think of such lovers of life as Eugene Dennis, as Ben Davis, so long locked away from life; it is heartbreaking to think of such fighters for freedom so long unable to strike a blow in her defense. But silent heartbreak is a luxury few of us wish to afford. Our own Mother Jones said, "Weep for the dead; fight like hell for the living!" And the greatest poet of all counseled,

"Be this the whetstone of your sword: let grief

Convert to anger; blunt not the heart, enrage it."

For too long the Smith act's enormity seems to have paralyzed the throats which should cry out against it. But at last we hear throughout the country a deep mutter of uneasy concern, of anger and dissent. We cannot rest now unless we do our utmost, day by day, to transform this troubled murmur into the indignant demand that will at last force the prison doors to open. For our dear friends, known and unknown, awaiting in enforced passivity the day of deliverance, their helplessness would be an anguish too great to bear did they not believe that we were tireless in our efforts to free them and our whole unhappy land.

It is this that Walter Lowenfels, with a poet's power and economy of words, tells us from the threshold of the same prison when he says,

"... I wander through the house
touching things, making as if free.

At my side—whispering voices
saying: Remember me, remember me."

McCARTHY AND MALMEDY

This excerpt from a forthcoming book recounts McCarthy's tactics as an invited "guest" at the Malmedy hearings

By Charles R. Allen, Jr.

IN 1949, Senator Joseph McCarthy began to take an active interest in the fate of some four score nazi SS troopers who were facing death by hanging in a prison in West Germany for the Malmedy massacre.

Just before Christmas 1944, the Allied offensive was sweeping the nazi armies before it. But in a desperate final surge of strength the cornered Germans broke through the American lines in Belgium during the Battle of the Bulge. Atrocities against GI's began December 17, 1944 at the Malmedy crossroads and lasted through the middle of January. Nazi SS troops rounded up at least 464 unarmed American prisoners of war and shot them down en masse under specific orders from their commander, Col. Joachim Peiper.

By careful, painstaking and brilliant teamwork, American intelligence officers tracked down the nazi soldiers involved. It soon became evident to the American team that even within the walls of the prison camps, the nazis were acting under the orders of Col. Peiper, himself a prisoner. The American investigators moved all the suspects, numbering some 400 SS men, to a modern German prison, where they were assigned to individual cells. For nearly a year the suspects were interrogated. Eventually, the United States Army indicted 74 of the SS for murder in war crimes trials which attracted widespread attention throughout defeated Hitler Germany. All had signed detailed confessions. So patent was their role in the Malmedy carnage, that the SS's own lawyers would not allow most of them to take the stand in their own defense. At the trial's end, 43 were sentenced to die, including Joachim Peiper. Testifying at the trial were the dozen American

GI's who were the only survivors of the mass murders.

The nazis appealed the verdict through the American military courts and even up to the Allied High Commission. At the original trial three of the Waffen-SS had alleged physical mistreatment on the part of the American interrogation team. But at the trial these claims were ruled so obviously false that they were disallowed.

As their appeals proceeded step-by-step through the time-consuming courts, every one of the 74 defendants began to submit affidavits repudiating their former confessions and claiming that they had been brutally beaten, gouged, kicked, subjected to eerie "mock" trials and even placed under a hangman's noose to terrify them into confessing.

As if by some prearranged signal, the residual elements of the Nazi Party in Germany and the various pro-German groups in the United States cleverly turned the case into a virtual campaign for a resurgent, rearmed Western Germany. About this time the American Military Government in Germany began to turn soft on convicted nazis.

The army subsequently directed the Justice Review Board to examine the SS claims that they had confessed under duress. The probing group concluded that the charges against the American interrogation team were "groundless," "unbelievable," "grossly exaggerated." The board affirmed the trial court's findings.

But the Malmedy propagandists whipped the case into hysterical proportions. Secretary of the Army Kenneth M. Royall appointed a special civilian committee to investigate the death convictions. The committee found, in the words of its chairman, that the military courts had been "meticulously" fair in trying the Malmedy cases, concluding that the interrogating team had done nothing exceptional in gaining the SS confessions.

Enter McCarthy

Still the Malmedy defenders persisted. A writ was sent to the United States Supreme Court on their behalf. Men in high office began to take notice of the case. But now the apologists for the SS murders had found a voice in the Senate of the United States: Joseph R. McCarthy. He began his defense of the Malmedy thugs on the Senate floor with a phrase that was to become an inevitable prop of the senator: "I have here in my hand . . .," he cried, waving a piece of paper which purported to be an affidavit attesting to the "brutality" of the American interrogation team.

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR., is a free-lance journalist. He was formerly assistant editor of *The Nation* and has written for national magazines. His pioneering articles in *JEWISH LIFE* on the relations of McCarthyism to anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism made a deep impression throughout the country.

The above is an excerpt from Mr. Allen's forthcoming book, *The McCarthy Conspiracy*, which will be published by Cameron and Kahn (109 Greenwich Avenue, New York City) this fall. This excerpt reveals that the McCarthy technique exhibited at the recent Army-McCarthy hearings was in full use by McCarthy five years ago. It records the anti-Semitic overtones that were also heard in the Monmouth "investigations."

The "evidence" which McCarthy read off to the Senate repeated word for word, line for line, the unproved claims of the SS sitting in the shadow of the gallows.

But McCarthy's charges were not openly sympathetic claims for the despised nazis. Senator McCarthy is not stupid. He pleaded for "decency" and "justice," vigorously asserting that the "guilty" should hang for the "infamy" of Malmedy. But, pleaded McCarthy, the United States is trying to bring democracy to Germany, trying to win over Germany to the West. And here were these "stupid, bungling, incompetent . . . hirelings of the United States Army almost completely nullifying any moral value which the war crimes trials might have had." McCarthy with crude skill manipulated the case so that the methods of the American interrogation team became the issue and not the proven brutal crimes of the convicted SS assassins. As he sat down, McCarthy called for an "investigation."

Of course Senator McCarthy had a particular Senate subcommittee in mind to conduct the "investigation," the investigation subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures, of which he was a member. But the Senate decided to turn the matter over to the Armed Services Committee.

Committee Chairman Millard Tydings, Democrat of Maryland, named Republican Raymond E. Baldwin to chair the subcommittee. With Baldwin on the subcommittee were Democrats Estes Kefauver and Lester Hunt.

Senator Baldwin was quite aware of the meaning of the investigation. At issue were the veracity and justice of the American Army over and against the nazi SS. The neo-nazi movement in Germany would watch closely every move the Senate Committee made. Any misstep by the American senators would redound to their carefully calculated propaganda to promote a renazified Reich.

A day before the hearings were to open Senator McCarthy asked the subcommittee chairman, "You know, our Expenditures Committee was considering such an investigation and I'd like to sit in on your meetings, Senator." Baldwin consented.

McCarthy Takes Over

On April 19, 1949, the hearings got under way. The full subcommittee was present along with its "guest," Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and the always-present battery of photographers from press, radio and TV. Senator Baldwin made the committee's position clear. "I feel that the question raised here is a fundamental one not only to our position as champions of right and justice, but to the reputations of the men who were the servants of this nation during the prosecution of the persons responsible for the shocking massacre of our soldiers during the Battle of the Bulge," he said.

Secretary of the Army Kenneth M. Royall was the first witness. The first few minutes of his testimony were devoted to a factual account of the case. He had not quite finished, however, when McCarthy intruded, "May I interrupt, Mr. Chairman?"

The "guest" plunged ahead with a reckless hypothesis concerning an assumed "John Jones" who had been beaten and otherwise physically mistreated into confessing a capital crime. There were more intrusions. Sensing that the first queries were merely tricks to twist the real issue, Royall underscored the basic facts of Malmedy. He sharply reminded McCarthy that Malmedy was "one of the most atrocious crimes . . . in all the war-crime annals. It is a crime that ought to be punished by death . . . and no guilty persons should escape just punishment either through technicalities or legal refinements or overdrawn theories!"

In scarcely five minutes time McCarthy had tilted the secretary of the army off balance. When Royall tried scrupulously to stick to the subject, McCarthy would interject with, "You are a lawyer, but I happened to be judge for some time. . . ." And while both the witness and the chairman of the subcommittee pondered what the precise meaning of McCarthy's interpolation was, McCarthy would reverse his field and rush off in another direction, all the while sniping sarcastically.

With succeeding witnesses of lower official rank the pattern continued along similar lines. At every point he interrupted testimony, contradicted counsel or challenged the intelligence of the very committee members who were supposed to be in charge of the investigation. After the first few days of hearings, one observer remarked that the members of the Armed Services subcommittee seemingly were there as the "guests" of Senator McCarthy.

War Criminals and Affidavits

When Lt. Col Buron F. Ellis, chief prosecutor of the Malmedy investigating team, appeared, McCarthy dug into him unmercifully. Ellis tried to establish at the outset that the Malmedy prisoners were not just ordinary POW's but war criminals charged with a heinous crime. "They were not considered as prisoners of war," he pointed out. McCarthy intruded: "Treated as war criminals? . . . I think it is the most phenomenal statement I ever heard from an army officer!" He then went on to harangue the witness about a person's innocence being assumed and his guilt requiring proof! The principle had no application whatsoever in the case of the convicted Malmedy SS.

Ellis boldly pointed out, "That did not happen in Malmedy," whenever McCarthy would try to twist the proceedings with one of his slick hypotheses. "I don't care whether it happened or not!" McCarthy would return. "You answer the question as directed!" Ellis attempted on several occasions to show that the recantation by the SS of their confessions was part of a plan to discredit the American military. He then tried to read several crucial affidavits from high-ranking American officers who had investigated the original Malmedy prosecution team. Ellis read from one: "Colonel Everett said today that Sprenger, Neve, Hoffman and Jaskel (SS troopers) admit fabrication of the story of beating."

The affidavits had been admitted by the higher military

review courts in finding that the SS had lied. "Who said that?" McCarthy snarled when Ellis read the affidavits showing how the SS fabricated their claims. He did not wait for an answer but thundered, "I think it is just a great waste of time for him (Ellis) to come and read the affidavits of other men. . . . I frankly am not interested in them at all unless they are here so I can talk to them."

None of the senators present pointed out that it was McCarthy himself who originally predicated his entire defense of the SS precisely on their affidavits!

McCarthy's arrogance toward Col. Ellis was so pronounced that Senator Hunt was forced to remark, "This hearing is not a prosecution. What we are attempting to do is just get the witnesses' statements and then we will judge whether they did things in the right manner." To this attempt at conciliation the uncompromising McCarthy shouted back, "I entirely disagree . . . if that is the purpose, I am wasting my time. . . ."

McCarthy the Reluctant

After other army figures had been subjected to the same abuse, Senator Baldwin calmly announced that one of the survivors of the Malmédy massacre would take the stand. The terse announcement struck like a thunderclap for McCarthy: "May I make a statement," he asked the committee chairman, "and I very reluctantly make. . . ." McCarthy suggested that the testimony of the American GI who had somehow lived through the SS carnage was entirely out of place. "I just wonder why the chairman must prove that there was a Malmédy massacre and that these young men were shot. There is no question about that. I say this reluctantly. On the face of it, this would appear to be an attempt to put those of us who feel this thing should be investigated into the position of appearing to defend the actions of those German storm troopers. I say this reluctantly, but I think it is completely inexcusable. I know I am interested in his story; but to present this at this time, during this type of investigation, I think it is just entirely improper! That is all."

With a patience that awed observers, Senator Baldwin carefully explained that the GI's eyewitness account was quite relevant to the claims of the SS storm troopers. McCarthy then pleaded that he was just a "spectator" and "advisor," as the ex-GI came forward to take his chair behind the witness table. Former Corporal Kenneth F. Ahrens, now a trade union worker at the huge General Electric Plant in Erie, Pennsylvania, then recounted in a quiet, sober way how some 150 American GI's were murdered in cold blood by the Waffen-SS whom Senator McCarthy dared to defend.

