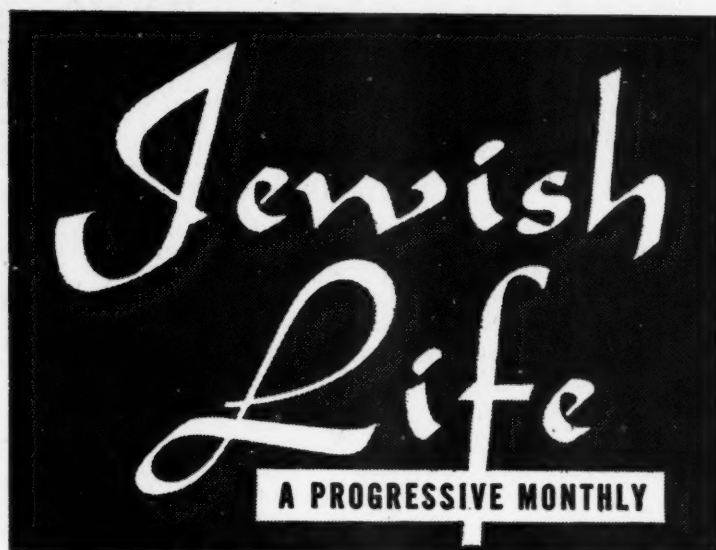


Stories of Three Hundred Years: X



**THE NEW CENTURY OPENS—
THE JEWISH LABOR
MOVEMENT GROWS**

by Morris U. Schappes

DECEMBER 1954 • 25¢

NIGHTMARE IN MIAMI

by Louis Harap

WILL JACKBOOTS MARCH AGAIN?

by Arthur Kahn

ANTI-SEMITISM AT FORT MONMOUTH *by "A Researcher"*

A PEACE POLICY FOR ISRAEL? *by Joseph Gershman*

EARTH SHALL SMILE *a cantata by Walter Lowenfels*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Racism in the elections . . .

Richard L. Neuberger, Oregon's senator-elect, was the target of anti-Semitic slurs in the Oregon press during the campaign. One paper referred to "the well known wisdom of his race in financial matters" and others charged that he evaded military service in the war, although he was in fact an army officer. Many newspapers deplored the racist smears. . . . It was charged that "bigotry" was the cause for the omission of the name and picture of New York Attorney General-elect Jacob Javits from a Republican election advertisement in Syracuse. Javits denounced the charge. . . . Connecticut Governor-elect Abraham A. Ribicoff, who was the target of an anti-Semitic whispering campaign, answered it during the last week of the election campaign by asserting in several talks that "only in the Democratic Party could a man named Abe Ribicoff be nominated for governor." . . . Seven rabbis joined 20 other clergymen in denouncing as "subversive of the very fabric of our society" the appeals to racial and religious prejudice of campaign literature of McCarthyite Richard B. Vail, defeated congressional candidate in Chicago's South Side. The Vail gutter material attacked Negroes and Nisei and referred to the fact that Vail's opponent, Rep. Barrat O'Hara, was not a Catholic.

Joe McCarthy was the recipient of an open letter early in October from Karl Ludwig Strieder, Hamburg chairman of "The Association of Those Damaged by Denazification." The latter asked McCarthy to help end the "defamation of Germany" and to regard the nazis as his "allies, forerunners in battle and prophets." The letter said that former nazis approved of the "fighting aims" of the senator and invited him to join representatives of the group in conferences either in West Germany or the United States. From McCarthy, no comment.

The rabbi of an East Side synagogue charged that the fire in the *shul* that destroyed seven Sefar Torahs late in September was the work of anti-Semites. . . . Vandals in mid-September in Chicago smashed the sign of the Temple Menorah Building Campaign and stole the flood light.

(Continued on page 32)

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

ELECTION ESTIMATE

IN judging the election results, one need hardly emphasize that there is an identity between their significance for Jewish welfare and for democracy and peace. These goals were on the whole furthered by the trend revealed in the results. The high point in the pro-labor and anti-McCarthy aspect was the defeat of past or would-be inquisitors who were swept away in the anti-administration trend—Reps. Charles Kersten (Wisc.), Kit Clardy (Mich.), Fred Busbey (Ill.), Louis P. Graham (Pa.) and ex-Rep. Richard Vail (Ill.), Sen. Homer Ferguson (Mich.) and senatorial aspirant Joseph Meek (Ill.). But notorious McCarthyites like Rep. Harold Velde (Ill.) and Sen. Henry Dworshak (Idaho) were re-elected.

A great gain for Negro representation was achieved in the election to Congress of labor-supported Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Detroit, thus raising the number of Negro representatives to three. In addition a number of Negroes were elected in many parts of the country to state, city and county offices. Here again, there was an unfavorable side of the picture in the election to the Senate by a written vote of Dixiecrat leader J. Strom Thurmond (S. Car.).

But the results could have been far more positive in the interests of labor and democracy and peace if the crucial issues had been drawn. While the Republicans partially retrieved their waning chances by posing as the peace party, when their record clearly shows pro-war deeds, the Democratic Party offered only a war-incitement policy. Except in limited areas, McCarthyism was not raised as an issue by the Democratic Party. With the exception of the American Labor Party, the issue of West German rearmament was hardly even discussed. And although the Democrats did make unemployment an issue, their cold war program and failure to take a firm anti-McCarthyism stand left the voters without a clear direction of choice. The Democrats therefore have only themselves to blame if the repudiation of the Eisenhower administration was not stronger, as it well could have been.

Finally, the American Labor Party once more demonstrated its high importance. Despite the fact that it lost regular party status through failure to poll the required 50,000 votes for its gubernatorial candidate, it made a profound contribution to the elections by its clear definition of the central issues of McCarthyism, unemployment and peace.

TWO TERCENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

TWO big Tercentenary affairs were held in New York in October. One was a \$50 a plate dinner at the Hotel Astor under the auspices of the official American Jewish Tercentenary. The other was a pageant-choral concert-

meeting at Carnegie Hall under the auspices of the progressive Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the USA. A greater contrast than these affairs could hardly be imagined. The first offered President Eisenhower, the main speaker, a platform for the propagation of cold war policies with a thick interlarding of "peace" words. The Carnegie Hall affair, filled to the rafters (hundreds were turned away) with Jewish workers, professionals and small business men, was a demonstration for peace and against McCarthyism. These policies were properly conceived as a continuation of the best in the American and Jewish tradition. The speakers, the pageant and the choral singing reaffirmed the central place of labor in this tradition. The dramatic presentation brought out not only Jewish cultural values, but showed the continuity of our present struggles against anti-Semitism and Jim-crow, against McCarthyism and the rearmament of a renazified West Germany and an arms race in the Middle East that jeopardizes the peace of the area, and for an end to the cold war altogether. At the Astor Hotel one perceived precious little of the democratic Jewish heritage; at Carnegie Hall one felt the determination to absorb the best in the past to create a happier future for the Jewish people and all America.

MRS. FRANKFELD AND AMNESTY

ON October 4 the first Smith act victim to be released from jail, Mrs. Regina Frankfeld, rejoined the community. The occasion, besides being one of gladness that a victim of McCarthyism is no longer incarcerated, also touches to the quick our sense of outrage that some 140 others are in jail or convicted or under indictment on Smith act charges. The persecution of these Communists is the foundation of the whole McCarthyite, fascist structure that is being built in our country. Mrs. Frankfeld's release once more raises the urgency of fighting for amnesty for Smith act victims as one of the most forceful measures in the anti-McCarthyite struggle.

TO WORK ON THE FUND DRIVE!

OUR annual fund drive to sustain the magazine for the coming year begins on December first. Our readers know that our very existence depends on their cooperation in making up our deficit. Despite the fact that, we venture to say, no magazine runs on a more economical budget, we do have a deficit. So, we urge our individual readers and Jewish Life committees to begin planning immediately to carry on meetings, fund drive parties and personal solicitation to make up their quotas—and to go over them—in the current fund drive.

NIGHTMARE IN MIAMI

A witch-hunt zeroed in on the Fifth Amendment, amidst growing anti-Semitism, threatens to deepen the danger of fascism in the nation

By Louis Harap

MIAMI, advertised as "the nation's playground," has become the nation's nightmare. Fascism is getting a tryout there. Fascist terror has hit tens of families, mostly Jewish—and the end is not in sight.

Consider the case of the Smolikoffs. Charles Smolikoff was summoned before the grand jury, indicted and jailed in the witch-hunt. Then a subpoena was issued to his wife Berthe, who suffered a nervous collapse. The nearest doctor was called and he gave her a certificate forbidding her to get out of bed to answer the subpoena. Thereupon the doctor himself was subpoenaed; he waited four hours; he was sent away without being called. A subpoena-server broke into Mrs. Smolikoff's sick room with another summons. She finally answered the subpoena, was cited for contempt and jailed. Then her father, suffering from a heart condition, was subpoenaed; he suffered a heart attack and was placed in an oxygen tent. He was excused only after the doctor warned that response to the subpoena would be fatal.

In Gestapo style, subpoenas are served late at night and in the early morning hours. An 83-year-old woman, deaf and blind in one eye, was subpoenaed. On August 24, four days after Mrs. Emanuel Graff had given birth to her third child, a process-server entered her maternity ward and served her and her husband with subpoenas, saying that permission to do so had been given by her physician, which turned out to be a lie.

But let us begin at the beginning of the alarming series of events that have developed into a wholesale fascist onslaught. On February 15-16, 1953, David Kraslow, reporter for the *Miami Herald*, made a name for himself in the state by writing two articles in which the Jewish Cultural Center was "exposed" as a "communist front" because it had permitted use of the building for a *Morning Freiheit* meeting. One year later, in February 1954, the *Miami Daily News*, a McCarthyite paper, launched a campaign of red-baiting, slander and innuendo. Two articles "exposed" Max Shlafrock, a contractor, whose "crimes" consisted of alleged membership in the Jewish Cultural Center, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Civil Rights Congress. He was also "accused" of having paid for a greeting to *The Worker*, which proved to be a frame-up: the check with his forged signature was drawn on a bank in which Shlafrock never even had an account. A little later, Shlafrock and Leo Sheiner, a Miami attorney, were named

by stoolpigeon Paul Crouch and subpoenaed to appear before the Jenner Committee at its circus stop in New Orleans and both refused to cooperate under protection of the Fifth Amendment.

The hysteria was gathering a head of steam. On June 7, 1954, the *Miami Daily News* opened a series of ten articles, entitled "I Was a Miami Red," by "Al Spears as told to Damon Runyon, Jr." Spears was a local FBI stoolpigeon who had peddled his story several years before to a leading Florida columnist, who had refused to use it. The articles described alleged communist activities in 1947 and 1948, sprinkling lots of names, admittedly by hearsay, along the way.

The Action Begins

The stage was set for action. Dade County had a new state attorney, George A. Brautigam, who began an unprecedented procedure which, if upheld in the courts, will practically demolish the Fifth Amendment. He set a grand jury to work on an "investigation" under Florida's so-called little Smith act, which is said to be more repressive than its federal big brother.

First he summoned "suspects" to his office. If they refused to answer questions under protection of the Fifth Amendment, they were subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury. If they persisted in their resort to the Fifth, they were cited for contempt on the following fantastic ground: since they were questioned about "communist activities" alleged to have happened more than two years ago, they were immune from prosecution under the statute of limitations, said Brautigam. Therefore, with concurring action by the judges before whom the victims were called, the Fifth Amendment doesn't apply. Brautigam and his judges ignored the fact that the courts had ruled that even if the statute of limitations was in effect, the Fifth Amendment held, since the victims could be linked to a chain of events that would make them liable to prosecution anyway. In any case, the victims might still be liable to federal prosecution even if they had "immunity" in the state.

Brautigam thus has what he considers a handy device to jail quickly, without charges and with a minimum of litigation, anyone who invokes the Fifth Amendment—that is, he has an unprecedented instrument for fascist terror and intimidation. And he has used it to the hilt.

The terror got under way on June 11, when Mike Shantzek, a house painter, was put through the mill and cited for contempt as "a security risk" and sentenced to 90 days in jail by Circuit Judge Pat Cannon. Then on July 7, Charles Smolikoff, former Transport Workers Union official and presently a gift shop operator, was cited for contempt by Judge George E. Holt, who raised the ante to one year in jail. Holt has since become the specialist in these contempt cases. Before July was over, 14 men and women had been cited for contempt and sent to jail for one year without bail. The 14—all but two are Jewish—were ordinary citizens—house painters, contractors, a carpenter, a dentist, some housewives, a mechanic, filling station attendant and also Maurice Carroll, manager of the Jewish Cultural Center. All were later released on bail on a writ of habeas corpus by the Florida Supreme Court.

The Miami press had a field day with front-page scare headlines. Leading all the rest in gutter journalism was Damon Runyon, Jr. He called the victims "accused Soviet agents." He characterized Charles Marks as "a native of Russia who spent years in the Communist Party laboring for the Soviet Union against the United States." He regularly referred to the alleged activities of the victims as a "Soviet conspiracy." His paper, the *Miami Daily News*, a McCarthyite sheet, led the pack. After bail had been won from the State Supreme Court, an unsigned *News* article (June 21) made snide references to courageous lawyers defending the victims as "a legal clique with a record of representing Communists in major Florida cases." This evoked a vehement denial of any communist sympathies from Attorney Louis Glick and the paper, fearing a libel suit, disclaimed any intention to smear him.

On the insistence of Judge George E. Holt, no more cases were called until he returned at the end of August from a vacation in Spain.

The Sheiner Disbarment

The next major development was the attempt to disbar attorney Leo Sheiner, who had been named by stoolpigeon Paul Crouch at the Jenner Committee's New Orleans hearing as a member of the Communist Party and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and other "front" organizations. At the hearings, Sheiner had invoked the Fifth Amendment. The disbarment move was initiated in March 1954 by Ellis S. Rubin, young Miami Jewish lawyer on the make, of whom we shall hear more later. On September 3, Circuit Judge Vincent C. Gilbin held a hearing on the charge that Sheiner should be disbarred for membership in the above-named organizations, which, according to the current hysterical hoax, advocate forcible overthrow of the government. But the charges were not even proved. Brautigam put defendant Sheiner on the stand as the first witness. After some questioning, Gilbin took over and asked Sheiner if he was then or had been a member of the Communist Party. Sheiner invoked the Fifth Amendment on both questions. Gilbin then and there ordered him disbarred, "effective immediately." It was the first time that

a lawyer has been disbarred for using the Fifth Amendment.

Gilbin's written opinion is a thoroughly McCarthyite document which introduced into the Miami witch-hunt another fascist element, anti-intellectualism. Gilbin launched a virulent diatribe against "'intellectuals' and advanced libertarians" who were fighting back against the witch-hunt. He calls them "pygmies on stilts . . . who pose as defenders of civil liberties and promoters of international good will. . . . They prate of 'witch-hunting'. . . . They complain bitterly of the 'methods' employed to combat treason and subversion. They glory in the 'courage' of witnesses who . . . invoke the protective provisions of the Fifth Amendment. . . . They bemoan the discrediting of Oppenheimer."

There were dissenting voices such as the *Fort Meyers News-Press*, which said the decision "smacks of hysteria." *Miami Life* on September 11 published a blistering editorial stating that "Judge Gilbin in the Sheiner case has literally thrown the Constitution out of the window. . . . Judge Gilbin appears to be power drunk and is determined, it seems, to conduct his court in the way he sees fit, regardless of regulations or laws. . . . How much longer will Miami stand for this nonsense from the jurist?"

