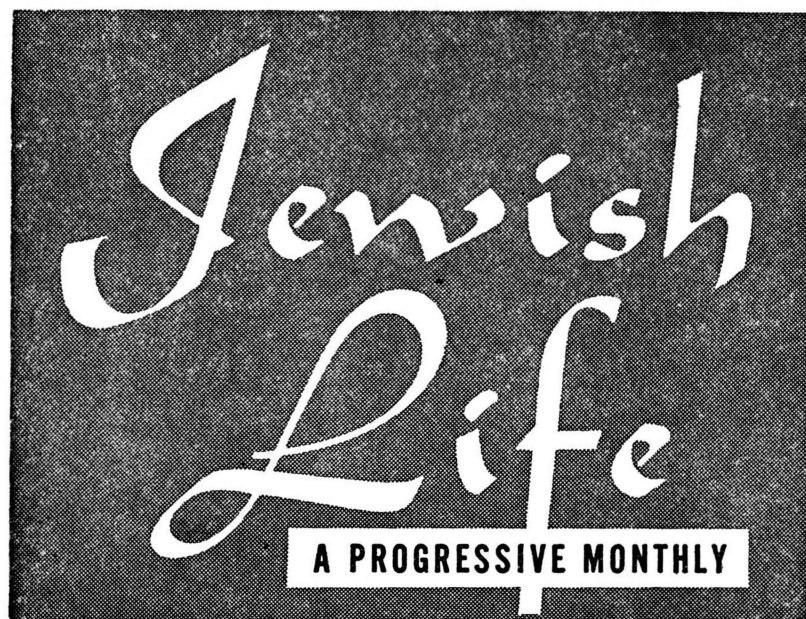


Stories of Three Hundred Years: XI



THE HEROIC PERIOD OF
JEWISH LABOR, 1909-1914

By Morris U. Schappes

JANUARY 1955 • 25¢

FACT-SHEET ON WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

itic references and of anti-Semitic allusions to Senator Herbert H. Lehman. (N.Y.T., 12/1.)

James P. Warburg strongly urged peaceful co-existence at Atlantic City on December 5 and said, "To argue whether co-existence is possible is to argue whether human beings can continue to exist on this planet. . . . To accomplish this purpose, the (anti-communist) coalition must clearly recognize that its two major aims are: to bring about universal national disarmament enforced by a greatly strengthened United Nations; and to substitute world-wide cooperation in economic development for cut-throat competition among fully sovereign nation-states."

A discrimination study made by the Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems over the past year in the bureau's 1954 report found that 1000 of 3700 Chicago firms barred Jews from jobs—that is, 27 per cent. Among the most flagrant cases were 25 firms working on government contracts. Even during an extreme shortage of clerical workers in 1953, Jews were specifically barred. (*Jewish Criterion*, 11/19.)

Notes on Jimcrow . . . Plans to remake the viciously anti-Negro film, *Birth of a Nation*, were announced in Hollywood on December 1. The NAACP has gone into action to stop the project. . . . Loyola University of the South in New Orleans late in November made it known that Jimcrow in sports will be ended. . . . New bomb violence once again flared at the embattled Trumbull Park housing project in Chicago in November. Chicago Mayor Kenelly is under fire for inadequate enforcement of the law in the area.

EUROPE

A conference of European Jews to plan a fight against German rearmament was called for December 12 in Paris by an actions committee of the French Union of Jewish Deportees and Hitler-Victims. Chairman of the actions committee is the noted Zionist, André Blumel.

About a dozen hooligans broke into a Paris theater on October 25 and smashed windows and tore up posters because they objected to the new anti-racist play, *Limited Responsibility*.

The East German government in October decided to make Dr. Albert Ein-

stein's home in East Berlin before he fled from Hitlerism into a museum.

A dispatch from Moscow states that thousands of Jews attended the Yom Kippur Kol Nidre services in the synagogues of the city. (*London Jewish Chronicle*, 15/15.)

A report, "Hungary's Jewish Community in 1954," issued by the Hungarian legation in November, states that in Hungary there are 180 synagogues and 89 rabbis and that many famous synagogues are being repaired with subsidies from the state. There are also Jewish schools, a rabbinical seminary, a Jewish library and other Jewish social institutions.

Renazification notes . . . After aged war criminal Constantin von Neurath was freed from Spandau prison on November 6, he received congratulations from West German President Theodor Heuss and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Heuss referred to von Neurath's "martyrdom," which caused the World Jewish Congress to protest on November 1. . . . The memoirs of the former Gauleiter of Baden, Karl Wahl, published recently, "glorifies National Socialism through its 475 pages," writes the *London Jewish Chronicle* (11/12). . . . "The Bavarian State Radio and the newspaper *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* of Munich have disseminated charges that officials are systematically withholding payments to victims of nazi persecution but rewarding former nazi officials and their heirs with pensions." (N.Y.T., 11/17.)

Representatives of the Jewish Agency said at a press conference in Tel Aviv early in November that among the figures on immigration this year were these: of the 11,000 immigrants this year, 450 came from the socialist countries—74 from the Soviet Union—and 36 from the United States.

In a report on the recent people's referendum for peace held in Israel, it was disclosed that 312,800 signatures were obtained, which is more than the number for the Stockholm petition. Of this number, 1,135 were teachers, writers, editors, engineers, artists and rabbis (10 of these).

Four thousand persons, many of them delegates, attended the rally that climaxed a national conference of the Israel-Soviet Friendship Society in November. The enthusiastic conference was addressed the Soviet charge d'affaires, who expressed regret that a delegation from the Soviet Union were refused visas by the Israel regime.

Students of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem demonstrated against the high fees, 200 Israel pounds, late in November. A group of students went on a sit-down strike in front of the university administration offices late in November.

Twenty Jews have received visas to leave the Soviet Union for Israel, it was reported from Tel Aviv in November.

Premier Moshe Sharett disclosed in the Knesset in mid-November that an Israel trade delegation will go to Peking to explore trade possibilities as guests of the Chinese government.

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From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . An American Jewish Congress statement early in December urged the Senate to approve the McCarthy censure motion. (*Ind. Jewish Chron.*, 12/3). . . . The charge made by Msgr. Edward R. Martin late in October before a communion breakfast of the New York Catholic War Veterans, that five million dollars were raised to get McCarthy ousted from the Senate "solely because of his Catholic ideals" was protested by the Jewish War Veterans and the Mizrahi Organization of America. In a letter to the Catholic War Veterans, on November 26, JWV National Commander Joseph F. Barr wrote that "These charges, completely unsupported in fact and made without documentation, defame those Americans who are opposed to the actions of the senator from Wisconsin." (*The Sentinel*, 12/3.) The Mizrahi Organization said on November 21 that "Such efforts are particularly regrettable when they are made by minority religious groups since the very nature of the freedom and democratic security in which such minority groups can exist in peaceful relations is endangered by such efforts." (*N.Y.T.*, 11/22). . . . Among the signers of a telegram to the Senate on December 1, urging censure of McCarthy were Murray A. Meyerson, president of the AJ Congress Manhattan Division; Mark Starr, ILGWU educational director; and Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer of the New York City CIO Council.

Among those reportedly present at the pro-McCarthy rally at Madison Square Garden on November 30 were notorious anti-Semites and fascists Gerald L. K. Smith, Edward A. Fleckenstein, Joseph P. Kamp, James V. Madole. One sign at the rally read, "Senator Joe McCarthy for President of our Christian nation in 1956. Keep it Christian in the interests of America First." Among the vice-chairmen of the pro-McCarthy "Ten Million Americans" are three whom the Anti-Defamation League have on other occasions noted as anti-Semites: Lt.-Gen. Pedro A. Del Valle, John B. Trevor and Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau. (*Jewish Examiner*, 12/3.)

Vituperative letters received by anti-McCarthy Senator J. William Fulbright and read by him in the Senate on November 20, contained a number of anti-Sem-
(Continued on page 32)



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The Big Push Is On!

As you know, JEWISH LIFE operates on a deficit that is made up by contributions. Each year we conduct a Sustaining Fund Drive to make up this deficit. And the drive is on!

Jewish Life Committees all over the country have received their quotas and are working to fulfil them.

We urge all our individual readers to send us their contributions to the Sustaining Fund Drive for 1955.

To everyone: get up meetings, parties; get all your friends to contribute—and send in your own contribution.

We depend on the Fund Drive to enable us to survive!

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

ISRAEL AND ARMS TO ARABS

MOST American Jews are deeply concerned for the safety and peace of Israel as a consequence of the war-provocative policy of the Eisenhower administration of sending arms to the reactionary Arab leaders. The danger is real. But is the program suggested by Zionist leaders any less dangerous to Israel? Shortly before election a delegation of 16 leaders of major Jewish organizations visited John Foster Dulles to protest his policy of arming the Arab leaders. In their memorandum to Dulles they stated, we believe correctly, that arms to the Arab states "may tempt them [we should prefer to say, the Arab feudal leaders, not the Arab people—*Eds.*] to employ their augmented military power in new aggression against Israel."

But would a policy to "extend to Israel the same agreement already offered the Arab States and invite Israel to join in regional defense planning," as the memorandum suggests, remove the dangers which confront Israel? The answer should be clear: this "regional defense planning" is nothing more than involvement of the middle East in the cold war with the prospect of turning it into a center of hot war. The Zionist leaders' policy would lead to an arms race that would strain the economy of the Middle Eastern countries even more, heighten tension and bring war closer.

A real peace policy for the Middle East is more along the lines suggested in a statement made by Senator Estes Kefauver on November 18, 1954. "A policy," he said, "which encourages the building up of arms by either the Arab states or Israel is not the road to peace in this part of the world." Promotion of peace and disarmament is not helped in the Middle East by sending arms to both the Arab states and Israel any more than peace in Europe is promoted by putting arms once more into the hands of the renazified West Germany. A program of rearmament, whether in the Middle East or in West Germany, is not a step in the direction of disarmament and peace.

Peace for Israel is indivisibly connected with peace in the world and peace in the world is endangered and not secured by increasing armaments. The people of Israel showed their realization of this by the fact that over 300,000 signatures were achieved in Israel in recent months on a petition opposing not only a rearmed Germany, but also alliance with aggressive military blocs. We American Jews will manifest a genuine, informed concern for Israel by working for Israel-Arab negotiations, for real disarmament in the Middle East as in all parts of the world and for a halt to subservience of the Israel regime to the war aims of the Eisenhower administration.

MCCARTHYISM IS STILL THE ENEMY

WHEN the Senate voted 67-22 on December 2 to condemn Senator Joseph McCarthy, the whole American

people won an encouraging victory against the encroachments of a police state. The broad and deep opposition of the people to McCarthy's effort to undermine elementary human rights was responsible for this outcome.

But the condemnation of McCarthy is only one step in the fight against the fascist and war-provoking movement of McCarthyism. As Senator Lehman said on December 13, "The Senate voted against the man. We have yet to confront the 'ism.' It was not repudiation of the evil and dangerous forces behind the man. It was not a repudiation of the evil and dangerous assaults he and his partisans have directed against the bodies of our liberties, our traditions and our way of life. . . . The forces of McCarthyism need to be vigorously opposed but we need to oppose equally those who have been called white collar McCarthys—those who with neater phrase and more guileful manner have borrowed McCarthy's methods."

McCarthyism can be defeated only if the whole system of inquisitions, repressive laws and intimidation is combated. It cannot be answered as President Eisenhower replied to McCarthy's blast against him, by showing how many "communists" the administration has imprisoned, indicated and deported. McCarthyism cannot be fought with McCarthyism: the result is only an intensification of the same. In the months to come, therefore, every manifestation of the police state trend calls for resistance. This means concretely that a movement for repeal of the whole range of McCarthyite laws—the Smith, McCarran, McCarran-Walter, Taft-Hartley and Communist Control acts—needs to be mounted. And a fundamental blow against McCarthyism would be an overwhelming demand for amnesty for those primary victims of the Smith act, the jailed Communist leaders.

PERSECUTION OF IRVING POTASH

ONLY a tiny percentage of the American people is aware that vindictive McCarthyism has placed Irving Potash in double jeopardy, contrary to the Constitution. Potash completed his five year jail term under the Smith act early in December. But even before he was released, he was re-arrested under a second indictment under the Smith act, this time for membership in the Communist Party, for which the penalty is ten years in jail. But this is to jail him for the same thoughts for which he has already spent a jail term. The same threat faces the other ten Communist leaders when their term ends in March. This action of the government is part of the web of the police state in which McCarthyism is trying to enmesh the American people. Its sheer inhumanity is equalled only by its threat to push the American people deeper into the mire of McCarthyism. Protests should go to Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

FACT-SHEET ON WEST GERMAN REARMAMENT

No question is more decisive for the peoples of the world than that of German rearmament. A militaristic Germany brought on two world wars. Nazism subjected all the peoples of the world to unparalleled cruelty and destruction on the vastest scale hitherto known. Slaughter of one-third of their people gives extreme urgency to the issue for the Jews. A new world war may well see the destruction of civilization altogether. But this issue is also of the utmost concern for democracy itself. A recent Open Letter by Hamburg nazis to Senator McCarthy greeting his "fighting aims" points up this danger.

This fact sheet is designed to equip as many Americans as possible with facts to help our country reach a decision on the issue that will ensure peace.

THE PLAN TO REARM WEST GERMANY

Under the agreements signed in London on 10/3/54 and in Paris on 10/23/54, West Germany is to become a "sovereign" country and the equal of other West European countries. It becomes a member of the "Western European Community" and its army is to be integrated with the NATO force under the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (now U.S. General Alfred M. Gruenther).

The West German army is to total 500,000 men: 12 divisions (six motorized, four tank and two mechanized divisions) plus an air force of 86,000 with 1300 planes plus a naval force of 50,000 plus 64,000 service personnel.

West Germany is authorized to manufacture arms. But it "pledges" not to make atomic, biological or chemical weapons. Unless West Germany receives authorization of two thirds of the Western European Community Council, it "pledges" also not to make long-distance or guided missiles, strategic bombers, warships over 3000 tons or submarines over 350 tons.

Control over observance of the above provisions is vested in an agency of the Western European Community.

"The designs for bringing the force into actual being have been largely left to German experts, whose plans indicate that by 1958 their country will have the biggest, best paid, most powerful military machine in Western Europe." (*N. Y. Times*, 10/24/54.)

WILL WEST GERMANY KEEP ITS 'PLEDGES'?

The limitations on numbers and weapons of the projected West German army are intended to quiet fears that a remilitarized West Germany would once more plunge the world into war. What faith can be placed in these "guarantees"?

Said Alvarez del Vayo in *The Nation* (10/23/54): "The story of Germany's secret rearmament in violation of the Versailles Treaty, of the complete collapse of the Allied effort to halt the rebirth of German militarism, is a story not from history books but of our own generation. The very statesmen who today speak so glibly and confidently of 'guarantees' and 'controls' were only yesterday fulminating against the inadequacy of either to halt the growing German military menace. It is as if the whole period between the two world wars has been expunged from time. There can be only one explanation for this astounding amnesia: the current anti-communist obsession, the hatred of Russia and the fear of communist China, has proved stronger than memory or reason."

