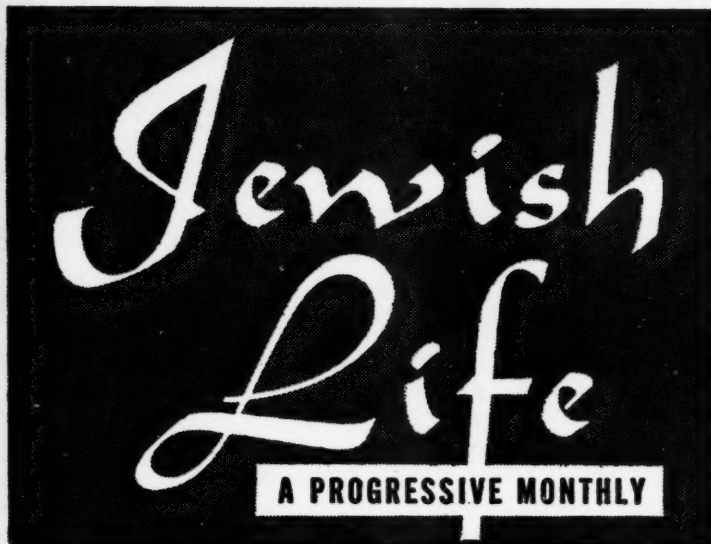


Stories of Three Hundred Years: VIII



THE NINETIES—
UPS AND DOWNS OF
JEWISH TRADE UNIONISM

by Morris U. Schappes

OCTOBER 1954 • 25¢

an editorial article



WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE H-BOMB?

JEWISH STAKE IN THE ELECTIONS *by Louis Harap*

WHY DO THEY THRILL TO KILL? *by Alice Citron*

URIEL ACOSTA *unpublished chapter by V. J. Jerome*

AN INTERVIEW WITH EHRENBURG *by Ben Cohen*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . The Anti-Defamation League last February submitted to the Army a report indicating that anti-Semitism was behind the "security" suspensions of 38 Monmouth employees, almost all Jewish. The ADL requested further inquiry by the Army. At the end of August the Army replied that the charge of anti-Semitism had "no basis." The ADL is not convinced. The ADL statement said that "the unfortunate public impression" that "communism" at Monmouth "was rooted almost without exception in Jews, came largely from the collateral activity of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations." (*Sentinel*, 9-12). . . . In an anti-communist speech on August 16, B'nai B'rith President Philip M. Klutznick warned that "Efforts to lessen the status of any of the ten amendments . . . that make up the Bill of Rights, including the Fifth Amendment, actually tend to undermine the structure of freedom." . . . Hadassah at its 40th annual convention on August 24 passed a resolution expressing "unequivocal belief that security with freedom is an imperative and an achievable goal for America." The safeguarding of civil liberties is the "foundation of this freedom and constitutes the most powerful weapon against totalitarianism and tyranny."

Virulent anti-Semitic placards were borne by pickets in front of the White House in mid-August. The signs of the "Christian Anti-Jewish Party" pickets read: "Free America from the Jews," "Jew-Communists and Jew-Controlled press are against Sen. McCarthy. Please help him," "Defy the Jews and Restore Segregation," "Jew-led NAACP and Jewish B'nai B'rith's ADL made Supreme Court ban segregation." Police left the pickets undisturbed.

Anti-Semitism is being used against Oregon's Democratic senatorial candidate, Richard L. Neuberger. *The Nation* said editorially on August 28 that "[Republican candidate] Cordon's headquarters has distributed anti-Semitic material about Neuberger which is so offensive that even small town papers, nearly all of them Republican in tone, have denounced the state's senior senator for injecting religious bigotry into the campaign."

Strong condemnation of racial segregation (the United States and North Africa)
(Continued on page 30)

Jewish Life

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Shall We Lose Our Magazine?

Last month our leading editorial informed our readers of our catastrophic financial situation. We appealed for immediate financial aid. We wish we could say that the response was good. It was not. A handful did send inspiring letters and checks. But the rest were silent.

When we say that we don't know whether we can come out, this is the straight fact. Isn't it a shame that, for want of only \$5,000, we risk extinction of our magazine?

Can you imagine what the Jewish scene in our country would be without JEWISH LIFE? Was there ever a time when we needed the magazine more? Our country is driving toward fascism with accelerated speed. What this would mean for the Jewish people is illustrated by the Miami witch-hunt, in which the inevitable anti-Semitic accompaniment of the drive to fascism has manifested itself in brutal, inhuman form. More than ever, the voice of resistance and clarity represented by JEWISH LIFE is as necessary as the breath in our bodies.

Draw your own conclusion. We have no magic means of paying the printer—we have only you. This time, please respond. If each one of you sends us something, we shall be over the hump. Sit down now and send us a check. The next issue, devoted to the Tercentenary, must come out. Make it possible with your contributions.

WHAT TO DO ABOUT THE H-BOMB?

Reform rabbis discuss the problem of the H-bomb. This vital issue must now be taken up throughout organized Jewish life

An Editorial Article

THE dike has been breached. Silence in Jewish organized life on the H-bomb has been broken. But we must not allow the silence to close in again. Awareness of the peril to mankind is growing. It must fight through to full expression in the organizations of the Jewish people.

The discussion has been started in the Rosh Hashona (September) issue of the Reform organ, *American Judaism*. Under the heading, "What Shall We Do About the H-Bomb?—A Plea and Responses," 14 opinions from rabbis and laymen are printed. First is the plea by Rabbi Efraim Michael Rosenzweig, director of the Hillel Foundation of the University of North Carolina to "Stop the H-Bomb!" "I believe," he wrote, "that when the first H-bomb was detonated, man reached a barrier beyond which he should not cross. . . . The H-bomb is terror, stark and simple. It has no other use than destruction and it may be suicidal." Together with the rabbi, a group of ministers at Chapel Hill "have banded together to sound the alarm against further exploration into terror. All of us believe that the government should put a stop to the making of H-bombs."

He then calls upon Reform Judaism to take up the fight. "I believe that we Jews should be foremost in this great ethical venture. We would best serve mankind in this crisis by demanding, with regard to the H-bomb, and in the name of God and man: 'Go no farther!'" Rabbi Rosenzweig urges the Joint Commission on Social Action of the two branches of Reform Judaism, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, "to take action now." He concludes, "Will the Commission have the courage and compassion to introduce a resolution [at the UAHC biennial convention next February] that will put American Reform Judaism on record against the H-bomb? I wonder."

The Discussion Has Begun

Rabbi Rosenzweig's passionate plea was sent for comment to members of the Joint Commission and replies from 13 rabbinical and lay members were published in *American Judaism* following Rabbi Rosenzweig's statement. The discussion is highly significant, for one of the most important sectors of American Jewish life is represented by this journal, which is issued by the UAHC and

its three affiliates, the National Federations of Temple Brotherhoods, Sisterhoods and Youth. The responses do not show unanimity of tactical approach to the problem but they show deep concern. Together they bring out various aspects of the problem, as discussion invariably does. Three of the respondents fully agree with Rabbi Rosenzweig's proposal. Five dissent, not because they believe nothing should be done, but because they oppose "unilateral" action by our government. Another takes the view that killing of one or of millions is equally bad and "war itself" should be renounced. One thinks that the question should be left to the "military experts." One regards the proposal as "dangerously unsound" but thinks that the horror of the H-bomb may be a deterrent to war. And, finally, two believe that the solution lies in the relaxation of international tensions.

Most important of all is the fact that this discussion has occurred. For it is an unfortunate fact that Jewish organizations have been mute on this most urgent of all questions facing mankind today—to be or not to be. There is a tendency on the part of the Jewish leadership, except for the left, to avoid or even suppress discussion of the H-bomb or relaxation of international tensions, except as this relates to Israel. Even an issue so close to the Jewish people as rearmament of a renazified West Germany has been systematically avoided in the past few years. This is in sharp contrast to Jewish organized life in all other parts of the world, where this issue has had a high place on the agenda.

But now Reform rabbis have broken the ice on the H-bomb issue. This is fitting enough. No more profound ethical challenge faces mankind today than the prospect of annihilation by the H-bomb. We have had ample warning of the doom that will ensue upon an H-bomb war. One of the world's outstanding physiologists, a Nobel Prize winner, British scientist Dr. Edgar Douglas Adrian, said in his presidential address on September 1 before the British Association for Advancement of Science: "We are afraid, and rightly, because we cannot trust ourselves to act peaceably, because we know that unless we give up some of our old loyalties, we may be forced into a fight that might end the human race. . . . We must face the possibility that repeated atomic explosions will lead to a degree of general radioactivity which no one can tolerate or escape" (*New York Times*, September 2).

This is clear enough: stop the H-bomb or end the human race. Spiritual leaders of world Protestantism, East and West, faced up to this question at the second assembly of the World Council of Churches meeting at Evanston, Ill. On August 30, they passed a resolution calling for "prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, including atomic and hydrogen bombs, with provisions for international inspection and control, together with the gradual reduction of all armaments."

Now Rabbi Rosenzweig has taken the initiative for the Jewish community in our country. This should be taken up throughout the length and breadth of Jewish organized life. Responsibility falls upon the Jews, no less than on any other group, to accept their share of the burden of saving mankind from H-bomb incineration.

Obstacles To Be Overcome

But the way will not be easy. It can be anticipated that many people will say, how can you negotiate this question if the Soviet Union refuses to do so? This point was raised, for instance, in the response to Rabbi Rosenzweig by I. Cyrus Gordon, chairman of the Joint Commission on Social Action. "But so long," Gordon wrote, "as the world is threatened by Communist aggression and *refusal even to discuss effective disarmament proposals*, common sense requires that we maintain our maximum strength, which includes hydrogen armaments" (emphasis added).

We cannot here go into the hoax of "Communist aggression." But is it true that the Soviet Union "refuses" to discuss outlawing of the H-bomb? The record does not support this view. On the contrary, all the facts show that the Soviet Union has insistently and on many occasions urged negotiations for banning the H-bomb under conditions of strict international control. The reason why the Soviet Union is not participating in President Eisenhower's atomic energy pool plan is that the Eisenhower administration refused to accept the Soviet condition that negotiations to ban the bomb be undertaken. This hardly shows a refusal to negotiate the issue. And last spring, when the world was frightened by the test explosions of the H-bomb in the Pacific, the Soviet Union proposed a conference on banning the bomb. At the UN Disarmament Commission meetings on the issue in May and June, the Soviet Union offered a resolution providing for "the unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs . . . and an international agreement guaranteeing the establishment of strict international control over the implementation of that prohibition."

The truth is that the Eisenhower administration is resisting negotiations leading to the outlawing of the H-bomb. It is resisting negotiations all down the line, just as the truces in Korea and Indo-China were won in spite of and not because of the position taken by the Eisenhower administration. Washington persists in keeping the cold war going and heightening international tensions. As Indian Prime Minister Nehru said of the recent South Asian agree-

ment (SEATO) forced through by John Foster Dulles, this treaty has the effect of reviving the tensions relaxed by the Indo-China truce. This cold war Dulles approach to all international problems is inhibiting negotiations to ban the bomb and can only lead to hot war.

Unity for Survival

But the H-bomb can be banned if the American people are determined to save themselves and the world from extinction, just as the American people's resistance to involvement in a shooting war in Indo-China with risks of opening World War III stopped the scheme of the China Lobby in the Eisenhower administration to plunge us into war. Let no one imagine that it will be easy to get the Eisenhower administration to negotiate banning of the bomb. This negotiation will come only if the American people get up on their hind legs and make irresistible demands for it.

In this vital job that faces the American people, the Jewish community has its part to play. The discussion begun by Rabbi Rosenzweig's plea has set the example that should be followed throughout Jewish organized life. The Jewish people, together with all war-hating Americans, are ready not only for discussion on elimination of the H-bomb terror, but also to get *action* resulting from such discussion. The rabbinate and Jewish organizations are faced with the responsibility of directing the ardent desire of the people into a course of action that will effectively destroy the menace of H-bomb annihilation.

To shoulder this responsibility means that in every organization, in every branch of every organization, the members and leaders must enter into an intense discussion of H-bomb prohibition with strict international control. Surely every individual member in every organization can and must see to it that such discussions are carried forward on the widest possible scale. Agreement on this most elementary of all issues of sheer survival is possible among people of the widest divergence on any other issue. An example can be shown in the action of the British Trades Union Congress. The congress was riven with differences on many issues. But on one issue they were unanimous. "The congress," reported the *New York Times* (September 9), "*approved unanimously* a resolution calling for a conference of the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China to seek the universal abolition of all atomic and hydrogen weapons under an effective system of international control" (emphasis added). This unanimity is possible, too, in our own Jewish organized life. The Jewish people in their organizations, together with all Americans should—no, *must*—sink all their differences on all other issues and urge without delay negotiation of this most urgent of all issues. The stakes could not be higher—the preservation of civilization itself. Jewish organized life, through its members, should discuss this issue and take action as their contribution toward the common end of a living future of mankind.

JEWISH STAKE IN THE ELECTIONS

The central issues in the coming elections and how they relate to the interests of the Jewish people and the defense of all people

By Louis Harap

IN NOVEMBER the American people go to the polls in one of the most momentous elections in the nation's history. The outcome will influence the whole future of our country and of all mankind: whether we shall be dragged further in the direction of an H-bomb war and utter destruction of the Bill of Rights or whether we shall begin to change direction toward peace and restoration of our Constitutional civil liberties.

Most Jewish leaders of all political hues are worried by the rapid weakening of civil liberties that makes the future of the Jews precarious. Present trends of war fever, of fear and repression, if allowed to continue unabated, would release unrestrained forces of anti-Semitism as they destroy democracy itself.

In the coming elections, therefore, Jewish interests are involved with especial acuteness. These interests are not separated from, nor do they in any way conflict with those of the overwhelming majority of Americans. In fact, these interests reinforce in the Jews the necessity for support of the democratic forces. Those same dangers which confront the American people on both the foreign and domestic scenes are the very ones which face the Jews as Jews. Let us look at these issues.

In foreign policy one central issue in the period to come is whether West Germany is to be rearmed or neutralized. It is no exaggeration to say that the peace of the world hangs on the outcome of this question. The present renazified West Germany is led by men, a great number of whom are unregenerate nazis, who plan remilitarization as a means to attempt the reconquest of Europe. Just as in 1914 and 1939, these ruling elements of Germany would precipitate a new world war. They would resume where Hitler left off. The danger to Jews from the resumption of a nazi drive for power in Europe is obvious. It has begun to evoke opposition to German rearmament, as indeed it has on the part of the overwhelming majority of Jews in Europe. In this country the leaders of Jewish organized life, because of the "reparations" deal with Adenauer, have by their silence lulled the Jewish people to sleep in the face of this danger. All Americans, and certainly the Jewish people, should be awakened to the peril of the West German rearmament program so intensely pursued by Washington. Although there is little resistance to this policy from either major party, the people should wherever possible press candidates to oppose German rearmament.

A foreign policy issue that already figures importantly in the thinking of American Jews is the State Department program of rearming the reactionary Middle Eastern Arab leaders, whom Dulles is bent upon whipping into an anti-Soviet armed force. But Dulles has found it hard going to carry out this plan. He has succeeded in buying off leaders of Iraq and Egypt with offers of American "aid" and has agreed to send them arms. These reactionary Arab leaders have made no secret of their aggressive intentions toward Israel. As a result Jewish organized life has been bitterly critical of this State Department policy, which they correctly diagnose as a danger to peace in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that the Republicans will lose favor among large numbers of Jews because of this war-provoking policy in the Middle East. Democratic Party leaders have indicated that they would not give arms to Arab leaders for an anti-Soviet war without at the same time arming Israel as well. But arming Israel for an anti-Soviet war would be as dangerous to the future of the Israeli people as disarming it in the face of threats of Arab aggression. Peace-loving Americans need to oppose all plans for export of arms for aggression in the Middle East. A negotiated peace between Israel and the Arab States as a part of a Middle Eastern co-existence plan with the Soviet Union is the answer to the danger to Israel.

Anti-Depression and Anti-McCarthyism

On the domestic scene the main issues are undoubtedly action on the economic decline and the threat of McCarthyism to bring on full fascism. On the first, there is widespread dissatisfaction in the labor movement with the complacent attitude of the Eisenhower administration and the general lack of provisions to cushion further economic decline. And among the people there is widespread dissatisfaction with the gigantic give-aways of the Tideland oil and the atomic energy law. The people are coming to recognize that the Eisenhower administration is a return to the economic royalism of Herbert Hoover.

The threat of fascism in this country was greatly intensified by the flood of police state laws enacted by Congress in the last hectic days of the session. Especially blatant is the "Communist Control Act of 1954," which deprives the Communist Party of legal rights and also threatens free trade unionism by empowering the Subversive

Activities Control Board to deprive so-called "communist-infiltrated" unions of NLRB collective bargaining rights. While this law deals a body blow to the First Amendment, the law giving "immunity" to witnesses before Congressional committees cripples the Fifth Amendment. The whole structure of the Bill of Rights is severely weakened.

The Jewish people are aware that fascism here would let loose the most active anti-Semitism our country has ever known. The uneasiness of the Jewish community at this prospect is demonstrated by its almost unanimous anti-McCarthyite sentiment. There is, however, deep unclarity in this, as in most sectors of American opinion, on the central issue of McCarthyism. There is a failure to understand that the basis of McCarthyism is the attempt to deprive the communists and all who can be called communists (which by McCarthy's definition includes New Dealers) of their constitutional rights. Without this understanding, McCarthyism cannot ultimately be defeated. But every attack on McCarthyism, no matter how partial, helps in the fight against it. Thus the widespread condemnation in the Jewish community of the McCarthyites is an important element in the struggle to preserve freedom. The adoption of the clearest possible anti-McCarthyite program should be demanded of candidates. A strong showing at the polls against McCarthyite candidates of both parties—which is quite likely to occur in most Jewish areas—will be a most important manifestation of the identity of Jewish interests with those of democracy.