Brautigam in Hot Water

Vying with the witch-hunt for the headlines during this period was another topic, not unrelated to it. Brautigam kept getting in hot water with the governor of Florida for mismanagement of his office. On June 24, 1954, the *Miami Herald* headlined a story, "Did High Official Quash Vice Cases? [Florida Acting Governor Charley E.] Johns' Probe of Brautigam Seen Near." Referring to another case, another story, same date, same page, said: "Johns was believed Wednesday to be launching a probe into the operation of State Attorney General Brautigam's office. Some months ago Governor Johns expressed dissatisfaction with Brautigam's handling of the slaying of the bolita [a numbers game] baron's wife [Dora Pindar] and assigned Mills to carry out a further investigation." Again on August 30, another report of a "shift" of Brautigam was published.

But Brautigam was saved by his witch-hunt. On September 2, the *Miami Daily News* reported that "Shift of Brautigam Dropped by Johns, Red Drive Won't Be Hampered." Even so, Brautigam's ineptitude continued to embarrass the state in another case so that on October 6 once again the *Miami Daily News* reported "a good chance that Brautigam would be replaced." As we went to press, we learned that Brautigam had been "temporarily transferred" early in November.

It is routine by now that the executors of the witch-hunt should be dubious characters. And Brautigam conforms to the pattern. This is the sort of man who is trying to put a fascist straitjacket on Miami! He even went so far, in the case of the brutal murder of seven-year-old Judith Ann Roberts on July 7, as to mix it up with his witch-hunt. On September 1, the *Miami Daily News* front-

paged a story, "Red-Labor Link Hinted by Brautigam, Judith 'Victim of Plot.'" James Roberts, the child's father and a suspect, had come to Miami in 1947 as an official of the United Automobile Workers to look into the possibility of raiding the TWU local in which Smolikoff was then an official. Brautigam asked Roberts if Smolikoff, one of the witch-hunt victims, might have had any reason to murder the child. Roberts completely dismissed this wild idea, but it was good for a scare headline for a day.

When the grand jury reconvened in September, the wholesale contempt citations were resumed without any let-up in sensational press coverage. By October, 15 more citizens, all of them Jewish, like the first group were sentenced to one year in jail by Judge Holt for contempt because they invoked the Fifth Amendment before the grand jury.

The Resistance

The witch-hunt has met with resistance from many quarters. Primary resistance, of course, has come from those victims who have steadfastly refused to knuckle under to the fascist inquisition and despite the terror and intimidation have stood on their Constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment. Some of those subpoenaed have wilted under the intense strain and turned informer—how many and what their real affiliations, we do not know. In the general community there have been many encouraging signs of a fight-back. The fact that attorneys whom even the wild red-baiters have not dared to charge with "communist" connections have come forward to defend the victims is one more sign that there is much fight left in Miami for democratic rights.

The intimidation has gone so far that some citizens have even been threatened with imprisonment for their resistance. This is the case with Reverend Joseph Barth, pastor of the local Unitarian church, with which several of the victims are said to have been associated. On June 27, Barth preached an eloquent sermon, "When Fear Strikes Our Community," criticizing the gutter journalism in the witch-hunt and standing firm on the ground that he would not institute any political tests in his church. The account of the sermon in the *Miami Daily News* the next day concluded, "There were no prayers." This was a lie, as Barth's assistant, Rev. Eugene Pickett, stated in a letter later printed in the *News*, since he himself had led prayers. On October 8, Judge Holt ordered Rev. Barth and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt of court because they had signed an affidavit charging Judge Holt with prejudice. The affidavit stated that the judge had signed the contempt citations against 15 Miamians a few days prior to their appearance before the grand jury, thus proving prejudgment of these cases. On October 9, the *Miami Daily News* reported that the orders were signed prematurely by "clerical error."

The resistance took to the air on July 22, when a television program on Station WTVJ put on a debate in which

former Senator Claude Pepper kept Brautigam on the defensive. On October 7, the same program carried a debate in which Hollis Rinehart, head of the Dade County Community Relations Council, opposed Ellis Rubin's defense of the witch-hunt. Unfortunately, Rinehart ended by agreeing with Judge Gilbin's disbarment decision. For many nights Sam Gyson, an anti-communist radio interviewer and newspaper columnist, has courageously ripped into the witch-hunt, including Judge Gilbin's decision, on Station WWPB. And for eight weeks Station WTVJ ran a hard-hitting series of television programs under the title, "Know Your Constitution," in which a powerful defense of the Fifth Amendment was made by such figures as Dan Readfern, a national legal authority and past president of the Dade County Bar Association, and Circuit Judge Robert Floyd, former FBI man and former mayor of Miami. The Fifth Amendment was also defended by Circuit Court Judge Stanley Milledge, who sent reprints of Harvard Law School Dean Griswold's article on the Fifth Amendment in the June issue of the *Bar Association Journal* to a number of local lawyers, ministers and judges. The *Jewish Floridian* also reprinted the Griswold article, as well as a speech on the same theme by Federal Judge Simon H. Rifkind.

Unfortunately, however, efforts thus far to form a defense committee have not succeeded, although the effort still goes forward.

Anti-Semitism in the Situation

An inescapable and exceedingly important aspect of the witch-hunt is the overtone of anti-Semitism that has appeared. Of all those named in the "exposures," only those with Jewish-sounding names were called.

It is no accident that the witch-hunt started with a smear of the Jewish Cultural Center. Organizations of every sort have held affairs at this center, as well as the *Morning Freiheit*, which was a specific target of the smear. Negro children have been invited to the Jewish school affairs and Negro choruses have sung in concerts with the center's Jewish chorus. The *Miami Herald* revealed on August 1 that its reporter David Kraslow, who had authored the February 1953 articles that set off the witch-hunt, had testified about the center before the Jenner Committee in Washington on May 14, 1954. The committee was especially interested in the Jewish school with children from four to 15, whose minds were being "poisoned," presumably, one would suppose, by the strong pro-labor orientation of the school. Also appearing before the Jenner Committee on that day were Joseph Mazzei, a professional stoolpigeon, and Harry Alan Sherman, who figured in the attempt to lift the charter of the Jewish Cultural Center in Pittsburgh, which failed when the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania threw out the petition on the ground that "the present petitioners are merely informers." (See *JEWISH LIFE*, May 1953, p. 9; December 1953, p. 12.) Mazzei has been visiting Miami and is prepared to help with his professional smear.

The hysteria is such that on July 27, Maurice Carroll reported to the police that he had received a telephone threat to blow up the center. Meanwhile, the House Un-American Committee is planning to get into the act by an inquisition concentrating on the center on December 1. The hearings are to be based on the Kraslow articles in the *Herald* of 1953. The announcement of the coming hearings brought forth a blast from John D. Orr, Democratic candidate for the state legislature, who asserted that the Un-American Committee will "only discredit itself, not the Miami area, if it continues the way it has been carrying on" (*Miami Beach Sun*, August 10).

Something of the anti-Semitic atmosphere created in Miami by the witch-hunt is indicated by the following incident. While one of the two non-Jewish victims, Jose Carbonell, a Catholic, was in jail awaiting bail, he asked for a priest. The guard's reply was, "We have no rabbis here!" It will be recalled that attempts were made to bomb several synagogues in Miami a few years ago. And while the hysteria was boiling over this summer, a sign reading, "Kill the Jews," was painted on the retaining walls of the bay. Stars of David have appeared on windows of the Jewish-owned Food Fair stores.

The Judenrat Appears

Unhappily, in this witch-hunt, as in so many others, the Judenrat element among the Jews has turned up like a bad penny. The reporter Kraslow is one such Judenrat element. But more dangerous and equally contemptible is the young attorney, Ellis S. Rubin, Florida's little Roy Cohn. We saw earlier that it was he who brought the charges for disbarment against Leo Sheiner. This 29-year-old lawyer is being primed for big things in the Florida witch-hunt. The *Miami Herald* reported on August 15 that Rubin was appointed special assistant to Florida State Attorney Richard W. Ervin to carry out the "investigations" in connection with prosecutions under the state's little Smith act. Leslie B. Bain wrote in his article in *The Nation* (August 7) that Rubin "admitted that he was picked for the job . . . because he could not be accused of anti-Semitic bias."

Rubin is performing the classic Judenrat function of covering up for fascist actions against Jews. He has issued highly publicized statements in which he promises a witch-hunt to uncover "300 Communists" in the state. He promises a repeat of the Miami performance in the Florida cities of Tampa, Jacksonville, Orlando, Fort Lauderdale, Lakeland, Key West and Daytona Beach. He is working closely with stoolpigeon Paul Crouch, who had been flown from Hawaii at government expense to testify against Sheiner. Rubin has magnanimously given the "communists" "90 days" to inform before him with promises of "immunity." The mentality of Rubin is revealed in a statement in which he "criticized UNESCO for declaring that schools should be used to combat nationalism" (*Miami Daily News*, September 16). And in an article in the *Miami Herald* (July

31), Rubin criticized a previous article in that paper which compared Paul Crouch unfavorably with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. Rubin makes the amazing assertion that Dr. Oppenheimer was proved to have lied under oath while Paul Crouch did not! Yet it has been demonstrated that Crouch lied many times under oath—so much so, that he has been discarded as a witness by the Justice Department.

It is important to understand that this wild-eyed witch-hunt is not by any means of local significance only. Certain precedents have been established here which, if not combated by the people and if sustained by the courts, will mean a wide open break-through on the Fifth Amendment and will accelerate the descent into fascism in the whole country. In addition to the weakening of the protection of the Fifth Amendment, the Sheiner disbarment precedent, if sustained, would drastically weaken the legal defense against the witch-hunt.

It is clear that the FBI and the Justice Department are cooperating with the Miami red hunt. Bain writes in the article cited above that Spears, the informer who collaborated with Damon Runyon, Jr., on the series of articles that prepared the ground for the hunt, "had been instructed by the FBI to take his story to the state attorney, who would know how to use it. . . . He said he did not know why the FBI decided to present the material to the newly elected Brautigam, but he surmised that Brautigam was 'reliable and acceptable.'" There is strong reason to believe that Washington is supplying Brautigam with much of the information with which he questions his victims. A story by Damon Runyon, Jr., in the *News* on July 5 states that "additional names and information for his (Brautigam's) current campaign against communism had been supplied from Washington." There is no doubt that Washington authorities are closely watching this drastic experiment in repression. If Florida can get away with the simple technique that flagrantly nullifies the Fifth Amendment—if the Florida Supreme Court does not reverse the contempt judgments—these highly dangerous precedents will invite imitation on a national scale.

Resistance Needs To Be Organized

Even if the Florida Supreme Court does dismiss the Fifth Amendment cases, the witch-hunt will go on. The victims, now charged with contempt, can then be prosecuted under Florida's little Smith act. Ellis Rubin has kept up a barrage of threats in the press that he is out to jail "Communists" in Florida under this law. With this there would come the inevitable accompaniments, as has already happened in Miami in a number of instances—loss of jobs, deportation proceedings, threats of violence and intimidation of the people and a deeper penetration towards fascism.

But these eventualities are by no means inevitable. A large and vocal resistance movement can stop these alarming leaps toward fascism. There should be no more delay in the formation of a defense committee that will help the victims and that will organize into a powerful force the

The Spirit of Hanukkah—Resistance



The above etching of Judas Maccabbeus leading the Jews against the enemy is one of the French artist Gustav Doré's illustrations for the Bible. The picture reawakens the Hanukkah spirit of rejoicing at the successful outcome of resistance to the foreign oppressors just about two thousand years ago. Mixed with the gaiety of the Hanukkah season this year will be renewed resolve to resist threats of war and fascism.

fight-back elements in the community, already impressive, as we have indicated. Even more, since this is not only a local problem but a threat of national scope, a resistance movement on a national scale needs to be launched.

In such a movement it is important that Jewish organized life take a stand and join in the resistance. Thus far there has been no evidence at all of activity on the issue by the Jewish defense organizations, such as the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Congress or others. The threat of intensified anti-Semitism in the situation is apparent and has already been manifested in Miami.

Letters of protest from individuals and resolutions from organizations to the Chamber of Commerce in Miami will help to defeat the witch-hunt, as well as such protests to

the Florida governor in Tallahassee.

There is one form of counter-attack that can be promoted to the greatest possible extent—a boycott of Florida as a resort. Such a boycott of the state's major "industry" would awaken all elements in the community, including its business men, that officers of the law in Florida cannot destroy the Constitution without protest from the thousands of Americans—and there are many Jews among them—who plan to vacation in the state.

Press-time flash! The Florida Supreme Court on November 19 threw out the cases of the first 14 victims on the ground that they were entitled to use the Fifth Amendment. The remaining victims are also appealing their cases. A victory for civil liberties!

WILL JACKBOOTS MARCH AGAIN?

The opportune appearance of a new book on the barbarities of nazism emphasizes the necessity for preventing the rearming of the same nazis

By Arthur D. Kahn

RARELY is the subject matter of a book so pertinent to political developments that the very publication becomes itself a significant political event. Such is the case with *The Scourge of the Swastika* by Lord Russell of Liverpool,¹ an important and powerful document in the current struggle against the rearmament of West Germany.

Lord Russell was a senior legal adviser to the commander-in-chief of the British Occupation Forces in Germany. Thus he was intimately acquainted with the findings of the investigations and trials of nazi war criminals. Two years ago he requested and obtained official permission to compile a history of these crimes. However, when the book was ready this past July, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Simonds, after consultation with foreign office authorities, demanded that Lord Russell either withdraw

his book before publication or resign his post in the judge advocate-general's department of the Armed Forces. Lord Simonds explained that the "whole treatment of the subject, and most particularly the photographs, are such as to stir up hatred of the German people as a whole, and therefore to give support to the opinions of those who are most strongly critical of the policy of giving Germany an opportunity, by rearmament or otherwise, of exerting an influence in world affairs." (Emphasis added.)

Lord Russell then resigned his post, after 20 years of service. His book was published and also serialized by Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily Express*, one of England's most widely circulated newspapers. Now we are indebted to the Philosophical Library for issuing an American edition.

The book justifies Lord Simonds' fears. The program for rearming West Germany has come so close to foundering during the last two years that its supporters have reason to fear any new weapon in the hands of their opponents. In August, the French Assembly, prodded by national patriotic opinion, rejected the European Defense Community, the gravest blow yet suffered by the Dulles European

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¹ *The Scourge of Swastika. A Short History of Nazi War Crimes*, by Lord Russell of Liverpool, Philosophical Library, New York, \$4.50.



Can we forget this—and permit rearmament of a renazified Germany?

"HOW CAN I HOLD MY TONGUE?"

A SIGNIFICANT comment on the "reparations" agreement between the Bonn regime and Israel, which provides for a payment of some hundreds of millions of dollars in partial "reparation" for the Nazi genocide against the Jews, is contained in a copy of a letter received by the *Morning Freiheit*, which published excerpts on September 24. The sender of the letter signs himself "Moshe Ben Reb Chayim Rachelson." He explains that this is a copy of a letter sent to Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban.

Mr. Rachelson writes that his 90-year-old mother, "Dinah Bas Reb Dovid," was murdered by the Nazis after terrible torture. The writer, who was her only son, then cries out in pain, "Did they not dishonor her body enough when they made it into soap to wash Hitler's people? . . . Now the Jewish state comes and sells her little heap of bones for a trifle. . . . How can I watch this happen and hold my tongue? . . . How can they forget and forgive so quickly? It is outrageous! Has the Golden Calf become your god, Lord save us! It is blasphemous!"

Mr. Rachelson writes that ever since the Israel government "concluded the reparations agreement with Hitler's heirs, I can find no rest. I wander aimlessly for days in a world of chaos and at night I cannot close my eyes. My mother's ghost follows me everywhere. She is in my dreams every night, crying bitter tears that would move the heart of a murderer. She talks to me in her warm motherly manner and complains that she cannot rest, she can not find peace even in her grave. . . . She

warns me never to forgive her torturers, even for all the riches in the world. . . . Have we really come to a time of 'no law and no judges?'"