British Brig.-Gen. J. H. Morgan, a member of the post-World War I Inter-Allied Disarmament Commission, said in 1942 concerning a secret report of 1923, that, "As a result of our investigations I was of the opinion that the German Army at that date [1923], although nominally 100,000 in conformity with the Treaty of Versailles, really consisted of 500,000 newly-trained men—trained under our very noses."

On January 7, 1925, then German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann wrote a letter about the Allied complaints of violation of the rearmament provisions of Versailles to Konrad Adenauer, present West German Chancellor, who was then mayor of Cologne, as follows: "I do not doubt that the Allies' detailed report will enumerate a whole number of so-called delinquencies, some of which probably will not be easy to rebut. I would therefore recommend you not to allow yourself to be drawn into discussion of any delinquencies."

Hitler said in *Voelkischer Beobachter* (12/31/33), Nazi Party organ: "I can, however, state that Germany only demands a defensive army of such a size that there can be no question of a threat to other states." *The world knows what this meant.*

THE 'PLEDGES' ALREADY BEING BROKEN

Already in the summer of 1954, even before ratification of West German rearmament, plans were afoot to break the agreement. In August 1954, Bundestag Deputy Karl F. Schmidt-Wittmack, a member of Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Party and a member of the Bundestag's European Security Committee, indicated United States complicity to violate the pact. He said: "In June and July of this year [1954] a secret special conference was held at Bad Godesberg and Bonn between representatives of the United States and the Federal Republic; at this conference a mobilization plan for the raising of a German contingent of 24 divisions [the rearmament plan calls for only 12] was decided upon, not 12 divisions as was originally foreseen. At the same time the establishment of a reserve of a further 24 divisions was further considered. General Gruenther, commander-in-

chief of the NATO forces, represented the United States at these negotiations and General Heusinger and General Cruell represented the German side."

"The greatest menace in post-Hitler Germany . . . lies in the future German General Staff, which—despite denials—is already in process of formation, and whose activities the statesmen of London hope piously to contain by paper safeguards." (Alvarez del Vayo, *The Nation*, 11/23/54.)

West German industrialist Alfred Krupp, designated a war criminal at the Nuremberg trials, reported the London *Sunday Chronicle* recently, has entered into secret negotiations with Turkish Prime Minister Menderes to manufacture the weapons forbidden by the rearmament agreement.

The London *Times* reported on 9/9/54 that Adenauer has indicated that West Germany "would receive a fair supply of the weapons she would not herself produce."

West Germany Being Renazified!

THE NAZIS ARE BACK

In 1945 the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union signed the Potsdam pledge to democratize, demilitarize and denazify Germany, with the hearty endorsement of the peoples of the world who had suffered so deeply from nazism. But the London and Paris agreements to rearm West Germany are in fact a repudiation of this solemn pledge, a broken pledge that can bring the most profound tragedy to the world once more.

Here are the facts. Drew Middleton in the New York Times (1/18/53), reports from Bonn the findings of the "Reactions Analysis Staff of the Office of Public Affairs" released by the U.S. High Commission on attitudes in West Germany. Said Middleton: "One of its findings is 'that the large majority of the German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any nazi type group to return to power'. . . . There is a growth of anti-Jewish sentiment. . . . On the basis of the findings it is asserted that only 24 per cent of the West German population react to the prospect of the nazis with 'I would do everything I could to prevent it.' . . . The survey finds that about 38 per cent of West Germans questioned in the public opinion poll acknowledge anti-Jewish attitudes and it is believed that 'it would appear distinctly unsafe to conclude that anti-Jewish tendencies characterize less than a majority of West Germans.'"

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported in March 1954 that "Denazification in Germany must be written off 'as a complete failure' and Germany can be described as 'undergoing a process of gradual renazification,' Saul K. Padover, dean of the Department of Politics of the New School for Social Research, reports in a special survey for the Foreign Policy Association."

In a report, *Germany—Nine Years Later* (July 1954) three top officers of the Anti-Defamation League stated on their return from a tour of West Germany that "Anti-Semitism in Germany has gone underground. So, to a lesser degree, has nazism and its latter-day variations. This has caused a lot of Germans to announce that they are buried for good. But even

the casual observer will find anti-Semitism in Germany a lively corpse that rises time and again to discomfit the optimists."

Signing of the Paris agreement on 10/23/54 was followed by intensified expressions of anti-Semitism which caused the [West] German Coordinating Council of the Societies for Christian-Jewish Cooperation to pass a resolution sent to top West German officials charging that "nationalism and anti-Semitism were again on the march. . . . It was 'regrettable' that this should be taking place 'in the course of remilitarization' of Germany. The resolution said: 'Already the anti-Semites are beginning to reassemble. Publications hostile to the Jews are multiplying.'" (N. Y. Times, 11/26/54.)

IN GOVERNMENT

"On 10/22/51, in a statement to the Bundestag, he [Adenauer] admitted that two-thirds of the senior Foreign Office posts were held by ex-members of the Nazi Party." (London Jewish Chronicle, 8/20/54.)

Adenauer's own cabinet and top government are riddled with nazis, many of whom had a direct hand in the anti-



Many of the men responsible for this are back in power. It is suicidal to permit them to rearm once more!

Jewish annihilation program. Viktor Emanuel Preusker, Minister of Housing, was an "SS Instructor in Racial Questions," received thanks for "freeing the German economy from the Jewish yoke." Gerhardt Schroeder, Minister of the Interior, was a former SA-trooper, in 1953 called for German invasion of Poland to recover "lost territories." Theodor Oberlander, Minister for Expellees, former SS major, was nazi Gauleiter of East Prussia. Waldemar Kraft, Minister without Portfolio, was former president of Hitler's Chamber of Agriculture. Hans Globke, State Secretary of the Federal Chancellory, was author of the official nazi commentary on the Nuremberg racial laws. And many others.

IN INDUSTRY

"The entire West German economy 'is again in the hands of the nazis,'" said Otto John, West Germany's counterpart to J. Edgar Hoover, after he defected to East Germany. (N. Y. Post, 8/11/54.)

The West German banks are again in the hands of the same men. Three leading banks (Deutsche Bank, Dresden Bank, Commerzbank) list the same boards of directors (or their sons in some cases) for their successor banks in 1954 as in 1941.

Decartelization expert Howard Watson Ambruster said in a letter to the N. Y. Times (9/10/54): "There is abundant evidence now available that too many former nazi leaders, plus a full assortment of old-style Pan-German industrial barons, are again back in the saddle and constitute the strongest support which Chancellor Konrad Adenauer has at this time. . . . They have abandoned all pretext of complying with promises made to the Western allies on decartelization and deconcentration of their industrial empires."

"This economic power . . . concentrated in the hands of the big German trusts . . . might well be the instrument of which the Pan-Germanists have been dreaming to launch out in a new adventure for world domination." (La Tribune des Nations, Paris, 8/27/54.)

IN THE ARMY

What will a new West German army be like? Says "Carolus," West German correspondent of The Nation (11/6/54): "Some 20,000 officers will be needed immediately for the contemplated 12 divisions. Who will they be? The only trained officers in Germany are those who served in Hitler's army. If after serving the nazis they were still decent and honorable men, they returned gladly to civilian life and will certainly not want to go back to the army. The only ones who will answer the call will be the Prussians, the adventurers and the sadists."

A reservoir for this officer corps is the membership of the 528 listed West German military or veterans' organizations, some with names like "Hermann Goehring Parachutists" and "Fuehrer Grenadier Division." The largest is the "Stahlhelm" (Steel Helmets), headed by released war criminal ex-Marshall Albert Kesselring.

Among the new General Staff officers: General Adolf Heusinger, chief of staff, was chief of operations for Hitler's Wehrmacht, planned attacks on Holland, Belgium, France; General Hans Speidel, advisor to Adenauer's shadow war ministry, was formerly a general on the Ukrainian front; his brother, General Wilhelm Speidel, jailed war criminal, helped draw up plans for a new German army; General Gustav Gehlen, chief of West German military intelligence, was former head of Hitler's "Enemy Armies of the East."

Of 174 high officials in Adenauer's war office, 23 had been attached to Hitler's headquarters, 77 were members of his General Staff.

REARMED WEST GERMANY LEADS TO WAR

One of the main objectives of a remilitarized West Germany is to resume Hitler's campaign for *Lebensraum*—and eventual war. Objective surveys indicate that our State Department policy has actually encouraged the return of nazis to positions of power with the purpose of rearming West Germany. The attempts of the State Department to arm the reactionary Arab leaders, thus leading to an arms race in the Middle East and endangering the very existence of Israel, stem from the same basic policy as that which is pushing through West German rearmament, that is threatening the world with war.

Washington has encouraged aggressive elements in West Germany to flourish in order to promote a policy of "peace through strength." Washington has been the dominant force in pushing through West German rearmament under this slogan. But how can the creation of an aggrandizing army in West Germany further peace? As shown by all the facts brought forward here, a resurrected Wehrmacht controlled by nazi elements in a renazified West Germany can only threaten world war. The intense efforts of Washington to force through West German rearmament is therefore in actuality a policy of increasing the war danger.

The "threat of Soviet aggression" which underlies the propaganda for a rearmed West Germany has no foundation. If the Soviet Union had aggressive intentions, it would have attacked long before this, when the Western powers were in a more vulnerable military position than now. Further, the Soviet Union has repeatedly asserted its intense desire for peaceful co-existence and the reduction of armaments.

Adenauer has said: "Our chief reason for wanting to enter the European army is to be able to recover our eastern territories." (12/13/51.) "The rearmament of West Germany should be the preparation for a new order in Eastern Europe." (3/16/52.) "Our aim is to liberate our brothers and sisters in the eastern territories. We should stop talking about the reunification of Germany and call it 'liberation' instead." (9/8/53.)

Jakob Kaiser, Minister of All-German Affairs, said: "A real Europe can only be formed when German unity is restored. This includes, I should like to remind you, not only Germany, but also Austria, half of Switzerland, the Saar and Alsace Lorraine." (3/2/52.)

Hans Seeborn, Minister of Transport, said: "European culture can only be found where Germans live." (8/9/52.)

Said *Wiking-Ruf*, veterans' organ (6/21/53): "The men of the former Waffen-SS have a right to speak of Europe, of the European Community and the defense of Europe. In our ranks this European Community was converted into reality for the first time on the field of battle."

Dr. Otto John said in East Berlin on 8/12/54: "All this [West German rearmament] means that a new attempt is being made to carry out the strategy of Hitler and his general staff, which aimed at conducting a war against the East from the basis of a militarily united West." (N. Y. Times, 8/13/54.)

Geopolitik, published at Heidelberg, said in March 1953: "All that the Soviet Union can offer West Europe—at the cost of its tradition, freedom, and culture—is living space. Since the present serious situation in Europe is due to the pressure of population . . . Europe must achieve living space by the use of force."

After returning from a European trip, James P. Warburg said on 10/5/54: The rearmament agreements "lead to war rather than to peace."

World-Wide Opposition

Hundreds of millions from every corner of the world oppose West German rearmament because they fear it will result in World War III. Here is evidence of this opposition in the Western countries.

IN GERMANY

On 10/9/54 the West German Trade Union Congress, representing six million workers, voted 391 to four against rearmament. "The Nine-Power agreement," said the resolution, "if confirmed and ratified, would prevent the easing of international tension and the reunification of Germany. For the Federal Republic remilitarization brings the danger of facilitating the setting up of an authoritarian militarist state. Congress rejects any military contribution while possibilities exist for reaching an understanding between the peoples and for reaching German reunification are not wholly exhausted."

Speaking in the Bundestag on 11/7/54 for the West German Social Democratic Party, second largest in the country, its leader Erich Ollenhauer said: "The rearming of the Federal Republic within NATO and the concentration of the Republic's foreign policy on its incorporation in the Western system to the exclusion of all else means that it is giving up a policy of active unity. We socialists must reject that solution."

Three former German chancellors, Heinrich Bruening, Hans Luther and Franz von Papen, have declared their opposition to rearmament.

Pastor Martin Niemöller, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, president of the Evangelical Synod and former minister in Adenauer's cabinet; D. Wilm, president of the Rhineland Evangelical Church, and other West German personalities addressed an Open Letter to Chancellor Adenauer in January 1953 stating: "You say that you want to protect us against Soviet aggression. How will you protect us, however, against the aggressive plans of the leading generals and industrialists, how will you protect us from the 'liberation' schemes of the crusading politicians? You claim that ratification of the treaties will bring us nearer the reunification of Germany. We know that reunification can only be the result of negotiations or of war. Peace cannot be brought about and made secure if we arm ourselves, materially and ideologically, for war."

The N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported on 11/25/54: "Last night hundreds of youths almost succeeded in breaking up [Theodor] Blank's [Adenauer's Defense Minister's] address at an election rally meeting in Nuernberg when they demonstrated against plans for creating a strong West German Army as a member of the Western Alliance. Other pro-rearmament speakers have been the targets for similar demonstrations in Hesse."

All of East Germany, both government and people, oppose a remilitarized Germany. A British Labor Party delegation to East Germany led by MP's Mark Hewitson and Frank Beswick said in a statement on 10/30/54: "Especially were we impressed with the complete absence of any evidence of military or aggressive outlook or mentality. We believe the desire expressed by all the people with whom we spoke for the reunification of Germany by negotiation, under conditions which

include free elections, is genuine and capable of yielding results acceptable to countries in both East and West."

IN FRANCE

Probably the greatest opposition of any West European country is in France since the French people were twice in 25 years attacked by a militaristic Germany. The rejection of the European Defense Community on 8/30/54 was an index of this opposition.

Said General Aumeran in the French General Assembly on 10/7/54: "The country, which thought it had delivered itself from the nightmare of German rearmament by the vote rejecting EDC—for the vote was seen in this light—cannot believe that its rejoicing was in vain." (*Journal Officiel*, 10/8/54.)

The General Assembly of the 3,000,000-member French Union of Veterans' Associations passed a resolution on 10/3/54 in which it "confirms its unwavering opposition to any revival of German militarism."

Sections of a number of French parties, as well as the Communist Party, the largest in France, are in opposition. The C. G. T. (trade union federation) and many others have come out against rearmament.

The Jews of France are virtually unanimously opposed. In November 1953 the Supreme Representative Council of French Jewry (Crif) reaffirmed its unqualified opposition: "Crif reaffirms its resolution of 12/12/50, declaring: 'The Jews of France condemn the remilitarization of Western and Eastern Germany in any form whatsoever. One of the consequences of such remilitarization would be to hasten the return to key positions of the people who were guilty of perpetrating, or who helped to perpetrate, the persecutions and massacres committed by the Hitlerian Third Reich. At this time, when the wounds still smart from the murder of 120,000 Jews who were deported from France and who shared the fate of 6,000,000 of their brethren, the Jews of France consider that such remilitarization will represent a menace to their existence and sacrilege to their dead and to all victims of nazism.'"

IN GREAT BRITAIN

The Co-Operative Union Congress, representing 11 million Britons, went on record last summer in opposition to German rearmament.

