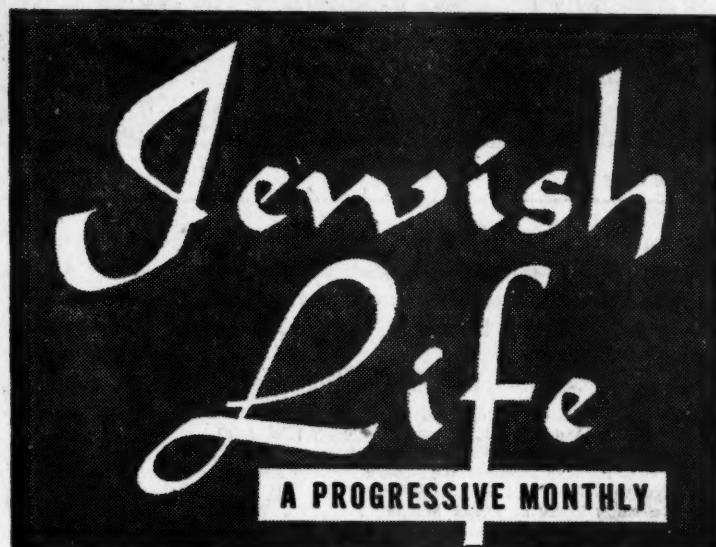


Stories of Three Hundred Years: XVI



LESSONS OF THREE
CENTURIES: DEMOCRACY
IS INDIVISIBLE

by Morris U. Schappes

JUNE 1955 • 25¢

Living Memory of the Rosenbergs...

Articles and poetry by Joseph

Brainin, Louis Harap, Sam Swing, Max Rosenfeld

BANDUNG AND ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE

an editorial article

WHERE DO WE GO ON SEGREGATION?

by Doxey A. Wilkerson

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, noted in a recent speech published in *Advance*, ACW organ, that a fightback spirit is developing on civil liberties. But he warned that we still have far to go. "We are faced today," he said, "with awesome alternatives: peace and prosperity unequalled in man's history—or hydrogen war, which could wipe man off the face of the earth. We cannot afford fear, we cannot allow evasion, when we are faced with such alternatives." . . . In a sermon on May 7, Rabbi Israel Goldstein urged, among other things, active trade relations between East and West, exchange—visits of cultural people and others and a freeze on "further development and manufacture of atomic weapons" under a control system—all this to take place during a ten-year moratorium of problems. (NYT, 5/8). . . . In a speech before the Chicago Decalogue Society of Lawyers (a Jewish group), late in April ex-President Truman criticized Attorney General Herbert Brownell for failure to protect the Bill of Rights and called attention to the Biblical commandment against bearing false witness. . . . In a speech before the 42nd annual conference of the Anti-Defamation League on April 28, Dore Schary, executive vice president of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and an anti-communist, spoke out against McCarthyite congressional committees, loyalty oaths, book banning and red scares. He strongly criticized especially the anti-intellectualistic accompaniments of McCarthyism. . . . In a speech on May 4 before the 55th annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly, Senator Estes Kefauver characterized the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek by President Eisenhower soon after his assumption of office as "demagoguery." At the same meeting Rabbi W. Dembovitz, of Philadelphia, chairman of the Commission on Social Problems, expressed alarm at the attacks on civil liberties. He especially attacked the banning of books from libraries. . . . Rabbi Ahron Opher, president of the Chicago Council of the American Jewish Congress, recently sent a letter to every member urging cooperation in defeating the local witch-hunting Broyles Bills. (Sentinel, 4/7) Rabbi Harry Halpern, Rabbinical Assembly president, on May 2 assailed the McCarran-Walter act and protested the witch-hunting dismissal of Edward Corsi. (NYT, 5/3)

Gains against discrimination . . .
A strengthened FEPC law was passed in
(Continued on page 32)

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ALBERT EINSTEIN

ON April 18, Albert Einstein died. Together with millions of people all over the world, the Editors of *Jewish Life* mourn the passing of this foremost scientist, great humanist and lover of mankind.

In reverent tribute to the memory of this man, *Jewish Life* will devote a large part of its July issue to evaluations of his contributions to science, the political and social life of our time and to Jewish welfare.

The people of New York will have the opportunity to do honor to his memory at an Albert Einstein Memorial, to be held on Saturday evening, June 18, at Town Hall. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the Albert Einstein Memorial Committee of Societies and Landsmanshaften.

BANDUNG AND ISRAEL-ARAB PEACE

The Asian-African conference promoted freedom for oppressed peoples and peace for the world; it opened a path toward peace for Israel

An Editorial Article

WHAT was the true significance of the great gathering of 29 Asian-African countries at Bandung from April 18 to 24? What truth is there in the assertion made by most of the Jewish press that its declaration on the Middle East is "anti-Israel"? Or is there more truth in the later awareness of Jewish sources that the declaration opened the way to an amicable settlement of Israel-Arab tensions and therefore was helpful to Israel? Why was Israel not present? We shall look into these questions to try to obtain an accurate picture of this historic event.

The conference was one of the most significant developments since the end of World War II. It constituted a declaration of independence by the colonial and dependent world, counting over half of the globe's population in its scope. The participating countries unitedly gave notice to the colonialist and imperialist powers with "holdings" in Asia and Africa—the United States, Britain, France, Holland and Portugal—that the peoples of the Asian-African world are determined to win their final independence from colonial domination, to claim the riches of their countries for their own and to combat the racialism that has been used to oppress them.

These objectives, the conference was well aware, cannot be achieved without peace. "Peace and freedom are interdependent," said the conference declaration, which contained strong affirmations of the possibility and necessity of peaceful co-existence, although the term itself was not used. Atomic and thermonuclear warfare, it stated, must be banned and atomic tests and experimentation should cease at once. These principles, among others, were passed unanimously, giving voice to the unity of the Asian-African world—communist, anti-communist and neutralist—on these issues of freedom, anti-racialism, peace and survival. There can be no doubt that the conference gave a spur to world peace and contributed to the lessening of world tensions.

Declaration on the Middle East

The overall results of Bandung with respect to anti-colonialism, its call for peace and elimination of tensions are as beneficial to Israel as to all other peoples of the world. Yet instead of greeting the conference, most of the Jewish press and Jewish "leadership" in our country spread fear, doubt and confusion. The conference's

pervading accent on peace was applied no less to the Middle East than to any other area of its concern. The conference declaration stated:

"In view of the existing tension in the Middle East caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and calls for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

Let us look at this statement point by point. First, the conference recognized that the tense situation in the Middle East constituted a danger to world peace and therefore to them all. Hence, those 29 states urged that steps be taken to relax that tension and to remove the danger of war from the area.

The declaration goes on to propose that one means for settlement of outstanding problems is its call for "implementation of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine." There are some 55 UN resolutions relating to Palestine (that is, both the Jewish and Arab parts of the former Palestine). Some of these need to be reconciled with others. Such reconciliation must therefore be negotiated. The implementation necessarily includes the most basic of all the resolutions, namely, that of November 29, 1947, calling for the establishment of independent and democratic Jewish and Arab states with economic union between them. Since the Arab leaders had thus far refused to accept this resolution, an important advance toward Arab recognition of the existence of Israel has been achieved by placing the weight of the Bandung conference on implementation of UN resolutions. Surely this is of immeasurable aid to Israel. There are other important UN resolutions to be dealt with, such as the question of Jerusalem, the question of border-lines, refugees, an end to the economic blockade of Israel in the Suez Canal and so forth.

Now all these resolutions are thrown into the hopper for negotiation by the Bandung conference. For the conference statement calls for "the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question." This is a quite different position from that hitherto taken by the Arab leaders, who have often threatened to deal with the question by force of arms. This call for a peaceful solution received great reinforcement also from the general position taken on settlement of *all* outstanding issues by negotiation.

The Refugee Problem

These principles enunciated unanimously at the conference—and subscribed to by the Arab states therefore—are important to keep in mind when considering the conference “support for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine.” This provision of the statement obviously refers to the thorny problem of the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees, whose predicament remains one of the great obstacles to Israel-Arab peace. The refugee problem is one that the world recognizes and no one can ignore. It is obvious enough that this problem cannot be solved without due concern for the rights of the Arabs involved. Can anyone with democratic feeling and an elementary sense of human decency deny that the Arab refugees have human rights? Furthermore, is it not apparent that in the eighth year of the exploitation of the refugee question to incite tensions in the Middle East, the failure to recognize these human rights can only increase tensions and promote war in the Middle East?

And this is indeed what Bandung asserted. The severe problems of adjustment must be grappled with in any solution but they can and must be solved as the declaration stated, by negotiation. Responsibility for this problem rests with both Arabs and Jews—the former because certain Arab leaders incited the Arab inhabitants of Israel to flee their homes, and the Jews because certain groups incited terror against the Arabs in Israel during the war for national independence. Under these circumstances the rights of the masses of Arabs thus victimized need to be recognized and a peaceful solution sought.

There can be no doubt that the masses of both Jews and Arabs fervently hope for a peaceful solution of all these outstanding questions in the Middle East. By the same token the Bandung declaration is in the profound interests of both peoples. The clear call for peace in the area is one of the most hopeful developments in a long time, backed as it is by the tremendous prestige of Bandung. Efforts toward peace in the Middle East have thereby received a powerful impetus.

Was Bandung Anti-Israel?

The initial reaction to Bandung among almost the whole Jewish press unfortunately revealed neither an awareness of the great liberating and anti-racist significance of the conference as a whole nor of its contribution to the proposals of Middle Eastern peace. One should expect better understanding from a group like the Jews, who are the target of discrimination and racism, which were so vigorously condemned at Bandung. It is reported that the intransigence of the Arab leaders forced the initiating powers not to invite Israel. As an Asian-African country, Israel should have been present. Refusal of the Arab leaders to attend if Israel were invited did not contribute to the lessening of tensions, which was one objective of the conference. Nevertheless, the powerful drive for a

peaceful solution of all questions, including the Israel-Arab crisis, resulted in opening the way to peace.

The initial negative reaction of the Jewish press was based less on understanding of Israel's true needs than on irrational, cold war, extreme anti-communist prejudice. Simply because Chinese Premier Chou En-lai expressed support for the “struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for human right” (*New York Times*, April 25), the propaganda mills began to whirl. A typical reaction of the Jewish press was that of an editorial in the *Intermountain Jewish News* (April 29). “The newspaper reports from the Bandung conference,” said the editorial, “sent a chill through Jewish people everywhere.” If there was such a “chill,” it was because these reports misrepresented the facts. The blindness of this editorial to the liberating influence of the conference for over half the human race does the paper no credit, nor does it help the Jews.

In the same vein did the organ of the American Jewish Congress, *Congress Weekly*, discuss editorially on May 2 what it called the “Arab-Communist alliance against Israel.” “Chou En-lai,” it said, “adopted as his own *every plank in the Arab platform*” (emphasis added). It is interesting to note that over a week earlier the *New York Post* (April 22) used almost identical language in its editorial called “The Arab-Communist Axis.” Said the *Post*, “Chou blandly affirms his support for *every plank in the Arab platform*, which is premised on the principle of the non-existence of Israel” (emphasis added). One wonders what facts these journals used to justify this categorical statement. These charges can very easily be shown to be without any foundation whatever.

Let us look at the exact words uttered by Chou on the Palestine question in the full texts of the two conference speeches printed in the *New York Times*. On April 19, Chou said, “The problem of the Arab refugees still remains to be solved.” In his closing speech to the conference he said that the Chinese people “support the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for human right” (April 25). Who will deny that the refugee problem still remains to be solved or that it should be solved in fulfillment of the “human right” of the Arabs involved? Or do these gentlemen of the press disagree that the Arabs should be granted “human right”? Further, does recognition of this problem and insistence that it be met with due consideration for the rights of the Arab refugees imply agreement with “every plank” of the reactionary program of the Arab leaders on the question of the Middle East? Is there the remotest identity between the quoted statements of Chou En-lai and the oft-expressed threats of the Arab leaders to solve the question by force?

If it were true that Chou agreed with “every plank” of the Arab leaders’ position, “which is premised on the non-existence of Israel,” how can one explain the fact that only a few months ago the Chinese government invited Israeli government trade officials to visit China as guests of that government to discuss trade possibilities between the two countries? This delegation did indeed visit

China and on its return recently gave encouraging reports of eventual trade with China. China's action on this score must be contrasted with the Arab economic boycott of Israel to see the total untruth of the charge that Chou agreed with "every plank" of the Arab leaders' position. The untruth is further exposed when one considers that China fights for the basic position that all international questions must be peacefully resolved by negotiation.

"A Boon for Israel"

The initial reaction of most of the Yiddish press was no less harmful to Israel. The *Jewish Daily Forward* headlined a story on the conference, "Communist China Helps Adopt Resolution Against Israel." The Yiddish *Day's* headline read, "Asian Conference Adopts Anti-Israel Resolution." This "anti-Israel" characterization of the Bandung declaration unfortunately pervaded the English-Jewish press as well.

But signs of sanity have appeared. In the *Day* of April 24, Glatstein wrote, "If one examines the declaration adopted (at Bandung), one can perceive certain features of it which are not bad for the State of Israel. . . . If one studies the victory gained by the Arabs in the declaration, one must also discern that the victory is a doubtful one. First of all, the Asian-African peoples say to the Arab countries that an end must be put to the armistice which the Arabs have violated [as have the Jews as well—L.H.] in the little wars. . . . If one puts aside the shouting over the declaration (one realizes) that it is not at all disadvantageous for Israel."

And in the very same *Congress Weekly* editorial cited earlier, it is recognized that "the statement calls for a 'peaceful settlement' of the issues involved. . . . The Bandung resolution calls upon the Arabs to do something they have till now refused to do."

On May 1, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, which had characterized the declaration the previous week as "anti-Israel," reported from the United Nations as follows: the conference "may have turned into a boon for Israel instead of a defeat in absentia. . . . Reports reaching here, chiefly from Arab sources, indicate that the Arab League sponsored resolution (sic!) at Bandung, which on the surface placed the Asian and African countries in the Arab League corner, may have opened the door for possible mediation of the Israel-Arab conflict."

Toward a Peaceful Solution

A final solution will not be easy to achieve owing to the complexity of the questions involved. One of the most serious obstacles to a solution is the policy of the State Department of accentuating tensions by its efforts to create military alliances among the Arab states and supplying them with arms. The Bandung declaration urged against just such meddling by the State Department when the declaration called for "Abstention from the use of arrange-

ments of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers." The disruptive and anti-peace nature of this policy of military alliance in the interests of the State Department was only too vividly illustrated at the conference. There the agent of the State Department, Iraqi Foreign Minister Jamali, tried to break the unity of the Asian-African countries with his anti-communist and anti-Israel tirade. While Jamali pleased the State Department with his divisive anti-communist tactic, the price he exacted for his military alliance with Turkey—which Britain has also joined—was leeway for unbridled, virulent attack on Israel. Thus the Dulles Middle East policy makes peace more difficult by strengthening the anti-peace position of the Arab leaders.

Nor are the obstacles one-sided. The Israel government, instead of welcoming the declaration for its call for peaceful settlement of the crisis, expressed, in the words of Prime Minister Moshe Sharett, "astonishment and profound regret" at the adoption of the declaration (*Sentinel*, April 28). An Israeli spokesman at the same time laid down in its "six point program" what might be interpreted as conditions for negotiations (same source). Israel can gain peace only if it is prepared to negotiate without inhibiting preconditions. Further, such negotiations must be carried on without interference from the great powers, as Bandung urged. This applies both to Israel and the Arab leaders.