At the end of the letter comes a request: "Therefore I now turn to you—because who knows better than you that I am completely innocent of any ulterior motives; you never asked for my advice, and would pay no attention to it if offered; as her only survivor, I beg you to deduct from the account of the reparations agreement the money which you received for my mother, in order that she may be able to find her final rest and that I may be able to live out the last few years which God, blessed be His name, may grant me, in peace and quiet.

"I do not wish, God forbid, to cause you any loss because of my superstitious sentiments of 'Honor Thy Mother' or 'Honor the Dead.' I am therefore prepared to make settlement in the sum of \$137, which, according to my reckoning, is due to the account of your agreement. I am not able, however, to pay the entire six-millionth at one time. Therefore, I am enclosing herewith \$2.74 (in postage) and, God willing, will send you each week a payment on the debt, until the full amount is repaid.

"I hope that you will understand the justice of my request. By the virtue of this deed and by the virtue of the approaching High Holy Days, may they bring us good, your name will be written and inscribed (in the Book of Life). And may redemption come to Zion. Amen."

policy. This defeat evoked expressions of despair in Washington and Bonn.

In September the pro-rearmament statesmen succeeded in formulating an alternative plan at the Nine-Power Conference in London. A month later they obtained Mendès-France's signature to a pact that would enable West Germany to become the greatest military power on the continent. Only those who believe that history teaches nothing will trust the "controls" and "guarantees" introduced to mollify French opposition. The concessions made to France on the Saar were mere jockeying between rival capitalists. The final outcome of this question will be determined by economic and political forces regardless of the clauses of any treaty.

Opposition to Rearmament

With the substitution of the Western European Union for a defunct European Defense Community, the remilitarizers have recouped lost ground. They have not solved their problem by drafting another plan. In the maneuverings before and after the defeat of EDC one can find clues to the continuing rivalry and suspicion among the Western powers. Popular sentiment against German rearmament

which is potentially decisive in deciding the issue is far from having its full say. It will continue to intensify, especially in France.

In England, Labor's right wing, led by Clement Attlee, was able to push through a watered-down resolution in support of the principle of German rearmament at the recent Labor Party convention. The British leadership—Tory and right-wing Labor—fear the expression of organized public sentiment on the issue.

In the United States, where opposition has been sporadic at best, voices like those of Senator Ralph E. Flanders and James Warburg expose the dangers to our country of German rearmament.

In Germany, the defection of Otto John, the West German counterpart of J. Edgar Hoover, and of Karl Schmidt-Wittmack, a parliamentary deputy of Adenauer's own party, demonstrated the widening recognition that the Dulles-Adenauer path to German unity is through war, a unity of a crippled and ravaged Germany; while the Soviet-German Democratic Republic approach to unity is through peace, neutrality and reconstruction. German patriots of every political opinion and class are increasingly subscribing to the sentiment expressed by Field Marshall von Paulus, German commander at Stalingrad, at his

press conference on July 2: "After the difficult experiences of the last war and postwar period, our task can only be to stand for the cause of the entire German nation and to remain true to her. . . . When I say that we Germans must orient ourselves first toward Germany's unity and independence and the defense of the national rights of our German people, I know that we thereby serve the cause of peace, of international reconciliation and of understanding among all peoples."

Three former chancellors of the Weimar republic, the leadership of the ultra-conservative Free Democratic Party (part of the Adenauer coalition), as well as the opposition Social Democrats have demanded a reversal of the Adenauer policy and negotiations with the Soviet Union. Recently the executive council of the Free German Trade Unions, representing six million West German workers, condemned the Adenauer policy as detrimental to Germany's best interests internationally and as a danger to German democracy.

Without the support of the German people, the Dulles-Adenauer policy is doomed. That is why the alternative posed by the German Democratic Republic is so important. Germans note that only from the East come appeals and delegations seeking unity and peace. The East German regime urges East-West trade at the Leipzig fair and invites delegations of churchmen, farmers, professionals and workers for tours and conferences. Indicative of the philosophy of the German Democratic Republic is the call recently issued by its ministry of culture for all-German participation in preparations for a great national celebration in 1956 of the 200th anniversary of Mozart, liberty-loving composer of the Age of Enlightenment and representative of the best humanistic German tradition.

British Jews Against Rearmament

"THE Board of Deputies of British Jews [representative body of all Jewish organizations in Britain], reported the Jewish Telegraphic Agency the week-end of October 21, 'reaffirmed this week its opposition to the rearming of either half of Germany and expressed 'deep apprehension' at the changes which will take place in Germany and in her relations with the occupation powers in the wake of the agreement negotiated with Germany at the recent nine-power conference in London. The board resolution underlines the fact that there is 'increasing evidence' that well-known nazis are being given important offices in the Bonn Republic.'"

In Manchester, England, the officers of the Council of Manchester and Salford Jews, the Manchester Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen, and the Jewish Youth Forum met in late September and decided to bring pressure on the Board of Deputies to put on a national campaign against German rearmament. Mr. Ginsberg, the Jewish youth representative, called the prospect of German rearmament "the greatest danger to the Jewish people since Hitler."

A Powerful Weapon

On a background of mounting popular opposition, rivalry among the Western powers and Soviet and East German moves for peace and reunification, Lord Russell's powerful book has appeared. His specific purpose was not to condemn German rearmament. He wrote his history because he feared that the crimes of the nazis might be too easily and quickly forgotten.

At international conferences where the defense of the "Free World" is being implemented by the rearming of the "Aryan heroes," however, recollection of Dachau and Auschwitz is embarrassing.

At this critical time when Dulles, Adenauer and Sir Anthony Eden would expunge all memories of the heroic unified effort of East and West ten years ago in defense of civilization, Lord Russell has the audacity to remind the world of the gas chambers of Buchenwald, of the children injected with tuberculosis bacilli in "scientific experiments," of the shrunken heads embalmed by nazi supermen as hobbies, of wholesale machine-gunning of civilians, of mass deportations of slave labor, of tortures by thumb screws and extraction of fingernails.

In a cogent, reserved and often understated document, demonstrating the most judicious selection of relevant and telling material, Lord Russell exposes the barbarism of the new "Free World" champions. He demonstrates that the

"To Remind You . . ."

Following is an excerpt from the speech by Solomon Lever, Secretary of the London Jewish Bakers' Union and of the Workers Circle Friendly Society and mayor of Hackney in 1951-52, before the British Trade Union Congress in August:

"THIS small Jewish union which I represent, the smallest affiliated to Congress and the only Jewish trade union in the world outside Israel, feels that it owes a duty to six million Jewish dead—put to death by these same Germans whom we now propose to rearm. And have we forgotten the many thousands of socialists and trade unionists in the occupied territories which these German tortured and put to death?"

"The least we can do is to remind you of a massacre unequalled in human history which happened only a brief ten years ago. Have the people who committed this crime changed? Most of them are still alive and in responsible positions.

"A disarmed and subdued Germany can be an asset to the world. A rearmed and cocky Germany with *Deutschland Ueber Alles* as its slogan would not think twice of again exterminating millions of people to gain its end. . . .

"I want (Germany) disarmed because twice in our lifetime have we seen what a menace an armed Germany can be to Europe, to the world and to humanity in general. We have seen very much to our cost and to our sorrow how ruthless and how cruel an armed and powerful Germany can be. . . ."

nazi terror campaign was a carefully planned complement of the nazi concept of total war and that the militarists currently rebuilding the German war machine fully subscribed to the application of nazi techniques of "pacification."

Lord Russell recounts briefly but effectively the extermination of the Jews, which he characterizes as "the greatest crime in world history." Never before so cogently and effectively summarized, I think, is his description of German barbarism toward other peoples, including American PWs (seven million non-Jews were murdered). From the facts he presents, one gains new insight into the impassioned opposition of the French and other European peoples to German rearmament.

Particularly meaningful to us Americans is this observation: "To those who have never heard the tramp of the jackboot along the village street or the Gestapo knocking at their door; who have not seen 50 of their friends and neighbors shot in the market place as a reprisal for the ambush of a single German; whose sons and daughters have not been taken away from their homes in the dead

of night and never seen again, to such people all this cannot but seem incredible and unreal."

Otto John at his press conference after his flight from Bonn revealed that the Germans responsible for these crimes are the same Germans charged with rebuilding German military power. John declared: "Everywhere in the government, in economy, in industry, in the universities, wherever one looks, the nazis are back again; with them the spirit which led the German people into total catastrophe has come to life once more."

It is hard to re-read accounts of nazi barbarism, hard because of the terrifying, revolting facts and because of the reminder how far we have gone and how far we must go back to regain the epic, heroic unity of East and West in defense of peace.

The defeat of the Dulles plan to rearm West Germany, a plan that is now in a new decisive stage, opens the way to a new approach to European security, to disarmament and to lasting world peace. A wide circulation of Lord Russell's book can be an important contribution to this development.

Rabbi A. Feinberg of Canada Says:

West German Rearmament "Flouts the Bitter Lessons of History"

A strong call to oppose the rearmament of West Germany was issued by Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, of the Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, in a New Year sermon in September. The attempt to rearm West Germany, he said, "flouts the bitter lessons of history. . . . It would be suicidal to forget the bestiality of German nazis. . . . The blithe, optimistic, carefree romance of the Western powers with West Germany is a travesty on mature political thinking and a form of self-inflicted blindness which can lead all humanity to an abyss."

Rabbi Feinberg stressed the fact that many now in the governmental leadership of West Germany were former top nazis. "The growth of neo-nazi splinter groups," he added, "the numerous articles in West German papers glorifying nazi leaders, the Nauman plot exposure, the prolonged campaign for the release of 'martyred' war criminals, the frequent desecration of Jewish cemeteries and the belligerent diatribes of nationalist spokesmen—all these ominous development do not support Dr. Adenauer's assertion that there has been no nazi revival in Germany. Throughout provincial and federal governments nazi membership is now practically a qualification for a position of public trust. . . ."

"Western civilization, under the pressure of United States foreign policy, seems willing to sacrifice Germany's moral rehabilitation in order that she might be converted into an armed fortress against the Soviet Union. From the strict viewpoint of religion and its eternal mandate to evoke the best in human beings, such a program cannot be upheld. As a practical strategy in a hard and bitter struggle for existence it is a grave risk."

Rabbi Silver Urges Co-Existence

Following are excerpts from a speech delivered by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver at the Tercentenary Dinner in Detroit in October:

"I BELIEVE that our age will find the formula of toleration which will enable the many evolving and fluid forms of capitalism and socialism to work out their destinies in the one world in which we live. . . . The way is not that of a global armament race which will impoverish the people of the earth—ours included—and end as such races always end—in catastrophe. The way is rather that of conference, of courageous diplomacy, of giving urgent leadership in the United Nations to a program of speedy and balanced reduction of armament and help to the backward peoples of the earth. . . ."

"Our age is moving purposefully in the right direction—the abolition of war, the reduction of poverty and the elimination of racial inequality. These are the three major trends of our century."

. . . And Opposes German Rearmament

Rabbi Silver reiterated his call for co-existence in a speech at his Temple in Cleveland on November 7, this time in relation to the rearmament of Germany and the sending of arms to the Arab states. A remilitarized Germany, he said, means the return of those very Junker and nazi forces against whom two wars were fought. It is childish, he said, to tell the world that the same forces in Germany that were conquered nine years ago have become fighters for freedom, peace and democracy. As for the arming of the Arab leaders, Rabbi Silver said that this State Department policy is the outcome of the same deplorable motives that are leading to German rearmament.

ANTI-SEMITISM AT FORT MONMOUTH

Serious questions arise concerning the way the Anti-Defamation League handled the shocking revelations of bigotry at the Army installation

By "A Researcher"

THE secrecy surrounding the secret report of the Anti-Defamation League on anti-Semitism at Fort Monmouth is becoming more cloudy and suspicious. On August 27 and 28, the *New York Times* revealed some of the contents of a confidential report which the ADL had made to Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens on the investigation made by the ADL into anti-Semitism at Fort Monmouth. According to this story, the ADL requested that the Army make its own investigation to determine whether anti-Semitism had indeed played any role in the suspension on "security" charges of a number of Jewish scientists and technicians in the Army laboratories at Fort Monmouth. The Army announced its own conclusion that anti-Semitism had played no role whatever. The ADL received this Army statement somewhat sourly, but there the matter rests.

But while the matter may be settled for the ADL, it is not for the Jewish people. Jewish circles in New Jersey could not swallow the "secret" politics of the ADL. They knew that Fort Monmouth was a nest of anti-Semitism. Harry Green, one of the attorneys for the accused Jewish employees, has publicly stated that outspoken anti-Semites in key positions in the "security" apparatus at Fort Monmouth are responsible for the suspension of the Jewish scientists. In fact, the revelations of Harry Green and Ira Katchen (another attorney for the accused) forced the ADL to undertake its own investigation. But the ADL did everything in its power to keep the facts from the light of day.

On September 4, S. Dingol in the *Yiddish Day* raised an alarm: "The ADL," he said, "which is supposed to protect Jewish rights in America, is becoming a danger to Jewish rights." Dingol told the following story: "The lodges of B'nai B'rith in New Jersey, which were concerned about the situation at Fort Monmouth, . . . invited Mr. Harry Green, the attorney for the suspended Jewish employees, to a meeting to acquaint them with the facts. Two days before the meeting, Mr. Green received word that the meeting had been called off by order of the regional director of the ADL."

Nevertheless, Harry Green did appear at a public meeting in New Jersey on September 3, but not under the sponsorship of the ADL. The meeting was arranged by the Zionist District of Newark. And although Green did not reveal everything he knew at this meeting, what he did

say was enough to shock his audience. When the *Newark Star-Ledger* printed a story about Harry Green's speech, the chairman of the ADL in New Jersey, Nelson Stammmler, said that Green's remarks "were not worthy of comment!" On October 6, the *Jewish Ledger* published two extended stories on the affair by Simon Bloom. One was a detailed report of Harry Green's speech at the meeting of the Zionist District of Newark; the other discussed the secret ADL report, which officials of the ADL permitted Bloom to read.

Public No and Secret Yes

Mr. Bloom could only give his impressions of the report. "I read the document last week," he writes, "in the offices of the ADL under the eyes of ADL officials and employees. I was not allowed to take notes." He comes to the conclusion that the facts brought out by Green—which are "not worthy of comment," according to a high ADL official—completely confirm the secret report of the ADL! The ADL condemns Green's facts publicly and confirms them secretly.

Bloom reports that at first Green wanted to have nothing to do with the defense of the Monmouth victims. But his friend Ira Katchen, a lawyer interested in Jewish affairs, asked for help because he could not handle the mass of work by himself. Green agreed to participate in the defense on condition that he was convinced that the accused were not communists or mixed up in espionage. Further, he would undertake the cases only if his clients would not invoke the Fifth Amendment. Although he believed in the Fifth Amendment, he also believed that it was not fitting for him to have dealings with clients who fall back on it. Green satisfied himself that these conditions had been met and accepted the cases.

At first, Green dismissed the suspicion that anti-Semitism had anything to do with the accusations against the Jewish employees. But the deeper he dug into the facts, the clearer it became to him that the "security" apparatus at Fort Monmouth was rotten with anti-Semitism. He was so upset that he asked the ADL, with its extensive apparatus of trained investigators (and its budget of two million dollars a year), to undertake an investigation of possible anti-Semitism at Fort Monmouth.