After the survivor ended his recital of the harrowing story of the massacre, a thick mantle of silence hung over the room. Quietly Senator Baldwin asked for further questions. None of the committee responded. "Senator," said Chairman Baldwin, staring hard at McCarthy, "have you any questions?"

"No. None. Not at all," replied McCarthy. Then, as the other senators turned to offer their heartfelt appreciation to the GI, McCarthy blurted out, "I might say, Mr. Chairman, while this is interesting and provides part of a Roman Holiday here, I think it is so highly improper. It is an attempt to inflame the public and intimidate the members of this committee. I say this reluctantly. What we are doing is entirely improper."

The Jewish Investigators

Senator McCarthy quickly recovered from the devastating testimony of the ex-corporal. Indeed, his ruthless bullying of the witnesses increased. It was not too long before he began mixing his questioning with remarks like: "Which of you four [American interrogators] had previously been a resident of Germany, if any? . . . [This interrogator] was not an American, was he? . . . Some [of the SS] said that he was referred to as a '39er.'"

McCarthy systematically turned his attention to several of the Malmédy investigators with Jewish names. Not only was this true in the Malmédy case, he hinted. The entire war crimes trials, beginning with Nuremberg, and American policy in Germany after the war were led by a "vengeance" team of "Americans of very recent origin."

At another point during the hearings, the self-appointed prosecutor of those who had brought the nazis to justice politely began to question Judge Edward LeRoy Van Roden,¹ who had served on the Army-appointed committee to investigate charges of abuse in the war crimes trials proceedings. Although observers at the time failed to comment, it was quite obvious that Senator McCarthy warmed to the Pennsylvania jurist as soon as he appeared in the committee room.

The exchanges between the two fairly dripped with goodwill. There were no intrusions and no badgering. Yes, Judge Van Roden thought that the American prosecuting team had "unfortunately" employed "unreliable" methods. And, although several of the witnesses for the nazi SS had merely repeated "hearsay" evidence, they were nonetheless "fair" and "frank." And although the Malmédy Massacre was "a horrible thing," Judge Van Roden had a very hazy recollection that some unnamed officer once testified that he had "the impression that some Americans were trying to escape and that . . . the Germans became trigger-

¹ Judge Van Roden had more interest in the nazi cause than merely examining a few war crimes trials. And McCarthy knew it, which was the reason he demanded that Van Roden be called. Shortly after he had returned from Germany, Van Roden—in the press and from the public platform—denounced the American prosecutors at the war crimes trials. He became a leading voice among the native pro-fascists who made the Malmédy verdicts a *cause célèbre*.

Colonel McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald* prominently featured at that time Van Roden's patent falsehoods regarding the Malmédy trials. So too did the Hearst press: Columnists John O'Donnell and Westbrook Pegler made much of Van Roden's denunciations. Such post-war German Bund papers as the *Buerger-Zeitung* and the *Stoenen-Nous* picked up the Van Roden story. Gerald L. K. Smith's *Cross and the Flag* and the crackpot sheet, *X-Ray*, quoted extensively from Van Roden's articles and speeches. *The Broom*, a gutter fascist periodical whose editor was included in two wartime sedition indictments, editorially declared: "Judge Van Roden . . . makes it crystal clear that Roosevelt-appointed Justice Jackson's arbitrary code of international lynch law has brought everlasting disgrace upon this country. . . . The Jackson inquisitorial code is becoming more and more to be seen as simply a brazen device to divert attention from the Roosevelt cabal of war criminals who plotted to put America into war and . . . carried on a secret and wholly unconstitutional war against Germany for months and months."

happy, as I am afraid all soldiers—you will understand as I do because I was in active combat—and everybody started shooting all at once. That is what he reported as to the Malmedy incident."

McCarthy and Van Roden kept up their friendly exchanges. It was not long before McCarthy singled out a Jewish member of the prosecution team when he asked, "Judge [Van Roden], will you answer this question—You have had some contact with Colonel Rosenfeld?"

Van Roden sensed what McCarthy was leading up to. "To the extent I told you. We interviewed him in our office," he hedged. "Do you think he felt friendly or unfriendly toward the German race as a whole?" McCarthy then asked him. Van Roden carefully sidestepped this oblique piece of anti-Semitism, saying, "that is a difficult question for me."

There was no denying McCarthy, "Did he have an honest, fair, judicial attitude toward the German people? If you were a German, would you feel that you would be willing to have a matter of life and death decided by this man Rosenfeld?" Van Roden, electing discretion at this point rather than valor, replied, "I could not answer that question that way, senator."

The committee's "guest" kept up a drum-fire of anti-Semitic innuendo, attempting to discredit the verdict against the SS because Jews had helped reach it. When the Jewish members of the prosecution team appeared before the committee, McCarthy worked them over mercilessly.

He compounded his subtle Jew-baiting when he upbraided one American officer for hiring a German-Jewish refugee for the Malmedy interrogations. "Do you think it was good judgment to hire Steiner as your investigator and put him in charge of getting confessions?" the Wisconsin senator arrogantly inquired. Major Dwight F. Fenton, wondering just what McCarthy was driving at, asserted, "I did not hire him." It was soon made clear by McCarthy himself what was meant: "Whoever did give him that job, and getting confessions from men, by a man whose mother was killed in a German concentration camp; is it not unusual?" The answer was that Steiner had not been one of the interrogators.

The "Non-Aryan Refugees"

Again McCarthy employed this play on anti-Semitic prejudice while he was vigorously hounding another Jewish member of the American team, William Perl. Of all the GI's who figured in bringing the Malmedy gang to justice, Perl, a brilliant doctor of jurisprudence who had been driven from his native Austria upon the invasion of Hitler, probably was the most prominent.

McCarthy asked the witness about another member of the Malmedy interrogation squad who McCarthy presumed was also Jewish.

Said McCarthy to Perl, "Do you know whether Mr. Thon wore the decorations of the various [SS] defendants?"

Mr. Perl answered, "I never saw him and I consider it

impossible. It would have made him look ridiculous—an American with German decorations—in their eyes."

"Thon was not an American, was he?" McCarthy sneered.

The witness immediately retorted: "I believe . . . you are under quite a misapprehension. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Thon is an American-born Gentile. This is my best knowledge. I am certain he is in Philadelphia, that he was born in Philadelphia."

The ugly anti-Semitism that McCarthy had injected into the proceedings continued: "Some of the witnesses [i.e., nazi SS] here said that he was referred to as a '39er,' meaning by that a non-Aryan refugee from Hitler Germany," asserted McCarthy.

Even confirmation from committee counsel of Perl's contentions failed to shake McCarthy.

The one-man battering ram for the German lobby ticked off other "Jewish-sounding" names, asking: "Kirschbaum . . . is he an American? How about Steiner?"

Perl doggedly hewed to the facts. McCarthy dug into the witness: "In other words, you and Kirschbaum and Steiner were refugees."

Perl shot back: "I was an American officer, Sir, not a refugee."

McCarthy derided the combat record of the despised "refugees from Hitler Germany" and challenged Perl on his citizenship. Perl readily showed that he had procured citizenship while serving his adopted land in the armed forces. McCarthy remarked that he had gotten it "fast" and "had not taken the usual time to get [your] citizenship."

The "Wise Decision"

Finally, under the unrelenting racist hammering of McCarthy, former Lieutenant Perl complained, "It is quite obvious why the Senator mentions my European birth." Which prompted the infuriated McCarthy to bellow: "I think you are lying! You may be able to fool us. I have been told that you are very, very smart. I am convinced you cannot fool the lie detector!" He ranted that Perl was a "liar" and demanded that the other "Americans of very recent origin" and "refugees from Hitler Germany" submit to lie detector tests.

For McCarthy the Perl scene was the denouement. McCarthy walked out of the subcommittee hearings a few days later in a blaze of epithets. Baldwin, he charged, had conducted "a shameful farce," perpetrating "a deliberate and clever attempt to whitewash" the American GI's.

Less than two years after the McCarthy defense of the SS murderers, McCarthy's aim was achieved. By early 1951 the entire gang of SS murderers had their sentences commuted. In Western Germany the neo-nazi movement rejoiced at the SS commutations. When he was informed of the commutation of the SS sentences, a yellow-stained smile wreathed the dark-jowled countenance of the junior senator from Wisconsin. "It's a wise decision," smiled Joseph McCarthy.

ROSH HASHONA: DAY OF JUDGMENT

The traditional blowing of the shofar was the clarion to rally for liberation of the Jewish people from oppressors

By Kalman Marmor

FROM the earliest days onward the blowing of the shofar was a signal for the Jewish tribes to rally to fight for liberation from their oppressors. Thus it was, for example, when the primitive peasant king, Saul, led his people's fight for freedom from their oppressors, the Philistines.

The blowing of the shofar also signified the advent of Yom Kippur, the day of disposition and restitution, when the land was taken from those who had unjustly seized it and returned to its rightful possessors, those who through their efforts had made the soil flourish and bloom.

When Tishri became the first month in the Jewish calendar, the first day acquired even greater significance. The day of the shofar blowing (Yom Tekiah) now became the Day of Judgment (Yom Hadin), when all the accounts of the Jewish people and mankind were settled.

The fall of the Jewish kingdom, the dispersal of the Jews among various countries and peoples, the centuries of persecution inflicted on them, their struggle against destruction—all this has fostered among Jews, earlier than among any others, love for peace and a passion for justice.

As with all other peoples, the Jews were never cut of one cloth. Bitter class struggles were fought in the Jewish states of Israel and Judea. In those ancient times, there were not only laboring peasants and workers eking out a wretched existence, but also landowners and rich men who drained the blood and will of the toilers, who robbed them of the rewards of their labors and who finally, after depriving them of all else, sold them, their wives and their children into slavery.

The Jewish ruling class hated and feared Amos, Jeremiah, Isaiah and the other social prophets whose words throbbed with sincerity, truth and demands for justice and equality. The rich, powerful Jewish exploiters, who obtained their fortunes through robbery and duress and lived luxuriously on the sweat and suffering of others, constantly agitated against these prophets, persecuting and, when possible, getting rid of them.

The landowners and rich men had "prophets" of their own, false prophets who used their fluent tongues to serve the oppressors. The exploiters had at their disposal, too, reactionary priests, lawmakers and judges, who blessed their evil practices. These voluntary and unscrupulous servants of the "Golden Calf" were the bitterest enemies of the Jewish masses and of the handful of prophets who honored truth and cried for justice.

The Jewish ruling class and their henchmen deported

Amos as a "subversive alien"; they imprisoned Jeremiah, and sought to torture him to death; they drove the aged Isaiah into hiding, found him and (according to the T'nach) cold-bloodedly murdered him.

But ultimately the Jewish overlords disappeared from among the Jewish people, blending and becoming part of the more powerful ruling classes of Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Persia, Rome, etc., helping their masters to persecute and oppress the Jewish masses and their spokesmen.

For this reason, the Jewish enemies of the people figure very little in Jewish tradition and culture. Our inheritance from ancient times is the expression rather of the feelings and struggles of the ancient Jewish toiling masses, of their spokesmen, the social prophets, and the followers of the prophets.

The Jewish people's culture of today is also an expression of the lives and struggles, the labors, joys, and sufferings of the Jewish masses. This modern, progressive culture is attuned to and created by the Jewish masses throughout the world. Just as their predecessors did in ancient times, so too the modern Jewish overlords abhor this culture and seek to cripple and destroy it. They hound and harass the creators, builders and supporters of progressive Jewish culture, which loyally carries forward the thousands of years old desire of the laboring Jewish masses for a peaceful world order ennobled through justice and equality.

But the Jewish masses will never relinquish the quintessence of true culture, and those who understand the real meaning of the shofar-blowing will never cease to inform mankind that all men and women are the descendants of the same parents and are equally entitled to harvest and enjoy the fruits of the soil.