Unions representing more than 2,000,000 workers in recent months went on record in opposition to German rearmament.

More than 200 constituency Labor Party groups (local party organizations) were opposed to German rearmament. (*N. Y. Times*, 2/28/54.)

The Labor Party conference on 9/28/54 voted by 3,270,000 to 3,022,000 in favor of German rearmament. However, the slim majority of 248,000 votes was cast by representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, who thereby violated the mandate of their union conference to oppose rearmament.

When the British Parliament voted in favor of the London and Paris agreement on 11/18/54, the vote was 264-4, with the Labor Party abstaining. "The Conservative majority," reported the *N. Y. Times* (11/19/54), "represents only 41 per cent



General Eisenhower on a visit to a death camp in 1945. Will we, the American people, "Let bygones be bygones?"

[that is, a minority] of the total membership of 625 in the House of Commons."

The Board of Deputies of British Jews, representative body of all Jewish organizations in Britain, passed a resolution on 10/17/54 in which it "reaffirms its opposition to the rearmament of any part of Germany and notes with deep apprehension the changes which would take place in Germany following upon the ratification of the Nine-Power agreement at a time when there is increasing evidence of well-known nazis being given important offices in the Federal German Republic." (*London Jewish Chronicle*, 10/22/54.)

A. L. Easterman, director of the Political Department of the World Jewish Congress, said: There is "little jubilation among Jews anywhere in the world at this turn of events [agreement on West German rearmament] and many aspects of the agreement caused grave disquiet. Some people say we are too pessimistic; but I say it is better to be pessimistic than sorry." (*JTA*, 11/11/54.)

APPREHENSION IN ISRAEL

"The Israel Parliament voted overwhelmingly last week [about 11/20/54] to protest the rearming of both East and West Germany." (*JTA* dispatch from Jerusalem, 11/25/54.)

Zmanim, conservative Tel Aviv daily, said in October 1954: "Europe is about to provide its ex-enemy with the means to defend and perhaps to subjugate it. The only question is, when will the restored German militarism threaten world peace? . . . The Jewish people, one third of whom were massacred by the Germans, must warn of the danger of rearming Germany."

Al Hamishmar, left wing Zionist Tel Aviv daily, said in October 1954: "Less than ten years after the nazi massacres the capitalist states are conspiring against peace by allowing the rebirth of German militarism, the enemy of humanity. The peace-loving peoples can prevent this catastrophe and we, a nation one-third of whom were massacred by the nazis, must oppose German rearmament."

WARNINGS IN THE UNITED STATES

In a speech on 9/20/54, "Senator Ralph E. Flanders recommended that East and West Germany be reunited as a neutral nation with 'neutrality guaranteed by both the Soviet government and the Western powers.' The Vermont Republican said the rearmament of West Germany was 'at best an indirect and uncertain approach.' He said he felt that the German people would settle for neutrality as the price of having their nation reunited. . . . 'The more one thinks about it, the more dubious becomes the massive rearmament approach to German reunification except at the price of initiating or at least engaging in World War III.'" (*N. Y. Times*, 10/20/54.)

The United States should discuss "anew the negotiations of a German peace treaty for a free, unified, neutralized Germany." (Editorial, *New York Post*, 10/5/54.)

"The Nation has never believed, and does not now believe, that the serious issues of peace or war or of European security can be resolved by creating a German army. Whether as part of a defense 'community' or as a mere ally, Germany rearmed presents monstrous risks which cannot be averted by Adenauer's promises or Western controls." (Freda Kirchwey, *The Nation*, 10/16/54.)

The American Labor Party platform for the 1954 elections stated: "We are opposed to the rearming of Western Germany and the resurgence of nazism in that country. We urge immediate negotiations between East and West Germany to establish a democratic and unified nation."

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver said in a sermon at his Temple in Cleveland: "There is no solution other than that of Potsdam. . . . Demilitarize and neutralize Germany completely. A rearmed Germany would be a menace to the world. There will be peace if Germany is reunited, but a demilitarized and neutralized Germany. United States policy will have to change on this point. It is unrealistic." (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, February 1954.)

Congress Weekly, organ of the American Jewish Congress, said editorially (11/8/54): ". . . the jubilation in American circles over the signing of the [London and Paris] agreements a few weeks ago undoubtedly reflects a deep-felt satisfaction over the final attainment of an ardously sought objective. But Jews throughout the world are likely to feel little jubilation over what has occurred. And it might have been better, too, if some of the statesmen involved, particularly those from the United States, had tempered their own jubilation with some reservations and misgivings."

"Dr. Norman Salit, president of the Synagogue Council of America, questioned whether [West] Germany had put a stop to the anti-Semitic policy that prevailed in the era of Adolph Hitler. . . . He added, 'It is time for the nations of the West, now preparing admission of [West] Germany into their fellowship, to halt in their arrangements and ask themselves if they are ready to bless as redeemed a country that can so easily show signs of a relapse into the horrors of persecution and terrorism.'" (*N. Y. Times*, 12/1/54.)

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, chairman of the executive committee [of the Zionist Organization of America], warned [at the close of a two-day meeting of the ZOA Administrative Council] that the "newest manifestations of anti-Semitism and neo-nazism in [West] Germany threaten to disqualify the Bonn Republic as an ally of this country consecrated to the cause of democracy and human freedom. . . . Referring to a recent anti-Semitic demonstration at a political rally in [West] Germany, Dr. Neumann said that 'it is now becoming evident that the serpent of nazism is attempting to raise its hideous head once more and to re infect the young republic with its venom.'" (*N. Y. Times*, 11/29/54.)

Toward Peace

ALTERNATIVES

Opponents of a remilitarized West Germany all over the world are seeking an alternative solution to the problem.

At a press conference in New York on 10/5/54, Krishna Menon, head of the UN delegation of India, said that he favored "direct contacts between leaders—or better still, between spokesmen of the two Germanies. This would give more chance of making progress towards the reunification of the country."

Sumner Welles suggests the basis of Soviet opposition in his *Seven Decisions That Shaped History* (1951), p. 241: "If we are to be realistic, given the acute tension now existing in our relations with the Soviet Union, how can we fail to admit any Russian government, even a government more pacific and conciliatory, must inevitably regard as a threat to Russian security our rearmament of a country that in 1917 forced them to accept the shameful peace of Brest-Litovsk and in 1941 invaded, ravaged their homeland?"

The Soviet Union proposed a solution in its note to the United States, Britain and France on 10/23/54 in a three-point program: "1. The restoration of German unity on democratic and peaceful foundations and the organization of free elections throughout Germany; 2. The withdrawal of the occupation troops of the four powers from the territory of East and West Germany; 3. The calling of a general European conference to examine the question of the creation of a system of collective security in Europe."

At his press conference in Moscow on 11/20/54, Soviet Foreign Minister V. Molotov "repeated the warnings . . . that implementation of the Paris agreements [to rearm West Germany] would prevent the reunification of Germany, undermine existing possibilities for resolving unsettled European problems and increase international tensions." (*N. Y. Times*, 11/21/54.)

Edouard Herriot, elder statesman of France, said in his speech before the actually conservative Radical Party Congress on 10/17/54: "Foreign policy—remember this principle—is made on the map; neither for nor against certain ideologies. The union of seven or eight European powers is not enough; the union of the whole of Europe must be achieved. . . . I do not know what the Russian proposal is worth but I say that it would have been better to begin by seeking agreement on this subject. I do not think that disarmament can be achieved through rearmament."

NEGOTIATE!

How can the United States and the world avoid the awful consequences of opening the road to a renazified, remilitarized Germany? A grave responsibility rests on the American people, especially because Washington is exerting the decisive influence in the West German rearmament program.

The inescapable conclusion from the facts presented above is that it would be suicidal to permit rearmament of a renazified West Germany.

What can be done?

The Paris and London agreements to rearm West Germany must be rejected.

The major powers should renew negotiations to assure a peaceful, democratic, neutral Germany—the only kind of Germany which can prevent the threat of a resurgence of nazism and a new world war.

President Eisenhower has in recent weeks reaffirmed again and again in words that his policy is one of "co-existence." Yet the Eisenhower administration in its deeds has refused to consider any proposals that would not result in a threat of war from a remilitarized West Germany. The Soviet Union declares its readiness to negotiate. In our interests as Americans who want our country to survive, we must press upon the Eisenhower administration the need for peaceful co-existence and to discuss and negotiate every possible alternative, whatever its origin, be it the one suggested by Krishna Menon or that of the Soviet Union for European collective security. The American people can avert World War III only by insisting that the Eisenhower administration implement its stated policy of co-existence and negotiate a solution, instead of relentlessly pursuing the foreign policy that would commit us to help rebuild nazi armed might. West Germany must be placed in a position where she cannot threaten the peace of the world. That means, in the words of Rabbi Silver, a "reunited, demilitarized, neutral Germany." Otherwise the consuming fires of anti-Semitism will once more engulf West Germany and spread to the world. Only by a change in State Department policy so as to ensure a demilitarized and neutral Germany can our country be saved from destruction and the world kept at peace.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

President Eisenhower has placed the London and Paris agreements before the United States Senate for ratification. Hearings will be held by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the pacts may come to the floor of the Senate for vote early in 1955. To prevent rearmament of a renazified West Germany:

1. Each individual should write his senators without delay urging a vote against ratification of those pacts that will once more plunge us into war and devastate our country.
2. Get your trade unions, fraternal, civic, people's and other organizations to pass resolutions against West German rearmament and send them to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and to all senators.
3. Get your organizations to send delegations to your senators to oppose West German rearmament.
4. Even if the treaties are ratified, the fight must go on.

SPREAD THIS FACT-SHEET!

This "Fact-Sheet on West German Rearmament" has been reprinted as a brochure.

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THE ASHES OF SIX MILLION JEWS

By Fred Blair

. . . The ashes of six million Jews!
And when they burned, it wasn't news
In the bulky sheets that hurtle out
From the whirling presses' yawning spout
To pour a flood of opiate ink
For the common people's daily drink.
It wasn't news when Polish sods
And dark and bloody German clods
Turned red with murdered Jewish blood
That flowed in a steady, pulsing flood
For year on year. That wasn't news—
The ashes of six million Jews!

The fat-jowled, dead-faced "Aryan" swine
In human semblance belching dine
On cabbage fertilized and fed
By ashes of these Jewish dead;
While Ruhr and Saarland princes meet
With British lords of coal and steel
And chemicals, and Yankee kings
Of blood-finance, and once more weld
The cartel-bonds of trade which heat
Of six long years of warfare swelled
And burst asunder. In their weal,
The multitude their woe can feel—
Their woe, which waxes on the wings
Of commerce, which these lords have spread
Above the ashes of the dead. . . .

Who knows what genius and what wit,
Beauty and artistry and skill
Were taken from the world that day?
What did they think of but to kill,
Those "Aryan" gunmen? In their thought
There was no room for anything
But murder, and what might be brought
At market by the piles that lay
Bright on the snow. The fires they lit
Consumed young voices that could sing
The sweetest music. Who can know
How many Heines perished then?
How many Einsteins who had learnt

The above verses are excerpted from a long poem,
The Ashes of Six Million Jews, published as a pamphlet
in 1946 by the People's Book Shop in Milwaukee.

Their first young lessons, there were burned?
How many future Marxes died?
How many young Spinozas sighed
Their last? How many a Mendelssohn
Perished, his songs unsung, unknown?

And you and I who are not Jews,
Can we ourselves escape the guilt
Of all these murders if we still
Stay silent at the blood thus spilled,
And do not stop the tongues that kill,
The cries for blood that could induce
The slaughter of more millions yet?
If you and I who are not Jews
For one short moment should forget
How all these murders were prepared
By heartless jests, and cruel taunts,
By lies and forgeries, and cheats,
At which some laughed, while too few cared,
Which reeked from fascist gutter-haunts,
But sprang from rich and mighty seats
Of power in government and bourse,
If you and I should close our minds
To crimes like these, we should be worse
Than those who did such deeds, for we
Would sanction by our apathy,
Our heedless, blind indifference
New Slaughters of the Innocents.
Even the bourgeois justice finds
Complicity co-guilty. How
Could anyone keep silent now?
How could we stand and watch the tide
Of anti-Jewish venom ride
Higher and higher through our land,
And not raise clarion voice, and hand
Against this ghoulish threat, and then
Parade before the world as men?
For every man or woman who
Heard hatred spewed against the Jew
And did not choke the lying throat
That shrilled and spat that poisoned note—
Such people also helped produce
The ashes of six million Jews.
And all the wealthy business men
Who traded calmly with the Reich,
Who helped to bolster Hitler when
The time was suitable to strike
Him easily down—they helped produce
The ashes of six million Jews! . . .

THE CASE OF THE WELLMANS

The full force of the witch-hunt descends on a family through the Smith act and the deportation delirium. An aroused people can save them

By Abe Strauss

Detroit

ON OCTOBER 20, Mrs. Peggy Wellman, mother of two American-born children, received a curt "invitation" to appear at 10 A.M. on November 2 at the Detroit office of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization. She was instructed to bring her personal belongings and be prepared for deportation to Canada.

This barbarous act against a mother of two children, whose husband, Saul Wellman, has been sentenced to five years in prison under the Smith act, shocked democratic-minded people of Detroit. Mrs. Wellman is known and loved by hundreds of anti-fascists. The fascist-like nature of her threatened deportation under the McCarran-Walter act came through her statement to this writer.

"In November 1952," she said, "exactly six weeks after the arrest of my husband, Solly Wellman, chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan, under the McCarthyite Smith act, I was arrested under another McCarthyite and un-American law, the McCarran-Walter act. This was the first time I ever heard that I was an 'alien.' I remember very well attending kindergarten and public school in Tacoma, Washington. I went to school with my older and also my younger brother, both of whom were born in Tacoma. Later we moved to Seattle. Neither my mother nor my two brothers ever told me that I had been born in Victoria, British Columbia, during a short visit which my mother, then 42, had made to relatives in that city. Several months after my birth, my mother and her infant returned to Tacoma. Except for a few months, I have lived in my country, the United States, for 42 years. I have never even set foot in another country!"

"Apparently my American citizenship was taken for granted in our family so that it was never thought necessary to discuss my 'Canadian birth' with me or anyone else. After my arrest in 1952 the stoolpigeon who was dug up to prove that I had been born in 1912 in British Columbia was unable to prove this fact. So they badgered my 70-year-old mother, Mrs. Annie Hobson, whom they had tried 22 years ago to deport to England, the country of her birth, for the 'crimes' of fighting against hunger and depression. This time they dragged my mother to hearings in Seattle before Federal Judge Lindsberg, the same judge who sentenced the Seattle Smith act victims and several defense witnesses to long prison terms.

"Three times they tried without success to force my mother to testify against her own daughter. But at the fourth hearing she broke down and gave them the details of my birth in Canada 42 years ago. The fact that her continued silence would cause my two brothers in Seattle to lose their jobs and that she herself would be deported in her old age, brought this tragedy to my old and harassed mother, who has behind her a lifetime of militant and democratic traditions. The terrible irony of all this is that the Brownell inquisitors 'rewarded' my mother immediately after she testified by starting proceedings for her deportation to England, which she left 48 years ago!"

