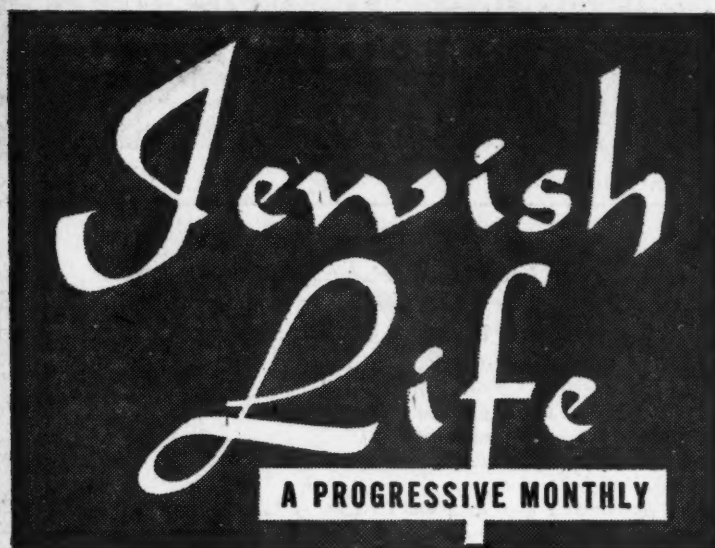


Stories of Three Hundred Years: XV



**THE THIRTIES AND
THE JEWISH MASSES**

by Morris U. Schappes

MAY 1955 • 25¢

Seventh Anniversary of Israel:

RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK *by Louis Harap*

STILL TIME TO DEFEAT REARMAMENT *an editorial article*

THE MEXICAN AMERICANS ORGANIZE *by Frances Lym*

A BALLAD OF AUGUST BONDI *by Aaron Kramer*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Edward J. Corsi, recently dismissed by State Secretary Dulles from his post as advisor on refugee problems under McCarthyite circumstances that have aroused the country, on April 13 characterized the whispering campaign against him by State Department security director Scott McLeod as carried on "in nazi fashion." (N.Y.T., 4/13) Senator Herbert H. Lehman on April 9 said of the dismissal of Corsi that "It is a shameless surrender to the opponents of immigration and citizenship law reform, a capitulation to the apologists for the racial and national discrimination built into the McCarran-Walter act." (N.Y.T., 4/10)

Rep. Francis W. Walter, co-author of the racist McCarran-Walter law, whose pressure on Dulles is said to have been responsible for the dismissal of Corsi, was quoted in a newspaper story in the *Washington Star* (3/27) as having said, "I'm not afraid of Dagoes." Walter has denied he spoke "vilely" about Italians, but the *Star* sticks to its original story. In a TV program early in March, Walter made this response to a question about whether the McCarran-Walter law excluded fascists and nazis as well as communists: "There is a difference between the totalitarians. . . . I never heard of the fascists ever trying to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence."

Rabbi Joachim Prinz was awarded by a jury in Newark on March 31, \$30,000 in damages from anti-Semite Conde McGinley, editor of the gutter fascist sheet *Common Sense*. The paper had falsely referred to Dr. Prinz as "Red Rabbi Dr. Joachim Prinz, who, not unlike Albert Einstein, was expelled from Germany for revolutionary, Communist activities." (*Sentinel*, 4/7)

Bryant W. Bowles, president of the racist, anti-Negro National Association for the Advancement of White people, who had sparked the campaign in Maryland against implementation of the anti-segregation decision of the Supreme Court, was fined \$300 in a court in Dover, Del., for violating the school attendance laws. (N.Y.T., 4/7)

(Continued on page 32)

Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

VOL IX, No. 7 (103)

MAY, 1955

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JEWISH LIFE, May, 1955, Vol. IX, No. 7 (103). Published monthly by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th Street, Room 601, New York 3, N. Y., WATKINS 4-5740-1. Single copies 25 cents. Subscription \$2.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$3.00 a year. Entered as second class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1955 by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc.

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STILL TIME TO DEFEAT NAZI REARMAMENT

Ratification of the Paris Pacts does not mean that the struggle against the war-threatening West German rearmament is ended. The fight goes on

An Editorial Article

A partitioned Germany, said James P. Warburg in Toronto at the end of March, is a time-bomb—a hydrogen time-bomb, we should add—ticking in the heart of Germany, and West German rearming will end hope of reuniting Germany in the foreseeable future. “The key to a European peace settlement,” he said, “is the peaceful reunification of Germany on terms which will provide the maximum assurance that it will not again become a pawn, partner or prime mover in aggression against either East or West.”

Our country's stake in this issue, therefore, is the very highest. Consequently, the fight against West German rearmament must be carried out while there is still time to stop it. And it should not be imagined that, even though at this writing a vote on the Paris agreements only by Denmark and the Netherlands are needed for full ratification, rearmament is an accomplished fact. It is far from that and, as Mr. Warburg said, we should continue to oppose West German rearmament “so long as there remains the slightest chance of preventing it from coming to pass.”

What is the situation? France and West Germany have ratified and signed the Paris pacts. The United States Senate on April 1 approved the agreements by a vote of 76 to two (Senators William Langer and George W. Malone) and the President has signed them. But there were hesitations in the minds of some senators during the Senate debate on the pacts. Senator Ralph Flanders warned: “It is indeed a serious risk which we run in promoting the rearmament of a nation against whom we have fought the two most devastating wars in history.” And Senator Herbert H. Lehman was disturbed. “I regard with considerable apprehension,” he said, “the prospect of the rearmament of Germany. . . . If totalitarian, militaristic-minded elements again regain a dominant voice in German political life and if the voice of the soldier and officer corps should again command the respect it enjoyed in Germany for so many generations and centuries, we—all of us, including the German people—will have cause to regret it.”

Senator Lehman will not have very long to wait before his fears are realized, if we do not fight to the last ditch to defeat rearmament. For already the evil genius of German militarism, the German General Staff, is on the way to revival, despite the fact that the disbanding of this aggressive General Staff was expressly pledged in the Yalta

and Potsdam agreements. *New York Post* correspondent William Richardson reported from London that “The West German Defense Ministry is planning to revive the German General Staff. Present plans in Bonn call for the announcement, shortly after final ratification of the Paris agreements, of a new General Staff—a supreme command for all three armed services on the old Gneisenau and Scharnhorst models and totally lacking in the political safeguards of the American and British systems of joint chiefs and separate service ministries. This will make the

Yalta's Aim: Guarantee of Peace

The decisions reached at Yalta were designed to guarantee that the nazis would never rise again and that the future world would live in peace. Here is the key decision concerning Germany that was agreed upon at Yalta by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. It still points the direction toward a peaceful world.—Eds.

IT IS our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces, break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi Party, nazi laws, organizations and institutions; remove all nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people and take in harmony such measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations.

German 'democratic' army about as democratic as it was under Bismarck or Hitler" (March 17).

Obstacles Still Are Up

There is nothing unexpected about this development, nor even more ominous events to come, if rearmament plans are allowed to go through. But the opposition still is of the strongest dimensions, for it includes the majority of the peoples of Britain, France and West Germany. Ratification in these countries was voted in spite of the most clearly demonstrated opposition by their peoples. A Paris dispatch in the *New York Times* (March 24) warned that "The picture would be in false focus if it were assumed that France was in agreement with Washington on the ratification of the pacts." As for West Germany, *The Nation's* Bonn correspondent "Carolus" reported in the March 12 issue: "Signed petitions against the Paris treaties collected by the Social Democrats clearly showed that the majority of the people was opposed to the agreements in general and rearmament in particular. The people in the towns and villages who signed the 'German Manifesto for Unity, Freedom and Peace' against the treaties numbered up to 25 per cent more than the votes that the Social Democrats

were able to obtain in the last elections."

With resistance as great as this, it is still doubtful whether the legislation necessary to implement rearmament in West Germany will pass. This hurdle to realization of rearmament offers a ground for cancelling rebirth of German militarism. In any case, it will take from two to four years for a West German army to be created and this time can be used to fight it.

For Big Four Talks

Nor has the Soviet Union stopped its campaign against re-creation of an army which it fears—with good reason, as any rational person must admit—will turn against it, as such an army has done twice in 40 years. On April 6 the Soviet government announced that it would call together the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to annul the mutual defense treaties concluded with France and Britain during the war against nazism. For the Soviet government maintains that ratification of the Paris agreement violates the agreement under these treaties "to take all joint measures to prevent the possibility of new German aggression and not to conclude any alliances and not to take part in any coalitions directed against one of the contracting

EIGHT SOVIET RABBIS PLEAD: BAN THE BOMB!

A plea to the religious Jews of the world to work for the banning of the atomic and hydrogen bomb has been issued by eight Soviet rabbis of large Jewish communities in their country. The text of the appeal, which was published in Izvestia on March 18, follows:

WE, RABBIS, leaders of large Jewish religious communities in the Soviet Union, welcoming and giving full support to the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Peace Council against the preparations for an atomic war, urge Jews the world over to join in protest together with all the other millions of people against the threatened use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The tragedy of the peoples which lost tens of millions of lives in the last war can repeat itself on a more horrifying scale.

The possibility of a new war makes the people of the entire world shudder.

Upright people of the entire world are filled with the horrible foreboding of the possible outbreak of an atomic war, a war much more destructive and cruel than the last war, than all the wars that took place in the history of mankind.

Hiroshima now seems but child's play to the manufacturers of death. They thirst for fresh blood, fresh sufferings.

With what cold-blooded cruelty, with what horrifying cynicism a handful of madmen who have forgotten God and have been corrupted by impunity are preparing

mass massacres of people, the annihilation of millions of human lives!

The fundamental character of the Jewish religion is life-asserting. Man has been created for life on this earth.

The Holy Torah regards human life the greatest blessing. "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." (Deuteronomy 30:19)

We cannot be silent when the black clouds of a possible atomic warfare are looming over the world.

History will take cruel vengeance on the maniacs who brandish the torch of war! The conscience of the peoples has long ago passed its sentence upon them.

The trial of the peoples, the just trial by the human conscience, will be merciless!

Let God punish the criminals who encroach upon human life—the most sacred in our world.

"Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more." (Psalms 104:35)

S. M. SHLIFFER, Rabbi of Moscow

PANICH, Rabbi of Kiev

I. DIMENT, Rabbi of Odessa

M. MASLIANSKY, Rabbi of Riga

H. D. ELIASHVILI, Khakham of Kutaisi [Georgia]

BERGER, Rabbi of Minsk

L. RABINOVICH, Rabbi of Vilnius (Vilno)

VORKUL, Rabbi of Kaunas (Kovno)

"Jewish Examiner" Says:

JEWISH COMMUNITY SHOULD ACT AGAINST REARMAMENT

There is no issue more pressing upon the Jews and all Americans than the defeat of the plan to rearm West Germany. For the fulfilment of such a plan would rearm the nazis and threaten our country and indeed the whole world with a hydrogen bomb holocaust. It is because the following editorial from the Brooklyn Jewish Examiner (March 18) urges action by Jewish organized life on this issue that we reprint it here. We disagree with the editorial's confirmation of the American Jewish Committee's "warning" against cooperation with communists. Such "warnings" are a divisive technique that only tends to paralyze and weaken action on this most crucial issue. Every ounce of strength from whatever source should be harnessed to defeat West German rearmament, no matter whether exerted alone or in unison with others. We welcome the following editorial's urgent call to action on the issue.—Eds.

THE American Jewish Committee has issued a timely warning to Jewish organizations not to be entrapped into joint action with Communists to protest the rearmament of Germany.

Jewish groups, AJC points out, are under no obligation to give Communists a "platform" to air their pro-Soviet program.

So far, so good. But when AJC parenthetically asserts that it "does not argue either for or against German rearmament," we must frankly ask, "Why not?" Doesn't this issue concern the American Jewish Committee?

As a matter of fact, there would be no need to warn American Jewry against Communist exploitation of German rearmament if AJC and other Jewish organizations

had taken a forthright stand.

Remilitarization of the nation that twice devastated Europe in a generation has become a "Communist issue"—like so many other causes—by our default. The fight against such evils as bad housing, discrimination and anti-Semitism frequently fell into the laps of the radicals because of the past reluctance of many respectable groups to act with courage and conviction.

Happily, there has been a marked improvement in many of these areas of social action in recent years, particularly on questions of civil rights. It is notable that the "Communist issue" no longer keeps reputable groups from militant and consistent struggle for the extension of equal opportunity in housing and employment.

Only in the sphere of foreign policy does the "play it safe" psychology still maneuver the timid into the hands of Communists.

There are many patriotic anti-Communist Jews who strongly oppose German rearmament both in the Eastern and Western zones, but who hesitate to say so, lest their opinion be misconstrued as endorsement of the current Communist campaign against German militarism.

AJC's warning should not prevent Americans from speaking their minds. While we emphatically agree that Jewish groups should beware of giving aid and comfort to Communists, we should also guard against the attempts to equate all opposition to rearmament with Communism. That danger AJC conveniently overlooks.

The Committee is seriously remiss in its duty to American Jewry if it contents itself merely with its justified warning against the Communists; it should also point out the danger of a revived Wehrmacht.

parties." A man would be blind to deny that the Paris agreements are not directed against the Soviet Union through the agency of NATO.

At the same time, the Soviet Union through Premier Nikolai Bulganin has signified its willingness to enter into four-power negotiations on pending problems. The initiative of Senator Walter F. George, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in proposing a Big Four conference has met with strong support from the people of our country, who fear war and do not want it. Such a conference would offer opportunities for solution of the German question through reunification of Germany. Under pressure from their peoples the French and West German governments are ready to agree to a Big Four meeting before rearmament has actually taken place, thus permitting of the possibility that this eventuality could even at that late date be prevented. "Final French acceptance of the Paris agreements," said a *New York Times* dispatch (March 28) from Albion Ross in Bonn, "brought an im-

mediate semi-official reference here to the necessity for negotiation with the Soviet Union before the arming of West Germany actually went into effect." The people of our country can improve the chances for peace and prevent the evil effects of actual West German rearmament by urging Washington to agree to Big Four negotiations at once.

Expand the Opposition at Home!

The resistance movement to rearmament needs to be greatly expanded in our country. For West German rearmament threatens every man, woman and child in the United States. The lesson of the past half-century of history would be lost if we did not realize that a remilitarized West Germany will once again begin its push for *Lebensraum*—a goal which high West German officials have not even attempted to conceal. This danger was keenly perceived by all the Allied peoples at end of World War II. This de-

JEWISH WOMEN SPEAK AGAINST PARIS PACTS

A number of organizational representatives appeared on March 30 before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings to register their opposition to ratification of the Paris pacts to rearm West Germany. Yetta Metz read a statement on behalf of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs. Excerpts from this follow:

IN OUR hearts and minds we join all other Americans who ardently desire peace for the world as a prerequisite to peace for ourselves, our country, our homes and our families. We plead with you and all concerned to recognize that the Paris pacts for rearming West Germany are a calculated risk for war.

Far from constituting a "calculated risk" for peace, the Paris pacts are keys to the flood-gates of a devastating H-bomb war.

As Jewish women who have pledged "never to forgive or forget" the heinous crimes of the nazis, their philosophy of superior and inferior humans, their book-burning fires which spread to consume six million Jews in the gas chambers of Warsaw and Germany, we are appalled and alarmed over the provisions of the Paris pacts to give West Germany an army of 500,000.