Nor does Israel facilitate efforts toward peace by its policy of treating the Arabs as second class citizens. A few years ago the veteran Israeli Zionist leader Yitzhok Greenbaum protested in the Mapam organ, *Al Hamishmar*, against such treatment. "I can see," he said, "that the relations being established between us and the Arab minority in our country begin to acquire the same horrible aspects as those that existed toward us Jews in the different countries. With this one difference: there in Europe we were the victims of suffering and here in Israel we are the ones who cause the suffering." The discrimination practiced against the Arabs in the rights of movement, in property rights and citizenship, among others, does not dispose the Arabs outside Israel any more favorably towards Israel. Further, Israel needs, as the Bandung declaration demanded, to acknowledge the rights of Arab refugees.

The Bandung conference created an atmosphere more favorable to middle Eastern peace than has existed in a long time. We Americans, for our part, can help win peace in the Middle East by pressing upon the State Department to stop arming the Arabs and pursuing a policy of creating divisive military alliances in that area. We must also keep the Zionist leaders in this country from interfering with the desires of the Israeli—and Arab—masses for peaceful settlement of all these issues. When Zionist leaders clamor that Israel be admitted to Dulles' plan for a Middle Eastern pact, they harm the masses of Israel. For only by a policy, as Bandung declared, free of domination of great powers will fruitful negotiations be able to take place and issue in peace.

ISRAEL-ARAB YOUTH VOW AMITY

By Dr. Shmuel Eisenshtadt

Tel Aviv

DURING Passover week in Israel, on April 11-13, a unique, hopeful, joyous people's celebration of Israel-Arab friendship took place. Amid these difficult days of clashes and bloodshed at the borders, of inflamed chauvinistic feelings and war incitement, the skies of Israel shone with the first rays of a new movement which embraces the best elements of Israeli and Arab youth—the Friendship Festival of Jewish and Arab youth. Artists, writers and professionals of a wide range of political views have sponsored the movement.

It broke through all the obstacles set up against it. So obviously broad was the representation, that red-baiting charges proved ineffectual. The flame of kinship was kindled between two peoples whose fatherland is here in the East, who have lived and fought together from ancient days and who now face common tasks—to secure their political independence and peaceful development, to free the Middle East of war fever, to stop the border conflicts, to achieve peace, to work out ways to economic and cultural cooperation.

This is the whole-hearted desire of the Israeli and Arab youth who boldly took their stand in the ranks of the new movement. This is the aspiration of the Jewish young men and women who invited the youth of hundreds of Arab settlements to Tel Aviv for the festival of friendship.

Under a starry spring sky in the great amphitheater at Gal-Ron in Jaffa this first brotherhood celebration of Israel-Arab youth took place. Those who looked with disfavor on this brotherhood movement tried to mar the holiday. The special Peace Train which was to bring hundreds of young people from Galilee was stopped at the last moment. Permission to travel was withheld from Arabs who live in the military zone. Yet the festival did take place. The movement will broaden and overcome all obstacles because that is the destiny of every healthy, vital idea.

The gigantic amphitheater seating thousands was filled to capacity. The chairmanship was alternated between a Jewish seaman, who was a labor leader, and a young Arab poet. More than a third of the participants were Arabs, most of them in national dress, who continuously shouted spirited slogans of friendship and peace. Not only the Hebrew and Arabic banners, songs and greetings, but also the happy faces and friendly handshakes of the sons and daughters of both peoples spoke volumes for peace.

An especially warm ovation was given the Israeli and Arab couriers who raced rhythmically into the stadium, torches in their hands and emblems of friendship on their breasts. These were young men and women from the bor-

ders of Israel, from the border of Lebanon in the north, Jordan in the east, and Egypt in the west.

"We lit the torches," they declared, "close to the borders, torches of friendship, of peace between the two peoples in Israel, of peace and friendship across the borders. We carried the torches through Jewish and Arab villages and everywhere were greeted by the people and the youth. Our future lies in peace!"

The young, talented Arab poet, Hana Abu Hana, made his opening speech in Hebrew and Arabic. "In the name of the Arab youth represented here," he said, "I take this solemn oath, that I shall do all within my power to further friendship between Jewish and Arab youth." The meeting was greeted by representatives of community organizations. Greetings were received from anti-fascist youth organizations in many lands.

As the oldest member of the initiating committee of the festival and the friendship movement, I delivered an address of greeting to the thousands of Jews and Arabs assembled in the great amphitheater. I said:

"In these difficult days in the life of our country, when hostile incitement causes innocent blood to be spilled on both sides of the border, the dawn of a new, happy era is rising for Israel. A movement is rising which brings tidings of redemption, of hope and peace for us and the peoples of the entire Middle East."

"Let us broaden and strengthen our friendship," I concluded, "until the joy of our festival spreads to the barbed wire barriers on the blood-stained frontiers. Where today blood is being spilled, may a warm Arab-Jewish hora, the hora of brotherhood and peace, burst forth on both sides of the frontier."

The opening ceremonies were followed by dancing, singing and instrumental music by Jewish and Arab groups. The audience received the performance with the greatest enthusiasm. During the last days of Passover the air of Tel Aviv vibrated with the spirit of Jewish-Arab friendship. The persecuted and isolated Arab youth and the peaceful Arab common folk promenaded as friendly guests through the streets of Tel Aviv. There was a Jewish-Arab Children's Morning, a film showing, a concert of Jewish and Arab music by youth choruses of both peoples. The halls were filled with enthusiastic and delighted people.

The Friendship Festival reached its highest point on the spring afternoon of the last day of Passover, when the participants marched in a singing, peaceful demonstration through Tel Aviv carrying Israeli flags. As the ordinary people of the city looked on, they smiled good-naturedly. For they sensed the coming of a new, happy time.

Living Memory of the Rosenbergs 2nd Anniversary of the Execution



ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG



Drawings by Picasso

ODE ON INTIMATIONS OF IMMORTALITY

From Recollections of a Shameful Day

By Sam Swing

You hear the news come shrieking,
You shake your ringing head;
It's true, it's true, they did it;
The Rosenbergs are dead.

The Rosenbergs are dead, my child,
Upon a Sabbath eve;
When the slayers drink disaster
Then, only, may we grieve.

With eyes too dry for weeping,
And hearts all choked with pain,
Our grief explodes to anger
Like sunburst after rain.

From dreadful day to empty night
The frantic Beast is fed;
Within a summer twilight
The Rosenbergs are dead.

The Rosenbergs are dead, my child
We take the solemn vow:
To Lords of Gold and Terror
Never shall we bow.

They died for us, for us, for us,
And we must make it good,

With solid strength to claim the day
Of peace and brotherhood.

• • •

A name alive beyond the grave
Hardly falls to every lot,
And most of mankind's mortals
Are awhile, and then are not.

Still some have left a living work
To mankind's greater glory,
But for some, alas, the record shows
It's quite a different story.

For there are kings of infamy
Whose shames outlive their hearses,
Whose names will live forever
Memorialized in curses.

Yes, all the slayers of the fair
Have earned a safe renown;
The name of murderer shall be
Their one immortal crown.

* * *

Untimely death, the final blow
That no one can rescind;
The bitter word flew round the earth
Upon the weeping wind.

Earth's millions wept and raised their
fists

Against barbaric night,
And pledged to keep the name alive
Of innocence and right.

Now schools and parks and forests
Proudly bear their deathless name,
And for today and for tomorrow
Their strength and love proclaim.

And Julius is a favored name
That parents give a son,
And Ethel for the daughters,
To redeem the martyred one.

O, monuments and monuments,
And wreaths and wreaths thereon,
And the promise of fulfillment
As life and work go on.

The Rosenbergs are dead, my child,
This is our nation's shame;
O, day of days, our pain and grief
Mount to a raging flame.

We shall ease our pain and grief,
And still the slayers' chorus,
And take our strength from them, from
them,
To the struggle that's before us.

We shall claim our own, my child;
In this our land, I swear,
We yet shall walk together
Down Rosenberg Street
To Rosenberg Square.

GIANT STEP TO VINDICATION

The new book by John Wexley probes to the roots of the Rosenberg trial and leads irresistibly to innocence of the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell.

By Louis Harap

AMERICANS will recall few dates with greater shame than June 19, 1953, when Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were ruthlessly put to death, protesting their innocence to the end. The cold men in Washington turned deaf ears to the cries for clemency of millions at home and in every corner of the earth.

And at the same time, Americans will remember few martyrs with greater exaltation than Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for the unexampled courage and nobility they displayed on that day two years ago. These two made manifest the potentiality for greatness and limitless resources that reside in ordinary people called upon by history to cleave to truth and dignity in the face of the most exquisite mental torture and physical annihilation.

If the persecutors of the Rosenbergs dreamed that their death would put an end to the case, they were swiftly disillusioned. The Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case turned to the vindication of the Rosenbergs. Unavoidably the outrageous injustice to the Rosenbergs' co-defendant, Morton Sobell, consigned to 30 years in Alcatraz, was obscured by the life-and-death urgency of the clemency campaign. When this battle was lost, the newly-formed Sobell Committee bent its efforts to win justice for Sobell.

The endeavor for vindication of the Rosenbergs and a new trial for Sobell has received tremendous impetus with the publication of John Wexley's *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* (Cameron and Kahn, New York,

\$6.00). The "judgment" in the title signifies not only the trial, but also the verdict of history on the prosecution. John Wexley has forged a powerful weapon that is more than a book. Like Tom Paine's *Common Sense* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Wexley's book is destined to reach deeply into the lives of Americans and to change them. This book may well make history in the same way that Emile Zola's *J'Accuse*, fiery indictment of the framers of Dreyfus, made history. *J'Accuse* did not alone arouse the French people to the frame-up of Dreyfus as an anti-Semitic manifestation, but also helped to crystallize the forces of opposition to clerical reaction. Similarly, Wexley's book can play a central role not only in exposing the injustice of the Rosenberg-Sobell conviction, but also in helping root out the cancer of the witch-hunt.

Wexley states his aim as quite simply "to make known the truth about the Rosenberg case" (p. ix). And a reading of this book impels one to conclude with him that the case was a frame-up from beginning to end. The only way to check this statement is to read the book, an adventure to which we summon all America. This book is a fitting memorial on this second anniversary of the legal murder of the Rosenbergs.

No one with any knowledge of the case will challenge the assertion that the whole case stands or falls by certain conversations held between two or more of the following: Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Ruth and David Greenglass, Max Elitcher, Harry Gold and Elizabeth Bentley. Fur-

thermore, these occurred in the hearing of no other living or available person. As for a certain number of documents and objects offered in evidence, some bearing on the case and others essentially irrelevant to it, Wexley demonstrates how such documents and objects do not support the case against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. Nevertheless, the burden of the case rested on oral testimony about conversations. How does one refute such a case, especially since there are no other witnesses? The only possible method is by internal analysis of these conversations, together with the introduction of any facts outside the case itself which shed light on these conversations. This Wexley has done with documentation and thoroughness that are nothing short of amazing. The book reads with the swiftness and suspense of a detective story.

Insight of a Dramatist

As one reads the book, one is frequently struck with Wexley's penetrating psychological insight, especially in revealing the motivations of a brother, David Greenglass, in giving testimony that will send his sister Ethel to the electric chair. One then recalls that Wexley is primarily a dramatist, author of stage and film plays. Then, too, one notes that his well-known plays, *The Last Mile* and *They Shall Not Die*, deal with capital punishment and a major case of a Jimcrow frame-up (Scottsboro case), respectively. One looks further: he wrote two outstanding anti-nazi movie scripts, *Hangmen Also Die* and *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*, dealing with espionage—authentic espionage.

He therefore came to the task of probing to the truth of the Rosenberg-Sobell case with an awareness of the techniques of political frame-up and of espionage and counter-espionage. Thus, it can be said that Wexley's whole life was a preparation for the writing of this book. And he has acquitted himself with the highest distinction. For this book will undoubtedly go down as one of the important works of our era. Its importance derives from the fact that it is an extraordinarily thorough, well-reasoned, humanly perceptive analysis of one of the critically significant court proceedings of our time, one in which the major issues of our time, defense of the Bill of Rights and averting of atomic war, are involved.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case was the culmination of a series of "atom spy" cases and cannot be understood except in the closest connection with the auxiliary cases. A pervading feature of these cases was that they were tried by headlines which most frequently had little to do with the truth. The "confession" of Dr. Klaus Fuchs in England to "atomic espionage" led to a series of cases that was to supply a great part of the fuel for the spy hysteria in which our country is still gripped. Wexley begins his inquiry with an analysis that cannot but leave the gravest doubts of the validity of this "confession." He passes on to the next link in the chain, the case of Harry Gold, a "confessed atom spy" who is so vitally involved in the Rosenberg-Sobell case. Wexley sets forth the fantastic story of



The mothers: Mrs. Rose Sobell (left) and Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg.

Gold (whom he calls the "Van der Lubbe" of the Rosenberg case), which is more properly a case study in abnormal psychology than of "atomic espionage."

Wexley also goes into other auxiliary cases that cast a blazing light on many aspects of the Rosenberg-Sobell case—those of Abraham Brothman, William Perl, William Remington and others. Through many of these cases walk the sinister figures of the unscrupulous team of Irving Saypol and Roy Cohn, who doctored many of the cases, and of Judge Irving Kaufman. This series of trials is in fact part of a single structure. Wexley shows that this edifice of alleged atomic espionage was in fact prefabricated from beginning to end by the FBI, the Department of Justice and the government prosecution. And he is unsparing in his exposure of the hypocrisy and venomous prejudice of Judge Irving Kaufman.

Exhaustive Analysis of the Case

To demonstrate this flouting of elementary justice by the very agencies entrusted with securing justice, Wexley made the most unflagging, painstaking, detailed and relentless scrutiny of all the facts and records of these cases. He leaves not a stone unturned. He uncovers literally hundreds of contradictions, discrepancies and downright impossibilities in the government's case. Through his personal investigations he refutes apparently material facts offered by the government. Through the more than 670 pages of this analysis, in which there is not a wasted word, the reader is held entranced and glued to the book in never ceasing wonder at the astuteness and sheer common sense

and indefeasibility of Wexley's argument. Added to this absorbing text are revealing documented footnotes, a chronology of the case, the *Columbia Law Review* synopsis of the case, appendices with documents and photostats, photos of material objects involved and an elaborate index.

It is obviously impossible in this review to go into much of Wexley's compelling argument. Here is one indication of his method. He shows that one of the principal techniques used by the prosecution was to make arrests first and to get "evidence" afterwards. The use of this technique was strikingly confirmed recently in connection with the sensational revelations of wholesale lying by the repentant informer Harvey Matusow in the Smith act case of Alexander Trachtenberg and George Blake Charney, who have been granted a new trial by Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock. Although Judge Dimock exonerated Roy Cohn of complicity in the false testimony, the process as described by Dimock in his decision might also stand—if we add prosecution involvement—as a description of the way in which Wexley describes the fabrication of the testimony against the Rosenbergs and Sobell. "Matusow's stories," says Judge Dimock, "... unfolded in a way very different from the way one would expect that the testimony of an honest witness would naturally develop under the preparation of lawyers who expect to call him. In every case the effective thrust was finally given in connection with something about which Matusow had first given his interrogators a comparatively innocent statement. Sometimes, even after a damaging tinge had been added to the original story, the color was deepened in each subsequent version" (emphasis added).

Here is a crucial instance, that of the Catherine Slip story in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, which describes an alleged auto ride of Elitcher and Sobell to the house of Rosenberg with the "film can." This incident was necessary for the prosecution not only to deepen the involvement of Julius Rosenberg and Sobell in "espionage," but also to bring in that "Ubiquitous Lady," as Wexley calls Elizabeth Bentley. Her function in the case, although she had never met any of the defendants, was to provide the "motive" for "espionage" in Communist Party membership (never proved). This incident was told on the witness stand by Max Elitcher, sole witness against Sobell. Yet, under cross-examination, the following came out: Elitcher stated that he had told the FBI "the whole complete story" about the "conspiracy" on July 20, 1950; but he also admitted that he told the FBI the story of the Catherine Slip incident six months later; nor did he mention Bentley to the FBI until some time later than the July statement, and then not until the FBI first mentioned the name to him! This example could be multiplied in the case.