On the occasion of the year 5,715, the shofar-blowing of the laboring masses will drown out the trumpeting of the temporary ruling interests of the earth. The call for peace and justice will sound louder than the cry for war.

Evil and loud are the drumbeats of the servants of the "Golden Calf," who are prepared to sink mankind in a sea of blood rather than let justice prevail.

But the day will come when the age-old struggle of the laboring masses against evil men will end victoriously. Then the entire world will hear the long blowing of the shofar (the Tekiah Gedolah), the mighty summons to a world day of judgment, of reckoning. Then a new "Rosh Hashona" will begin for laboring humanity and thenceforward the peoples of the world will live in peace and equality and justice, forevermore.

OUR CHILDREN AND JEWISH SCHOOLS

A discussion of the problem of Jewish education and the reason why the progressive Jewish school is desirable

By Sam Pevzner

SOON the exciting autumn day when the children return to school will be upon millions of parents. With the glow of the summer sun in their faces, with laughter and excitement the mothers send them off that morning.

But there is trepidation in the hearts of the parents as well. A shadow looms over their children as they caper off to school. It is the shadow of war hysteria and A-bomb drills, McCarthyism and the resultant cultural terror and degeneracy. For the Jewish parent there is the added shadow of anti-Semitism, discrimination and the resurgence of an arrogant racism.

The progressive Jewish parent is keenly aware of these shadows and therefore is deeply concerned about the atmosphere in which the child learns and plays—and what he learns. The concern is there but there is not always understanding of the solution. The Jewish parent faces an added problem—can there be an identification of the child with the Jewish people without nationalistic or mystical overtones? This identification can be very important for the child, especially if the other Jewish children with whom he may play or go to school attend a shule, Talmud Torah or Hebrew School or are taking private Hebrew lessons or express a “Jewishness” based on the nationalism learned at home.

So the parent faces a two-fold problem: how to give his child an education that will induce a democratic outlook on life and how to help the child identify himself with the Jewish people so as to advance this progressive outlook, which has no place for mysticism, nationalism or Jewish chauvinism (superiority theories). To be sure, the search for a Jewish education which excludes these elements is not limited to progressive-minded parents only. Thousands upon thousands of parents who may not share all the views of progressives are interested in just such an education for their children.

In recent years the pressures upon the children and the parents for identification have been on the increase with the national sentiments awakened by the Hitler murder of millions of Jews and by the establishment of Israel. Events and circumstances have made all Jews more conscious of their identity with the Jewish people. The falsity of the kind of assimilationism which bows to the Anglo-Saxon “superiority” rampant in our country has become more easily recognizable to millions of English-speaking and native-born Jews.

The ferment of recent years has taught many Jewish pro-

gressives that their ideals, which embrace the mutual interests of the workers and common people of all nations or national groups, are not in contradiction with their identification with the life and struggles of the Jewish people. For parents who confront the problem of adjusting their children to the real world, where Jewish consciousness and nationalism play a role, the right kind of Jewish education is a very serious question.

What School for My Child?

In his search for the right kind of Jewish education the parent surveys the field and finds the religious schools (Talmud Torah, Temple school, private religious schools) or the secular schools (Workmen's Circle, Farband, Sholem Aleichem and the progressive schools). The secular schools, with the exception of the progressive Jewish schools, have in recent years departed more and more from their “secularism” and have begun to introduce religious elements. In addition, with the same exception, these schools have become increasingly nationalistic and have begun to fill the children's minds with the myth of a Jewish superiority (Jewish chauvinism).

Symptomatic of this encroaching evil are the words expressed by Itzhok Warshawsky in the *Jewish Daily Forward* (Sept. 1, 1951): “I see that Jewishness has developed a higher sort of person. I have compared the average Jew with the average *goy* (sic!), our leaders and their leaders, and I have seen that the first are of a higher sort. . . .”

Certainly no progressive or liberal-minded parent would want such dangerous pap fed to his child. Luckily for him there exists in the Jewish community the type of school which gives the child a healthy, positive approach to his own Jewish heritage. At the same time this school strengthens his bonds with other national groups and peoples, especially with the laboring groups of all nations.

We refer to the over 100 progressive Jewish schools. Their vitality and growth are attested by the fact that they comprise the largest Jewish secular school movement in the United States despite the concerted efforts of McCarthyites in the general and Jewish community to slander and destroy that movement.

The progressive Jewish school movement all over the country covers the range from kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools (mittelshul) to the School of Higher Jewish Education in New York. This movement has al-

ways played a significant role in the life of Jewish workers. It was founded by the militant Yiddish-speaking working class movement, which more than any other group contributed to the appreciation of a progressive Jewish culture in the United States.

The Declaration of Principles adopted in the winter of 1950 by the progressive Jewish schools indicates the stress put on the traditions of struggle for liberation of the Jewish people and their relationships with the struggles of the other peoples of the world.

The Declaration says, "During these days, more than at any other time, it is necessary to reaffirm the position of the progressive school—its objective of bringing to the child the heroic traditions and struggles of the Jewish common men (*folks-menshn*), their contribution to the life of the peoples and especially their struggle for freedom and American democracy." And through song, playlet, reading and dance the child learns of the existence of a progressive Jewish culture and enjoys its fruits.

In the shule the child studies and plays in an atmosphere of love for peace, brotherhood and humanism. Regardless of shortcomings that may exist in a local shule, this atmosphere alone is of incalculable value to the progressive or liberal parent and his child. On the American scene today the child is surrounded by the advocates of war, racism, hatred and sadism everywhere he goes. His moral values are being corrupted every hour of the day. Informers are made into heroes, hydrogen-bomb madmen are extolled as statesmen, blood, terror and hoodlumism are in the center of his TV, radio, press and comic book values. The poor soul has little else than his enlightened parents to turn to for a breath of fresh moral air. And one of the few oases in the stifling desert of hysteria and unreason is the progressive Jewish school.

The Question of Yiddish

But there are parents who would deny their children a sojourn on this oasis because they say that they do not wish to burden the children with learning the Yiddish language, which is an important subject in the shules. This aversion to Yiddish may result from a lack of knowledge of the significant role that Yiddish has played and still plays among the Jewish people of the United States, especially among the working people. We disagree with those who tend to make a fetish of learning the Yiddish language. This fetishism is expressed by those who maintain that a knowledge of Yiddish is absolutely necessary if one is to be a "good" progressive Jew. Non-adherence to this position, however, should not lead to a position just as erroneous, namely, one which fails to recognize the value of an acquaintance with the Yiddish language. It is true that the child's associations with his people and their aspirations are richer if he becomes acquainted with the living language of a large section of them which has contributed more to progressive Jewish culture than any other.

Progressive Jewish culture, until recently for the most part embodied in the Yiddish language only, was not and is not an ornament or nostalgic medium for enshrining tradition. It is a vital part of the life and struggles of the Jewish working people. The building of a progressive Jewish culture was itself a product of struggle. It aimed to mould a healthy progressive ideology among the Jewish people and combated those who would chain the mind to obscurantism, cultural degeneracy and atrophy. In all this the Yiddish language played an important role. It was the vehicle which the workers used and developed as the bearer of their vital culture.

The struggle for the citizenship of Yiddish in itself was an important part of the democratic aspirations of the Jewish people. And these decades of struggle, expressed in the Yiddish language, have created a rich cultural heritage that can be available to the English-speaking parent and his children.

The schools, like any other living institutions, have to meet changing situations with new methods and orientations. In the past the parents of the children attending the schools were in the main Yiddish speaking. But today the overwhelming majority of children come from English-speaking homes. English-speaking parents are becoming more and more active in the leadership of the schools—working side by side with the Yiddish-speaking leadership, which has been the backbone of the school movements through the years.

Build the Schools

It is of vital importance that the English-speaking parents and others interested in progressive Jewish education contribute their influence and activity to build the schools, to shape the curriculum, to select and develop teaching staff. Many weaknesses in content and methods could be eliminated if the schools had the cooperation of those parents who could bring to bear a real understanding and awareness of the needs of a democratic progressive education. Some parents make the error of avoiding the issue of a progressive Jewish education for their children because they feel that some weakness or other exists in the local school or in the school program in general. Instead of trying to rectify the weaknesses by participating in the work of the school, such parents often stand aloof, thereby denying their own children the education they should have and keeping from the school the benefit of their opinion.

Despite the efforts to destroy this school movement, despite the McCarthyite atmosphere and terror, the progressive school movement registered gains last year. New schools were organized and hundreds of new children were enrolled. In some places the progress was impeded only because of lack of qualified teachers. The demand for a progressive Jewish education is there.

The new school year, which begins after Labor Day, should achieve new gains in growth and quality. Most important in realizing this is the active support of all parents

and organizations for the schools. Where none exists now, a school should be organized. Guidance on this can be received from the Committee for Progressive Jewish Education at 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, N. Y. Where schools do exist, efforts should be made to enroll children

in the new term just beginning and to help the schools solve their financial and other problems. This important institution can thus become an even better and more effective contribution to the American Jewish community. Let us not neglect our children in these days of trial.

BALLAD FOR THE GOOD BISHOP

By Max Rosenfeld

In a speech before the Women's Methodist Society of Milwaukee, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam said of Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R., Cal.) of the House Un-American Activities Committee: "Such a man will soon be telling us that Moses must have read Marx. Didn't Moses stand before a King and say, 'Let my people go'? Soon such individuals will suggest our blessed Lord was subversive."

Oh the children of old Abraham were strangers in the land
And hard were they afflicted by the Pharaohs' cruel command;
But the more they were afflicted the more numerous they grew,
So Pharaoh called his wizards in and asked them what to do.

"We'll work them on the pyramids and whip them all the while,
And Pithom and Raamses will nestle near the Nile,
And we'll scribe on the papyrus a retroactive law
Declaring un-Egyptian any brick containing straw,
And we'll license only midwives who under oath have said,
That Hebrew children, masculine, are all delivered dead."

So the children of old Abraham were burdened and oppressed
As they toted and they tunneled with nary any rest,
Till Moses came and organized them, right there on the job,
And now there was an army where before there was a mob.

But Pharaoh didn't like it and he quick sent out a squad
To bring this Moses fellow in, as well as Moses' God;
And he hollered and he ranted and he almost went berserk
As he charged them with sedition for slowing down the work.

But Moses wasn't frightened and he stretched out his hand,
And just as God had promised, He began to smite the land;
There was thundering and light-e-ning and hail as big as rocks,
And frog-plague and locust-plague and pestilence of pox.

And Moses told old Pharaoh that the Lord would let him be
As soon as he would see the Truth and set the Hebrews free.
But Pharaoh's heart was hardened and he sat there and he roared,
"I'll send you back to Goshen and investigate the Lord!"

So Moses sadly shook his head and blew upon his horn,
And all the Hebrew children came that famous fateful morn,
And Moses walked them safe and sound across the parted sea,
But Pharaoh and his charioteers, they perished mis'rably.
And Pharaoh still was gurgling as the surging waters poured,
"I'll send you back to Goshen and investigate the Lord!"

THE 1880's—BEGINNINGS OF JEWISH TRADE UNIONISM

By Morris U. Schappes

ALMOST 200,000 Jewish men, women and children came into our country between 1881 and 1890, a noticeable part of the more than five million immigrants that then landed on our shores. The Jews came from lands of turbulence and the cold and hot pogrom, but the land to which they came was not exactly placid. The Eighties were a decade of seethe, boil and pop.