Not to forget is to remember, as Theodore H. White in his article, "Friend or Foe," in *Colliers* (February 4) recalls, when he writes: "I have been listening more sharply than ever, for the Atlantic world has summoned the Germans to put together a new army. Only 35 years ago, the Treaty of Versailles permitted the Germans an army rigidly limited to 100,000 men; out of that cramped Reichswehr Hitler succeeded in six years in building the army which drenched this same Atlantic world in blood. Now a new German army of 500,000 men is to be brought into being. . . ."

"This army will swing the balance of power decisively, perhaps permanently, to the Atlantic nations. But it will also make the Germans once more masters in their own house. It will restore to German hands the tools of destruction and force so desperately wrenched from them less than ten years ago. . . ."

We plead with you to act now to keep our country and the rest of humanity out of the firing range of former nazis by forging peace through negotiations with all the powers in occupation of Germany—a peace without placing arms in the hands of former nazis.

We urge you, gentlemen, vote against ratification of the Paris Pacts.

termination never to permit a rearmed Germany to threaten the world again was embodied in the Yalta agreement, excerpts from which we print on page 3 of this issue. The motive for keeping Germany disarmed is greater than ever, in view of the hydrogen bomb, which would fall no less on our own country than elsewhere. The new developments of the most destructive long distance weapons of mass extermination, from guided missiles to jet bombers of lightning speed, would bring another war right on our doorstep, with a loss of millions of our people and the utter destruction of thousands of miles of our land and the industries and farms on it. This is the threat with which West German rearmament confronts us.

For it is a delusion that possesses the advocates of West German rearmament that those arms will be turned only against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is entirely likely that they may first be turned against the West. Once before, in the thirties, Washington and London and Paris built up a Wehrmacht with the expectation that it would turn East—but it first turned West. The nazis got a lesson in the East that they will not easily forget. Why then, should they attack the Soviet Union, rather than the West, once their armies are ready? While the danger from a war-threatening Wehrmacht is common to all the world, since it increases immeasurably the chances of World War III, there is a good chance that a monstrous Wehrmacht which our State Department deliberately is trying to re-

create, will attack the West before it turns on the Soviet Union.

A staunch little band spoke up in opposition to the Paris agreements at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on March 30. (We print an excerpt from the statement of the Emma Lazarus Women's Federation on this page.) But immeasurably more strength in opposition to the final realization of rearmament needs to be mobilized. Certainly the organizations of the Jewish people need to be heard against the revival of a renazified Wehrmacht. Why did not the American Jewish Congress at least acquaint the Senate committee with the dire warning against German rearmament issued by the World Jewish Congress? The Jewish people almost everywhere else in the world have come out in sharp opposition. Yet it is in our own country, where the State Department is the driving force behind the whole plan to rearm West Germany, that the Jewish people have the special obligation to speak out. It is certainly not too late—it will not be too late until the West German armies are actually in the field and this is at least two years off. In the meantime, therefore, the Jewish people, together with all Americans who are concerned for a peaceful future, can continue the campaign to save the peace by preventing the new Wehrmacht from coming into being. The possibility for *any* existence in this atomic age is to fight for peaceful co-existence of all nations, regardless of their social systems.

THE "ORT" SCANDAL

Are ORT schools being used to give vocational training to "one-time collaborators with the murderers of our people"? ORT should explain

By G. Koenig

Paris

ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1954 the middle-of-the-road Yiddish Tel Aviv newspaper, *Letste Neies* (Latest News), published a startling news item from Geneva. It quoted Max Brode, European director of ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation and Training), whose function is to provide schools for occupational training for Jews, as follows: "More than 100 non-Jews, refugees from behind the Iron Curtain, are learning a trade through ORT." According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency report, he added that "this aid is being provided in accordance with the new American plan for help to refugees."

The Tel Aviv paper then commented: "This news astounded us. We know that ORT is strictly a Jewish institution, created by Jews. Then what does ORT have to do with non-Jews who flee from behind the Iron Curtain? Does ORT know who they are? Or does the mere fact that they escaped from a communist country make them kosher? And is ORT certain that these people were not one-time collaborators with the murderers of our people? And not merely collaborators—perhaps even the murderers themselves? Then how can an institution like ORT even agree to 'plans which were designed by America'? Jewish opinion would like more details about this affair."

To this accusation ORT replied with—silence, which speaks for itself.

On October 28, 1954, the Paris Yiddish paper, *Neie Presse* (New Press), asked ORT the following questions. Why had the European directors of ORT not yet replied to the serious charges made by *Letste Neies*? Does this mean that they concede the correctness of these startling facts and consider them "normal?" Does not ORT know that it is not only possible that there are collaborators and murderers of Jews among the refugees, but that they consist almost exclusively of anti-Semites and fascists, Gestapo-people who fled because they fear judgment for their crimes? For what shadowy purposes do other Jewish institutions use funds from United States Jews or from the Adenauer "reparations"? Do the holders of the purse also demand from other organizations the sort of thing they demanded from ORT?

Thus far no reply has come from ORT. The answer, however, did come from other quarters. In a story about Jewish refugees in West Germany, I. Adelman recorded

in the *Tsionistishe Shtimme* (Zionist Voice), organ of the French General Zionists, the anger of these refugees at the conduct of ORT. "Take, for example, the ORT school," wrote Adelman. "Who are the students? Germans, Poles, Ukrainians! This is the purpose for which they use money collected from Jews! If there are no Jews willing or able to study in the ORT school, why is the school necessary? Do we have nothing else to worry about than the productivization of German nazis, Polish anti-Semites and Ukrainian pogromchiks? Is this the only instance of the kind? There is an ORT school in Hanover in which the students are Germans. Is this the purpose for which our money is spent and are we then strict and sparing in spending for Jewish causes? We have heard dozens of similar facts which fill us with shame and protest and indignation."

At the end of February, in the same *Tsionistishe Shtimme*, there was an article entitled, "ORT Owes Us an Explanation." This article pointed out that at first the paper refused to believe that such a scandal was possible. Later, when "in Munich we heard about it in great detail," the paper noted the affair but withheld comment, "not wishing to take a position on the question until we had heard an explanation from the central office of ORT. But ORT did not reply." The *Tsionistishe Shtimme* then asks: "How can we spend money collected from Jews to maintain trade schools for children of nazis, Polish anti-Semites and Ukrainian pogromchiks—schools in which there are practically no Jews! Is this money 'free-for-all'? Is there no other way to spend it than for such purposes? ORT must answer these charges!"

Much more than "Jewish money" is involved here. We are here dealing—we must conclude, so long as ORT will not bring evidence to show the falsity of the charges—with a shameful mockery of Jewish blood spilled by the nazis and Polish-Ukrainian fascists! We are concerned here with an accusation that the leadership of ORT is transforming that institution into a tool in the hands of the deadly enemies of the Jewish people; that it is turning its schools into nests of pogromchiks and war-mongering adventurists.

The question is: Who is running ORT? Who decides its program? To whom is ORT accountable for its actions? It was reported that several days ago there was a meeting in Paris of the executive committee of the ORT Federa-

NAZI VON KARAJAN TOURS AMERICA

Protests During the Tour

AS WE reported in our last issue (p. 9), the tour of the nazi-led Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra in a number of our cities, completed on March 30, was not made without sharp protest. For the orchestra's conductor, Herbert von Karajan, and its manager, Gerhart von Westermann, had been members of the Nazi Party. Von Karajan, especially, is known to have been a favorite of Goebbels. Advertised as a "good will" tour, the nazi-led expedition with the blessings of the State Department was obviously a measure to facilitate acceptance by the American people of a rearmcd West Germany.

We had already last month reported that the orchestra, which opened the tour in a Washington concert with the playing of *Deutschland Ueber Alles*, was met with a picket line on March 1 on its first New York appearance at Carnegie Hall. There had already been many condemnations of the admittance of nazi von Karajan to this country. Numerous protests by musicians and Jewish organizations and English-Jewish papers were issued in New York City, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and Chicago.

As the tour proceeded, protests continued to dog its appearances. In Cincinnati, said a review in the *Dayton (Ohio) Daily News*, the orchestra played to a "half-filled house. . . . A spokesman for the orchestra after the concert told me that something similar had occurred in Pittsburgh." In Syracuse, nine Jewish organizations protested the appearance of the orchestra. In Newark the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Essex County called upon those "whose consciences revolt against attendance at a concert under the baton of such a man" to boycott the concert and "feel free to declare their reasons for doing so." The Boston Jewish Community Council called the designation of the tour as one of "good will" as "hypocritical," adding, "We would slur the memory of nazi victims were we not to express our sorrow at this reminder of the nightmare period of Hitler's regime."

The climax of protest was reached in New York City on March 30 at the closing New York concert at Carnegie Hall. There the New York Department of the Jewish War Veterans, which nationally had been most vocal and vigorous in its protests, held an open air protest meeting at one side of the entrance to Carnegie Hall. Several hundred Jewish War Veterans members

and a number of others listened from about seven to nine P.M. to speeches in which the admittance of von Karajan to this country was condemned and the McCar-ran-Walter act was roundly denounced for its racism and anti-democratic nature. The most militant opposition to the racist immigration law echoed through the loudspeakers up and down 57th Street while the concert-goers gathered. Von Karajan will have something to remember from his New York visit.

The "Non-Political" von Karajan

IN an interview in New York, von Karajan assured the press that he had joined the Nazi Party only in order to hold his job and that he was not interested in politics, that he lived for his art alone.

This fraud was exposed in a letter published in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (March 26) by Russ Nixon, who had served as chief of Denazification of German Financial Institutions after the war (he is now legislative director of the United Electrical Workers Union, Ind.). "The fact is," wrote Mr. Nixon, "that there are no verified instances of any Germans being 'forced' to join the Nazi Party. Actually, membership in the Nazi Party was a much sought-after prize. . . .

"It is true that opportunism, the hope of special rewards and promotions, advantages in the assumption of positions and property formerly held by Jews and others victimized or not favored by the ruling nazis, were surely served by the attainment of party membership. But this self-serving avowal and active support of the Nazi Party principles and program can hardly be passed off as 'forced' merely because it brought rewards of wealth and status. . . . While non-membership in the Nazi Party cannot *per se* be taken to indicate lack of a German's support or sympathy for nazism, *there is absolutely no basis to question the fact that actual Nazi Party membership is proof of active support and complicity in the Nazi Party.* . . .

"Where does that leave Germans such as Karajan and Westermann, who assert that they were 'forced' to join the Nazi Party in 1933 and 1935? The least one can say is that the public reception of these former nazi members should be based on the actual facts about the true meaning of Nazi Party membership and not on any self-serving assertion of the 'I was forced to join the Nazi Party' myth."

tion with delegates from various countries. Were those delegates informed that ORT had become a place of refuge for nazis and pogromchiks? Were they asked to approve this?

In the detailed report of the meeting there is no denial of the charges which have been made against ORT during the past six months or even any mention of the affair. Shall we conclude that ORT leaders are trying to hush up this scandal? Jewish public opinion has the right and the duty to demand an accounting of the money which supports ORT. According to its report, ORT in 1954 spent

\$3,200,000. In 1955 it plans to spend \$3,768,000.

Where does this money come from? How much is collected from Jews in America, England, France? Does ORT get any money from the Adenauer "reparations"? If it does, then is money which is supposed to go to the victims of the nazis going right back to the nazis themselves? The ORT scandal must be cleared up. The ORT leaders must give the Jewish people an answer. Until then, no Jew can support an organization over which hangs, like the mark of Cain, the charge of nurturing pogromchiks and murderers of the Jewish people.

Seventh Anniversary of the Establishment of Israel

May 14

RETROSPECT AND OUTLOOK

*The progressive tradition of the war for independence is carried on
by the people in order to save Israel independence and keep peace*

By Louis Harap

WHO can forget the elation and high hopes with which Jews and democratic-minded people everywhere greeted the establishment of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948? This new declaration of independence marked another defeat for colonialism and a victory for self-determination, the casting off of another imperialist yoke, the addition of another sovereign and independent state to the world family of states.

It is now seven years since that happy day. We recall the glorious fighting spirit of the Israeli masses in their war for independence, we recall their fighting forces, the Haganah and Palmach, which exhibited unforgettable courage and determination in their national struggle. In the ensuing seven years a new nation has been forming; there have been strivings for a progressive culture. The masses have labored hard in factory and field; they have applied skills brought from other lands and have learned new skills; they have made desert land in the Negev to bear fruit to feed a rapidly growing people, and they have made the earth yield up its mineral deposits.

On this seventh anniversary we salute the people and the progressive leadership in their country.

The people of Israel have also undergone much hardship in these seven years. So difficult has their situation been, that optimism has given way to apprehension for the future of the little nation. Living conditions have been extremely hard for the masses of Israelis; they too have been buffeted by the chilling blasts of the cold war in its Middle Eastern phase. There were some people of good

will who expected events in Israel somehow to unfold differently from their course in other nations. In an interview with *New York Post* publisher Dorothy Schiff, Dr. Albert Einstein expressed his disillusionment with government as a spokesman for the people and criticized the people for not opposing reaction powerfully enough. This he applied to Israel too. "We had great hopes for Israel at first," Einstein said. "We thought it might be better than other nations but it is no better" (March 13).

A Progressive Tradition

This is the beginning of wisdom: the Jews are no better or worse than other peoples. They are subject to the same forces, act like other peoples under the pressures of material and ideological forces and are class divided. But as is also the case everywhere, the masses of the Israeli people, under the leadership of the labor movement and progressive elements, resist government moves against their interests.

Already the masses of Israel have founded and built upon a tradition of heroic action for the true national interests of their young state. For their independence was not easily won. Despite the United Nations decision of November 29, 1947, which authorized the setting up of a Jewish state, the United States delegation maneuvered in the UN up to the last moment to prevent realization of the decision by the proposal for a "trusteeship" of Israel. But the people of Israel were locked in a war against the Arab

states and irresistibly determined to grasp independence in the face of this sabotage attempt by Washington. Again, when Washington tried to truncate the infant state through the Bernadotte plan by forcing it to give up the Negev as a condition of an armistice with the Arab leaders, the people continued steadfast and were again irresistible. Throughout this period, from the UN deliberations on the question to the achievement of an armistice, the Soviet Union set forth the realistic solution to the problem in the historic Gromyko speech of May 14, 1947. Arms from the people's democracies and their opposition to Washington's diplomatic maneuvers helped the new state to realization. With this aid, by their sacrifice of blood and their intense pressure on their leaders, who at times seemed inclined to yield to Washington, the masses of Israel finally gained independence.

But the labors of the people had just begun. They were beset by gigantic economic problems. Close to a million Jews have immigrated to Israel from Europe, the Middle East and North Africa since the end of World War II. The absorption of these people into the economy of the country, on top of the necessity to develop a national economy after decades of colonial restrictions on economic growth imposed by Britain, would have given rise to great problems at best. The ruling Labor Party (Mapai) leaders, however, followed the policies dictated by the industrialists and big landowners in granting concessions to local and foreign investors, thus forcing the enormous burdens caused by economic difficulties to fall on the masses of the people. The result was a steadily rising cost of living and



An Israeli family celebrates Israel's Independence Day.

an accompanying depression of the standard of living, whose downward slide has not yet stopped. All this the workers resisted with strikes, thus alleviating somewhat the effects of a semi-colonial economy. (For a detailed economic analysis of this situation see Victor Perlo's series in *JEWISH LIFE*, September 1952 to January 1953; also published as a pamphlet, *Israel and Dollar Diplomacy*.)