As an illustration of original discoveries made by Wexley in his private investigation of the case, one will suffice. Gold had testified in detail, corroborated by Ruth and David Greenglass (but not without discrepancies), concerning his visit to them in Albuquerque, when David Greenglass is alleged to have turned over to Gold the dia-

gram of the "lens mold" for delivery to "Russian agent" Yakovlev in New York. Wexley inquired into train schedules and found out that it was impossible for Gold to have met Yakovlev in New York, if one follows the time sequence given by Gold!

In a similar manner, Wexley goes thoroughly into every detail of the case, whether favorable or unfavorable to the defendants, using the *Columbia Law Review* summary of the case as the structure of his inquiry. He analyzes every scrap of material "evidence," from the sums of money allegedly turned over to the Greenglasses by "the Russians" to the alleged "gift" of the console table. In every instance he either overthrows the government's case completely or casts the gravest doubt upon it.

Anti-Jewish Aspects of Case

Wexley's comments on the anti-Jewish aspects of the case are of interest. He agrees with the widely-held view that Kaufman leaned over backward in giving the death sentence in order to "demonstrate his own Americanism by the sending of two of his dissenting fellow Jews to the electric chair" (p. 604). He further states: "It is this writer's opinion that while there may have been no calculated choice of the Rosenbergs as the first American Jewish 'traitors' to be executed, there can be little doubt that Kaufman's 'reverse' anti-Semitism has given native fascists a highly prized weapon" (p. 609).

However, Wexley believes that Kaufman and Saypol deliberately sought to eliminate Jews—or the "wrong" kind of Jews—from the jury, which contained not a single Jew in a city in which 30 per cent are Jewish. Wexley points out that they used a "precedent laid down during the Hiss trial and the first Smith act case, which permitted inducing them to screen out most of the Jewish talesmen by the device of self-censorship." This method was the reading aloud of a list of 105 "subversive" organizations and asking if any juror had an association, whether personal or through family or friends, with any such organization. Many talesmen, Wexley contends, with connections, however remote, with such organizations, were alerted in one way or another to keep off the jury. Most of the Jews who survived this initial assault were removed either by Saypol or Kaufman. In addition, Wexley shows that "the entire screening process insured the presence of jurors favorable to the government" (p. 268).

The book as a whole is a gargantuan achievement. It is a fusion of the scientist's coldly objective search for truth with the humanist's passion for justice. It should shake the conscience of the country to its foundations. It deals a massive blow against the entire witch-hunt by its relentless exposure of the conscienceless corruption of legal procedures by the Department of Justice and the FBI. It can go far to help dissipate the "atom spy" hysteria. It should, after it has been assimilated by the American people, insure a new trial for Morton Sobell.

The country owes a profound debt of gratitude to John Wexley for this great book.

SOBELL CAMPAIGN STORY

An account of the progress of the Sobell Committee's efforts to get Morton Sobell transferred from Alcatraz and to obtain a new trial

By Joseph Brainin

THE many thousands of men and women who had given themselves so unstintingly to save the Rosenbergs were stunned when the gruesome execution was perpetrated. They had signed and collected petitions, distributed millions of leaflets, knocked at countless doors, marched in front of the White House for endless hours, written an incredible number of appeals to Presidents Truman and Eisenhower, to the attorneys general and to newspaper editors, buttonholed their congressmen and senators at home and on Capitol Hill.

Until that Sabbath eve of June 19, 1953, the defenders of the Rosenbergs had rejected the very thought that it could happen here, and yet they had been fearful that it would happen. When it actually did happen, they felt numb.

As soon as possible, those who had led the great fight for justice regrouped their forces for the unfinished business still at hand: the Sobell case. In October 1953, the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case went out of existence. The Sobell Committee was launched. Justice for the Rosenbergs was no longer obtainable, but the exonerated Morton Sobell would inevitably vindicate the Rosenbergs.

It took several months to rally support for the Sobell case. The will to work for Sobell was there but an emotional let-down lingered. It took patience and tenacity on the part of the Sobell Committee to reform the lines, get in touch with supporters, instill new hope. For the last 18 months the efforts to secure Sobell's freedom have been carried on uninterruptedly.

Sobell Campaign Gets Under Way

The first phase of the Sobell campaign was one of self-education. In the urgency of the Rosenberg case that of Sobell had been pushed out of focus. The legal aspects of the Sobell case, the circumstances surrounding his arrest, the flimsiness of the government's case had to be re-studied before a wide educational campaign could be undertaken.

JOSEPH BRAININ is an English-Jewish journalist. He was national chairman of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case and is at present a member of the Sobell Committee.

The Rosenbergs had been victims of a spy hysteria systematically drummed up throughout the country; Morton Sobell had been railroaded to 30 years in prison as a direct result of a frenzy generated by the prosecution at the Rosenberg trial. The trial transcript, which concerned itself primarily with the Rosenbergs, reveals many interesting points on the Sobell case—points that had been overshadowed and forgotten.

D. N. Pritt, the eminent British lawyer, who, in a brilliant analysis, had exposed and punctured the prosecution's case against the Rosenbergs, studied the Sobell case at the



MORTON SOBELL

Original Drawing by Hugo Gallert

invitation of the Sobell Committee. In his booklet, *The Case of Morton Sobell*, Mr. Pritt completely demolishes the evidence against Sobell and brings out conclusively that the conspiracy charge against Sobell was merely "tacked on to the Rosenberg case." In fact, Sobell's alleged participation in the conspiracy vanished so completely as the trial developed that even the judge felt compelled to admit that Sobell was not involved in the conspiracy revolving around the atomic secret. Nevertheless, Sobell—on the testimony of Max Elitcher, an admitted perjurer, who as we know was in danger of prosecution for that crime—was sentenced to 30 years.

Professor Harold C. Urey, the nuclear physicist, who had spent many months studying the trial records and who had appealed to President Eisenhower for the lives of the Rosenbergs, fully agrees with Mr. Pritt's analysis. The scientist stated last year that he never had found out "what it is that Sobell was charged with."

The importance of the Pritt analysis as a revelatory document cannot be overestimated. It highlights in clear and incontrovertible terms the major flaws in the Sobell prosecution. The Sobell Committee submitted the Pritt study to lawyers, scientists and other persons of open mind who were willing to learn more about the case. The response from various parts of the country was gratifying. The committee received assurances of support from persons outside of the Sobell groups. Requests for more data on the Sobell case poured into the committees.

Although the general public may not have been aware of it, an increasing number of people concerned themselves with the Sobell case during 1954. Sobell fact-sheets and informative leaflets were distributed in almost every major city of the United States. Advertisements stressing the innocence of Morton Sobell were placed in major newspapers in Cleveland, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles and other cities.

During June 1954, Rosenberg memorial meetings were held in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Detroit, New York and Toronto, Canada. In Europe—especially in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries—commemoration took the form of meetings and/or the issuing of literature. Both at home and abroad the memorial period was marked by appeals for Morton Sobell's freedom.

The "Spy" Hysteria Is Being Exposed

The Sobell movement grew steadily during the last half

A New Trial for Morton Sobell!



Helen Sobell

of 1954. Independent journalists and columnists took up the cudgel and expressed strong feelings that something was wrong in the treatment of Morton Sobell.

Typical, in a certain sense, is the case of Robert Smith, columnist in the *Berkshire Eagle* of Pittsfield, Mass. Mr. Smith had staunchly believed in the guilt of the Rosenbergs and of Sobell. After the execution of the Rosenbergs he wrote a piece expressing grave doubts and reproached himself for his earlier stand. Recently Judith Robinson, the distinguished columnist of the *Toronto Telegram*, commented on the amazing flimsiness of the case against Sobell.

In Los Angeles, a number of communal leaders met in conference twice during the year, urging a renewed inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the sentencing of Morton Sobell and his incarceration in Alcatraz. Helen Sobell and members of the committee criss-crossed the country several times, meeting with groups of professional people, students, clergymen and scientists who, after examining the facts, pledged support to requests for a new Sobell trial.

An important factor in the broadening of efforts to secure the freedom of Morton Sobell was the distribution of hundreds of thousands of pieces of educational literature and the hundreds of meetings and smaller home gatherings that were held in many localities during the past year. But undoubtedly the most important factor was this: as the corruption and perjury in congressional investigations and in the courts were disclosed, the fraud perpetrated against Morton Sobell gradually permeated the consciousness of many thousands who previously had accepted the Rosenberg-Sobell verdict without suspicion.

The Monmouth fiasco especially opened the eyes of many more. People of all political affiliations were appalled at the discrepancies between newspaper headlines and the truth. The Monmouth probe, master-minded by Senator McCarthy and Roy M. Cohn (one of the chief prosecutors at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial) was supposed to bolster the

myth of a Rosenberg spy ring and of Sobell's key activities in it. The hoax became so obvious, however, that the Army Department, as will be remembered, had to step in and stop the farce. Today, of course, it is generally recognized that the Fort Monmouth investigation was nothing more than a publicity stunt for the junior senator from Wisconsin, a stunt that backfired.

While the ruthless persecution of non-conformists still goes on unabated, the spy scare has definitely diminished. The refusal of the defenders of the Rosenbergs and Sobell to forget the miscarriage of justice in this case undoubtedly played a significant role in bringing about the current reluctance of the Department of Justice to continue its game of substituting the charge of espionage for that of non-conformism.

"Integrity of Justice Is At Stake"

The climax of the recent campaign was reached with the testimonial dinner tendered to Professor Urey on February 12 by the Sobell Committee in Chicago. On that occasion Dr. Urey stated that in the Sobell case "the integrity of justice as administered in the United States is at stake." This represents the opinion of many thousands of citizens who, while they have not as yet spoken out publicly, are firmly convinced that a forthright confession of misconduct on the part of the Department of Justice would go a long way toward re-establishing a pattern of fairness and democracy in our courts. People of all political denominations have come to realize that the attorney general's office is more intent on rolling up an impressive record of convictions than on dispensing justice.

This feeling, permeating large sections of American public opinion, was recently reinforced by the disclosures of attorney Byron Scott (defense counsel for William Taylor), who enumerated a number of contradictions in various statements and items of testimony by Elizabeth Bentley. This is the same Miss Bentley who was hailed by the prosecution at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial as "the missing link in the evidence." Mr. Scott, I understand, has studied the Rosenberg trial transcript, and found in Miss Bentley's testimony at the trial additional new items for his growing list of Bentley misstatements.

Light has recently been shed on Mr. Roy Cohn's gift for shaping evidence by Harvey Matusow and the defense lawyers for the 13 convicted Smith act victims at their hearing for a new trial before Judge Edward J. Dimock. This has made a deep impression on objective members of the bar who agree that Cohn's activities in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial cry for investigation.

Since Thanksgiving Day 1952, Morton Sobell has been in Alcatraz, America's fortress penitentiary for violent and incorrigible criminals. Officially it was James V. Bennett, director of prisons, who sent him to America's Devil's Island. It is an open secret, however, that Sobell's transfer was ordered by the FBI in the hope of breaking his resistance and obtaining his "cooperation."

For almost three years Sobell, the surviving defendant in the Rosenberg case, has been serving his sentence on that solitary rock in the Pacific. It has been a long three years for Sobell, who is now completing his fifth year of imprisonment. It has been a period of nervous strain for the sensitive young scientist—thousands of hours of continuous pressure, a sort of subtle and prolonged third degree.

From time to time he received "friendly visits" from jovial FBI agents who inquired most solicitously about his health and chatted cheerfully about his future. When

LULLABY

(On seeing Mrs. Helen Sobell's face as Nadyne Brewer sang Sholom Aleichem's "Lullaby" in Yiddish.)

By Max Rosenfeld

*"In America is der tatte,¹
Sleep, my sonny, sleep."
I heard a Negro woman sing,
A Jewish mother weep.*

*In America is der tatte,
Rest, my son, and thrive.
The wicked men have taken him
And buried him alive.*

*In America is der tatte,
Iron bars his home.
In America's *Gon-Aden*²
Cain has master grown.*

*Into America's *Gon-Aden*
Strangling weeds have crept.
You will understand some day
Why your mother wept.*

*We will wake our country's conscience—
Hearts of honest men.
We will make the evil jailers
Set him free again.*

*He will kiss us and embrace us
We will laugh and sing.
America shall be again
A place where freedom rings.*

*But till the blessed moment comes
Sleep, my sonny, sleep.
Grow up fearless, brave and strong,
We've freedom's faith to keep!*

¹ "Daddy is in America."

² Hebrew for "Garden of Eden."

the agents returned to their boss in the Department of Justice their reports invariably were the same: "No sign of cracking." Time went by and with it vanished the FBI's hope that Sobell might recant his plea of innocence. The "friendly visits" have been abandoned. Apparently the FBI realizes that Morton Sobell will never sacrifice the truth for a deal, that he will never barter his human dignity and self-respect for freedom.

Toward a New Trial for Sobell

Until recently the third defendant in the Rosenberg case remained virtually unknown to the large American public. A primary reason for Sobell's comparative obscurity was his voluntary self-effacement during the Rosenberg trial and during the agonizing months of the Rosenberg clemency campaign.

In effect, Morton Sobell told those involved in the efforts to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to forget him and to concentrate on their task. His selfless attitude is characteristic of his fortitude. In this connection one must mention the courage and self-abnegation of his wife and mother. Helen and Rose Sobell, suppressing their anguish, devoted themselves exclusively and untiringly to the job on hand, the saving of the Rosenbergs.

In the forthcoming months the attorneys for Morton Sobell, headed by the eminent jurist, Dr. Stephen S. Love, of Chicago, will institute a number of legal steps to effect the transfer of Sobell from Alcatraz. Several groups of lawyers are now at work preparing a series of moves to compel the government to look at newly discovered evidence with a view to a new trial.

In connection with the development of a legal program designed to bring about Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz and to place before the courts the errors in his trial, a unified, nation-wide effort will be made to enlighten American public opinion on the various aspects of the Sobell case.

The freedom of Morton Sobell and the vindication of the Rosenbergs are, I believe, close at hand if the ever larger number of Americans who feel ashamed at the deterioration of our civil liberties and the process of law will summon the courage to speak out. The Sobell Committee is determined to carry on its campaign of enlightenment on the case.

The first objective in the Sobell campaign must be the transfer of Sobell from Alcatraz, so that this surviving defendant in the Rosenberg case can prepare for the legal battles that will achieve his own as well as Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's full exoneration.

Morton Sobell Says:

"The World Will Learn the Truth"

Following is a passage from a letter from Morton Sobell to his wife Helen on March 10:

I have been conscious of an evergrowing awareness on my part, of the meaning of all that has happened in our case and of the events of June [1953] in particular. Perhaps it is not as subjective as I imagine. Rather it's the illumination provided by the history of the recent past that has given the added meaning to it all.

Can one talk about how garbage smells? Yes, the naturalistic writers did. And the odor of this case is such that those who produced it knew that it would take but a little while before it blanketed the nation. So to get rid of it, oh so simply, they buried it. That is, they buried Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. And they called it justice. Academically, it is of interest to note that the very last judicial act—the rescinding of [Supreme Court William O.] Douglas' stay—was as illegal as all the decisions that preceded it.

Of course, they deluded themselves. Some odors are too powerful for burial. It may take years, or longer, but eventually all the world will learn the truth, and only then will the odor vanish.

"The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg"

By JOHN WEXLEY

"... a gargantuan achievement ... it should shake the conscience of the country to its foundations."

—Louis Harap (see review on page 10)

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WHERE DO WE GO ON SEGREGATION?

The argument before the Supreme Court on desegregation shows the need for determined struggle if the Court decision is to be implemented

By Doxey A. Wilkerson

ON May 17, 1954, the Voice of America heralded the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools as "proof" that democracy reigns in our land. One year later we still await implementing decrees from the Court. And there are alarming signs that this legal victory is about to be sabotaged by the Eisenhower administration and its Dixiecrat allies—*unless the people intervene!*

NAACP vs. Dixiecrats

The long-postponed hearings on how and when the decision outlawing segregated schools should be translated into practice were held in the Supreme Court during the week of April 11; and they brought forth a display of white supremacist chauvinist arrogance reminiscent of the days of the Dred Scott decision.