The "Liberals" and McCarthyism

Confusion has been introduced into the anti-McCarthyite front by the sponsorship and support by Senate Democratic "liberals" of the outlawing of the Communist Party, most drastic of McCarthyite laws to date. Many liberals and progressives are wondering if men like these have not totally forfeited their claim to support from the anti-McCarthyite movement. Such a conclusion would seriously weaken any chances of success for this movement. For, notwithstanding their cheap political maneuvering on the bill to outlaw the Communist Party, there is no reason to suppose that they will not continue to hold anti-McCarthyite positions on a number of issues. Senator Herbert H. Lehman, for instance, will no doubt continue to oppose the McCarran-Walter law, to work for FEPC and to raise his voice against various forms of McCarthyism. Rep. Emanuel Celler will no doubt continue to put up a fight against much McCarthyite legislation, as he did against the bill to destroy the Fifth Amendment.

In fact, the betrayal of the anti-McCarthyite movement by the "liberals" in Congress in the instance of the bill outlawing the Communist Party can be ascribed to the fact that the people did not press these legislators sufficiently hard against this bill. The answer to this situation is not complete abandonment of such "liberals" but, on the contrary, the application of even more intense pressure on such men from the people on anti-McCarthyite issues.



Democracy will be defended, now as always, not by supporting any man unreservedly, but by supporting every anti-McCarthyite position assumed by anyone, no matter who he may be or what his views on other issues.

An integral part of the fight for democracy is the close cooperation of the Jews with the struggle of the Negro people to win full citizenship. One of the main forms of this fight is the drive of the Negro people to achieve governmental representation at all levels and in proper relation to their proportion in the population. In every part of the country, and even in the South itself, democratic forces, at the center of which are the Negroes themselves, are battling for Negro representation. In this fight the Jewish people can play and are in fact playing an important part. At the very least this is an aspect of the common struggle against discrimination in all forms, for fair employment and educational and other practices. At its highest point, this is a phase of the struggle to preserve democracy itself.

"The Jewish Vote"

In the light of these central issues, to what parties and candidates shall the Jewish people throw their strength? That strength is considerable. For the greatest part of the Jewish population is concentrated in the largest cities in the critical states and hence is in a position to influence the electoral outcome. But the Jews do not vote as a "bloc" since their voting is determined to a large extent by the same economic and social motivations as the non-Jewish voters. The fact, however, that all Jews, regardless of class, are the targets in some degree of anti-Semitism and discrimination, tends to draw an even larger percentage of the Jews to vote against reactionaries, whose administration strengthens anti-Jewish manifestations.

During the Roosevelt era Jews had voted Democratic overwhelmingly. But when the immediate threat of Hitlerism died with Roosevelt, there was a movement away from the Democratic Party among the Jews toward the usual

distribution of votes in accordance with economic interests. This reached its climax in 1952 with large sections of the Jewish middle class voting for Eisenhower, while Jews in working class areas adhered to the Democrats.

But much has happened since the 1952 elections. The starkly reactionary character of the Dulles-Brownell-Eisenhower administration and the predominant identification of McCarthyism with the Republicans, has aroused fear among the Jews of this American form of Hitlerism. Large sections of the people look upon the Democrats as the anti-McCarthyite party, although it is recognized that there are McCarthyites among the Democrats, too. The reactionary record of the recent unlamented congress is generally regarded as primarily the responsibility of the Republicans. Many Jews share the opinion of the *Afro-American*, leading Negro paper, stated editorially in August, that "The harsh and ugly truth is this Republican-controlled 83rd Congress has kept a tighter lid in civil rights issues and legislation than any in the last 25 years." The Republicans are trying to offset this impression by offering more Negro candidates all over the country than the Democrats. But the trend of the masses away from the Republicans will be confirmed if the Democratic platform calls for struggles against the anti-labor, anti-democratic and Big Money legislation of the session just past.

Pressure Upon the Democratic Party

The Democrats will not set forth a satisfactory program unless they feel pressure from the people. It is true that the real power in the Democratic Party, no less than in the Republican Party, resides in Big Money control. But the fact is that most of the labor and liberal forces in the country which tend to espouse the cause of labor and the people's rights are to be found in the Democratic Party. On the whole the masses of Jews look to the Democrats as their friends. Defeat of the Eisenhower administration would therefore be an anti-reactionary expression and would constitute a setback to reactionary trends. Yet it is obvious that it would be a serious error to give blanket endorsement to the Democratic Party. As everyone knows, there are many politicians as reactionary and McCarthyite in this party as in the Republican Party.

Most important of all, the electorate organized in the trade unions and civic and other organizations cannot hope that the Democratic Party will take a progressive position on the most important issues unless the organizations of the people press their demands upon the Democrats. *This is the heart of the electoral situation—the necessity for the people in the trade unions and all their organizations—and this includes the Jewish organizations—to press the Democratic Party to adopt a progressive position on the central issues outlined above and to name progressive candidates.* World peace, a roll-back of the fascist McCarthyite danger, repeal of fascist anti-labor legislation, an anti-depression program and adequate government representation for the Negro people: these are the issues on

which the candidates supported by the groups oriented on a pro-labor and anti-fascist viewpoint should be pressed to take a progressive position.

The chances of turning out the Republicans are weakened by the insufficient pressure thus far applied by labor and people's organizations on the Democrats. The shameful betrayal by the Democratic liberals in the vote to outlaw the Communist Party and to place the unions in the clutches of the Subversive Activities Control Board has not helped these chances any. Attempts to press Democrats to advocate repeal of this and all anti-McCarthyite laws must be made. The labor unions must also continue to urge upon the Democrats an anti-depression program. And there is great danger that the Democratic chances will be reduced by the attempt of the Republicans to appear as the "peace party." The Democrats must expose the Republican attempts to take credit for the Korean and Indo-China truce agreements, both of which were in fact forced on Washington in the face of Dulles' efforts to prevent their realization. More than this, the Democrats must themselves adopt a program of peaceful co-existence, or else the Republicans will push them into the position of being regarded as the "war party," with devastating effects at the polls. In all these instances, the organizations of the people, but particularly the trade unions, can help to assure defeat for the Eisenhower administration by getting the Democrats to adopt a forthright anti-war, anti-McCarthyite, anti-depression platform.

An important part will be played in the elections by the present third parties—the American Labor Party in New York, the Independent Progressive Party in California and the Progressive Party in various parts of the country. Their uncompromising stand on the central issues such as peace, McCarthyism, the economic decline and Negro representation will afford thousands of people all over the country the opportunity to express their position on these issues. Extremely important is the function these third party groups will play in pressing the Democratic Party, mainly, in the direction of a clearer position on these issues. These third parties play an essential role in the fight for peace and democracy and a large vote for them will have a salutary effect on Democratic Party policies.

The urgency for active participation on these election issues cannot be overestimated. For civilization itself faces extinction from a hydrogen bomb war; the nation stands in great danger of losing its democratic basis. And in the train of these catastrophes, the whole future of the Jews is threatened. The Jewish people need in self-defense to participate to the fullest in electing a government which will turn back the drift toward fascism and war.

***Round-up of election situation in
Los Angeles, Detroit, New Jersey,
Miami, New York City
See pages 21 to 25***

ALTERNATIVE TO EDC

The peoples' fear of the rearmament of a renazified Germany led to the defeat of EDC. European collective security is now needed

By Jeremiah Lesser

THE rejection of EDC on August 30 by the French Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 319 to 264 opens up the hope of European peace. For the danger of war from a renazified, remilitarized West Germany has become more apparent from day to day. Scarcely any week passes but fresh evidence turns up of the return of nazis and militarists to power.

And a few days before EDC was rejected, more evidence of the aggressive nature of EDC came to light. Toward the end of August, Karl F. Schmidt-Wittmack, a member of Chancellor Adenauer's right wing Christian Democratic Party, defected to the East Germans. He had been a member of the Bundestag's Committee on the EDC Treaty. He stated in a press interview in East Berlin on August 26 that his belief in German rearmament had been "destroyed by my work in the small circle of the Bundestag committee for EDC." He revealed that already secret plans had been drawn up during the past summer by United States General Alfred M. Gruenther and nazi Generals Adolf Heusinger and Ludwig Cruewell to violate—without informing the French and British—the EDC provision for creating a 12-division army. They drew up plans for a 48-division army, four times as large as the EDC West German force provided under the treaty.

Facts like these on both renazification and remilitarization could be multiplied manifold. Little wonder, then, that the French rejected the rearming of West Germany which would make Germany the dominant military power in West Europe and would involve under EDC the stationing of German troops in France. "France was invaded by Germany three times in 70 years," wrote Milton Friedman, syndicated Washington columnist for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in Washington, the week-end of July 16. "The French are understandably reluctant to create another German menace and doubt Germany's integrity in the struggle against totalitarianism. French apprehension over the decision in Washington to restore Germany as top military power in Western Europe is shared by many Jews who survived World War II. It is hard for Jews to accept the idea that they are being protected from harm by the remobilization of a powerful force led by convicted nazis and murderers like Kesselring."

Opposition to German rearmament is by no means limited to France. There is a strong wave of opposition in Britain and the prospects are that a hard fight will take place at the British Labor Party annual conference in September

to align British labor officially against German rearmament. All over Europe today the pro-nazi policies of Washington are extremely unpopular. A dispatch from France by William Philip Simms, foreign editor of the Scripps-Howard papers, late in August made the drastic observation that "The United States is as popular in Europe today as Hitler's Germany was in 1938-39."

Moreover, powerful circles in West Germany today also oppose Washington's plans. Dana Adams Schmidt reported in the *New York Times* (August 27) that "the common denominator among the numerous groups of neutralists [in West Germany] is that they believe that the German problem can be solved by an agreement with the Soviet Union. . . . Many neutralists are convinced that the Kremlin would agree to unify a neutralized, permanently disarmed Germany. They are fighting against the rearmament of West Germany and for another 'last chance' conference with the Soviet Union." Among those who favor such a conference is Erich Ollenhauer, head of the strong West German Social Democratic Party.

The proposed conference is an alternative to Washington's plans for West German rearmament and offers a chance for solving the outstanding problems while preserving and ensuring peace. Instead of a war alliance like NATO, under which six European countries would build a coordinated army, the Soviet plan suggests a collective security agreement embracing all 32 European countries without regard to their social system. The ensuing treaty would provide that if any country is attacked, all the others would come to its aid with all their power. The will of all the common people of Europe for peace that is expressed in such an agreement by all their governments would remove the threat of war. Under such a treaty a neutralized Germany could be reunited and cease to be the threat that a remilitarized, renazified West Germany constitutes for the peace of Europe and the whole world. Such a treaty would be co-existence in a realizable form.

It is now evident that if the Soviet fight for collective security in the thirties had been won, there would have been no World War II. The present plan for a 32-nation European collective security system will likewise insure that World War III would be avoided. Only this time there may not be the opportunity for hindsight—we may not be there—unless all the countries of Europe, including Germany, enter into such a collective security agreement that will minimize the danger of World War III.

WHY DO THEY THRILL TO KILL?

*A look at the reasons for the sadistic acts of young people today.
Our society is ridden by the unsettling effects of war propaganda*

By Alice Citron

LIKE "Hurricane Carol," words have deluged the press concerning four Brooklyn teen-agers who murdered and tortured men, horse-whipped girls and spent a week full of violence against fellow human beings. The words have been many but little wisdom has been shown in explaining why boys from "good homes" could be so sadistic and so vile. One lived in a six-room, air-conditioned apartment. One newspaper describes the boys as children of "decent, middle-class families." The splintered hearts of the parents probe and probe. "I can't understand this. I blame myself. I was too busy taking care of my sick wife and my business," is the agonized cry of Harry Lieberman, father of 17-year-old Jerome. Fifteen-year-old Robert Trachtenberg's father is in a stupor of disbelief.

Aside from the eagerness of the press to dwell on blood and gory viciousness, the case of the four has caused sober thinking in many quarters. Their economic advantages and seemingly normal surroundings bring surprised comment and speculation. It used to be the common thought that children reared in poverty were the potential "criminals." Many a future teacher has received a Master's Degree for a thesis on "Juvenile Delinquency," in which they pointed to broken homes, working mothers and numerous defects in the home situation. The word "love" appears in many paragraphs. It is a popular conception that many children get into difficulties because they don't receive enough affection.

Chauvinistic prejudices were a big factor, too. In New York City it was common talk among school faculties that the "criminals-to-be" would be Negro children. This prejudice would be fanned into "evidence," especially on the eve of election campaigns, when a "Harlem crime wave" would flower in the sensational press. "Burly" and "stalked" were popular newspaper words used to describe Negroes. During the last war, fascist elements of all sorts played upon this attitude to foster hateful division. Many groups and organizations fought this with some understanding of the political nature and purposes of the attacks.

The crimes of the four Jewish youngsters happened in the 1950's, which are different from the 1930's or 1940's. It is evident that the boys did commit the indescribable atrocities. Police Commissioner Francis Adams told a radio audience on August 1 that New York was becoming a community of "violence and crime." He cited shuddering figures for the first six months of 1954: 175 murders, 256

deaths as a result of criminal negligence and murder, 545 rapes and much more evidence of acts of moral decay. Regardless of his political motivations in advertising these gruesome figures, it must be admitted that the bizarre and the ugly in human behavior has increased.

Republican Senator Robert C. Hendrickson reported that several hundred high school and college students in New Jersey were polled on their attitudes towards delinquency. Seventy-five per cent didn't consider lying and cheating delinquent; 12 per cent found nothing wrong in stealing; 17 per cent "saw nothing particularly wrong in sex violations." It is the small minority of deviators corroded by our corrupt society whose acts are shrieked about in newspapers.

Immoral Influences

A ten-minute walk between 7th and 8th Avenues on 42nd Street quickly reveals the morality being brought to the youth today. "She was born to be mad—to be kissed—to make trouble," blares one movie ad. "Just squeeze the trigger," she whispered, "then take the money and me," is the lofty exhortation of a flamboyantly bosomed poster. And more. "It isn't love, it's human desire." "Men go for her. She's the bait in a man-trap." "Gun Fury," "Paid to Kill" are shorter expressions of degeneracy. One dive advertises various degrees of nudity: "Uncover Girls of 1954"; "No Shame"; "Naked Island"; "Runaway Burlesque." Appropriate pictorial representation is given to all this.

Many thoughtful persons have given attention to these vilenesses and have particularly expressed shock that young people are being flooded with such pernicious immorality. Dr. Frederick Wertham, noted psychiatrist, has for a long time pointed to the perversion of normal, humane feelings in the comics. In fact, the whole world has expressed its indignation as a "children's literature" based on scenes of eye-gouging, ice-pick stabbings and skull cracking. Some psychiatrists have sought to dispute the fact that, horrible as the comics are, they cause murder. Whether this is a fact or not, is it debatable that pornography and crime fiction dull the senses of the readers to ordinary human kindness and decency? Verne's classics of scientific fantasy and exploration which used to delight the young are considered "dull stuff" by the avid readers of human destruc-

tion. The four Brooklyn boys were nurtured on this cultural bile.

Because the four came from "good homes" there has been a great deal of home discussion and reader discussion in the newspapers. Some parents think children play too much with guns from the time that they are very small. Readers in varied newspapers have blamed the courts for coddling young "criminals"; the parents are subject to a great deal of accusation; comment is directed against the movies and TV for glorifying evil. The New York *Herald Tribune* in an editorial (August 20) ventures the novel thought that crime may be "glandularly induced" but concludes that the "first line of defense is the home." The *Amsterdam News* of Harlem calls upon parents to "play a larger role than some of them are playing in this whole picture of so-called juvenile delinquency." The Yiddish *Day-Morning Journal* thinks it puts its finger on an omission in the education of the four: the four had no "Jewish" education. Yet, since they went to *heder*, the YMHA and synagogue (which the *Day* would heartily approve), love for humanity did not penetrate these young minds.

From time to time one hears "Society is to blame." Rarely is this generalization defined and it leads to little enlightenment. A penetrating student of juvenile delinquency is Albert Deutsch, newspaperman, who came closest to defining the reasons why the most unstable and the weakest youngsters deviate from a normal pattern. In *Our Rejected Children* (Little, Brown & Company, 1950), he points to the effects of a society where crime is embroidered with halos of glory. He comments: "Even where the parent is delinquent, the roots of the child's problem must often be sought beyond the home—in the community itself and sometimes beyond it in the national and international arena and in the very nature of our society." Further, "Ours is a crime-centered culture, important elements of which persistently tend to encourage and condone criminal activity."

He points to the effects of race prejudice where a whole region will tolerate the lynching of a Negro, "the perpetrators of which are not only known but have been photographed in the criminal act—and yet they go scot-free." Discussing the glorification of crooks and thieves he observes, "Organized crime has graduated from the underworld. . . . They hobnob with bankers and industrialists. . . . They throw parties and dinners at which judges and other pillars of society appear as if at command performances. They buy and sell judges. . . . They are powerful influences in state and national politics." He concludes, "No realistic program for reducing delinquency to a minimum could possibly be complete without consideration of the need for changing our culture."