The Cold War Reaches Israel

Israel's foreign affairs were hardly less difficult than her domestic problems. Once the armistice ending the war of liberation was concluded, the Arab leaders were quiescent, licking their wounds. But Israel inevitably became enmeshed in the toils of the cold war because of her strategic military relationship to the oil-rich Middle East, in which the western powers had such great sums invested, and because of her place in cold war plans of Washington.

So great was the mass sentiment against Israel involvement in the cold war military plans that Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett felt obliged to state on April 24, 1949 that "There is nothing further from the mind of the government of Israel than that Israel should become the base for any power." But Henry Morgenthau, Jr., told the people of Israel on a visit in January 1950 what the big moneyed men of the United States expected of the Israel government: the proposed Middle Eastern Pact, he said, would be "a coalition against aggression by Russia." The people of Israel demonstrated against this threat of involvement. The peace movement found a ready response among the people. The Israel Peace Council had collected 312,000 signatures to the Stockholm Peace Appeal, which registered world-wide approval of the banning of the atom bomb. Another petition campaign launched by the Council in the summer of 1951 in opposition to the rearming of West Germany and in favor of a five power peace pact had by the spring of 1952 collected over 401,000 signatures—43 per cent of the adult population of the country! There could be no doubt of the anti-war sentiment of the Israeli people.

The cold war in Israel operates through the relations of Israel to the Arab countries. The reactionary Arab leaders have not yet recognized Israel's right to exist. They use anti-Israel incitement as a means of diverting the Arab peoples from their own problems and as one technique for maintaining power. For the Arab leaders are forced to cope with a national liberation movement among their own people. The Arab world, long under the dominance of colonial powers, has become part of the world-wide movement of oppressed and dependent lands in Asia, Africa and South America to throw off the yoke of imperialism and colonialism. This powerful postwar movement received great impetus from the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949 and the Arab peoples are being swept along in the movement. The Arab leaders therefore have to reckon with this overpowering anti-imperialist sentiment of their peoples and dare not openly ally themselves



An Israeli woman worker in a textile mill.

with the western powers for fear that their peoples will oust them from power. One way of retaining that power is by anti-Israel incitement.

A Build-Up of Tension

It is this anti-imperialist movement that has thus far prevented the formation of the projected anti-Soviet Middle Eastern pact. It is true that the ruling groups in Israel are anxious and eager to join such a pact. The Arab leaders have refused to include Israel in any pact which they join. But this consideration takes second place to the anti-imperialist resistance to such pacts by the Arab people. The State Department was successful in getting Iraq into the anti-Soviet military system through the back door of the Turkish-Iraqi military alliance only because the Iraqi rulers instituted repression against the Iraqi masses and their anti-imperialist leaders. But on April 4 the *New York Times* reported from Cairo that Egyptian dictator "Colonel Nasser said London and Washington had obtained the tenuous allegiance of Iraq at the price of re-awakening Arab fears of foreign domination."

By its endeavor to draw the Arab countries into the anti-Soviet military system, one by one, if necessary, Washington has thrown the area into turbulence and especially has created the tense situation on the borders between Israel and the Arab states. As the Jerusalem correspondent of the *Paris Tribune des Nations* expressed it (March 11), "the Israel crisis is maintained from outside with the aim of hastening the arms race, consolidating the dictatorial regimes in the Middle East in order to integrate them more effectively in the 'defense organization' against the USSR." This was nakedly evident in the recent offer made by Egyptian Minister of National Guidance Major Saleh Salem on March 20 eventually to join an anti-Soviet "defense" pact if Washington and London would support

cession to Egypt of the Negev, that is, about half of the territory of Israel.

What are the prospects of peace in the Middle East? The Arab masses do not want war any more than the Israelis or any other people. That there is hope among the Arab peoples is indicated in the following dispatch by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency at the end of March: "Warsaw radio's Yiddish language broadcast last week attributed to the Syrian newspaper *Al-Faiha* a report that the Syrian and Lebanese Communist Parties had published a joint appeal to all Arab states to recognize the State of Israel." That hope is also encouraged by the news report from Syria on March 26 that thousands of Syrian students had left their classrooms to demonstrate against the Turkish-Iraqi pact. There are strong forces in the Arab countries fighting for peace.

We in the United States can help Israel achieve peace. For it is the State Department of this country that is muddying the waters in the Middle East by sending arms to the Arab leaders and wheedling them into military alliances which endanger the peace. It is therefore up to us insistently to petition our State Department that they stop arming the Arab leaders and cease their efforts to set up military pacts in the area which have so dangerously increased tensions. Our best seventh anniversary gift is to press upon the State Department an end to such policies.

In Israel itself the peace-loving people do not have plain sailing in pursuing an anti-war policy. It is hardly an accident that the deplorable Gaza incident, in which Israel armed forces attacked an Egyptian military post, occurred a few weeks after the return to office of Ben Gurion as defense minister. Ben Gurion is known as a leader of the "Activist" group that operates under the mistaken notion that they can machine-gun their way to a settlement with the Arabs. But this adventurism only aggravates the situation. Israel's hope for peace lies in a policy of refusal to join any military alliances, which only increase tension.

The masses of Israel demonstrate their desire for peace when occasion is granted them to do so and in this they are following their genuinely progressive traditions. Once again in the past months the Israel Peace Committee circulated a peace petition against rearmament of Germany and against Israel participation in aggressive military pacts. At the third annual conference of the Israel Peace Council in Tel Aviv in February, thousands of people overflowed the city's largest hall. Council President Meyer Yaari reported that 423,271 people signed—43.5 per cent of the adult population of Israel. In this country the equivalent figure would be about 50 million. From all walks of Israel life, from the settlements, from the factories, from professional life—they came to impress on the government their demand for peace. "The peace movement," said Yitzhok Greenbaum, veteran leader of Polish Jewry, at the conference, "is increasing and its influence grows stronger." In this growth and influence the masses of Israel are playing their part. This is the most hopeful sign at this seventh anniversary of Israel.

A BALLAD OF AUGUST BONDI

By Aaron Kramer

This ballad is being set to music by Serge Hovey and will be performed by the Jewish Young Folksingers, who commissioned this work as their contribution to the nationwide festivities honoring the tercentenary of Jewish life in the United States. The following are excerpts, accompanied by a synopsis of other sections.

I.

NARRATOR:

This happened a hundred years ago,
when the States—that lately had been a child
needing the milk of peace to grow—
suddenly jumped from their cradle, and smiled
a wicked smile, and pounced like a wild
beast upon infant Mexico!

That was a feast! When they'd had enough,
they flexed their muscles, and roared at the sun:
"Look at us now: we're big and rough.
Even *you'll* look puny before we're done:
more gold's in the rivers and hills we've won
than you at your shiniest ever showed off. . . ."

Rivers and hills: a luscious land
eager for ploughing, open to claim. . . .
The brander of slaves flew West, to brand
the bark of every tree with his name.
But, just as swiftly, another came
with seeds of freedom in his hand.

BALLADEER:

The streets of St. Louis looked busy and bright;
but Bondi, young Bondi, his smile wasn't right.
A wind from the river hissed into his ear:
"Say, friend! Aint'cha glad to be here?
The day I first met you, six winters ago,
how different your face was! The smile said Hello.
Now, year after year, you escape from this town
as though it were tracking you down. . . ."
The streets of St. Louis looked busy and bright;

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but Bondi, young Bondi, his smile wasn't right.
—The river ice cracking was so much like whips:
the sound of 'it twisted his lips. . . .

(Lament of slave woman heard, accompanied by sound of lash)

BALLADEER:

One morning in March, while he sat at his work,
he opened a paper that came from New York:
"Young men—are you anxious for freedom to win?
Then Kansas will welcome you in!
The ones who want whips to be heard in the West
are trooping in thousands to win the great test.
If Kansas is shackled, the world will cry shame.
Young men—will you stake the first claim?" . . .
Next morning young Bondi marched down to the
store,
bought two saddle-bags, and they asked him what
for.
Instead of an answer, he gave them a grin:
"Excuse me—I'd better begin!"
He stayed just a moment, to polish his gun,
then out he went, whistling, and winked at the sun:
"Be seeing you, pal, in a prettier sky!"
—Then bid Martha Bondi goodbye.

AUGUST BONDI:

There is a land of unbitten fruit,
brooks never waded across or raced,
sunlight and starlight going to waste,
soil without suckling, seedling or root.

It lies like a gift for the greedy to take.
At night the four winds carry its cry:
"Whatever you plant here will not die;
my life and my law are for you to make!"

I am greedy, mother, for such a soil.
Long enough we wander and weep,
driven away before we can reap
the golden harvests of our toil.

The wandering-time is over and done.
I yearn for that soil as it yearns for me.
What rises out of my husbandry
may make you happy to call me son.

Not so much the corn and the wheat,
the peach-trees neither, nor the cows—
but freedom, the frame of every house;
freedom, the stones on every street.

(When he names Kansas, and admits that he expects trouble there, Mrs. Bondi reminds him of other goodbyes. In March of 1848, at the age of 15, he had gone with her blessing to face the guns of Metternich in Vienna, and had lifted the first stone of the first barricade. "Moses' fire burns in you!" she had said.)

CHORUS OF FEARFUL FRIENDS:

Kansas? Is he out of his head?
Twenty-two's a young age to be dead . . .
Before he sows one kernel of wheat
they'll find his heart, and sow it with lead.

After one night without light, without heat,
after one week without milk, without meat,
after one month without roof, without bed,
he'll wish he never had left this street. . . .

MARTHA BONDI:

Because there's a rumbling when you listen to the
ground,
a rumbling from out of the West—
am I to hold my son back, safe and sound,
while others lunge to the test?

I—who made Freedom a childhood refrain
till it rang like a bell on his tongue—
shall I now strike those syllables out of his brain
as a fairy-tale word for the young?

Safe be your sons: the smith and the scribe,
the cantor, the counter of coins!
Safe with my son is the dream of our tribe:
safe in his arms, in his loins. . . .

CHORUS OF FEARFUL FRIENDS:

Kansas! The brooks there are running red.
Kansas! The grass there cries out to be fed.
Kansas! The blood of young fools is sweet!
August Bondi—are you out of your head?

MARTHA BONDI: There'll be trouble.

AUGUST BONDI: I've a gun.

MARTHA BONDI: Go, then. Go with God, my son!

II.

This section depicts, in the form of letters from Bondi to his mother, his early days as a settler in Kansas. First he encounters a large group of pro-slavery "ruffians" returning to Missouri after an invasion of the new Territory; they boast of their cruel exploits, and threaten the same treatment to all who oppose slavery. Then, one evening, alone on his claim, Bondi bakes Matzoh and celebrates the Passover.

Twenty "ruffians" gallop up to his cabin, ask where he stands on the issue of slavery and threaten to kill him when he calls himself a "free-soiler." Soon after, he meets four of John Brown's sons and allies himself with them. "Any time you let us know," they assure him, "we will come to your assistance. We are four brothers, all well armed." The section ends as he writes: "This time, mother, I sign the letter not only as your devoted son, but also—as a son of John Brown."

III.

Early in October 1855, thousands of Missourians invaded Kansas to stage another "election"—this time, for a representative to Congress. The free-state settlers boycotted the polls that day but on the 9th they conducted their own election despite threats of bloodshed. August Bondi left a sick-bed that frosty morning and insisted his friends drive him to the polls.

BALLADEER:

"Young man, you look bad; if you want to look worse
we'll take you—but mind, you'll come home in a
hearse!"

Said Bondi, "Let's go! I'll be fine in this coat.
We're here to vote free, and we'll vote!"

A wagon caught up with them. "Howdy!" "Good
day!"

Six Browns and a Brown-in-law sat on the hay.
And there, with his cavalry sword belted on—
plush cap, and revolver—sat John.

(Bondi was introduced to John Brown; they shook hands.
"What do you think of this land?" he asked.)

JOHN BROWN:

I met those at the border
who love the crack of whips.
Winds came from their lips:
"Our guns are loaded with thunder.
This year's storm arrives
on the lightning of our knives!"
Be patient, I whispered
to the rifles under the hay.
You will have your say.

I passed those on the highway
who brought a hope from far.
Pale and cold they are:
"Bolt the doors and windows
from friend as well as foe!
Keep the lanterns low!"

Be patient, I whispered
to the rifles under the hay.
You will have your say.

I found those trembling
in their tents, who were my sons,
—too weak to load their guns.
Did they not come here
to plough in freedom's name?
Where, then, is the flame?

The rifles are losing
their patience under the hay.
They must have their say!

BALLADEER:

His rifles said plenty. At blossoming-time,
John Brown was an outlaw, accused of a crime.
His kin lay in hiding, God only knows where,
their cabins deserted and bare.
On May 26th, looking weary and weak,
a lad stumbled into the camp by the creek.
"Come in, August Bondi!" called Brown to his guest,

"and hang up your gun with the rest!"

Another Jew, Weiner, and six of Brown's sons, and Townsley, a neighbor, had come with their guns. And though the few muskets looked foolish and worn, a mighty allegiance was sworn.

(Brown and his nine followers vow: "Yes, we'll stir at any sound of trouble, and march no matter where or when, and fight to the death for freedom, matching a thousand with our ten!") Soon a messenger from Prairie City brings word that a hundred Missourians are lurking in the woods, perpetrating much and threatening more. Brown's little band marches to the rescue, and sets up camp near Prairie City, waiting for the promised reinforcements. But day after day Captain Shore, head of the Prairie City militia, returns to Brown with the same tidings: "My men are just now very unwilling to leave home." Brown refuses to fight for the town unless its own men join him.)

BALLADEER:

On May 31st, Captain Shore galloped back:
"The enemy's gone into camp near Black Jack.
They've raided Palmyra—our village is next.
At last every settler is vexed.
A prayer-meeting's called for tomorrow at ten;
before the prayer's over, you'll have sixty men.
Bring all your guns loaded, and fit for attack.
There'll be a day's work at Black Jack."

(The following day, about 40 men of Prairie City agreed to support John Brown's attack on the pro-slavery camp at Black Jack, a grove of black jack oak trees besides a creek two miles away. At nightfall they entered the woods, planning to surprise the hundred Missourians, led by Henry Clay Pate, at daybreak.)

BALLADEER:

The first streak of dawn was a call to close ranks.
With Captain Shore's company guarding their flanks,
John Brown and his boys lunged ahead for the kill.
Like daybreak they crested the hill.
Below them, half-hidden by oak-trees, they saw
the smirking battalions of order and law.
"Now follow me, soldiers!" cried old Captain Brown;
behind him they avalanched down.
Before they had gone more than half of the way
the guns of the enemy wished them good day.
Three volleys resounded, three volleys in vain:
they shook off the bullets-like rain.

(Reaching the Santa Fe road, where the old washed-out wagon-tracks served as a trench, they looked back and discovered that none of the Prairie City men had followed them downhill, except Captain Shore. Brown's son-in-law was shot in the lungs and had to be led away. Then Carpenter, who'd brought the appeal from Prairie City in the first place, was wounded. A short while later Captain Shore squatted on the ground, announced that he was "very hungry" and walked off "to hunt up some breakfast." Then Townsley told them that he was "running out of

ammunition" and disappeared "to find some more." Brown made no effort to stop them; but rushed back and forth to encourage those who were left, urging them to "step it up." Through the spy-glass he could see that some of the enemy had been hit by the fire of his men, and a number were fleeing. "We must never allow that," he said. "We must try to surround them, and compel them to surrender!" Pointing to a hill south of the Missourians, he announced what seemed an impossible scheme: August Bondi, Theodore Weiner, and two others would follow him up that exposed hill, leaving seven at the Santa Fe road. If they could reach the top, the enemy would be surrounded.)