Attorneys representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continued forthright in their demand for an immediate start in all states on the integration of white and Negro schools and completion of the process by next fall—or at the outside by the following year. Chief Counsel Thurgood Marshall, for example, polemized sharply against the "bad faith" of those who wish to "postpone the enforcement of a constitutional right," noting that he had "never heard the proposal made except where Negroes are involved. . . . If any other minority group were involved in these cases, we would not be here now."

Marshall called for a Court order for school segregation to "end on a day certain," not at some unspecified time in the future. He declared that a definite "time limit" for compliance by state school systems would demonstrate the "forthrightness of the May 17 ruling."

Counsel for the Southern state school systems urged the Court not to set a time limit for compliance with the desegregation ruling. They proposed that questions of how, and when the decision is implemented be left to the discretion of district courts and local school authorities. They

obviously had no intention of complying with the decision at all, but sought, as one NAACP lawyer put it, to achieve "interminable continuation of racial segregation."

Indeed, one of the Southern lawyers told the Court frankly that "subtle ways" could be found to circumvent an order setting a definite date for compliance. Another estimated that his state might be able to integrate white and Negro schools by the year 2045.

An attorney for Clarendon County, South Carolina, where there are 2,359 Negro pupils and only 299 white pupils, said there was no possibility of integration in the foreseeable future; that "the white people would not send their children to school with Negroes." Another lawyer representing the same state pleaded with the Court not to "press this crown of thorns upon our brows and press the hemlock cup to our lips."

Outside the Supreme Court hearings, Dixiecrat spokesmen were even more blatant in their chauvinist defiance of the desegregation ruling. At the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention the following week, for example, the editor of the Jackson (Miss.) *Daily News* declared: "If an effort is made to put Negro children into white schools in Mississippi, there will be bloodshed, and the stain of that blood will be on the marble steps of the Supreme Court of the United States." And further: "Mixed schools mean mixed marriages and mixed marriages mean a mongrel race. . . . We have too much mongrelization in the United States already."

Such is the temper of the Bourbon ruling class in the South, hell-bent on preserving—at whatever cost—their multi-billion-dollar system of Jimcrow plunder. What role is being played by the Eisenhower administration?

Eisenhower's Betrayal

Last December, when hearings on the Court's implementing decree were originally scheduled, United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. filed a "friend-of-the-court" brief which, with considerable double-talk, supported the basic position of the Dixiecrats—to leave Southern state plans for desegregation pretty much in the hands of the district courts. His representative at last month's hearings, Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff, spelled out this position in even greater detail.

Sobeloff urged "moderation" by the Supreme Court and consideration for local anti-Negro customs and sentiments.

DOXEY A. WILKERSON is director of faculty and curriculum at Jefferson School of Social Science. He has written extensively on Negro education and is the author of the recently published pamphlet, *The People versus Segregated Schools*, issued by New Century (832 Broadway, N. Y. 3.)

He proposed that federal district courts be authorized to grant school officials one year to draw up "plans" for desegregation, with more time if needed, and that the date for actual desegregation be left open by the Supreme Court.

Thus, the position of the Eisenhower administration on desegregation dovetails with that of the Dixiecrats and collides directly with that of the NAACP and the whole Negro people. This is a significant fact to popularize—and to remember in the 1956 elections.

We have here no new or surprising development. Eisenhower is the first President in decades whose "State of the Union" addresses have neglected even to make the gesture of asking Congress for civil rights legislation. And it is evident to all who read that the GOP-Dixiecrat bloc in Congress is the instrument on which the administration relies for its pro-war and pro-fascist legislation. Furthermore, the industrial and financial monopolies that dictate the policies of Eisenhower are the same forces who own the economy and dominate the politics of the South.

Wall Street is the chief beneficiary of the super-exploitation of the Southern white and Negro masses and the mainstay of the Jimcrow system on which it is based. The Eisenhower administration's betrayal of the Negro people's fight for integrated schools is more than an affront to the Negro people; it is a challenge to the whole broad people's coalition fighting for democracy and peace.

Mass Pressure Required

Many hundreds of labor, professional, Jewish and other people's organizations supported the Negro's struggle in the courts to outlaw segregated schools; and they properly hailed last spring's Supreme Court decision as a great democratic victory. But since then they have tended to stand by idly on the naive assumption that the battle was over, that the Court would almost certainly follow through with forthright implementing decrees.

It should now be clear that there is no such certainty. On the contrary, without massive pressure from the democratic forces of our country it is certain that the actual desegregation of Southern school systems will not be realized.

The urgent need now is for the Negro people's organizations, the trade unions, the Jewish people's organizations, the churches and the many other groups whose pressure was directly responsible for last year's victory in the Supreme Court, to take up the challenge of the Eisenhower-Dixiecrat alliance and to mount a vigorous campaign for enforcement of the Constitution.

Speaking at the "For All Our Children" public mass meeting in April on desegregation of schools in New York City, Thurgood Marshall called for concerted action by the people to force public authorities to eliminate every single all-white or all-Negro school and class in the city, declaring: "School boards do not move much faster than the community insists they move." He is profoundly right; and this principle is equally valid when applied to our federal government—including the Supreme Court.

This first anniversary of last year's historic May 17th

Supreme Court decision is a most appropriate time for the people of our country to renew their offensive on the desegregation front.

Resolutions calling for prompt implementation of the Supreme Court ruling should be sent to the President and attorney general and to the press.

Elected public officials on all levels should be urged to speak out on this question.

Demands should be raised to amend the federal-aid-to-education bills now pending in Congress to provide that no federal funds be allocated to any state which maintains segregated schools.

And along with such activities directed toward the national scene there should be greatly increased struggle to uproot the widespread practice of racial discrimination in the schools of local communities in the North.

The experience of the past year proves that Southern white and Negro schools can be integrated *now*, and without serious problems, *where public authorities act forthrightly to this end*. It has already been done without incident in scores of cities, towns and rural areas of Southern border states and even in some communities in Arkansas and Texas. It can be done on a grand scale throughout the South if the Supreme Court so decrees and if federal and state governments move decisively to implement the Court order. But this the democratic forces of our country will have to make them do.

Massive people's pressure is now imperative and urgent to prevent GOP-Dixiecrat sabotage of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools. And every blow struck by the people's forces in this fight serves also to strengthen the over-all struggle for democracy and peace.

Brooklyn Jewish Women Say:

Urge the President to Promote Peace!

Following is an excerpt from the Bulletin of the Assembly of Brooklyn Jewish Women's Organizations, co-ordinating body of 365 groups with a membership of over 300,000 Jewish women.—Eds.

WILL the belligerent elements in the administration and some of the "big brass" in the military send us into a situation that may be a "point of no return" on the matter of taking a stand on the Quemoy and Matsu islands? If we continue a foreign policy of *go it alone* when Britain and other allies have made it plain that they will not support us in this dangerous venture that can plunge the world into a full-scale war, then we, the public, will be *responsible*, for our president will have to accept the direction that *we*, as individuals, make plain to him. . . .

Assembly urges you therefore, to exert your influence as leaders in the community. Alert your membership, that now, right now, we must bombard President Eisenhower with letters urging the continuance of efforts to promote the peace, by joining with our friends and allies of the free world, through the good offices of the United Nations. Let's strengthen the hand of the Commander-in-Chief, who will accept the direction that we give him. You hold the key to peace!

A SIGN OF SUMMER

By Z. Libin

Translated from the Yiddish by Benjamin Efron

IT WAS an early morning in the wonderful month of May, but where I happened to be, on Orchard Street in New York's lower East Side, there was little to remind one of May. From the garbage pails came no freshness and there was very little of May in the high tenement barracks nor in the fire escapes on which mattresses, blankets and pillows had been left to air.

On Orchard Street in May, as in every month, it was the same old dirt, the same foul air, the same heartbreaking noise of the open marketplace—of the eternal and everlasting battle for a bit of bread. It was a street of tumult and commotion, where people chased one another, hurried, pushed, grabbed, all for the sake of a livelihood.

It was there that I met the little old woman. Small, thin and stooped, with a cane in her hand, clothed in rags, she stood and looked around her. There was deep concern in her eyes, and on her wrinkled face there was a look of great sorrow.

She noticed that I was watching her and she glanced at me a few times. Finally, she came toward me and said, "May you always be in good health, Mister! Are you a Jew?"

"Yes, Grandmother," I said to her. "I am a Jew."

"Then have pity," she said, "and show me where in this neighborhood I may see a tree."

"A what?" I asked. "A tree?"

"Yes," the woman answered, "a tree that blooms in summer, like in the old country."

She said it with such a deep heavy sigh that I became very curious. "For what do you need a tree?" I asked.

"For what? Because God has visited a bitter punishment on me."

The woman's eyes filled with tears as she spoke, and I felt a stab of pain in my own heart. I asked no more questions, but hastened to reassure the old woman. "Yes, Grandmother," I said. "I will certainly show you a tree."

"God bless you for that!" she said with great earnestness.

I knew the neighborhood quite well and I tried to think where there was a tree nearby but I could not recall ever having seen a tree in bloom anywhere in the area. I realized that I would have to take her all the way to Jackson Street park. But that might be too far for her, I thought to myself.

"Where do you live?" I asked her.

"With my sick son," she answered.

"And where does your sick son live?"

"Not far from here, in the yard-house near the large stable."

"If we go a few blocks from here, Grandmother," I said, "will you be able to find your way back?"

"I will ask the way," she said simply.

"Come, Grandmother, I will show you a tree."

We set out for Jackson Street park and on the way the old woman unburdened her heart to me. That was how I learned why she was looking for a tree.

SHE WAS STILL A "GREENHORN"—AN IMMIGRANT WHO HAD been in the country only eight months. She had come to New York to be with her son, her only child, for she had no one else in the whole world.

The son had a wife and three children. He had been a teacher in the old country but here in New York he had to become a fur worker. Some months after the old woman had arrived, however, he fell seriously ill. He was suffering from consumption and was now confined to his bed at home. His wife brought in what little bread they had by washing clothes for the neighbors and by doing housework for various shopowners, taking cloth from their shops and sewing pants into the night at home.

The doctor who had come to see the son a few weeks earlier had said that it would be good if he held out until summer. The old woman asked the doctor how she could tell it was summer in America, for she had noticed that the winters here were not really winter, not like in the

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Z. LIBIN

Died April 14, 1955; aged 83

WE publish the above story to honor the memory of its author, who was one of the earliest creators of Yiddish proletarian literature in the United States. From the beginning of his writing career in the nineties, he mirrored the poverty-stricken life of the Eastern European Jewish immigrants and their struggle against the sweatshop. He was a journalist, fiction writer and dramatist. Libin was perhaps the last surviving pioneer Yiddish writer in America.

ALWAYS TO RESIST, ALWAYS TO PREVENT!

By Eslanda Goode Robeson

About two thousand persons attended a meeting in New York on April 10 to commemorate the twelfth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising held under the auspices of the United Committee to Commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. A powerfully moving speech was given by Nathan Padgug, Zionist and former assistant attorney general of New York State, who passionately denounced rearming of West Germany and urged demands upon Washington to reject the Paris agreements. "The American people," he declared, "do not want war, they want peace!" Greetings were also received, among others, from Hersh Smoliar, head of the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews, and Andre Blumel, president of the French Zionist Federation and of the Actions Committee against German Rearmament.

Following is the speech delivered to the meeting by Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, noted anthropologist.—Eds.

I HAVE always felt that anything bad which could happen to the Jewish people could also happen to the Negro people—anything bad like prejudice, discrimination, segregation, lynchings, pogroms and even extermination.

At one period in the history of our "democracy," rabid Southern and collaborating Northern lynchers suggested that the Negro people should be exterminated, should be deported en masse to Africa, or, at the very least, be rigidly

confined in ghettos, where it would be easy to keep a watchful eye and a watchful gun trained on us and to kill us off at intervals without messing up the elegant streets of their towns. Many of us are still confined in ghettos.

We Negroes, like the Jews, will never forgive and never forget. But never to forgive and never to forget does not complete the thought about these shameful manifestations of arrogance, prejudice, ruthlessness and savagery.

We must say: Never to forgive, never to forget, *always to resist, always to prevent!*

It is this important addition—*always to resist and always to prevent*—that I wish to talk about very briefly today, at this commemoration of the dreadful and glorious uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto.

It would be useful on this solemn memorial occasion to remind people everywhere of what nazism, fascism and war mean in terms of human beings. Not only in terms of minorities, in terms of the victims of prejudice and violence, but also in terms of human beings generally. What they mean for every person who, actively or passively, whether at the scene-of-the-crime or thousands of miles away, participates in the ruthless, wanton murder of human beings and who thereby gives up an important part of his own humanity. Thus, most of the human race is degraded.

Let none of us forgive nor forget the vicious destruction by the nazis, the fascists and all those promoting war—

(Continued from page 17)

old country. The doctor told her that when the trees bloomed and turned green, it would be a sign of summer.

That had been weeks ago, before Passover. Now it was after Passover, and in the old country, it would be coming on to summer. So she wanted to know if it was summer in America, too, and if her son had lived through the winter. True, it was warm now, but she couldn't accept that as a real sign, for there had been occasional warm days in wintertime in the old country, too. What she wanted to see was the sign the doctor had told her, a green leaf on a living tree.

We finally came to the park, a green little corner in a terrible desert. All about us were trees and green grass. "Well, here you have trees," I said to her, "as many as you want."

"I see, I see," she said. "Thank God!" She drank the

trees in with her eyes. The careworn expression eased and her face became lighter.

"It is the sweet summertime, my dear son," she began to murmur quietly. "Maybe the dear father in heaven will have pity on you and send you a cure." Then she turned to me and asked plaintively: "Will you do me another favor?"

"What, Grandmother?"

"Please get me a few leaves, any kind at all. I want to bring them to my son, to show him that the summer has come."

I brought her a green twig with leaves on it. She took it with trembling hands. She blessed me with her whole heart and said she was ready to go home. I pointed out the way and she started back toward the yard-house by the stable, to show her sick son that summer had come to America.

whether they are in Germany, in Japan, in these United States or anywhere. And let us work unceasingly to block the road to rearm these beasts; let us unite to block the road to their return to power; let us block the road to war.

AS A NEGRO, I WATCH WITH FRIGHTENED FASCINATION THE efforts of the Jewish people to survive and defend themselves. In this matter of the rearmament of Germany, I see the same tactics used against the Jewish people as were and are used against the African people, the Negro people, against labor and against women.

"Divide and rule." Pick off some of the leaders and convince or persuade them that it is best not to protest, not to resist, not to fight; that it is more expedient to agree to or even support indirectly the attacks against the group.

Divide and rule by *indirect rule*. Select and appoint an African chief here, a woman leader there, a labor leader, a Negro leader, a Jewish leader, and, indirectly, through these "chosen" leaders, control and manipulate the groups.

Indirect rule has successfully prolonged colonialism in the modern world; indirect rule has kept the potentially powerful labor movement under control; indirect rule has weakened the militant Negro liberation movement and has kept the progress of women down to a minimum.

I never think of the terrible and glorious uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto without thinking: there but for the grace of God go we, the Negro people.

It happened to the Jewish people. It could happen to the Negro people. It is happening to the African people—to the Kikuyu, alleged to be Mau Mau, in Kenya.

Therefore, my interest in and sympathy for the Jewish people and what happens to them is not just academic or philosophical—it is personal and immediate and very, very real.

When I hear talk of rearming the nazis, I think of rearming the Ku Klux Klan, the late Senator Bilbo and his crowd—who actually never were properly disarmed.

When I read of plans for rearming the Germans, I think of the nazis and what they did to the Jewish people, to women, to labor, to the church, to all those who would not go along with them.