Some Deeper Causes

It is this latter thought that needs our fervent attention and concern. At least one of the young men showed in clear fashion the kind of culture that leads to murder. Jack

Koslow, 18, and dubbed the "ring leader," admired Hitler and disliked Negroes. People in many walks of life have pointed to a facet of the problem that has to be probed to the very roots. Millions of Americans at one time wondered how Hitlerism could corrupt the birthplace of Goethe, Heine and Beethoven, the great Humanists. Hitler took this heritage and obliterated it from the minds of the young and dulled it in the older ones. His dreams of world conquest called for an inhuman man, his concept of the *Urbemensch*. All writings of international brotherhood were destroyed. Music that didn't sing the superiority of the nazi had its throat muted. "When I hear the word culture I reach for a gun" became the new morality. No longer did love for brother, sister, neighbor exist. Bent on rapacious conquest, all men were to be beaten into subservience. The "excess" of humanity, old, young, Jews, the sick were to be reduced to ashes. So it was that the crematoria became the symbol of the *Urbemensch*. This pollution affected a whole nation.

While many understand to some degree that Hitler's superiority doctrine was an evil thing, American "superiority" is put in a different category. In order to kill three million Koreans, the "red-menace" became part of the daily ideological diet. Hate is the current morality. A lot of reds have to be hated—Russians, Chinese, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Czechs and Rumanians. This is a lot of people to hate—one third of the world. But that is not all. New groups of "upstarts" are discovered every day. Guatemala had to be conquered for not following the "American way of life." The Asians and Africans, who are tired of inhuman existence, are a "dire peril." The French reject German rearmament through EDC, so Senator Alexander Wiley denounces the expressed will of the French people, leading the *New York Times* to assert (September 3): "Mr. Wiley's attack on the present French Government strengthened the presumption in certain Allied quarters that Washington and Bonn were maneuvering to quarantine and if possible *overthrow the government of M. Mendes-France*. . ." (emphasis added).

Youth Needs Peace

Every effort for co-existence with the Socialist world is derided. The word "peace" has become so sinister to Washington ears that its use invokes the cry of "Red." The dove that Picasso painted to symbolize peace was subjected to the most disgusting taunts and analysis in the press. In this atmosphere, Robert Sherwood, the playwright, speaking at the annual ceremonies of the American Academy and National Institute of Arts and Letters, is reported as having said, "Suspicion automatically attaches itself to the philosopher, poet, artist, scientist, teacher—even the free-thinking preacher—to anyone who is contaminated with the damning word 'intellectual.' We seem to be living in an age when it is chic to be illiterate." "The age" cannot be blamed *per se*. There are countries striving for the utmost intellectual attainment of their peo-

ple. But those who would bring fascism to our land pave the path in every cultural medium known. The comics, schools, TV, movies, even some homes, become receptacles of fear, of hate. The schools are purged of teachers who stand for decency and human brotherhood.

Youth, which wants a secure life and a peaceful world, is cast from its moorings. It's hard for the weakest to give much credence to man's worth when mass destruction is boasted about. The most unstable succumb to this incessant pressure.

Those who have reached the realization that a war-minded government seeks to destroy youth's radiance and eager search for understanding the world have serious tasks before them. First and foremost any notion that the majority of young people are "criminally inclined" or "juvenile delinquents" must be rejected. Having set the conditions for disrupting the lives of the young and feeding them mountains of hate, reactionaries would now blame the very youth they want to convert into killers for manifestations out of the norm. Adults must display the greatest sympathy and understanding of the job, recreation and school problems of young people.

But there is more than that. Youth can have a better rooted perspective if parents work diligently and militantly against the war program and for the concrete strivings of their children. There is no mystery about the desires of the millions of our young. They want lives that offer job and school opportunities. They want to be able to go to college if so inclined. They want to be parents, too! They do not want years torn from their developing period for war training. How better can parents protect the objects of their devotion than by now fighting against the American Legion's clamor for Universal Military Training? The bill was defeated in a previous session of Congress because

of mass opposition to it. But the Legion keeps on trying.

Defend the Children

What of the school situation? The word shambles appears in varied reports. Concentration on war budgets brings a deterioration in the daily needs of our entire population. H-bombs have priority over schools. The fight for increased schooling must not be relinquished by default. Nor can all the other concomitants of a wholesome approach to recreational facilities be ignored. There is more than that, of course. The daily din of fascist propaganda can't be passed off with, "It's a tough thing to fight all this." So outraged is the world at the degraded comics that London parent and teacher groups are organized into combatting the importation of this type of "American" culture.

There is a wide base for resisting many of the putrid cultural manifestations. There is a greater realization that the comics, movies and TV programs lead to stultification. Parent associations can put the discussion of the effects of these deteriorated media high on their program for discussion and action. In every possible way progressive adults must encourage and give support to the courageous young people who fight against the destruction of their lives. Wherever possible, no opportunity should be passed by to bring to hosts of parents the concrete possibilities of obtaining better cultural and physical facilities. Let the agonies of the parents of Koslow, Mittman, Lieberman and Trachtenberg also spur the activities that will reverse the war policy that leads some children into the mire. Let us defend the young with our ardor and strength. Let us shout down those who would destroy a nation's most cherished ones—our boys and girls.

MORE ON EHRENBURG INTERVIEW

(Continued from page 12)

also Jews of the older generation among the evacuees. But they too, as a small minority of the population in their new home, speak the language of the rest of the people. In Moscow, remember, there are almost a half million Jews, but they do not speak Yiddish, exactly as the Georgians in Moscow do not speak Georgian or as the young Jews of New York or Buenos Aires do not speak Yiddish.

"This does not mean, however, that they are not interested in or do not read Yiddish literature. The Yiddish classicists are widely read, but in Russian. Recently, for instance, a new edition of Sholem Aleichem was issued in 30,000 copies. The Jews no longer live the crowded, *shtetl* (Jewish small town) existence. A great deal of that life was wiped away by the nazis. But the Jews have gained the broad, bright, open Soviet life and are building their happiness together with all the other Soviet people.

"Finally, a few personal remarks about my own 'Jewishness.' There are those who accuse me of being 'assimi-

lated.' I do not know if this word is the correct one. It is true that I am a citizen of my Soviet fatherland. My mother-tongue is Russian and I am identified with the language and its culture. Nevertheless, when at the end of the '30's I applied for the first time for a Soviet passport, I entered the word 'Jew' under 'nationality.' My daughter, too, whose mother is not Jewish, filled out the form in the same manner. We did so not to 'segregate' ourselves by nationality, but simply because of human dignity. At that time, nazi anti-Semitism was already rampant, and we wanted, in this way, to express our solidarity with our brothers of common descent. After all, the feeling of solidarity, as a reaction against anti-Semitism, was the chief bond between the Jews of various countries, during their entire history."

After his talk was over, we had a chat with our guest. We presented him with a gift, the Yiddish translation of *Don Quixote* by Pinya Katz which our Ykuf has published. Then we bade a cordial farewell to this great personality—Soviet artist, world peace-fighter and Jew.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld)

AN INTERVIEW WITH EHRENBURG

Jewish cultural workers in Argentina chat with the noted Soviet writer and he gives them his views on Jews in the Soviet Union

By Ben Cohen

Buenos Aires

NOW visiting our country on his return trip from Chile, is one of the famous personalities in the world, one of the greatest modern writers, whose books and articles are translated into all languages and whose readers are in the hundreds of millions: the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg.

Ilya Ehrenburg is also one of the active leaders of the world peace movement. He came to our continent to present the Peace Prize to the great poet of our continent, the Chilean Pablo Neruda. This was an honor also for all progressive people and friends of peace in Latin America.

On Saturday, August 14, Ilya Ehrenburg met with an Ykuf (Yiddisher Kultur Farband) delegation composed of members of the presidium of the Ykuf, members of the women's section of that organization and workers on the Argentine journal of Jewish affairs, *Aporta*, as well as writers and cultural workers. I. Linkovski welcomed the honored guest in the name of the delegation. He said:

"We Jewish writers and cultural workers are very happy to meet with you, writer and fighter for the cause of peace. . . . For us Jews, your article, 'Answer to a Letter' [reprinted in *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1949] was of extraordinary significance. And precisely for that reason Jewish reactionaries attacked that article, attacked you and us and all progressive Jews, who understood the correctness of your definitions about the life of the Jews throughout the world and in Israel, and were in agreement with them.

"Endless accusations have in recent years been hurled against the Soviet Union by the war-inciters, including the Jews in that camp, concerning the life of the Jews in the Soviet Union. These accusations fly back in the faces of the accusers; many Jewish people are convinced friends of the Soviet Union and they reject these libels. This meeting with you, your greetings from the Soviet Jews and from the Soviet Union, will strengthen the conviction of the people of Argentina even more."

I. Linkovski ended his greeting by introducing the members in the delegation and describing the activities of the Ykuf. After a moment of silent concentration Ehrenburg began his reply with a smile.

"I traveled 15,000 kilometers to get here. When I was leaving, I said goodbye to a Kagan and here, according to the names of the friends who have been introduced to me, I have met *two* Kagans! It seems the earth really *is* round.

"Many thanks, dear friends, for your kind words to me.

I will try to bring you a greeting and a description of the life of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

"About anti-Semitism. The nazis for three years occupied a large section of the Soviet Union. Certainly, remnants of their anti-Semitic propaganda stuck to the remnants who remained from the old counter-revolution. The Red Army and the government have burned out every vestige of nazism, of their crime and their followers. The recent trial of Ryumin, and the previous trial of Beria, concluded this cleansing process.

"About Jewish life: until recently, this meant the language—Yiddish. Now there are very few Jews in the Soviet Union who use that language. The nazis destroyed the Yiddish speaking population. Yiddish was spoken by those who lived in the cities and towns where Jews were a majority and also in the farm regions of Kherson and in the Crimea. All this the nazis uprooted, wiped out. In Kiev only 11 Jews saved themselves; the nazis murdered 70,000. In Minsk 16 were saved, in Gomel, in Berditchev, only individuals.

"In the Soviet cities the nazis rushed their work of destruction of the Jews in the first days and weeks of their occupation. In Rumania and Hungary many Jews saved themselves because it was difficult to differentiate the Jews from the general population and the Jews were able to mix with the rest of the population. In White Russia and the Ukraine the Jewish type is sharply differentiated from the Slavic population and the dullest nazi was able to distinguish even at a distance a Jew among non-Jews and to kill the Jews. In this way, hundreds of thousands of Jews who were not evacuated perished. Among the latter were many old people and children, some of whom were not able to flee and others of whom did not believe the stories of nazi cruelty and stayed behind. All those who perished were Yiddish speaking.

Yiddish in the Soviet Union

"The two million Soviet Jews who saved themselves were mainly of the younger generation, being either in the army, with the partisans or among the evacuees. The younger generation does not speak Yiddish because it is part and parcel of the general life of the country, whose language is not, of course, outside of Birobidjan, Yiddish. There were

(Continued on page 11)

URIEL ACOSTA

Chapter From a Novel in Progress

By V. J. Jerome

"**W**HAT a play! Jeremy—Shimmele—what a play!" Father stood with shining eyes in the middle of the room, he and Mother both still in their going-out Sabbath clothes. Mierele ran up to them:

"Why didn't you take me to the play? I want to go to the play!"

Father lifted her in his arms and stroked her curls.

"This play is not for a little girl of six, Mierele. It's for grownup people. Sometimes they have plays at the Pavilion with lots of singing and fun-making."

"And will you take me?"

"If you don't make me buy booked seats," Father laughed.

"Yes, we'll take you," Mother said, drawing a large pin out of her hat, "and Jeremy and Shimmele too, if we have the money."

"Good thing there are Saturday matinees at half prices in the Yiddish theater," Father said as he let Mierele down.

"It doesn't mean we can go spending our money on matinees," Mother said.

"Daddy can do it," Shimmele cried out. "He got his old place back with Rothenberg."

"New place, you mean. His new workshop is bigger than before." Father took off his topcoat.

Mierele was dancing about the room, clapping her hands and chanting:

"I'm going to the pla-ay! I'm going to the pla-ay!"

Father hung away his coat.

"This was a drama, Jeremy, a big drama."

"What's the name of it?"

"Uriel Acosta, a story of long ago."

"I want to see a drama," said Jeremy.

"I want to be an actor in a drama," cried Shimmele.

"You'll see—you'll act," their father assured each with a

pat. "Meanwhile, we'll all have supper—eh, Maryem?"

"The children must be hungry," Mother said, turning to the stove.

THE LIGHT IN THE ROOM WAS BEGINNING TO FAIL. FATHER went upstairs to put a penny in the gas meter. He came down into the brightened room, and his face was lit up, as though by the fresh penny he had dropped into the meter.

"Let there be light!" he called out in the Hebrew words of the Bible. He slanted a glance to the ceiling. "I wonder if they had a gas meter up there."

"Where? What are you talking about?" Mother asked.

"I mean, when they turned the first light on, at Creation time."

"How did they get pennies then?" Shimmele laughed.

"Could have slipped a star into the meter," his father smiled as he sat down at the table.

They were having their soup.

"What's urillacosta?" Jeremy asked.

"Not *what—who*," his father corrected him. "It's the name of the man the drama is about. Wait, you'll get the story as I tell it."

He wiped his mustache with the napkin.

"You see," he waved his hand, "first comes in Feinman. He's Uriel Acosta. What an actor!" He brought the tips of his five fingers together like a mouth rounded for a kiss, his eyes half closed into a dream, and his voice sweetened into sing-song. "Since actors have acted has there ever been an actor like Sigmund Feinman?"

Mother said:

"Sometimes I felt he was too heavy for the part—too fat—it did something to his voice—the words came out smothered like. Didn't you notice it in the breathing?"

"How can you say that?" Father looked cross. "What about the big scene when he stands before the Rabbis, broken, and reads his confession from the parchment, with his whole life in their hands? What about that scene?"

"You know how I love to see Feinman play," Mother said. "Remember when we saw him in *Othello*—?"

"Yes, and you said he must have looked over Shakespeare's shoulder to tell him how to write his role for him—so well did it fit him."

Jeremy laughed to see Feinman looking over Shakespeare's shoulder.

V. J. JEROME is the author of the profound novel of Jewish life in Poland in the first years of the century, *A Lantern for Jeremy*. His novel in progress, from which the above is taken, continues the life of the boy Jeremy in London. Mr. Jerome, Marxist critic, writer and editor, was convicted under the Smith act and is presently on bail awaiting decision of the Federal District Court on his appeal.

Mother set plates of stew before them.

"But, Naftoli," she smiled, "it's not Feinman who comes in first. First we see the uncle of the girl and the rich suitor whom she doesn't want."

"What are you talking about?" Father looked at her, puzzled.

"Don't you remember? Her suitor has just come back to Amsterdam and he finds out she's in love with her teacher, Uriel Acosta."

Father hesitated for a moment.

"You're right, Maryem. Your mother is right," he turned to the children. "What's right is right."

"Daddy says the last things first. He walks backward," Shimmele said.

His father laughed.

"Well, it's the same distance, you know."

"AND THEN WHAT HAPPENED?" JEREMY ASKED.

His father laid down his fork.

"And then—and then Feinman comes in. He was Uriel Acosta."

"Was he good?" Mierele asked.

"Good? He's the hero. Only they make his life miserable. They drive him to suicide—to kill himself."

"O-o-oh. Why do they do it?" Mierele moaned.

"Now, you see," her mother turned round from the stove, "that comes from telling the end in the beginning. Plenty of troubles and tortures he goes through—five whole acts of them—and you—right away with your suicide. Let them know first about the book he wrote, and the terrible thing they wanted him to do. That's what started it all."

Shimmele jumped up from the table to the middle of the room. He stood facing the cupboard, his eyes wide in pretended terror, mumbling words from an imaginary parchment in his hands. He shoved his belly forward and puffed his cheeks, and he made his voice heavy.

"I'm Uriel Acosta."

Jeremy and Mierele burst into laughter.

Father gathered his thoughts. "You see, he wrote a book, Uriel Acosta did. In Portuguese."

"In Portuguese? Why did he write it in Portuguese?" Shimmele asked.

"Because Portugal—that's where he and his family came from. It was at the time of the Inquisition when they drove the Jews out of Spain and out of Portugal. Hundreds of years ago."

He paused to sip his tea. The children liked to watch him drink from the mustache-cup, with his mustache resting on its curved ledge.

Mother added:

"When he was a child still, his family was forced to become Christians, but now they were Jews again."

"He was a great man, a thinker," Father said. "He was the teacher of Spinoza."

"Who was that?" Jeremy looked up from his plate.

"A great Jewish philosopher, Baruch Spinoza. And they excommunicated him too."

The children looked at him with no understanding

in their eyes.

"That means they—the Rabbis, that is—poured out on him the curse against the cast-out and put him out of the Jewish congregation. Rabbi De Santos—what a hard-hearted one!"

"How they know what part to give to whom!" Mother broke in. "Just right for Yoshke Feinberg—as if born to play the villain."

"Yes, he played a de Santos from de Santos land. You should have heard the hissing."

"S-s-s-s-s!" Shimmele broke out loud and long.

"Enough, enough!" his mother stopped him. "He got his already in the theater."

"Was he frightened when they hissed him?" Mierele asked.

"No, the opposite," her mother laughed. "When an actor plays a bad man, the bigger the hiss the bigger the actor."

"Did they cast out Uriel Acosta?" Jeremy asked anxiously.

"Yes—that's what the drama is about," his father answered. "They made flames of his book for all to see, and him they excommunicated. The Rabbis said he had broken with Judaism and they called him *Akher*—that means *Outsider*. The book showed he didn't believe in life after death and they couldn't get him to give up his ideas."