Lives in Service of the People

Peggy Wellman remembers how in 1919, as a child of seven, she helped distribute leaflets calling on the citizens of Seattle to support the general strike of the waterfront workers. The workers had refused to load ships in protest against American military intervention on the side of the counter-revolution in Russia. Economic necessity forced Peggy to go to work as soon as she finished public school. Until she was 19, she worked in an overall factory. Then she came to New York, where she worked in a shoe factory and became active in the Boot and Shoe Union. Because of ill-health she left the shoe factory and got a job in a restaurant. She became an active member of the Food Workers Union (AFL) and was soon elected secretary of the big Cafeteria Local 302.

In 1934 she married the young Jewish labor leader Saul Wellman. Three years later Saul joined the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. With thousands of other American volunteers he fought in Spain to help that country—and later the entire world—to put out the Hitler-Mussolini-Franco conflagration. He returned from Spain with a proud record. The Wellmans had two children and Peggy "rested up" working as a housewife.

In 1943, Saul again went to war against the fascists. Peggy had to go to work once more to feed herself and her two young children. Early in 1945 she learned that her husband had been seriously wounded at Bastogne, Belgium, and was in a critical condition. Later she learned the details. As a paratrooper in the 101st Airborne Division, Wellman had parachuted many times behind the enemy lines on special missions and had carried them out success-



The Wellman family: Vicki, 12, Peggy, Saul, David, 14.

fully under circumstances demanding great heroism. In December 1944 his regiment was fighting in the Battle of the Bulge. A piece of shrapnel pierced his heart and he lay unconscious and bleeding for three hours. A successful operation was performed. After a long convalescence in Army hospitals in Belgium, Luxembourg and France, he was discharged in 1946 with medals for bravery. He was declared 100 per cent disabled and was granted a pension for life by the government.

On his return to civilian life Wellman had to go back to the hospital for three more months. Then the Wellmans moved to Detroit, where both Peggy and Saul were active in the progressive movement. Both were known and loved in Detroit and throughout the state. Uncompromising fighters for the people like Saul Wellman and other labor leaders were prosecuted on the frame-up charge of "conspiring to advocate overthrow of the government by force and violence." Saul Wellman was sentenced to five years in prison. In June 1954 his pension was stopped, an unprecedented act that was all the more shocking in this case of a decorated veteran.

"Democratic Opinion Must Be Aroused"

His wife, Peggy, mother of David, 14, and Vicki, 12, was arrested for deportation in 1952 and dragged through hearings for two years and then condemned to deportation. On the same day that Brownell's immigration office

ordered Mrs. Wellman to appear with her "baggage" for deportation, 900 children in the Detroit Junior High School voted to elect her son David president of the student body! And that day David's teacher had written a letter to the Wellmans congratulating them on having a son who set an example for all the other students! [Mrs. Wellman has thus far been able to obtain a stay of her deportation.—Eds.]

The Wellmans' home is a beehive of activity. People come to offer her help and comfort. Resolutions, telegrams and letters of protest are being sent by a wide variety of people, including civic and religious leaders. The protest and the demand that Peggy be allowed to stay with her husband and children are gaining momentum. But they need to grow even stronger. Deportation would mean Peggy and her children would be unable to visit the husband and father Saul for the five years while he is in prison.

The two brilliant children, Dave and Vicki, tell me: "We were born and raised here! This is our country and these are our parents! We cannot be made orphans while our parents are alive. We are proud of our mother and father and of their patriotic record for a peaceful and democratic America!"

And their mother, Peggy, told me this: "Despite all the repressive acts against honorable Americans, the Brownells are not succeeding in their attempt to McCarthyize and McCarranize our country. The American people hate racism, fascism and war-maniacs and have often shown their readiness to defend with their lives, if necessary, the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. This terrible McCarthyite-Brownell persecution against me and my husband and my two children should be a warning that democratic opinion must be aroused throughout the land. There must be an end to the Hitler-like McCarran-Walter and Smith acts. Let the mighty voice of the American people be heard."

FOR MORTON SOBELL ON ALCATRAZ

By Sam Swing

His crime was friendship so he walks in stone,
His honor bright amid the drabs and greys,
His measured step ticks off the circled days,
From year to bitter year he walks alone.
The friendless ones, the bondstocks and their kine,
Stand virtue on its head, call crooked straight;
To handcuff right, to guard their silver-plate,
They torture justice to a warped design.

What breathes, what sings, what lives when friendship dies?
Not love, not freedom, but the grasp of hate,
Not peace, not joy, while good men hesitate,
Not truth still smothered in the shroud of lies.
Who has a friend that he can call his own
Must lift a hammer to the walls of stone.

A CHORUS OF JEWISH WORKERS

For 30 years workers from the shops have sung new and old Jewish music with labor inspiration. Thousands have enjoyed their devoted singing

By Alice Citron

"**H**OW did you make such days pass?" I asked an elderly shop worker who had told me of the dreary working conditions of 40 years ago. "While we stitched, we sang. We sang to drown out the boss's nagging voice. We sang our dreams of the better life we were fighting for. Our throats were only part of the music. Our hearts did most of the singing," she softly answered.

The Jewish men and women immigrants who marched on picket lines, who defied lockouts, founded a unique musical institution in American life. For in 1914—about 40 years ago—the first chorus composed entirely of workers came to birth in Chicago. This blending of militant trade union consciousness and the eagerness to sing of life as it was also brought a new Jewish music to the United States. To the workers in the choruses, music was not a thing of luxurious "golden horseshoes." They could not boast of having studied with expensive impresarios. Nor were they of the class that could afford to study musical instruments or voice, or even learn to read music. But their conscious desire to impress upon those who listened the joy of the

struggle for a new life made of the workers' choruses a vital and beautiful part of the Jewish workers' activities. So strong has this been, so accepted by thousands of Jews that 24 choruses freshen the cultural atmosphere today.

The largest of the choruses is the Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society, whose office is at 189 Second Avenue, New York City. Its 125 members are a remarkable "success" story. Success is measured in different terms than the clank of the cash register by these working men and women. Success to them has meant that they bring to thousands of listeners a treasury of musical expression that no other institution is willing to give. In the 31 years of its existence, the directors, composers and singers have worked as one. Composers like Jacob Schaefer, Max Helfman and Leo Kopf have blended magnificently with the desires and aspirations of the men and women they directed. Through this mutual understanding, the great labor poets (Edelshtadt, Winchevsky, Bovshover and others) sing their songs of man's dignity with music composed by the creative conductors. More recent Jewish writers lend their talents,

THE INFORMER AND THE CHORUSES

A SHAMELESS, McCarthyite attack has been made on the Jewish Music Alliance. This is the only national center of Jewish choral music in our country. Alice Citron's article above acquaints us with one of the oldest of the 30 choruses all over the country making up the Alliance. Tens of thousands of people each year deprive enjoyment from the performances of the choruses, which are keeping progressive Jewish culture vital.

But such criminal facts cannot be expected to phaze a McCarthyite informer. On November 23, 1954, one S. Weber published in the *Jewish Daily Forward* an article which tries to do a smear job on the Alliance by attaching the adjective "communistic" to it. Nor is this the first time that *moser* (informer) Weber has soiled Jewish culture and American freedom with his McCarthyite stoolpigeoning. A few years ago this same Weber did an informing act at the judicial murder trial of the International Workers Order. He revealed the "incriminating" fact that the IWO had actually issued a song book containing a song by that "subversive" Yiddish poet David Edelshtat. Later, Weber followed up this piece of cultural "Know-Nothingism" with an attack on the *shules* (Jewish progressive schools).

Nor was Weber content to smear the Alliance. He also went after I. E. Ronch, Yiddish poet and novelist who

is at present national secretary of the Jewish Music Alliance. Mr. Ronch, Weber said fantastically, has been a "functionary of the Communist Party for 30 years." Weber wasn't finished even yet: he tried to terrorize the United Jewish Appeal into firing Mr. Ronch's wife, who has been working as a stenographer for this organization for six years, because, said Weber, she had a number of years ago been M. Olgin's secretary.

Weber's effort to rob the Ronches of their livelihood caused columnist B. Z. Goldberg to write a column in the *Yiddish Day* (December 4, 1954) headed, "Just a Little Human Feeling!" The *moser's* total lack of simple humanity is bad enough. In addition, he and his paper, the *Forward*, show their contempt for Jewish culture and of democracy by their smear attack on the Jewish Music Alliance. The national executive has answered Weber's smear with a call to build the Alliance.

The Jewish community cannot tolerate this McCarthyite, informing filth in its midst. The attack of Weber and the *Forward* upon a splendid Jewish cultural organization and the inhumanity expressed in their effort to deprive a woman of her job, are a disgrace to the Jewish community. The strongest protests should go to the *Forward* from trade unions and Jewish organizations of every sort, as well as from individuals.



Jacob Schaefer, noted Jewish composer and conductor, who led the People's Philharmonic Chorus before his death.

as well, to further the fruitful life of the Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society and the other singing groups (I. E. Ronch, I. B. Bailin, N. Buchwald, Yuri Suhl). This in itself is an unusual phenomenon. There are no other choruses that sing so passionately the poets of yesterday and today.

The Philharmonic Chorus, although the oldest, is not the only progressive Jewish chorus in New York. There are choruses in the Bronx and Brighton which are under the leadership of the composer, Maurice Rauch, who also is the conductor of a large Jewish Farmer Chorus in Lakewood, N. J. There are also Jewish choruses in Coney Island and Jamaica, directed by Samuel Goldman.

The above mentioned choruses are affiliated with the Jewish Music Alliance, which celebrates its 30th anniversary on Saturday evening, January 29, 1955, at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, with a music festival in which all the New York choruses, including the six youth choruses, directed by Bob DeCormier, will participate.

Every concert given by the Philharmonic Choral Society is a sell-out. How do they do it? The answer lies in the determination of the chorus to reflect the positive desires of the Jewish people. They do not sing of the mythical "blessings" with which President Eisenhower was so enamored at the recent Tercentenary dinner. A perusal of a concert program is a joyous thing. "*Hoib oif daine Oign*" (Bovshover-Schaefer) calls to man to reap the just

fruits of his labor. "The Song of Peace" (arranged by Malek), with its powerful meaning for this moment; the delightful folk song "*Ot Azoi*," which never grows old; "Come Be Free" (Whitman-Neuman); the Choral Ballet "Benyomin the Third," based on the classic story of Mendele Moicher Sforim (Scenario by Suhl; Music by Helfman)—these tell why the Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus doesn't have to lament over unsold tickets.

Whether it be at Town Hall or the Brooklyn Academy of Music, an unusual atmosphere pervades the concert hall. There is friendly communication from both sides of the stage. The audience has not come in a spirit of awe. From long acquaintance, the audience knows that it will leave the concert renewed and reinvigorated in the fight against reaction. The audience looks forward each year in the hope of hearing some old favorite like "Two Brothers" (Peretz-Schaefer) and eagerly awaits the new works. Proudly the Jewish People's Philharmonic was the first chorus in the United States to introduce Shostakovich's "Song of the

Anti-Semitism During the Month

A NUMBER of serious anti-Semitic manifestations occurred during the month of November.

Seventeen homes owned by Jews in the quiet summer resort town of Woodal, Michigan, near Pontiac, were extensively damaged by anti-Semitic vandals in mid-November. The contents of the houses were wantonly ripped and smashed. State police said that the attack was anti-Semitic because not a single non-Jewish home in the area was touched. Three youths were held in Pontiac on charges of causing the \$20,000 damage. The anti-Semitic, anti-Negro and anti-labor Black Legion were strong in this area a few years ago.

A series of violent anti-Semitic attacks upon Jews by roving gangs of hoodlums occurred in the West Side of Chicago in October and November. The situation became so serious that Rabbi Leonard C. Mishkin, educational director of the Associated Talmud Torahs and chairman of the administrative committee of the Chicago Rabbinical Council, wrote a letter to Chicago Mayor Martin H. Kennelly in mid-November, giving the record of the attacks and demanding police protection. The letter charged police neglect of the area.

Vandals broke into the new Temple Beth Jacob of Oakland, Cal., four times in the six weeks before mid-November. Eggs were thrown at the sanctuary and a flag of Israel near the altar was smeared.

The Anshei Sholom Synagogue of Philadelphia suffered extensive desecration early in November and the collection boxes were robbed. The *Philadelphia Jewish Times* (November 12) complained editorially that "there has been anything but regularity in the apprehension of these hate-mongers."

The convention of the state attorneys general was scheduled to be held December 8-11 at the swanky Camelback Inn at Phoenix, Arizona. New York State Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein protested that the hotel excluded Jews, refused to attend and urged transfer of the convention to another hotel. When the hotel insisted that it would continue to accept only "carefully selected" Jewish clientele, the convention site was moved to White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

WHAT ORENSTEIN SAID IN TEL AVIV

LATE in October 1954 news came that Shimon Orenstein, the employe of the Israel legation at Prague, who had testified to his involvement in the crimes against the Czechoslovak state in connection with the Slansky conspiracy, had been freed from the Czechoslovak jail at Fort Mirov, about 200 miles from Prague. Orenstein had been sentenced to life imprisonment last year for espionage. A few days after his release Orenstein was back at his home near Haifa. Some days later he held a press conference that was disappointing to those who expected a tale of "forced confession" and "torture." The ensuing "revelations" were quite different. Following are some of the points made by Orenstein at his press interview, as summarized in the Yiddish *Neie Presse* of Paris on November 8, 1954.

"1. Orenstein said that he was in fact guilty as charged at the Prague trial and that he confessed freely of his own volition. 'I confessed to the charge of espionage,' he said. 'I said of my own accord that I was a spy. I confessed that in my opinion we did things that we should not have done.'

"2. No one attempted to extract any statements by force. 'During the entire investigation,' he said, 'I lived at a hotel in Prague. The hearings took place only during the day. The behavior (of the investigators) toward me was civil. There was no brow-beating.'

"3. The trial, which lasted three days, was not held

behind closed doors, as some people tried to make out. The public was admitted to the court.

"4. The lawyer assigned by the court discharged his duty properly and 'represented me honorably.'

"5. In the institution where Orenstein served his sentence there were a library, newspapers, radio, etc.

"6. Instead of prisons, Orenstein said, Czechoslovakia has 'Houses of Correction' for criminals. At Fort Mirov, where Orenstein was sent, conditions were good, as were the food and general treatment. The prisoners work eight hours a day for wages which are put aside to the inmates' account. At the end of each month the inmates receive pocket money for cigarettes, candy, etc. Upon leaving the institution, Orenstein received his accumulated wages.

"7. Orenstein had written to President Zapotocky, requesting a pardon. He was able to ascertain that his letter had been delivered."

The article in the *Neie Presse* adds a few interesting details of the reception of the news of this interview by some of the Jewish press. The intensely anti-communist Mapai paper, *Hador*, of Tel Aviv, could only comment, "The story of the returning Orenstein provides much food for thought and analysis—but this is not the place for it and we shall return to this matter and discuss it." As for the Paris right wing Poale Zion paper, *Unzer Vort*, it discreetly made no comment at all.