The depression of 1883 to 1885 caused misery, resentment and resistance. Big employers on a rampage unloosed military, police and Pinkerton violence against workers. In response there came what even conservative labor historians call The Great Upheaval, from 1884 to 1886. At the peak of it, organized labor had a strength of one million—and then came the decline that was to force labor to wait until 1900 to regain that strength. This was the decade in which the Knights of Labor toppled from a membership of 703,000 in 1886 to 100,000 in 1890—and in which the American Federation of Labor was born and grew by 1890 to a total of 225,000. Big industry and expanding factory production had brought upon the scene a mass of semi-skilled and “unskilled” workers. These elements rose in “elemental protest against oppression and degradation,” uniting in flaring strike struggles and the mass fight for the eight-hour working day that brought at least temporary victory to a couple of hundred thousand workers.¹

The intensified exploitation, the depression, the violence of the employers aroused the workers, native and immigrant, to a rare peak of militancy and organization. The ideal of socialism spread widely. Strikes, sympathy strikes and boycotts became nation-wide. Some desperate elements among the workers and lower middle class resorted to violent anarchist talk, full of sound and fury, but hardly signifying what the infamous Judge Gary took it to mean when he sentenced the seven men of Haymarket to hang. Yet after Haymarket, the United Labor Party in New York almost elected Henry George as mayor, and the United Labor Party in Chicago sent seven victors to the Illinois State Legislature and missed electing a congressman by 64 votes. Watching the scene closely from London, Frederick Engels marveled at the “immense stride made by the American workingman in the last ten months.”

And of all this the Jews were, in their own way, a part.

Moreover, unlike the period before the new mass immigration from Eastern Europe in the 1880s, the Jewish workers were to become a *distinct* part of the labor movement. If these new immigrants finally established separate organizations it was not because they wished to separate themselves on religious or even on national lines, but primarily because they had to group themselves in terms of the only language they then had in common, Yiddish. German-speaking Jews could join organizations with German non-Jews, and Russian-speaking Jewish intellectuals might join organizations with Russian non-Jews. But since in general none but Jews spoke Yiddish, those Jews who could speak only Yiddish and could therefore be organized only in Yiddish had to build their own organizations on this basis. Most important, however, is the fact that although they built separate organizations, they always did so as a part of the American labor movement.

Jewish Labor Emerges

There were so many attempts and so many failures, so many gains so quickly lost, so many unions were born in the heat of strike-struggles only swiftly to collapse that some writers can hardly conceal their none-too-good-humored contempt for these efforts. Yet by the end of the decade, they had achieved a stable organizing center.

The first step was in fact tragic-comic. In the summer of 1882, some 5,000 longshoremen on the Erie Railroad docks struck for a five cent an hour wage increase, to 25 cents. The strikers were mostly Irish and Italian. The company sent agents, with the consent of the immigration authorities, to Castle Garden to recruit scabs. In addition to Italian and German immigrants, there were some 500 Jews who signed up, with the middle-class Hebrew Emigrant Aid Society supplying interpreters. To keep them in ignorance of the strike, the immigrants were taken to work and brought back each day in ships.

The Jews learned there was a strike the hard way: one of them strayed from the dock onto the street at lunchtime, and was pummeled by a couple of pickets. Two Jewish workers who knew a few words of English went out and ascertained what the situation was, arranging with the strikers that they would get the workers out to a meeting at Battery Park that evening to discuss the problem. Most of

¹ Selig Perlman in John R. Commons, etc., *History of Labour in the United States*, New York, 1918, vol. 2, p. 373-74.

the Jews, as well as German and Italian immigrants, decided that scabbing was not for them, although some of them hardly knew what it was all about. In fact, during the strike, Italian and Jewish branches of the Freighthandlers Central Union were organized. Something of a sensation was created on July 14, 1882, when 500 Jews were among those who marched from the Battery up Broadway to the union headquarters on the Bowery. The comic magazine, *The Judge*, however, carried on anti-Semitic cartoon, "The Russian Jews and the Strike." In it four clusters of Jews are drawn in a railroad station; three bearded Jews are shown trying to lift a 30 lb. case, while a policeman says, "May be as how these fellers ain't no good for this work, but in a few years they'll own all the railroads."²

First Organizing Efforts

During this strike, some of the young radical intellectuals who had been lured into scabbing joined with some others on the East Side to establish the Propaganda Farein, which had its first meeting on Friday evening, July 7, 1882. The secretary was B. Goldgar, a Polish Jew who had taken part in the Paris Commune in 1871. Although the Propaganda Farein began as a Russian-speaking society, it was soon realized that if they were to spread general socialist propaganda among the Jewish workers they would have to hold their lectures and meetings in Yiddish, which they proceeded to do, with Abe Cahan as their first Yiddish lecturer. This awareness was their historic contribution.³

In the same year, Jewish workers were making efforts to organize unions. On May 1, 1883, the Kinney Bros. factory on West 26th Street in New York, producing the then most popular cigarette, Sweet Caporals, was struck by some 700 workers, of whom almost 300 were Russian Jews, on the issue that the new Jewish workers get the same rate of pay as the others. The workers joined the Progressive Union of Cigar Makers No. 1, and the strike was supported by the Central Labor Union, but after five weeks the poverty of the workers drove them back to work.⁴

In July 1883 an action took place that the commercial press described as the "first immigrant strike," of 750 Jewish immigrants led by the new Dress and Cloak Makers' Union, affiliated with the Knights of Labor and the Central Labor Union. After two weeks, the workers won their main demands of \$2.50 per day and an 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. working day. Among the leaders were Jacob Schoen, a Hungarian Jew active in the Socialist Labor Party, who became "Master-Workman" of the Pressers' Local of the Knights of Labor Assembly, and Louis Smith, also an S.L.P. member, a Polish Jew who had been in the Polish Uprising in 1863 and the Paris Commune in 1871. The

union, however, soon disintegrated.⁵

The year 1884 again witnessed sporadic victories, short-lived organization, active struggles—and a groping towards clarity and stability. On February 24, the Russian Workingmen's Union took the place of the Propaganda Farein as a discussion center. Ideological confusion had entered the ranks of these Russian populist-socialists, who were now torn between ethical-culturism, anarchism and vegetarianism. For about a year these furious discussions were continued—in Russian. Meantime, the shirt-makers, a trade which attracted many Jewish student-intellectuals because it was the most easily learned of the garment-trades and because you could take work home and avoid the sweatshop, had organized a union including both workers and contractors. Conflict between these two groups soon broke up that organization. In the fall, the men's clothing tailors organized, went out on a general strike several thousand strong, held out for six weeks, and won, but the union did not last. And in Durham, N. C., a couple of hundred Jewish cigarette makers imported to work for W. Duke and Sons Co. were handed train tickets and shipped back to New York as soon as it was discovered that B. Goldgar had secretly organized the workers into a union.⁶

Jewish Workingmen's Union

In 1885 it looked as if a turning-point was being reached when an organizing center for Jewish trade unions emerged, named Der Idisher Arbeter Farein or the Jewish Workingmen's Union. The J. W. U. was itself a merger of two groups. In February, a couple of members of the Socialist Labor Party, the brothers Mitia and Niuma Gretsches, had sparked the founding of the Russian-Jewish Workers' Farein to spread socialist propaganda in Yiddish. This was the first labor group in the country to include the word Jewish in its name. In March, the Cooperative Publishing Association had been organized, with Jacob Schoen as treasurer, to raise funds for the publication of a Yiddish labor newspaper. On April 19, these two groups merged, adding to their purposes a third: to build trade unions.

Activity began at once on all fronts. Early in June, they were appealing to the general labor movement to support their picnic to raise funds for a Yiddish labor newspaper. At the same time, down on Bayard Street, New York, 63 members of the newly founded Hebrew Tinsmiths' Benevolent Union were in a desperate strike against David Block, a "slave driver" who was paying \$2 a week wages. Despite the aid of the J. W. U. and the Central Labor Union, with which the tinsmiths were affiliated, and the applause of the radical journalist John Swinton for adopting "the great American practice of striking in such a plucky way," the strike was reported lost on July 5.

On July 19, watching the organizing efforts, Swinton

² Herz Burgin, *Di Geschichte fun der Idisher Arbeter Bewegung in America, Russland un England*, New York, 1915, p. 86-87; B. Weinstein, *40 Yor in der Idisher Arbeter Bewegung*, New York, 1924, p. 30-36; *New York Tribune*, June 29, July 14, 15, 1882, for references to which I am indebted to Dr. Philip S. Foner; *Mois Scrapbook*, vol. 2, p. 37b, 33b, at the American Jewish Historical Society.

³ Burgin, work cited, p. 92-93; A. Tcherikower, ed., *Geschichte fun der Idisher Arbeter Bewegung in di Fareinike Shiten*, New York, 1945, vol. 2, p. 248.

⁴ *The New York Times*, May 2, 3, 1883; B. Weinstein, *Di Idische Unions in Amerika*, New York, 1929, p. 85-89.

⁵ Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers*, New York, 1924, p. 32-33; Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 2, p. 252.

⁶ Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 2, p. 258, 270; William M. Leiserson, *The Jewish Labor Movement in New York*, 1908, typescript, p. 18-19; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, p. 238.

wrote, "The Jewish Workingmen's Union is doing good work in organizing and teaching the principles of the labor question among the Hebrews. Karl Marx and Ferd. Lassalle were Hebrews, and they both left their stamp on this century." In the Labor Day parade on September 7, it was announced in advance that there would be two "novel features . . . female workers and Hebrew Trade Unionists." And they were there, conspicuous among the ten thousand in the line. Said the report, "striking silk weavers, shirt-makers, carpet workers, and Jewish working women, to the number of over two hundred in omnibuses and tally-ho coaches, made a remarkable feature of the procession." And the J. W. U. "turned out with good representation."

On October 14, 1885, the J. W. U. issued what may be the first labor leaflet in Yiddish; it dealt with the demand for the eight hour working day, and was written by Jacob Schoen, followed on May 6 by another leaflet on the same subject, in 3,000 copies. On May 1, 1886, the Jewish workers were noticeable among the 20,000 that came into the streets in New York to demonstrate for the eight hour day. By this time, the J. W. U. had organized about 14 unions, not only in the garment trades, but among grocery clerks, barbers, compositors and bakers. On October 17, a mass meeting of 600 established a Peddlers' Union, in response to a talk by B. Weinstein of the J. W. U. and a Negro delegate from the Central Labor Union. In the November elections, the J. W. U. and its unions took a very active part in the campaign of the United Labor Party to elect Henry George as mayor of New York. Yet by July 1887, the red-baiting hysteria launched by the ruling class and the commercial press after the Haymarket bombing, Henry George's expulsion of the left-wing from the United Labor Party, and conflict between socialists and anarchists inside the J. W. U. brought about its disbandment. It was to be two years before that ground was recovered.

Jewish Workers Study Marx

In the Jewish field, the most important development of the entire decade was the birth of the United Hebrew Trades in October, 1888.⁸ This became the first and only permanent organization center for Jewish workers in our country and, although its program and character have changed drastically, it still exists to this day.

Of fundamental importance is the fact that this trade-union center was organized on the initiative of a political party, stimulated at that time by the study of a Marxist classic in political economy. The background of this development shows that all the many halting steps, collapses and failures had not been only failures, and that out of these attempts there came a body of experience and of

personnel that was learning how to organize successfully. Thus when the Jewish Workingmen's Union disbanded in the summer of 1887, some of the socialist elements of the J. W. U. went ahead to build a Yiddish-speaking branch of the Socialist Labor Party. Branch 8, therefore, was born on September 10, 1887, with more than 25 members, at a meeting at 175 Ludlow Street, on New York's East Side.

In the Spring of 1888, the socialist-minded weekly, *Di Nu Yorker Idishe Volkszeitung*, began to make history by publishing serially, from April 6 to June 8, a Yiddish translation of Marx's almost 40 year old pamphlet, *Wage-Labor and Capital*. The Socialist Labor Party had already published an English translation in 1886, but the Yiddish-speaking Branch 8 was excited by the Yiddish translation and proposed to the *Folkszeitung* that it issue the serial as a pamphlet, of which Branch 8 bought 800 copies. During that summer, at the Friday evening educational meetings of Branch 8, this work was studied with the translator, Abba Braslavsky, Bernard Weinstein, Louis Miller and others reading the text aloud and leading the discussion.