BALLADEER:

The grass of last summer still clung to that slope.
It gave them some shelter, but not what they hoped.
Growled Pate of Missouri: "I see through the glass
five rattlesnakes stirring the grass."
The bullets flew after them, gave them no rest.
"Nu, Weiner," called Bondi, "was meinen Sie jetzt?"
"Was soll ich denn meinen?" was Weiner's reply.*
"Sof odom muves."—All men die.
"Wir machen ihn broges!"—Before he gets mad,
we'd better catch up to the old one, my lad!
They laughed at the bullets still buzzing around,
and raced up the hill to John Brown.

(Pate's men were panic-stricken, imagining that a large force must be supporting the five on the hill. "I'm going ahead alone," said Brown. "If I wave my hat, you follow. I've told the others to join us at the signal.")

BALLADEER:

He walked twenty paces, and lifted his hat.
The fighting free-soilers flew forward at that.
Said Brown: "You'll surrender—no ifs, buts or ands!"
The rifles slipped out of their hands.
First Pate handed over his sword and his gun,
then twenty-four followed his lead, one by one;
then out of the bushes popped "brave" Captain Shore
to carry the trophies of war.
Then Pate turned his frown on a bullet-holed tree:
"Don't anyone ever breathe Black Jack to me!"
Said Brown: "You may hear of it once in a while!"
and Bondi, young Bondi—he smiled.

NARRATOR:

At noon the shade they cast was small;
but before the sun of that day rolled down,
the oaks of Kansas arose so tall
their shadow reached into Birmingham town;
and from every branch the name of John Brown
rang through the world like a thunderbird's call.

Some say (though proof would be hard to find)
the roots of two young blackjacks grew
quite fierce, and groped till they intertwined,
like John Brown's hand, and the hand of the Jew;
and, deep in free soil, those flaming two
are everlastingly enshrined.

* "Nu, Weiner," called Bondi, "what do you think now?"
"What should I think?" was Weiner's reply.

I SAW JIMCROW IN PRISON

The first Smith act victim released from jail tells of her experience with Negro women prisoners in federal jail who are kept segregated

By Regina Frankfeld

LET me tell you what I know from personal experience about Jimcrow in federal prisons. The Department of Justice has by a technicality contested the petition against prison Jimcrow submitted by Negro Smith act victim Ben Davis, who has spent several years in jail.

When Dorothy Rose Blumberg and I were taken out of the Baltimore City jail after our conviction under the Smith act and transferred to the Federal Reformatory for Women in Alderson, West Virginia, another woman, a federal prisoner, went with us. She was a beautiful young Negro woman. The three of us were taken by station wagon under guard of two marshalls: a man and woman. This trip to Alderson was long and wearisome. It was the end of January and a bitter cold day. With the quick sympathy that is an instant bond between prisoners we helped each other on that long trip to prison. All three of us were emotionally and physically exhausted. We had said good-bye to our beloved friends and families only three days before this trip. We were on our way to prison for years.

On the way down we shared our cigarettes, sang songs, told stories about our children, played "20 questions." We found out that Ardelia had a baby, that her mother was taking care of the child, that she had always wanted an education but her family had been too poor and so she had had to leave school when she was 12 years old. We never found out what her "crime" was. That was somehow not important. For the hours we spent together we talked with the warmth and concern that on the "outside" one doesn't find until one has known one another for many years.

When we reached Alderson the doctors discovered that Ardelia was a very sick young woman. She was placed in the hospital and when she recovered, she disappeared into the Jimcrow set-up of Alderson. In spite of the bond forged during those weary first hours of prison life—the hours in the station wagon—in spite of my concern and many questions about her, I never talked to her again because of the Jimcrow barrier in the prison.

FOR THE FIRST THREE WEEKS IN ALDERSON YOU LIVE IN THE "orientation" building. This is the period when you make the transition from the world "outside" to the world "inside." Here you learn how to be a prisoner. The first three days you spend locked in a room. That is your introduction to prison life—the locked door. During those three days the door was unlocked for brief moments and another

inmate showed me how to make a bed with hospital corners, how to scrub the floor, how to wash the walls, how to clean that room so that when an officer went over the floor with a kleenex, she wouldn't find any dust on the floor or the furniture. And many were the warnings, "Be sure she doesn't find any dust or you will get a bad mark." It was a young Negro woman who taught me patiently over and over again how to make the bed, how to fold the prison clothes, how to clean.

When the first three days were finally over, I was released from isolation and joined the rest of the prisoners in the orientation building. I saw them all for the first time in the dining room. There were about 30 women taking that "course" in prison living. Young and old—Negro and white—from all over the United States, from the west coast, from the deep South, from New York—we all met in Alderson, the only women's federal penitentiary in the country. There were women there who were grandmothers and one child who had just passed her 16th birthday. Some women were in prison because they had sold narcotics, others because they had stolen cars and helped to transport them over state boundaries, still others for forgery, and there were the two Smith act prisoners, Dorothy and I.

We were welcomed and accepted into this strange community of women. For three weeks in the orientation building Negro and white women lived together. We ate together, worked together, went to the movies together, shared completely those first three difficult weeks. Each woman was assigned to a job. You worked eight hours a day and the remainder of the day you sewed labels into your prison clothes. In addition to her regular work assignment each woman had a "cottage" job. She had to help to keep the building in which she lived in spic and span order. My regular job was painting rooms and my "cottage" assignment was waxing the floor of the long upper hall. Then, on the week-end the officers would throw in a couple of extra jobs like cleaning windows or waxing the dining room floor, etc., etc. On all these jobs I was helped by other inmates.

OF ALL THE WOMEN WHO HELPED ME, I REMEMBER MARY best of all. She was only about five feet tall but full of humor and vitality. She was a slender, quick person with a beautiful warm brown skin and mischievous eyes. She worked in the kitchen on food service. While she was

there, the food always looked good, it was served quickly and efficiently and she had that kitchen crew organized so that the work got done, as she would say, "one, two, three." She washed and starched and ironed those prison dresses so that they looked as though they didn't know how to wrinkle. Still she wasn't satisfied, so she decided to put pleats in the dresses. When the rest of us were ready to collapse and just had enough energy to sit and look at each other and breathe, Mary was standing over the ironing board putting pleats in her dress so that it "would look a little pretty."

We were very fond of each other. I was continually marveling at her terrific energy and she was forever teaching me the "facts of prison life." We both enjoyed Saturday mornings because then we had a common assignment. Mary washed the windows in the kitchen and I waxed the floor. We would sing together as we worked. Mary had come into the prison a week before I had so she was to leave the orientation buildings a week ahead of me.

BEFORE YOU "GRADUATE" FROM THE ORIENTATION COURSE INTO the regular life of Alderson, you come before the classification board and are assigned to your permanent job and living quarters. On Mary's last Saturday in that building we were working away together. Knowing that she would soon be gone, I expressed the hope that "we somehow land in the same cottage together." She was standing on top of the sink, washing the window, and turned and looked down at me. I was waxing the floor. "But Regina, that's impossible. As soon as you leave this building, that old devil Jimcrow takes over." That is how I learned about the Jimcrow in Alderson. In all the 20 months I spent in Alderson, I saw Mary only once again. I met her

by accident outside the door of the parole office while we were both waiting to be interviewed.

Mary knew the Jimcrow setup in Alderson. Once you are assigned to your permanent job and living quarters, you live in separate buildings, you eat in the same dining room but at separate tables, you go to the same movie but sit in separate sections. The worst job in Alderson is the piggery. Only Negro women are assigned to take care of the pigs. Very few Negro women are assigned to the office jobs.

Yet the Negro women as a group play an outstanding role in Alderson. The cultural event of the year, the event in which the women can exercise some creative ability, is the evening of the Spirituals. Once a year the Negro women sing Spirituals for the women of Alderson. People from all over the countryside come to hear the Spirituals. It is the one evening of the year when almost every woman comes to the auditorium. Negro and white women work together to make this an evening of dignity and beauty. A white woman painted a backdrop of a chariot in the sky as the background for the Negro women singers. I heard the Spirituals twice during the time I was in Alderson. It was a deeply moving experience. This evening was the gift of the Negro women to all the inmates of Alderson.

This is the Jimcrow setup in which Claudia Jones, a Negro Smith act victim, lives today in Alderson. It is against these practices which exist in every federal prison, that Ben Davis filed his historic petition against prison segregation. With the courage and militancy which is so much a part of his whole career, Ben Davis has challenged the government to clean its own house, to do away with Jimcrow in the federal prisons.



THE LIGHT

Courtesy of ACA Gallery
Painting by Mervin Jules

THE THIRTIES—AND THE JEWISH MASSES

By Morris U. Schappes

IT was a decade that began in economic crisis and ended in the anti-fascist World War II, but that also witnessed mass struggles for recovery and broad movements for peace through collective security. Hitlerism rose in its fury and advanced like lava on its appeasing neighbors, scorching the working class movements, Jews and democracy itself as with flame-throwers and giving transatlantic nourishment to native American reaction. But the democratic resistance formed, organized itself on many fronts and beat back the recurrent charge of fascism. The infant New Deal was pushed by the needy, impatient and organizing masses onto the path of reform and minimal social security as they rallied around the uncertain leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and made him the great figures he became. In these struggles, sharing the general problems of the American people but especially alarmed by Hitlerism abroad and the anti-Semitic wave in our own country, the Jewish masses distinguished themselves in all phases of the conflict.

In 1930 unemployment and hunger wracked the people. The workers had no cushion of government relief or social insurance. Hoover was indifferent. William Green and his fellow-bureaucrats of the American Federation of Labor could, in their hide-bound impotence, do nothing but appeal to the workers as Americans proudly to refuse the "dole" that workers in Britain had won. Initiative in the fight for relief therefore came from the Communists and other left forces. A call by the Trade Union Unity League for national demonstrations of the unemployed brought more than a million workers onto the streets in a dozen cities, 100,000 of them in New York alone, where Israel Amter was one of the leaders arrested and imprisoned. The Unemployed Councils sparked by the T.U.U.L. rapidly became a mass organization in 46 states and Puerto Rico, with thousands of Jews among its most active members and militants like Herbert Benjamin and Sam Wiseman among the top leaders. Louis Weinstock, a leader of the New York painters' union, headed the A.F.L. Committee for Unemployment Insurance and Relief, which, despite denunciations by William Green, won support of 3,000 locals, 35 city Central Labor Unions, six state federations of labor and five internationals for such federal legislation.

Jews were active in the nationwide hunger marches on

Washington that brought 1800 persons there on December 7, 1931 and 3000 on December 6, 1932, and when thousands of hungry workers marched on Ford's River Rouge plant on March 7, 1932, among the four workers shot to death by the police was the 16 year old Joseph Bussell, a Jewish member of the Young Communist League. When the Workers' Ex-Servicemen's League brought almost 20,000 veterans to Washington in a Bonus March in the summer of 1932, Emanuel Levin was one of the main leaders and hundreds of Jews were in the ranks.

Added to the participation of many Jews individually in these movements, there was born on March 30, 1930 a Jewish fraternal organization that speedily brought thousands into activity. Harassed by the rightwing Socialists dominating the Workmen's Circle, the left forces founded the International Workers' Order, basing themselves on the platform of alert defense of workers' interests that the Workmen's Circle leaders had abandoned. From about 5,000 in 1930, the Jewish Section of the I.W.O. grew to 51,000 in 1939, of whom 15,000 were in English speaking lodges. Moreover, the Jewish fraternalists also led in the building of the I.W.O. into a multi-nationality organization of 15 sections that in 1939 had a membership of 161,624. So influential a force for democracy and progress did the I.W.O. become that McCarthyite reaction later singled it out for special attack and succeeded in formally liquidating it in 1954.

Spurt in Labor Organization

It was in the framework of these massive struggles that the electoral will of "the forgotten man" placed Roosevelt in the White House amid the crash of banks and rising unemployment. Driven by need and heartened by Roosevelt's moderate encouragement of unionism, the working masses began the greatest movement in their history. Millions were in motion. From 1934 to 1936, some 3,397,000 workers were involved in tremendous strikes, including the San Francisco General Strike of 1934. Although 88 workers were killed in action, important concessions were won. The drive to organize the unorganized rolled. On August 31, 1933 the A.F.L. had only 2,126,796 members, the lowest number since 1916. In 1940 the A.F.L. and the

Congress of Industrial Organizations combined had a membership of 8,057,761; in three years the C.I.O. had grown to over 3,800,000. The biggest gains were in heavy industry, but new unions were also being established in fields where Jews were very numerous, in the white collar and professional areas.

Many tens of thousands of Jews, children of shop and factory workers, had responded to the "American dream" of getting out of the working class. Taking advantage of opportunities uniquely available in the metropolitan centers in which Jews were concentrated, they had found their way into professional and white collar pursuits. Frustrated by the crisis, they fought back. Where their parents had built Socialist unions, this new generation organized progressive, anti-fascist unions, or infused new militancy in old unions like the Teachers'. The first to move were the Jewish social workers in New York; in 1931 they transformed the Association of Federation Workers into a union for the staffs of Jewish agencies to fight a wage cut. In 1933, unions appeared for artists, for architects, engineers, chemists and technicians, and for newspapermen. In 1935 there were born the Interne Council of Greater New York, the Pharmacists Union, the Psychologists League and the Lawyers Security League of New York City. In 1937 the state, county and municipal workers, the office and professional workers, and the federal workers organized. In all these movements there were thousands of Jews and they were heavily represented in the leadership.

Communists were a vital factor in these organizing drives, both inside and outside the C.I.O. "[John L.] Lewis did not hesitate," Foster Rhea Dulles observes, "to draw upon their experience and skill in building up the C.I.O."¹ In this period, the Communist Party was growing rapidly: from 14,000 in 1932 to 41,000 in 1936, and to 75,000 in 1938, while Young Communist League multiplied from 3,000 in 1933 to 22,000 in 1939. Many Jews were attracted to this movement by its socialist perspective, its militancy in fighting for the improvement of the conditions of the masses and especially by its clear and vigorous program against fascism, anti-Semitism, racism and war.

Fight Against Hitlerism

This last threat was embodied in Hitlerism which, backed by German Big Business and the Prussian big landowners, came to power on January 30, 1933 and launched its program of terrorism for the workers, Jews and democratic masses, and of conquest and war for the world. Outside the left, which had been signaling the danger for months, there was at first incredulity and indecision. Had not 29 leading and wealthy Jews of Germany sent a message in October 1932 to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise assuring him that "Hitler will never come to power?"² And if Wise did not believe such assurance, others did, and were

disarmed even after it proved false. The *Jewish Daily Forward*, its vision distorted by its bitter anti-communism, had a Berlin report from Jacob Lestchinsky, published February 16, to the effect that Goebbels had ordered an end to pogroms and that Hitlerism, now that it was in power, would "have to become well-behaved." Even on March 6 this newspaper speculated editorially that the Hitler-Von Papen regime would "now give up a significant part of its hooligan and terroristic tactics."