Green's speech, as reported in the *Jewish Ledger* (October 6), makes clear why the ADL condemned Green's public disclosures. While preparing his case, Green stum-

"Nothing Has Changed"

THE ADL intervention in the Monmouth situation seems to have left matters just where they were, to judge from the following letter from "Ft. Monmouth Employees" in the *New York Post* of October 29:

"The *Post* has always taken a vigilant stand in the Fort Monmouth matter. The bad situation still exists. Men are being declassified in groups of two and three and innocent men are being suspended on trumped up charges, so that the 'security risk' figures are increased for election purposes."

bled on two kinds of facts: open anti-Semitism and McCarthyite lawlessness. The anti-Semites controlled the security apparatus which the Army itself had established. When McCarthy started his "investigation," a contest developed between the witch-hunters of the Army apparatus and the witch-hunters of the McCarthy Committee as to who would "expose" more security cases and cause more suspensions. In its secret report the ADL stated that among the 10,000 military or civilian personnel at Fort Monmouth, 3,000 were informers. In his speech Green pointed out that these spies, stoolpigeons and corrupt and discredited individuals had the power to make secret accusations on the basis of which the Jewish (and a few non-Jewish) employees were suspended.

In his speech Green mentioned names of anti-Semites in high posts at Fort Monmouth. The secret ADL report also mentioned names. One of them is Andrew Reid, well-known as an outspoken anti-Semite. All the charges went through Reid's hands and he had complete authority to decide whether this or that person should be officially charged. The ADL report brings to light shocking facts about this individual and other anti-Semites in the security apparatus of the Army at Fort Monmouth.

They Wore Yellow Badges

Green revealed a shocking fact, wrote Bloom: "Green in striking phrases painted how a nightmare settled down on the accused. Badges of different colors were used for various purposes, red, blue, white, etc. In many instances Jews had to wear yellow badges. 'Perhaps the army did not appreciate what it meant to give a Jew a yellow badge,' said Green.

"The yellow wearers were suspended and assigned to the 'Leper Colony,' a phrase which Walter Millis of the *Herald Tribune* used and which the ADL report quotes from him. 'Imagine what it is for a scientist and man of learning to suddenly feel you are a moral leper,' said Green."

Why should the ADL leadership be so incensed at Harry Green if its own secret report only confirmed what Green had brought into the open? Not only was Green

violating the hush-hush policy of the ADL. Harry Green went much further in his exposure than the ADL leadership wants to go. Not only did he expose individual anti-Semites, but also an anti-Semitic *policy* of the Army security apparatus at Fort Monmouth. At the same time he unmasked the McCarthyism which had eaten into both the Army apparatus and the inquisitions of the McCarthy committee at Fort Monmouth.

Not a single one of the accused Jewish scientists was charged with espionage or disloyalty or any illegal act whatever. Yet the "security" apparatus of the Army at Fort Monmouth, where anti-Semites were in charge, suspended a number of Jewish officials. On what ground?

Harry Green gives an example. They told one of the accused: you are being suspended on the charge that you believe in the left-wing philosophy of Max Lerner. Other charges were also made against you, but we cannot tell you what they are. You have to prove that you are not guilty. "You're guilty when you start," Green said in his speech, "and that is what is happening in America today and the tragedy is that under the law the decision is final."

Green shows that the Army leadership does not bear any less responsibility than McCarthy himself for the anti-Semitism and the rampant McCarthyism at Fort Monmouth. The ADL leaders are trying to pull off quite a trick—whitewashing the Army leadership and hushing up the McCarthyite regime at Monmouth. The ADL proposed to the Army secretary that he investigate whether there is any anti-Semitic element in the suspension of the Jewish employees—even though the ADL had already made such an investigation and had already discovered the existence of rabid anti-Semitism. What was the purpose of this proposal? The purpose was to give the Army leadership an "out" and a possibility of denying categorically the existence of anti-Semitism at Fort Monmouth. And that is exactly what happened. The Army made an "investigation" and "discovered" that everything was in apple-pie order.

Nevertheless, Jewish circles in New Jersey and throughout the country are outraged by this secret politics of the ADL. Many Jewish people who are concerned about the anti-Semitic danger in America will agree with the writer of the *Day* that the ADL, whose function should be to fight for Jewish rights, is becoming a danger to Jewish rights. You cannot fight anti-Semitism with one hand and whitewash McCarthyism with the other, as the ADL is trying to do.

(The above article is reprinted in condensed form from the *Morning Freiheit*, October 24. It was translated from the *Yiddish* by Max Rosenfeld.)

Happy Hanukah!

EARTH SHALL SMILE

(Lyrics for a Cantata)

By Walter Lowenfels

I

Sonnet

The date, June 19, 1953,
the time, 8 P.M. The place, Ossining,
specifically the death chamber, Sing Sing,
and this, the strange chair, touched with their beauty.

The straps in place. . . . Now, then . . . *Carrara shall see
no marble more perfect, Vermont shall bring
no granite to match the light now lingering
over their faces' ultimate ecstasy. . . .*

And so they killed the Rosenbergs, a tale
a million times told with a million lies.
Still, we ask you only to hear the truth:

their own words—their last Shemah Yisroel—
telling us even now: *nothing true dies.*
And this is the story of their lasting youth.

II

Yes you understood them: Lovers
to the end:

their joy
their hope their song their need
to be
lovers to the end.

WALTER LOWENFELS is a poet and journalist. The above cantata has been set to music by Walde-
mar Hille, musical director of the first Unitarian
Church of Los Angeles and was first performed on
August 14 in Los Angeles. The musical score can
be obtained through People's Artists, 124 West 21st
St., N. Y. C. Lowenfels was recently selected for
the William Weiner Memorial Award by *Masses
and Mainstream* as "the outstanding poet of the
year." His recent works include *American Voices*,
The Prisoners and a new book, *Sonnets of
Love and Liberty*, will soon be published by Blue
Herron Press. Lowenfels is one of nine Philadelph-
ians who are appealing conviction under the
Smith act.

You understand. . . .

But let's get on with the story. The curtain unrolls
and here we have them in their own words:

III

. . . . *Yesterday we were offered a deal by the Attorney
General of the United States. We were told that if we
"cooperated with the Government," our lives would be
spared. . . .*

. . . . *We will not be coerced even under pain of death to
bear false witness and to yield up to tyranny our rights as
free Americans. . . .*

*My husband and I shall die innocent before we lower
ourselves to live guilty. . . .*

*The gruesome reality is that our case is being used as a
camouflage to paralyze outspoken progressives and stifle
criticism of the drive to atomic war. . . .*

*Not only our two lives . . . the safety and security of our
fellow countrymen is endangered. . . .*

Therefore be it resolved:
no more poems of death,

no more elegies,
no more funeral songs,
no more chants
for executions, murders.

Resolved:
to rid the earth
of the stool pigeon,
frame-up artist, finger man,
the renegade, informer, spy,
they are like the nails
that grow on the corpse
and scratch the life out of millions.

Resolved:
to bury this bleaching
corpse of yesterday that still gasps
in apple orchards of tomorrow.

Resolved:
to quit this Death House.

IV

... They tell me in many ways you can save your wife
and yourself. Make a deal. ...

*How diabolical. I could retch with horror and revulsion
for these saviors are actually proposing to erect a sepulchre
in which I shall live without living and die without
dying. ...*

It was June, all nature shouting,
greens, roses, blueberry purples
sweeping the fields, singing
it is spring, it is spring.
In death chamber silence they sang ...
my own land is part of me ...

In this compact they live:
signed on slave ships, at Valley Forge,
by Nat Turner,
by Gettysburg, by Haymarket ("*Let the Voice of
the People Be Heard*")

telling us in their last silence *nobody is going
to live anymore in this land without daring
to be burned.*

V

"This is a beautiful country," John Brown said as he rode
to the gallows. "I never had the pleasure of really seeing it
before."

What is beauty then? not set apart
from what love of land has given us,
not a necklace of islands
set in the ocean's waving hair
nor engraved in the emeralds or any stone or
flower:

In this couple's truth beauty lives
in your street in you
to fight for and to win.

VI

Choral

I

Walking alone
their last mile
the Rosenbergs sang
"The Earth Shall Smile."
Let the singing start;
Let the mourning cease;
sing as they sang—
the song of peace.

Chorus

Mourn no more
their last mile,
the Rosenbergs sang
"The Earth Shall Smile."

II

Her mother heart
broken with pain,
she sang and sang
"That Freedom Train."
Sing "Peat Bog Soldiers,"
"Good Night Irene;"
sing as they sang—
"Wearing O' the Green."

Chorus

III

Sing Beethoven's Ninth,
and Passover Songs
of the Jewish people
righting their wrongs.
The last minutes
in the Death House rang—
"Spring Is Coming,"
the Rosenbergs sang.

Chorus

IV

They strapped them in
the electric chair,
but they couldn't kill
the singing we share.
They couldn't kill
the voice of Spring
and the song of peace
the Rosenbergs sing.

Chorus

V

American lovers,
children of Moses,
they sang of peace
and bread and roses.
Now sing as they sang
because of you
and make their final
song come true.

Chorus

Jewish Book Month

November 19 to December 19

A PEACE POLICY FOR ISRAEL?

A criticism of the approach of Zionist leaders to threats of war against Israel and proposals for securing peace for the Middle East

By Joseph Gershman

WE CAN take it as axiomatic that the problem of establishing peace between the state of Israel and the Arab nations which surround her is a cardinal one in the struggle to establish world peace. For Israel itself, however, it is no less than a problem of existence. That is why it is a happy occasion when the word "peace" penetrates through the curtain of tension, which surrounds events in the Middle East, regardless of from whence or whom it comes.

It is in this light that we view the words spoken by Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban from the rostrum of the United Nations, when he recently called for the signing of a non-aggression pact between Israel and the Arab countries, *by direct negotiations*. This represents a certain softening of the position taken on this question by the Sharett regime.

It is true that this is a very minor softening of the Israel position (as we shall see later) and that so far it is a one-sided concession, the offer having been negatively received by the Arab countries. Nevertheless it is symptomatic of the fact that eventually the concept of *direct negotiations* without the interference of the imperialist powers will prevail as the only real way to peace in the Middle East.

Reading the Zionist press, however, and especially its Yiddish wing on East Broadway, New York; reading statements and speeches by the Dr. Nahum Goldmanns, the Rabbi Irving Millers; following the dealings of the Sharett government in Israel, one can see that the central issue of peace is not foremost in their minds.

Peace does not come by merely pronouncing the words *direct negotiations*, if at the same time there is no end of crawling to and scraping before the John Foster Dulleses, the enemies of Israel and of peace everywhere. And it is very phony diplomacy when a tiny country like Israel tries to "frighten" the Washington imperialists with a quasi-independent line, hoping thereby that perhaps Israel too will get American arms.

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In essence this is still the "diplomacy" practiced by Israeli government leaders, including Ambassador Abba Eban, who recently emerged from a conference with John Foster Dulles a very chastened and disappointed man (the conference was held following Eban's speech in the UN).

A Peace Diplomacy?

A Jewish Telegraphic Agency despatch from Washington reported that Ambassador Eban "declined to state what he and Dulles discussed." Eban only remarked that the meeting was a "continuation of our discussions about Israel's security problems in the Middle East." The JTA also reported that "informed circles say that Ambassador Eban indicated that Secretary Dulles' suggested formulations do not allay Israel's justified concern about the results of strengthening the Arab countries by making one-sided military arrangements with them."

What does this mean? It means that Abba Eban had again attempted to convince the war-mongering Mr. Dulles that Israel too must get arms, that the State Department can rely on Israel more than on the Arab countries. This is precisely the dangerous policy which the Sharett regime and the Zionist leaders in the United States have been following continuously.

That this is so is proven by the reports of two recently concluded Zionist conferences, one in Chicago, the other in New York. It is true that both meetings heard strong words against the anti-Israel policy being followed by the Eisenhower-Dulles administration. Nevertheless, what was demanded, what they wanted Washington to do is dangerous in the utmost to the state of Israel and is in full contradiction with Abba Eban's UN peace appeal.

At the Chicago conference, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, a loyal servant of the State Department, declared: "We do not have the slightest doubt that the American government (*the Eisenhower-Dulles administration!*—J. G.) is sincere in its desires for peace in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the United States has committed many errors and if these errors are not rectified, United States policy in the whole Middle East will suffer a great defeat."

We will not even dwell on the fact that Adenauer's bosom friend, Dr. Goldmann, knows very well that the aims of Washington in the Middle East are not peaceful. This, even reactionary newspapers in Israel admit. But this

THE CALF AND THE BIRD

(Based on a Yiddish Folksong)

By Max Rosenfeld

The little calf
Lies tied and bound,
And bleats despairingly.
A swallow laughs,
And circles round,
And soars afar and free.

The peasant muses,
Leaning on his staff,
And murmurs in his beard,
"Why'd you choose
To be a calf?
You could have been a bird!"

Timid things
Are trussed and tied,
They're calves and should expect it.
Birds have wings
And fly too high,
And cannot be subjected!

is not Dr. Goldmann's main concern.

What Dr. Goldmann wants is for the United States and the other great powers (meaning England and France—the USSR and China are not great powers in Dr. Goldmann's eyes) to be "warned" that they must demand from the Arabs a guarantee that the arms they are receiving will only be used for defensive purposes (this means in a war against the USSR). The Western powers are also told that they must not content themselves with empty Arab promises about wanting to end their quarrel with Israel. In order to achieve his treacherous aim, Dr. Goldmann even issues a "threat" to Mr. Dulles to the effect that the latter's policies can cause the Near East "to become ripe for the type of situation desired by the Communists."

Some comment is necessary on the various attempts at both Zionist conferences to utilize the pre-election period to win a kind word, an empty promise for Israel from the Eisenhower administration.

"You should be ashamed of yourselves, Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles! The Democratic and Liberal parties do have an 'Israel plank' in their election platform while you Republicans have none. Shake in your boots; elections are coming, you may even lose votes." This is the essence of the resolutions presented at both Zionist gatherings.

The New York Jewish *Day* even overflowed with joy at the utterance of a few misleading and truly empty words spoken by General Walter Bedell Smith, the former

under-secretary of state, in an interview he gave to the *New York Times*. Under a screaming headline, the *Day* declared, "Immediate settlement between Israel, Jordan expected; General Bedell Smith hopeful about understanding between Israel and the Arab countries." But if you read the news you will be astounded to learn why the general is "hopeful." He "indicated," the *Day* reports, "that Dulles will shortly make a declaration which will calm Israel's fears on the question of American arms for the Arabs."

How to Win Peace

Peace between Israel and the Arabs is of course possible. What is necessary in the first place, however, is to do away with the State Department's dictation on this question. The orientation of supporting the aims of imperialism in the Middle East must be abandoned completely; Israel and the whole Middle East must be freed from the interference of the so-called UN "Armistice Commission" as well as other imperialist agencies. There must be no dealings with Washington one day and attempts at finding favor in the eyes of the British imperialists the next.

— This would erase the base of the imperialists for their intrigue in the Middle East. It would weaken the "lobby" in Washington composed of reactionary feudal Arab lords against whom the "wisest" diplomacy of Sharet-Eban is powerless. It would open the door to the Arab masses. An independent peace plan would receive the ear of the oppressed Arab people who want nothing more than peace, independence, democracy and a better standard of living.

We sincerely believe that the Israeli people will fight through and win a new national policy which will bring into being a democratic people's coalition in Israel. This coalition will make an end to all pro-imperialist alliances. Then will peace be possible and secure; then will Israel's economy develop and the working people begin to benefit from the fruits of their labor. The present policy of the Israel government can only lead to catastrophe which will place the very existence of the young state in jeopardy.

Is It a Crime to Fight Jimcrow?