LIFE AFTER DEATH? COULD THERE BE NO LIFE AFTER DEATH, Jeremy wondered. What would life be, if it didn't go on? In death, did life stop and start all over again, or did it just go on? If all the human beings, grownups and children, who ever died since the first man, went on living after death, could the world hold them all? . . . Uriel Acosta was a great man, a thinker, and he wrote there is no life after death. But there must be—there must be. If there isn't, what does it leave us with?

He thought of Uncle and Auntie and how he was going to earn heaven for them by his seminary learning and his saying of the Mourner's Prayer when they should be gone from this world. What a hard life they were living on this earth, more even than before, since they went back to Poland, you could tell from their last letter. . . . He thought of Ilse—killed by lightning under the walnut tree in the orchard in Ossyanka. He saw her still running in the meadow, with her shining braids dangling behind her, as she chased the butterflies, closing in, missing, laughing with a bound again, and the dog frisking about her. . . . The Rabbis made flames of his book. But the words? They couldn't burn the words. Daddy and Mother heard his words today. They are still alive. . . .

His mother was saying:

"Yes, at first he doesn't give in, but afterwards they're stronger."

"How stronger?" Jeremy looked at her.

"For a time only," his father answered. "And what a scene that is!—in the synagogue, with all the lighted candles. He's reading before the people the confession of sin the Rabbis wrote out for him." He stood up. "That's



Uriel Acosta is "reading before the people the confession of sin the Rabbis wrote out for him."

the strongest scene of all. And Feinman—to see him stand there, with head bowed, before the Holy Ark, forcing himself to read from the parchment in his hand! People in the theater cried like on the Ninth Day of Ab."

Mother's eyes were wide, as though seeing Uriel Acosta: "He stands trembling, his legs are unsteady—another moment and he will fall. You hear him read the words that call the people to curse him, you hear him say he is ready to lie down at the door there for everyone—but he can't finish—he falls to the floor in a heap."

"And then de Santos," Father broke in, "he finished the confession." Father hardened his voice, and he made his eyes look harsh—

"... and every one of you shall step on him!"

"AND WHAT CAME AFTER THAT?" JEREMY ASKED. HE WAS troubled. Was it right of him to give in—for all to step on him?

"After that?" his father went on, "after that Feinman speaks again to the Rabbis and all the people. Straight and proud he stands, and his words are fire and flame. He hasn't given in after all."

"He hasn't!" Jeremy couldn't hold back a cry.

"He said what he had read before from the parchment was false, and now let the stones fall from his breast and let his tongue be loosened. But he said it better."

... let the stones fall from his breast and let his tongue be loosened—the words repeated themselves over and over in a strong rhythm in Jeremy's head.

Mother's eyes lit up. She put her hand on Father's wrist.

"Wait—wait—" she said quickly. "Aren't these the words he said?"

"You think, oh, fools,"—her voice rose firm—Jeremy had never heard his mother speak this way before—"that with the little candles you can darken the great light of the sun?"

And Jeremy saw the face of Uriel Acosta shine with a great light, and the lighted candles in the synagogue couldn't darken it. And he wondered: Would *he* be able to stand up and speak this way for what he held to be true—if he had to stand alone against the Rabbis?

"Why did he say, 'And still the earth moves'?" his mother asked his father. "And the doctor, de Silva, what did he mean when he said, 'Galileus's words'? Who was he, this Galileus? That part I didn't understand."

"Galileus?" Father reflected, "he was also a great thinker who came before his time. He said the earth moves round the sun, but nobody understood, and they cast him out and tortured him."

"Was he a Jew?" Shimmele asked.

"No, an Italian. But the Inquisition came down on him also."

Jeremy looked surprised.

"Was the Inquisition against Gentiles too?"

"Yes, those whom they called heretics, those who had new ideas and wouldn't give them up, like Galileus. Only"—a bitter smile curved about Father's lips—"when the Jews were driven out of Spain and Portugal and they came to Holland, the Rabbis set up their own Inquisition."

"So that's what he meant that Uriel Acosta spoke like Galileus," Mother said.

"Daddy—" Jeremy began haltingly, "were they right?"

"What do you mean—who?"

"The Rabbis—did Uriel Acosta really say in the book that there is no life after death?"

"Yes, they found that in the book."

"Daddy, is there life after death?"

His father frowned.

"Of all the questions is this the only one you can ask? Why argue over it? The world says yes, must you say no? Wait at least until you're Bar Mitzvah. Look where it got Uriel Acosta."

Mother said:

"He was a man who spoke out as he believed. And did they try to understand him, the way Yehudis did? Maybe if they had talked it over with him instead of driving him out with curses—"

"A likely thing for the Rabbis to do with a heretic."

Father laughed.

Jeremy wished they had done the way his mother said. He looked at her. If she had been there to say this to them. . . .

"Well, children," Father announced, "now you've heard the drama."

"*Heard the drama?*" Mother cried out. "You've left out the soul! Where's Yehudis—and her love for Uriel Acosta?"

"Why did Uriel Acosta commit suicide?" Shimmele asked.

"From your father's way of telling you'll never know," she said. "What's there to the drama when you leave out their love for each other? Like a wedding without the bride."

"She's a good actress, Fanny Waxman," Father said.

"But it's not Fanny Waxman," Mother went on, "it's Yehudis—how she loved him—"

"Jeremy loves Naomi," Mierele said suddenly.

Jeremy felt his face get hot. He shifted in his chair and looked furiously at his sister.

"There's nothing wrong in that, Mierele," her mother said.

"Yes, and you mind your own business!" Jeremy shouted at Mierele.

"And I heard Naomi tell—"

Jeremy made a lunge at his sister across the table.

His father caught his arm.

"Whoa! Slow down. What's the matter? Such a fine year may we all have as she's a fine girl, Old Shapiro's daughter."

"Let me tell you about Yehudis," Mother went on, "how she loved him, how she stood by him when all were against him, and he got strength from her."

JEREMY WONDERED: WOULD NAOMI STAND BY HIM IF ALL should turn against him, to give him strength to hold fast to what he believed? At Mierele's birthday party, when the tray fell from his hands and the jug with the lemonade crashed to the floor, someone said *Butterfingers* and someone else started laughing, she turned to them and spoke up: "I pushed his hand—it's my fault." It was the first time he had ever seen her so close—the sharp, eager face and the head proudly lifted. Always before, she had passed him on the street when he was playing ball or coming from the grocery shop. Sometimes she would be walking with her father and they would say hullo to him. But he had never really spoken with her. And then she stood up for him. Yehudis stood up for Uriel Acosta because she loved him for what he was. For Naomi to love him that way, he would have to be like Uriel Acosta. . . .

His mother was telling:

"When Uriel Acosta comes to let her know he's going away—you see," she explained to the children—"he knows they're going to cast him out and he doesn't want her to share his sufferings, only he doesn't tell her this—and he says to her that she should obey her father's will and marry the rich merchant—do you remember, Naftoli, how she

answers him?"

"Do I remember? Every word a pearl!"

"They're in her father's garden together, where they've met many times before. And she says to him—"

Jeremy saw a brave light come into his mother's eyes.

"No, Uriel, I'll not have you teach me the fine virtue of bowing the head. Every twig, every flower here reminds me of your true teaching."

She was standing now. She looked so different, his mother—like Yehudis. Straight and without fear she stood, like a flame that no wind can blow out.

"She reminded him how he had shown her the way the plants live—the strength that lies hidden in a tiny blade of grass. And she asked him: Is only the human soul without will?"

No—no! Jeremy clenched his fists and whispered to himself.

"And she cried out:

"No, Uriel. I can't go back to the old!"

Jeremy thought: Why hadn't his father answered his question about life after death? Did he believe it? If he didn't, shouldn't he have said it, like Uriel Acosta?—like Yehudis? Wasn't that the most important thing—to hold to what you believe in, no matter what happens?

"And later," his mother continued, "when the Rabbi de Santos pours out the curse on him before the people and he shakes both fists at him and he shouts—

"You will wither, you will long for love, but every heart of woman will remain locked against you with iron locks!"—"

How could she remember all these words? Jeremy looked at his mother in wonder.

"—then Yehudis leaps up and cries out—

"It's a lie, Rabbi! Although your curse now is on him, know that he has my heart's blessing! And right there before her father and her suitor and all the people, she throws her arms around Uriel Acosta."

"Did they get married?" asked Mierele.

"No, Mierele," she answered sadly. "Too many things were against them."

"As if the other troubles weren't enough," Father broke in, "the rich suitor—an apoplexy take him—had to ruin Yehudis' father's business."

"Yes, this way he thought he'd force Yehudis to marry him," Mother went on. "But she put an end to her life. She drank poison."

"Oh!" Shimmele, Mierele, and Jeremy all cried out.

"And when Uriel Acosta finds she's dead, he can't go on living and he shoots himself."

THE PISTOL SHOT OF URIEL ACOSTA CLEARED THE ROOM OF ALL sound.

Yehudis stood in the garden, under a fragrant lilac tree, and though it was night, Jeremy could see her look at tall, dark Uriel Acosta with eyes full of courage. Two large black eyes shining up at him. They looked strangely like Naomi's eyes. No—like the eyes of his mother! . . .

THE NINETIES—UPS AND DOWNS OF JEWISH TRADE UNIONISM

By Morris U. Schappes

WAVE on wave the immigration tide rolled onto our shores. It is true that from 1891 to 1900 the total immigration dropped some 30 per cent, from 5,246,000 in the previous decade to 3,687,000. But the Jewish element in this immigration more than doubled in the Nineties, leaping from 193,000 to 393,000, forming 10.7 per cent of the total (it had been only 3.7 per cent in the Eighties).

Industrial expansion readily assimilated this mass of humanity eager to find work in their new homeland. After all, early in the Nineties the value of United States manufactures was twice that of Great Britain's, its nearest rival, and the United States had forged to first place as the leading industrial nation of the world. Yet simultaneously the minor note of opposition to immigration grew louder. In March 1891, Congress passed a law forbidding the landing of immigrants who had been "assisted" to come over by philanthropic groups—while ignoring the "contract labor" imported by agents of American industrialists. Six years later Congress passed legislation requiring literacy in some language of all immigrants. But President Grover Cleveland vetoed it on March 2 on the grounds that our population was not yet so large as to need immigration restriction and that illiterate workers were more desirable than literate agitators against our government and social order!

In the country as a whole the Nineties were marked by several major developments. Rapid industrial expansion was combined with the growth of trusts and monopolies, a growth facilitated by the Great Depression of 1893-1897, in which bigger enterprises survived while the smaller went under. As a result by 1901 there were 440 units of big business with a total capital of \$20 billion. Such giant corporations, when workers were forced to strike to improve their conditions, baldly showed their control over the organs of government by using them to put down these mass strikes. Since armed strikebreakers were not sufficient, state troops crushed the steel strike at Homestead, Pa., begun in June 1892, and the railway switchmen's strike in Buffalo, N. Y., in August. In July federal troops were called to down the silver miners striking at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho. Two years later, the strike of 100,000 Pullman and railroad workers in Chicago was met by an injunction, that "novel use made of the doctrine of conspiracy" as applied to labor disputes, as Professor Selig Perl-

man calls it. When the injunction was not enough, federal troops were sent in for the final blow to crush the strike. Also in the years 1893-1894, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was used against—labor! Even pint-sized employers could now get pliant courts to issue injunctions against strikers; the first such use in a Jewish strike came when Bonwit & Levy and Indig, Berg & Co. in the fall of 1899 obtained an injunction against the United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers.¹

Yet the trade union movement as a whole was stable and strong enough to weather both the crisis and the onslaughts of corporations and government. The American Federation of Labor maintained its membership at about 275,000 during the depression years and then brought it up to 550,000 by 1900, while the overall membership of trade unions, including independents, climbed from 444,000 in 1897 to 865,000 in 1900.²

The last major development, a consequence of the preceding ones, came towards the very end of the decade, when the ruling circles of our country lured us into the Spanish-American War, our first war of overseas conquest and imperialist expansion in the Caribbean and Pacific.

It is against this general background that we wish to examine the role of Jewish workers during this period.

Individuals in Labor

First, it should be observed that in the general labor movement Jews played an ever more noticeable part, not so much on a national scale, where a Gompers and a Strasser figured, as on the local scenes. Thus in 1892 we come upon a Henry Kohn of the St. Louis Knights of Labor. In 1894, on a list of some 300 union men running for public office, there is the cigarmaker Jacob Sellig in Chicago, the laster Louis Wolfson in Massachusetts, the printer Max Soliman in Detroit, and seven or eight waiters, cigarmakers and garment workers in New York. In 1895, I. J. Friedman turns up as recording and corresponding secretary of the Canvassers Protective Association in Chicago (with

¹ Selig Perlman in John R. Commons and Associates, *History of Labour in the United States*, New York, 1918, vol. 2, p. 504, 508-509; Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers*, New York, 1914, p. 91.

² Perlman, work cited, vol. 2, p. 501, 522.

J. E. Ryan as treasurer). In 1896, D. A. Cohen is vice-president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union in Chicago; Samuel Weiss is an A. F. of L. organizer and secretary of the Central Labor Union of Erie, Pa.; Alex Rosenthal is an A. F. of L. organizer in Utica, N. Y.; Myles J. K. Levy is secretary of the Central Labor Union of Scranton, Pa.; Louis Benjamin is secretary of the Central Labor Council of Cincinnati. In 1897, an Oscar Epstein is the agent for the *American Federationist* in Guthrie, Oklahoma. In 1898, Ben Cohen holds that position in Chicago; Michael Raphael is an organizer for the Cigarmakers' International Union; Harry Abrams is an A. F. of L. organizer in New Brunswick, N. J. In 1899, Isaac Cowen is an A. F. of L. organizer in Cleveland for half the year and is then transferred to New York; Ed Rosenberg is corresponding and recording secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council; and Sam Abram is secretary of Laborers' Union, No. 7230 in Essexville, Mich. Such a random listing is of course by no means complete.³

Occupations of Jewish Workers

Our particular concern here, however, is with the Jewish workers living in compact groups and organizing into Jewish labor units. Now we can get some idea of the occupations of a large number of East European Jews in New York City from a study made by the Baron de Hirsch Fund in 1890. Of the 135,000 such Jews in the city, this survey reached 111,690 persons in 28,801 families, living in the largely Jewish wards, 7, 10 and 13. There were 60,257 children in the group. Already 7,396 adults were citizens.

Of the 22,329 employed, the occupational distribution was this: 9,595 tailors; 2,084 women's tailors; 1,043 white-goods workers (shirts, underwear, etc.); 976 cigarmakers; 715 cap-makers; 458 painters; 443 carpenters; 417 tinsmiths; 413 butchers; 287 jewelry workers; 270 bakers; 149 machinists; 148 glaziers; and 145 compositors, making a total of 17,143 workers and craftsmen, or more than 75 per cent of all those listed. Then there were tradesmen: 2,440 peddlers; 1,382 sales clerks; 370 grocers; 260 cigar dealers; 248 saloon keepers (*shenkers*); 86 old clothes dealers; and 62 milk dealers, totaling 4,848 or 22 per cent of the total. The remainder were 251 teachers (chiefly of Hebrew and religious subjects) and 67 musicians. Very conspicuous is the preponderance of workers. The garment workers, 13,437 of them in four divisions, are moreover not only 78 per cent of all the Jewish workers in this survey but 60 per cent of all the economically active Jews studied.

The living conditions of these 111,690 Jews with 22,000 breadwinners can be surmised from the fact that the average wage of the men was \$10.13 weekly, and of the women \$5.80, while the average rent was \$14.28 a month, or about one-third of a month's earnings.⁴

The year 1890 was not only one of intense activity and

promise for the Jewish labor movement but also one of successes and accomplishments. Perhaps most important was the emergence of an organizationally responsible Yiddish labor newspaper. *Di Nu Yorker Idisher Volkszeitung* had done great service to the Jewish workers, but it was privately owned—and it ceased publication on December 22, 1889. A year-end conference of anarchist, socialist and trade union delegates failed to produce the unity needed to issue a single newspaper. The result was that the Socialist Labor Party members, backed by the United Hebrew Trades, worked mightily for ten weeks to raise the funds required—and on March 7, 1890 there appeared the first weekly issue of *Die Arbeiter Zeitung*, which, for the first five of its 12 years of existence, was to be a constructive factor in helping to build the Jewish labor movement. The Jewish anarchists, whose theory of "the worse the better" tended to make them indifferent to trade-unionism, finally began to publish their weekly, *Die Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, on July 4, 1890.

When the workers paraded their strength on May Day, 1890 (the first time this American labor holiday was celebrated on an international scale), the Jewish workers of New York were conspicuous, some 9,000 of them marching with their organizations. There were 16 Jewish organizations in the line of march from Rutgers to Union Square. The triumphant Operators' and Cloak Makers' Union No. 1, which had in four months through a series of successful strikes built their membership up to 3,300, was outstanding. But there were also the compositors, buttonhole-makers, shirt-makers, pants-makers, knee-pants-makers, clothing cleaners, purse makers, men's tailors (who had won an important strike in February), pressers, children's jacket makers, soda-water workers, suspender makers, the Progressive Tailors' Union, the Arbeiter Zeitung Association, publishers of that newspaper, and the Jewish section of the Socialist Labor Party. When the workers marched again, on Labor Day in September, their numbers had swelled to 12 to 15,000, with new contingents of bakers and capmakers, but the first and largest division was that of 6,000 cloakmakers. These latter were jubilant, fresh from a victorious strike of 4,000 cloakmakers against the biggest firms in the trade: 13 weeks of struggle, hunger and solidarity had resulted in recognition of the union, the firing of all scabs, and wage raises for the strikers.⁵

Growth of United Hebrew Trades

Between March and November 1890, the number of unions in the United Hebrew Trades increased from 22 to 34. Was the time ripe for a national organization of Jewish trade unionists? Thinking it was, the United Hebrew Trades and the Jewish section of the S. L. P. issued a call on August 29 for a national congress to be held in New York on October 4 to 6, 1890. When the First Congress of Jewish Workers of America and Canada convened, the

³ Knights of Labor, *Report of the General Secretary-Treasurer*, 1892, p. 2; *American Federationist*, Nov. 1894; June 1895; Jan., June, Oct. 1896; May 1897; Feb., July, Oct. 1898; May, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov. 1899.