And I remember the Warsaw Ghetto and the brave people who died there. I remember the concentration camps and the ovens.

And remembering, I, as a woman, as a Negro, as a progressive, must shout: "*No! You cannot, you dare not, rearm the Germans.*"

And I must keep on shouting *No!* Even if they put me in prison, I must keep on shouting *No!* It would be better to be in prison than in an oven or on an atomic battle field.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO IS PART OF THE UNIVERSAL tragedy of war. This kind of savagery *needs war* and the war hysteria.

We must never forgive, never forget, and we must work unceasingly to resist and to prevent individual, group and mass destruction—which means we must work in the community, with the note, everywhere and all the time, to prevent war and to bring about a permanent peace.

If we resist all efforts to divide and rule; if all the women, all the Negro people, all the Jewish people, progressive people and all those who want to survive, fearlessly and determinedly join together to secure the peace, then the sacred dead of the Warsaw Ghetto, together with the sacred dead of all those wars for freedom, democracy, security and whatever, will at last settle down comfortably in their graves and rest easy, rest in the peace that we, the ordinary people, will bring about and preserve.

THE CORSI AFFAIR AND McCARRAN-WALTER

Following is a letter sent on May 6 by June Gordon, executive director of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs, to the Refugee Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the scandalous McCarthyite dismissal of Edward Corsi.—Eds.

AS civic-minded Jewish women with a very special interest in the case of Mr. Edward Corsi, the Refugee Relief Act and its administration, we are conscience-bound to contribute our viewpoint for consideration in the investigation you are now conducting into the "Corsi Matter."

In concert with all Americans who cherish the concepts and the spirit embodied in the Statue of Liberty and the world-renowned sonnet, "The New Colossus" by Emma Lazarus, inscribed upon its base, we were shocked to learn of Mr. Corsi's dismissal and the so-called grounds for this action.

We wish to add and to focus attention upon the fact that in our view both these evils, the malicious attack upon Mr. Corsi and the maladministration of the Refugee Act, stem from the built-in bigotry of the McCarran-Walter Act on immigration. For this act makes us a nation divided against itself—native born and naturalized—first and second class citizens.

We maintain that with the passage of the McCarran-Walter act, bigotry in all its ramifications—against color and origin—was given legal sanction. In our view the Corsi dismissal has all the earmarks of an act of bigotry like its forerunner, the dismissal of Wolf Ladejinsky. Anti-Semitism and mistrust of good Americans of foreign birth are linked in these two cases even as they are linked in the McCarran-Walter law quota system and allocations which malign both the Jewish and the Italian people along with others not of Anglo-Saxon origin.

We urge you to probe for the anti-foreign born aspects of the Corsi case with the greatest vigilance. Your committee can help to remove the corroding rust of discrimination against foreign-born that has settled upon our Statue of Liberty and make history in support of those ideals of human liberty on which our nation and its form of government were founded.

LESSON OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS: DEMOCRACY IS INDIVISIBLE

By Morris U. Schappes

OUR feet are now firmly in the first year of the fourth century of Jewish life in our country. Completing our celebration of the Tercentenary and of the progressive tradition in Jewish life, many lessons and conclusions can be drawn. We want to focus here on the one lesson that seems to us basic to all lessons: that democracy is indivisible and must be ever-expanding.

Progressive Jews in our country today know well that democracy is indivisible, that one section of the people cannot be secure in their democratic rights while they are denied to other sections. And they know well, too, that a democracy that does not expand withers, as it were, on the vine. But those who today take such principles for granted as axioms have this wisdom in part because they are the heirs of those in our country, Jews included, who had to learn these things through three centuries of continual struggle. The progressive tradition in American Jewish history is a story of expanding horizons, of the gradual shedding of blinkers that keep horizons narrow to this day, of the slow, uneven, painful but ever-liberating mastery of the principle that democracy is indivisible.

New Amsterdam is an example of the narrowness of the horizon at the beginning. In this Dutch colony, Quakers were persecuted (one was actually hanged), Catholics were hounded, Negroes were enslaved, Lutherans were denied the right to public worship—and the Jews when they arrived were unwelcome. As we know, the Jews actively fought for and won the right to stay, to travel and trade in the colony, to buy real estate, to sell at retail, to stand guard, to have their own cemetery, to worship privately and finally to become citizens.

The Jews fought for their own rights and so, in their own way, did the other groups mentioned. But did the Lutherans and the Jews, for example, ever get together and join their efforts to win, for instance, the right to public worship? The record does not show such coalition. Stuyvesant, with the wisdom of rulers who know they must divide to rule, understood that if he grants the Jews this right he will have to extend it to the Lutherans. But neither the Jews nor the Lutherans had a horizon broad enough to include the other—for the benefit of both. Those that needed democracy did not instantly and spontaneously

understand that it was indivisible, that Jews, for instance, could have it only insecurely while other groups did not have it at all. Not only time was required for the learning of the lesson, but the expanding awareness on all sides that there were common interests in the face of a common enemy. Jews like others learned the hard way, perhaps even the harder way, for undoubtedly anti-Semitic pressures kept them out of some coalitions with non-Jews when these were already forming.

Of course, the first major expanding of the horizon for Jews and non-Jews alike came in the second half of the eighteenth century, as British colonial policy came to be recognized as the common enemy of the colonial masses. The gathering forces of unity against British domination gathered the Jews into their activities, and they signed the non-importation agreements and shared in the work of resistance and mobilization that culminated in the war and the revolution. Still unequal in law and facing other discriminations in fact, the Jews joined in hailing the high resounding promise of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" and have "certain unalienable Rights." The words are bright and magnetic but did "all" mean all even to those who wanted them? Did "all" include the Negroes, the women, the foreign-born, the frequently linked trio, "Jews, Papists and infidels"? The Jews were determined to make "all" include them, yet only a minority were prepared then and there to read all as all, literally, without regard to color, sex or nativity.

Indivisibility of Religious Freedom

Easiest to recognize at the time was that democracy is indivisible in religion, for no single Christian denomination was dominant in all 13 states. Judaism as a non-Christian religion was particularly in an exposed position. Jews had a special interest in the separation of church and state, in the equality of all religions before the law. Yet, religious equality was not enough so long as the practice of it might expose the Jews to any form of discrimination, economic, political, cultural or social. There were several young states in which Jews could exercise their right publicly to practice Judaism but yet faced formal legal barriers in being

denied the "unalienable Right" to hold public office. The drafters of state constitutions had had limited horizons of their own.

If one wants a symbol of a horizon at its most expansive for the period, one may find it in a Jew, in the figure of Benjamin Nones. When the news of the Declaration of Independence and the War of the Revolution reached this teen-age Jew in Bordeaux, France, he had the transatlantic vision to see writ large the fact that his fate was bound up with the great liberating cause of young America. He migrated not for greater ease or comfort or even opportunity, unless it be the opportunity personally to fight, and perhaps die, in the armies of democracy and independence of a country not yet, but to be, his own.

After the war and the adoption of the constitution and its Bill of Rights, he continued to be in the van of those who fought for expanding democracy and of course found himself in the Jeffersonian movement. His political associates were shoemakers, Negroes, the "alien and seditious" proscribed under the Alien and Sedition Laws and the radical intellectuals of the time. His whole life was background and prologue to his declaration, at the turning point in the democratic history of the world, that Jews, because they are Jews, need ever to be in the forefront of the fight for progress. When in 1800 he challenged his anti-Semitic Federalist slanderer with the proclamation, "I am a Jew, and if for no other reason, for that reason am I a republican," that is, a Jeffersonian democratic-republican radical, he was adding something new and challenging to the outlook of the Jewish people and the arsenal of democratic ideas. For Nones the indivisibility of democracy had rich meaning.

The Jew and Negro Freedom

The irrepressible issue in the next half century was the place of the enslaved Negroes in this concept. Democracy was starkly divisible when it came to the Negro. Like others, there were some Jews who freed their slaves but there were also those Jews who saw no contradiction between a zeal for equality for Jews and the enslavement of Negroes. A symbolic example is to be found in the Jews of Maryland, who from 1797 on waged a 30-year struggle to abolish a constitutional provision that denied them the right to hold a public office, which meant even the right to practice law or be a notary public, occupations included among public offices. By 1827, with the decisive assistance of Jeffersonian democrats headed by Thomas Kennedy, the struggle was won, the constitutional disability was wiped out and a Jew was promptly elected to office in Baltimore. Democracy as a whole was expanded in Maryland by that victory of and for the Jews.

Some years later, however, the same Jews became aware of another discrimination against them tucked away in the laws of Maryland: the provision that no Negro was to be permitted to testify in a court of law against any white Christian. Obviously this was a discrimination against

Jews! And so the militant Jews went to bat again to abolish this legal discrimination against them, and in 1847 the law was changed. Jews thereafter had equality with other white persons in being protected against the testimony of Negroes in courts. Certainly the Jews who figured in this democratic struggle for their own equality were indifferent to the fact that their own gain was at the expense of the Negro people. There was no sense of a common cause because there was no awareness of a common enemy.

Again it was the advanced elements, the abolitionists among the Jews in the 1850s, who preached the fact that the indivisibility of democracy must be extended to include the Negro people. Abram J. Dittenhoefer expressed this understanding well when he recognized in 1858 that Jews "whose ancestors were enslaved in Egypt, ought not to uphold slavery in free America, and could not do so without bringing disgrace upon" themselves. The claim of democracy, of course, was not based primarily upon the experience of antiquity. Both industrial capitalism and the democracy based upon it were under attack from the aggressive, expansionist slave-system. The conflict was inevitable and the thousands of Jews who fought in the Union army and the hundreds of Jewish abolitionists and anti-slavery figures fought to have democracy by expanding it.

Another expanse on the horizon of the indivisibility of democracy was that involving the democratic rights of women to equality, legal, social, cultural and educational, economic and political. In this arena the grand vitality of Ernestine L. Rose stands unfortunately alone among Jewish women for decades. Woman's rights' leader, utopian socialist, atheist, fighter for free public schools and abolitionist, she unfurled her boundless democratic horizon in an abolitionist speech in 1853, thus: "I go for emancipation of all kinds—white and black, man and woman. . . . There are ties that bind man to man far stronger than the ties of nation—than the political and commercial ties—ay, even stronger than the ties of relationship; and these are the ties of humanity."¹ The indivisibility of humanity is certainly the banner of the indivisibility of democracy.

The Jew and Labor's Rights

After the Civil War, new tests of democracy came to the fore. Rapid industrial development multiplied the size of the working class. Faced with Big Business, workers need a concept of democracy that bursts out of the bourgeois, middle class boundaries of *individual* rights, interpreted by the ruling class as the right to act alone. Of what use is it to the worker to have the "right" individually to ask the boss for a rise in pay or other improvement in working conditions, if the boss has the last word, and not only the right but the power to deny the request? Individual bargaining with the individual employer is the boss's dream of heaven and the worker's nightmare of reality. Only by

¹ Morris U. Schappes, ed., "Ernestine L. Rose: Her Address on the Anniversary of West Indian Emancipation," *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 34, July, 1949, p. 348-49.

collective bargaining can the worker assert his individual rights in the industrial field.

By the employer, however, such collective, organized efforts were regarded and even outlawed as "conspiracy," and conspiracy laws had been used to fight trade union organization from the beginning of the century. A concept of democracy decisively expanded to meet the elementary needs of the workers required the assertion and the winning of new rights: the rights of militant trade unionism and labor fraternalism, the rights of working class political movements, the rights of socialists and communists and other labor ideologists to advance their ideas under the full protection of the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech.

We have rehearsed in some detail in this series the vast contribution made to the welfare of the Jewish masses and to the American labor movement as a whole by the great strike struggles of the Jewish workers, by their example of militant trade unionism, of the solidarity of labor fraternalism, of advanced political thinking and participation in vanguard political campaigns and movements. The concept of the indivisibility of democracy finds its greatest mass expression in these chapters of American Jewish labor history. But such a concept of democracy the ruling circles fought with all their massive power, with legal and illegal methods, using their control of government to the full.

A classic example was the Haymarket frame-up of 1886. That this was literally a frame-up was demonstrated authoritatively in 1893, when Governor Peter Altgeld of Illinois pardoned a couple of survivors in a message that fully described the frame-up, although millions of Americans as well as world liberal opinion recognized it as a frame-up while it was being perpetrated and long before authority stamped it as such. Because a bomb had exploded in Haymarket Square, Chicago, as a workers' meeting was disbanding and several policemen were killed and injured, eight anarchists were indicted. The charge was not the throwing of the bomb—to this day it is not known who threw it—but "conspiring" to throw it. (This marked the beginning in modern labor and political history of the use of this characteristic ruling class evasion of the laws of evidence required to prove the commission of *an act*. Thus, the communists are charged under the Smith act not with advocating the violent overthrow of the government, much less with practicing it, but with "conspiring" to advocate it at some unspecified time in the future. Similarly the Rosenbergs and Sobell were not charged with committing espionage, but with "conspiring" to do so.)

After an unfair trial, seven Haymarket men were sentenced to be hanged, and one to 15 years in prison. To prevent the execution, a tremendous mass movement was mounted, which involved many of the Jewish immigrant workers, who for the past decade had been pouring into the country from Eastern Europe expecting democracy and not frame-ups. The organized labor movement was active in the amnesty campaign. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, was part of a delegation to Governor Richard J. Oglesby that resulted only in the

commutation of two sentences to life imprisonment. What the people and the Jewish masses learned from the Haymarket frame-up about the indivisibility of democracy was best expressed by Samuel Gompers. Writing his autobiography shortly before he died in 1924, by which time he was already a very conservative labor leader, Gompers looked back upon the Haymarket frame-up and drew the profound and still timely conclusion that "labor must do its best to maintain justice for the radicals or find itself denied the rights of free men."²

Would that George Meany, now president of the A.F.L., were true to this Gompers testament of the indivisibility of democracy, to say nothing of Walter Reuther, head of the C.I.O., or of a Jacob S. Potofsky and a David Dubinsky, still leaders of large numbers of Jewish workers! Current failure to recognize and act upon this principle has contributed to the crippling of democracy for the American people as a whole in the period after the Second World War and has widely intimidated the expression of opinion of the Jewish masses even on such an issue as the rearmament of Germany.

Democracy and Colonialism

Before the nineteenth century ended, the final dimension was added to the concept of the indivisibility of democracy as viewed by progressive Jews. Big Business, while undermining democracy at home, ventured abroad on the similar mission of colonialism and the imperialism of dollar diplomacy. Under demagogic slogans of liberation, United States ruling circles launched the expansionist and imperialist war on Spain in 1898. Swallowing this line as conveyed to them in the general as well as most of the Jewish press, some 4,000 Jews enlisted in this war. But again a vanguard in the country as a whole and among the Jewish masses too saw the true evil character of the war and opposed it, recognizing that the indivisibility of democracy includes the right of other peoples to independence and the right to decide for themselves their own way of life.

The opposition among the Jews was sharpest in the ranks of the recent Yiddish speaking immigrants. Despite the fact that the middle class Yiddish press and even the *Jewish Daily Forward*, which professed socialism, supported the war, two socialist Yiddish newspapers, the weekly *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the daily *Abend Blatt*, were strong and consistent in their opposition to it. None of the scores of the middle-class Anglo-Jewish weeklies, however, opposed the war. Yet, there were middle class Jewish communal leaders and intellectuals who expressed their active opposition in such movements as the Anti-Imperialist Leagues, which faced governmental persecution for their courageous stand for democracy in foreign affairs.

This anti-imperialist principle was excellently expressed in the letter of an anonymous Philadelphia Jew who signed himself Oheb Zedekah (Lover of Justice) in *The Jewish Exponent*, February 24, 1899. Rebuking this weekly for its

² Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor*, New York, 1925, vol. 2, p. 178.

pro-war position from the beginning of the conflict, this correspondent applauds the fact that the *Jewish Exponent* is beginning to show signs of unease about the atrocities being committed against the Filipino peoples. "The [Cuban] war," he declares, "was not, and history will so declare, a war of humanity, but a war of revenge and conquest. . . . Cuban liberty will be denied if possible; postponed on every pretext; nullified by bonds and concessions to American syndicates; prevented as a last resort, by colonization or a fraudulent plebiscite. Puerto Rico is a conquest of war, impure and simple. . . . The subversion of Hawaiian liberty is an accomplished fact. . . ."