ONE of the most outrageous frame-ups in this era of fantastic frame-ups is going forward in Louisville, Ky. Andrew E. Wade, IV, and his family moved into a house in a previously all-white area amidst threats from Klan elements. Five white persons helped the Wades protect their home. After a bomb exploded in the house on June 27, Klan elements were untouched but these five were arrested instead and indicted for conspiring to damage property with an intent to further "communism." One was indicted for the bombing, several were indicted for "sedition." Even the local press protested this fantastic plot to punish the innocent and those who were upholding human rights. Protests can be directed to Scott Hamilton, Commonwealth Attorney, Louisville, Ky.

THE NEW CENTURY OPENS— JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT GROWS

By Morris U. Schappes

DRAMATIC as a blast furnace against the night sky is the fact that the Twentieth Century practically dawns with the appearance in February 1901 of the first billion dollar corporation in the world. It was United States Steel, a holding corporation with a capital of \$1,400,000,000 that welded together 11 big steel, mining and shipping companies into one economic empire, with J. P. Morgan squatting astride the whole network. By 1904 "it was currently recognized that . . . the House of Morgan and the Standard Oil 'crowd'—ruled American finance" and "two-thirds of the country's manufacturing capital was controlled by monopolistic or semi-monopolistic combines."¹ And Kuhn, Loeb and Co. was then already part of the Rockefeller-Standard Oil "crowd."

In fact, when the *World Almanac* in 1902 published its list of 4,000 American millionaires (total population about 76 million), there were some 120 Jews among them (total population about one million).² When the American Jewish Committee was founded in 1906, this Jewish plutocracy was so weightily represented that it has given the committee its conservative outlook and "high tone" to this day.

Attack Against the Labor Movement

Reactionary to the core, the giant trusts and their employers' trade associations set out to destroy the burgeoning labor movement. In 1901, U.S. Steel crushed a strike of 62,000 and the National Metal Trades Association smashed a strike of 58,000 machinists. But outside the most immediately trustified industries the workers were organizing. From 1900 to 1904, union membership more than doubled, rising from 868,500 to 2,072,700, with the American Federation of Labor tripling its membership from 548,300 to 1,676,200, while in New York City, center of the Jewish workers, union membership moved from 154,500 to 254,700.

To meet this advance, the employers began what Professors Perlman and Taft call "a crusade against unionism

in general." In 1903 the National Association of Manufacturers, which until then had concerned itself more with issues like the tariff than with labor, took on the leadership of this crusade, flying the flag of the "open shop." The growth of union membership as a whole was stopped in its tracks for the remainder of the decade, while the A. F. of L. lost 222,000 members between 1904 and 1906 and did not again surpass its 1904 figure until 1911. Yet in New York, where the Jewish labor movement was gathering itself, the open shop drive did not succeed. Union membership rose steadily to 286,180 in 1907, dropped to 240,000 next year because of the economic crisis and resumed its upward swing the following year. Thus when on December 22, 1904, the large New York cap manufacturers posted "open shop" notices in their factories, the union conducted a general strike for 13 weeks and won a compromise settlement that provided, however, for the recognition of the union. The *Jewish Daily Forward* editorially applauded (March 20, 1905) the little union which had won where bigger ones had failed and hoped the example would not be lost.³

While the "open shoppers" attacked labor frontally, another section of the employing class worked obliquely for the same ends, ensnaring Gompers and other A. F. of L. leaders into a conscious program of collaborating with the employers against a section and ultimately against all of the labor movement. In 1900 there was launched the National Civic Federation, a reactionary body that cloaked its hostility to labor by a seemingly middle-of-the-road position, declaring in its Preamble that "the twin foes of industrial peace are the anti-union employers and the Socialists." Gompers enthusiastically joined it. One immediate disastrous result was that, under the influence of the National Civic Federation, Gompers and John Mitchell of the miners' union were diverted from giving all-out aid to the 1901 steel strike.⁴ At the end of that year, the Civic Federation established an "Industrial Department" in three sections, with 12 representatives from the employers, wage-

¹ Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States*, New York, 1937, p. 436-440.

² E. Tcherikower, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Arbeiter Bewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten*, New York, 1943, vol. 1, p. 230, gives a sum of 144 Jews, but this author has not been able to identify that number.

³ Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States*, 1896-1932, New York, 1935, p. 13, 17, 129, 133-136; J. M. Budish, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Arbeiter Bewegung in New York*, 1925, p. 82-86.

⁴ Perlman and Taft, work cited, p. 48, 108.

earnings, and the "public," the whole unit to function as a Conciliation Committee. Interestingly enough, there was one Jew in each section: Marcus M. Marks, president of the National Association of Clothing Manufacturers, among the employers; Gompers for the workers; and Oscar S. Straus, millionaire merchant and diplomat, for the "public." Gompers devoted scores of pages of the A. F. of L. organ, the *American Federationist*, to this new form of brotherhood.⁵

Under this influence of alliance of labor with the employers and "the public," main stress came to be laid at this time on the union label as the salvation of the working class. Instead of relying primarily upon organization of the workers in the shops, the A. F. of L. concentrated on appealing, of course in vain, to the "public" to buy only union-labeled goods. Today the union label is understood to be a minor instrument of the labor movement, one which in a sense simply records the gains made by trade union *organization*. But then, under Civic Federation collaborationist ideology, the label was put forward as the main weapon. And as such it had a great and misleading influence on the garment workers, among whom the Jews were already a large majority.

Thus, viewing the landscape of this, the first decade of the New Century, the workers of our country saw on the skyline the peaks of trustification and the open shop offensive, the steep slope of collaborationist unionism at the bottom of which was complacent futility, and the two bogs of our economy, the depression of 1903 and the Panic of 1907. And on the seacoast of this landscape, there was the unceasing, the increasing immigration stream.

Almost a Million Jewish Immigrants

In it, the Jewish element was bigger than ever. If the 193,000 Jews who came in the Eighties and the 393,000 in the Nineties were waves of immigration, then it was a full tide that brought 976,000 Jews to our seaports from 1901 to 1910, more than 11 per cent of the total immigration. The million-fold Jewish population more than doubled in this one decade. And since, as we saw in the last article, two-thirds of those who came were skilled workers at home, the bulk of the Jewish population here at this time consisted of shop and factory workers.

There were two factors responsible for the enormous size of this immigration, the pogrom wave of 1903-1906 and the counter-revolution that followed the defeat of the 1905 Revolution in Russia. The first added size to the tide; the second contributed to the size but more significantly added a new quality to the immigrants which had its important influence on the Jewish labor movement here. This particular pogrom wave began in Kishineff, Bessarabia, at Easter (April 19-21), 1903, when mobs instigated and abetted by tsarist authorities killed 47 Jews, wounded 437 more, wrecked and looted 1500 stores and homes and raped unrecorded numbers of women, leaving the 50,000 Jews of

Kishineff frantic and exhausted. There was a lull in 1904, but in 1905 troops and tsarist "patriots" who could not defeat the Japanese in war turned their "bravery" against the Jews. In April there were pogroms in Bialystok, Dushyaty, Melitopol, Simferopol, Zhitomir (15 Jews killed) and Troyanov (10 killed). In May there were pogroms in Minsk and Brest-Litvosk. In June in Syedletz and Lodz (in Poland) and in Bialystok (50 killed). In July, 10 Jews were killed in Kerch, in the Crimea. But this was only as it were preparation for the week of October 18-25, 1905, when there were several hundred pogroms, in which about 50 involved the murder of Jews. The height of the anti-Semitic fury was attained in Odessa, when from October 18 to 21 more than 300 Jews were killed, thousands wounded and 40,000 economically ruined, with hooligans, police and troops dividing the work and the loot. Again there was a pause; but on August 28, 1906, a pogrom in Syedletz took the lives of 30 Jews.⁶ Small wonder that in the five years 1904 to 1908, more than 482,000 Jews came to the United States from Russia.

Now many of the Jews who came in this decade, especially among the skilled workers, brought with them certain experience in working class organization and activity as well as social theories and outlooks. With the establishment in 1897 of the *Algemeiner Idisher Arbeterbund* in Lithuania, Poland and Russia, known thereafter as the Bund, thousands of Jewish workers began to get the experience of organized economic and political struggle against Russian tsarism and capitalism. Among the 3,500,000 Russian workers who in 1905 took part in the strike movements of that year, there were about 100,000 Jews, and Jewish workers in Lodz fought the troops in barricaded streets in the 1905 Revolution. All this was not lost on the Jewish labor movement here.

New Labor Groups Formed

One form of influence was the attempt simply to transplant organizations based on refugees or expatriate immigrants. Thus in 1900 a branch of the Bund was formed in New York, to be followed by others in Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, consisting of former Russian Bund members and supporters. On January 5, 1904, a Bundist convention founded the Friends of the Bund. In 1903, both the Russian Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Labor (Poale) Zionists organized groups and the first Poale Zionist conference was held in Philadelphia April 30-May 1, 1905.⁷

But a more important form of influence was exerted as such immigrants began to turn their attention also to the problems of working class life in our country, participating in the trade union and other parts of the labor movement here. In this decade the Jewish labor movement is marked by a general expansion, uneven of course, and

⁵ *American Federationist*, January 1902, p. 24, March and April 1902.

⁶ Cyrus Adler, ed., *The Voice of America on Kishineff*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. ix-x; S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Philadelphia, 1920, vol. 3, p. 69, 75, 114-116, 119-120, 128-129, 140.
⁷ Herz Burgin, *Die Geschichte der Idisher Arbeiter Bewegung in Amerika, Russland und England*, New York, 1915, p. 669-671, 684.

consolidation. Foundations now are laid not only of single locals or even of city-wide federations, but of national trade union and fraternal organizations, either all or predominantly Jewish. At the same time, the participation of Jews as local leaders in the general American labor movement fans out; in addition to the examples cited in the Nineties, there are such Jewish local leaders in Boston, Roanoke, Va., Nashville, Paducah, Ky., Cleveland, Fort Wayne, Ind., St. Louis and San Francisco.⁸

The main national labor organizations formed were among the ladies' garment, cap and fur workers as unions, and a fraternal labor organization. One of these fizzled, but three took root. (The men's garment workers were still straitjacketed by the ultra-conservative United Garment Workers and would not establish an effective union until the middle of the next decade.) In fur, the International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada, chartered by the A. F. of L. in May 1904, could not get off the ground, began to crack up after a lost general strike in 1907 and turned in its charter in 1911. "Failure to organize the Jewish fur workers of New York," Dr. Philip Foner concludes, "sealed the doom" of this union.⁹

The headgear workers fared better. The 1900 convention of the United Hatters of North America, rejecting an anti-Semitic policy that had excluded them for 10 years, finally admitted 1300 members of the Association of Hebrew Hatters, of Essex County, N. J. Then in the last week of 1901, the Jewish cap makers, at a founding convention of 21 delegates from New York, Detroit, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, proclaimed the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, with a membership of 1200. To maintain unity it was decided not to affiliate with either the A. F. of L. or with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, but within a few months it was generally found necessary to apply for an A. F. of L. charter, which was obtained on June 17, 1902. Barely weathering the crisis of 1907, the union survived to make steady progress in the next decade.¹⁰

I.L.G.W.U. Is Born

The most important of the national organizations of this decade, however, were the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Workmen's Circle, both born in 1900. In that year, it will be remembered, there was a general upsurge of the American labor movement, with the A. F. of L. chartering 14 new national unions and gaining 300,446 members. Yet at its birth on June 3, 1900, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was small, the 11 delegates to the convention representing 2310 members in seven locals in New York, Brownsville in Brooklyn,

Philadelphia, Baltimore and Newark. The workers were militant and eager to attack the intolerable sweatshops. In the first two years there were 189 local strikes, of which 158 were won and "as a result," wrote General-Secretary Bernard Braff, "wages had been generally increased 20 per cent; conditions of employment improved; the organizations recognized and, in some cases, a shorter work-day obtained."¹¹

Such militancy among the rank and file brought the union to the 1904 convention with 66 locals in 27 cities with a membership of about 5,400. If the growth was slow, the reason may be found stated in the summation of the policies of the leaders, guided by the parent body, the A. F. of L., as formulated by Louis Levine, the I. L. G. W. U. semi-official historian: "There was a definite desire to restrain the workers from striking often. Organization and preparation were the main slogans. High dues were advocated as a means of building up a strong treasury. A system of sick-and-death, strike and out-of-work benefits was recommended to the local unions. Boycotts were advocated and used. But above all, faith was pinned to the union label. . . ."

The membership, however, as represented at conventions, did not agree with Gompers and the A. F. of L. on its anti-socialist activities. In the *American Federationist* for January 1901, Gompers had given an extreme interpretation to an A. F. of L. convention resolution denying that a union could bind a member to belong to or vote for a specific political party; Gompers interpreted this to mean that the A. F. of L. had decided "that socialism is partisan politics and has no place in a trade union or in the American Federation convention." But I. L. G. W. U. conventions pointedly disregarded Gompers on this. In 1902, the convention refused to allow a non-socialist assemblyman to address it and passed a constitutional amendment barring Democratic or Republican office-holders from addressing future conventions. The 1903 convention resolved to recommend study of the socialist movement to its members and congratulated the Socialist Party on its support of trade unionism. The 1904 convention resolved "to permit the discussion of socialism at the conventions of the I. L. G. W. U."¹²

How socialist-minded the union membership was, can perhaps best be seen from this symbolic fact. When an anti-socialist union leader like John Dyche, who was to become general-secretary at that very convention, wished in 1905 to get support for a union label campaign, the resolution he introduced described the union label as "the best means of emancipation of the working classes from the oppression of capitalism." With the label thus wrapped in the banner of socialism, the convention confusedly resolved that "The Union Label is the most effective weapon the working classes of this country possess. . . ." Yet at the

⁸ *American Federationist*, Jan., May, Dec. 1900; Aug., Nov. 1901; Jan., March, Sept. 1903.

⁹ Philip S. Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, Newark, p. 22-26.

¹⁰ Donald B. Robinson, *Spotlight on a Union, the Story of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union*, New York, 1948, p. 76-80; Budish, work cited, p. 64-67, 234; *American Federationist*, June, Aug., Sept., Nov., Dec. 1903.

¹¹ *American Federationist*, Sept. 1902, p. 619.

¹² Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers*, New York, 1924, p. 108; *Report and Proceedings of the Third Annual Convention . . .*, p. 24; *Fourth*, p. 23, 32; *Fifth*, p. 23.

following convention it was reported that only one firm in the entire country had agreed to use the label and in 1907, the figure had risen—to three.

Impatience with a leadership that “tried to restrain the workers from striking” and that relied mainly upon the union label, led some frustrated ladies’ garment workers to turn to the mirage of dual unionism. These workers forgot or were unaware of the disastrous experience with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of Daniel De Leon, now virtually lifeless. When therefore in the summer of 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World was born, it attracted many who were dissatisfied with the I. L. G. W. U. and with the Cap Makers Union, winning enthusiastic support especially from recent Russian Jewish immigrants with revolutionary backgrounds. Thus in Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia and New York the I. W. W. made temporary inroads among the Jewish workers until 1908. After that the pent-up militancy of the workers found more effective expression in the great mass strike struggles of the five years before the First World War.¹³

Workmen's Circle Founded

Together with advances in the trade union field, this first decade produced a new type of movement in Jewish life, a labor fraternal organization. Fraternal orders in American Jewish life go back to 1843, with the birth of the Independent Order of B’nai B’rith, and there were a round dozen others operating by 1900, more than half of them born since 1887 to meet the needs of the newer immigrants. At the same time there were innumerable *landsmanshaften*, local societies formed on the basis of the place of origin. Yet the orders were generally middle class in membership composition and always so in leadership while the *landsmanshaften*, including many workers and lower middle class elements in their membership, were generally middle-class in leadership and in outlook. Many class-conscious workers felt they could not get there the assistance they often needed.