⁴ A. Tcherikower, *Geschichte der Idisher Arbeiter Bewegung in di Farinikhe Shtaten*, New York, 1943, vol. 1, p. 258-260.

⁵ See articles by Schappes in *JEWISH LIFE*, May 1947, May 1950, April 1953; Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 2, p. 406-407.

credentials committee reported the presence of 72 delegates from 27 New York groups with a membership of 13,664 (7,000 cloakmakers, 1,500 men's tailors and 1,000 pants-makers among them), while 15 delegates came from 6 cities (Boston, Hartford, Montreal, Philadelphia and Carmel and Elizabeth, N. J.) representing 583 members. It was decided to establish a Hebrew Federation of Labor, and Abe Cahan and Morris Hilkowitz (later Hillquit) were elected national organizer and secretary respectively, but within a year the project was abandoned for lack of response outside New York. In 1891, however, a United Hebrew Trades was founded in Philadelphia, and in 1896 another one in Chicago.⁶

Yet all was not well *inside* the union movement. The necessary ideological conflicts between the socialists and anarchists were unfortunately injected into and even allowed to dominate the life of the Jewish trade unions, where of course they could have only a disruptive effect. Rival unions, led by socialists or anarchists, appeared and weakened their front against the bosses by fighting each other.

On the other hand, partisan political conflicts of another sort developed between socialist-led locals and the "pure and simple" unionism and anti-socialist leadership of the United Garment Workers of America. This national organization was established in April 1891 primarily as a men's clothing workers' union, but it had also accepted cloakmakers' locals which, when their own attempt in 1892 to build a national women's garment workers' union collapsed, turned to the U. G. W. for affiliation. When the conservative top leaders threatened to expel locals affiliated with the socialist-led United Hebrew Trades, the latter responded to the provocation by organizing rival unions in July 1893.⁷

During the Depression of 1893-97

And it was just then, when the Jewish unions were in this weakened condition, that the economic crisis hit the country, the workers and their organizations. More than 600 banks failed in 1893, while 15,000 commercial firms with a capital of \$346,000,000 collapsed that year. In 1893-94, 194 railroads operating 39,000 miles of track went into receivership. And so it went, for 48 months before recovery set in.

With not a shred of social legislation, federal or state, to ease them, the people suffered tremendously. Most bitter was the lot of the new immigrants. One Bialystok Jew, in a Yiddish travelogue published in Warsaw in 1894, summed up his observations thus: "It was horrible to see people walking about who have not eaten for days. . . . Imagine a city like New York, in which over a million people are hungry. You go around looking for work, you would work for half a dollar a day, but there is no work. . . ."

⁶ Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 2, p. 411-416, 498-502.

⁷ Levine, work cited, p. 64-67, 73-75, 77.

In Chicago, two People's Soup Kitchens were set up by the Jewish community which, we are assured by our historian, "did not shirk its duty . . . for care of the needy." The *smaller* of the kitchens served hot meals to from 1,000 to 1,500 persons a day (the total Jewish population of Chicago was about 75,000). When house visits revealed "an indescribable degree of misery and suffering," clothing, bedding and blankets were also distributed.⁸

While the A. F. of L. was strong enough to maintain its size during the crisis years, the Jewish unions, under the internal conditions already described, were, if not wiped out, at least very hard hit. In November 1897, there were only five or six unions left in the United Hebrew Trades of New York, and in July 1898 a new labor newspaper gave this editorial evaluation: "It is not necessary to cover up. Our movement is undergoing a crisis . . . the entire Jewish labor movement is going through its sorriest period. The unions have crumbled. Those that are whole are standing on soil that promises little good for the future. . . . Wherever we look we see sorrow, devastation and despair."⁹

Influence of De Leon

It was not primarily the economic crisis nor even the conflicts inside the unions between socialists and anarchists that had brought a promising movement to the verge of ruin. The main reason was the development of a disastrous policy on the trade union movement on the part of the leadership of the Socialist Labor Party. The main author of this policy was Daniel DeLeon, a Columbia University lecturer who had been introduced informally to Marxism when he met Marxists in the Henry George campaign for Mayor in 1886. Whatever service he may have rendered by popularizing some of the works of Marx in our country, DeLeon never learned the necessary distinction, made clear by Marx and Engels, between a homogeneous political party and a trade union that must organize all workers without respect to their political views.

In 1892 DeLeon became the national leader of the Socialist Labor Party and editor of its organ, *The People*. After vain and impatient attempts to convert first the A. F. of L. and then the Knights of Labor to a socialist program, DeLeon committed his great crime both against the workers and socialism. He ordered all socialists individually and as a group to withdraw from the A. F. of L. and the Knights, and at a conference on December 10, 1895 he proclaimed the existence of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. So bent was DeLeon on separating socialists from the mass of the trade union membership that he led the S. L. P. to pass a resolution forbidding any

⁸ Harold Underwood Faulkner, *American Economic History*, New York, 1943, 5th ed., p. 553; Richard B. Morris, ed., *Encyclopedia of American History*, New York, 1953, p. 510; Tcherikower, work cited, vol. 1, p. 274-276; Morris A. Gutstein, *A Priceless Heritage, The Epic Growth of Nineteenth Century Chicago Jewry*, New York, 1953, p. 358-359.

⁹ *Di Tseis Sbrift*, Yiddish organ of the United Hebrew Trades, November 1907, p. 5; *Jewish Daily Forward*, Yiddish, July 31, 1898; Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1950, p. 14-16.

party member to hold any office in any union outside the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance!

At first DeLeon saw a mirage of success, when some 200 locals with a total membership of 20,000 rallied to his call. But decay soon set in, and by 1898 there were only 54 dues paying locals left—and the A. F. of L. had a membership of 300,000.

Now the United Hebrew Trades of New York was one of the four groups that formed the S. T. L. A. in 1895, and the Philadelphia U.H.T. affiliated early in 1896. Whatever tendency the U. H. T. had had towards self-isolation because of its insistence on a socialist outlook for its members was now elevated to a matter of national principle by DeLeon. Separated from the masses, whom the socialists ought to have been trying patiently to influence, the S. T. L. A. withered, and the Jewish unions withered with them. DeLeon did all this in the name of socialism and Marxism, although Marxists like Engels in London and Friedrich Sorge in New York differed with him on this fundamentally. Summing up a survey of the labor movement here, Sorge wrote about the A. F. of L.: "Although its class consciousness is not yet sufficiently developed, the Federation has nevertheless represented the class point of view in these matters and has protected the class character of its organization. Its struggles were class struggles." By turning his back on such a mass movement, DeLeon not only caused, as Professor Perlman says, "the irreparable loss of the socialist cause within the American Federation of Labor," but also aided the continuing triumph of conservatism in an A. F. of L. that was no longer influenced by a socialist leaven. And radical trade-unionists like Big Bill Haywood and William Z. Foster have pointed out that DeLeon's evil theory persisted in the labor movement for many decades—and its ghost, it may be added, is still unlaidd.¹⁰

Role of the "Forward"

Opposition to DeLeon's sectarian trade union tactics was not wanting inside the S. L. P. even before he organized the S. T. L. A. Such discontent led Boston Jewish socialists to publish a new weekly, *Der Emes* (May 3, 1895 to January 17, 1896), edited by M. Winchevsky, who came from New York for this purpose. It is noteworthy that much of the opposition developed in the ranks of the Jewish socialists and trade unionists. Now DeLeon was himself of West Indian Jewish parentage (although he led some to believe he was a Venezuelan Catholic and others that he was descended from Ponce de Leon!). Yet when he resorted to insult and derision to fight his opponents, he slipped into anti-Semitic remarks. One such crack about "a few scatter-brained and charlatanish Jews" (*The People*, January 2, 1898) evoked from Winchevsky a 12-stanza

satirical poem in English in the *Jewish Daily Forward* of January 9th, ending thus:

And give my regards to your glorious old Party,
I trust she will pardon my being a Jew.

The climax had been reached, however, about a year before then, when the opposition to DeLeonism withdrew from the annual conference of the Arbeiter Zeitung Publishing Association and decided to issue its own newspaper as the organ of various labor and trade union organizations. The result was the publication on April 22, 1897 of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, edited by Abe Cahan until August and then by Louis Miller until Cahan returned to the post in the spring of 1902. To make the break with DeLeonism more complete, most of the Jewish socialists swung over to support of the new movement, headed by Debs, called the Social Democracy, formed in Chicago on June 18. At a mass meeting in August, Winchevsky, Cahan, Miller, M. Zametkin, I. A. Hourwich and Meyer London all spoke in favor of the Debs movement, and the *Forward* became its spokesman among the Yiddish speaking workers. When, by a process of division, regrouping and amalgamation, the Socialist Party was finally established in July 1901, with Debs as the main public personality but with Hillquit and Victor Berger of Milwaukee as the main political leaders, the *Forward* continued to express this movement. Thus, breaking with DeLeon's sectarianism, the *Forward* for a time did help the Jewish workers move forward, but never in a straight line, never consistently. With a positive attitude to trade unionism, the *Forward* helped to rebuild the United Hebrew Trades so that by 1907 it had 74 unions with over 50,000 members.

At the same time from the beginning the *Forward* revealed the compromising tendency that would, in the most serious situations, lead it to turn the workers away from the sharp struggle against their enemies. The first such test came in 1898 with the Spanish-American War. Here DeLeon and the S. L. P. correctly exposed the war as expansionist and imperialist in character. The Yiddish S. L. P. organs, *Die Arbeiter Zeitung* and the daily *Abend Blatt*, opposed the government's and the ruling circles' war policy. The *Forward*, on the other hand, buckled before the war propaganda, supported the war of conquest as a people's war, backed a pro-war May Day parade (the S. L. P.'s anti-war May Day parade had been banned), and staged a patriotic rally on May Day evening with Cahan, Miller, Zametkin, Winchevsky and London as speakers. When Jewish middle-class organs tried to whip up support for the war by reviving the ghost of the Spanish Inquisition and its persecution of Jews, the *Forward* in June 1898 ran a similar series by A. Liessin.¹¹

Having turned their backs upon a disastrous trade union tactic, the Jewish workers faced the new century with new organizational and educational instruments. Would these be adequate to solve the problems of the next decade?

¹⁰ F. A. Sorge in *Die Neue Zeit*, organ of the German socialists, edited by Karl Kautsky in Stuttgart, vol. 14, part 1, 1895-96, p. 269; Perlman, work cited, vol. 2, p. 519; Anthony Bimba, *The History of the American Working Class*, New York, 1927, p. 202-204, with long quotation from Foster; W. Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York, 1952, p. 81-85; Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans*, 1848-1895, New York, 1954, p. 233, 240.

¹¹ Schappes, *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1950, p. 14-16; Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928*, New York, 1928, p. 191-192; *Jewish Daily Forward*, June 19, 1898.

ELECTIONS THROUGH THE LAND

Correspondents from Los Angeles, Detroit, New Jersey, Miami and New York City analyze the election situation in these communities

LOS ANGELES

By William David

The 1954 Southern California election campaign has been marked by a keen realization on the part of the Jewish community that the witch-hunters' bell was tolling for the Jewish people in a very real and immediate way. Simultaneously, this campaign has offered the Jewish community unique opportunities for organizing effectively the fight-back against discrimination and repressive legislation, as well as the positive struggle for fuller employment and peace.

Key issue in the primaries was the defeat of red-hunter and anti-Semite Jack B. Tenney in the race for state senator from Los Angeles County. Here the entire Jewish community, displaying a unity seldom seen in the past half decade organized under the aggressive leadership of the Jewish Community Council of Los Angeles and helped to defeat Tenney in both Republican and Democratic primaries.

For the November elections Edward Roybal, candidate for lieutenant governor, emerges as the figure around whom Southern California liberal and progressive forces have united. Stemming from the Mexican-American community in East Los Angeles, City Councilman Roybal has consistently represented his people as well as the interests of labor and other minority groups. He was one of the key personalities in the organization of the city-wide movement for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter act. His was the sole dissenting vote in the city council's repressive

ordinance requiring the registration of communists.

Roybal's candidacy resulted from a rank and file revolt within the Democratic Party against the hand-picked choice of that party's hierarchy. Roybal has had little or no support from top echelons of his party, and the commercial press has similarly soft-pedaled his candidacy.

Roybal's chief support has come from working class areas and from labor itself. In Boyle Heights, where large Negro, Mexican and Jewish populations live contiguously, there has been a ferment of activity which promises to increase in intensity through the November elections. The Community Service Organization of the Mexican people, the Southland Jewish Organization and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have conducted widespread election activities. Despite the AFL's leadership endorsement of Republican "Goodie" Knight, who has "promised" to veto anti-labor legislation, both AFL and CIO are solidly behind Roybal.

West-side Jewry has been heartened by Mark Hogue's billboards and campaign literature displaying their militant legend, "What are you doing to defeat McCarthyism?" In his campaign to defeat Rep. Donald V. Jackson in the 16th Congressional District, Hogue writes, "Just as Nero fiddled while Rome burned, Donald Jackson plays a steady obbligato to the McCarthy symphony of hate and fear."

The large Jewish populations of Santa Monica, Venice, Ocean Park, and Brentwood have rallied to this call for the defeat of Donald V. Jackson. Unfortunately, Hogue's campaign committee has prevented total unity of the forces supporting him, because it has seen fit to screen his supporters. Nevertheless, parallel activities have developed throughout the 16th Congressional District.

The struggle for Negro representation centers about the candidacies of Lucius W. Lomax in the 63rd Assembly District and Horace V. Alexander for secretary of state.

Lomax, publisher of *The Tribune*, leading Negro paper in Los Angeles, is the only candidate who would represent the people of his district. The 63rd Assembly District, cutting through the Jefferson and West Adams areas, contains large Negro, Jewish and Japanese populations. Present assemblyman is G. Delbert Morris, who told a delegation in his office in Sacramento that the Negroes in his district did not want any FEPC legislation.

Popular veteran Horace V. Alexander, who polled over 21,000 votes in the 26th Congressional District race in 1952, is the Independent Progressive Party's candidate for secretary of state. He is the only Negro running for state-wide office. Offering IPP's program of peace, jobs and civil liberties to the people of California, Alexander has secured the endorsement of wide sections of the Negro community, as well as independent support from rank and file labor elements.

In the 42nd Assembly District, which comprises a large portion of San Fernando Valley, Jess Nathan is the candidate of the Democratic Party.

As editor and publisher of the *Valley Jewish News*, Nathan has done outstanding work in the fight against the Un-American Activities Committees.

Likewise, it was Nathan who led the Jewish community in the campaign to save the life of Wesley Wells.

It would be untrue to state that the Jewish community of Los Angeles has not suffered through the loss of leadership formerly provided by the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and the American Jewish Congress. But it is

this writer's observation that the former leadership and rank and file of these and other organizations are everywhere evident in the 1954 elections, and are providing the ideological strength and the tactical know-how in the struggle against McCarthyism and war. Southland Jews have many opportunities to help return our country to the ways of peace. In their own self-interest, as they did in the Tenney campaign, they must vote for liberal and progressive candidates.

DETROIT

The primaries in Michigan on August 3 gave a clear picture of the growing dissatisfaction among the people with the reactionary set-up of the Eisenhower administration.

Michigan has 220,000 permanently unemployed and over 20,000 temporarily unemployed workers. This situation will hardly arouse enthusiasm among the masses of the people for the McCarthy-Eisenhower candidates. The outcome of the primaries caused the Republican oligarchy some uneasiness. For the primary vote of the Democrats this year was five per cent higher than the Republicans'.

Governor Mennen Williams for the fourth time won the Democratic nomination for governor unopposed. He is a "Fair Dealer" and has the support of the entire organized labor movement. He polled over 300,000 votes, which is considered large in a primary in which only 45 per cent of the registered Democrats voted.

The Republican nomination for governor was won by former State Trooper Donald S. Leonard. His "world outlook" is as broad and deep as that of Senator McCarthy or his friend Homer Ferguson, McCarthyite and loyal servant of General Motors, candidate for re-election to the Senate.

The Democratic nomination for the Senate was won by the AFL leader Patrick V. McNamara. After the sudden death of New Deal candidate Blair Moody, he remained the only

candidate supported by AF Land CIO.

An unprecedented, historic aspect of the Michigan primaries was the nomination of 11 Negro candidates for important state and city offices, including the nomination for Congress of 31-year-old Negro State Senator Charles C. Diggs. This even created a sensation in the entire press of the state. He was nominated in the 13th Congressional District by more than twice as many votes as the old-line Democratic politician, Rep. George O'Brien. The population of the 13th District is 30 per cent Negro, 20 per cent Jewish and 50 per cent of five other national groups. The labor and people's movement is well established here. The Jewish population has sunk deep roots in the district, although a trend of Jewish "emigration" has been strong in the past few years. The Jewish masses in the district live amicably with their Negro neighbors.