Forest." The voices bring forth the beauties of this paean to life and growth and they also sing in sad reminder of the Warsaw Ghetto heroes and martyrs. It can be truly said that in its programs, the chorus speaks and sings of the life of peace that the millions desire. It brings forth the best traditions of the Jewish people. The audience always feels this. The hurrahs and bravos at the end of each concert are enthusiastic and genuine.

Aaron Kramer in his poem, "A Song for Singers," wrote:

"Homage to those who sing in chorus!

whose names are not advertised, or listed in programs;
whose smiles are not photographed, or spotlighted;
whose biographies are not requested by interviewers;
whose art is not compared with Galli Curci's or
Caruso's. . . .

Homage to those who receive for their singing.
neither contracts, nor bouquets, nor even a penny!"

This poet has understood well the makeup and character of all the choruses affiliated with the Jewish Musical Alliance. His thoughts apply to the chorus under discussion. The singers are modest and praise their conductors with enthusiasm. Their present conductor, Eugene Malek, they acclaim as they did their past conductors. They are proud of the writers and composers they present. They are ever eager to give voice to new writers and composers. Above all, they want the traditions established 31 years ago, traditions that grew with each struggle, to live.

They are not hermits unaware of the passage of time. New voices have to be added each year to sing on for brotherhood, joyousness and peace. The members are keenly aware that the addition of young voices would not only add to the tonal beauty of the group but would assure the permanency of a progressive cultural institution. The members do not want to hoard this tradition for themselves. They want younger people to share it with them and continue its growth. The music sung in English, Yiddish, Hebrew, as well as classics from Schubert and Handel, offer opportunities for personal growth as well. One need not be a trained musician since the chorus has been composed primarily of those who have had little chance for specialized training.

The Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society is justly proud of its ever-expanding repertoire. It asks that all interested in singing with them contact them at 189 Second Avenue, New York, for a unique experience in giving to large groups the courage, hope and inspiration so much needed when the forces of darkness seek to envelop the globe. Man has always fought great battles with musical accompaniment. The Jewish People's Philharmonic Choral Society gallantly follows in this great historic tradition common to all people.

(Further information about the New York choruses and others in various parts of the country can be obtained by writing the Jewish Music Alliance, 1 Union Square West, New York 3, N. Y.—Eds.)

DR. SNEH AND THE ISRAEL CP

An interview with the brilliant Israeli leader on the occasion of his joining the Communist Party of Israel together with 1,000 Left Socialists

By Avrom Yanofsky

A significant event occurred in Israel in November 1954, when 1,000 members of the Left Socialist Party, led by Dr. Moshe Sneh, Adolph Berman and others, dissolved their party and joined the Communist Party of Israel. Below are two accounts, reprinted here from the Canadian Jewish Weekly of December 2 and November 18, 1954, respectively, which show the background of this event.—Eds.

I ARRIVED in Israel precisely at the historical moment. Led by Dr. Moishe Sneh and Adolph Berman, the 1,000 members of the Israeli Left Socialists early in November 1954, entered the ranks of the Communist Party of that country.

The youth of the Left-Socialist movement (whose organization was named after the late leader of the *Palmach*, M. Shadde) in their turn joined the ranks of the Young Communist League of Israel.

This event shook the country, with the main clamor on the part of the press centering around the person of Dr. Sneh. "Outrageous," "How could he?" were some of the expressions being used by Zionist newspapers from the extreme right to the so-called "left."

"Sneh, the former Zionist; Sneh a former leader of the *Haganah*; this same Sneh has become a traitor to the Jewish people and a betrayer of Israel," they cried. A flood of articles, both polemical and satirical, appeared; a wave of caricatures against him were printed.

I took a personal interest in the "Affair Snch." I heard many heated discussions on the matter, particularly in the Kibbutz "Degania B," where I went as a guest of my relatives in Israel.

Later in Jerusalem I attended a session of Knesset (Parliament). Following a speech by the Arab Communist Deputy Emil Habbibi (it was his maiden speech in Hebrew and the feat won him congratulations from Knesset Speaker Shprintzak). I sent a note to Deputy Meir Vilner, a noted leader of the Israel Communist Party. I knew the latter personally from his visit to Canada several years ago, and I asked him to introduce me to Dr. Sneh to interview him. It was speedily arranged.

Knowing that Dr. Sneh was extremely busy, I decided to put only one question before him. Of course he made it clear to me right from the start that the main question was not his personal entry into the Communist Party, but

the fact that the entire Left Socialist Party had taken that step. I made the point, however, that since the reactionary Jewish press not only in Israel but elsewhere was making a great to-do about Sneh's abandonment of Zionism and was interpreting it as a betrayal of Israel and the Jewish people, it was important to have a personal statement from him on the question of Zionism, communism, Israel and the Jewish people.

Dr. Sneh's Development

Accordingly, I asked him the following: "Knowing that your searching for an answer to the sufferings of the Jewish people led you first of all to Zionism, is this the same motive which now leads you into the ranks of the Communist Party?" Dr. Sneh, a solidly built man with broad shoulders, a quick-witted and intelligent look in his eyes, smiles at my question and gives me the following statement:

"I was brought up in the spirit of Zionism from my very childhood. My middle class background, on the one hand, and the widespread anti-Semitism existing in pre-war Poland on the other, both steered me towards the path of Zionism, just as these did many another Jewish young person in that country. I threw myself into Zionist activities with the fullest conviction that herein lay the solution to the problems of the Jewish people. This view I believed in and held until the outbreak of the Second World War. I have lived in Israel since 1940. In the years between 1940-1946, I became the chief of the *Haganah* (Israel's home defense army). In the years between 1945-1947 I led the resistance against the British occupation.

"Two great upheavals in the life of the Jewish people led me to feel a boundless friendship towards the Soviet Union. These were the USSR's work in saving Jewish people from the nazi extermination in Europe and her efforts on behalf of our country's struggle for independence. These two great historical facts made it clear to me that the main enemy of all mankind, as well as of the Jewish people, is imperialism; conversely, the friend of all mankind, our own people included, is the Soviet Union.

"In the ranks of Mapam (so-called 'left wing' of the Zionist movement) I and the other comrades campaigned for a consistent anti-imperialist policy as well as for a united front with the Israel Communist Party.

"Our wing of Mapam—the left wing—fought against the right-centrist elements in the leadership of that party who pushed aside our anti-imperialist approach and who spread the ideology of collaboration between all classes and all parties for the goal of "Kibbutz Galit" (Ingathering of the Exiles).

The Split From Mapam

Dr. Sneh continued: "In the course of two years joint action with the CPI, a feeling of proletarian brotherhood and a comradeship forged in battle developed between our two parties. At the same time, the past two years in the Left Socialist Party have been devoted to a deepening of our understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory. After two years of united front activity, the Central Committee of the Left Socialist Party declared that there were no longer any differences between us and the CPI and that the only consequent conclusion must be our joining of the Communist Party of Israel.

"The theoretical base for this step was laid in a special book, *Conclusions on the National Question in the Light of Marxism-Leninism*, which I wrote and which received the full endorsement of our Central Committee as well as of the Central Committee of the CPI."

I interrupt Dr. Sneh and ask: "*How do you view this transition from Zionism to Communism?*"

He replies: "Objectively it must be seen as an expression of a social and political process, which is only beginning in our country. The content, the essence of this process is the conflict between the actual interests of the Israeli working folk and the nationalist ideology of the labor Zionist parties (Mapai, Mapam).

"This conflict grows ever sharper and leads to constant splits in the ranks of the Zionist Socialist parties. The Left Socialist Party is only the first battalion of Zionists to have freed themselves from the chains of this ideology and to have joined the ranks of the party of the Israeli working class—the Communist Party.

"*Not Zionism but Communism can assure a happy future for the Jewish people.* The Jewish masses the world over will not be helped in solving their basic problems through the Zionist Utopia. Only the fight for peace, democracy and socialism can guarantee the security, equality, and free development of the Jewish communities in every land.

"In Israel itself, the liberation of our country from the yoke of foreign capital, its deliverance from serious economic crisis and the peaceful solution of the Israel-Arab problem will only be achieved by the creation of a people's democratic government. Towards this end the Communist Party is working steadfastly and heroically.

"Viewed in this light, Communism is the highest expression of patriotism, an expression of true devotion to the interests of the Jewish people in all countries."

With this Dr. Sneh rose and explained that he must return to the Knesset.

AN ACT OF UNITY

By Sam Lipshitz

THE decision of the Left Socialists of Israel to join the Communist Party is a logical result of the whole process of their ideological and political development.

We can do no better than quote one of the leaders of the Left Socialist Party, P. Hertzberg, on this subject. In an article published recently, Hertzberg says:

"Changes in ideological thinking are the result of objective changes taking place in society. What are the objective changes that took place in our society and influenced our own ideological and political thinking?"

"1. The victory of Marxism-Leninism as the foremost science of the working class and of humanity.

"2. The victorious advance of Communism in many parts of the world;

"3. The bankruptcy of the Zionist organization;

"4. The opportunity, here in our own country, to see the 'Zionist' reality of Israel, which shows that Zionism is irrevocably linked with imperialism; with all the reactionary forces in the world;

"5. The fact that the State of Israel, which is at the present time governed by Zionists, pursues internally a reactionary policy; and insofar as the foreign arena is concerned, it desires and does fulfill the role of a policeman of imperialism, against the 'storm over Asia';

"6. The ideological, political and organizational crack-up in Mapam, which we came to recognize as the cover-up of the Zionist, nationalist policy among the Jewish working people;

"7. The close study of the Communist Party of Israel and the fact that we got to know the truth about this Party and that we rid ourselves of all the false and biased notions inherited from the Mapam."

The great unity celebration that took place in Tel Aviv, at which the decision of the Left Socialist Party was publicly announced, was a truly historic occasion for the working people and for the country as a whole. One thousand new members proudly took their place alongside the thousands of Communists, Jews and Arabs, and swore to battle for their country's independence and freedom and for its great and glorious future. They pledged to raise higher the banners of peace and of Israel-Arab friendship.

More significant possibly than anything else was the fact that this great act of unity and strength acquired by the Communist Party took place at a time when all other political parties in Israel, particularly the reformist ones, are faced with splits and internal dissension. Only recently the Mapam itself split again with the Left Poale Zion, leaving the organization and establishing their own group. Both the strengthening of the CPI, as well as the crisis in the other parties are signs of the times and a portent of things to come.

HOW JEROME SAW THE "SHTETL"

"A Lantern for Jeremy" has introduced a new note in writing about the old world Jewish small town. It treats the struggle against poverty

By Sholem Shtern

AS I read V. J. Jerome's *A Lantern for Jeremy*,¹ I was constantly on the alert for the *different* in this heartfelt, lyrical, profoundly-Jewish social book. Why did I seek this difference? Because the theme of the *shtetl*—the ghettoed townlet in East Europe—has become the time-worn path upon which every Yiddish writer has trodden, and for that matter is still treading, from the days of I. I. Linetsky and Mendele Moicher Sforim to this day.

Yet it would be incorrect to take a stand against the *shtetl* theme, since for better or worse our mode of life, owing to understandable historical causes, became deeply rooted in the fanatical, congealed quiet of the *shtetl*. Even in recent times (before the Hitler-destruction), when Jews had already become part of big city life, when they had seen broader vistas and realized that the sky did not drop at the edge of the village woods and that where the sun sets is not the end of the world (so we children thought) . . . yes, even then, when Jews came to the shores of New York and began to build their lives in the new and for them strange sites, they did not sever the umbilical cord which kept them tied to their birthplace. They tried to quell this nostalgia by weaving patterns of the old life into the new.

Sholem Asch in his *To America* and his *Uncle Moses*, which are very much an extension of the *shtetl* transplanted into giant New York, depicts this for us with deep human insight.

In this way, we remained attached to the *shtetl*, which had swathed itself in a unique Jewish form of existence and kept us attached to it until the last moment of its life. Thus, to abandon the *shtetl* meant, at certain times, refusing to see where the reality of Jewish life lay. Mendele, Sholem Aleichem, I. L. Peretz, Sholem Asch, A. M. Weiss-

enberg, Dovid Bergelson, Abraham Reisen and many others had before them the image of the *shtetl*, to which everything was dedicated and in which everything was reflected. In miniature all that took place in the big city, took place in the *shtetl*. It took longer for changes, for innovations to reach the *shtetl*—but reach it they did—via the "little railroad," via wagon and horse. The new spirit began to permeate the big houses and the small. Rich and poor were in constant conflict.

The New Element in the Ghetto

Because of the revolutionary upsurges in Warsaw, Lodz, etc., the *shtetl* took on a new complexion. The impoverished began to recognize the class enemy—the struggle began. The strike came to the *shtetl*—the shoemaker and journeyman tailor awoke to self-recognition and the "Unity People" began to usher in a new justice—to raise the laboring shoemaker, tailor, carpenter, tanner to a new awareness of his own importance and worth—the right to work, a higher wage, dignity as a human being.

Among the various demands, the following were fought for by the "Unity People":

A master shall not beat a worker or insult him. Thus, the worker, the lowly toiler, ceased to be a downtrodden creature—he became a human being standing up for his rights.

We become aware of these changes in the *shtetl* through the stirringly exemplary portrayals with which Jerome's last chapters are filled. But before the lyrical realist, which V. J. Jerome is, comes to these events, he paints for us almost the entire *shtetl* with all its remarkable qualities in its workaday as well as its Sabbath-holiday garb.

He does this in detail with a brightness that shines through the dark. Through the traditional and the local color, he makes the opportunity of artistically creating a unified whole, an entity with the full unique charm of childhood years, their lucid beauty and chantings of Bible-learning.

Even the *heder* (schoolroom) and the *Rebbe* (teacher), who fawns upon the rich man, as in Dinesohn's *Yossele*, even these take on a different cast in the hands of Jerome. He is intensely social and tears aside the veils. At the same time, as a genuine story teller, Jerome knows how

SHOLEM SHTERN is a distinguished Canadian Jewish writer, poet, educator, critic and a leader of the progressive Jewish cultural movement in Canada. The above is the translation of the first of two articles published in the *Vochenblatt*, Canadian Yiddish weekly. It is here translated from the Yiddish by Belle Sundeen. V. J. Jerome, author of *Lantern for Jeremy*, is now on bail awaiting the outcome of the application for a review by the United States Supreme Court of his conviction, together with his ten Communist colleagues, under the Smith act.

¹ Published by *Masses & Mainstream*, New York, 1952.

deeply a Jewish eight-year-old child is steeped in the *heder*, how from within him sings out the music of the Song of Songs, how the Pentateuch melody suffused its yearning over the schoolroom.

When Rachel died on the way and it was only a short distance to Hebron, yet Jacob buried her along the way . . . the Rebbe's exegesis, the quiet sadness, the dreamy longing for the Messiah are authentically interpreted, lyrically woven into his beautiful imaginative prose.