There was at that time, it must be remembered, no form, shred or hint of government social security to help a working class family in time of calamity: unemployment, illness or death. Catastrophic need was supposed to be relieved by charity, which for the New York Jews was dispensed on Eighth Street, where Jewish charitable institutions were located. As the shop worker and Yiddish poet Morris Rosenfeld wrote, “The Workmen’s Circle was founded when Eighth Street was the Wailing Wall of the Jewish worker in New York. There the unemployed, hungry, sick worker would cry for bread, medical aid, clothing, coal and rent. There the worker’s pale wife would groan, there his drawn and pallid children would sigh.”¹⁴

Within the ranks of the Workmen’s Circle, which as a national organization was founded September 4, 1900, the

worker and his family organized for purposes of mutual aid. Since this was self-help, he retained his self-respect. Absent was the condescension, the patronizing air of “benevolence” and “philanthropy.” The fellow-workers and brothers who aided him today might be coming to him for aid tomorrow. The equality of the worker and the solidarity of class reigned in the Workmen’s Circle. The order grew, at first slowly from 300 in 1900 to 8,840 in 1906, and then by very rapid leaps, as the new immigration surged in and the crisis of 1907 fell upon the masses, until in 1910 there were 38,866 members in 451 branches.

In these 10 years, the Workmen’s Circle paid out \$263,867 in benefits to its members. In 1908 alone, after the United Hebrew Charities had closed its doors on Eighth Street, unable even to begin to meet the effects of the crisis, the Workmen’s Circle paid out \$35,211 in sick benefits and \$4,025 in special aid to consumptive workers! For this “proletarian sickness,” incidentally, special measures were taken, including the opening of a sanitarium at Liberty, N. Y., on February 12, 1910. The ravages of consumption and pneumonia among the sweatshop working, tenement-house dwelling Jewish workers were gruesome. Of the 61 members of the Workmen’s Circle who died in 1909, there were 14 victims of these diseases, as well as 13 suicides, the average age at death being 31.3 years. Nor were those who were cured sent back to the sweatshops. In the Dwinsker Bundistischer Branch 75, for instance, one was given money to open a small business, another to open a soda stand, a third, \$300 to go to Los Angeles, a fourth to rent a farm and boarding house.¹⁵

Yet mutual aid by no means exhausted the content of the work of the Workmen’s Circle. Its basic outlook was broadly socialist. Typical is the slogan on the front cover of the Report to the Fifth Convention in 1905: “*Mir Kemsfen Gegen Krankheit, Fri-Zeitigen Toit, un Capitalismus*” (“We Fight Against Sickness, Premature Death, and Capitalism”). Although the Jewish socialist movement at first looked upon it with scepticism, wondering whether such palliatives as the branches provided were needed in the class struggle, the Workmen’s Circle turned out to be an important auxiliary arm of the trade union and socialist movement of the Jewish workers. Until 1920, its constitution pledged members to vote only for socialist candidates. Its members were required to belong to trade unions. The cultural life of the branches was soaked in working class wrath, solidarity, optimism and ideals. The Yiddish literature, in poetry and prose, of social protest and socialist idealism swept the Jewish workers as a whole, but it had a specially solid base in the Workmen’s Circle. As the decade ends, it is the most stable, the strongest part of the Jewish labor movement.

The launching, in militant struggle, of the mass trade unions will be the next big step forward of that movement.

¹³ Levine, work cited, p. 120-126, 142; Burgin, work cited, p. 599, 601.
¹⁴ *Der Arbeiter Ring, Zamelbuch. Souvenir der zehnten jorlicher convenshun*, New York, 1910, p. 54.

¹⁵ Maximilian Hurwitz, *The Workmen's Circle*, New York, 1936; *Der Arbeiter Ring, Zamelbuch*, 1910, p. 158-160; Burgin, work cited, p. 692, *Workmen's Circle, Annual Report*, 1909, p. 14; *Dwinsker Bundistischer Branch 75, W. C. Tenth Anniversary, 1904-1914*, Zamelbuch, p. 20.

FACTS ABOUT JEWS IN EAST EUROPE

BLESSING OF THE CHILDREN

By Eleanor Wheeler

Prague

On October 6, Rabbi Davidovich called me to say that Chief Rabbi Dr. Gustav Sicher had asked him to invite me to a special ceremony of blessing the children on the eve of Yom Kippur. All my Jewish friends in town agree that this ceremony must be some special idea of Dr. Sicher's, for they don't know of such a custom. The rabbi explained it thus: "Your parents on the Day of Atonement will be praying and asking for their sins to be forgiven. You are too young to have sinned so I am asking the Lord now to bless you—I can't bless you, but I can ask the Lord's blessing."

When I looked at the group of about 40 rosy, plump, happy and lively children, pushing a little and giggling quite a little, I wanted to take the people who claim the people's democracies have a fascist policy towards Jews and hold their hands

and say, "Look! Look! Look!"

I suddenly remembered it was exactly such little rosy, healthy and adorable children who were marched by the nazis into the gas chambers if they were not blond enough to be "Aryanized," leaving behind only toys, shoes, clothing and hair to be sorted and used. I gulped and had to leave.

The ancient 12th century synagogue in which the service was held was restored and maintained at state expense. Many of the things needed for the holidays and rituals are provided by the state. The officiating rabbis have government salaries. The Jewish parents of these little Jewish children get family allowances, the stated purpose of which is to encourage people to have more children. The children get excellent free medical care and no one reproaches them if they have dark curly hair and black eyes and don't look like the straight-haired blond Maruska or Jenik—although many of them do. Perhaps I sound emotional on the subject of false slanders about persecution of Jews here. That's because I am.

HONORS TO JEWS IN POLAND

In the new democratic People's Republic of Poland the Jewish people have full opportunities for social, economic and cultural development. Today one can state with assurance: all Jews able to work are taking part in the industrial life of the country and have become builders of a new society. Jewish workers in constantly greater numbers are shifting over into key branches of socialist industry—steel plants, metal works, the chemical field and others. There they have full opportunities for development both on the production line and in social work. At the same time they have an opportunity to better their material conditions. Jewish workers together with their Polish comrades are fighting for the greater industrialization of the country.

The number of Jewish high production workers is growing from day to day. Not only in the factory are Jews playing a vital role, but also in industrial executive positions. The government of People's Poland is highly appreciative of the services and creative efforts of the Jewish workers who give their knowledge and strength toward the building of socialism.

Here is a partial list of some of the

Jewish workers who have been recently honored with gold and silver medals for their outstanding contributions in the building of Polish industry.

From the locomotive plant "Pafawag," in Wroclaw come the names of Abram Gdalewich, Mendel Dratner, Berl Srebro, Jakub Shimerling. The workers Shyftman, Weinstock and many more received high cash premiums.

The director of a radio manufacturing plant in Dzierzoniow, citizen Pinkiert, was honored with the Gold Cross by the prime minister.

High government awards have also been received by Jewish workers from co-operatives and regional industries. As examples we have the manager of the Olgin cooperative in Wroclaw—Citizen M. Shafransk; leader of the assembly line in the Lewartowsky clothing cooperative in Lodz—Laja Cherviev, the director of the Wroclaw regional industry—F. Gold.

Jewish workers are proud of their high production workers, foremen and innovators. They are proud of such men as Nowa Huta, builder; Jakubowicz, the foreman of the "Victoria" coal mine, Walbryzych; B. Grager, conservator of steam kettles in the textile plant in Bielawa-Fuks, as well as the pioneers of Poland's first locomotive plant in Zeran—Laib Laski and Jakub Sobelman.

Gone forever is the antagonism between the Jew and the Pole, an antagonism which had been artificially developed and encouraged by the ruling classes and their capitalist government in pre-war Poland. The Jewish and Polish workers in their commonly owned workshops are creating foundations for a new life. Any sign of anti-Semitism or racial hatred, coming from the remaining elements of the former ruling classes, is punished severely by the people's government.

The great cultural revolution which has taken place in the country created a strong echo among the Jewish population. With the help of the people's government illiteracy—the heritage of capitalism—has been liquidated among the Jewish population. The Jewish people have benefitted from this cultural revolution. Jewish youth are studying in all types of higher schools, they are receiving government scholarships and are living on stipends. The "ghetto of the benches" has once and for all disappeared from the schools.

On the initiative of the department of education, a Jewish teachers' school has been set up for the purpose of preparing new teachers for Jewish schools.

The manager of the children's home in Helenowek (near Lodz), Citizen M. Feingold, received a gold medal. The principal of Persea's school in Szczecin, Citizen Ferdman, received the Silver Cross for his services. The Persea School in Lodz got an honorable mention from the department of education. The director of this school, Citizen Blumenfeld, and teachers L. Dymant and H. Barska received cash premiums.

The Jewish Social-Cultural Society in Poland with its 11,000 members leads activities on a broad scale.

The "Friday Evenings" organized in Wroclaw and in a score of other cities have become a tradition in the Jewish community. Jewish amateur clubs of the society are working on a broad scale. There are choirs, dancing groups and orchestras.

The society also publishes Jewish books through the publishing house, "Yiddish Buch." During a period of four years about 80 publications have been printed, including Jewish classics, books written by Jewish writers killed during the nazi occupation, books by contemporary Jewish writers in Poland, translations from Soviet and Polish literature and a number of works with a political and social theme. Proof of the increase of readership lies in the fact that compared to 1,500 subscriptions in 1950, there are over 5,000 today in 1954.

It should be stressed that with three and a half million Jews living in Poland before the war, the maximum editions of Jewish books published annually was between 1,000-1,500 copies.

INTERVIEW WITH HEPZIBAH MENUHIN

By Dorothy Irwin

The eminent pianist Hepzibah Menuhin, sister of Yehudi Menuhin, is living in Australia with her Australian husband and two children. Following is an interview with her which is reprinted from the March issue of *Our Women*, national magazine of the Union of Australian Women.—Eds.

Melbourne, Australia

At Lilydale, in the foothills of the Dandenongs, near Melbourne, stands a stately cream house set in a spacious garden. Beyond the gardens fine cattle graze in paddocks which slope away from the house as smooth and green as lawns.

This is "Cooring Yering," the home of the Lindsay Nicholas's.

The drive into "Cooring Yering" curves round to an entrance flanked by two tall pillars. A carpenter was hammering on the roof of the broad verandah. A gardener put down his spade and told us that he'd go to find Mrs. Nicholas.

She came briskly, slim as a teenager, in grey slacks and cardigan. Her greeting was warm as her personality. We shook her firm, muscular little hand.

Love of humanity glows through the conversation of this unpretentious woman. "Wherever people are working for peace—whatever they are—I'm with them," she said. "If only women everywhere could talk together as we are talking now, there would be peace."

"It is not the 'peak' people, but ordinary men and women who will make the world a better place."

"I'm so glad to hear you say that," said Ailsa O'Connor, the artist who accompanied me, who had been a delegate to the World Congress of Women at Copenhagen. "That's just what Madame Eugenie Cotton said at the World Congress."

Hepzibah showed quick interest and pleasure. "But unfortunately," she said,

"people tend to draw away from one another. And it's strange how they do."

She recalled a conversation with her nine-year-old son Marston. Once when they were setting off on some expedition together, he said, "Now you won't start talking to people you don't know, will you, Mother?"

"Why not, Mastie?"

"I think it's rude!"

"Now take note of this, Mastie," and she shook her finger. "If you never talk to people you don't know, you'll only have the same old ideas and know the same kind of people always. And think how boring that would become!"

We told her that *Our Women* was especially interested in equality and the status of women. Her response was swift as a light switch. She hugged us both. "That's wonderful!" she said, her brown eyes dancing.

"Women have sat down and taken inequality for centuries," she remarked. "They have been economic slaves, unpaid and too often unappreciated."

She told of wives of great musicians she has known who have devoted their entire time to caring for their husbands. They had suppressed their own personalities till now they themselves, poor souls, had become small in their interests, and petty.

"I know of a woman overseas who is herself a world-known musician," Hepzibah said. "Her husband married her because she was a very special person. But he is not prepared to pay the price. He expects her to forget her music and devote her whole life to husband and home."

She paused, then went on: "Too much is expected in the marriage tie. It results in widespread frustration, so that a woman of 45 is expected to be odd. What has really happened is that she then asks herself: 'Where have my dreams gone?'"

In answer to a question she said that her piano playing began when she was three. She used to be persuaded to do her practice with rewards of biscuits and jam.

At the age of five she gave her first concert. "After the concert," she said, "I was convinced that my musical career was completed, and I'd never have to practice again. But my father said, 'No, dear, now that you have shown what you can do, you must really get to work.'" Then came "long stretches of disciplinary periods."

But Hepzibah does not talk easily about herself. The word "we" comes more readily to her tongue than "I." Here is a woman whose head has never been turned, who respects the dignity of all.

Hepzibah believes that good music should be brought to the people. Recently she took part in a Beethoven quartet, played to an appreciative audience of trammies at the Rushcutters Bay depot in Sydney.

As our car sped homewards we thought of Hepzibah with her keen, questing mind—eagerly, hopefully seeking the answers to the problems of men and women. An office or factory worker sees equality for women in terms of equal pay for equal work. This musician sees equality in terms of opportunity for women to develop their personality through a rich experience and culture.

Both the working woman and Hepzibah are right, for each sees a different side of this many-sided question. And what they want for women they want also for men and their children, for neither can gain unless they advance to a happier, fuller life, hand in hand.

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TERCENTENARY ART SHOW

By Sidney Finkelstein

The American Jewish Tercentenary has arranged a comprehensive exhibition of paintings and sculptures by contemporary American Jewish artists. It was on display from October 6 to 20 at the Riverside Museum in New York and in the winter of 1954-5 it will travel to various art centers about the country, in Philadelphia, Rochester, N. Y., Dallas, Chicago, Cleveland, Buffalo and Washington, D. C. The committee describes the exhibit as "the fruits of the study, effort and inspiration of men and women working together in a climate of freedom."

"Freedom" is of course not an absolute term but expands its meaning with each stage of human development. The variety and technical excellence of the paintings and sculpture on exhibit, most of them by artists who are the children and grandchildren of immigrants, indicates that a host of Jewish people in America have found the freedom to develop themselves as artists and are playing an important role in American art. This reflects the fact that the masses of Jewish people coming to fill the shops of American industry, imbued with a deep belief in democracy, found relative emancipation in contrast with the semi-feudal ghettos and confined village life of old Europe. They enriched the democratic life of the United States as well as its culture. But the American Jewish people are not free from exploitation, poverty, war, anti-Semitism and the horrors of a revived fascism. A question worth raising of this exhibit is, to what extent does it indicate that American Jewish artists are taking up the task of combating such inhuman forces? It is a task also bound up with the freedom of the American people as a whole.

An illusory "freedom" also imbues a large part of the exhibit. It is the "freedom" from attention to real life and the problems of their fellow men which a host of artists found in the "advanced" art practices of the first half of the century. These trends, which hailed the "liberation of line, color and form," only succeeded in driving out of art the great, developed heritage of tools for capturing the sensuous beauty of nature and the rich, complex personality of human beings in society. Instead of taking as a theme the real struggles of people and their need better to understand one another, the painter substituted his own struggles with paint and his need to un-

derstand "space." The false liberation provided by such practices may be seen in the fact that they crippled the power of artists to take up the crucial social tasks which lay before them.