The plutocracy around the American Jewish Committee of course would not hear of any demonstrative anti-nazi actions. Why, *such* deeds would stir Hitler to anti-Semitic acts and surely endanger the Jews of Germany! This nonsense could paralyze the B'nai B'rith, but not the American Jewish Congress, which during the remainder of this decade played a decisive role in rallying the huge Jewish middle class to anti-nazi activity. The first big action consisted of mass meetings in a score of cities on March 27, 1933. In New York, Madison Square Garden was packed. Rabbi Wise had been subjected to enormous pressure from the State Department and the German Embassy in Washington to call off the meetings, but, backed by Brandeis, he stuck to the decision. Hundreds of thousands took part.

The Jewish people wanted more actions. Hitler had announced the burning of the books on May 10. The government in Washington, although called upon to speak out, was mum. "We went ahead," writes Wise, "pressed forward by the Jewish masses who could not be expected to understand such silence," and organized a great street parade in New York on May 10 to protest this infamy.³ Meanwhile a movement to boycott German goods and services had gotten under way on April 1, 1933. Conceived by the journalist Abraham Coralnick, and initiated by the Jewish War Veterans, it was pushed vigorously by Samuel Untermyer, the prominent lawyer, through the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, although the American Jewish Committee and the B'nai B'rith sharply condemned it. With Wise hesitating, Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, then chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress, promoted the boycott until the Congress officially backed it on August 20, 1933. The first big achievement was the resolution for the boycott passed by the A.F.L. convention on October 13. The boycott became in time a mass movement involving not only consumers but organized workers who refused to work on materials imported from Germany, as did the Furriers and many other groups.⁴

Workers' Anti-Nazi Action

From below, especially from the Jewish workers, there was continual pressure for demonstrative action. The Jewish Labor and People's Committee against Fascism and German Pogroms called for such a demonstration for June

¹ Foster Rhea Dulles, *Labor in America*, New York, 1949, p. 317.
² *Challenging Years, the Autobiography of Stephen S. Wise*, New York, 1949, p. 234-35.

³ Wise, *work cited*, p. 251, 244-45.
⁴ Joseph Tenenbaum, "The Anti-Nazi Boycott Movement in the United States," unpublished paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, February 13, 1955.

24, 1933, and, despite a red-baiting editorial in the *Forward* of June 18 urging people to stay away, the workers came in great numbers. A general movement in which Jews were strongly represented was launched on September 29, 1933 at the founding convention of the American League Against War and Fascism (the name was changed in November 1937 to "For Peace and Democracy"). Initiated again by the left, this movement at its height embraced about 4,000,000 people and became the central organized force fighting for collective security. The inspiring records of the period abound in dramatic actions and campaigns, including opposition to the sending of delegations to the Berlin Olympics in 1936, to the Heidelberg University 550th anniversary celebration in 1936 and the Goettingen University 250th anniversary in 1937.

One daring action that became a world-wide symbol was the climax of a demonstration on July 26, 1935 of some 4500 persons on the dock alongside the German liner *Bremen*, when one daring soul ripped the Nazi Swastika Flag from its staff and tossed it into the Hudson River. While the staunchly anti-nazi world cheered, timid elements frowned and the *Forward* even condemned the demonstration editorially on August 3, but Magistrate Louis B. Brodsky expressed the deepest feelings of all anti-nazis, especially the Jews, when he released five of six persons arrested at the demonstration with the remark from the bench that the swastika was "similar to the black flag of piracy."⁵ Yet, because the German ambassador protested, Secretary of State Cordell Hull apologized officially for the incident.

Action on International Scale

From the left workers came not only the pressure for militancy but for Jewish anti-fascist unity in action. But the rightwing Socialists, making red-baiting and not anti-fascism their guiding line, continually opposed all unity movements. Working mainly through the Jewish Labor Committee, born in 1933, the leaders of these rightwing unions and other organizations, with the *Forward* as their organ, brought confusion into the ranks. In 1936, after the American Jewish Congress had refused to admit representatives of certain left groups like the Jewish Section of the I.W.O., there was formed the Jewish People's Committee against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, which for several years was a dynamo of activity. When in 1937 the institution of "ghetto benches" in Polish schools was followed by a pogrom wave, and when even the American Jewish Congress contented itself with the quiet submission of a memorandum to the State Department, the Jewish People's Committee brought almost 1000 delegates representing over 400,000 Jews to Washington for a national conference on November 19-20, 1937 that thundered its protest against Polish anti-Semitism.

The nazi onslaught against the Jews, which also quickened attacks against them in Poland and Rumania, had

led thousands of Jews to seek to escape from these countries. With the doors of the United States virtually barred by the 1924 anti-immigration law, Palestine became the main other way out. From 1933 to 1935, immigration to Palestine numbered 134,540, which was greater than the total of 122,600 that had come to Palestine in the entire period from 1917 to 1932. The need for overseas aid to the stricken Jews was acute and from 1933 to 1939 more than 20 million dollars was spent by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee for this purpose. The Hitler atrocities and the flight to Palestine compelled an ideological shake-up in the entire Jewish population here. Membership in Zionist groups, which had been 150,000 in 1930, reached 400,000 in 1940. There was a general upsurge of Jewish identification in many forms in all trends of Jewish life, from right to left.

Overseas aid to refugees did not of course exhaust the need for attention to problems overseas. Hitler was systematically carrying out his time-table of conquest, aided by the foreign offices of Great Britain, France and the United States, which appeased Hitler in order to turn his assault primarily against the Soviet Union. Franco's uprising against the democratic Spanish government on July 17, 1936, backed by Hitler and Mussolini, became a major test of strength between the forces of aggression and appeasement on the one hand and those of collective security to quarantine the aggressor on the other. While the Western Big Three followed a cynical policy of "non-intervention" that exposed Spanish democracy all alone to the fascist aggressors, the vanguard of the anti-fascist forces of the world rallied to its defense. Part of this aid to Spain came in the form of the International Brigades, with some 30,000 men coming to Spain from 54 countries (including Palestine) to fight Franco and Hitlerism.

From the United States there came the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, formed on January 6, 1937. About 3000 Americans volunteered to fight in Spain, half of whom died there. There were many hundreds of Jews, perhaps a third of the total, in this heroic Lincoln Battalion. They went to Spain for a great variety of reasons, all of them essentially anti-fascist. One level of consciousness was expressed by a Jew who wrote home to his mother while he was convalescing from a thigh wound that "I took up arms against the persecutors of my people—the Jews—and my class, the oppressed. I am fighting against those who establish an inquisition like that of their ideological ancestors several centuries ago, in Spain."⁶

Fighting Anti-Semitism at Home

Anti-Semitism, however, had to be fought not only overseas but at home. The soil that Henry Ford had fertilized with anti-Semitism in the Twenties was ready for the plow in the Thirties. From 1933 to 1939 there were 114 anti-Semitic organizations formed, and 77 of them were

⁵ *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 38, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 178-79.

⁶ Bulletin of Council of Jewish Organizations, Local 16, United Office and Professional Workers of America, quoted in *Jewish Life*, March, 1938 p. 21.

active in 1940. Towards the end of the decade the radio-priest, Charles E. Coughlin, was reaching an audience of ten million with his anti-Semitic propaganda and the strong-arm men of his "Christian Front" organization were roaming the streets of New York peddling his magazine, *Social Justice*, which used the forged Protocols of Zion as a guide. In addition the German-American Bund, the Silver Shirts and the Black Legion were among the organizations that added the storm-troop flavor to their anti-Semitism. New York City had 26 of these anti-Semitic outfits (17 of them units of the Hitlerite Bund), Chicago 18, Los Angeles 7. Hoodlum violence was added to demagoguery. And in August 1936 a bacteriologist for the Detroit Board of Health was fired for failing to report a Black Legion proposition made to him "to breed typhoid germs to infect milk sold to Jews."⁷

The Coughlins demagogically exploited two anti-Semitic stereotypes: the "Jew-banker" and the "Jew-communist." When the New Deal was attacked from the right as "socialistic" and "communistic," it was labeled the "Jew Deal" and Roosevelt's real name was declared to be "Rosenfeld." Many Jewish organizations were involved, together with democratic general groups, in combating this tide, conspicuously the Jewish War Veterans, the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish People's Committee, which included the Jewish Section of the I.W.O. Of course the American Jewish Committee resented the vigor shown in this work and had its own way of "meeting" the anti-Semitic challenge. Thus when Hitler told the United Press that he was against the Jews because they were Bolsheviks, Dr. Cyrus Adler retorted fatuously in another interview with the same agency on December 5, 1935 that Hitler well knew that it was the German generals that had paved the way for Bolshevism by breaking down the Eastern front in 1917!⁸

Solidarity with Negroes

That there was a connection between anti-Semitism and racist theories of white supremacy also became clearer to masses of Jews in this decade. Jews began to be conspicuously active, both as rank-and-filers and as leaders, in the fight for total democracy for the Negro people, especially the agricultural masses and the workers. When the left established *The Southern Worker* in Chattanooga on August 30, 1930, its first editor was a former Jewish university instructor, James S. Allen. The Scottsboro case, which dragged nine young Negroes in Alabama into a frame-up on a charge of rape, brought thousands of Jews into the fight for justice. When Joseph Brodsky, an International Labor Defense lawyer (and also general counsel for the I.W.O.), took over the defense of the Scottsboro Boys on April 9, 1931, he became a target for anti-Semitic attack by the Southern white supremacists.

When in 1934 Samuel Leibowitz joined the defense, the

prosecution Jew-baited him right in the courtroom. But the nine were saved. Later, when Negro miners struck in Alabama and five were killed on the picket line, protests were voluminous and those that came from Jewish workers were so notable that the governor of Alabama complained and a member of the American Jewish Committee in Birmingham urged the Committee to look into such dangerous activity on the part of Jews! In these and many other ways bonds of solidarity were being forged, which were to expand tremendously in the Forties and Fifties.

Among the important democratic movements of the Thirties, those of the intellectuals and creators of cultural values were of enduring significance as, in loose alliance with the organizing workers, they moved into battle in their own fields. In the colleges the fight against fascism and war attained great heights, influencing millions. Jews were active at all levels in the National Student League (born in 1932) and the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and then in the product of the merger of these two in December 1935 into the American Student Union. The campus did in fact become, as Roosevelt put it, a "fortress for democracy." When the first nation-wide anti-war student strike was held on April 12, 1937, there were over 180,000 students in it. Coughlin's *Social Justice* howled that red Jews were running the colleges. In the general and broader movement known as the American Youth Congress, Jews were also very active.

Among the writers there was an outburst of progressive creativity that left a permanent mark on our culture. This activity was intertwined with work in the anti-fascist movement. When a Call for "a Congress of American revolutionary writers" was issued in January 1935, one third of the 70 signers were Jews, with a Waldo Frank, a Michael Gold, and a Yiddish writer like M. J. Olgin in the lead, and when the League of American Writers emerged from the Congress on April 26-28, 1935, the majority of the Executive Committee of 17 was Jewish. And as this movement broadened its platform and included hundreds of more writers, the Jewish element continued to be a vital factor.⁹

The decade was one of democratic vitality. Faced with the looming blight of fascism, the mass movements strove to loosen the strangling bands of Big Business over democracy and to infuse a people's content into its traditional forms. The Jewish people, their need for democracy sharpened by Hitlerism and Coughlinism, the opportunities to exercise democracy increased by the expansive New Deal, used these opportunities with special zest. Despite the American Jewish Committee and the rightwing Socialists, Jewish liberalism and democratic radicalism rose to new heights to meet the fascist horror. The Jewish masses had everything, life and survival itself, to lose under fascism; with conspicuous energy they fought back on all fronts in the people's movements.

⁷ *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 39, p. 253; Donald S. Strong, *Organized Anti-Semitism in America*, Washington, D. C. 1941, p. 144-146, 174.
⁸ *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 38, p. 625; vol. 41, p. 651.

⁹ Henry Hart ed., *American Writers' Congress*, New York, 1935, p. 11-12, 188; Hart, ed., *The Writer in a Changing World*, New York, 1937, p. 252, 255.



PLAY BALL! KINDERLAND!

Throughout the land the cry "Play Ball!" is heard again. The hearts of all kids beat faster—because with baseball in the air, summer vacation beckons around the corner. Boys and girls begin to daydream as the spring sun streams through the school window. For parents this is no time for daydreaming—but of serious thought on how to provide their children a happy, worthwhile vacation in a progressive Jewish and interracial atmosphere. It is no light responsibility these days. But it can be met. Parents can send their children to Camp Kinderland, situated on the shores of lovely Sylvan Lake, 60 miles north of New York City.

SUMMER FUN AND OUR KID'S FUTURE

PARENTS want their children to attend a camp where there is beauty of nature, healthy substantial food, a competent staff, adequate facilities and comfortable accommodations. These are all prerequisites for a happy summer—and Camp Kinderland is outstanding in the provision of these features. However, many camps provide such physical features—although at a much higher rate than Kinderland, for as a non-profit institution Kinderland is geared to the pocketbooks of workers.

The most striking difference between Kinderland and other camps is not necessarily in the physical attributes—but in what can be called the soul of the camp. The soul of a camp is reflected in its program, outlook, spirit and education-through-living features.

For parents who are concerned about their children in today's atmosphere of unreason, cultural degeneracy and the hysteria, racism and anti-Semitism inherent in McCarthyism—this matter of the soul of a camp is of most vital importance. Even a few weeks at camp leaves its imprint on the outlook of the child. There is a strong relationship between summer fun and our kids' future.

As a progressive Jewish camp, where the child lives and plays in the spirit of inter-racial and all-nationality brotherhood, Kinderland has the kind of soul parents want for their children. Through the media of song, dance, games and entertainment the children acquaint themselves with the culture (in English and Yiddish) and aspirations of the Jewish people. Under the pines they drink in the spirit of peace and humanism. Thus the camp helps mould the child for a future of intelligent, enlightened citizenship. Information about Kinderland can be obtained from its office at 1 Union Square West, New York City. Adjacent to Kinderland is Camp Lakeland, where parents and other adults may enjoy a tip-top vacation at very reasonable rates.



Fun at Kinderland: (above) tug of war in the waters of Sylvan Lake; (below) the boys seem to be amused at the running talk of the photographer.



THE MEXICAN AMERICANS ORGANIZE

A number of organizations have sprung up to fight for first class citizenship for four million Mexican Americans in the Southwest

By Frances Lym

THE Irish in our country celebrate St. Patrick's Day; the Jews mark the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—and the Mexicans have a national holiday, too, in Cinco de Mayo (Fifth of May). This is one of Mexico's most important holidays. It symbolizes the Mexicans' struggle for freedom and the right to determine their own destiny. For this day marks the victory by a Mexican force in 1861 during the war with France. On Cinco de Mayo the Mexicans defeated a superior French force at Puebla, gateway to Mexico City on the road from the debarkation port of Vera Cruz. This victory has inspired generations of Mexicans since then and naturally finds an echo as a symbol of justice and freedom in the hearts of Mexicans living in the United States.

And this day is all the more meaningful to Mexicans in the United States because justice and equality are so largely denied them. This national minority numbers about four million and is concentrated mainly in the Southwest. Most of them are agricultural workers. A number work in metal mining and on the railroads. They also have a small middle class, mostly little business men and some professionals.

The intense chauvinism and discrimination against Mexican Americans have their historic origin in the practices and attitudes developed during the Mexican War of 1846-48. This was the expansionist war as a result of which Mexico was robbed of about half her territory, which became the great Southwest of the United States. Since then Mexicans have been cruelly exploited economically and the objects of sharp discrimination.