However, this does not lead our artist-realist astray. His Jeremy is wide-eyed and alert. His Jeremy has been molded by poverty to perceive what is stirring around him. The tanners in the tannery, his aunt, his Uncle Volfke, their life—these are reflected in his life. Their need becomes the lantern, the beacon light of his life, to lead all these suffering loved ones out of the accursed want, out of the gnawing poverty into which they were condemned by the cunning, deceitful Reb Noosns (Reb Noosn—the Laban, the Liar² of the *shtetl*).

What Did He Remember?

V. J. Jerome made it known through his Jeremy, upon his leaving for London, that he would never forget the *shtetl* with its crooked walls and its bent houses—he would remember. But what, whom would he remember? All the working people, whose sufferings, struggles and aspirations enriched and gave meaning to his world in early childhood, by instilling a deep-seated faith in man's efforts for a better life throughout the world.

This is a different kind of nostalgia. One cannot compare it to Sholem Asch's idyllic and almost contrived *shtetl*. One cannot compare it to Peretz's *shtetl-Jews*—the recluses, the scholar-idlers, the Cabbalists, or even the Jokhanan the Water-carriers. [Of course, it should be understood that Mr. Shtern has reference here to one major aspect of Peretz' later work. The pronounced working class aspect of the early Peretz was illustrated, for instance, in his magnificent short story "The Weaver's Love," published in *JEWISH LIFE*, March 1954.]

Peretz built up realities from the occult, the mystical, whereas Jerome gives us the *shtetl* in its most manifest realism. The writer longs—but not for the Yehezkiel Gombiners of Sholem Asch, not for his rich Reb Shloime—but for an Uncle Gavreel, Hershke the Agitator, Pinye All-trades, for Feige and Frimmet, for the revolutionary Feivish, for the non-Jewish Yanek who dies a martyr's death to defend Jews during the pogrom.

To V. J. Jerome, the home in the *shtetl* is not the house of the rich man, around whom the poor are the satellites, as in Bergelson's *Penek*. The home V. J. Jerome depicts is the poor workingman's home of Jeremy's aunt and uncle. He begins at the threshold of the House of Study (prayer-house) and leads up to the East Wall, reserved for the rich, the demonstratively pious ones who offer prayers for

Tsar Nicholas, and act as informers against Jewish youth to have them exiled to Siberia.

This discerning insight into the very core of the impoverished helps creatively to bring out the individualities of these, the salt of the earth, who later take a united stand against the well-fed sanctimonious Reb Noosns.

The new in Jerome's *shtetl* is that it is social throughout, built on the soil of surroundings familiar to us. It is new also in another aspect. While his *shtetl* tells of poverty and brutality, it does not put forward brutality as the weapon of struggle, as does A. M. Weissenberg in his schematically portrayed *shtetl*. Jerome's humor, his portrayal of human beauty, the struggle inspired with so much faith and vision, illumine the story throughout. The array of fighters in their diverse individualities constantly shines through like a lantern on the path before us. This is the new color with which V. J. Jerome has so powerfully and splendidly painted the *shtetl* to its finest detail.

In this high artistic achievement, we have the portrayal not only of a Jewish *shtetl*, but a new image of the *shtetl*. With his rich mature fantasy, he has created a picture of life which is a contribution to Jewish literature. Whole sections literally beg to be translated into Yiddish. They would be jewels in a literary compilation for advanced classes in Yiddish schools.

For the Jewish reader who reads only English, Jerome's book is a window opened upon his parents' yesterdays in the bygone home. For the more advanced Jewish reader, this book is an artistic revelation. Jerome has here appeared as a prose master.

The book is illumined by thought and mood. It is long since I have had occasion to read prose written in such a sad, yet purifying, invigorating mood as in *A Lantern for Jeremy*.

Through sorrow and pain, a hand is stretched out, a hand which points the way with lighted lamp, and the light swallows up the darkness.

IWO "Subversive" Order Cancelled

THE "Communist-front" registration order issued by the Subversive Activities Control Board on January 14, 1954, against the International Workers Order was cancelled by a decision of the United States Court of Appeals in Washington on November 19, 1954. This means that the registration order against the IWO is nullified.

In a statement issued by Jerry Trauber, executive secretary of the IWO Policyholders Committee, on November 26, 1954, he said: "The decision of the United States Court of Appeals is a vindication and victory for the policyholders of the former IWO. . . . The court has thus prevented the mass conviction of over a half-million people in all walks of life, of all ages and all political and social beliefs, on charges of subversion and disloyalty. It is a matter of public record that the history of the liquidation proceedings by the New York Insurance Department against the IWO does not contain any charge or proof that the policyholders of the Order were subversive or had violated any law whatsoever."

² The allusion is to the Biblical Laban, a Jewish folk byword for "deceiver."—Tr.

THE HEROIC PERIOD OF JEWISH LABOR, 1909-1914

By Morris U. Schappes

THE five-year period before the First World War was for the Jewish workers a period of unprecedented mass struggle and radiant mass heroism that won the sympathy of middle class liberal elements and the admiration of the entire American labor movement. Unions that came out of the crisis of 1907-1908 as little more than skin and skeleton quickly took on muscle and flesh as they sparked general strikes of many tens of thousands of workers in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland and other cities. Not only did the strikers wrest from the grinding, grasping employers some form of union recognition and concessions in the matter of filthy shops, unbearably long hours, starvation wages, and the personal indignities heaped upon them by foremen and bosses. The unions also emerged, for the first time, with mass memberships that could hold on to the gains made and prepare for new advances. The United Hebrew Trades of New York in 1910 had 61 unions with 65,000 members; in 1914 it was 104 unions with almost 250,000 members. Between 1910 and 1913, unions in the garment trades increased their membership by 66,000, a 68 per cent increase in these few years, constituting the greatest percentage of growth in the entire labor movement at the time, the American Federation of Labor having grown by only 28 per cent. Only the miners, with a 60 per cent increase, approached this pace.¹

In addition to those in the garment trades, other Jewish workers swung into the strike movement, improved their conditions and established or consolidated unions. The Jewish butchers, who had been getting \$12 to \$18 a month plus room and board in the boss's household, won a scale of \$12 to \$18 a week and the right to live where they pleased. The doll-makers had to strike bitterly to force employers to put in exhausts to draw the sawdust out of the workshops so it would not clog their lungs. The retail clerks, the laundry workers and the tinsmiths won concessions in strike struggles. But it was the Jewish bakers, the most downtrodden of the Jewish workers, who made really decisive gains. They had been working 18 hours a day six days a week for wages of \$8 to \$11 when, led by Local 100 of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers' International

Union, they struck on May 1, 1909 against the smaller bakeries, 1,000 workers participating. After seven weeks, they won a 10-hour day, recognition of the union and the union label, wage raises to \$12 to \$16, and the right of the unemployed to get one night's work a week. At the same time, by having conducted a boycott against the big three among the bakeries, they won from them too the recognition of the union and label. Most important of all, when the strike ended, almost all the bakers were unionized in six locals, with Local 100 itself having 1600 members.²

20,000 Shirt-waist Makers' Strike

Yet it was the garment workers that by their sheer numbers held the center of the stage. The first to erupt were the ladies' shirt-waist makers, 20,000 immigrants, mostly 16 to 25 years old, two-thirds of them Jewish and a couple of thousand Italians, fighting spectacularly from November 22, 1909 to February 15, 1910 against hunger, cold and callous employers who did not hesitate to use strikebreakers, thugs and police to attack the workers. The conditions of employment included 56 hours a week, low wages, charges for the electricity they used at work, the chairs they sat on and the lockers in the shops, filthy work-places, insulting and tyrannical bosses—reasons enough to rouse indignation, militancy and solidarity among these women.

Local 25, the Waistmakers' Local of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, had about 100 members and \$4 in the treasury in July 1909, when the first rumbles of the eruption were heard in a strike of 200 workers in one big shop. Victory here led to other single shop strikes. The United Hebrew Trades assigned a committee to help the local conduct an organizing drive which speedily built the membership to about 1,000. Obviously the workers were aching for action, so that when the fiery little Clara Lemlich, at that historic, packed meeting at Cooper Union on November 22, made her passionate call for a general strike, the avalanche followed. Next day 500 of the 600 shops in the trade were emptied of their workers, and the union leadership was almost overwhelmed by the response.

Mass picketing became the order of the day. Thugs, prostitutes and the police were turned savagely on these

¹ Hertz Burgin, *Di Geschichte fun der Idisher Arbeter Bewegung in Amerika, Russland un England*, New York, 1915, p. 750-754; Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*, New York, 1935, p. 289.

² Burgin, work cited, p. 705-706, 698-699.

young women workers. By December 25th, 723 strikers had been arrested and 19 sent to the workhouse. Two days later the undaunted strikers *turned down* an agreement which made many concessions but which maintained the open shop. By then the strike had spread to Philadelphia, where 12-year-old girl strikers were among the pickets.

Such determination in such a cryingly just cause won for the strikers the support of liberal middle class groups. The Women's Trade Union League, founded in 1904, made its first real contact with the Jewish labor movement in this struggle and gave valuable aid on the picket line, in hostile courtrooms, in raising funds and in molding public opinion. The Political Equality Association, headed by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, arranged a protest meeting at the Hippodrome where over 7,000 persons expressed their sympathy, with Rev. John Howard Melish in the chair. Society women at the Colony Club heard the story of their conditions from girl strikers and contributed \$1,008 to help them. Educators, social workers and writers sent letters to the newspapers in support of the workers. At Carnegie Hall, a rally heard Rev. Stephen S. Wise call for justice for the workers.

The results were not uniform but more than 300 firms settled on the union's terms, which included a 52-hour week, higher wages, and union recognition. And Local 25 emerged with a membership of 10,000.³

Over 50,000 Cloakmakers Strike

The pace, the vigor and the victory of these young women workers stepped up the tempo of the organizing of another general strike of even greater magnitude, this time in the New York cloakmaking trades. Preparations here were slow but thorough. Agitation for a general strike among workers so exploited that half of the 50,000 still had to bring their own sewing machines into the shops had begun in August 1908, under the auspices of the New York Joint Board of Cloak and Skirt Makers Unions, affiliated with the I.L.G.W.U. An appeal by the union to the Workmen's Circle led to a drive within that organization that recruited about 2,000 members of the Workmen's Circle into the union in the spring of 1909. By November 1909, the conservative Cutters' Local 10 was won over to the Joint Board. The inspiration of the Waistmakers' struggle brought the preparations to the final lap. In April 1910, the Joint Board began to issue *Di Neie Post* to build the union for the strike and by June the locals of the Joint Board had about 10,000 members. That month, the Boston national convention of the I.L.G.W.U. endorsed the proposed strike by a vote of 55 to 10, and the A. F. of L. assigned an advisor to the strike. A secret ballot on July 2 and 3 showed 18,771 for striking and 615 against. In response to the special red-paper edition of the *Neie Post* with the strike call on July 7, more than 50,000 workers left

1500 shops in the biggest strike yet seen in New York.

After initial efforts at mediation had failed and 350 small manufacturers had signed the union's agreement in the first three weeks, Louis D. Brandeis was brought into the picture as a mediator. Brandeis had in 1903 advocated the incorporation of unions in a debate with Gompers in Boston. In 1907, as counsel for the Boston cloak and suit manufacturers association, Brandeis had helped break a general strike after four months by obtaining injunctions against the union leaders. Now he appeared as a friend of labor but as an enemy of the closed shop, one of the main union demands. Persuasively he put forward the formula of the "preferential union shop," which would bind the employer to give preference to an available union member in hiring, but also permit him to hire non-union members and retain scabs.⁴ Sensing that this would be a major breach in the protective wall of the closed shop, the workers rejected this compromise. The employers responded with a temporary injunction, which the workers promptly defied by mass picketing, despite the violence and clubbing of the police and the special guards hired by the bosses.

On August 26 another mediation effort brought new compromise appeals to the Executive Board of the General Strike Committee, including the preferential shop, but the following day the militant workers again decisively rejected them. The injunction was then made permanent, the *New York Times* describing it as "the strongest decision ever handed down against labor." When a third set of proposals with new concessions came from the manufacturers on September 2, the Strike Committee, with the support of only 200 hurriedly assembled shop chairmen, finally assented to the first collective bargaining agreement in the industry. The Protocol of Peace, as the agreement was called, won for the workers, after nine weeks of mass struggle, a 50-hour week, ten legal holidays, free electric power installation for the machines, no home work, weekly pay in cash, not checks, limitations on overtime, a joint board of sanitary control to help clean up the filthy shops, a committee on grievances and compulsory arbitration with no strike or lockouts permitted before arbitration, and price settlements to be made in each shop by negotiation. But instead of the closed shop there was the "preferential union shop." Furthermore, unlike the usual collective bargaining agreement, this Protocol had no time limit; it could run indefinitely but could be terminated by either side at will, and was in fact so ended by the manufacturers in 1915.

Again the most important of the victories was that the union emerged with tremendous strength, and by January 1912 had over 50,000 members in New York, and contracts with 1796 of 1829 shops in the area. Mass struggle and

³ Louis Levine, *The Women's Garment Workers*, New York, 1924, Ch. 21; *New York Times*, December 4, 1909; [F. E. Sheldon], *Souvenir History of the Strike of the Ladies Waist Makers' Union*, New York, 1910, p. 7; Fannia M. Cohn, "Uprising of Dressmakers," *American Federationist*, November 1929, p. 1324-1327; William Mailly, "The Working Girls' Strike," *Independent*, November 23, 1909, p. 1419; Burgin, work cited, p. 699n; "Clara Lemlich Shavelson," by Paula Scheier, *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1954, p. 7-9.

⁴ Brandeis, of course, did not invent the "preferential union shop," which had been put forward even as a union demand in the 1892 strike of the A. F. of L. teamsters, scalemen and packers in New Orleans (Philip S. Foner, "The Early AFL and the Negro," *Looking Forward*, New York, 1954, p. 47-50). When the A. F. of L. was weak and fighting against the open-shop drive, it put forward the preferential union shop as a step toward the closed shop; by 1910, when the closed shop had been won in many places, the preferential union shop marked a retreat.



"THE TURNING POINT": A panorama of the garment industry, 1909-1911

Painting by Philip Reisman

The left side of this panel portrays the conditions that new immigrants were confronted with, contrary to the promise symbolized by the Statue of Liberty—"A haven of freedom, where all can pursue the good life." Instead, the prevailing conditions were for them a life dogged by child labor, sweatshops, home-work, starvation wages and bad housing.

The center of the panel is dominated by the "Turning Point"—that historic meeting at Cooper Union in New York City, on November 22, 1909 which, sparked by young Clara

Lemlich (the "Joan of Arc of the garment workers"), voted a general strike and took the Hebrew oath as portrayed, "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise."

The right portion shows the strike movement which followed, with an indication of the tragic Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire of 1911 in the background. This general strike won wide public support and was a great victory, firmly establishing trade unionism in the needle trades.—Philip Reisman.

militancy had again led to stability and a mass union.⁵

Over 40,000 Workers Strike in Chicago

Inspired by these two great strikes in New York, the men's clothing workers of Chicago began to stir, first in Hart, Schaffner and Marx's factory, the world's largest, with over 8,000 workers, and then in the industry as a whole, until more than 40,000 were involved. The walk-out began because of a wage-cut in one department at Hart, Schaffner and Marx on September 22, 1910, tied up that factory completely by October 15, and became a general strike on October 27, spurred on by calls for such action by the *Chicago Daily Socialist*. The local leadership of the United Garment Workers of America (A. F. of L.) appealed for aid to the national officers, headed by the ultra-conservative Thomas E. Rickert. When Rickert appeared in Chicago, he proposed to the workers that they return

to work without union recognition and on the promise of Hart, Schaffner and Marx to consider their grievances. The workers rejected such an agreement, and two days later the general strike was on.