In a post-primary discussion with Jewish and Negro leaders, they pointed out to me that the Jewish masses worked hand-in-hand with the Negro masses for the nomination of the Negro state senator. They told me that on several occasions when the Negro candidate spoke before Jewish audiences, he spoke with high esteem of the history of the Jewish people and always connected the struggle of the Negro people for equality with the aspirations of the Jewish masses in Israel and in the struggle against anti-Semitism.

Mr. Diggs and his Negro and white friends visited rabbis and Jewish community leaders. He carried on a strenuous fight for FEPC and demanded repeal of the McCarran-Walter law. He fought actively against the program of rearming and renazifying Germany. During celebrations of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising he was the only candidate in the district to call upon all sections of the people to attend the observance of the Jewish Community Council and to honor the glorious heroes who fell in the anti-fascist battle.

"Yes, we Jews in this congressional district," a prominent Jewish leader told me, "played a really important part in helping to nominate the Negro state senator. He not only brought his program against racism and anti-Semitism before the Jewish citizens; we heard him deliver impassioned speeches against racism, fascism and discrimination and against the McCarran-Walter law at Negro and other non-Jewish meetings. The same was done by other Negro ministers and people's leaders."

The leaders of the Jewish Community Council contributed to this fraternalism between Jewish and Negro neighbors. But much remains to be done, educationally and practically, to show the Jewish masses how harmful is the theory of white supremacy and how this theory leads to fascism.

A serious weakness in the primaries was the absence of a militant program against McCarthyism. All the Democratic candidates made wishy-washy statements against McCarthyism. The fiery red-baiting issuing from the Democratic candidates, although less intense than a year or two ago, will not help to beat McCarthy and his lieutenants.

Another serious weakness was the absence of a program against the pro-war policies of the McCarthyites in Washington. It is possible for the organized labor and people's movement to guarantee a great victory in November against the McCarthyites in Michigan and in Washington if they press for a program for friendship among the nations on the basis of co-existence.

NEW JERSEY

At first glance it would seem that Jerseyans are luckier than most voters this year: in the crucial race for the Senate seat, both candidates, long known as liberals, are denouncing McCarthyism.

The GOP nominee, Clifford P. Case, a personable youngish man with a fair-to-middling record in Congress on domestic issues, was thumbed down last year for the nomination for governor. Instead, the GOP named Paul Troast, a solid citizen whose connections with underworld gamblers cost the Republicans the election.

The first Democratic sweep in ten years brought to the State House a vigorous "New Dealer," Robert Meyner—and to the Republicans the knowledge that if they wanted to win, they'd better disguise the face of monopoly with a more progressive look.

This time, they picked Case. Now, as the Democrats pursue their probe of the network around former Governor Harold Hoffman, who stole state funds for 20 years while he was in control of \$600 millions as employment security director, the GOP has shifted into high gear to capture the growing independent, anti-McCarthy vote, which includes the bulk of Jersey's quarter-million Jewish population.

So naming Case was a shrewd move, one that has confused many liberals, and even some progressives who are disgusted with the Democratic stampede toward their own brand of McCarthyism in recent months.

From a surface glance, both men have parallel careers: Case is an NAACP member—Howell introduced the state's first FEPC bill. Both were co-sponsors of the House bill to revise the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law. Both are outspoken against McCarthy.

But here they part company: Case is fervently committed "1,000 per cent" to President Eisenhower, to his Butler law to throttle the trade unions, his refusal to act against unemployment, his deal to hand over atomic energy plants to private firms, and his whole

give-away, union-wrecking program.

Howell, while he has gone in that direction with his own "little Butler" bill to register unions before the NLRB, is nevertheless more responsive to the demands of the labor movement.

Howell's domestic program includes many of labor's long-standing demands: higher minimum wage and employment security insurance, broader social security coverage, a reserve public works program, and, in his vague phrase, "fairer labor-management laws." To change that to real "repeal the Taft-Hartley law," in fact, to compel Howell to commit himself firmly on any of these issues, pressure must come from the trade unions now.

Elsewhere in the state labor has opportunities to make itself felt. In Passaic and the silk city, Paterson, where the job famine among textile workers is intensified by wage cuts, a prominent local lawyer with close ties with the labor movement, Charles S. Joelson, has taken the helm as Democratic candidate for Gordon Canfield's seat in Congress. He is highlighting a vigorous campaign with a program "for the survival of the textile industry." Basic to this, he points out, is bringing Southern pay rates in line by raising the national minimum wage.

In the 12th district the CIO Political Action Committee has spoken for the Democrat, Martin Fox. Two years ago Fox made a strong bid for the same seat in Congress, with support from labor and the thousands more who supported his appeal to end the Korean war. Fox, who opposed the death-penalty bill for peacetime "spies," is also on record for outright repeal of Taft-Hartley.

The independent candidates scattered through the state are performing a valuable service to all the voters by pointing up the basic issues. Congressional candidate Mrs. Anita Vigoda, the Progressive Party's only candidate in the state, spoke for thousands beyond the progressive circle when she

broadcast this spring in a series urging the banning of the H-bomb and peace in Indo-China.

In Newark and Trenton, there's a rare situation for USA 1954—two Communist Party candidates are on the ballot. While Charles Nusser and Bert Salwen are running for the comparatively minor post of county freeholder, their defense of a free vote, against the fascist assault written into the act outlawing the Communist Party, is a contribution to the electoral rights of the whole country.

Farmers in the hard-hit poultry area are searching for political answers to their near-depression crisis. In Asbury Park and nearby Lakewood and Toms River, where many of the farmers are Jewish, the newly formed Poultry Farmers Action Committee has united thousands of family-size farm owners caught in the squeeze between monopoly-set low wholesale prices for eggs and chickens and rising cost of feed.

Delegations of farmers have gone to Washington pressing for federal action to have this mid-Jersey section declared a "disaster area." Many of them have united behind a Democrat named Sullivan, who has spoken up for their program, to unseat Rep. James A. Auchincloss in the Third District.

There is a dramatic lesson in Newark's city election last spring. The same broad unity among unions, the Negro, Jewish and civic groups that won Newark its new city charter, succeeded in sending Irvine I. Turner to City Hall, the first Negro elected to major office in the history of the city.

It was an exciting campaign, full of valuable side-lights. The vigilance of the progressive Negro Labor Council prevented the ward gerrymandering which would have blotted out the votes of 78,000 Negro people. Another Negro independent, Harry T. Hazelwood, polled a record 29,000 votes in the contest for councilman at large.

And the only woman on the slate, Mrs. Frances Nusbaum, active in many Jewish groups and the P.T.A., rolled up 6,700 votes in a personal campaign where she discussed with the voters her platform for peace and equal rights.

MIAMI

Since the primaries are tantamount to election in all of Florida (except for two congressional districts in the Tampa, St. Petersburg and Sarasota area), the primaries in Dade County were decisive. This primary campaign took place in May during the national upsurge against McCarthyism (Army-McCarthy hearings) and the powerful mass resistance to United States military intervention in Indo-China. Both of these developments were reflected in the state elections.

This influence was particularly evident in Dade County, which includes the cities of Miami and Miami Beach with their combined Jewish population of over 55,000. Dade County cast 21 per cent of the state's total vote and gave the winning gubernatorial candidate his margin of victory.

The first major event of the congressional campaign in this area was an election rally conducted by the National Council of Jewish Women, where all five candidates for Congress appeared. All five, in varying degrees, took a stand against McCarthy, against the McCarran-Walter act and against the Bricker Amendment.

During the campaign period, a furious witch-hunt was launched by one of the major local newspapers and other McCarthyite forces, which tied in with the Internal Security Committee hearings in New Orleans, under the chairmanship of Senator Eastland. None of the candidates touched this situation, pro or con. The campaign as a whole was devoid of red-baiting.

In the gubernatorial campaign, while much mud-slinging took place on such issues as road-building funds, home-
stead exemption, etc., two issues came in for special attention. One was the state law prohibiting use of masks by the Ku Klux Klan. The losing candidate, Acting Governor Charley E. Johns, had voted against this law when he was state senator. His opponent, also as state senator, had voted for this law, and he made this one of the most

prominent issues of the campaign, especially in Dade County. Second, towards the end of the campaign, Acting Governor Johns raised the issue of his opponent's "membership" in the World Federalists. Leroy Collins, the winning candidate, frankly stated that shortly after the war he had paid \$2.50 to hear some one (Donald Harrington) who had some proposals for peace and that he would gladly pay \$2.50 again for the same purpose.

When the Supreme Court ruling against segregation came towards the end of the campaign, neither candidate took a sound position on it. Both evaded the issue by deferring a final stand until the October arguments and in the meantime made their bow to "local tradition."

While progressives could by no means give their unqualified support to either candidate, it was felt that Johns was decidedly the worse candidate because of his stand on the KKK unmasking law, his use of the state highway patrol for breaking the can strike in Tampa and Auburndale last January and his close political association with some of the Dixiecrat elements in the state. Johns was defeated and the Dade County vote was decisive in that defeat.

NEW YORK CITY

Not since 1942, when New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey began his despotic regime, has a New York State election offered greater opportunities to sweep his administration out of office and help determine the scope of the developing people's counter-offensive to McCarthyism and the pro-war policies of the Eisenhower-Dulles administration.

Defeat of Deweyism will not only smash the entrenched Morgan-Rockefeller oligarchy and rout the most powerful GOP machine in the East. It will

Among the congressional candidates from this area (4th Cong. Dist.), one of the most outspoken against McCarthy won the majority of votes in the first primary and did not have to face a run-off.

Among the three elected as representatives to the state legislature from this area was Mr. John B. Orr, a young candidate who was running for public office for the first time and who was publicly known as ex-Senator Pepper's campaign manager in 1950. This candidate in public appearances during his own campaign frequently referred to this past association with Mr. Pepper. Mr. Orr was at one time state head of the Civil Liberties Union. He ran his campaign on one central issue: fair, full, democratic representation for the populous big counties through reapportionment based on population. (It so happens that the big counties—which encompass the largest cities—also have the most trade union organization, the largest registered Negro vote to date, and the largest Jewish populations).

The primary election results show that Florida—and especially Dade County—can by no means be placed in the Dixiecrat column. On the contrary, very strong anti-McCarthy, anti-war and anti-segregation trends have emerged. The electorate in major areas of the state can undoubtedly deal a heavy blow against reaction by 1956.

By Michael Segal

also bring into office on congressional and legislative levels many men who have pledged to stand up to McCarthy, have promised to seek amendment or outright repeal of the racist McCarran-Walter laws, have agreed to promote labor legislation and improved unemployment insurance and social welfare bills, have committed themselves to fight for a return of the pro-labor Rooseveltian era.

Involved in the New York election is the issue of peace, the most supreme issue of our time. The election will

help determine whether the fascism of McCarthy, with its American-made Buchenwalds, will become the future for the people. The vote will decide, too, whether something will be done to cushion another terrible depression or whether a policy of East-West trade will bring jobs to American workers. Another essential objective of the elections is to advance the struggle for Negro representation.

Only the American Labor Party guarantees a clear-cut program for peace, civil rights and economic security. Only ALP candidates can be safely committed at this time to carry the people's demands into the campaign arena and challenge Republicans and Democrats alike to face up to these issues.

But the realities of the political picture require that the candidates and program of the Democratic Party—in which the bulk of the Jewish voters can be found—be decisively influenced so that the unfolding campaign becomes a hard-hitting expression of progressive, pro-labor, peace aspirations. At this writing the Democratic Party has not yet held its state nominating convention nor drawn up its electoral policy.

But already it is clear that a critical struggle is shaping up in the Democratic ranks between the camp backed by labor and pledged to a New Deal anti-Dewey line and that headed by the reactionary forces of James A. Farley and the old-guard machine bosses. Jewish districts, which have always been the stronghold of pro-labor candidates and which gave overwhelming majorities to those Democratic slates aligned against reaction, are therefore pivotal influences in the forthcoming debate that will determine the party's standard-bearer against Deweyism and its program.

Should the Democratic convention reject the nomination of Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and the trade union support he now enjoys for the gubernatorial candidacy, and accept instead the pro-McCarthyite book-burning policies of Farley, the most anti-labor drummer in the Democratic state machine, it is in danger of losing the support of the Jewish masses. A Farleyite slate

would betray the hopes of millions of independent-minded New Yorkers anxious to strike a blow at the repressive GOP regime in the state.

The recent primary fights in the Democratic Party which pitted New Deal-minded candidates against hysteria-inciting, war-mongering opponents found the registered Jewish Democratic voter overwhelmingly against the reactionary selection.

Similarly, in such areas as East Harlem in Manhattan, Boro Park, Flatbush, Brighton Beach, Kings Highway and Williamsburg sections of Brooklyn, in the Elmhurst, Corona, Bayside, Forest Hills and Corona districts of Queens, in every district where the primary battles pitted positive pro-labor and civil rights candidates against fossilized reactionary Democrats, the Jewish voters made their position clear-cut against the Old Guard.

Whether the Democratic convention names Roosevelt, Averell Harriman or Mayor Wagner as its candidate for governor—any of them will represent a defeat for the anti-New Deal pro-Farley wing—the basic issues of the campaign will have to be fought for, if Deweyism is to be defeated. Mere lip service and campaign platitudes to the "Roosevelt era" and wrist-slapping gestures at McCarthyism will hardly provide the dynamics and mass support needed to de-

feat the Big Business regime in Albany. Denunciations of Dewey's hand-out policies for the monopolists will not be enough to stem the tide of rising unemployment and create the bedrock on which humming factories and bountiful farms can be built.

The Democratic Party, if it is to really mobilize the voters against Deweyism—in itself a shattering political precedent in the light of its double-dealing record of nominating sell-out candidates like the Bennetts and the Lynches in the past—will have to link its program of jobs and prosperity with co-existence and trade with the USSR, China and the Eastern Europe.

It will have to write vigorously into its platform demands for repeal of every vestige of McCarthyite legislation, state and national; it will have to call for a Fair Employment Practice Committee in New York State and back extension of Negro representation; it will have to, in other words, do more than echo the will and demands of the people—it will have to *fight* to make them the law of the land.

If the Democratic Party does that, it will find the Jewish masses in the midst of the campaign, fighting shoulder to shoulder with their Negro, Puerto Rican, Italian-American, Irish-American and other minority brothers to rout the enemies of peace, democracy and security!

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Candidacy

THE voters of the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx have an almost unique opportunity to strike a strong blow against McCarthyism. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, National Committee member of the Communist Party, is conducting a petition campaign—3,000 signatures required—to place her on the ballot as People's Rights Party candidate in that district. Success in this campaign would hearten anti-McCarthyites all over the country.

In a letter given to all signers of her petition, Mrs. Flynn states her platform. Here is a portion of it:

"I shall campaign on the burning issues before the American people—for peace and jobs; for the Bill of Rights and against McCarthyism.

"I shall campaign for a real anti-depression program—for a federal housing, school and hospital building program; for a higher minimum wage; for more and better unemployment insurance and social security.

"I shall fight for a Fair Employment Practices law and an end to Jimcrow segregation in housing, schools, etc.

"I shall fight to help defeat the Eisenhower Cadillac Cabinet and its Dewey administration in New York. I want to help unite all labor, the Negro people, the small business and professional people to defeat the Dewey Big-Business crowd. I want to see a Congress and a State administration devoted to peaceful co-existence and higher living standards for the people."

ANTI-SEMITISM IN E. AND W. GERMANY

By Dr. Leo Katz

Vienna

Very few Jews today reside in any part of Germany—East or West. The Jewish population of that country was never very large and with the rise of Hitlerism and its bloody aftermath the community completely shrunk. A section of German Jewry rescued itself by fleeing to Israel or to various Latin American countries.

Concerning Eastern Germany it is understandable that the type of Jew who for many decades was used to life as a middleman or a private merchant cannot easily integrate himself into the new socialist society which is being built there step by step. Of the Jewish intellectuals who remained in Eastern Germany, many occupy important positions in various fields. Thus for example, Albert Norden and Alexander Abusch hold high government posts as state secretaries. The German Jewish writers Arnold Zweig and Anna Seghers were among the first to be awarded national prizes for literature.

But a Jewish question does exist—in all sections of Germany. Let us see in what ways it exists. The truly murderous agitation which the Hitler-Goebbels-Streicher gang carried on against Jews must not for one moment be forgotten. This poisonous propaganda naturally left its roots. But what is being done to destroy this legacy? Where and how is anti-Semitism being fought?

In Western Germany the Jew-baiter struts around with his head high. Jewish cemeteries are continually desecrated. And let us mention here as one example, the Auerbach case which took place some three years ago in Baden, West Germany, and which proved how deeply anti-Semitism had embedded itself there.

In the new literary works being published in West Germany, few if any Jewish writers are to be found. New volumes of Heinrich Heine's works, which were bought up in hundreds of thousands of copies, have been published in East, not in West Germany. The works of the late Friedrich Wolf, of Lion Feuchtwanger, Arnold Zweig, Anna Seghers are widely published in East Germany. In practically all of Arnold Zweig's works, it should be noted, there are a number of Jewish themes and they are filled with positive Jewish types.

But is anything being done to acquaint the present generation of German youth with the barbaric crimes which Hitler Germany perpetrated against Jews?

An East German publishing house located in Berlin—the official publishing house of the Socialist Unity Party—issued a book about anti-Semitism and about the crimes which the Hitlerites committed against the Jews. This book was sold in hundreds of thousands of copies in East Germany. The very latest edition of it, released not long ago, has again been completely sold out.

What does this mean?