Now it is in this pamphlet, *Wage-Labor and Capital*, that Marx made the historic contribution to the science of political economy by explaining the process by which the capitalist exploits the worker, the process by which he takes surplus value away from the worker. Marx also explained why it is therefore necessary for workers to defend themselves against the employers' natural desire to increase the rate of exploitation by organizing trade unions.

United Hebrew Trades Is Born

By the end of the summer, the members of Branch 8 were fully armed with this basic theory. Fired by the enthusiasm that comes with knowledge, the 19 year old shirt-maker, Jacob Magidow, moved on September 14, 1888 that Branch 8 undertake to organize the Jewish workers into trade unions and to stabilize them by founding an organizational center. As often happens to this day, the mover found himself on a committee of three instructed to go ahead and organize. The following Monday evening, Jacob Magidow, Bernard Weinstein and Joseph Lederer, the committee, went to Shenker's Hall at 20 Orchard Street to look up Branch 17 of the S. L. P. to ask for cooperation. Branch 17 was a but recently established Jewish branch which, however, spoke Russian and not Yiddish. Branch 17, which already had a committee working on helping to organize furniture workers, at once agreed—and designated as its Committee of Three the 24-year-old Leo Bandes and the 18-year-old Morris Hilkovich (later Hillquit), both shirt-makers, and one Tuttschnitt.

Both committees then turned to the most experienced organizers in the field at that time, the German comrades, whose United German Trades was a powerful organization with origins going back to 1850. The Germans readily agreed to help. The search for existing Jewish unions was more difficult; meeting rooms sometimes had union charters on the walls, but the unions themselves were gone.

⁷ Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 2, p. 272; Burgin, work cited, p. 98, 110; Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, May 1952, p. 12-13; *John Swinton's Paper*, June 7, 14, 21, July 5, 1885; *Arbeiter Freins*, London, July 15, 1885; *John Swinton's Paper*, July 19, September 6, 13, October 25, 1885; Leiserson, work cited, p. 25.

⁸ The facts in this section, many of which are published for the first time, are derived from a paper I presented to the 46th Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, February 22, 1948, "The Political Origins of the United Hebrew Trades, 1888." Copious documentation for these new facts is included in that paper.

Nevertheless, a founding conference was held on Tuesday, October 9, 1888 at the Labor Lyceum, 25 East 4th Street. Present were Magidow and Weinstein of Branch 8 and Bandes and Hillquit of Branch 17 of the S.L.P., A. Huber and M. Goericke of the United German Trades, Wilhelm Rosenberg, a Jew who was editor of the organ of the German section of the S.L.P., *Der Sozialist*; J. Werber of the Hebrew-American Typographical Union of New York, L. Lenzer and I. Krinsky of the Choristers' Union, composed of those who sang in the choruses of the Yiddish theaters, and Moshe Simonov of the Actors' Union. Also present, without any recorded statement of whom they represented, were Ph. Levin, a compositor who was elected financial secretary, a Susman who became treasurer, and a Gordon who, with Lenzer, was elected a delegate to the United German Trades.

With Leo Bandes presiding, the conference voted to establish Di Fareinikte Idishe Gevekschaften (United Hebrew Trades), with Rosenberg proposing the name, modeled after Die Vereinigte Deutsche Gewerkschaften (United German Trades). Officers elected, in addition to those already mentioned, were B. Weinstein as recording secretary, and Hillquit as corresponding secretary. It was decided that minutes should be kept in Yiddish, but that reports of the proceedings should be sent to the German as well as Yiddish labor press. Altogether represented at this historic conference were perhaps 100 Jewish workers in unions and possibly another hundred in the S.L.P., a small beginning indeed. The treasury, by the way, consisted of the \$10 contributed by the practical, experienced German comrades.

The U.H.T. Program

To complete the formal organization, one more thing was needed: a statement of principles or a program. At the next meeting, on October 16, Hillquit and Weinstein brought in a draft program, which was carefully examined and adopted. The program, as we shall see, reflected the fact that the United Hebrew Trades was conceived by the S.L.P. and that some of the persons involved had just studied Marx's *Wage-Labor and Capital*. It is a radical program, for an American trade union movement perhaps a little sectarian, although it must be remembered that the preamble of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor speaks openly of the unbridgeable class conflict between workers and bosses. Yet this program was not based primarily on ideas these young immigrant Jewish workers brought with them from abroad, but actually on the main stream of the New York labor movement of that period.

What has never been noted before is this: that the program of the United Hebrew Trades was modeled very closely on the Constitution and By-Laws of the Central Labor Union of New York and Vicinity, the largest working-class organization in New York, with 207 locals representing 40 to 50 thousand members affiliated with it in 1886. With this constitution before them, Hillquit and

Weinstein, and then the group as a whole, went over the text line by line, retaining what they agreed with, and modifying whatever sentence, phrase or even word they felt needed change. The basis of the changes made was two-fold: their recent study of Marx, and their experience as Jewish workers. A few examples will suffice.

The C.L.U. program had in its opening paragraph spoken of an organization "through which all branches of Labor may prove allies to any particular one that may be oppressed, and all may form one Brotherhood for the defense and protection of the laboring masses." The U.H.T. program revised this to read more sharply: "A central organization to which all the existing trade unions affiliate, so that they may resist oppression and support each other in the struggle against capitalist exploitation." Having read *Wage-Labor and Capital*, these Jewish workers knew what capitalist exploitation was, and they wanted the concept in their program.

Where the C.L.U. defined the purpose as one of "mutual protection, education and social advancement" of the workers, the U.H.T. spelled out the purpose as "mutual protection against the oppression of capitalism, and to make clear to the workers that they can free themselves from the yoke of capitalism through organization and trade unions on the one hand, and through political struggle on the other." No pure and simple trade-unionism here, not after studying Marx! Similarly, the C.L.U.'s "prevailing system" is changed to the U.H.T.'s "capitalist system," and the C.L.U.'s desire for a social system "based upon equity, morality, and the nobility of all useful labor," is changed to a system of "justice, freedom, and international solidarity." The one change that reflects the experience of Jewish workers occurs in one of the specific demands: where the C.L.U. called for "sanitary inspection of mines, factories, dwellings and all conditions of labor," the U.H.T. specified "inspection in . . . shops and all handwork benches," for it was the latter two that corresponded to the experience of Jewish workers.

Thus, with a skeletal organization and a program based on that of the general labor movement and on their own understanding and needs, the United Hebrew Trades faced the task of organizing the mass of Jewish immigrant workers. Of course they met opposition from the employers and the middle class English-Jewish press. They also faced the attacks of the Anarchists and the hostility of Samuel Gompers, who mistakenly thought the Jews were organizing on a divisive religious basis rather than on a Yiddish-language basis as part of the American labor movement. While these attacks could hinder, they could not stop the progress of the organization. Within five months, the U.H.T. had 11 unions affiliated with it, with a membership of 1200, and in March, 1890, the sum was 22 unions with 6,000 members. There were going to be many setbacks and ups and downs, but with the United Hebrew Trades the Jewish immigrant masses of workers went into the 1890s with an effective organizing center that significantly changed the picture of that decade.

ARNOLD ZWEIG AND THE RUMOR MILL

By Dr. Leo Katz

Vienna
Several days before I left for Germany there was a report in the Vienna press that Arnold Zweig had wanted to take a trip to Rome, but that the government of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) had refused permission. During the past few years Arnold Zweig had been in Vienna several times and each time had paid me a visit. For that reason many people, after reading the above mentioned report, telephoned me: "Is it true, as the *Kurier* and other papers are saying, that Arnold Zweig is very much distressed by the anti-Semitism which prevails in East Germany and that the government is not permitting him to visit Rome because it is afraid he will go from there to Israel?"

The people who called me are by no means hostile to the progressive movement. And they also know that for years the *Kurier* and the *Arbeiter Zeitung* have been printing the wildest lies about the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies—lies which are always exposed a few days later. Still, these same people had read the report about Arnold Zweig and asked themselves: maybe there is some truth in the story? So I assured them that as soon as I reached Berlin I would get in touch with Arnold Zweig.

The day after I arrived in Berlin I rode out to suburban Pankau and went to 13 Homeyer Strasse. Writers whose books sell well earn a lot of money in the German Democratic Republic and Arnold Zweig is one of these writers. He lives in a beautiful villa with a large garden and has a car and chauffeur. He immediately asked me to take a ride with him through the city. Soon we were in the center of Berlin and I asked Zweig whether we could cross over to the West side. "Why not," he answered and told the chauffeur to take us across.

When crossing over to West Berlin you are not required to show any documents. Only the license number of the car is recorded—both in the East and the West zones. In the British Zone we stopped at a cafe. Each of us had some West Zone currency with us. We ordered cold drinks and sat at a table on the terrace. The tables around us were unoccupied. Then I asked Arnold Zweig:

"Is it true that you want to run away?"

He looked at me in blank amazement, as though he didn't even understand the question. I then told him what the Vienna papers had been writing about him.

Still shocked, he said: "We are now in England. This cafe is British territory. If I wanted to 'run away,' why go all the way to Rome? You know quite well that from my home it is only five or six minutes walking distance to the French Zone of Berlin. But since you asked me, I will show you something. A few weeks ago I had been thinking of going to Switzerland for 14 days. I notified the passport authorities and the currency authorities. Four days later I received my passport and 2,000 Swiss francs. Here—I have them with me. And if I needed more, I could get them. And if I wanted to travel to Israel (where I lived for 18 years, by the way), I could get permission at once."

"But the newspapers say that you want to escape, because you can no longer tolerate the prevailing anti-Semitism."

Arnold Zweig replied: "Shall I tell you there are no anti-Semites in the German Democratic Republic? Certainly there are. You cannot look into anyone's heart. But official anti-Semitism? Anti-Semitism which anyone would dare to display publicly? The policy of our government is absolutely opposed to anti-Semitism. Look—next year my collected works will be published. You know that in my novels I have written much about Jews, and with a sympathetic Jewish heart. But all of my works will be included. I doubt very much whether I would be able to publish these same works in West Germany or even in England."

We returned to East Germany. Zweig's villa is near the former home of Leo Zuckerman, who fled from East Germany in 1952. It was Zuckerman's flight which led to the horror stories of anti-Semitism in the German Democratic Republic. When we passed the house, I asked Zweig, "Can you explain to me—or to yourself—why Leo Zuckerman fled?"

"You know that we were on intimate

terms with the Zuckermans?"

"That's exactly why I am asking you." "I can't explain it. About her—I know she was a bitter enemy of the progressive government. Frau Zuckerman often tried to 'agitate' my wife. I once even complained to *him* about it. He told me that she was not completely normal and that she was being treated by psychiatrists. But when I learned about *him*, I was shocked. The United States radio reported Zuckerman's flight on January 6, 1953, but it was later established that he had already crossed to the other side around December 15, 1952. I got an inkling of it myself on December 24, when I sent him a gift and my chauffeur returned with the news that Zuckerman's home was closed and that his neighbors said that no one had been seen there for days."

Upon leaving Zweig I made some inquiries about the case of Zuckerman because I had spent some years with him in Mexico and had lived with him in Berlin in April 1952. I discovered that his own brother, Dr. Rudolph Zuckerman, a noted heart specialist who had come over into East Berlin from Mexico after Leo had fled, had said that Leo had been an American agent for years.

This much is certain: Leo Zuckerman had maintained a bank account in West Germany while he held an important post in the German Democratic Republic. A certain Mr. Bloch was a visitor in his house. This Bloch had emigrated to South Africa before the war and in 1951 again showed up in Berlin. He lived in West Berlin and was a frequent guest at Zuckerman's house. Through him Zuckerman used to transfer sums of money from East to West Germany. Zuckerman now lives in Mexico; so much the better—let him say whether or not this is true. If Zuckerman "fled," he knew why he was "fleeing."