On November 5 the agreeable Rickert reached an agreement with Hart, Schaffner and Marx for arbitration of all issues without union recognition. Again the workers rejected the proposal, so angrily that Rickert had to get out of the hall quickly by a back door. Now the strikers appealed to the Chicago Federation of Labor for leadership and a Joint Strike Committee was set up with representation from the U.G.W., the C.F.L., the Women's Trade Union League, and the non-unionized tailors. Despite mounting violence against them (the final score was 374 strikers arrested and seven killed), the workers on December 8 again rejected an agreement that would have sent them back without union recognition or any other guarantees. It took another five weeks of hunger, cold, and violence before the workers at Hart, Schaffner and Marx on January 14, 1911 reluctantly agreed to go back to work and

⁵ Levine, work cited, chapter 22 and p. 128, 204, 205-6; *American Federationist*, February 1903, p. 103-4; Julius Henry Cohen, *Law and Order in Industry*, New York, 1916, p. 243-248 for text of Protocol; Isaac A. Hourwich, "Termination of the 'Protocol,'" *New Review*, June 15, 1915, p. 76-79.

refer all issues to an arbitration committee.

What of the other 30,000 strikers? They maintained their ranks solidly until on February 3, as Perlman and Taft describe it, "the strike was summarily ended by the leaders of the United Garment Workers of America, without consultation with the local leaders and the co-operating labor groups, sending these workers back to work without any guarantees whatever."

The 23-year-old Sidney Hillman, who with Frank Rosenblum, Bessie Abramowitz (the later Mrs. Hillman) and Sam Levin had risen to leadership among the workers during the strike, recorded that the great majority "were forced to return to their old miserable conditions, through the back door; and happy were those who were taken back. Many . . . were victimized for months afterwards. . . ."

Thus the Chicago workers learned bitterly what national misleadership was. Nevertheless at Hart, Schaffner and Marx 8,000 workers did because of their proved militancy, win from the arbitrators a ten per cent wage increase, a 54-hour week, time and a half for overtime, and a grievance mechanism and arbitration apparatus. When in 1913 the agreement was renewed, it recognized the preferential union shop.

In this general strike the solidarity of the workers, mostly Jewish but with large numbers of Italians, Poles, Lithuanians and Czechs, did not then produce a powerful union, but it helped lay the base for the emergence of such a union in December 1914, when, as we shall see, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers replaces the U.G.W. as the organization of men's clothing workers.⁶

While the victories and the struggles of that past year were still glowing in their memories, the workers were suddenly dealt a gruesome blow. One of the centers of the shirtwaist makers' strike had been the Triangle Waist Company, employing over 700 workers at its factory on Greene Street and Washington Place in New York. To keep workers from marching out in protest and to curb stealing, the bosses, Harris and Blanck, kept the factory doors locked during working hours and ignored the union's demands for fire escapes. Thus when fire struck on March 25, 1911, the 700 girls, women and men in the Triangle shop were locked in and trapped. The dead numbered 143, the injured were unnumbered, the horror flared high and anguish and indignation roared out over the blood and ashes of Jews and Italians, of exploited workers, sacrificed on the altar of profit. At a funeral procession on April 5, in a heavy rain 50,000 marched in ominous silence, hushed in the solidarity of pain, grief and hatred. The image of the Triangle Fire cut deeply into the Yiddish literature of the period and helped fix it indelibly in the people's memory.

The next major battle was fought by the New York furriers. We have seen that the failure of the national union to organize the Jewish furriers had led to the collapse of that union and to the surrender of its charter early in 1911. At that juncture, however, the United Hebrew

Trades initiated an organizing drive that by the spring of 1912 had brought 3,000 of the 10,000 in the industry into three locals and that led to preparations for a general strike. Having affiliated with the A. F. of L. as federal locals on the advice of the U.H.T., and knowing from a strike vote of 2,135 to 364 that the workers were ready, the fur locals launched the general strike on June 20, 1912. In a few days there were 8,500 workers out, three-fourths of them Jewish. When 1,000 German workers joined the strike on July 23, the strike was solid. The employers let loose gangsters against the workers and the police protected the strikebreakers. Although the number of workers involved in this strike was comparatively small, the arrests numbered over 800 strikers, 54 getting workhouse sentences and 215 suffering serious injuries at the hands and knives of the thugs. But the strike-lines held fast and on August 20 the bosses agreed to begin negotiations with Rabbi Judah L. Magnes acting as conciliator. The victory for the workers was recorded in a two-year agreement reached on September 8 which provided for these main points: a 49 instead of a 56-hour week with a half-day only on Saturdays, ten paid legal holidays, time and a half for overtime in the busy season, a joint sanitary committee, no homework and wages to be paid weekly and in cash. This was the first collective agreement in an industry in which there was not even a national union, for the A. F. of L. charter to the International Fur Workers of the United States and Canada was not issued until July 1, 1913. With the New York furriers organized, a stable union was now possible.⁷

Greatest Strike of All—100,000 Out

But the greatest of all these struggles was the New York general strike of over 100,000 workers in the men's clothing industry in the winter of 1912-1913. Unorganized because of the indifference of the bureaucrats of the United Garment Workers, these workers had worse conditions than any others in the garment trades. While the cost of living was rising in the last five years, their wages had fallen. They were ready to fight and the lessons of the waistmakers, the cloakmakers and the furriers were not lost on them. In the fall of 1912, with the aid of the United Hebrew Trades, a campaign to build the small local union was begun, accompanied by agitation for a general strike. When it was announced that only union members would be able to vote for or against a general strike, they poured into the union in the tens of thousands. Five days of balloting from December 18 to 22, 1912 showed 35,786 for the strike and 2,322 against it. When the strike began on December 30, some 75,000 turned out that day and by the end of the first week there were more than 100,000 workers on strike, 35,000 of them women. Next to the majority of Jewish workers, there were many thousands of Italians, as well as Poles, Russians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Greeks, Germans, Czechs and others.

⁶ Perlman and Taft, work cited, p. 304-309; Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor*, Garden City, N. Y., 1952, p. 41-57.

⁷ Philip S. Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, Newark, N. J., 1950, p. 39-51; *Jewish Daily Forward*, January 1, 1913.

The Italian workers seemed to be the surprise of this mass action. The heroism of the Jewish workers had already been writ large. Now the Italian workers, men and women, were to show their caliber. "The vitality of the Italian workers," reported the *Jewish Daily Forward* on January 6, "was wonderful, their energy is simply incredible, their devotion exceeds everything." Two days before it had described a parade of 1,000 workers in Skolnik's children's jacket factory to their strike headquarters, marching two in a row. "Here there went arm in arm an old Jew with a young Italian. A little farther on there marched an old Italian worker, gesticulating to the young Jewish worker who was his partner in the line. . . ." The *Forward* on January 11 enjoined the Jewish workers not to "fall behind their Italian brothers" in militancy. But all the nationalities as well as the women fought as for their very lives for demands which included a 20 per cent increase, a 48-hour week, extra pay for overtime, electric power for their machines and the abolition of tenement house work. An offer of a 56-hour week and about \$1 week increase was overwhelmingly rejected by a strikers' ballot on January 27, 1913.

As individual firms began to settle, President Rickert of the U.G.W. stepped into the situation. The strike had been led by a committee headed by Max Pine of the U.H.T. and Ben Schweitzer of the U.G.W. But Rickert, as in Chicago, disregarded the strike leadership and the workers and signed an agreement that one of the participating locals described aptly as "a treacherous settlement . . . a shame and an insult. . . ." At this point the *Jewish Daily Forward*, which had helped mobilize and inspire the workers for the strike, suddenly lined up with Rickert and urged them to accept his settlement. The result was that on March 1, 1913 thousands of workers marched in wrath down to the Forward Building and smashed all its windows. Holding their ranks, the workers maintained their strike. On March 12, 1913 they reached an agreement that brought them union recognition, a 52-hour week by 1914 and small wage increases.

Overshadowed by this gigantic struggle but still important were two general strikes easily won in New York by 15,000 whitegoods (underwear) workers who walked out on January 8 and 25,000 waist and dress makers who struck on January 14. For a few days at this time there were about 150,000 garment workers out on strike in this city. Supporting men's clothing workers' strikes also broke out in Rochester, Buffalo and Philadelphia.

Results of the Strike Struggles

The result of the major struggle was decisive in many ways. The New York locals came out of the strike so strong and so militant that Rickert rapidly maneuvered to find ways of excluding their delegates from the next national convention even though they represented already a majority of the total membership. The excluded majority reformed its ranks and with other locals in the big clothing

centers, including Chicago, formed in December 1914 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Since Gompers sided with Rickert, the Amalgamated remained an independent, unaffiliated union. And since the workers long remembered the support the *Forward* gave to Rickert's proposal, the relations of the new union with the *Forward* were anything but cordial.⁸

The role of the *Forward* in this period was complex. The huge immigration created a mass audience that it cultivated and won. Its circulation grew rapidly: in May 1908, it had 72,353 sales, in May 1909 it had risen to 83,474, and in October 1912 it had leaped to 130,462. In all the New York strikes mentioned it played a powerful part as agitator, organizer, fund-raiser and morale-builder. Yet in a situation like the Rickert betrayal of the men's clothing workers' strike the *Forward* could not be depended upon to give bold leadership to the workers. Actually, the prosperity of the *Forward*, built both on circulation and on large advertising revenues, had made the *Forward*, with the willful Abraham Cahan as editor, independent of the workers and a power over them. This menacing role of the *Forward* is excellently expressed in a letter written by Abraham Rosenberg, president of the I.L.G.W.U., to a former trade-unionist and friend, Joseph Barondess, on August 1, 1912. Discussing a private matter, this union president writes to his comrade-in-arms of the general strike of 1890: "You must not forget the position I am in. The *Forward* people and the genossen [comrades] are practically controlling the trade unions, whether we approve of it or not. The moment they become aware of the fact that some union leader does not dance in accordance with their bagpipe, they are bound to destroy the organization, this party represents, you know it as well as I do. . . ." Thus in 1912 one can see the dual role of the *Forward* as organizer and disorganizer.⁹

In this heroic period, then, the Jewish workers turned the shells of unions into mass movements through their courageous, determined mass struggles. It was this militancy that decided what gains were to be made around negotiating tables and in conferences. Women as well as men, young workers as well as adults were involved in these examples of mass heroism. Jewish workers also learned the heroic qualities of non-Jewish workers with whom they participated in joint struggles. But in this period many of the workers also learned another lesson: that there was a type of union leader, of whom a Rickert was a prime example, who could not be trusted to organize, to lead or to fight, and that the rank and file would have to learn how to cope with such figures in the trade union and labor movement. The workers did not forget how often they had been compelled to reject agreements favored by their leaders and how often they had pressed on to new gains despite these officials. This opportunism in such leadership was going to become a major factor as they faced new problems born of the First World War.

⁸ Perlman and Taft, work cited, p. 309-315; *Jewish Daily Forward*, Nov. 30, Dec. 15, 24, 30, 1912; Jan. 1, 9, 10, 15, 28, 29, 1913.

⁹ Burgin, work cited, p. 634; *Jewish Daily Forward*, October 1, 1912; Barondess Papers, New York Public Library, Carton 2, Folder: Labor Affairs.

THE "OFF-BROADWAY" SEASON

By Nathaniel Buchwald

The term "off-Broadway" has come to mean not only stage productions outside the theatrical district, but also the kind of plays that are off the beaten path and are not suited for the market place of "entertainment." The term connotes serious creative effort and a cultural rather than commercial approach to the theater. In a derogatory sense, "off-Broadway" suggests cramped or shabby quarters, a makeshift stage, inferior acting and non-professional standards all around. In some cases this is unfortunately true but by and large the level of craftsmanship off-Broadway is high and the very limitations of the sub-standard stage frequently give rise to stimulating experimentation and invention.

One cannot, of course, generalize about the caliber and cultural value of the off-Broadway theater except in the sense that the modest and frequently nominal prices of admission make theater-going accessible to those who cannot afford Broadway prices.

A survey of the off-Broadway production in the current theater season reveals a variety of plays and stage experimentation. By the time this appears in print, some of these will be off the boards and relegated to the limbo of valiant effort. But since this survey is not concerned with *reclame*, a few observations on some of the off-Broadway presentations—whether they are still playing or not—are in order.

Understandably, this writer has been interested in Jewish plays or plays on Jewish themes performed in English. The language is in itself a "dramatic" element, for there are those who think that the proper language medium for Jewish plays is Yiddish and that any presentation of a Jewish play in English, however, meritorious, as, for instance, *The World of Sholem Aleichem*, tends to undermine the Yiddish theater and to encourage the flight from Yiddish. To which the English speaking zealots of Jewish culture reply vehemently that the richness of the Jewish drama should not be hidden under the bushel of Yiddish, a language that is used and lived by a sizable but shrinking minority of American Jews.

"The Dybbuk" is, no doubt, the most outstanding Jewish play not only in the current season off-Broadway, but also in the repertory of the Jewish theater—Yiddish or Hebrew. Its appeal has been world-wide, as witness its presentation in

many languages, including Bulgarian and Japanese. Steeped in Jewish folklore and imbued with a spirit of reverence for the superstition about the "dybbuk," the soul of the dead that finds abode in the body of the living, this remarkable drama by S. Anski has been at once the pride and the despair of Jewish intellectuals. *The Dybbuk* has been hailed as one of the great poetic dramas of thwarted love and denounced as one of the most reactionary glorifications of dark superstition and mediaeval religiosity. Thirty-four years after its first presentation in Warsaw, as a memorial to its author, the Anski drama occupies an undisputed place among the great works of dramatic literature. Even its most severe critics of former years have made peace with *The Dybbuk*, recognizing the validity of its central theme as a conflict between rich and poor.

The virtue of *The Dybbuk* revival at the Fourth Street Theater under the direction of David Rose is that the essential values of the play reach the audience despite the inadequate production upon a woefully inadequate stage. Lacking style and integration of the various theatrical elements, the performance took on luster when Morris Carnovsky assumed the part of the tortured and anguished Rabbi Azrael, who is called upon to perform the awesome ritual of exorcising the dybbuk, the soul of Channon who entered the body of his beloved Leah. Acted by a group of devoted players, the Ansky play suffers from a kind of stage-anemia due to the limited cast and physical equipment and displays a lack of understanding on the part of the producer of the social values and overtones of the drama. Yet it has been a notable contribution to the theater season and a testimonial to the richness of the Jewish drama.