In his important book, *North from Mexico* (1948), the outstanding liberal Carey McWilliams characterizes their unjust stereotyping. The work of United States historians and sociologists, he says, "apparently consists in the sum total of the voluminous statistics on Mexican delinquency. Poor housing, low wages, illiteracy, rates of disease. . . . This data 'proved' that Mexicans lacked leadership, dis-

cipline and organization; that they segregated themselves; that they are lacking in thrift and enterprise, and so forth." And the stereotype of the Mexican in our movies and other media of mass entertainment is well known. Nor do the Mexicans have anything like the representation in government that their number warrants. In early years physical violence was inflicted on Mexicans in this country and lynchings were a pattern as late as 1890, as Carey McWilliams shows. More recently attacks on Mexicans have also taken on more subtle forms of discrimination of every sort. And police brutality against them is still prevalent in the Southwest.

But Mexican Americans have begun to organize in the fight for their civil rights. A variety of organizations have sprung up in the Mexican community, especially since World War II, to fight for first class citizenship. Here we shall not attempt an analysis of all the forces at work in this struggle, but we shall present only some aspects of the organized efforts of the Mexican community.

Fight for Representation

The vigorous "GI Forum" was organized in Texas in 1950 by some young war veterans and professionals. Through its legal department this group has carried on various campaigns against segregation in the schools, police brutality and other aspects of life. Already the "GI Forum" has won a victory in the United States Supreme Court with a favorable decision on the selection of persons of Mexican origin for jury service. And like other organizations in the Mexican community, this group has joined both with Mexican and non-Mexican groups in its struggles. During the 1952 election campaign the chairman of the board of directors of the Forum, Dr. H. P. Garcia, was appointed to the statewide steering committee of the Democratic Party of Texas to campaign for the Stevenson ticket.

Representation in government has taken a step forward with the political career of Edward Roybal in Los Angeles. He has been elected to the Los Angeles City Council and was candidate for lieutenant governor on the Democratic ticket in 1954. In fact, he could have been elected if there had been a more completely united effort among minority groups toward this end. This opinion was confirmed by

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Mrs. T. Pittman, California field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the second national convention of the important Mexican organization, the Community Service Organization.

The Community Service Organization (called "CSO") has conducted huge voting registration campaigns. This phase of activity began in the Eastside of Los Angeles in 1948 and has since reached into every hamlet in which the CSO exists, the Mexican communities of Alameda County in Northern California south to the counties surrounding Phoenix, Arizona.

The CSO carries on activities relating to citizenship. One of these is defense of Mexican non-citizens threatened with deportation. The organization has gone on record for repeal of the McCarran-Walter act and at the recent convention a panel discussion was devoted to this question.

A large area of work is the preparation of Mexicans for completing the requirements for citizenship. Since the McCarran-Walter act permits examinations for citizenship to be taken in the native language, classes on citizenship taught in Spanish have been set up in cooperation with other community groups and school boards. These classes have mushroomed. They began in Los Angeles in the summer of 1953. Three weeks after they were announced, ten classes with over 400 students were functioning. The program has grown and other organizations have offered their services to aid in the work. Spanish classes on citizenship are now held in Jewish community centers, public libraries, churches, settlement houses and other places.

Connection with Labor

One important feature of CSO is its relationship to the labor movement. Among its leaders are Mexican officers of trade unions. In this way the program and demands of the labor movement are brought directly into the Mexican community and are merged programmatically with the needs of the Mexican people. The CSO's national president is an organizer of the Packinghouse Workers Union who is organizing agricultural workers. The secretary-treasurer of CSO is an international representative of the Steel Workers' Union. While a number of professionals are in the local leadership, chapters also have trade unionists as officers. The president of the Los Angeles chapter is a business agent of the Butchers' Union.

Perhaps most important of all is the participation of Mexican Americans in the trade union movement. Outstanding in this respect is the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, about 15 per cent of whose members are Mexicans. The heroic strike of these workers a few years ago at Bayard, New Mexico, was immortalized in the great film, *Salt of the Earth*. This movie showed how the labor objectives of the union are integrally related to the fight of Mexicans for first class citizenship. Other Mexican workers are organized into unions in the cannery, agricultural, packing, steel, oil, garment and other industries.

Among other organizations in the Mexican American

community is the Alianza Hispano-Americana, whose headquarters are in Tucson, Arizona. The civil rights program of this organization includes the fight against segregation in the schools. Recently the Alianza joined with the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP in filing suit in the United States District Court against segregation in the school system of El Centro, California.

Campaign Against School Segregation

This question of segregation is one of the most important for the Mexican American community, as it is for the Negro people. For many years Mexican children have felt the sting of discrimination in the school system, which relegated them to manual training and home economics. Mexican children had to put up a fight to gain an academic education. A CSO survey a few years ago showed the extent of discrimination in the curricula of schools in the minority areas as compared with the non-minority areas. The report showed that two Mexican and Negro communities had 79 and 83 academic classes, respectively, while in schools of predominantly non-minority areas there were 17 and 151 such classes. Most of the educators questioned about the reason for the discrepancy gave similar answers. They said that, since only a small percentage of their students could afford to go to college, the primary responsibility was to prepare the student to earn a livelihood. Other said there was little call for academic classes.

Yet, today over 4,000 youth of Mexican origin in Los Angeles are enrolled in the East Los Angeles Junior College. Community leaders have recently set up an organization to raise funds for scholarships to help Mexican youth who desire professional training. A demand has also been raised for representation on the Los Angeles Board of Education and the current municipal election campaign has one candidate of Mexican origin running for this office.

Throughout the Southwest, small businessmen are also organized in the Mexican Chamber of Commerce to help the fight for first class citizenship. A recent national convention of this group in Los Angeles heard one of its leading members charge that the Immigration Service was using "Gestapo methods" to deport Mexican nationals.

There is also cooperation between the Mexican and Jewish communities in Los Angeles. The relationship got off to a good start in 1949 in the campaign to elect Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council under the slogan of Mexican representation. Since then leaders of the Jewish community have worked with Mexican organizations such as the CSO and have developed intercultural activities with the Mexican community. One of the outstanding events in the Eastside of the city was the Mexican Independence Day celebration on September 16. This program is held each year in the Jewish Soto-Michigan Community Center.

From this brief review of some organizational activities it can be seen that the Mexican American community is on its way in the struggle for equality. It will play a part in the important 1956 election campaign.

NEWS FROM EASTERN EUROPE

The Soviet Union

A NEW song cycle consisting of 11 songs to words from Jewish folk poetry has been composed by Dmitri Shostakovich and performed in Moscow recently. This work, Opus 79, is arranged for soprano, contralto and tenor with piano accompaniment and marks an advance in the famous Soviet composer's composition in the dramatic vocal field. The songs are warmly human vignettes of the lives of humble Jewish people in the not-so-distant past. They express the sufferings and the joys, the grief and the hopes of the same people that throng the pages of Sholem Aleichem. Some of the songs are arias, others are duets, trios. Together with the *Song of the Forests* cantata, the *Ten Choral Poems* (settings of revolutionary verse of the pre-1917 period), Shostakovich's *From Jewish Folk Poetry* is an important addition to modern vocal music.

An exhibition was held recently in Moscow of the graphic work of the noted Brazilian artist, Regina Katz, who is very active in the fight for peace. According to a review in a recent issue of *Soviet Culture*, the exhibition was highly estimated by Soviet critics.

Among the prize-winners of Fifth International Chopin Competition, which attracted pianists from 27 countries in many parts of the world held in Warsaw recently, were two young Soviet Jewish pianists: second prize, Vladimir Ashkenazi and fifth prize, Naum Shtarkman.

Poland

IN CELEBRATION of the Tenth Anniversary of the New Poland a two-day Festival of Jewish Culture was held in Wroclaw in January. During the day the festivities took place in the new Esther Rochel Kaminska Jewish Theater and in the evenings at the Wroclaw Opera House. About 700 Jewish men, women and youth participated in the choral singing, dancing and dramatic performances. Observers noted the growing maturity of the cultural work of Polish Jews and the emergence of enthusiastic participation of youthful graduates of the Jewish schools. The performers came from the large cities and towns, from Dzherzhioniov, Biolova, Schwednitz, Zhembitz, Lodz, Szczecin, Krakow, Stalinograd and Wroclaw and from the hamlets. A significant qualitative growth in performance was observed. Of special interest were the dramatization by the Dzherzhioniov dramatic group of I. L. Peretz' story, *A Weaver's Love*, under the direction of N. Rotblum, and a production of Sholem Aleichem's *Shtetpeniu* by the Wroclaw dramatic group under I. Zonshein's direction.

"Ten Years of Jewish Life in People's Poland" was the title of an exhibition of photographs and documents that opened in Warsaw at the end of 1954. Representatives of the National Assembly attended the opening. Among the greetings was one by H. Zavara, of Wroclaw, vice president of the National Assembly, who concluded his opening remarks thus: "In the name of the people of Wroclaw, I have the honor to extend the warmest greetings and best wishes for further success in all aspects of your work." The exhibition included

pictures and documents on all phases of Jewish life in all parts of the new Poland. There are pictures of Jewish workers and executive in various industries, shoe, metal mining, coal mining, railroad, textile, radio and communications. There are scenes of Jewish agricultural life and the developing farm cooperatives and pictures of Jewish army men. There are pictures of Jewish schools and classrooms, of the Yiddish press, the Jewish State Theater and of festivals of dance, choral and dramatic groups and the varied activities and institutions of the Social and Cultural Union of Polish Jews.

The City Council of Krakow decided recently to reconstruct the ancient Jewish synagogues and other ancient Jewish buildings in the 900-year old Jewish quarter of the city.

The former Nazi chief of the Piotrkow region, SS Hauptsturmfuehrer Herman Altman, who was responsible for the death of thousands of Jews and Poles during 1941-1944, was condemned to death early in March by the Lodz Regional Tribunal, meeting at Piotrkow.

Czechoslovakia

A MEMORIAL SERVICE was held in Prague early this year to commemorate the death of 4,000 Jews from Bohemia and Moravia who were gassed at Buchenwald on March 8-9, 1944. The service was held at the Great Synagogue.

Bulgaria

FOLLOWING are excerpts from a report on a visit to Bulgaria by London Councillor A. Wolfe, published in *Labour Israel* (London), October 1954:

"Recently I spent 16 days in Bulgaria, covering 1500 miles by car and plane and visiting a large number of towns and villages. I wanted to see how the Jewish population lived under the new regime.

"At present there are several Jews who hold important offices in the government, including Reuben Abramoff Levi, minister of culture, Professors Jacques Natan and Nissim Mevorah, chief consultants to the minister of justice. . . .

"I brought back with me a message of good will from all Jews in Bulgaria to their brethren in Britain. 'We are free here, tell your brethren in England, free to stay, free to go. The government places no restrictions on us if we choose to leave for Israel. In fact, they give us every possible assistance. Of the 60,000 Jews who were here at the end of 1945, 53,500 have emigrated to Israel since 1948. The remainder, 6,500, are situated as follows: 4,500 in Sofia, 800 in Plovdiv, and the rest in various small communities. Kosher meat is supplied to those who require the same and Bris Milah (circumcision) is carried out wherever a family, however remote, lives and wants the service of a Mohel. We live a full life sharing the joys and sorrows, the freedom and the responsibility of our Bulgarian brothers. We have nothing but praise for those who fought to spare our lives and who understand our needs. The Bulgarian people are not and never have been anti-Semitic. Even the fascists who tried to encourage anti-Semitism had to give up the job as useless."



RETURNING TO SHYLOCK

Within two months New York audiences saw two different and opposite interpretations of Shylock, one by the veteran Charles Derwent, who in an off-Broadway production of *The Merchant of Venice* portrayed the Jew in a "positive" and "sympathetic" manner; the other by the rookie Thomas Barbour who plays the conventional Shylock in the current production of the comedy by the Shakespearewrights at the Jan Hus Auditorium on East 74th Street.

This reviewer liked Mr. Derwent's interpretation not at all because it was at odds with the play. The showy style of his acting only went to emphasize the basic falseness of depicting Shylock as more sinned against than sinning. Granted his impressive delivery of the speech "Hath not a Jew eyes," etc., the attempt at a humane and charitable reading of the part stuck out like a sore thumb in the anti-Semitic texture of the play. Try as he might to represent Shylock as a human being and not as a stock caricature of the Jew, he could not eliminate from the "comedy" the anti-Semitic taunts and vile abuse of the Jew by Antonio, Gratiano, Salanio, Launcelot, Portia, et al.

Thomas Barbour's vigorous but essentially conventional portrayal of Shylock is much more in keeping with the play. In his review of the Shakespearewrights' production, Mr. Brooks Atkinson hit the nail on the head when he wrote:

"In Thomas Barbour's aggressive acting, he (Shylock) is a monster animated by the revilement of the Christians and the unfilial desertion of his daughter. However repugnant that interpretation may be to us today, it is the logic of the drama with no equivocation" (*New York Times*, February 23; emphasis added).

One may also share, albeit with distaste, his praise of the "candor of Marjorie Hildreth's direction" because "neither the director, nor the actors stray away from the theme into the byways of interpretation or evasion. It is good Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice* in fact."

Good or otherwise, it is *The Merchant of Venice* without apologies or attempts to sugar-coat its anti-Semitism. With few exceptions, the lesser parts are performed in the spirit of Mr. Barbour's Shylock, which is the spirit of the play. Robert Baines' Antonio is properly insolent and superior; Philip Lawrence's Gratiano is the polished Jew-baiter that the play calls for; Donald Mork's Salanio is the young anti-Semitic hoodlum who delights in Shylock's grief and Laurinda Barret's Portia is as mean in her treatment of the Jew—belying her plea for "the quality of mercy"—as Shakespeare meant her to be.

In the part of the Prince of Morocco, which is totally unrelated to the main plot, the young Negro actor, Earle Hyman, gives a magnificent performance in which the fervor of the noble suitor is enhanced by a sense of Elizabethan style.

It is a pity that the offensive spirit of Jew-baiting which animates the play, spoils for the spectator—or the reader—its wit and whimsy (the casket scene), its beautiful lines in the love scenes and the charm and mischievous gaiety of the young people's romancing and fooling around. Were it not for its bloodthirsty melodrama, *The Merchant of Venice* would indeed be a gay and tender comedy.

But rhapsodic lines like "In such a night as this, when the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees and they did make no noise . . ." or "The man that hath no music in himself, nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds, is fit for treason, stratagems and spoils"—these lines come from the mouth of Lorenzo, who stole Shylock's daughter and are addressed to Jessica, who betrayed her people and robbed her father.

From his seat, this writer was in a position both to see the play and observe the audience. The latter was a show in itself. It was a curious audience, a mixture of young and old who apparently knew their *Merchant of Venice* either as teachers or as students. Not only did they

follow the performance knowingly, they anticipated the familiar lines and reacted to them in advance, as it were. It was almost like a set ritual. The Jew-baiting cracks evoked not spontaneous but properly cued laughter. They grinned approval when at Portia's question, "What mercy can you render him, Antonio?" Gratiano broke in: "A halter gratis; nothing else, for God's sake!" They laughed triumphantly when Gratiano taunted Shylock in the courtroom scene: "O upright judge! Mark Jew: O learned judge. . . . O Jew! an upright judge, a learned judge." The merriest scene, judging from audience reaction, was Salanio's account of how "the dog Jew" reacted to Jessica's flight and robbery: "My daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter! Fled with a Christian! O my Christian ducats!" His audience—on the stage and in the auditorium—thoroughly enjoyed this take-off on the Jew.