In prophetic vein our Lover of Justice denounces the *Exponent* "and other Jewish leaders of thought" for "following the multitude to do evil," but he urges that "it is not too late to join the forces of resistance; it may be too late next year. When Dreyfus incidents are repeated here the repentance may be in sackcloth and ashes, but it will not avail." It is on this note that Jews have a particular stake in the indivisibility of democracy in international affairs that he ends thus: "Above all others are Jews concerned in this. If not unselfishly, because as their religion commands, they really love justice for all men, then selfishly, because class distinction once permitted, there is no class more easily discriminated against. To seek 'popularity' for ourselves today, by going with the majority to do injustice, is to invoke a fearful retribution upon our children to the third and the fourth generation."

The Lesson of 300 Years

Such is the lesson of 300 years of Jewish life, as it is the lesson of the centuries for all the American people. It is a lesson learned in the pain of experience and the anguish but exhilaration of fighting off ignorance and attaining knowledge. But it is also a lesson that has to be relearned in every great new situation. For the forces of reaction spread clouds of confusion to blunt and distort the meaning of the indivisibility of democracy. It is a lesson to which lip-service is more common than loyalty to it in practice.

To enforce the indivisibility of democracy requires the continual defeat of reaction. To beat back the ever-aggressive reaction requires the unity, the indivisibility, of all the elements in American life that have historically fought for centuries to establish and expand democracy: the masses, the Negro people, the women, the immigrant groups, the progressive vanguard. The rulers of America defy the concept of the indivisibility of democracy with their "exceptional" laws: that there be democracy for all, except. . . . The McCarran-Walter immigration law "excepts" the foreign born and the naturalized citizens; the Taft-Hartley law "excepts" the trade unionist, denying him the right to choose his own officers; the Smith, McCarran Internal Security and Brownell laws "except" the communists and all those that a McCarthy or a paid and lying "informer" can call a communist. In foreign affairs, it is not laws but hundreds of far-flung military and naval

bases, billion-dollar intervention, and the insane brandishing of world-destroying A- and H-bombs that deny to other countries the right to determine their own way of life, that in fact, refuse to recognize the right to peaceful co-existence of differing social systems. Resistance to these evils is the meaning today of the lesson of the indivisibility of democracy.

In American Jewish history as in American history as a whole there are two traditions, the tradition of reaction and of capitulation to reaction on the one hand, and the triumphant tradition of the fight for progress against reaction. Ours is and must be the progressive tradition. In the period of the establishment and expansion of democracy, militant Jews, in their own interest and in the general interest, helped establish and expand it. In the period when dominant Big Business sought to make democracy contract, progressive Jews opposed the contraction and fought to maintain and still further extend democracy.

Every heritage, while handing us a weapon, simultaneously imposes upon us who receive it the duty to use it. The progressive tradition in American Jewish history is the tradition, outlined in the preceding 15 articles, of the growing awareness and the step by step fight to make the indivisibility of democracy come alive in practice, in reality. The Jewish people need this tradition today. They need it to inspire them to raise their voices against the rearmament of Germany and the Dulles policy of breeding disaster for Israel in the Middle East. They need it to unify their own ranks, without regard to political coloration, and to unite with other Americans in the fight for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter, McCarran Internal Security, Taft-Hartley, Smith, Brownell and similar laws. The Jews need their progressive tradition as a well of courage and wisdom in the fight for progress. If we learn deeply the lesson of the indivisibility of democracy, the Tercentenary celebration will be not a *kaddish* for the past but a prophecy for the future.

End of the series

A World Jewish Conference Against German Rearmament

ON June 18 and 19, Representatives of Jewish organizations and many Jewish personalities will meet in conference in Paris to protest against German rearmament despite the ratification of the Paris pacts. The world conference was called by the great gathering of Jews of Europe in Paris on December 12, 1954 who met to warn against the danger to world peace and the Jewish people in the revival of the Wehrmacht. Head of the organizing group, the Jewish Actions Committee Against German Rearmament, is André Blumel, who is president of the Zionist Federation of France. In his call to the conference, Mr. Blumel writes, "It is necessary for us to unite to preserve and enforce peace, the sole guarantee for the existence of all Jewish communities and of the State of Israel."

CLEVELAND JEWISH WORKERS' CHORUS

By Abe Strauss

Thirty years ago — on October 6, 1924 — a group of Jewish worker-singers of Cleveland calling themselves the "Freiheit Gesangs Ferein" presented their first concert in the Jewish center, Carpenters Hall. A dramatic group and a mandolin orchestra shared the program.

Who were these worker-singers and how did they come to organize? I asked this question of Hayim Weinberg, a founder and builder of the Cleveland Gesangs Ferein, a trade union leader and veteran of the local Jewish cultural movement.

"These were years of youth, of *sturm und drang*," he told me. "The Jewish community had been invigorated with thousands of new immigrants, Jewish workers and *Folksmenshen*. The new army of immigrants had brought with it a new vitality and resistance to oppression. When the Jewish workers finished their hard day's work in the shops, they gathered in the evenings at the workers' clubs and cultural halls. The air was abuzz with all kinds of activities of a fine cultural and educational character.

"At the same time that they were organizing the workers' movement to protect themselves against the exploitation of the bosses in the shops, the Jewish workers built cultural and educational organizations. The new immigration of the 20's strengthened the existing workers' societies and cultural organizations. That was also a time of stormy ideological struggle in the labor movement as a whole and naturally in the Jewish sector as well. The struggle for new and stronger positions also found expression on the cultural front.

"Middle class influence was being exerted in Jewish life toward promoting Zionism among the Jewish masses and youth. Although this propaganda was conducted in Yiddish, the language was regarded as a tongue of the *galut* (that is, of Jewish exile). Middle class Jews minimized the importance of the Yiddish classical writers and looked with suspicion upon the fighting Yiddish worker writers and poets. This middle class leadership in Jewish life promoted the ideology and political aspirations of the ruling class of the country.

"The class-conscious Jewish workers strongly resisted this hostile cultural influence. Yiddish remained the dominant

language of the Jewish masses. They placed the classic Yiddish writers and their continuators, the labor poets, writers and artists, in the foreground of all cultural activities of the Jewish workers.

"**The shops** in which Jewish tailors and cloakmakers worked resounded with the songs of the Jewish labor poets, who called for struggle on behalf of peace, democracy and a better world. The songs of Rosenfeld, Edelshtat, Bovshover and Winchevsky became an organic part of the life of the Jewish workers and common people. Workers' choruses were organized. Scores of volunteers answered the first call for a Gesangs Ferein, a dramatic group and a mandolin orchestra. Rehearsals were held at the end of a long day's work.

"Jewish workers undertook the study of music and composition, a privilege that had been reserved for the children of rich parents. The rehearsals became better attended and more enthusiastic. Finally the chorus, the dramatic group and the mandolin orchestra combined their efforts and held their first annual concert. The drama section was then led by the writer Hayim Davidson, the orchestra by Soloviev and the Gesangs Ferein by Berkman.

"Although the first program was unpolished and rather hit-or-miss, the audience of workers received it with great enthusiasm. The chorus grew to more than 100 singers and had excellent soloists who soon acquired a national reputation. The chorus performed the songs, oratorios and cantatas of the outstanding composer Jacob Schaeffer in the largest auditoriums of the city. The chorus grew in influence and prestige. It has been conducted by nationally known directors such as N. Samarov, H. Dubovsky, D. Froman, A. Abramovitz and others."

The Cleveland chorus had become an example of cultural achievement for all the Jewish choruses in the country. However, reactionary pressures in 1939 caused the Freiheit Gesangs Ferein to dissolve for six years. This was a heavy blow to the Jewish progressive movement of Cleveland.

The group was reorganized as the Jewish People's Chorus in 1945 in the glorious tradition of the Freiheit Gesangs Fer-

ein. The chorus is dedicated to unceasing struggle for a secure world peace. It has been inspired by the experience of the Jewish masses in the period of united struggle against the nazi barbarians. Working at first under great difficulties, it soon became a source of inspiration for many Jewish workers. Some of its members are young people, children and grandchildren of the singers of the original Freiheit Gesangs Ferein. Yet, even today its first soloist is Morris Dickholtz, who has served in that capacity since 1925!

The native-born Jewish musician, Fred Rosenberg, directs the chorus and Sanford Saperstein, also native-born, is its president. More than half of the chorus are native-born.

During its ten years of existence the Jewish People's Chorus has been widely recognized for its achievements. Each year it participates in the nationalities festival of the *Cleveland Press* and in concerts of several Jewish community organizations. On April 17 the chorus participated in a Tercentenary program organized by the Jewish Centers of Cleveland. The chorus held its own Tercentenary celebration with a concert on May 15.

Like all Jewish choruses, the Cleveland group is constantly striving to improve the quality of its work. The members and leaders of the chorus are aware of the significant part they are playing in the life of the Jewish community. Hearty greetings go out to the chorus on its Tenth Anniversary.

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PAUL MUNI AND THE "MONKEY TRIAL"

In the eyes of the world, America made a monkey of itself with the "Monkey Trial" of 1925 in Dayton, Tenn., where a young biology teacher named John T. Scopes was tried in a court of law on the criminal charge of teaching his students Darwin's theory of evolution.

That was 30 years ago and to Americans of the post-"Monkey Trial" generation the story of Dayton is merely a legend that brings to mind the Dark Ages. Yet, the memory of that trial is still fresh in the minds of millions of people in this country, who remember not only the incident itself but also the shame it brought to America and the derisive laughter it evoked throughout the world.

In *Inherit the Wind*, now enjoying a prosperous run at the National Theater, Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee have succeeded in bringing to life the "Monkey Trial" and the two famous personalities, William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow, whose clashes in court were a drama in itself, enacted before a world audience.

With Paul Muni acting the part of the celebrated trial lawyer and defender of unpopular causes (in the play Darrow's name is Drummond), *Inherit the Wind* acquires a power and burning dramatic eloquence that go a long way to make up for the faults of the script. It is, of course, a dubious compliment for a play when the leading actor gets all the praise. But in this case it is simply inconceivable that anyone but Muni could have brought out the essence of the play and turn it into the compelling social drama that it becomes on the stage.

In the "Monkey Trial" the non-conformist biology teacher who informed his pupils of the evolutionary facts of life in defiance of the laws of the state of Tennessee, got lost in the shuffle. He was little more than a bystander in the struggle between the two principals, Darrow and Bryan.

From an intellectual standpoint, it was

an unequal fight. William Jennings Bryan, although "silver-tongued," was no match for the keen mind of Clarence Darrow; and the literal interpretation of the biblical story of creation sponsored by Bryan on behalf of the prosecution simply had no chance in the head-on collision with the rational and scientific *Weltanschauung*. As a lawyer and an agnostic, Darrow indeed made a monkey of Bryan. But what the silver-tongued ignoramus lacked in knowledge and reasoning he more than made up in his appeal to the bigotry prevailing in the "Bible Belt." And since Dayton, Tenn., was the very buckle of that belt and the spirit of intolerance toward "godless" ideas had been whipped up to lynch-fury before the trial began, its outcome was a foregone conclusion. Yet, the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad was such that the biology teacher, found guilty by an all-Bible jury, got off with a nominal fine.

Even more than in the trial itself the fight is an unequal one on the stage of the National Theater, for Ed Begely in the role of Bryan (whose name in the play is Matthew Harrison Brady) is no match for Paul Muni. A very good actor, Mr. Begely has a relatively easy task of portraying a type. William Jennings Bryan as a political personality was the embodiment of noisy mediocrity, resorting to all the familiar and standardized tricks, intonations and locutions in the repertory of the demagogue. To portray such a type presents no difficulty for any competent American actor since he can use almost any windbag of a politician as a model for his portrait.

In keeping with the play and Herman Shumlin's canny and dexterous direction, both Begely's and Muni's portraits are the "spitting image" of the originals. But if it is easy to copy Bryan, the same cannot be said of Darrow who was, among other things, distinguished by his colorful and almost whimsical individuality. Paul Muni has apparently made a painstaking study

of Darrow's external personality, his peculiar mannerisms, his gait and mien, his negligent attire and his famed transitions from a casual and bored tone to passionate plea. The result is not merely a realistic portrayal of the celebrated lawyer but a complete transmutation, with the actor totally transformed into the character he plays.

And that is Paul Muni. When it comes to realistic detail, he is a worrying fusspot. Everything has to be right and "natural" to the nth degree. This kind of absorption in "detailia" is sometimes irksome to the spectator—in the theater or at an art exhibition. It is as if the faithful reproduction of externals is an end in itself.

But Paul Muni is not just a worshipper of naturalistic minutiae. He is a great actor whose main concern is, after all, the perception and projection of the truth of inner character. This has been true of Muni all these years—from the time he was Muni Weisenfreund on the Yiddish stage and broke the heart of the audience in the role of the lovelorn hunch-backed tailor's apprentice in Sholem Aleichem's *Dos Groise Gevins* (The Great Lottery), through his triumphal procession on Broadway and in Hollywood in such roles as Zola, Pasteur and Juarez, to his present triumph, perhaps the greatest in his career, in the role of the embattled liberal and "freethinker" fighting with his back to the wall against enthroned ignorance, bigotry and mob-spirit.

The reenactment of the "Monkey Trial" is in itself no small feat in the theater and the authors of *Inherit the Wind*, greatly aided by Mr. Shumlin's direction and Peter Larkin's stunning and miraculously effective settings, have succeeded in translating that trial into the language of the theater. Yet there is something missing. The play lacks precisely the excitement that the "Monkey Trial" brought about throughout the country and, indeed, throughout the world. No effort has been made to dramatize the world significance of that trial, even though there are spoken lines referring to it. Somehow *Inherit the Wind* shrinks into a purely local episode, as a kind of curio in a collection of Americana.

On the other hand, the milieu of the drama, revealing the mood of the people and the mores of the small town in the "Bible Belt," acquires a dramatic power of its own. It reminds one of the observation by a political commentator that you cannot understand McCarthyism unless you are familiar with the "McCarthy territory" and understand the McCarthy audiences. With the aid of a large cast of 50 actors the authors and the producer of *Inherit the Wind* have created a vivid canvas of the Bryan territory and the Bryan-audi-

ences that made the "Monkey Trial" at all possible.

The very nature of the drama inevitably brings to mind the forces of intellectual terror and thought-control that operate in our country today. But the authors have contributed little to the dramatization of this analogy. In the final scene, the play flounders and is brought to an inconclusive end precisely because the authors seek to reconcile the irreconcilables. Poor Muni struggles ineffectually to eulogize the very bigot and ignoramus whom he all but annihilated in a previous scene with his ridicule and scorn. His final gesture when he places in his briefcase, side by side, the Bible and a volume of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, is meant to symbolize the message of the play and the "liberal" gospel of respecting your opponent's opinion even if it is the opinion of a Bryan or—a McCarthy.

Luckily, the audience read their own message into the play, for the analogy between the "Monkey Trial" and the monkeyshines in the political trials of today is inescapable.

In a purely scenic sense *Inherit the Wind* is an overwhelming piece of theater. If Paul Muni has created the best role of his career, Herman Shumlin has never done a better job of directing—and he is a creative and imaginative director. Peter Larkin has furnish him a superb two-level set and with the aid of Feder's ingenious lighting the action acquires a dynamic continuity, shifting from the courtroom to the street without interruption.