It means that the East German government does not want the horrible facts about Hitlerism to be forgotten. On the contrary, the East German government wants these facts to be deeply embedded in the minds of the German youth—that they should forever remember them!

Here is a characteristic fact: in October the East German State publishing house in Berlin will issue a novel of mine which is entitled *The World Of Columbus*. The main theme of this novel is the exiling of the Spanish Jews and the story of the Inquisition. It deals, as you can see, with a Jewish theme.

When the prospectus of the publishing house was issued, announcing the plans for the novel's release, a great many daily and weekly newspapers asked for permission to print it in installments.

The above mentioned publishing house, called Ritten und Lening, asked me to hold a lecture for young readers and editors and for the company of the Berlin German theater on the theme, "History and Historical Novels." A two-hour discussion developed around the question of Jews in modern German literature and the theater. All were unanimous in demanding that more Jewish types should be introduced into German literature, more positive treatment be given to the honored role which Jews played in the development of German culture.

Recently I was sitting in a West German cafe reading West German illustrated papers. I read about the "great sufferings" of the German people in May 1945 when the Red Army smashed and eliminated the German military machine. These papers printed pictures of those days, when the Red Army entered Berlin after heavy fighting. Various stories about atrocities and about hunger are recounted, whose aim is to evoke amongst West German youth feelings for bloodthirsty revenge.

I was reading these outpourings in a Frankfurt paper when I noticed a young man at a nearby table reading the very

same story in a Baden illustrated magazine. I watched him for I could see that he was deeply engrossed in what he read. "Interesting?" I asked him.

With a frightened look he raised his eyes from the paper. One could see that he had been off to other worlds in his reading. He looked at me and answered: "Only now through this is it becoming clear to me what our people have endured. It is terrible to read. . . ."

I answered: "Are you acquainted with what the German army did in Poland, in the Ukraine, in Russia? Did you ever hear anything about the death factories, about crematoria and gas chambers?"

The eyes of this young German, a lad around 20, became wide with disbelief. He looked at me as if I were mentally disturbed. He became uncomfortable. He moved away a little and sharply asked:

"Who are you?"

"I am a Jew."

"And your connection with all those stories you told me in your questions?"

"Three of my sisters and their families were killed like that by Germans, yes by those who occupy important posts in your government; by those who wrote those 'memoirs' which you were reading so interestedly. . . ."

It was a hot day, and the German looked askance as I spoke, as if he were thinking, "Who knows about that guy there? Maybe he's crazy with the heat."

It took a long time to make it clear to him that I wasn't telling him any fairy tales. It was not difficult to see that he heard all this for the first time. But, he had certainly heard and read a great deal about the "great injustices committed against the German people."

Yes, a Jewish question exists in Germany, but from what I have related, and I could have recounted much more, it is clear that the treatment of this problem is far from being the same in all of Germany.

In West Germany, where the neo-nazis are in power and the official orientation is on war, the anti-Semites conduct themselves free and easy.

In East Germany, where the government carries on a steady policy for peace and friendship, all means are used to root out the evil plague of anti-Semitism.

Dr. Leo Katz, 1892-1954

JUST as we went to press, we learned of the death of our Vienna correspondent, Dr. Leo Katz, at the age of 62, on August 11. Dr. Katz was a distinguished novelist and journalist.

The Editorial Board mourns his passing.

Book Reviews

TWO POETS OF DEMOCRACY

By Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

Roll the Forbidden Drums! by Aaron Kramer, Cameron & Kahn, New York. \$1.00.

Dangerous Jack, A Fantasy in Verse, by Martha Millet, Sierra Press, New York. \$0.60.

To write poetry in the United States today is extremely difficult. There is no living tradition to provide some sort of common ground for the poet and any large audience. The overwhelming majority of potential readers have neither any conscious literary training nor any familiarity with the unconscious literary values of an imaginative metaphor-filled folk language. Newspapers, magazines and "best-sellers"—to say nothing of films, television and comic books—have reduced the average vocabulary to an extraordinarily meager, stereotyped and image-less handful of words. And our schools have managed to make even Shakespeare uninteresting and Shelley irrelevant while convincing their students that poetry is laudable as a painfully difficult way of saying what could be said more briefly and directly in prose.

It is small wonder that the obstinate few who remain stubbornly determined—or irresistibly impelled—to write poetry should feel driven to match indifference with contempt and aim their efforts more and more exclusively at winning the approval of the cognoscenti and the informed appreciation of other technicians.

But it is truly a great wonder that there should still be, here and there, a young poet foolhardy and patient enough to insist on writing poetry for plain people about things that matter to them and him. Aaron Kramer is one of the most determined and courageously unreasonable of these. It is a real joy to find that in *Roll the Forbidden Drums!*, his tenth slender volume, he has achieved a new richness, maturity and variety of expression without losing the easy lyrical quality and warm simplicity of his earliest work.

"The Minotaur: A Poem in Twenty-Four Hours," which forms the first third of the book, is a series of 24 skillfully linked short poems that carry us through the rapid succession of events from alarm clock to alarm clock in a bookkeeper's day—a bookkeeper who lives in Queens,

hates his job, dearly loves his wife and two small daughters. In language "simple, sensuous and passionate" scene follows scene so vividly and narrative interest and suspense are so well maintained, that the most mis-educated reader will find he too can read poetry and like it.

Others will note with less surprise but equal pleasure the sensitive movements from form to form which accompany and express each change of mood, the unlabeled interweaving of classical myth with contemporary fact and the effective poetic economy in which concrete physical description is also abstract argument. There are perhaps a few touches of self-conscious pathos and jejune sarcasm to which one might direct the author's attention for the sake of his next work, but they certainly do nothing material to lessen the value of this one.

The balance of the volume is composed largely of a number of brief lyrics among which each reader will, no doubt, have his own favorites. Alfred Kreymborg, in a valuable foreword, selects "Patriotism" and I should probably choose "Singing" and perhaps "Visit" and "Halloween."

Finally, there is a sort of verse drama or operetta without music, based on Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale, "The Tinderbox," which might be well suited, as Kreymborg suggests, for performance.

Read as a poem, not a libretto, this also moves swiftly and provides both musical and dramatic interest. But the total effect is, for me at least, that of a symbolism too heavy for the slight fairy tale framework so that the whole emotional impact is somehow less than the sum of its parts. "The Tinderbox" was, I believe, written some time before the bulk of the material in the present volume. For all its charm it seems largely valuable as a measure of the great stride forward Kramer has taken in his latest work.

By what may at first appear as an odd coincidence, Martha Millet, another of our few dauntlessly hopeful people's poets, has also chosen something of a fairy tale framework for her book, *Dangerous Jack*.

Actually the Jack of the title is not only the Mother Goose "Jack be nimble" but also the Jack of the Beanstalk, Jack the Giant Killer and several other nursery

heroes. Even the author's sweeping dedication "To All the Jacks" falls somewhat short of the mark since there is more than a hint of such other legendary figures—Jacks in all but name—as Bunyan's Pilgrim, Robin Hood, Prometheus and, especially, Ibsen's Peer Gynt.

It is this aura of familiar fantasy rather than any particular story the poet here seeks to use in establishing a common ground for both naive and sophisticated readers. It is of course the general necessity of finding some such ground which accounts for the seeming coincidence of two serious progressive writers' choosing a nursery form in which to set their significant poetic work.

So, broadly defined as a somewhat impertinent, very youthful and altogether intrepid Almost Everyman—that is, Every Working Man—Jack is armed with his author's own sharp wit and lively curiosity and sent forth to see the world and do what he can to change it.

In the course of his Odyssey he wanders easily from realistic tenement streets to musical comedy ivory towers, from mist shrouded with infested mountain tops to sharply etched Washington witch-hunts. The sarcasm bites deep and is always serious enough to be funny. The dialogue rings with colloquial freshness and a staccato music of its own. Every episode ends with a beautifully contrived dramatic climax and an element of real surprise. Throughout the dramatic scenes the sound does "seem an echo to the sense" and has as wide and flexible a range as the action itself.

Miss Millet's touch never falters in running the whole gamut of humor from irony to broad burlesque and the nice balance of emotions in the varied adventure scenes is maintained with remarkable consistency. Not infrequently, however, there are moments in the course of Jack's monologues where we are offered rhetoric in the guise of poetry, and where his reflections and prophecies sometimes tremble on the verge of bombast. But the whole "fantasy in verse," as its author calls it, is so good that we are immediately caught up again in its rapid action and hurried out of danger.

No small amount of pleasure is added to our reading by the unpretentious illustrations in which Robert Joyce offers a pungent running commentary on the text, adding to its immediate effectiveness.

Both Aaron Kramer and Martha Millet have earned the real gratitude of all who know poetry. Many not yet fortunate enough to do so may well incur an even deeper obligation by beginning, with these two attractive little volumes, to realize that poetry speaks for them—and to them as well.

Letters from Readers

The Sobell Campaign

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The special issue of JEWISH LIFE on the Rosenbergs (June issue) was magnificent. It set the stage for the kind of dramatic campaign in their memory to free Morton Sobell; and yet the campaign doesn't seem to move. There seems to be a tendency to categorize Sobell as just another political prisoner. This is 100 per cent unfair to Sobell and practically unsound—there is no such thing as "just another political prisoner."

Since the experience in Washington on the Rosenberg case I've become a persistent guy on one point: that 50 per cent of the problems faced by progressives today stem from self-imposed isolation. Too many have accepted the McCarthy version of America, swallowed the false idea that others are afraid to work with us, and so we sulk and pout in our corner, saying that the American people are stupid and backward and only a depression will make them understand the truth.

How false and blind this is. Without exception, every time we have reached out recently to work hand-in-hand with others on a specific issue, we have met with good response.

The Rosenberg case was the most dramatic example. Since then we have had fine success in a primary election campaign, particularly in support of a Negro candidate for Congress, in peace activities, in a current campaign against discrimination in Cleveland's swimming pools, in the friendly attitude of many community leaders toward the Progressive Party.

I'm afraid that self-imposed isolation is again creeping into the campaign for Morton Sobell. Granting that the horror of a death sentence moved many to heroic efforts for the Rosenbergs, there is no excuse for our failure now to mount a more effective campaign for Sobell. I think that many have slipped back into their old ruts, some frightened by the Fort Monmouth incident, some still stunned and discouraged by the execution of Ethel and Julius.

The American people have not forgotten the Rosenbergs and they will not—unless we do. Perhaps the summer is not the best time to start rolling again, but without fail, this fall we should launch a major national drive to bring Sobell out of Alcatraz and win a new trial for him. Cleveland

DON ROTHENBERG.

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Congratulations on your August issue! What a lot of work you are putting into each issue. What amazes me mostly is how you are able to write a story of each major field of interest in so few pages. Here are present-day happenings, a review of a new book and a story out of it (I bought both books at the bookstore), a chapter out of Jewish history in this country, an open letter to our beloved Sholem Aleichem. But besides this, JEWISH LIFE does not want to be one-sided—there are not less than five stories about life in the new countries.

I am reading Volume VI and just cannot find words enough to let you know how much I find to learn from each article. It is the same with the new issues. JEWISH LIFE should be read by many more people.

To many more issues of JEWISH LIFE!
Los Angeles M. J.

In Memoriam

MORRIS SHAFRITZ

Died September 10, 1953

Something Extra Special!

JEWISH LIFE for November will be the

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A whole issue given over to articles and poetry in celebration of 300 years of Jewish settlement in the U.S.A.

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A life story of Clara Lemlich Shavelson, by Paula Scheier

The East Side I Knew, by Mike Gold

Jewish Immigration from 1881 to 1914, by Morris U. Schappes

A celebration article by Paul Robeson

A two-page panoramic drawing of high moments in American Jewish history, by Philip Reisman

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National Get-Together

Further exciting plans of the 300 Years Committee include a national conference on February 19-20 . . . half of the time will be dedicated to presentation of papers by noted historians and leaders . . . papers will deal with the progressive contributions of Jews in the 300 years of their settlement followed by discussion . . . the other half will discuss the practical projects for the celebration. . . . One major project will be publication of a book containing the papers presented at conference . . . another project will be an exhibit of artistic works and documents which highlight the moments of progressive import in 300 years of Jewish life. . . . Exhibit to be shown in New York and then tour the land. . . . Beautiful album reproducing art and documents of exhibit will then be published . . . a pictorial history of 300 Years which can be placed in every home. . . . Those interested can now get the second issue of the Committee's Bulletin as well as a Speaker's outline on 300 Years. . . . Another project will be a six-session seminar for preparing speakers and leaders starting Thursday, October 7. . . . A prominent historian will conduct each two-hour session. With these projects every organization or individual interested in the 300 Years celebration has a wealth of material at hand . . . take advantage of it by contacting the Committee.

By Sam Pevzner

Sparkplug Added

When you read this, JEWISH LIFE will have organized a new "Executive Board" or "Management Committee" (title to be decided by new body) which will help build and raise funds for the mag. This will have been set up at a conference held on September 16 with representatives from organizations and invited individuals participating. One of the first projects of this new body will be a mammoth subscription campaign. And the desperate situation of the magazine forces upon this body, as well as all others interested in its continued existence, the raising of funds with speed and dispatch. Which brings us to an appeal as powerful as we can make it for every reader to—

Help! Help! Help!

The magazine is still in the woods. It cannot go on unless there is an immediate response from readers and committees to its appeal for donations. One way to help is to send and solicit greetings for the Tercentenary issue—at once! Send it in as you wish—with your name or anonymously or as 'A Friend'—but send it. Don't let this historic issue come out without your expression of support.

Look What Gives

The Tercentenary issue (November), which also celebrates the eighth birthday of JEWISH LIFE, will be replete with features that will make the issue a collector's item. There will be a double-page center spread of a beautiful panoramic drawing by the powerful artist, Philip Reisman, depicting major moments in 300 years of Jewish life in the U.S.A. This will be a find for hanging on bulletin boards, exhibits and framing. Mike Gold will write on the contrast of the East Side 40 years ago and today. A significant article on Clara Lemlich Shavelson who was a fiery

leader in the "Revolt of the Girls" in the historic 1909 waistmakers strike. Historian Morris U. Schappes will enrich the issue with another article in his series dealing with Jewish Immigration. And much more! Every reader should order a small bundle of this issue for distribution among friends and co-workers.

Travel Broadens

Business Manager Lester Blickstein hits Chicago for a speaking and organizing tour October 16-23. The Jewish Life Committee of the Windy City should immediately stoke the fire for this trip by raising funds and subscriptions to present to Lester the minute he steps off the plane.

Morris U. Schappes visits Cleveland from September 18 to 22, and Detroit on September 23 and 24, to speak on 300 years and oil up the machine for building the magazine. Our advice to Chicago goes for you too, Cleveland and Detroit.

Tercentenary Notes

Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A. beginning to get full head of steam on its activities. . . . First, the big celebration it will hold in Carnegie Hall on October 16 beginning to round out a program which in itself will be a high mark in contemporary cultural history of American Jews. . . . Tony Kraber, the Hollywood director, will with the collaboration of the Jewish theatrical figures Jacob Mestel and Meyer Eisenberg, direct the Grand Spectacle on 300 Years. . . . Maurice Rauch will handle musical end. . . . something new in choreography is being prepared . . . script in hands of Yuri Suhl and I. Goldberg . . . whisperings out of the planning chambers indicate the Spectacle will be a grand collaboration of narration, dramatic scenes, song, music and dance. Tickets available

September issue of MASSES & MAINSTREAM

NOW ON YOUR NEWSSTANDS!

Read STEVE NELSON'S account of the court case in which he was his own defense counsel, in "I REFUSE TO PAY FOR THE ROPE TO HANG ME!"

Little-known early American Negro artists are brought to light in OUR "FORGOTTEN" NEGRO ARTISTS by EDWARD STRICKLAND.

Two absorbing chapters from a new work in progress by V. J. JEROME: SIDEWALKS OF LONDON.

A new poem by WALTER LOWENFELS: AMERICANS FOR PEACE. A poem commemorating the anniversary of the Chinese Revolution: CHINA by MARTHA MILLET.

What did A. S. Makarenko teach? BRINGING UP PARENTS by ELIZABETH MOOS describes the work of this famous Soviet teacher, author of ROAD TO LIFE.

Article-reviews of YOUNGBLOOD, THE MAN WHO NEVER DIED, THE ROSENBERG STORY, and THE POETRY OF DYLAN THOMAS.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

were specifically mentioned) was adopted by the World Council of Churches at its second assembly late in August. The Council even sanctioned disobedience of the Jimcrow laws.

Violence in Jimerow housing . . .

Two meat workers' unions in Chicago, AFL and CIO, demanded in an open letter in the *Chicago Daily News* early in September that Mayor Martin Kennedy should enforce the law at the Trumbull Housing project "or admit your lack of courage to do so. In such event, you should resign as mayor of Chicago." The letter pointed out that for 13 months the lives of Negroes in this public housing project have been endangered, property amounting to \$200,000 has been damaged, while police have failed to halt the disorders. . . . Hooligans in Atlanta, Ga., on September 3 smashed a one-story house purchased by a Negro family in a "white" neighborhood.

School segregation notes . . . For the first time in New Jersey, charges were filed against the Englewood Board of Education on September 3 for discrimination. It was charged that school districts were rearranged in order to segregate Negro school children. . . . Negro and white children attended school together for the first time in numerous communities in the country, including the South, when school opened early in September.

EUROPE

A visit to Birobidjan was planned by the Israeli ambassador to the Soviet Union, Shmuel Elyashev, for September, it was announced in Moscow on August 31.