The style, by and large, of the greatest number of works in the show consists of a "marriage" between real-life subjects and an imposed form of "pure color," "flat design," or "free shape" and "texture." In most of the works the loss in human values and loss of artistic values go hand in hand. That a strong social statement, however, can sometimes be made within such limitations of art may be seen in Ben Shahn's "Arch of Triumph," which shows twisted girders and a child's bicycle underneath, thus making an ironic commentary on the inhumanity of war.

Jewish consciousness is revealed in the show mainly in works with religious themes, invariably giving them a visionary, mythical and dream-like character. Typical is the featured painting, "Torah," by Sigmund Menkes, which in its group of heads about a Torah captures a feeling of Hassidic ecstasy. Yet the people seem to come from another world, not the real one of the present day or of history. It would be worthwhile for some artists to study how deeply some non-Jews painted traditional Jewish subjects, such as Michelangelo in his Jewish prophets and Rembrandt in his King David.

A few of the works on exhibit, such as those by Abraham Rattner, Adolph Gottlieb and Louis Tytell are "pure abstractions." They are the shallowest works in the show. On the other hand, a group of artists are represented who turn to real people for their subjects, painting them with genuine depth, insight and beauty. Among them are Joseph Hirsch's finely-drawn and sensitive portrayal of a worker called "The Clam Digger"; Jack Levine's magnificently painted portrait of Professor Alexander Marks, which catches with great subtlety a somewhat distraught mood; Raphael Soyer's compassionate painting, "The Seamstress," and a touching sculpture by Berta Margoulies called "Displaced." Among other human-inspired works are William Gropper's "Johnny Applesseed," which is one of his "American folk heroes" series; Zoltan Hecht's "Operation Housing"; Marvin Cherney's "The Wedding"; and Philip Reisman's "The Garment District." The latter two have the distinction of being

among the few works in the show touching on contemporary American Jewish life. Both quite moving although painted in different styles, they suffer from the weakness of not evoking a genuine sense of human kinship between the subjects and the observers.

Largely missing from the show is any grappling with the tremendous events of our time, such as the Nazi wholesale murders which decimated so large a part of the Jewish people, the Second World War, the struggle today so vital to the Jewish people as to all people against unemployment, fascism and war, and the deepening relations between the Jewish people and other victims of chauvinism and racism, such as the Negro people.

The face of the Jewish working people is largely missing from the show. We can feel a real pride in the widespread artistic activity represented here, which is also but a small part of what Jewish artists are doing. But the exhibit will serve an even more fruitful purpose. If it stimulates in the Jewish communities and among artists a discussion as to how art can proceed further to take up, in the words of the Tercentenary booklet, "Man's opportunities and responsibilities under freedom."

(Sidney Finkelstein's new book, *Realism in Art*, his fourth, has just been issued by International Publishers.)

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Book Reviews

THE JEWS OF CHICAGO

By Morris U. Schappes

A Priceless Heritage, The Epic Growth of Nineteenth Century Chicago Jewry, by Morris A. Gutstein. Bloch, New York. \$6.

The Chicago Pinkas, ed. by Simon Rawidowicz. Bloch, New York. \$5.

Unless in the last few years fast-growing Los Angeles has overtaken it, Chicago still has the second largest Jewish population in the country. Therefore new sociological and historical information about this Jewish community is always welcome and, in this Tercentenary period, particularly useful. Both these volumes, although they are directed to different audiences, are helpful despite their weaknesses.

The Chicago Pinkas, issued by Chicago's College of Jewish Studies in connection with its 25th Anniversary in 1952, contains scholarly papers on the Jewish population and its residential distribution in Chicago, on Russian-Jewish life there from 1893 to 1915, on Chicago's first Jewish periodical, the German *Zeichen der Zeit* (Signs of the Times) of 1869, and on the bibliographical items on Chicago contains scholarly papers on the Jewish press. In the Hebrew section, about one third of the volume, there is an essay on the beginnings of Eastern European Jewish settlement in Chicago and lists of newspapers, periodicals and other publications issued in Chicago in Hebrew and Yiddish. The term *Pinkas* used in the title, which in Old World Jewish termi-

nology means a contemporary communal chronicle, is hardly appropriate for such work.

The most valuable of the items in many ways is Erich Rosenthal's 100-page population study. Among the significant facts presented is this: while in 1930 there was only one area in Chicago in which the Jews were a majority of the population, in 1946 there were three such areas: North Lawndale, Albany Park and Lakeview. Unfortunately the author does not attempt to explain this tendency to increased ghettoization.

Dr. Gutstein's book, *A Priceless Heritage*, is designed for the general reader. Now the rabbi of a large Conservative congregation in Chicago, Dr. Gutstein has already published several books dealing with the Jews of Newport, Rhode Island. In the present work he attempts "a comprehensive or complete picture of the evolution of the local Jewish community in a sociological sense and in the light of the total economic, cultural, political and social environment," from its beginnings in 1845 to 1900. Although his success in achieving this stated aim is very small, he has produced more than 400 pages about many aspects of the life of Jews in Chicago in those 55 years, with new and interesting data about some of them.

Dr. Gutstein's own bent is shown by the proportions of the volume. He devotes fully as much space to the synagogue (150

pages) as to "the people," including how they came here, their internal conflicts, their Sabbath and ritual observance (or violation), the Jewish home, the Jewish youth, Jewish women, Jewish philanthropy, relations with non-Jews, Jewish farmers and workers, Jewish writings, Zionism, and the Jews in public and cultural life. The sketchiness of his treatment of "the people" is by no means compensated by the earlier detailed study of the synagogue, 35 pages of which are taken up with the dedications of synagogue buildings and descriptions of them, while the much more important subject of synagogue ideology (limited to Reform ideology in this instance) gets the same amount of space. Since the majority of the Jews of Chicago (and of the United States) are not affiliated with congregations, they will question such disproportion.

Dr. Gutstein realizes that "gradually, as the community expanded, the congregations and the synagogues lost their strong hold on the people," and that "the lesser the influence of the synagogue, the greater the number of organizations." He records the fact that by 1900 there were

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50 lodges of fraternal organizations as well as 50 congregations in Chicago. But his treatment of the lodges and the many thousands of members in them is less even than skimpy and their programs and activities are mentioned only in passing, if at all. The *landmanshaften*, immigrant societies based on the town of origin, similarly get short shrift, although they were perhaps the most popular form of organization among the masses of immigrants from Eastern Europe.

When it comes to the workers, who certainly from 1880 to 1900 were the majority of the Jewish population in Chicago, Dr. Gutstein contents himself with eight pages, devoted mostly, and interestingly enough, to their occupations and with totally inadequate data on their struggles and their trade union and political organizations. Of the living conditions of the Jewish masses we get only a glimpse in his chapter on philanthropy, from which we learn that during the depression beginning in 1893 two kosher People's Soup Kitchens had to feed a couple of thousand starving Jews (out of a Jewish population of about 75,000), who lived in "an indescribable degree of misery and suffering."

Yet even where he is skimpy, Dr. Gutstein does make readily available facts that are useful, even if only in stimulating us to an awareness of what more data need to be discovered and presented.

In some cases, Dr. Gutstein offers very valuable material. There are seven pages on a Jewish manual training school that opened in 1890 and that provided trade training for several thousand boys and girls. There is a similarly short and even more teasing section on the social and literary clubs and societies of young people, of which more than 50 were formed between 1875 and 1900. The programs were varied, including musical selections, recitations, readings and declamations, and discussions and debates on current events, like "The Chinese Question," "Should

Grant have a third term?" or "Resolved that the course of action pursued by the strikers of Homestead was justifiable."

Instructive material of another sort is to be found in Dr. Gutstein's depiction of the relations between the German Jews and the East European Jews, the basis of which, although the author does not fully recognize that, was the class difference between the two groups. As a result there actually developed during the period covered two Jewish communities, with different synagogues, schools, fraternal and philanthropic organizations as well as cultural societies. The hostility, condescension and exclusiveness of the middle class German Jews come out in many ways: in 1871 they held back in contributing funds to the relief of victims of the Great Fire because most of them were "Russian-Polish" Jews; in 1878 the B'nai B'rith rejected the application for membership of an entire independent lodge on the same ground; in 1873 the German Jews held the East European Jews responsible for anti-Semitic hooliganism that was venting itself against the synagogues; and later, when the large-scale immigration rapidly multiplied the Jewish population of Chicago, the "philanthropy" of the German Jews was so offensively dealt out that the newcomers began to shun it and formed their own self-help organizations.

In his stated aim, Dr. Gutstein had said that he will present his material "in light of the total economic, cultural, political and social environment." His greatest weakness lies in his general failure to do just this. For one, he underestimates the extent and role of anti-Semitism in shaping Jewish community life and the Jews themselves. He thus exaggerates the actual level of the practice of democracy in Chicago and therefore of the degree of equality and integration achieved by the Jews individually and as a group. He takes

a few journalistic platitudes and official statements of good-will and harmony as if they adequately represented the basic situation. The fact is that the promise of democracy and equality has not been fully realized in Chicago or in the country as a whole and in fact cannot be so long as racism and anti-Semitism are profitable articles in our social system. The evolution of the Jewish people and community cannot be understood if that factor is ignored or undervalued.

Second, there are major events in the life of Chicago that Dr. Gutstein pays no attention to. Certainly the Haymarket Affair shook the population of Chicago, including its Jews, just as it did the nation. Yet the only reference to it in this book is in the fact that a Jew was the "labor reporter" for the Chicago *Tribune* who covered the "riot" and "was assigned to the hanging"! The participation of Jews in the legal defense, in the amnesty campaign and in the mass movement around the Haymarket frame-up is not mentioned. An even more striking omission is the reaction of the Chicago Jews to the Spanish-American war of 1898. For more than 50,000 Jews in Chicago, this was the first war in which their newly adopted country was involved. Many were undoubtedly sucked into the war by the demagogic propaganda that it was a war of liberation of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, instead of a war of imperial conquest by the United States. Yet some Jews backed the anti-imperialist movement in Chicago and found a patriotism higher than the prevailing jingoism. But for Dr. Gutstein the whole chapter is a blank.

As in his previous work, Dr. Gutstein shows himself to be diligent within his limits but not a careful craftsman. His documentation, although ample in quantity, is irritatingly careless, inexact and incomplete and thus difficult to verify. The cautious student will want to check Dr. Gutstein's facts before repeating them.

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It should also be noted that, with regard to the Civil War, Dr. Gutstein follows the reactionary trend of avoiding a definition of the issues involved so that Confederate treason is regarded as patriotism and Jews who supported the Confederacy are praised for "traditional patriotism." Also, on the only occasion the word "Negroes" is used it is misspelled as "negroes."

In his preface Dr. Gutstein expresses the hope that another historian will write about the Chicago Jews of the present century. We second that hope but would amend it to include that this historian will take the part of Dr. Gutstein's book dealing with "the people" and re-work, expand and deepen it. Until that task is accomplished, however, we shall be able to use Dr. Gutstein's volume for all that it is worth.

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WORLD IN CRISIS

*The Last Illusion: America's Plan for
World Domination*, by Hershel D.
Meyer. Anvil-Atlas, New York, \$3.00.

This book is unique in American peace literature. We believe it safe to say that no other American book dealing with the contemporary struggle for peace, to be achieved in co-existence with the socialist world, has addressed itself to so many of the fundamental issues involved and in such a thorough-going fashion.

The author set for himself a difficult task of analyzing the economic and political motives and drives behind the propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union, the armaments race, the rush to rearm Japan and Western Germany and the feverish diplomatic activity to drag unwilling nations into all sorts of pacts and alliances, which are set up in a threatening posture against the Soviet Union and China.

Thus a large part of the book is devoted to informing the reader as to the real nature of the world struggle carried on within the imperialist orbit and the struggle of all the imperialist powers, under the reluctantly accepted leadership or domination of the United States, against the socialist world.

It is not difficult to see that Dr. Meyer has undertaken a formidable task to be accomplished within a book of ordinary size. This reviewer thinks that in broad and comprehensive outline and with a great deal of supporting data, facts and quotations, the argumentation and the conclusions are overwhelmingly documented.

We wish to draw the attention of the reader to the chapters which deal with the militarization of our economy and the consequences flowing from it.

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GREETINGS . . .

JOHN C. RENCO

Los Angeles, Cal.

By Theodore Bayer

The role of a large armaments program in stimulating capital investments, production and employment was seized upon as a panacea against a recession and used to rally support for it and the "position of strength" theory vis-a-vis the socialist world. In a succinct and telling analysis the book amply demonstrates that far from being a boon, armaments actually distort the economy, hastening and deepening the cyclical crisis to greater proportion. This is so because the colossal armaments program is paid for by the people in direct and indirect taxation, which takes a great deal of their purchasing power. Second, in addition to taxation, armaments are paid for by government loans which create inflation. The result of inflation is a cheaper dollar which again cuts into the purchasing power of the people. With less purchasing power on the part of the vast majority of consumers, consumer goods industry soon suffers overproduction with resulting unemployment. Since the consumer industries employ the vast majority of workers, unemployment in that sector of the economy affects millions of workers.

In the beginning, the armaments program excited the uninformed imagination even of some labor leaders who gave their

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support to it and to the accompanying get-tough policy abroad and repression against the voices warning of the consequences of the arms program at home. However, there are signs that a sobering process has begun. Some sectors of labor are beginning to awaken and to turn towards peace and a peace economy. Demands are heard for freeing world trade and against the Western trade boycott of the East. Certainly this is a positive development for peace.

Vital are the chapters of the book which contain painstaking research into the role of the Soviet Union in world affairs. These chapters show the reader the record of Soviet activity for peace through the years, from its very inception, amidst a hostile world of imperialist and fascist powers. The author brings into bold relief the leadership of the Soviet Union for peace, its willingness to work out a basis for co-existence with the capitalist world. The reader will find in these chapters very useful reference material conveniently arranged.

The author's belief that peace will triumph rests on the realities of the relation of world forces. First, he records that as never before in history, peace has become the dominant policy of governments of the entire socialist one-third of the world. This policy is fervently supported by hundreds of millions of their peoples. Second, peace has become the watchword of the colonial and dependent countries where the struggle for peace is integrated with that of national liberation. And finally, the peace movements of the Western countries involve millions of people who see in peace their only hope for survival as well as a chance to rescue their national sovereignties and freedom to exercise independence in international affairs.

The American people want peace. This they have demonstrated on several occasions. However, the channeling of this will to peace, to make it effective in a positive, directive way in national policymaking is still to be achieved. In this Dr. Meyer sees the great historic challenge.

"Never before was a people regarded by humanity with more hope and anxiety than the American people today. By seizing the historical opportunity and winning the sublime struggle for peace, the American people will gain the lasting gratitude and friendship of all mankind. In the words of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 'the American people have a rendezvous with destiny.' Let that destiny be peace."

It is impossible even in this somewhat lengthy review to go into all of the sections of the book. We hope that enough is indicated here to stimulate the reading of the book. That we strongly advise. It will be rewarding.

THE SHORT LIVES OF THE ROSENBERGS

By Yoisef Ben Reuben

The Rosenberg Story, by Virginia Gardner. Masses & Mainstream, New York. \$1.00.

The many who pleaded for the Rosenbergs did not know them. Yet even as I set down this statistical fact, I am not so sure of my statement. The more I think about its validity, the less certain I become.

It cannot be argued that the many who sought justice and mercy had ever met the Rosenbergs personally. The literature that appeared around the case throughout the world gave no glimpse of their pretrial lives. The death house letters were published only in June 1953. Until Virginia Gardner's *The Rosenberg Story* came along a few months ago, only sparse biographical generalities had found their way into print. Thus it would seem correct to conclude that the lives of the Rosenbergs were unknown to the many who took up their case. And yet this would not be true.

For during the agonizing two years that preceded their execution, Ethel and Julius were not strangers to the many. Nor was this due to skillful propaganda on the part of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, although the committee did much to keep the case before American public opinion.