To this reviewer they looked like an academic audience—scholars, teachers and students. The manner in which they reacted to the play brought to mind the schoolrooms of America where students are conditioned to laugh "at the right time" when the Jew is abused and ridiculed.

But here is an eye-witness account of a schoolroom lesson in *The Merchant of Venice*. Writing in *The Antioch Review* (March 1955), Francis Russel recalls his schooldays at the Latin School of Boston where the non-Jewish students sat apart from the Jewish boys as a matter of course:

"To those of us left in the rear corner of Room 203, *The Merchant of Venice* gave a kind of poetic revenge. Richardson beside me would read in his already sonorous voice:

"You may as well do anything most hard as seek to soften that—than which what's harder?—

His Jewish heart. . . ."

and imperceptibly glance over in Epstein's direction to see how he was taking it. . . . The Jewish boys seemed impervious, however, just as they did to any of the not-too-veiled slurs coming from any of us twelve."

But not as impervious as it seemed. The ambitious Aaronson, who was out to win the Declamation Medal, one day got a break when "his turn came to read Shylock's apologia."

"I am a Jew," he began throatily. "Hath not a Jew eyes? . . . Hath not a Jew hands. . . (here follows the famous speech). . . . Suddenly, to my embarrassed amazement, I realized that his voice was trembling."

Multiplied by many thousands, this is a picture of curricular anti-Semitism as

practiced in the schools of America. In the Latin School in Boston "half the term we spent reading *The Merchant of Venice*" and the Yankee teacher nicknamed "The Gunner" taught it in a routine way, accepting its anti-Semitism as a matter of course, just as he accepted the segregation of the Jewish boys in the classroom. Other teachers squirm and seek to apologize for Shakespeare.

Thus, John B. Shackford, professor of English at Cornell College, has performed an amazing feat of scholarly doubletalk in his essay, "Shylock's Humanity," in the *University of Kansas City Review* (Winter 1954), where he admits that Shylock is "the stereotype Jew" who is "equated with the devil" but argues that Shakespeare really didn't mean it and really intended the whole thing as an ironic commentary on the stereotype of the Jew and on "the very delight that his audience may be supposed to have taken in the baiting of the unfortunate Jew." Which is very clever of Professor Shackford. But Shakespeare is not on trial and needs no nimble-witted defense. It is obvious that in *The Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare pandered to his audience, whether or not he himself believed in the stereotype of the Jew. And the plain fact

is that the impact of *The Merchant of Venice*, on stage or in the classroom, is definitely anti-Semitic.

Are Jews really impervious to this kind of "academic" anti-Semitism or are they cowed by the name of Shakespeare? The reaction of Jewish groups in Canada to the selection by the Stratford Festival Committee of *The Merchant of Venice* for presentation this year shows that neither is the case. The Jewish Congress of Canada vigorously objected to the choice. So did other Jewish groups. But in this country—not a murmur from Jewish quarters against presenting *The Merchant of Venice* on the stage or teaching it to millions of young Americans in the classroom.

Letter from Readers

It's a Grand Idea . . .

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Let me say, it's a grand idea to honor Morris U. Schappes. I'm sorry that I'm

not able to be present only because of a previous date for my grand-daughter's seventh birthday. The enclosed check for ten dollars is given in her name with deep affection for JEWISH LIFE and Morris U. Schappes.

Brooklyn

M. L.

Letter of Thanks

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Allow me through the medium of JEWISH LIFE to express my thanks to all my friends who participated in the dinner given in my honor [in the Bronx on March 13]. I also want to express my gratitude for all the warm messages and letters which were received by me. I particularly want to thank Morris U. Schappes for his warm greeting and his meaningful message.

Bronx

CLARA SHAVELSON

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

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Philadelphia

S. T.

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THE PAINTING OF JACK LEVINE

By Sidney Finkelstein

At the age of 40, Jack Levine's position is soundly established as one of the big figures in United States painting. Since his days as a young artist on the WPA project, his works have been purchased by the most important museums. He has the unmistakable grand manner. He has a grasp of the human subject as central to art. He is a social thinker, portraying typical people in their relations to one another. Through them he raises basic questions of the morality of life today. He works on a big scale and with an intensity of thought and detail that justifies the scale. Aside from a few studies, each work tends to be a major project. Because his works are so scattered, the retrospective exhibition, arranged by the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, offers a rare opportunity to see the line of his development. It was shown throughout March at the Whitney Museum in New York.

The Levine who emerges from this show of over 40 paintings is a strong figure and yet one deeply troubled. What he spurns, as an artist, is clear. There is no hint at any time of "art for art's sake," of the shallow profession of a parlor decorator, of the self-centredness of abstraction. There is never a thought of renouncing the real world about him and the sufferings of his brothers. He is deeply and proudly conscious of his Jewish traditions. He will not let his audience forget that there are slums and people stunted by poverty; also that there are people living on the fat of the land and yet who are also stunted, morally and mentally, by their brutality and callousness to others. Yet the question arises, is this everything that he wants to say about life?

The commentator in the catalogue, Frederick S. Wight, quotes Levine as saying, "Those I love I simply leave out. A painter should do what he does best." Wight adds, "Levine feels he is 'equipped to punish.'" But the problem cannot be solved as easily as that. When a painter does not paint what he loves, it is like tearing out a part of his own humanity. What Levine knows is that he cannot paint what he loves in the same way that he paints what he hates or pities. This honesty does him great credit. But it leaves before him a problem still to be solved.

Levine's early drawings in the exhibition, done in his 20's, show him as a gentle realistic artist with a sensitive beauty of line. With the WPA paintings of 1937-38, his style changed to one of powerful, caricature-like distortion. This reached a climax in "The Street," bringing together elements of a slum street, with its people, everything flattened out, twisted in line and screaming in color. Even "String Quartette," with its four gentle-faced musicians, had something of this quality; a violence of reds and a swirling insubstantiality in handling the bodies, indicating an emotionalism hard to explain from the subject. "The Feast of Pure Reason," with a greater solidity in body and characterization, announced a theme that he would return to many times: the mental and physical grossness, not of the people who lived in the slums but of those who ruled the slums and profited from them.

The chief artistic influences on him seemed to me Daumier for satiric subject matter and Soutine, with his bright color and twisting, distorted, subjective portraits, for style. Yet Levine already showed himself to be an artist standing strongly on his own feet, a thinker, tied heart and mind to the people he had known and the miseries among which he had grown up. What is remarkable in tracing his further progress is that despite the many different artistic influences he takes up and learns from, his individuality and his own thought are what stand out most strongly.

Tenderness and even affection are by no means absent from his work, although the dominant current is the furious criticism of inhumanity in contemporary life. And perhaps in a search for greater breadth of humanity in his work, Levine has carefully studied, as his work of the 1940's shows, the great portrait artists of the 17th century. But curiously, the artist who seems to have affected him most for a while was not one of the more social-minded thinkers, the lovers of the poor and oppressed such as Rembrandt, but the haunted visionary, El Greco. The Spaniard's influence is seen in paintings like "The Pensionaire," with the somber color harmonies, the haggard face so much like El Greco's portraits of mystics and ascetics, the turbulent rhythm of the brush-strokes over the canvas, using an impasto of light paint. There is

an El Greco touch in the fine portrait of Dr. Alexander Marks. This style speaks for a deep subjectivity on Levine's part, of troubled feelings applied to the subject rather than wholly evoked by it. But the same style can be turned to a caustic satire, as in "Reception in Miami," a mockery of the royalty-aping American rich.

A series of small paintings of the 1940's and 1950's, dealing with medieval and Biblical Jewish figures, shows a deep tenderness and yet a similar subjectivity. The faces are El Greco-like, and almost always those of sad old men. The background has, in the earlier work, an El Greco turbulence, and in the latter, a decorative beauty reminiscent of Persian miniatures.

With the paintings of recent years, such as the monumental "Gangster Funeral," "The Trial," and "Election Night," Levine has moved to a new stage. We see as before the heavy overfed faces and underfed minds of those who hold the lives in their hands of so many people more decent than they. The distortion is less marked, the caricature is softened into a more subtle character portrayal, the faces and figures have greater solidity and real presence, and the scene itself has three-dimensional depth. The paint style, however, perhaps influenced by Rembrandt, with its mottled effects of golden lights and darks over the canvas, does not flow directly out of the real life the artist paints and his thinking about it. Rather, it is a screen thrown over the subject or a prism through which he views the people he paints.

The style is handled with marvelous virtuosity. But precisely because the sense of real life has deepened, the style becomes something of an intrusion. It causes a certain alienation to rise between the subject and the onlooker. We know that we have seen the people he paints but we do not feel that they are human beings of the same world that we are in, in any way kin to us. Lesser artists may need such a crutch, a kind of arbitrary handling of paint to "marry" to their subject. Levine however works on a high level on which few others operate. I feel that his broad and deep human sympathies are setting up an increasingly powerful challenge to the remnants of formalism on which he still leans. When the break-through comes, it will be a major event, a giant step in American art.

Sidney Finkelstein is the author of the recently published Realism in Art, a brief, yet comprehensive study of the history of art centered on the concept of realistic art. The book is published by International Publishers, New York (paper, \$1.50, cloth, \$2.50).

Book Reviews

TWO LOCAL JEWISH HISTORIES

By Morris U. Schappes

History of the Jews of Petersburg, 1789-1950, by Louis Ginsberg. 927 Northampton Road, Petersburg, Va. Paper bound, \$3.50; cloth bound, \$5.

Growth and Achievement: Temple Israel, 1854-1954, edited by Arthur Mann. Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.

In addition to general surveys of American Jewish history, the tercentenary celebration has stimulated useful local studies. The first book deals with the Jews of Petersburg, Va., of whom in 1950 there were 500 in a population of 33,000; the second with Temple Israel of Boston, the second oldest congregation in New England, which in 1954 had 1,472 members in a city of about 140,000 Jews in a total population of about 800,000.

Petersburg is the smallest Jewish community of which any "study" has been published. Mr. Louis Ginsberg, the author, is "a young local merchant," whose work shows how much a persistent amateur can accomplish when he has the benefit of the guidance and helpful editing of a professional like Dr. Jacob R. Marcus of the American Jewish Archives. From public and organizational records, scrapbooks, letters, interviews and published works Mr. Ginsberg has assembled much if not all of the data available in local sources.

We learn something of the earlier occupations of Jews: in the Petersburg Directory of 1859, 38 of the 49 Jews listed made a living thus: 17 in dry goods stores, 11 as clerks, 4 in millinery and 4 in fancy and variety goods stores, one through a bottling works and one in leather and hides. From the 1867 directory, a war having intervened, we find

that 30 out of 46 Jews listed made a living thus: 11 in clothing stores, six in dry goods, three in shoe stores, two as clerks, two as salesmen, and one each as a grocer, junk dealer, stationery and bookseller, milliner, perfumer, and porter house owner. Later we also note that Jews are directors in railroad companies, a bank, a steamboat company, a hedge and wire fence company, and a gas and light company. There was one farmer.

There is room for only two critical observations. Mr. Ginsberg is silent about Negro-Jewish relations, except for the Civil War. Here Mr. Ginsberg ventures the judgment that the ten Petersburg Jews who enlisted in the Confederate Army did so "primarily from patriotic motivations rather than from any vested interests which might have impelled others to join the Southern cause" (p. 43). But the facts are that in 1860 Petersburg had a population of 9,342 white and 8,924 Negro people. And a glance at the occupations of the Jews as shown above in 1859 reveals that they were dependent upon the local economy. It was that dependence rather than "patriotism" (which is a national and not a sectional concept and would have led them to the Union cause) that basically determined their support of the Confederacy.

Mr. Ginsberg also errs when he states (p. 42) that he has uncovered "the only known chaplain of Jewish faith" in the Confederate Army. Correspondence with the source of that statement revealed that Mr. Ginsberg had exaggerated: Uriah Feibelman "held no commission" but was, according to family tradition, supposed to have "performed the duties of chaplain"; but there is no definition, or confirmation in the records, of that service.

By contrast, the book on Temple Israel is the work of historians. Bertram W. Korn contributes a sketch, "American Jewry in 1854," Lee M. Friedman writes informatively of "1854—Boston and its Jews" and Moses Rischin outlines the "Congregational Life: 1854-1954."

The bulk of the small volume is by the editor, Prof. Arthur Mann of M.I.T., who skillfully analyzes the "making of a reform pulpit" in the context of trends of liberal religion in Boston by describing the characters, ideology and work of the four rabbis who led Temple Israel from 1874 to 1948, Solomon Schindler, Charles Fleischer, Harry Levi and Joshua Loth Liebman. The final chapter is by the incumbent rabbi, Roland B. Gittelsohn.

Temple Israel was founded in 1854 by the secession of 25 prosperous German Jews, who were still Orthodox, from the poorer Polish majority in congregation Ohabei Shalom, founded in 1842. The impulse to reform Judaism, Prof. Mann indicates, "came from a handful of German-born merchants . . . of Orthodox background . . . successful men who aspired to the manners and outlook of native Bostonians. They wanted to acquire the Boston speech, the Boston dress, the

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Boston religion. . . . More than that, they feared that their American children would embrace Christianity if the *shul* were not Americanized" (p. 46). So they built "a bridge between the Jewish middle classes and their non-Jewish neighbors" (p. 49).

The Jews were especially impressed by Unitarianism and "modeled" their reforms upon it (p. 70). By 1894 the congregation "comprised second generation American Jews who were merchants of one sort or another and who aspired to the rational religion of Unitarianism" (p. 69). Only fleetingly does Prof. Mann note that fear of anti-Semitism was a factor in molding Reform Judaism, which basically was moved by "the desire to dissipate prejudice by minimizing differences" (p. 92).

When the complacent optimism of the well-to-do membership was pricked by the turbulent thirties with its crisis, Hitlerism and wave of anti-Semitism in our own country, uncertainty crept into this Reform congregation. Under Liebman and still more under Gittelsohn, there was a reintroduction of some of the traditional forms and rituals and an emphasis on Zionism. For the morrow, Gittelsohn, a Reform rabbi who has embraced Reconstructionism (historically an offshoot of Conservatism), outlines a three-point perspective: "to make Judaism as a religious civilization meaningful" for each member; to stress the progressive social gospel of "prophetic Judaism" and perhaps through a Social Action Committee; and to develop "interfaith relationships" not by minimizing differences but "precisely on the ground that we are different, and have, therefore, something unique to contribute to American culture" (p. 120-125).

Factually, the book is generally free from errors, although Dr. Korn is careless in speaking of a Jewish hospital "before 1825" and of "hospitals" in 1854, when the first Jewish hospital was not founded until 1845 and the second opened in 1855. Questionable also is his assertion that Judah Touro was the first "American Jew to be respected and acclaimed as participant both in general American affairs and in Jewish life." Nor can one understand why he declares Jews had "to take courage in the task of being a Jew" on page 8 when he has insisted on page 4 that they lived "in literally complete freedom." Did non-Jews have to take courage in being non-Jews? And then what does it mean to brag that American Jewry is "the most powerful Jewish community in the world" when it is well known that American Jews are too timid to speak their true sentiments of opposition to German rearmament?

An index would have greatly increased the usefulness of both books.

A CHILDREN'S STORY OF JEWS IN 1654

By Jean Karsavina

The Jews Settle in New Amsterdam, 1654, by Samuel Grand, designed by William Steinel, edited by William Gamoran. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, New York.

S PONSORED by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations to commemorate the Tercentenary, this little book is a welcome addition to the all-too-meager children's literature available in the field of Jewish American history. Imaginatively designed and illustrated and beautifully put together, the book tells its dramatic story in simple, graphic language. It lends itself nicely to reading aloud and discussion with children too young to read for themselves but will also attract the older ones.