I wish there were only ten per cent of the educational work against anti-Semitism and for equal rights in "free Austria" as in the German Democratic Republic!

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld.)

WHITE LAKE LODGE . . . White Lake, N. Y.

LIONEL STANDER (Cultural Director) and TONY KRABER (Co-Director)

SPORTS — BOATING — SWIMMING — NIGHT PATROL

Day Camp: 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m.

MAKE RESERVATIONS NOW AT:

251 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C.; or call WAtkins 4-6600

ISRAEL AND ASIAN LIBERATION

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

Tel Aviv

Sometimes it seems that the rulers of Israel, our official statesmen, do not begin to understand in what year they are living and where the country is located over which they rule so "successfully." They forget, apparently, that we are living in the second half of the 20th century and that our country belongs to the continent of Asia. Most important, they forget that the peoples of Asia in the middle of the present century are conducting a victorious, historic, liberation struggle against foreign domination by the imperialist West.

The struggle for national reawakening and independence—this is the banner of the Asian peoples in our time. The slogan, "Asia for Asians" has been transformed into the battle-cry of a just war. And as mentioned, the struggle is not only just; it is victorious. It is impossible to assess the unparalleled, historic significance of the victory which the Chinese Revolution won over feudalism and imperialism. The vast people's democratic Republic of China, 500-million strong, is building, together with the Soviet Union and the European people's democracies, a mighty fortress and supporting force for the strivings of all the Asian peoples for freedom and independence. The victory of the heroic Korean people which overcame the intervention of 16 imperialist countries, led by the United States army, navy and air force, proved that the Asian peoples will no longer accept the dictates of the imperialist powers. They are ready to defend their right of national sovereignty even against the military preponderance of the foreign interventionists, and even against the falsely-used flag of the "United Nations."

The splendid victories of the Democratic Vietnam Republic over French colonialism, which is aided by American imperialism, are further proof that the era of oppressing and crushing the freedom-aspirations of the enslaved peoples, this era is over and will never return. Dien-Bien-Phu was transformed into a symbol: the stronghold of imperialism in Asia is crumbling! Countries like Burma and Indonesia are also intensifying their struggle for complete and genuine national independence. Recently, too, India has entered upon the road of a more independent policy for peace and for helping Asia against foreign imperialist rule.

The awakening of Asia is today a his-

toric fact which only the blind cannot see. The awakened peoples of Asia are today a tremendous factor on the international arena. Without them no problem can be solved. American policy in Asia is suffering one defeat after another because it does not take into consideration all these changes which took place in Asia after the great socialist October revolution, and especially after the historic victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and after the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution. American policy treats the peoples of Asia as objects of its own imperialist and world-strategic plans. But the peoples of Asia laugh at this passive role which Dulles has written for them. They set these plans at naught, because they are plans aimed against world peace and against the security and independence of the peoples.

Dulles fled from Geneva because he could not tolerate an atmosphere in which the representatives of People's China sat as one of the five great powers, in which the representatives of People's Korea and People's Vietnam appeared as sovereign spokesmen of free nations. Dulles waited impatiently for the Geneva Conference to collapse, and then perhaps for England and France to accept his plan to create an aggressive war pact in the Pacific Ocean, on the model of the Atlantic Pact. But it is already clear that the peoples of Southern Asia will not join such a pact. For they understand that such a pact means an American attack upon China, as well as a war between China and other Asian nations who would have joined the pact: that is, a war of the Asian peoples among themselves for the sake of American world domination.

Thus, the ambassador of Burma in Washington, Mr. Barrington, says that "the countries of Asia have no intention of participating in the anti-communist crusade" organized by the United States of America, because the "co-existence of both worlds, the communist and the non-communist, peacefully, side-by-side, is possible. . . ."

Exactly as in the Far East, so also in the Near and Middle East, American policy is trying to form a regional aggressive war pact for attack upon the socialist countries. And exactly as there, so also here, it is meeting violent resistance from the peoples. The Pakistan-Turkey axis received a heavy blow right at the beginning

when millions of voters in Pakistan almost unanimously rejected the military pact which was to function under American leadership. Iraq refused to join the pact, but the agreement of the Iraq government to accept military aid from the United States was enough to evoke such a storm of Iraqi public opinion that it brought about the dissolution of Parliament and the formation of a strong opposition voting bloc against new American aid and against the old agreement with England. The mission of the Pakistan Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan to Korea ended in a complete fiasco; Egypt, too, refused to join the American axis in the Middle East as the third partner. So far not a single Arab country has agreed to join the Middle Eastern war bloc. The Near East is beginning to move in the same direction as the Far East. And no force in the world will be able to obstruct or to halt this historic march.

All this official Israel policy refuses to recognize. The government of Israel is the only one in the entire Middle East which has taken upon itself the role of policeman of the imperialist West against the liberation movement of the Asian people. During a recent political debate in the Knesset, Prime Minister Moshe Sharret and Defense Minister Pinhas Lavon and their assistants in the coalition parties practically declared their love for the rulers of the United States. For the "ideals" of Dulles and McCarthy, for the "defense" of the "free" world.

This line, which is directed against the strivings of the Asian peoples, against the historic tendency of our age, leads to a still more severe isolation of Israel in the international arena. Not only the Arab countries, but no other Asian country has yet sent a diplomatic representative to Israel. Thus Israel has become separated not only from its neighbors, but from the entire Asian continent. And so long as the present policy continues—with the imperialist West against the Asian peoples—so long will Israel remain alone, isolated, unrecognized, throughout the continent upon which she is building a new, small sector.

If we wish to secure our national future, if we wish to buttress our national existence, we must become a part of the general front of the Asian peoples who are struggling for peace and national sovereignty against the aggressive and grasping schemes of the imperialist West. Without such a turn the safety of Israel is impossible. The conversion of Israel policy into an anti-imperialist channel is a necessity of life for our people and our country; it is a question of existence or non-existence.

(Dr. Moshe Sneh is leader of the Left Socialist Party in Israel.)

Book Reviews

A NOVEL OF NEGRO REALITY

By Frank Cantor

Youngblood, by John O. Killens. Dial Press, New York. \$3.95.

When a book appears these days that sings with love and confidence in mankind—a book, moreover, that deals with one of the noblest themes of our era, the struggle of the Negro people in the South to be free—it is a time for rejoicing and acclamation. Such a time, in this reviewer's opinion, has occurred with the publication of John O. Killens' *Youngblood*.

The publisher's blurb says that the book might well be called a "fictional autobiography of a race." Actually the blurb comes close to an accurate characterization. For in telling the story of a Negro working class family in a small town in Georgia in the first four decades of this century, Killens is telling the story of the irresistible forward movement of the Negro people for full citizenship—for equality—for liberation. With realistic detail and in moving scenes he tells a story for today, when the Negro people's liberation movement is rising and forging ahead toward a juncture with the working class. And, like a powerful overtone, the larger story of man's growth in the process of struggle arises from the tale of the *Youngblood* family and pervades the narrative with a proud, triumphant note.

Youngblood is primarily the story of the *Youngblood* family in the town of Crossroads, Georgia, and of their struggle for survival. It is the story of Joe *Youngblood*, who works in Mr. Cross' turpentine factory, beaten but not crushed by Jimcrow life; of Laurie Lee, Joe's wife and the mother of his two kids, and her efforts to raise her children to live with their heads up in the white man's world; and of Robbie, their son, and his growth to manhood in an epoch when unionization is beginning to appear in the South.

At the same time it is the story of Richard Myles, Northern Negro schoolteacher who comes closer to his people when he goes South to teach in Crossroad's Jimcrow public school; and of Oscar Jefferson, the "different" kind of white "cracker" who moves slowly, laboriously, in spite of his prejudices, toward common cause with Negroes.

But because of Killens' selectivity, because of his knowledge of his people and his insight into the reality of the South, *Youngblood* is even more than the story of a few people's lives. It is the story of a people, a town and a society that is being transformed before its eyes. A host of characters parade through the book, reflecting a multitude of types and strata. Here are a Negro preacher, brilliantly championing his people's cause; and a Negro school principal, capitulating before his white masters. Here are Negro workers and white workers, white liberals and white reactionaries, Negro youth and white youth. Here is the South in much of its diversity. And here is a truthful picture of people and of life.

"*Youngblood*" is a remarkable novel in quite a number of ways. As a sheer narrative tale, it moves with an extraordinarily engrossing quality, unexpected in a first novel. It is often written with a genuine poetic flavor, truly expressive of the folk quality of Southern Negro speech. It is peopled with characters drawn from life, their own language on their lips. It abounds in humor, sorrow, anger and love—in scenes of enormous power and others of surpassing tenderness. It has the scope of a saga and much of the spirit of a poem. And it fills the reader with a renewed confidence in the vitality of American democracy that is being nourished by the Joes, Laurie Lees and Robbie *Youngbloods* and by the Oscar Jeffersons of the South.

While the dominant theme of the book is the invincible struggle for human liberation, Killens handled a number of corollary themes with noteworthy success. For Killens is also concerned with a young boy's growth to maturity and his love for a girl; with the bonds that knit a family together; with the struggle to organize the South; with the myth of "Southern white womanhood" and the crimes perpetrated in its name. *Youngblood* is a pitiless exposure of hypocrisy and oppression; a biting indictment of justice, Southern style; a masterly portrayal of the way in which discrimination injures the white masses, too, and, above all, an affirmation

of the ability of the people to move ahead toward freedom.

I think that if Killens had widened his focus to reflect in some way the lives of the Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers who comprise the most significant section of the Negro people in the South, he would have written even a more profound and realistic novel that he has. I feel also that the detail in which he reports the sex talk of young Negro boys, as well as certain seduction scenes, strikes a note that jars with the generally inspired tone of the book. The great masters of the realistic novel, such as Balzac, Gorky, Chekhov and others, have shown how it is possible to portray any- and everything that is human without the slightest aura of sensationalism. A writer as talented and equipped as Killens need not content himself with anything less.

Killens' handling of love relationships, so beautifully done in the case of Joe and Laurie Lee and the schoolmaster Richard Myles and his first love Hank Saunders, is not on an equal plane when he portrays Robbie's love for Ida Mae Raglin or Myles' subsequent marriage to the schoolteacher Josephine Rollins. That is because, in the first instances, Killens makes us see the mutuality of interests, and the struggle for common ideals that roots love deeply in human beings, while in the latter these are missing.

These criticisms, nevertheless, detract nothing from the extraordinary contribution to a genuine American literature that Killens has made in his book.

A truthful democratic literature in the United States requires the reflection of the reality of the lives of the Negro people as well as their relation to white Americans. In *Youngblood* Killens has brought much of the truth of the Negro people onto the literary scene and the result is a strengthening of the embattled democratic tradition of the American novel as well as a profound and moving clarification of what is going on among a significant section of our country.

There are few scenes in any novel written in the United States that possess more power and beauty than Killens' chapters on Joe's confrontation of the white paymaster, or Laurie Lee being forced to whip Robbie in the sheriff's office. For that matter, there are few characters in all the countless novels being published today who are as typical, as genuine and as vital as the *Youngbloods*. Readers of *Jewish Life*, who understand the importance of the role of the Negro people in solving the problems facing Jews in the United States today will find their understanding deepened and their hearts stirred by *Youngblood*. This is a warm, true and beautiful book.

Letters from Readers

Criticism of the Citron Review

Editor, JEWISH LIFE:

It seems to me that Alice Citron's review [in the July issue] of Dr. Sanford Goldner's pamphlet, *The Jewish People and Negro Rights*, completely misses the point and consequently damns by faint praise.