A number of other actors contribute to the vivid reenactment of the "Monkey Trial," notably Louis Hector as the judge who invariably rules against the defense, and Tony Randall as the reporter from Baltimore. The latter is meant to personify H. L. Mencken, whose reporting on the "Monkey Trial" was a sideshow in itself. The part is badly written. Though Mencken was a cynic and intellectual snob ridiculing the yokels of the hinterland, he was not the clowning wise-cracker the play represents him to be. But Tony Randall imparts a cutting edge to the lines he speaks.

All in all, *Inherit the Wind* is a captivating play. The theme, the acting of Paul Muni and Shumlin's direction combine to make it into a memorable event in the theater.

SOCIAL SATIRE?

A good idea has gone wrong in *Phoenix '55*, the review produced by the Phoenix Theater as the final item of its

successful second season. The makers of the review started out with the idea of satirizing the findings of *Fortune Magazine* about the prosperity of an ever-growing middle class in this country which supposedly furnishes a firm basis for an ever-expanding economy and national well-being. The rejoinder was to be, "It ain't necessarily so." But in the preparation and the putting together of the material, the basic idea somehow evaporated and the end-product is for the most part the type of philistine smugness the review was meant to ridicule.

This is a pity, for a lot of work—some of it very good—has been idly dissipated. Were the review half as good as one or two of its best sketches, *Phoenix '55* would deserve a place alongside such fondly-remembered social-content reviews as *Grand Street Follies*, *Pins and Needles*, *Sing for Your Supper* or *Meet the People*. But the good items in the Phoenix review

are few and far between, "Suburban Retreat" being the best and closest to the original intent. Some of the numbers are funny and entertaining in an idle sort of way, among them the circus scene and the take-off on Ed Morrow's TV program, "Person to Person."

We do not share the enthusiasm of the reviewers about Nancy Walker's performance. A low comedienne with a rich and versatile technique, her style essentially conforms with the commercial musical theater.

Ira Wallach is responsible for most of the sketches. But in the review he does not shine as the social satirist that he really is. As to the music by David Baker and the lyrics by David Craig, there is nothing to write home about.

Those who seek mere "entertainment" will find quite a bit of it in the Phoenix review. But the seekers of entertaining social satire will come away disappointed.

Letters from Readers

Response

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is a two-dollar contribution.

Recently some desperate and ghoulish politicians dug up the not-so-secret Yalta papers. As a result the TV networks ran some movie clips of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Just to hear his powerful, sincere voice and to experience his warm personality once again re-affirmed our estimate of him: a giant of a human being, especially compared to the pygmies who followed him.

F. C.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

My dear Front Fighters, here are a couple of bucks. This is all I've got right now. I sincerely hope and wish that the other readers contribute \$9,998 so that \$10,000 will fill the gap for the time being.

D. & G. C.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed please find check for \$10.00 in memory of my beloved husband, who passed away March 23, 1955. Hope you keep your magazine going as I would miss it very much.

Los Angeles

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The Warsaw Ghetto Issue (April) was

Mrs. T. R.

a fitting tribute to the heroes of our people!

We were very glad to meet the Editorial Board at least in a picture. Looking forward to the June issue.

N. J.

San Francisco

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Several months ago I sent you \$20.00 anonymously but today I can spare only \$10.00. Will try hard to send more soon. Love your magazine and look forward eagerly each month to its delivery.

H. T. G.

St. Paul, Minn.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

You no doubt can get \$1.00 monthly contributions from many of your readers which would be of considerable help. Why not follow through on this basis? Here is my \$1.00 to start.

Jamaica, L. I.

B. C.

Editorial Note: We intend to.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$1.00. I wish it were more. The magazine is priceless.

SADIE VAN VEEN

New York City

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is another contribution, this time for ten dollars, for the fine work of your magazine.

L. S.

New York City

Book Reviews

U. S. JEWS IN THE 19th CENTURY

By Morris U. Schappes

Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, by Solomon Nunes Carvalho. A Centenary Edition, 1853-4-1953-4, edited by Bertram Wallace Korn. Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America. \$4.50.

Eventful Years and Experiences, Studies in Nineteenth Century American Jewish History, by Bertram Wallace Korn. American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati. \$4.

The most varied appetites for more knowledge of American Jewish history, whetted by the Tercentenary Celebration, are well served by these two books. The general readers who seek light, pleasant, even exciting and yet instructive fare will find much of it in S. N. Carvalho's lively account of his journey with Colonel John Charles Fremont's "last expedition across the Rocky Mountains: including three months' residence in Utah, and a perilous trip across the Great American Desert to the Pacific," a great feat of scientific exploration accomplished in 1853-54. On the other hand the serious student of American Jewish history will find much solid matter in Dr. Bertram W. Korn's eight studies.

Carvalho's simple and vivid narrative was fascinating reading when we first pored over it a few years ago in order to excerpt several striking pages for the *Documentary History*. Those who wanted more than these few pages were frustrated by the fact that the book was to be found only in the best reference libraries, the fourth and last edition having appeared in 1860. We are grateful to the Jewish Publication Society for re-issuing the volume and hope it plans to do the same for other works that merit republication, notably August Bondi's *Autobiography*, of which not a single copy is available even in New York.

When Fremont invited Carvalho to join his expedition, it was because Carvalho had an established reputation as a photographer. Carvalho was thus the first official photographer ever to accompany a scientific exploratory company! He was also probably the second Jew to cross the Rockies into California, Emanuel Lazarus in 1826 probably having been the first

when he took part in Jedidiah Smith's great pioneer expedition. It is noteworthy that Fremont's enterprise was undertaken in order to prove that a central route across the Rockies was more desirable for a transcontinental railroad than was Secretary of War Jefferson Davis's preferred southernmost route.

Fremont's hardy and intrepid band of 22, which included ten Delaware Indians and two Mexicans, braved and conquered prolonged hunger, man-deep snow, pathless mountains, Indians turned hostile by previous attacks by Americans, flaming deserts and boundless fatigue. And Carvalho's often moving story is the only record of this historic experience of man's conquest over nature!

As editor, Dr. Korn has contributed a valuable 40-page biographical sketch of Carvalho (1815-1897) which adds much to the meager data about him. He has diligently located 29 portraits and paintings made by Carvalho and reproduces 27 of them in this book. Carvalho is shown us as a salesman, artist and photographer, political campaigner for Fremont as the Republican presidential candidate in 1856, as an inventor and producer of steam-heating equipment, as a family man, and as a Jewish congregational and communal leader. Yet, his place in history rests upon the fact that, at 38, with a wife and three children to support, he joined a scientific expedition and left us this unique and most readable record of it.

Some of Dr. Korn's eight studies in *Eventful Years and Experiences* deal with Jewish communal life, others with the relation of Jews, as individuals or as a group, to various major United States problems and movements of the second half of the nineteenth century. The book makes available for a wider audience six essays which had appeared in various scholarly publications between 1947 and 1952. All contain lively and lucid exposition of the fruits of careful research, marred by only occasional minor errors.

"Jewish 'Forty-Eighters' in America" sketches what is known of the 40 Jewish immigrants (among the 50,000 Jews coming to the United States between 1848 and 1860) who actually took part in the revolutions of 1848. There were seven rabbis

and five doctors as well as other intellectuals in that number. Outstanding were figures like Isidor Bush, Dr. Abraham Jacoby, Michael Heilprin and Sigismund Kaufman. Most of these '48ers "became ardent supporters of the Republican party" because it was anti-slavery and some were active abolitionists.

Describing "Jewish Life in 1849," Dr. Korn notes the "barely discernible" but "growing impulse towards national organization" and the beginnings of "the gradual secularization of American Jewry." He observes that the rapidly expanding Jewish population was "slow to develop an active educational and cultural program," but that "charitable societies were created by the hundreds" in the 1840's, while there were only about 50 congregations.

For the 1850s, Dr. Korn reports on "The Know Nothing Movement and the Jews." In this reactionary nativistic, anti-alien and anti-Catholic movement, Korn finds sporadic anti-Semitic utterances in 1855 in Sacramento, Calif., Cassville, Ga., Paducah, Ky., Fort Adams, Miss., Tuskegee, Ala., St. Louis and Massachusetts. But Dr. Korn believes this anti-Semitism is no more significant or frequent among the Know

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Nothings than similar utterances stemming from the Democratic party in 1854 in New York and South Carolina and in 1856 in New York and Philadelphia.

As for the attitude of Jews to the Know Nothing movement, Dr. Korn concludes that "the great majority of recorded Jewish opinion . . . was strongly in the negative," although both in New York and Cincinnati Jewish editors deplored the fact that so many Jews voted for the Know Nothing tickets in 1854 and 1855. The explanation of this opposition Dr. Korn finds in the belief of these Jews that, united with Protestants, they could better protect themselves against the possibility of reactionary Catholic domination from which many Jews had suffered in Europe.

There follow three essays connected with the Civil War and the eve thereof. In "Judah P. Benjamin as a Jew," Dr. Korn dispels several legends about Benjamin's connection with Judaism and establishes that he "had no positive or active interest in Jews or in Judaism." However, Benjamin as "a member of the Jewish religious minority" is "important in American Jewish history as an object of prejudice" and as "a symbol of American democratic practice" that enabled him to attain high political position.

Investigating the circumstances that led to the offering of "The First Jewish Prayer in Congress" on February 1, 1860, Dr. Korn finds that pressure from the Jewish community for equal treatment was a decisive factor in bringing about this "initial recognition by the House of Representatives of the equal status of Judaism, with Christianity, as an American faith." This first prayer occasioned public controversy but it soon came to be accepted as part of elementary democracy that, if Congress is to be opened with daily prayer, Jews have a right to offer such prayers.

Studying the views of the influential Reform rabbi and editor of the Cincinnati *Israelite* in "Isaac Mayer Wise on the Civil War," Dr. Korn depicts him as a "peace-Democrat" who, although he did not in principle favor slavery, hated abolitionists and concentrated his wrath upon them.

Amid the valuable data of these three papers, however, there is evidence of Dr. Korn's "above the battle" and therefore subtly pro-Confederate view of the Civil War which we pointed out in his book, *American Jewry and the Civil War*, in our review in *JEWISH LIFE* for October 1951. Thus, of Judah P. Benjamin, Dr. Korn can affirm that, not being "fast fettered to the abolitionist interpretation of the Civil War and its causes," he can "admire strength of character and brilliance of admiration in a slave-owner and cabinet leader of the 'Lost Cause.'" Would Dr.

Korn, we wonder, also not be so fast fettered to the anti-fascist interpretation of World War II and its causes as to admire the strength of character and brilliance of administration of, say, Hitler or Mussolini, or a Rommel or Manteuffel or other fascist generals and administrators? Or would Dr. Korn find such personal qualities irrelevant to a historical judgment of the role of these people?

Similarly, in his article on the first Jewish prayer, Dr. Korn can speak of "the outburst of patriotic sentiment which drove Virginia into the Confederacy." But to confuse reactionary, pro-slavery sectionalism with national patriotism is again to take a Confederate position! The essence of his confusion is that he habitually ignores the Negro people. Thus in his essay on Wise, Dr. Korn writes with apparent approval of Wise's "demonstrations of his sympathy for the South." But Wise left completely out of account the emancipated Negroes in the South, for whose position and democratic aspirations he had neither understanding nor sympathy. And Dr. Korn unfortunately to this day partakes of this blindness.

His last two studies treat Jewish communal matters. In "The First American Jewish Theological Seminary: Maimonides College, Philadelphia, 1867-1873," he outlines the eight fruitless efforts to establish a seminary and then discusses extensively this pioneer institution, which "graduated" only three students and failed because of indifferent public support, lack of students and inexperienced administration. Finally, "Jewish Welfare Activities for the Military during the Spanish-American War" reveals Dr. Korn's strength and weakness. He has scoured the field for available material and assembled much of it (although the Yiddish press of the period, not used by Dr. Korn, would probably reveal more of it). But Dr. Korn characteristically avoids defining the character of the war or even reporting the

fact that there was tremendous controversy about it at the time and that Jews and Jewish communal leaders were divided on the issue.

He speaks glibly in the last lines of the soldiers "who served their country in 1898" when that very judgment was in dispute, with an extensive anti-imperialist movement protesting that the war was one of aggression and expansion in the interests of imperialists and not of our country, a view which democratic people generally accept today. (In passing, also, Dr. Korn does not hesitate to remark that North Koreans were the "invaders" of South Korea and that United States soldiers in this recent act of expansionism were also "serving their country" in Korea, despite unpopular but definite evidence to the contrary.)

His limited vision, of course, hampers his research so that he is unaware of or indifferent to the fact that Jewish communal figures like Julius Rosenthal of Chicago and Rabbi Charles Fleischer of Boston were vice-presidents of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues, or that Dr. Solomon

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Solis-Cohen of Philadelphia was outspoken in opposition to the invasion of Cuba, or that Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch preached an anti-imperialist sermon. Of the latter Dr. Korn can report only that he was a chaplain in the Illinois Naval Reserve from 1898 to 1900, although not called to active duty in the war. Now if such a fact has a place in his essay, how much more rele-

vant and interesting it would have been to record that Hirsch was an anti-imperialist while he was a chaplain in the State Naval Reserve! Yet, Dr. Korn's indifference to such basic issues demonstrates again that a historian can avoid them only to the detriment of his research. Dr. Korn digs far and wide, but not deeply enough.

era of the working class, when workers paid a terrible price for every forward step they won, a time when the garment workers of New York—of whom he was one—blazed honorable paths of struggle and sacrifice, and often gave symbolic leadership to the whole American working class. As with so many thousands of others, he was bent and broken on the machine, poured his life into it through all the hours from dawn to dusk and gave away his youth without any joy in return. Out of this came his poetry, and inevitably it came bare and strong, shorn of all but the naked power of word and content.

Though he wrote in Yiddish, his verse is in the tradition of Shelley and Burns, rather than that of any Yiddish or American poet I know—and sometimes it rises to the heights of a Shelley in its clear, angry and pure statement of protest, in its call for justice and equality. Only his translator, Aaron Kramer, and a very few others write in such terms today. Here is poetry of value and beauty and, were we living in another kind of America, it would live again on the lips of millions.

Meanwhile, the people who produced this little booklet have rendered a valuable service to all who cherish what is best in our literature. It is for us to keep alive the verse and the memory of Rosenfeld, until new generations of Americans break through the filth and decadence of what passes for poetry in our time and reach back to use, as guide posts, what was best in our past.

A POET OF THE JEWISH WORKERS

By Howard Fast

The Teardrop Millionaire, and Other Poems, by Morris Rosenfeld, translated from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer. Manhattan Emma Lazarus Clubs, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York. \$35.

In the course of celebrating 300 years of Jewish settlement in America, the Emma Lazarus Clubs of Manhattan have published this slim but not unimportant book of translations of Morris Rosenfeld's poems. For me, this was a first acquaintance with the work of Rosenfeld; although I knew his name, I had never seen his work before in English, and thereby it was with considerable eagerness that I approached book.

I found a major poet, a man of warmth and substance and large heart, who wrote of his own people, the workers, with

knowledge and love, but for no reward other than, as he puts it:

"what wages can the workers pay,
what pittance to their singer?
They pay with tears for every tear—
that's all they can afford:
I am a teardrop millionaire,
and weep upon my hoard."

Yet this is not wholly so, and Rosenfeld sings with joy as well as sorrow, with affirmation as well as hatred. His verse was clear, true, and intensely melodic, and as presented here, through the skillful and often brilliant translations of Aaron Kramer—a poet of no small stature himself—it comes alive in much more than a historic sense.

Morris Rosenfeld belonged to an earlier

POET OF FREEDOM

By Sidney Finkelstein

Sounds of Love and Liberty, by Walter Lowenfels. Blue Heron Press, New York. \$1.50.

It has long been apparent to all but the wilfully blind that some leading spokesmen in our country in the field of culture, as in politics and law, have one standard of "freedom of thought" when it comes to fascists, and another when it comes to fighters for peace and human progress, including Marxists. When, some years ago, Ezra Pound, who had idolized Mussolini and avidly propagandized for the fascist murderers during the anti-fascist war, was put on trial for treason, a crowd of literary lights, from the universities, magazines and newspaper book columns, rushed to his defense. "After all," they cried, "he is a poet."