The pictures guarantee added interest on the part of small readers, for they add vividly to the reality of faraway scenes in faraway times. Special credit goes to William Steinel for never presenting his Jewish immigrants as different in either appearance or dress from the other Dutch colonists—a point of historical accuracy that is sometimes overlooked.

The book is such a nice job, in fact, that one wishes it were still better. The text suffers from certain inaccuracies, possibly due to the need for over-simplification, possibly to too casual research. For instance, while giving the background of the West Indian and Brazilian Jews, the author never mentions their enforced Catholicism under Spanish and Portuguese rule nor their being able to shed the hated religion while the Dutch were in power. They simply "built a thriving Jewish community in Recife under the tolerant rule of the Dutch . . . fought valiantly in the defense of the colony and suffered heavy losses. . . . When Recife [Brazil] fell . . . they were given the choice of remaining in Recife and adopting the

Catholic faith or leaving the country." Neither the term *Marrano* nor the Inquisition is even mentioned.

Other minor inaccuracies included such statements as this one: "The Jews in Amsterdam drew up a petition which they presented to the directors of the Dutch West India Company" in behalf of those in New Amsterdam whom Peter Stuyvesant was persecuting. As a result the old tyrant was forced to let the new arrivals remain—but nothing is said about the real reason why the petition had such an immediate effect, namely, that some of the company's chief stockholders were themselves Jews. And there is a fairly meaningless reference to the burgher right as "the certificate of full citizenship," without differentiation between the limited citizenship of the "small" and full citizenship of the "great" Burgher Right. The Jews did not win the latter, which would have entitled them also to hold public office.

Yet these are minor faults and to harp on them would be short-sighted indeed. For this is a book which deserves to be widely circulated. One hopes it finds many readers among the very young set.

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HOW RENAZIFICATION BEGAN

By Louis Harap

Seeds of Destruction: the Truth About the U.S. Occupation of Germany, by Cedric Belfrage. Cameron & Kahn, New York. Paper, \$1.50.

This book was finished in 1947 but was kept frozen out of print by the cold war until 1954. The book has a prophetic, terrible relevance now that the ratification of the pacts to rearm West Germany is so near to completion. The truth told in this book about the persistence of nazi control of so much of German life under the sponsorship of the United States occupation reinforces the conviction that the fight against rearmament should not be abandoned, even though the pacts have been ratified.

For the consequences of a revived, nazi-ridden West German government with arms in its hands are too ghastly to permit of any let-up in the campaign against rearmament.

Belfrage's book does indeed expose the "seeds" of nazi revival that are coming to ugly bloom today. This he does specifically in relation to the revival of the German press after the chaos of defeat. But his observations include the actions of Military Government in many other respects which led to the reinstatement in power of the nazis in the hour of their utter defeat. Belfrage can speak of this with authority because he was there and saw it happening under his eyes. He was a leading participant in the attempt to set up a democratic press in the American zone even before the war was over. He remained to follow up his work in creating the first United States-licensed paper, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and many other papers under democratic German editorship. As an able and conscientious press officer and an ardent democrat, Belfrage worked scrupulously to carry out General Eisenhower's genuinely anti-fascist directives to the letter.

It is fantastic that Belfrage is now facing deportation to England (he is a British citizen) because Senator McCarthy saw the anti-fascist press work of Belfrage and James Aronson, his present fellow editor of the *National Guardian*, as the occasion for headlines. These two courageous journalists were summoned before McCarthy and on McCarthy's orders, deportation proceedings were begun against Belfrage. This is the way in which the Department of Justice rewards a man

for his steadfast democratic journalism today, using as its excuse his outstanding work in the war days before anti-fascism had become officially "subversive."

Belfrage tells the story of his abortive attempt to set up a democratic press in conquered Germany. He uses a narrative technique which he calls a "multiple-first-person-documentary form." The story is carried mainly through alternating accounts by both Psychological Warfare personnel who executed General Eisenhower's press directives and by Germans, both nazi and anti-nazi. The operation is thus interpreted from several viewpoints: left wing and several varieties of liberal on the part of the United States personnel, and nazi and anti-nazi among the Germans. All the characters and events are strictly accurate; in some instances real names are used, in others, fictional names. But there is nothing fictional about the characters, who are real.

The result is an absorbing story that moves on relentlessly like a tragedy. At the end the remarkably fine anti-fascist job that Belfrage and his colleagues had done in setting up the genuinely democratic *Frankfurter Rundschau* is completely undone through the launching of a renewed anti-communist hysteria by the United States Military Government. By the end of the story in the summer of 1947, the democratic journalists of the various anti-nazi parties placed in charge of the paper by Belfrage's team with the approval of Supreme Headquarters had been either dismissed or had capitulated to the anti-communist hysteria. The sluice gates to the poison of nazism and

IN MEMORIAM WALTER WHITE

Died March 21, 1955

Aged 61

Executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People for 24 years. His life was crowned with his leadership of this organization's fight to outlaw segregation in the public schools.

the anti-communist Big Lie were opened again and the world was launched on a repeat performance with hydrogen bomb embellishments.

No one with a shred of integrity who was in Germany at the end of the war, as this reviewer was, can challenge the utter truth of the picture given by Belfrage. His experience was so typical that a parallel story could be told by this reviewer out of his own experience with the Germans and Military Government. While there were a number of genuinely anti-fascist soldiers who honestly carried out the anti-nazi occupation directives, the prevailing attitudes and activities of the Military Government and CIC (Counter Intelligence Corps) were of suspicion of anti-nazi Germans and of sympathetic treatment of nazis. It had already become clear within a few months after the war ended that the anti-nazi objectives for which the war was fought were in grave danger. As early as July 1945 a former Buchenwald inmate told me that hostility of Military Government to anti-nazis and resumption of power by nazis was such that he feared a return to concentration camps—only this time, he said in a hard voice, he would not allow himself to be taken.

Belfrage's book is therefore of great value today because it throws a brilliant light on the initial stages of the process that has now reached the proportions of once more endangering the peace of the world. It would facilitate the fight against a revived Wehrmacht if this book received the widest circulation among the American people. And if it could get to the people, the book would be read with avidity. For the writing is very lively and talented. The reader's attention is unflagging and sustained by Belfrage's sense of the dramatic and by his engaging style. This is a book to be read.

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OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

The Finfte Kashe issues faced by the Jewish people these days!

The traditional *fier kashes* (four questions) were asked by the youngest at the *Seder* this Passover.

But in the homes of JEWISH LIFE subscribers, who received a Passover appeal to contribute from the magazine, there may have been a *finfte kashe*. "Why, oh why, are these days different from previous days when we receive an appeal for funds this Passover season?" And the answer to the *finfte kashe* is:

You, dear reader, were told of the financial situation in the letter appealing for contributions. You were given the salient facts and figures. They show a deficit accumulated to this date of approximately \$4,500. But tonight of all nights you should be told more. This deficit exists immediately after the conclusion of the campaign for funds—a campaign which is supposed to cover not only the past deficit but provide against the deficit of the rest of the year 1955—eight months (May through December). Because the campaign failed to raise enough to cover the deficit not only for the coming eight months but for the *past deficit*, the immediate emergency arises. Ergo, the Passover appeal was made to get the debtor's noose off our necks—so that the present issue could be printed.

Isn't it a shame, oh reader, that the failure to raise four to five thousand dollars more in the campaign places the magazine in mortal danger? This is no huge amount as magazines go—yet for lack of it JEWISH LIFE is in constant crisis, always on the brink of disaster. That is why we make an emergency appeal right after a campaign which is supposed to put us on our feet. We need make no apologies for the individual appeal—for we know our readers would consider it irresponsible of us if we didn't apprise them of the situation and ask for help. However, we must once and for all put our heads and our energies together to make the individual appeal unnecessary. This can be done with relative ease if all of us would take the *campaign* more seriously, organize it with more thoroughness and determination, and if each one of us personally adopted a little higher standard of giving to the magazine we all cherish and the existence of which is a basic essential in the Jewish community today. Think for a moment how barren we would all be in the event JEWISH LIFE was not with us to bring clarity on the many complicated

There is a way out of the morass which would lessen the need to appeal for funds and would build your magazine into a more effective instrument. And it is truly the easiest way. That is by building the circulation of JEWISH LIFE through subscriptions and bundle orders. Remember, \$2.50 received for a subscription equals \$2.50 contributed to the magazine—plus the fact that it increases the circulation, than which there is no more important achievement. Frankly, there is no reason why every reader could not get at least one new subscription—and many could get more. Let each one of us determine to do this—and before long the income of the magazine would become normalized and make frequent emergency appeals unnecessary.

Want an Example?

Do you know that 1500 new subscriptions this year could put us on our feet? And do you think that this is so difficult? Let us answer this by a story—the setting of which is Cleveland, Ohio. Morris U. Schappes was in that city to speak at a Warsaw Ghetto Commemoration. While there he met with a group of readers with the objective of consolidating the local Jewish Life Committee. He informed them of the critical situation and pointed out that in this large Jewish community there is a mere handful of subscriptions. One new reader of the magazine, a distinguished professional man, declared that he was surprised to hear this about a magazine which he has learned to treasure. He agreed to lead the work of the committee. And to show that action follows understanding, in the 36 hours following the meeting he visited friends and brought 17 new subscriptions to Morris just before train time, with a promise of more in the mail after Morris leaves. Look at this. One man did more in 36 hours than we are asking our readers to do in eight months time. Incidentally, this man is one of the busiest in his profession, a respected leader of the Jewish community active on many fronts—and he shows us what can be done. His example should certainly stir Cleveland—and the rest of us—into action.

And Miami, Too

Our brothers and sisters in Miami Beach, who have been under the most severe attack, where McCarthyite repression threatens many of our Jewish progressives with thought control jail sentences, with astounding financial responsibilities toward those who lost their means of livelihood and for defense activities, have sent in five new subscriptions. A more inspiring tale we cannot tell. But it does cause our heads to bow in shame when we think of the subscription efforts of much of the rest of the country.

No Wehrmacht!

The struggle against German rearmament goes on. Despite the ratification of the Paris agreement the peoples of the world are determined to have their say and to prevent the implementation of this disastrous decision. Rank and file trade unionists in New York City will have held a public meeting against rearmament, by the time you read this. The date was April 19th—and the scheduled speakers, Russ Nixon, legislative director of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Independent, and B. Z. Goldberg, renowned columnist of the *Jewish Day and Morning Journal*. The meeting was under the auspices of the Cloak and Dress Societies and Trade Union Committee and also called for no arms for war in the Middle East. This protest meeting follows a series of meetings organized by various clubs, societies and Emma Lazarus Women's organizations throughout the boroughs of New York.

Musical Notes

The premiere of the *Ballad of Asser Levy* will be performed at the 32nd annual concert and Tercentenary celebration of the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus in New York's Town Hall on Saturday evening, May 14th. The *Ballad of Asser Levy*, music by Paul Held and text by Yuri Suhl, and other chorus numbers will be sung under the baton of conductor Eugene Malek. Soloists will be Nadyne Brewer and Edgar Mills.

We also recommend the Fourth Annual Concert of the Jewish Young Folk-singers at the Brooklyn Academy of Music on Saturday, May 21, 8:30 P.M. Featured in the program will be a concert version for chorus, soloists and orchestra of the recent Phoenix Theater production *Sandhog*. Guest performers will be Pete Seeger, Leon Bibb and Earl Robinson, composer of *Sandhog*.

Two great musical events, indeed. Don't miss them.

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

A test carried out by the American Jewish Congress recently showed that of 313 commercial employment agencies in New York, 156—that is, half—violated the state law against discrimination. . . . In the state legislative session ending March 23, a bill was passed giving power to the State Commission Against Discrimination to enforce the laws. Another bill was also passed to extend anti-bias housing legislation to cover all multiple dwellings and developments of ten or more homes which receive FHA funds.

Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, in a letter accompanying the resolutions adopted at its recent conference, wrote to President Eisenhower urging him to take additional steps to quiet the "mounting anxiety among our anti-Communist allies caused by certain irresponsible American leaders who seemed determined to aggravate the crisis over the (Chinese) offshore islands even at the cost of an atomic holocaust." (N.Y.T., 4/9)

Anti-McCarthyism figured prominently in the biennial conference of the National Council of Jewish Women held the third week of March. There were 800 delegates representing 108,000 women in 245 communities. In a speech before the meeting on March 21, David Clift, executive secretary of the American Library Association, condemned book censorship. He reported that since 1953, about 200 instances of pressure against reading of some books had come to the attention of his group's Committee on Intellectual Freedom. He charged there was a drive "to destroy the American tradition of free inquiry and the American guarantee of freedom of information from censorship." He called for wide support of the campaign under the name "Freedom to Read" that will get under way in the fall under the auspices of the National Council and two other national women's organizations. (N.Y.T., 3/22) Mrs. Irving M. Engel, president of the National Council, condemned the "numbers game" on security, which she said has been feeding "the bigots' version of Americanism." While expressing strong anti-communist views, Mrs. Engel called for a non-partisan investigation of the security system.

EUROPE

The United Nations Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations Inter-

ested in the Eradication of Prejudice and Discrimination held its first conference in Geneva from March 31 to April 4. Ninety-seven organizations sent delegations. In his opening speech, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, under-secretary general of the United Nations, said that although progress in ten years had been "slow" and "spotty," there was "much" reason for encouragement. Most delegates disagreed that the ten years since the founding of the UN had seen much progress toward elimination of prejudice and discrimination. (N.Y.T., 4/1)

Andre Blumel, who had resigned as secretary general of the French Zionist Federation after he was criticized for heading the Actions Committee Against German Rearmament and then withdrew it on assurance that he could continue his peace work, was elected president of the federation in March in place of Meyer Yarblum, who resigned to reside in Israel.

The British Clerical and Administrative Workers Union at its annual conference recently voted to censure the union executive for voting in favor of West German rearmament at the Labor Party conference last year. The vote of censure passed by 23,710 to 16,710.

Renazification notes . . . There are 20 known West German publishing firms who issue solely neo-nazi literature, including memoirs of nazi leaders and works on national socialism, Social Democratic leaders pointed out, in March. They warned that this was a major menace and urged action by the government. . . . Die

Anklage, official publication of those who "suffered" from denazification in Germany, published an article, "The Most Abominable Falsification in History," which asserts that it is "gross exaggeration" to say that 6,000,000 Jews were murdered by the nazis.

ISRAEL

A report made before the executive of the Histadruth in mid-March stated that since May 1953, when Arabs were admitted to membership, 10,500 Arabs have registered as members with the Trade Union Department.

About 175 State-employed lawyers went on a three-day strike in March. They demand an increase in pay and threaten to hold a seven-day strike later if their demands are not met.

The Knesset has accepted an invitation from the Soviet Union to exchange parliamentary delegations, Knesset Speaker Yosef Shprinzak announced late in March.

Great Britain is Israel's best citrus customer this season, taking 1,500,000 cases of oranges, 50,000 cases of grapefruit and 78,000 cases of lemons. The Soviet Union is second with 450,000 cases of citrus fruits purchased.

The first Reform synagogue in Israel has been granted a plot of land in March to build. There is objection in some Orthodox quarters to the permission granted by the government.

A nation-wide campaign to teach Israelis Hebrew is being carried on by the government. About 40,000 Israelis have learned basic Hebrew in the past six months.

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