I am one of those who has had the good fortune to study the pamphlet and to have had the experience of selling it to both Negroes and Jews. As a result, I am convinced that a more positive review is in order.

Dr. Goldner's work is entirely built around a very important point: that is, that the Jewish people have a profound stake in the struggle for Negro rights. *This is the essence.* And the value of Dr. Goldner's contribution to Negro-Jewish relations lies in providing an approach that is, in the first instance, valid, and, in the second instance, easily understood and accepted by the Negro people themselves.

All too often, Jews have approached questions of concern to the Negro people only from the point of view of helping them. This, unfortunately, has been true of the left as well as liberal and other Jewish organizations. Negroes, naturally resent patronage from whatever source.

Recently I attended a meeting in which a large number of middle class and professional Negro community leaders discussed a highly important campaign. When I spoke, using the point of departure indicated in the pamphlet, I found I really reached the audience. They accepted the idea of a Jew who wants to work with them because he sees the future of his own people linked with theirs; the fact that I spoke of FEPC for my children was more authentic than a humanitarian attitude; the fact that Jimcrow

cuts my standard of living is far better reason for fighting it than simply saying, "It's not nice." And above all, when I showed them that I understood the direct link between their oppressors and those who would recreate the Buchenwalds and gas chambers for my people, then my position in their ranks was solid. This is the meaning of Dr. Goldner's contribution.

Confirming my personal opinion is the reaction of Negroes themselves. Those who read the pamphlet have the highest praise for it. One told me he read it three times to get all the meat out of it. An important Negro political figure quotes from it both in discussion and his writings.

While it is true that this main theme could have been supplemented by a presentation of already existing Negro-Jewish relationships, I do not believe this question is of prime importance—nor does it merit more than two-thirds of a review. To have reviewed the pamphlet and completely omitted its main premise is a far worse omission than that of the author's.

Jewish members of all organizations will undoubtedly give substantially more support to existing Jewish-Negro relationships (which unfortunately are mainly at top professional levels) and press for expansion of such work if they understand their own stake in the struggle for Negro rights. And while I agree that those who are already disposed toward Negro-Jewish relationship will use experiences enumerated in the review in convincing their friends that such activity is sponsored even by the most conservative organizations, I believe that the broad masses of Jews need even more an understanding of their own stake in this activity.

Dr. Goldner's pamphlet presents a concept which will tremendously improve Negro-Jewish relationships. Not only does it deserve better treatment at the hands

of JEWISH LIFE, but it deserves the widest possible circulation to the end that Jews everywhere will march with the Negro people in ever increasing numbers cognizant of their own stake in the victory that is in the making.

N. K.

Los Angeles

Alice Citron Replies

Since the Goldner pamphlet was addressed primarily to the Jewish people, it was the duty of the reviewer to indicate how Jews can actively participate in the fight for Negro rights. Neither JEWISH LIFE nor the reviewer presumes to tell the Negro people what to do. A publication addressed to the Jewish people at this time must indicate the stage of relationship between the Jewish and Negro people so that it can better assist the development of activity by greater numbers of Jews. There is no disagreement that the masses of Jews "need even more understanding of their own stake in this activity."

The point that N.K. misses is that elucidation of the period of the greatest activity between Negroes and Jews, the period of the anti-fascist war, gives lessons for the present. It was precisely because masses of Jews understood that the struggles of the Negro people contributed to their own survival that large and joint mass actions took place. An understanding of this period and the present stage of Jewish-Negro cooperation gives a positive

DON'T MISS MASSES & MAINSTREAM FOR AUGUST

H-BOMB—WEAPON AGAINST
HISTORY

by Jean-Paul Sartre

THE RIGHT TO TEACH

by Robert Morris Lovett

SCHOOL FOR CRIME

by Albert E. Kahn

A Poem,

SYNCOPE FOR A "PATRIOT"

by Dalton Trumbo

A Story,

CHARITY WARD

by Philip Bonosky

An article commemorating the 50th anniversary of the death of Antonin Dvorak by Sidney Finkelstein.

Four drawings made in Guatemala by Anton Refregier

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE

by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

At your newsstand. 35 cents

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

832 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

RIDGEFIELD RESORT

RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT

TEL.: RIDGEFIELD 6-6548

70-acres of beautiful landscape - swimming - rowing - tennis - shuffle board - games - concerts

DANCING

Social staff: MEYER & LUBA EISENBERG; JOHN FLEMING;

RITA FOX, NAT FIRDMAN, BILL SMITH

DAY CAMP UNDER COMPETENT SUPERVISION

WEEKLY RATES: \$48-\$63 PER PERSON; BUDGET FAMILY RATES

FOR INFORMATION OR RESERVATIONS, CALL OR WRITE TO THE RESORT

place to start from for the Jew who is influenced by Goldner's thesis. If this is not done, the conclusion one reaches is that nothing ever happened; nothing is happening, and where does one start from anyhow.

Does N.K. think that each individual Jew can best contribute to Jewish-Negro cooperation by appearing at banquets and luncheons and announcing his fealty to the struggle for Negro rights? My own experiences differ sharply from his. The Negro people judge Jews and other potential allies on the basis of deeds, not words.

If space had been available, I would have given even more attention to the lessons of the war period based on my 20 years of active participation in the Negro liberation movement. A flaming example of the positive in Jewish-Negro cooperation is the great victory won to abolish segregated schools. Negro leaders have pointed to the cooperative role played by the American Jewish Congress and other organizations of the Jewish people. If the Jewish left played no direct significant role in this mammoth struggle, the leaders of the American Jewish Congress cannot be blamed. Obviously, it is a clear indication that the struggles of the Negro people were underestimated as well as the possibilities of bringing this struggle to the Jewish masses. It is an indication also of isolation from organized Jewish life.

If the leaders of Congress and others played the role that they did, it was because they knew the masses of the Jews would be receptive and would hail a victory. There is evidence that this is what did happen. This cooperation was a logical development of the joint activities developed over the last 12 years. It is not unrealistic to say that with the heightened understanding of the dangers of McCarthyism and war, the organizational ties that exist between Jewish and Negro leaders can be brought to larger groups of Jews. It is a mistake to play this down. We must master well the lessons of the fight around the anti-segregation fight. The Jewish left will have to play a more active

and leading role on this question and others in Jewish organizations.

There was no intent in my review to belittle Dr. Goldner's significant contribution. I believe firmly that the criticism is valid and constructive. An addition along the lines suggested in the review would add greatly to the value of the pamphlet.

ALICE CITRON

Schappes on Brandeis

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Several readers have made criticisms of my review of a book on Brandeis published in JEWISH LIFE, December 1953. A discussion of the points raised has been held by the Editorial Board and agreement has been reached. The essence of the criticism was that I had given a one-sided presentation which, while correctly pointing out Brandeis' progressive contributions, omitted important limitations in his thinking and his actions.

In my review I stated: "It was Brandeis and Holmes who in 1919 first presented the formula of 'the clear and present danger' as a barricade to those who, after the first World War, sought to destroy the First Amendment." It is an oversimplification to regard this formula as a "barricade." In point of fact, the concept of "a clear and present danger" marked a retreat from the clear statement of the First Amendment that Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, press and assembly. After the First World War, when Big Business reaction launched an all-out attack on the rights of the people and the working class to freedom of speech, Brandeis and Holmes bowed to and retreated in the face of the attack. The formula they offered is actually a *weakening* interpretation of the First Amendment. The real barricade of the First Amendment was thus breached by the "clear and present danger" formula. Nevertheless, the First Amendment was still an obstacle to reaction, and progressive forces have even had to and have used the formula of the "clear and present danger"

to defend themselves against those who would abolish the First Amendment altogether. This formula was used and useful in fighting reaction but it was of course much less effective than the original doctrine of the First Amendment. Part of our freedom and our constitution was lost with the acceptance of that formula.

That this formula was actually a breach in the barricade of the First Amendment was indicated in the Vinson majority opinion in the Dennis and Smith act case. Vinson used the "clear and present danger" formula for reactionary purposes by "finding" that a clear and present danger existed owing to certain international factors (the Korean war, etc.). As Black and Douglas pointed out in their dissents, the Vinson doctrine virtually abolished the First Amendment. Regarding the "clear and present danger" formula as a right to limit freedom of speech, it did away with this limiting formula and substituted instead the concept of a "probable" danger at an unspecified time in the future.

Secondly, in referring to Brandeis and Sacco and Vanzetti, I wrote in my review: "Brandeis demonstrated his sympathy with Sacco and Vanzetti in 1921 when he 'per-

Special Tercentenary Offer!

Morris U. Schappes' DOCUMENTARY HISTORY of the JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES plus

One year sub or renewal to JEWISH LIFE

Total value—\$8.50

Our special price: \$5.50 for both

JEWISH LIFE

22 East 17 St., Rm. 601, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Enclosed please find check (money order) for \$5.50 for which send me Schappes' *Documentary History* and one-year sub (or renewal) to JEWISH LIFE.

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

CAMP LAKELAND

(ON BEAUTIFUL SYLVAN LAKE)
Only 65 miles from New York

Cultural theme: 300 years of contributions of Jews to America

NADYNE BREWER and a fine cultural and social staff

Excellent food prepared under supervision of Lea Kitzes

FINEST ACCOMMODATIONS

For a vacation or weekend that offers a full program of activity as well as a restful atmosphere, make reservations NOW at CAMP LAKELAND, 1 Union Square West, N. Y.

DAY CAMP FOR CHILDREN

Telephone: AL 5-6283

mitted the wife and children of Nicola Sacco to use (his) Dedham home' while Sacco was in the Dedham jail. In 1927, when lawyers for Sacco and Vanzetti tried to get a stay in order to take an appeal to the Supreme Court, Brandeis *denied* the stay because as he explained, of his 'personal relation with some of the people interested.'"

Not only did I fail to underline my disapproval of this "sympathetic" denial, but I completely overlooked the comment made on this shocking denial by Sacco and Vanzetti themselves. In a letter written the very next day, and only five days before they were executed, they said: "Judge Holmes repelled our appeal on the ground that the State Supreme Court had passed on the case and he does not want to invade the State Court ground."

"Yesterday, Judge Brandeis repelled our appeal on the ground of personal reasons; to wit, because he or members of his family are favorably interested in our case, as demonstrated by the facts that after our arrest Rosa and her children went to live for a month in an empty house of Justice Brandeis in Dedham, Mass."

"These two justices are the symbols of liberalism in the Federal Supreme Court and they turned us their shoulders."

"Now our lawyers are presenting the appeal to Justice Stone. Since the other Federal Supreme Court Justices are reactionary, well, that will be a good ground on which to repel our appeal. So that it is coming to pass that some justices repel our appeal because they are friendly with us and the other justices repel our appeal because they are hostile to us, and through this elegant *Forche Caudine* [being forced into humiliation—Eds.] we are led straight to the electric chair."

What more can be added to this historic characterization of the value of liberal sympathy when it leads to illiberal action?

Brandeis was a bourgeois liberal at a time when such liberalism could not, with its own resources alone, defend democracy and the Constitution effectively from the Big Business onslaught. The Brandeis type of liberalism is weak because it often fails to align itself with the working class as that class moves forward for the extension of democracy. A grave danger exists today when some liberals think that, without the workers, they can become a decisive force in the fight against fascism. The defeat of fascism, it seems to me, requires a coalition of all liberal forces together with the working class.