Where are they now? Walter Lowenfels has been dragged into court, put on

trial, convicted not of any acts, but of thoughts, of "conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government." This term "conspiracy" has a long, slimy history of use against men in whose life no criminal acts could be found, but only the suspicion that they loved their fellow human beings more than the money-bags of their time. And Walter Lowenfels was a poet 25 years ago, when he won award and acclaim, and is an even better poet now.

The question touches on the heart of literature itself. The same hand and brain are at work in a man's writing as dictate his acts of daily life. Pound's poems, republished with great fanfare at about the time of his trial, revealed a thin craft, made up of imitations of past poetry and devoted to an irrational stream of association, in which self-pity, obscenities, anti-Semitism, other racisms and general

hatred of humanity were blended together. His defenders, such as T. S. Eliot, had not only to proclaim that a man's political life is one thing and his writing another. They advanced the dictum that even what a man says in his poetry is not to be taken seriously, but only his colors and word-sounds. Thus, these "defenders of poetry" degraded poetry.

How differently Lowenfels proclaims the dignity of literature. In a pamphlet, *The Prisoners*, published last year, he said, "I have published some nine books or booklets, mostly verse. . . . In addition I estimate that a minimum of 500,000 words of mine have appeared in print. . . . Yet, not one poem or prose word of mine is mentioned in our indictment." Thus Lowenfels demands that, if his thoughts are on trial, then let the evidence be the words in which he has revealed his thoughts.

For this reason, all those whose hearts are with Lowenfels must get to read and know his book of sonnets and carry it far and wide. The point is not simply to say,

"see what a fine poet is being thrust into jail." The special virtue of poetry is not that it is easy to read, for it often isn't, but that, more than any other literary form, it succinctly reveals the whole man, in his deepest hopes, beliefs, longings and human ties. And in this book Lowenfels the person stands revealed. While the poems mention courts, prosecutors and informers, they do not tell us anything about them that we do not already know. The new thing this book tells us is what kind of a human being this is who fights for peace in our time.

Let us read one example:

And does our truth never have any doubts?
and does this courtroom mire swine
might spurn
never make us ask, what's the return
beyond the lies that the Informer
spouts?

Throughout these courtroom days my
heart shouts
to be with you, to work with you,
to burn
away this filth. This is our country's
stern
demand—to love what the Informer
flouts.

And all the while our friend, the
moon, renews
Her passion for the earth with beams
of truth,
And we hold hands where you and
I have talked

in woods along the Delaware's swift
blues,
and swear again with all our
endless youth
to stamp out lies in streets that
Tom Paine walked.

I can see the government prosecutors puzzling over this poem. What mysterious message, they must ask, what Aesopian language, is hidden in such phrases as "my heart shouts to be with you," "our friend the moon," "you and I have talked in woods along the Delaware?" They will probably never understand, for this kind of love and respect of one human being for another and even the passionate love of nature itself, must be a closed book to them. And to track down the sources of Lowenfels' thought, as revealed here, they will not only have to burrow in the works of Marx, whose science is as indestructible by them as Galileo's was by the Inquisition. They will have to search out and condemn the great sonneteers, Shakespeare, Milton and Keats, whose vibrant awareness of the beauty of life, gentleness of love and firm devotion to truth, have guided Lowenfels' hand and mind as he wrote these moving poems.

S. TEITELBAUM: SOVIET ACADEMICIAN

By U. Rabota

Recently in Kiev I made the acquaintance of Professor Semyon Teitelbaum, Doctor of Science, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and one of the leading scientists of the Ukraine and the Soviet Union in the field of electrical engineering.

He was born 44 years ago in Kiev, son of a Jewish dentist of modest means.

In 1928 the 18-year-old electrician successfully passed his entrance exams to the electrotechnical faculty of the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. The sciences he loved came easy to him, his studies were successful and he received a higher state stipend. After graduating from the Institute the capable electric engineer was retained as assistant in the radio engineering department and appointed at the same time to the position of engineer in the experimental plant of the Institute.

On the eve of Hitler's treacherous attack on the Soviet Union, he received the title of professor and was appointed head of the department of radio transmission apparatuses in the Kiev Polytechnical Institute. Here he created the first television transmitters and receivers in the Ukraine and worked on problems of radio communication and broadcasting.

The professor recalls the days of the war with pain. He was evacuated together with his Institute, which occupied a whole train, to Tashkent in Central Asia. There the scientist worked on the construction of powerful furnaces for the output of special steels.

"Many of my distant relatives and friends remained in Kiev during the war," said Professor Teitelbaum. "They were

murdered by the Hitler hangmen. My cousin also perished there."

After a short pause he proposed: "I say, will you come home with me? My friends will be gathered there and we will have a chance to continue our talk."

I accepted his invitation. We drove in the professor's personal car and ten minutes later arrived at his house.

His spacious four-room apartment was tastefully furnished with Karelian birch furniture. The rooms were already filled with guests. Most of the guests were either Teitelbaum's or his wife's colleagues or their former pupils. His wife, Raisa, has a Master of Science degree in chemistry and lectures in general chemistry at an institute. All the guests except one came of poor Jewish families. They received their education and scientific degrees after the Revolution during the years of the Soviet power.

During the twenty years of his teaching work in the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, Teitelbaum trained hundreds of specialists in radio and electrotechnics. Many of them have already received their doctor's and master's degrees. Their teacher often receives heartfelt letters from them in which they ask for help in their creative work.

The Soviet government greatly appreciates the services of Professor Teitelbaum in training young specialists and his fruitful creative endeavors in broadly introducing radio methods into industry and transport. He was decorated with the orders of the Red Star and Badge of Honor and was awarded the "Valorous Labor in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45" medal and the Honorary Diploma of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR.

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OBSERVATION POST

It's A-comin'

The summer months are upon us—and before you know it, September will be here (whoops, that was a fast vacation). And the staff of JEWISH LIFE has already made plans for a rousing issue in September—a special Rosh-Hashonah issue. The opening of the year 5716 will be a joyful one, we hope, with world tensions lessened, peace on the near horizon and democracy on the upswing. At this point the potentialities are there for a bright new year although the dangers of war and continued attacks on constitutional liberties still are present.

What will be unique in the Rosh-Hashonah issue will be the opportunity for all our readers and friends to wish each other, their relatives and the community at large a happy New Year. Greetings will be accepted in the magazine. Every reader and committee will receive greetings lists and ad blanks. The greetings list should be used to get a number of friends to extend wishes for a happy new year—for the sum of a dollar or more. The lists can help start 5716 off properly for the magazine as well—through the income from greetings. Therefore we ask every reader to keep the lists in their pockets, and collar every friend and acquaintance for a greeting. Also do this on your vacation. Deadline for greetings is July 25th. Also suggest enlarged bundle orders for the special issue.

On the L.A. Circuit

Rickie Roth, pert executive secretary of the Los Angeles Jewish Life Committee, reports doings that's doings on the West Coast. . . . They are pulling out all stops on their fund drive for the mag. . . . Most encouraging is proposal that L. A. conduct campaign for 250 new subscriptions . . . while saying this Rickie enclosed ten subs from the Valley and seven from the East Side. . . . The East Side will have a Martha Schlammé concert . . . ditto the Santa Monica-Bay area—both for the J.L. campaign. . . . Tip-off from a Martha Schlammé fan to all of L.A.: Martha's concerts are not only musical events but warm, electrifying experiences in the rich world of multi-national folk songs . . . her concerts should be jammed as they always are in New York and other cities.

By Sam Pevzner

Manager's Perm

Listen to me, my hearty crew,
Shouted Skipper Blickstein, seahorse true,
"Strip ships for action, the time is rife
For building circulation of JEWISH LIFE."

The above was left on our desk in the deep of the night. Describing Manager Lester Blickstein as an old "seahorse" may place terrific strains and stresses on the imagination, but the theme of the yet-to-be-analyzed-by-our-literary-dept. verse is worthy of poetic expression. For it is true that we are calling upon our committees and readers to strip ship (only ship) for a rousing circulation battle throughout the land. Every reader gets a subscriber, that's the battle-cry. Every committee sets up goals and presses every sea-going man and woman, and landlubber, into action. Skipper Blickstein and his mates are pouring over the charts now and plotting prizes and special features for a circulation drive that will go to town—pardon me—port. It's really serious business, this task of building circulation—and we should all go to work, poem or no poem. [Note by Louis Harap: In case the reader doesn't realize it, Sam Pevzner spent the war years in the Navy.]

Travelogue

Morris U. Schappes hits the rods soon. He will be in Cleveland on June 4th where a dinner will be held in his honor . . . indeed a fitting finish to the Tercenary celebration there . . . also should help Jewish Life Committee there build circulation and raise the wherewithal that keeps presses rolling. . . . On June 3rd Detroit will hold a reception for Morris.

Einstein Memorial

When Albert Einstein died the loss seemed a close personal one to millions and millions throughout the world. In his person he embodied the highest traditions of the scientist, humanist and socially conscious man. He was a firm anti-fascist and defender of freedom. This bright-eyed little man was the scientist's scientist as well as the common man's man. The July issue of our magazine

will be dedicated to Albert Einstein. It will be a tribute to his progressive spirit, scientific genius and deep humanity and interest in Jewish affairs. Such a tribute will be given also at a Memorial for Albert Einstein on Saturday evening, June 18th, at Town Hall in New York City. The Albert Einstein Memorial Committee of Societies and Landsmanshaften, the sponsors, have arranged an appropriate program of noted speakers and artists for this Memorial. Tickets are available at many clubs and societies or at Room 1429, 1133 Broadway, OR 5-8854.

June Is Outing Time

Many English-speaking clubs in New York have chosen Sunday, June 19th, as the day for their gala outing and picnic to Camp Kinderland-Lakeland. A varied sports and outdoor program for the kiddies and the adults, plus conducted tours through the two camps will make this day under the sun a happy one. The newly-built recreation hall and other facilities of the camp will be available—and if the weather cooperates, there will be swimming in Sylvan Lake. All JEWISH LIFE readers are invited to get into their (or their friends') cars to join with the clubs on this outing. Bring along your picnic lunches. The camp management will provide coffee and cake.

Israel Anniversary

Many Emma Lazarus clubs have held affairs celebrating the seventh anniversary of the founding of Israel. In New York such celebrations have been held in the Nathan Straus Jewish Center and the East Bronx YMHA as well as the Pelham area of the Bronx. Coney Island and neighborhoods in Manhattan also celebrated. In addition many Jewish cultural clubs and societies conducted anniversary observances. Members of the staff of JEWISH LIFE were much in demand as speakers.

Southward Bound

It has come to our attention that the Allen-Dlugoff article on *McCarthy and Anti-Semitism* from the July 1953 issue of JEWISH LIFE was reprinted in *Aporte* of Buenos Aires, Nov.-Dec. 1954 issue.

IN MEMORIAM
ALFRED GIRARD
Died June 1, 1954

•

*A leader of progressive
 Jewish life in
 San Francisco*

•

—A Group of Friends

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Colorado early in April. . . . About the same time a law outlawing discrimination in public employment and firms holding public contracts was enacted in Arizona. . . . The New York State Commission Against Discrimination on April 25 issued a decree ordering the Brewery union (Bottlers and Drivers Local 1345, International Teamsters Union) to grant seniority status to Negro workers. (NYT, 4/26)

Job discrimination . . . A survey of employers in Illinois noted in the biennial report of the state's Commission on Human Relations, released late in April, brought out that "the percentage of firms employing non-whites increased slightly, from 36.1 per cent in 1950 to 36.5 per cent in 1954." The report also said that "a non-white worker was two-and-a-half times as likely as a white worker to be laid off during the two-year period." . . . A survey conducted by the American Jewish Congress in New York State and released in March showed that 70 per cent of 222 commercial employment agencies accept telephone orders for "white Protestant" stenographers in violation of the state anti-discrimination law. . . . A survey of Negro employment in the city school system conducted by the Teachers Union (Ind.) in New York City released late in March shows that in 245 city schools only 3.3 per cent of the staff and only 1.9 per cent of regularly appointed teachers are Negroes. This shows no change from the last survey conducted in 1951. Negroes form about ten per cent of the city's population.

Anti-Semitism in USA . . . The *New York World-Telegram* prominently featured a series of articles on "Peddlars of Hate" by Scripps-Howard staff writer Jack Steele from May 2 to 9. The articles revealed that there are about 100 hate groups active today which are flooding the mails with anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-communist filth.

EUROPE

80 prominent Jewish religious figures in France, including 13 rabbis, early in May issued a statement strongly condemning German rearmament. "The undersigned," it stated, "who are faithful to the Jewish religion, are convinced of their duty to lift their voices in completely independent manner, remembering the millions of victims of nazism, to express

with all their strength their opposition to any form of German rearmament."

The tenth anniversary of the liberation of concentration camps from nazism was observed in April in many parts of the world, especially in Europe. About 80,000 people from 15 European countries gathered at memorial services at Oswiecim (Auschwitz) and pledged that never again would they allow such horrors to be repeated. Polish Premier Jozef Cyrankiewicz in his speech said that the best tribute to the victims of nazism was to oppose revival of the Wehrmacht. . . . Memorial ceremonies were also held at Buchenwald, Dachau and Bergen-Belsen and attended by former camp inmates from various parts of Europe.

At the 12th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the Executive Committee of the Cultural and Social Union of Polish Jews issued a manifesto to the Jews of the world urging that they should not forget the example of the Ghetto heroes and called on them to unite in protest against all attempts to organize a new war and atomic destruction and against revival of the Wehrmacht.

The Jewish State Theater of Poland is planning to play in France this spring.

The most recent addition to the swelling list of "memoirs" glorifying the nazis was recently issued in Heidelberg by the nazi publishing house of Kurt Vorwickel—*Experiences and Observations of a War Criminal* by Dr. Julius Lippert, mayor of Berlin under the nazis and recently released war criminal.

ISRAEL

A delegation from the Israel Peace Council in April presented to the Presidium of the Knesset the peace petition signed by 423,000 Israelis. The petition opposed German rearmament, urged peace between Israel and Arab states through direct negotiations, opposed aggressive regional pacts.

Election of delegates to the Histadrut general convention occurred on May 8. With about half the votes counted on May 9, the results stood as follows: Mapai, 59 per cent; Ahdut Avoda (break-away group from Mapam), 14.5 per cent; Mapam, 11 per cent; Progressives (centrist group), 5.5; Communists, 4.5 per cent;

General Zionists, 4 per cent; Religious parties, 2 per cent. At the last Histadrut election in 1949, Mapai received 57 per cent; Mapam, 34.4 per cent; Communists 2.6 per cent. Thus Mapai gained 2 per cent, Mapam lost markedly and the Communists gained 1.9 per cent. (NYT, 5/8-9)

An analysis of Israel's economic situation by Knesset member Eliezer Livneh on April 26 in the *Jerusalem Post* sounds a warning. Livneh points out that the country received aid from abroad equal to \$165 a year for each Israeli. The standard of living has been maintained in the past three years, he said, by using "more foreign aid for our present subsistence and less for consolidating our economic independence in the future." He cited official figures that 65 per cent of Jewish labor in Israel worked in the services and 35 per cent in production. (This percentage for services is probably the highest for any country in the world.—L. H.) Livneh predicted that by the end of 1956 the Israelis would "have to support themselves to a far greater extent than at present by our own efforts" and he said that Israel's main concern now should be to prepare for that change. (NYT, 4/27)

A new contract signed with the Soviet Union by Israeli Ambassador Joseph Avidar for doubling oil purchases was announced on May 8. In addition to the 200,000 tons of Soviet oil purchased in January, 107,000 additional tons were contracted for. (NYT, 5/9)

More than 6,000 Israeli soldiers died in the war with the Arabs, Israeli Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Day announced on April 25.

Jewish Life

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