Jews and Soviet Union . . . Among the students attending the congress of the International Union of Students assembled in Moscow during August were Arnold Miles, a vice-chairman of the Inter-University Jewish Federation of Britain, who was the official representative of the World Union of Jewish students; and Israeli representatives of the Student Union, the religious students' organization "Yivneh" and the Mapam students. . . . A seven-member women's delegation from Israel, including Esther Vilenska, Communist Knesset deputy, and two Arab women from Nazareth, went to Moscow in mid-August on a visit. . . . In an article in *Soviet Literature* (No. 5, 1954) by M. Chernovich on Charles de Coster's work on Tyl Eulenspiegel, the author calls attention to translations into ten languages, including the Yiddish.

Jews in Poland . . . The Polish Jewish community participated in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the new Poland on July 22, 1944. One clause of the manifesto establishing the new regime abrogated all anti-Jewish laws. On this occasion many Jewish leaders, engineers, technicians and factory workers received government awards. Among them were Dr. David Sfard, Hirsh Smoliar, Jacob Wassershtum and others.

A textbook of the Jewish religion, *Sinai*, by the venerable dean of Czech rabbis, Dr. Richard Feder, was published in a second edition, it was announced in mid-August by the Prague Jewish Community Council. In September a *Jewish Yearbook* for the year 5715 was published with contributions in Czech and Slovak by the Central Institute of Church Publications.

Lord Russell, distinguished British lawyer who was legal advisor to the British commanding general in Germany most of the time between 1946 and 1951, resigned his post as assistant judge-advocate general on demand of the British government because he insisted on publishing *Scourge of the Swastika*, a factual record of nazi crimes. Lord Russell had access to the original nazi documents.

The London Jewish Bakers' Union was one of the unions that submitted resolutions to the British Labor Party conference opposing German rearmament.

ISRAEL

Israel could become a second Guatemala and the government should be alarmed over the methods that the Western countries used in Guatemala. This warning was contained in Number 120

of *Zamlung*, an official bulletin issued by the Israel Security Ministry late in August, in an article entitled, "From Guatemala to Jerusalem."

Another split occurred in the left-wing Zionist party, Mapam, in mid-August. The right wing group, Achdut Avodah, which has four deputies in the Knesset, will form a separate group. This is the third split-off from Mapam since the Knesset elections of 1952: two deputy members seceded and joined Mapai; then two Knesset members, one of them Dr. Moshe Sneh, were expelled over the issue of communist "anti-Semitism" and formed the Left Socialist Party. Of the original 15 Mapam Knesset deputies, Mapam now has seven. The remaining group is the Hashomer Hatzair section. A short time after the Achdut Avodah broke away, Mapam announced late in August that Arabs would be admitted to Mapam on the same basis as Jews.

300,000 affirmative signatures have thus far been gathered in Israel to a petition asking three questions; do you demand the prevention of rearmament of Germany? do you favor peace in Israel by direct negotiations with Arab states without intermediaries? do you favor a policy of peace and independence for Israel and do you oppose agreements with aggressive regional blocs?

S. Mikunis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, sent a cable of greetings to Eugene Dennis, United States Communist Party general secretary, now in prison under the Smith act, on the occasion of his 50th birthday early in August. . . . Mikunis, who is a Knesset deputy, also sent a cable of protest to President Eisenhower late in August over the passage of the law outlawing the Communist Party. The cable was sent on behalf of seven Communist Party and Left Socialist Party Knesset deputies.

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Israel, and Arab states—Dec., 5; May, 8; June, 28; Aug., 3; and arms for Pakistan—Apr., 26; and Suez Canal pact—Sept., 3; and Turkish war bases—Nov., 26; crisis in—May, 8; Aug., 3; dangers confronting—March, 5; foreign policy of—Sept., 26; Kaiser-Frazer auto plant in—Jan. 30; marriage law in—Dec., 26; relations with USSR—Dec., 8; trade with USSR—Dec., 10; May, 24; United Nations and—Jan., 5; March, 5; May, 8; U.S. relations with—Apr., 26; May, 8; July, 4, 21; Aug., 3
Ives, Irving—March, 6
Jeffersonians, Jews and—Apr., 21
Jewish Community Council of Los Angeles—March, 9
Jewish Community Relations Council of Philadelphia—March, 9
Jewish Cultural Association (Pittsburgh)—Dec., 12
Jewish Daily Forward—Jan. 4; Oct., 20
Jewish education—Jan., 4; Aug., 4; Sept., 18
Jewish Labor Committee—Sept., 11
Jewish Life, 7th anniversary—Nov., 3
Jewish People's Fraternal Order—Dec., 3; Jan., 4
Jewish trade unionists (1880's)—Sept., 21; Oct., 17
Jewish War Veterans—Dec., 4
Jewish Workmen's Union (1885)—Sept., 22
Jewish Young Folksingers—July, 28
Jews, and German rearmament—Sept., 6; and labor movement—July, 17; and peace movement—Apr., 5; employment discrimination against—March, 6; May, 5; Aug., 15; in Brazil (1650s)—Feb., 20; in Bulgaria—Dec., 27; in Czechoslovakia—Jan., 9; Apr., 23; May, 26; Aug., 29; in Great Britain—June, 27; in New Amsterdam (1650s)—Feb., 20; in Poland—Apr., 20; May, 25; Aug., 17; in professions—June, 8; in Rumania—Dec., 27; Feb., 26; July, 5; Aug., 15; Sept., 9; in USSR—Nov., 23; Jan., 21; Apr., 25; May, 27; June, 29; Aug., 5; in U.S. history—Feb., 20; March, 21; Apr., 21; May, 15; June, 22; July, 17; Sept., 7, 21; in white collar occupations—June, 3; political outlook of in U.S.—Apr., 6; relations with Negroes—July, 8; Sept., 28; resistance to McCarthyism—Dec., 4, 11; July, 10; and campaign against H-bomb—Oct., 3; and 1954 elections—Oct., 5
See also Anti-Semitism; names of organizations.
John, Otto—Sept., 5
Kaganovich, L. M.—Jan., 21
Kahana, Tamara—Jan., 15
Kahn, Albert E. *Game of Death* (review)—Nov., 28
Kahn, Arthur, *Brownstone* (review)—March, 28
Kaiser-Frazer Corp.—Jan., 30
Kalinin, Mikhail—Aug., 5
Kallen, Horace M.—Jan., 9
Katz, David and Frieda—Aug., 27
Kaufman, Irving—Jan., 25
Kibya massacre—Dec., 5
Killens, John O., *Youngblood* (review)—Sept., 27
Kramer, Aaron, *Roll the Forbidden Drums!* (review)—Oct., 27
Kubie, Benjamin, *Joel, a Novel of Young America* (review)—Nov., 29
Labor movement, Jews in—July, 17
Lehman-Celler immigration bill—Dec., 15
Lehman, Herbert—March, 10
Levy, Mordecai—March, 22
Lewis, H. I.—July, 29
Lipsky, Louis—Dec., 7
Los Angeles Jewish Community Council—March, 9
Lowenfelds, Walter, adaptation of poem by Louis Sept., 12
Aragon—June, 20; *The Prisoners* (review)—Lupin, Abraham—Dec., 18
McCarran-Walter immigration law—Dec., 15; campaign against—Jan., 14; March, 9; review of J. C. Campbell's *The Golden Door*—July, 26
McCarthy, Joseph, and Fort Monmouth inquiry—Jan., 11; and Malmédy massacre investigation—Sept., 13; anti-Semitism of—Feb., 8; compared with Hitler—Sept., 10; enemy of Negro people—Nov., 9; people demand censure of—Sept., 3

McCarthyism, American Jewish Congress on—Jan., 7; condemned by NAACP—Nov., 16; condemned by rabbis—Aug., 6; core of—Sept., 10; Jewish resistance to—Dec., 4; danger of collaboration with—Dec., 11; labor opposition to—May, 14; resistance to—Nov., 3; Jan., 13; July, 5, 10; results—Aug., 20; and 1954 elections—Oct., 5
McGowan, Edward D.—Nov., 15
Magnes, Judah L., attack on—Nov., 4; on political prisoners—Nov., 8
Malmédy massacre—Sept., 13
Marcantonio, Vito, death of—Sept., 4
Mark, Irving, *Faith of Our Fathers* (review)—Jan., 28
Marriage law, in Israel—Dec., 26
Margoshes, S.—Dec., 7
Marxism, influence on Jewish trade unionists (1880's)—Sept., 23
Matthews, J. B.—Nov., 14
Maud, Zuni, drawing by—March, 20
May Day—May, 3
Mexican-Americans, attacks on—Jan., 14
Middle East, Soviet policy on—Dec., 8; May, 8; U.S. policy in—Dec., 5; Jan., 5; Feb., 4; March, 5; Apr., 26; May, 8; Aug., 3; Sept., 3, 26
Miller, Martha, *Dangerous Jack* (review)—Oct., 27
Mizrachi Organization of America—Dec., 4
Morgenthau plan—Jan., 12
Murchison, Clint—Nov., 10
Myrdal, Gunnar—Nov., 11
Nat'l Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People—Nov., 16; Feb., 16
Near East. See Middle East
Needle trades, Jews in (19th century)—July, 17
Negroes, attacked on Long Island—Jan., 13; employment discrimination—March, 6; fight for educational equality—Feb., 15; McCarthy's attack on—Nov., 9; relations with Jews—July, 8; Sept., 28; Supreme Court school decision—July, 6
New Amsterdam, Jews in (1650's)—Feb., 20
New World Review, attack on—Dec., 4
New York, Jews in early history of—Feb., 20; March, 23
Newspapers, threat of censorship—July, 3
Nones, Benjamin—Apr., 23
Olgin, M. J., on Sholem Aleichem—Jan., 17
Pakistan, U.S. policy in—Apr., 26
Peace, Stephen Wise on—Nov., 7
Peace movement, American Jewish Congress and—Jan., 9; Jews and—Apr., 5; Aug., 15
Petegorsky, David—Jan., 7, 8
Philadelphia Jewish Community Relations Council—Feb., 10
Piece rates—May, 6
Pittsburgh, Jewish Cultural Association—Dec., 12
Plays: "Freedom Road" by Alice Citron—Feb., 12
Poems: Abomination, by Max Rosenfeld—June, 7; Alcatraz, by Helen Sobell—Dec., 25; And the Earth Rebelled, by Yuri Suhl—Apr., 15; Ballad for the Good Bishop, by Max Rosenfeld—Sept., 20; The Children, by Louis Aragon—June, 20; Is There Not a Cause? by Walter Lowenfelds—Nov., 6; June 18-19, by Isabel Pearlman—July, 16; "Liberty has a Different Taste," by Walter Lowenfelds—Jan., 12; Pesah Has Come to the Ghetto Again, by Binem Heller—Apr., 12; The Rosenberg Cantata, by Mike Gold—June, 11; Sonnet for Ben Davis, by Walter Lowenfelds—March, 19
Poland, Jews in—Apr., 20; May, 25; Aug., 17
Polier, Justine Wise—May, 12
Political prisoners, Judah L. Magnes on—Nov., 8.
See also Amnesty.
Pollack, Judith—May, 12
Portnow, Mrs. Billie—May, 12
Powell, Adam Clayton—March, 7
Presbyterian Church Council, on civil rights—Dec., 11
Press, threat of censorship—July, 3
Professional workers, Jewish—June, 8
Purim—March, 20
Rabinowitz, Shalom. See Aleichem, Sholem.
Raphael, Morris Jacob—June, 23
Red-baiting, McCarthyism and—Sept., 10
Refugee Relief Act—Dec., 15
Retail trade, Jews in—June, 6
Robeson, Eslanda Goode—Nov., 14
Ronch, Isaac E., *The Awakening of Mosek* (review)—Jan., 29
Rose, Ernestine—May, 16
Reisman, Philip, art work—March, 13, 16, 18; Aug., 9; Sept., 8
Rosenberg, Ethel and Julius, and Sobell case—Jan., 22; anniversary of execution—June, 10; British campaign for—June, 16; "Rosenberg Cantata"—June, 11; S. A. Fineberg's book on—July, 22
Rosenberg, Michael and Robert—Nov., 20; March, 25; Apr., 10
Rosenfeld, Max, translations by—Feb., 26; March, 12; Apr., 12; Aug., 19; Sept., 25
Rosh Hashona—Sept., 17
Rothgiesser, Ruben, *The Well of Gera* (review)—May, 29
Rumania, Jews in—Dec., 27; Feb., 26; July, 5; Aug., 15; Sept., 9
Russia. See U.S.S.R.
St. George bill (press censorship)—July, 3
Salisbury, Harrison—Nov., 25
Salomon, Hayim—March, 25

Sals of the Earth (Movie)—Feb., 29; May, 28
Salvador, Francis—March, 24
Schappes, Morris, letter from—Sept., 29
Scharf, Dore—July, 29
Schultz, Henry E.—Feb., 8
Schwaab, Eugene L., *Faith of Our Fathers* (review)—Jan., 28
Schwartz, Harry—Apr., 3
Schwarz, Solomon M.—Nov., 23
Sears, Edwin—Feb., 11
Seixas, Gershom Mendes—March, 23
Short stories: The Executive Director and the Benches by Louis Lerman—July, 11; How to Become a Millionaire, by Mike Gold—Aug., 10; Susie's Hanukkah Report—by Alice Citron—Dec., 20; A Weaver's Love, by L. L. Perez—March, 12; Zelig's Dilemma, by Yuri Suhl—Nov., 17
Silver, Abba Hillel—Jan., 26; Apr., 6; on civil rights—Dec., 11
Slavery, Jews and—May, 15; June, 22
Small business firms—June, 6
Smith act trials—Nov., 27; Apr., 3; Aug., 27; Sept., 11
Smith, Gerald L. K.—Nov., 9
Sobell, Morton, affidavit of—Nov., 21; analysis of case—Jan., 22; campaign for—June, 14; Oct., 28
Stoll, Peter—May, 20
Stuyvesant, Peter—Feb., 22
Subversive Activities Control Board—March, 4
Suez canal agreement—Sept., 3
Suhl, Yuri, *Cowboy on a Wooden Horse* (review)—Dec., 28
Syria, relations with Israel—March, 5
Taffler, Anna—June, 3
Tailors' strike (1850)—July, 17
Tallentire, Norman, death of—Dec., 15
Taylor, Telford—Jan., 11
Terrell, Mary Church—Feb., 19
Theater, in Rumania—Feb., 27
Thompson, Robert—Dec., 4
Trade unions, Jews in Early—Sept., 21; Oct., 17
Truman, Harry—Dec., 11
Turkey, relations with Israel—Nov., 26; Soviet relations with—Dec., 8
Tydings, Millard E.—Nov., 9
Un-American Activities Committee, American Jewish Congress and—Jan., 7; March, 5; attack on Wise—Nov., 4
Unemployment, in needle trades—May, 4
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Berlin Conference, March, 3; anti-Soviet activities—Apr., 3; and Middle East—Dec., 8; May, 8; Jews in—Nov., 23; Jan., 21; Apr., 25; May, 27; June, 29; Aug., 3; relations with Iran—Dec., 9; relations with Israel—Dec., 8; relations with Turkey—Dec., 8; trade with Israel—Dec., 10; May, 24
United Hebrew Trades (1888)—Sept., 23; Oct., 18
United Nations, and Israel—Jan., 5; March, 5; May, 8
United States, and Arab-Israel crisis—Dec., 5; Committee on Govt. Operations (McCarthy)—Nov., 12; Jews in history of—Feb., 20; March, 21; Apr., 21; May, 15; June, 22; July, 17; Sept., 21; policy in Israel—Apr., 26; May, 8; July, 4, 21; Aug., 3; policy in Middle East—Dec., 5; Jan., 5; Feb., 4; March, 5; Apr., 26; May, 8; Aug., 3; Sept., 3, 26; 1954 elections—Oct., 5, 21
Uzbekistan, Jews in—Nov., 25
Velde Committee. See Un-American Activities Committee.
Velde, Harold H.—Nov., 5
Viet Nam, issue in—June, 3
Walls, William J.—Nov., 15
War criminals, release of—Feb., 9; Sept., 14
Warsaw Ghetto uprising, lessons of—Aug., 25; meaning for today—Apr., 11; poems on—Apr., 12, 15; role of Kehillah in—Apr., 16
Wells, Wesley Robert—Jan., 6; March, 5; Apr., 4
Weiner, William, death of—Apr., 4
Weissman, Irving, letter from—Nov., 27
Welthsh, Gene—Nov., 13
Weydemeyer, Joseph—July, 18
White, Charles, art work by—Feb., 13, 16
White-collar workers—June, 5
White, Harry Dexter—Jan., 11
White, Walter—Nov., 11
Whitney, Anita—Dec., 23, 24
Wilkerson, Dorey A.—Nov., 13
Wilson, Michael, *Sals of the earth* (movie script review)—Feb., 29
Wise, Stephen S., attempt to smear—Nov., 4; excerpts from writings of—Nov., 7
Workmen's Circle—Dec., 3
World of Sholem Aleichem (recording of play)—Jan., 27
Yiddish language—Feb., 26; Sept., 19
Yiddish literature, in Poland—May, 25; Aug., 17
Yiddish theater—Jan., 16; in Poland, Aug., 18; in U.S.S.R.—Apr., 25
Zionism, Louis Brandeis and—Dec., 23
Zionist Organization of America—Aug., 4
Zionists, opposition to Dulles—Dec., 7; Apr., 7
Zoll, Allen A.—Nov., 15
Zucker, Louis—Aug., 28
Zuckerman, Leo—Sept., 25
Zweig, Arnold—Sept., 25