Nothing I have said in this letter changes the judgment in my review that "no progressive today can afford to make the obvious limitations of Brandeis' thinking a hindrance to his recognizing what

is there as a weapon now against McCarthyism." General reaction and the Jewish plutocracy would do away with the Brandeis tradition because there is still "bold democratic thinking" in it. Opponents of McCarthyism can and should

use this Brandeis tradition as a club with which to hit McCarthyism. If properly understood and used, it can damage the enemies of our country and our Constitution.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

Tercentenary Celebration

A dramatization through dance and song of 300 years of Jewish struggles for equal rights and cultural achievement of 300 years in the United States

CARNEGIE HALL

Saturday Evening

OCTOBER 16

Tickets at \$1.10, \$1.65, \$2.20, \$2.75, \$3.30

Auspices:

COMMITTEE FOR 300TH ANNIVERSARY OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT IN THE USA

189 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.
Telephone: GRamercy 7-1375

Tickets Available at the Committee Office

The Informer: Befouler of the Nest

A SHARP attack on the professional informers employed by the Department of Justice to testify against alleged communists or other non-conformists was made by Milton K. Susman, anti-communist editor of the Pittsburgh *Jewish Criterion*, in the July 30 issue. "These professional tale-bearers," wrote Susman, "are no protection for our freedom; they are our freedom's undoing. When the elusive dollar becomes the determining factor between truth and falsehood, then no one is safe from the snooper's tongue. . . . The local pastures are not without their crop of tattlers. We have two or three distinguished members of the informers' guild who will swear to anything for a fee. . . . They are the very ones who in a sanctimonious effort to cleanse the nest, befoul it most."

Jewish Life announces

A SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE!

The times call for at least a doubling of our readers.

How it can be done:

Each subscriber (that means YOU) gets at least one new subscriber.

Organizations develop sub drives among their members.

Get up house parties for new subscribers.

Get lapsed subscribers to renew their subs—the woods are full of them.

A prize will be given to each person sending in five or more subs.

EACH SUBSCRIBER IS AN ADDITIONAL SOLDIER IN THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE!

OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

Let's Face It

This column is being written without the assurance that it will see the light of printer's ink. Of course, if you are reading it now, then somehow, by dint of superherculean efforts, or desperate emergency measures, or loans—somehow, enough money was raised to get the printer to allow the presses to roll. You cannot blame the printer when he is owed \$2500 for back issues.

We saw this situation coming because the fund drive this spring fell far short of the mark. But we hoped against hope that we could keep going—and while we issued warnings from time to time, we didn't want to send up the alarm signal which would warn that we might have to close up shop. Well, the time of decision has come—our readers, committees and supporting organizations will have to decide NOW whether JEWISH LIFE shall appear next month or not. Unless there is immediate response to our appeal—one that will bring in at least \$4000—we will not be able to carry on.

Here's the Facts

In addition to the \$2500 owed the printer, wages have not been paid for a number of weeks. And remember, your splendid magazine is being issued with only two paid staff workers at the present time. The office is without a secretarial worker due to its inability to pay wages. So expenses are down to the bare minimum. The Managing Editor and Business Manager are burdened with all the technical tasks in addition to the normally over-heavy load of work they carry. With a few loans that have to be paid and other expenses the present total debt is \$4000. Another thousand dollars are needed to finish the year. Five thousand bucks by the end of the year—that is the difference between life or extinction for your magazine. I shudder at the word "extinction" as I type it on paper—and I am sure that you do too. Impossible—it cannot be allowed to happen! Would our readers do the work of the McCarthyites who have been moving heaven and earth to destroy JEWISH LIFE and other militantly democratic journals like it? Shall \$5000 be allowed to spell the death sentence for a magazine that has won the

loyalty, respect and affection of thousands of readers and friends? Of course not, it is unthinkable! That, I am sure, is your answer to the question.

Your Answer

The only thing that can save us now is at least 200 readers and friends who will give \$10.00 to save the magazine at once. Then, at least 100 readers who will give \$100, \$50 or \$25. We urge that YOU become one of the Save the Magazine donors by sending in your contribution immediately and soliciting donations from friends. It may mean a sacrifice but the time calls for such sacrifice. Make yourself a committee of one to get donations from \$10 and up (of course, less is welcome when it is offered) and send them in without delay!

An Example

That money can be raised for the magazine is shown by the experience of Morris U. Schappes. Morris, knowing the situation in the office, couldn't let his vacation go by without making an effort to raise funds and build the magazine. He was at a small New York State resort, one which has never been the scene of JEWISH LIFE activity. The majority of the vacationers there never read the magazine, with some never having heard of it. By talking about the magazine and selling copies of the August issue he returned from his vacation with the following results: raised \$288 from 28 people, got 11 subscriptions with promises of more to come and sold 40 copies (all he had). See, it can be done; one must only think about it and then do it.

Subscription Campaign

Schappes' inspiring work, especially in building circulation, brings us to the announcement of a huge circulation campaign to start immediately after Labor Day. If our committees and readers work more diligently on building circulation (subs and bundles) the heart-rending situation in regard to finances might not exist. Building circulation is the most important task we face—and it is as well the healthiest way to assure an income which will minimize the number of fund appeals we are forced to make. There are

thousands of people who need our magazine. There are even thousands who once were subscribers but who have permitted their subs to lapse. All of these people can be signed on the dotted line for subs. Our aim is to achieve 1000 subscriptions and renewals from September to December. Every present reader of the magazine is asked to get at least one subscription. That's minimum. But what we really urge is that our friends work to become JEWISH LIFE builders by getting five subscriptions. Approach all your friends, acquaintances, fellow-workers and fellow-members of your organizations.

Plans are afoot to hold a meeting of JEWISH LIFE readers and committees in New York City to launch the subscription campaign. Other cities should do likewise.

Now is the time to plan on increasing bundle orders as well. With the big issue dedicated to 300 years of Jewish life in the United States and the 8th anniversary of our magazine planned for November, the occasion is ripe for a concerted campaign to build circulation. Let's get to work.

Tercentenary Data

Received from my favorite youth organization the following information:

The Jewish Young Fraternalists will open its celebration of the Tercentenary by sponsoring cultural competitions in connection with its Festival Camp Week to be held September 6th to 12th at Camp Lakeland, Hopewell Junction, N. Y. The contest will be based on the theme of 300 years and will cover the fields of music, literature and graphic arts. All young people are invited to make entries. Performances and exhibits of winning entries will be offered at the Festival. Participants in the Camp Week and prominent guests will judge all entries. The Festival at Lakeland will be a gay, spirited affair with campfires, sports, dancing, folk singing and just plain loafing and socializing. For information on the contest and reservations write to Sholem Studios, 11 West 18th Street, New York City, or phone FO 8-4209.

More Than Data

The gala opening event for the Tercentenary will be the celebration in Carnegie Hall on October 16. Plans are on the griddle to make this a memorable evening, worthy of the great progressive traditions of the 300 years of struggle for equality and justice by the Jewish people of the United States. Tickets are available and should be picked up at the office of the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A., 189 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

gust 7, Leslie B. Bain states that the witch-hunters' "activities in the last few weeks have taken an unpleasant turn toward anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism." . . . The Hebrew Theological Seminary in Chicago had put down a \$12,000 deposit on land in the wealthy Evanston suburb to build the college which they were planning to move from its previous location (unfortunately, it is necessary to report that the move was made to change the location of the college from a neighborhood in which Negroes were moving in). The City Council of Evanston early in July forced the college to give up this land in what local Jewish spokesmen called a clear case of anti-Semitism. *The Sentinel* on July 15 editorially complained that local Jewish leaders were "strangely silent" and called for strong protest. . . . Vandals broke into the Sun Valley Jewish Center in Los Angeles late in July and destroyed the Holy Scroll, burned prayer books and defaced the pulpit. . . . Four teen-agers, including one GI, shouted anti-Semitic and obscene epithets during the service on July 9 at Philadelphia's Shaari Zadek Synagogue. When the rabbi and several elderly members went outside to stop the noise, the youths assaulted them. Two other synagogues in the city had attempted robberies the same weekend. Two weeks later a synagogue was robbed of \$240.

Notes on war on Jimcrow . . .

The administrative committee of B'nai B'rith on July 9 voted full support of the Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling. . . . Lester Granger, prominent Negro and special consultant to the Navy on racial problems, resigned the post on July 25 because he said that the Navy was not doing enough to wipe out racial segregation. . . . Persistent charges that Jimcrow practices exist in the New York City public schools finally forced the city's Board of Education to ask the Public Education Association to investigate the charges. . . . The National Association for Advancement of Colored People has been urging action by the federal government against Jimcrow in railroad coach travel. NAACP witnesses testified on this practice at Interstate Commerce Commission hearings on July 27.

EUROPE

Jews in the Soviet Union . . .

The Soviet press announced on July 23 that the official responsible for the fake charges in the case of the Moscow doctors,

former Deputy Minister of State Security M. D. Ryumin, had been executed after being found guilty of having falsified evidence and caused unjustified arrest of Soviet citizens, "including medical workers." . . . Tsetsilia Samoilovna Bobravskaia (Zelikson) was awarded the Order of Lenin, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* announced on July 3, for 50 years of activity in the revolutionary movement . . . *Literaturnaya Gazeta* on May 22 announced the election of an eleven-man Communist Party committee of the USSR Union of Soviet Writers (a group elected annually). Among the eleven was A. Shtein. . . . In the company of Soviet puppeteers that performed in London in July, were nine Jews (*London Jewish Chronicle*, July 9).

Jews in Poland . . . A Yiddish broadcast from Warsaw late in July announced that Joel Lazebnik, active in Jewish affairs, was awarded the Banner of Labor, Second Class, on his fiftieth birthday. . . . Another Warsaw broadcast in Yiddish about the same time announced that the Cultural-Social Union of Jews in Poland planned a national festival of Jewish drama groups, choirs, dance ensembles, orchestras and solo recitals in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of People's Poland.

Renazification notes . . . Nine desecrations of Jewish cemeteries around Frankfurt were discovered in July, as well as in the old Jewish cemetery in the university town of Heidelberg. . . . The World Jewish Congress Information Department reported late in July that a number of editors under the nazis are now accredited correspondents. . . . About 3500 former nazis, who were interned by the British in Northern Germany, now demand "compensation for injustice."

The bill concerning "crimes against the state" offered by the Israel regime came in for criticism in the Knesset from deputies from all Israel parties—Mapam, Mapai, Communist Party, Hapoel Hamizrachi, General Zionists, etc. The Hapoel Hamizrachi representative said that under this bill "everyone in the country can be regarded as a criminal"; a General Zionist deputy drew a parallel of this bill with the witch-hunt in the United States.

The emigration from Israel continues. In mid-July a party of 100 left for Turkey and Iran and 70 are awaiting transportation to Rumania. The *London Jewish Chronicle* reports (July 23) that "The majority said they were leaving because of unemployment and economic difficulties."

A new bill proposed by the Israel government indicates that the government regards Yiddish as a "foreign language." The proposed bill would restrict circulation of foreign language publications, including the Yiddish. The heads of the Association of Yiddish writers in Israel, David Pinski and David Sutzkever, are protesting.

Three Israeli delegates headed by Deputy Minister of Agriculture Jacob Efrati departed at the end of July for Moscow, where they participated in the agricultural exhibition opening in August. They went at the invitation of Soviet Agricultural Minister Benediknov. This is regarded as a sign of the closer commercial, cultural and social ties of the two countries.

The Tel Aviv press reported in July that Mrs. Chaim Weizmann, wife of the late Israeli president, was planning to make an extended visit to the Soviet Union.

SPECIAL OFFER TO NEW SUBSCRIBERS

With every new subscription we will send FREE the text of the stage hit, The World of Sholem Aleichem, by Arnold Perl (in Contemporary Reader, February 1954). Act quickly. The number of copies is limited.

JEWISH LIFE

22 E. 17 St., Rm. 601, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

I am a new subscriber. Enclosed please find check (money order) for \$2.50, for which send me a free copy of the text of *The World of Sholem Aleichem* and a year's sub.

Name

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....

L

ne
in
u-
a-
z-
el
er
oe
st
th

es.
ey
a-
h
a-
of
"

v-
nt
"
a-
n-
s-
a-
o-

p-
ti
v,
al
nt
al
as
al

y
ne
o
et

E