What, then, was the reason for this intimate contact, so to speak, between the Rosenbergs and the many? I frequently wondered about this. But only after I had read Virginia Gardner's book did I fully understand the reason.

I had been aware of this organic contact. From the cells at Ossining where Ethel and Julius fought for their lives, a current emanated, an irresistible human current that reached the many, no matter how far away. While I realized that there was nothing mystical about this contact, I was perplexed, I confess. For the odds were insurmountable against the Rosenbergs' personalities breaking through the barrier of silence, against their voices being heard above the sound and fury of organized falsification. Yet it happened time and again.

Virginia Gardner's slender volume—written without literary pretensions, in the style of good reportage—provides the answer. Painstakingly she reconstructs the short lives of the Rosenbergs from conversations with the very few who knew them before their horrible tragedy.

From these reminiscences, sometimes willingly, often reluctantly shared with her, Miss Gardner brings to life the Rosenbergs, whose personalities we sensed instinctively in the days when the impending execution darkened their youthful faces.

Most biographers, when they write of subjects who were born and passed their formative years among the masses, sooner or later revert to the expression "of and by the people." I was grateful that Miss Gardner steered away from it in her *Rosenberg Story*. She could all too easily have had recourse to it, for both Ethel and Julius did literally grow out of the people. Instead, Miss Gardner simply told the story of these two individuals.

To the many, even before they read Miss Gardner's story, the Rosenbergs were not only of the people—they *were* the people. To these millions of women and men who tried to save them, Ethel and Julius were integral, interchangeable parts, as it were, of themselves. It was much more than self-identification, for that can be produced artificially. The organic oneness with the man and woman in the death house was there without having to be spelled out in print. For the Rosenberg tragedy was the tragedy of progressives caught in the revived Salem witch-burning hysteria. We knew that Ethel and Julius had been framed even before the trial record and the new post-trial evidence became available. We knew they were innocent because we were innocent.

This thought, which of course is not new, struck me forcefully when I read Virginia Gardner's quietly written book. Handicapped by paucity of source material, Miss Gardner manages to make her limitations an asset. A conversation with a schoolmate of Ethel's, a fading photograph, a walk along the streets where young Ethel and Julius played and dreamt, a mother's nostalgic sigh, a co-worker's simple observation, a prison inmate's tears are the stuff from which Miss Gardner evokes the heroic couple's short lives. A major achievement in biographical writing.

The Gardner book should be read by the millions of men and women who, for whatever motives, tried to save the Rosenbergs. It is the telescoped story of the people who ask little and yet so much of life. For all they want is peace and a happy world for their children.

Letters from Readers

Yiddish and Our Children

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I was interested in reading Sam Pevzner's article on the *shules* in the September issue of JEWISH LIFE. My children have been attending *shule* regularly since they were old enough to be enrolled, but I have always had serious disagreements with the curriculum. I believe the *shule* does an excellent job of giving the children the history and background of the Jewish people, the significance of their holidays, what oppression means to a minority group such as the Jews and Negroes and progressive discussions on current event topics. But I do not see the necessity of spending hours, yes, years, in teaching the children to read and write the Yiddish language.

Years ago, the children in the *shules* came from homes where the parents were immigrants and spoke the Yiddish language in the home. However, since the 1920's, when immigration was seriously curtailed, a new generation has become parents and our children today grow up in an Americanized home where the only language they hear or see is the English language. Without the home background of Yiddish customs and language, their study in the *shule* becomes an irksome chore that is unfamiliar to them and has no real meaning or significance.

It is interesting to note that in Cleveland, where we have *shules* teaching the Yiddish language and a progressive Sunday school where the history and progressive ideas are taught but not the language, the latter holds the interest of the children more and has a larger enrollment and more support from the American Jewish parents of the students.

I should like to hear what the ardent proponents of the *shule* have to say in

defense of teaching the Yiddish language.

A PARENT

Cleveland

Editors' Note: What do you think? Let's hear from our readers on this controversial question.

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The enclosed contribution is not as big as I would like it to be. But I feel it may help out some.

I want you to know that we appreciate your staunch fight in the face of such difficulties and hope fervently that you continue publishing JEWISH LIFE, than which there is no greater publication.

Y. G.

San Francisco, Cal.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Please find enclosed a check for \$5.00. JEWISH LIFE is certainly a welcome piece of literature in my home and I cannot possibly see ourselves without it each month.

I am sending my friend's name herewith for a subscription. They, too, appreciate JEWISH LIFE.

B. G.

North Hollywood, Cal.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed please find check of \$3.50 for renewal of the magazine and a small contribution. Only wish I could make it

hundredfold. Without complaint, am stating that I am 64 years old, no income and no pension as yet. But I do hope for a more generous response from other people, those that can still hold jobs.

Personally, I could not get along without this magazine. Keep up the good work, if it is at all possible, and thanks.

MRS. K. H.

Sonoma, Cal.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Your plea for help did not fall on deaf ears. I know that what little I am sending is but a drop in the bucket. But I am on in years and not working. So please accept my \$1.00 and hope you will get many a dollar from people who can give more.

S. R.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Replying to your appeal for funds, I am enclosing \$12.50. Two-fifty is for renewal of my subscription, which is due in November, and ten is a donation.

I consider JEWISH LIFE too valuable a publication to see it fade away. Hope the enlightening work of this publication will continue. It is needed now more than ever.

B. T.

Denver, Colo.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is a \$10 money order. It's an anonymous contribution. I'd love to send you many more of such contributions. I'm working on it.

Cleveland

N. T.

GREETINGS . . .

to our magazine on its
8th anniversary

**A Group of Members of the
Bay Cities Jewish
Culture Club**

Los Angeles, Cal.

GREETINGS . . .

**WEST
HOLLYWOOD
Friends of
"JEWISH LIFE"**

**FOR A BETTER WORLD AT
PEACE . . . HERE'S WISHING
YOU MANY MORE YEARS OF
FRUITFUL WORK**

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Los Angeles Culture Club**

**A GROUP
of
MEMBERS
of
SOTO CULTURAL CLUB**
Los Angeles, Cal.

OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

This 'Old House

The current song hit says, "Aint got time to fix the shingles." This columnist is forced to paraphrase it with "Aint got time to thank the readers." This refers, of course, to the fact that the November issue was so rich in Tercentenary material that it was necessary to omit "Observation Post" and as a result we were unable to thank many friends and readers for pulling the magazine through a critical period which almost saw it kayoed. So we do so now. It has been the response of many readers to the personal appeal received in the mail, the super-exertions by the editorial board and the business manager, and the greetings to the November issue which kept your mag going. It was not an easy period—and one that it would be healthy all around to avoid in the future. And all it requires to prevent a repetition of the doom-over-our-head situation is for the Jewish Life committees, our readers and friends to work just a little harder to raise a few more thousand dollars nationally during the annual fund and circulation drive.

So—Tend an Oar

The 1954-55 campaign starts on December 1st. We call upon all Jewish Life committees, readers and friends to organize the campaign with speed. Parties, affairs, personal solicitation, collections, appeals—all are on the order of the day. Set your goals and go out to reach them. After you have read the Tercentenary issue, is it necessary to say anything else to move you into action? Remember, too, that the mag is not out of the red and is operating right now with a considerable debt shackling it.

September Song

During September the fur was flying around these parts to save the magazine. Some heartening happenings: on the 29th a woman came into the office and handed in a hundred dollar contribution. She stated a friend asked her to bring it in. Would not give his name. Merely said, as she turned to leave, that her friend was very concerned whether the best magazine he knew would go under. . . . Morris U. Schappes made a September visit to Cleveland and Detroit and brought back more than \$500 and many subs, with promises of more. Both cities deserve a "well-done."

Blickstein's Blitz

Manager Lester Blickstein hit Chicago in response to a warm invitation and there spent a busy ten days or so lecturing, organizing, collecting, promoting and consolidating. He came back in high spirits enthused at the reception he received, not only in words but in deeds. The Chicagoans gave him over \$700 to help keep the magazine off the rocks. Lester has requested that this column offer his most appreciative thanks to the Chicagoans for the warm, fraternal and fruitful reception our magazine received through his person. But he has one prayer on his lips constantly (at least we hear him muttering at staff meetings): May the Jewish Life committee set up in Chicago function consistently from now on and not require reorganization every time someone comes out there from the magazine.

Meet Sholem Aleichem

The Jewish Publication and Research Committee, a recently-organized group, has issued its first pamphlets: one in Yiddish and one in English. The English pamphlet is *Meet Sholem Aleichem*, which features a most interesting behind-the-scenes intimate account of the great Yiddish humorist by his son-in-law, B. Z. Goldberg. In addition, there are two of Sholem Aleichem's stories, and an interesting analysis of the great writer by I. Goldberg. This pamphlet is an invaluable addition—and supplement—to the many books by Sholem Aleichem published recently in English. The homey account by B. Z. Goldberg, writer for the *Jewish Day*, is especially a gem. The first Yiddish pamphlet issued by the committee is "Our Democratic Heritage"—a collection of some of the most important documents of American history. Both pamphlets sell for 25 cents. We recommend the purchase of quantities especially of the English pamphlet. Order from the Jewish Publication and Research Committee, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

Tercentenary Dots

The Emma Lazarus Women's Clubs have in many ways shown the way in organizing activities around the Tercentenary. Two highlights in the offing are the Tercentenary affairs to be held in Brooklyn and the Bronx. The Brooklyn celebration will be held at the Brooklyn Acad-

emy of Music on December 11th; and the Bronx organization will hold its concert on February 26th at New Terrace Garden. These are big events and all individuals and organizations should support them. Speaking of events, who will forget the tremendous outpouring at the Carnegie Hall celebration on October 16th? More than a thousand people were turned away from the jammed hall. It was an inspiring dedication to the progressive contributions of the Jewish people, especially Jewish labor, to the three-century struggle of the American people for freedom and democracy. The Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A., which organized the Carnegie Hall celebration, is now busy organizing many other projects to mark the Tercentenary. . . .

On September 13-14, a Conference on the Writing of American Jewish History was convened by the American Jewish Historical Society in Peekskill, N. Y. Over 60 historians attended by invitation—and among them was our co-editor, Morris U. Schappes, whose series on the Tercentenary in our own magazine is one of the most important contributions to American Jewish historiography today. . . . Philip S. Foner's *Jews in America* and Schappes' *Documentary History* were prominently displayed in the Tercentenary Exhibit at the Detroit Historical Society. . . . Considering the disgraceful omission of the role of labor in most exhibits and activities, it was interesting to note that the Detroit Public Library Exhibit showed copies of Yiddish poetry by the working class classicists, David Edelshtat and Morris Rosenfeld. . . .

How to bring history to life? Here is an example. In Detroit the Sarah Fell Yellin Reading Circle is reading Schappes' book, one document at each meeting. . . . We have always been high on reading circles and would like to see more organized in every corner of the land. . . . JEWISH LIFE supplies ample material every month for such reading circles—stories, poems, history, discussion articles, etc. . . . While we are on history, it may be of interest to note that *New York History*, July 1954, contains a review by Morris Schappes of Stuart Rosenberg's *The Jewish Community in Rochester, 1843-1925*, published by Columbia University Press.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

Speakers at the 10th annual conference of the New York Metropolitan Council of B'nai B'rith on October 17, stressed the need for safeguarding civil rights and civil liberties.

Restriction of admission of Jews to the "Ivy League" Eastern colleges under the guise of giving "geographical preference" to students from the mid-West and South was charged by Vincent S. Carruthers, a former member of the admissions committee of one of these colleges, in a *New Republic* article in September.

Cross burnings in various parts of Florida in the past five months should receive prompt and full investigation, said the Anti-Defamation League in a letter to Florida Attorney General Richard W. Ervin early in October. "Cross burnings," said the letter, "are acts of attempted intimidation rooted in hatred and intolerance, which may lead to further violence and disruption. The investigation of these acts ought properly to include a determination as to whether they have been inspired and perpetrated by any organized hate group or groups."

On the Jimerow front . . . A Negro family with four children escaped injury on October 10, when a stick of dynamite exploded on the porch of their home in the predominantly white community near Sacramento. . . . The house of a Negro, former army chaplain, in Tampa, Fla., was destroyed early in October by fire one week after its purchase in a "white section." . . . The *Cleveland Call and Post* charged in an article early in October that the visit of the Un-American Committee to Dayton in mid-September to investigate "subversive activities" at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, was largely prompted by Ohio State Senator Lowell Fess, Jr., because the college maintained an atmosphere of equality for Negroes. The college and local religious leaders resisted the witch-hunt.

EUROPE

A persistent, scurrilous anti-Semitic campaign is being conducted by French anti-Semites and fascists against Premier Mendès-France. The fascist papers *Rivarol* and *Aspects de la France* call him "Mèndes-Moscow" and "Mendès-Molotov" and all kinds of vile names and his 80-year-old father has been molested by hoodlum phone calls and hooligans. The organ of the West German textile magnates has also made an anti-Semitic attack on Mendès-France.

The Madrid radio commented early in October during the London Nine-Power Conference that "there is afoot at this moment a violent Jewish-Masonic-Communist maneuver to delay and, if possible, limit German rearmament."

The visit of the British Labour Party delegation in September, which included Lord Silkin and Ian Mikardo, both Jews, received attention in the Polish Yiddish paper *Folks-Shtimme*, which published a sketch of Mikardo and the facsimile of his greetings of British to Polish Jews in Yiddish script. Said the paper: "Mr. Mikardo . . . declared that 'all the Jews in England are definitely against rearming Western Germany.'"

In a Yiddish broadcast from Bucharest of a Rosh Hashona-greeting, the Rumanian chief rabbi said that "we Jews, who suffered so terribly from the crimes of the Wehrmacht, appreciate and admire this action [French rejection of EDC] which has helped to bring about the breakdown of all machinations designed to resuscitate nazis."

Chief Rabbi Benjamin Schwartz was one of a number of religious leaders and other Hungarian figures who are members of the newly revived Hungarian National Front.

Hersh Smoliar led a delegation of Polish Jews in September to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Bulgaria from the nazis. Smoliar spoke to Bulgarian Jews at the Jewish Cultural Club in Sofia on the development of the Jewish community in People's Poland.

There are about 200,000 Jews in Kiev at present, according to estimates given to *New York Times* Moscow correspondent Clifton Daniel (October 2).

The Israel correspondent of the *Jewish Daily Forward*, A. S. Lyric, reported on October 30 that a Yemenite youth brutally murdered the youth leader of Mapai. The article goes on to depict the frightfully bad conditions in which the Yemenites in Israel live and the discrimination practiced against these dark-skinned Jews; they live in ghettos and the children do not go to school. It has been observed that these "black" Jews are sometimes called "dirty Negroes," a phrase said to be owing to American influences.

Former Premier Ben Gurion succeeded in persuading the Central Committee of Mapai to submit a plan to replace the proportional representation method of electing the Knesset with so-called direct representation (like our own election method). The new scheme is offered as an alternative to the plan being pressed by the General Zionists to eliminate from Knesset membership any party receiving less than about 4 per cent of the votes.

Visas were refused in October by the Israel government to six Soviet citizens who applied to visit Israel to attend the Israel-Soviet Friendship Congress on the ground that visitors should be the guests of the respective governments.

Three Israeli youths returning from a visit to People's China gave at a press conference in Tel Aviv early in October a glowing account of the remarkable achievements of the new China and the favorable situation of youth in Peking and other parts of China visited by them.

Immigration into Israel is rising again owing to the influx of North African Jews. In August, 1,700 immigrants arrived, in September, 2,000, and in October, 2,200 were expected.

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JEWISH LIFE

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