Less pretentious but vibrant with the Jewish drama of our own times is the modest production of *Sands of the Negev* at the tiny President Theater. Though acted in the midst of the Broadway mart, this melodrama by the Israeli writer Yigal Mossensohn is "off-Broadway" in its theme, its fervid spirit of dedication to a cause and its special appeal to Jewish audiences. Unfortunately, the great drama of Jewish heroism enacted on the field of battle by the valiant Israeli patriots, such as the fabulous bands of the Palmach, in defense of their newly gained independence, has been changed into the small coin of a contrived melodrama with obvious

dramatic situations and with offensive overtones of reactionary Jewish nationalism. The performance of *Sands of the Negev* acquires distinction thanks to the superb acting by Celia Adler with Gregory Morton as a close runner-up. What the play lacks in dramatic quality and in social authenticity is supplied by the responsive Jewish audiences who read into it their own content. It is perhaps this element of identification of the audience with the play that makes *Sands of the Negev* an outstanding event in the theater.

Without regretting it too much, this reviewer was denied an opportunity to see *A Stone for Danny Fisher* at the Downtown National Theater. The producers of this play by Leonard Kantor based on Harold Robbins' novel of the same name, are veterans of the Yiddish stage but they saw fit to snub the Yiddish press. The reviewer of *The Day*, who got to see the show on his own, was outraged by *A Stone for Danny Fisher*, denouncing its "tendency to seek out and accent precisely the hideous, the bad, the repellant aspects, the *refuse* of Jewish life" that can only fill the younger Jewish generation in this country with contempt for their background. We have a sneaking suspicion that the reviewer of *The Day* took the proper measure of this gangster melodrama, in which Zero Mostel, among others, has reportedly turned in a distinguished performance.

The quick demise of the revived *Abie's Irish Rose* is all to the good. Are Broadway audiences growing up?

Space limitations do not permit a full review of the most distinguished off-Broadway offering of the season, *Sandhog*, at the Phoenix Theater. Barring Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, which was, incidentally, given a competent production this season by the Hunter College Theater Workshop, it is perhaps the best thing that has happened to the American theater in many years. To class *Sandhog* as a "musical" and to compare it to other "musicals" is to do it grave injustice. The joint work of Earl Robinson, Waldo Salt and Howard da Silva, *Sandhog* is an unbelievably beautiful and powerful dramatic spectacle built upon a vital social theme. The "hero" of the drama is the sandhog, the tunnel-digger. The great dramatic conflict is the conflict between working in the tunnel under constant threat of disaster and not working in the tunnel, with the resultant starvation and misery. Some of the scenes are breath-taking in their dramatic power or *milieu*-portrayal or both. It is beside the point whether Earl Robinson's score can stand up as "music" outside the play. The fact is that the music is organically fused with the play and endows it with a magnificent elo-

NEW GROPPER SHOW

By Sidney Finkelstein

A show of new art by Wiliam Gropper is always a cause for celebrating. For three decades he has been a courageous cartoonist in the tradition of Daumier, Thomas Nast, Art Young and Robert Minor. Moving into the realm of water color and oils, he has been a stimulating force among painters, in the direction of a critical and understanding view of American life, including its politics. He has the qualities necessary for a great pictorial satirist. They are a love for the working people, a gusty humor which blows away the flimsy garments of respectability in which the forces of self-centeredness and human exploitation like to clothe themselves; a line which is always strong and alive in its delineation of character and movement.

Gropper's show at the A.C.A. gallery in New York (November 8 to 27, 1954) included 20 recent paintings and a number of water colors and drawings. Only one painting is reminiscent of his famous political cartoons, "His Honor," a masterful little pin-pricking of pomp. The other paintings fall into groups, each approaching a different area of life. One group takes up the Jewish "old country" tradition. Most impressive of these is a large

painting, "Talmudic Student." The face is sensitively drawn, and together, with the thin, expressive hands and body, it brings out movingly the asceticism, pathos and sense of dedication of the talmudist's life. The color is extremely rich and somber. "The Old Horse" has the whimsical quality of Mendele Moicher Sforim's story of the same name—a village scene dominated by a horse led by a peddler who might himself be the subject of the title.

A group of paintings takes up the life of the Jewish working people in the garment industry. These works, including "Little Tailor," "The Cutter," "The Fitting," have the deep feeling of many of Gropper's old drawings for the *Morning Freiheit*, the line sympathetic and yet unsparing in its depiction of the oppressiveness of life in the sweatshops and small tailor shops. In another mood, and completely lovable, is a larger painting, "Halloween." It portrays three children in grinning Halloween masks, with both a rollicking laughter and a tender feeling for these ragged children of the slums.

One group of paintings, "Wine Country," "The Harvest," "Peasants," raises problems. It deals with peasant life in

Eastern Europe. The drawing is always alive but the bright and heavily laid-on color, with no relation to nature, comes into conflict with the subject. In this writer's opinion, such themes, of people working the land and building a new life, demand a technique of painting that captures the beauty of the land itself, as the people see it. The most touching of this series is "Ruins," showing people going off to work against a background of the havoc of war. Doubtful successes, in this writer's opinion, are some of Gropper's water colors of stage life, such as "Chorines." Gropper catches the tinsel display of New York stage life, but could be a little more tender, I think, to the people themselves, who after all are human.

From the show as a whole one carries away a feeling of an artist with a keen eye, a thinking mind, and an invigorating sense of real life, at the opposite extreme from the formalist refuge in which a number of artists of our time have buried themselves. Gropper is sometimes too uncritical of his own work. His color is not as strong as his drawing, and if not developed further in a realistic direction, it will give him increasing trouble, as he takes up deeper themes of the relations of human beings to each other and to nature. But these days it is wonderful to know that painting such as Gropper's is being done, with its thinking that is always social, and its outbursts of laughter that shrivel the hypocrites of our time down to the little people they are.

quence. One cannot tell where the poetry and folklore of Waldo Salt's lines end and Earl Robinson's melodies and chants begin. Howard Da Silva, the director, saw to it that the two elements were welded into an inseparable whole. Which also goes for Sophie Maslow's dances of street urchins. As to Howard Bay's set, this gifted stage designer has provided a marvelous frame for marvelous drama.

Yet, many a spectator has left the Phoenix Theater in a mood of disappointment. Precisely because the material is so dramatic and its treatment so captivating, one would expect a great finish, an epic climax commensurable with the epic theme. But the spectacle fizzles out and degenerates into a stock "happy ending" of a stock "musical." This is a pity. *Sandhog* has all the marks of greater theater in its various scenes, but they don't add up. Here is a case where the whole is less than the sum total of its parts.

William Branch's *In Splendid Error* has been very impressive at the Greenwich News Theater. The young Negro playwright is tremendously effective in his galvanic dialogue and manages to evoke

great intellectual excitement from what is essentially a debate of ideas. The protagonists of the drama are Frederick Douglass and John Brown. The dramatic conflict—as fashioned by Mr. Branch—is between John Brown's call to daring action in the cause of Abolition and Douglass's prudence and caution. Upon the glorious failure of John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, Douglass is tortured by remorse for having opposed the Old Man instead of joining with him. The play begins giving off dramatic sparks only toward the end when Douglass redeems his tragic mistake, according to the dramatist, by entering anew the struggle against slavery.

Impressive as the play is, this reviewer was even more impressed by the searching analysis of Herbert Aptheker, the noted Marxian student of Negro history. In the November issue of *Masses and Mainstream*, Mr. Aptheker points out the basic flaw in William Branch's drama: it simply is not true to history. The conflict between Douglass and Brown has been manipulated, so to speak. While it is true that the views of the two, as presented in the play, reflected a tactical difference in the Abolitionist camp, Frederick Doug-

lass was not the ideological opposite of John Brown. His portrait of much less than a hero serves well the purposes of Mr. Branch's drama but it does not serve the historic truth and tends to tarnish the glorious name and tradition of Douglass.

This is a great pity, for William Branch has written an exciting play that has a bearing not only upon the past but also on the present and the future.

In a generally good and dedicated performance, William Marshall, as Douglass, towers head and shoulders above the rest of the cast. Finicky spectators may complain, in the spirit of the Yiddish folksaying, that "the bride is too beautiful." Mr. Marshall is too perfect in his consummate elocution, in his plastic rhythms, in his immaculate mien and gesture. But don't let that bother you, for over and above this masterly craftsmanship there is fine perception of character and dramatic values. Howard Wierum, Clarice Taylor and Charles Harrigan stand out in a fine cast.

This cursory survey by no means exhausts the content of the off-Broadway theater, which is more and more becoming an antidote to Broadway.

Book Reviews

TWO JEWISH HISTORICAL NOVELS

By Morris U. Schappes

Dan'l Boone Kissed Me, by Felix Holt. Dutton, New York. \$3.

The Commodore, by Robert D. Abrahams, illustrated by Albert Gold. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia. \$2.75.

It is ironic that *Dan'l Boone Kissed Me*, the novel whose connection with the Tercentenary is only coincidental, should be a more interesting contribution to that anniversary than the one published intentionally for the celebration. Felix Holt, who is not Jewish, in exploring the folklore of his native southwesternmost part of Kentucky, comes up with a work that illuminates with many flashes the concepts of the Jew imbedded in the folk-mind of that Kentucky countryside of over a century ago. But Robert D. Abrahams, a Jewish lawyer whose unskilled avocation is to try to educate Jewish youth to be "good Jews" by writing historical fiction for it, takes an excellent and exciting subject and, through lack of competence as writer and story-teller, squanders the opportunity.

In Holt's folk-novel the Jew is by no means the main figure; he is in fact nameless and appears even passively only very late in this short book, but yet the Jew is the hub around which the whole work revolves. When in November 1845 the Jew came to Calvary, the county seat of this slice of the "Bible belt" in Kentucky, all the country folk were agog. They had seen a foot-washer, a revivalist preacher who incited ecstatic women to wash his feet in the river and dry it with their hair. They had seen a head-feeler, a phrenologist who told the credulous crowd that no grass would grow where a Jew came—and one fellow took this remark so literally he cunningly bought up all the hay in the area to hold it for speculative prices when the grass stopped growing. But a Jew they had not seen.

Opinions about Jews are divided among those who have not seen them. One preacher explains that the phrenologist lied: it was not that grass stopped growing when Jews came, but that the Jew, persecuted and looted, "let the grass and the flowers and the trees die in his yard, hoping in his heart that when the mobs came past his home they would say *A pauper lives here*, and pass him by." There are those who know only the Jews of the

Bible-tales and hold them responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. But to Wheelock, the merchant who buys up all the tobacco crops in the region, the Jew was a good omen, for "a Jew never comes to a dying town . . . a lot of towns have started up. Some of them petered out quick and most of the others are no more than wide places in the road now. Paducah and Hickman didn't amount to a hill of beans until the Jews come in and set up business. Now we've got a Jew in Calvary and I see it as a good sign."

The folk-humor and the Kentucky folk-idiom that helped sell a million copies of Holt's earlier novel, *The Gabriel Horn*, are here a-plenty. His style is close to his people, pungent as the tobacco they grow. The impending Mexican War is on the horizon, and we get the sense of the country people's fear of the war. Holt elevates into the foreground the political conflict between the independent tobacco-growing democracy and "those aristocrats from the Bluegrass" who sit in the legislature. The main issue is the need for a public school. And Wheelock, now that a Jew has come to town and thus brightened the prospect, decides that a local candidate must be run to represent the people in the area. To fight the aristocrats of Lexington (the main tobacco market in the state), the tobacco planters and merchants need to win the support of what they call the "riffraff," the poor farmers, tenants and croppers. And in very human terms Holt shows how this coalition forms.

Talk of the crucifixion leads to a scene of memorable horror. In school, a boy botanist describes the crucifixion, using the Passion flower as a visual aid and

not mentioning that Jesus was a Jew nor that he had allegedly been killed by Jews. After the lesson, the schoolboys find a lunch-box is missing. They capture the two hungry boys who had taken it and hang them by the wrists to two trees. When the young botanist intervenes, the boys mob him and begin to crucify him between the two boy thieves. But the schoolmaster finally arrives to stop the horror. Ironically the author notes that blamed for this blind passion is the fact that the Jew has come to Calvary!

The title of the book, incidentally, derives from the unfading memory but wandering mind of a senile Granny, whom Boone had kissed in her youth; to her, Boone is a Jew, and the Jew who has come to Calvary, she is certain, is Daniel Boone. The scene in which they meet is full of tenderness and pathos—for both.

It should be noted that there is sound historical basis for Holt's novel. As early as 1774 the Gratzes of Philadelphia had large holdings in Kentucky, and in 1818 Benjamin Gratz settled in Lexington and became a leading citizen and a friend of Henry Clay. Abraham Jonas of Williamstown, Ky., sat in the State Legislature

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1828-1830 and 1833, and in that year became Grand Master of the Masons in that state. In 1844, when Henry Clay contested the Presidency with James L. Polk, opponents of Clay in Louisville spread anti-Semitic stories about him because of his known connections with the Gratzes. And as for Daniel Boone, in 1781 he undertook to stake out a 5,000 acre claim for two Jewish merchants in Richmond, Va. However, it may be that Holt did not know this history and that he obtained his material from the oral lore of the region of his birth.

It is a pity that Felix Holt died a week after this book appeared. He had begun to mine rich lore. He will be remembered not for the Lone Ranger series that he originated but for these two very human novels about the Kentucky countryside he knew in his youth.

Robert D. Abrahams' book has a worthy subject, the adventurous life of Uriah P. Levy, captain and commodore of the United States Navy. This choice is noteworthy because Mr. Abrahams' first book for young readers strangely sought to make a hero out of the slave-owning Confederate statesman and leader, Judah P. Benjamin. (See this writer's review in *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1948.) Levy, however, is unfortunate in the fact that thus far the persons he has inspired to write about him are not writers. In 1951 a Detroit lawyer privately published a fictional biography entitled *End of the Rawhide* (see review in *JEWISH LIFE*, June 1952). Now a Philadelphia lawyer tries his hand and produces something for young readers which is even duller than his Detroit colleague's effort.

Yet the career of Uriah Phillips Levy (1792-1862) was, to say the least, exciting. Levy fought the elements as a seaman, he fought the British in 1812, he fought snobbishness and nasty anti-Semitism in the Navy, he fought the barbarous Naval practice of flogging, he fought slave-traders in the Caribbean, he fought bureaucracy and prejudice for decades; in short, he was a fighter. And out of such a figure Mr. Abrahams produces something plodding and fleshless. It is also unhistorically preachy, exaggerating Levy's piety and religiosity in such a way as to make even the youthful reader turn away from the obvious moralizing.

Mr. Abrahams is also given to stereotypes, some of which are offensive. Thus we are assured that of Levy "there was nevertheless something Oriental in his appearance" although the painting on the jacket contradicts this "racial" observation. More important is Mr. Abrahams' image of Savannah, Georgia, "where the darkies sang sweetly in the nighttime,"

and of "the smiling faces of the Negroes" of the Virgin Islands.

Yet perhaps these two vain efforts to present Levy to the audience he deserves

will attract the story-teller who will do it vividly for young readers or the novelist or biographer who would do it in full dimension for the adult.

THE GREAT LAWRENCE STRIKE

By Ben Field

Mill Town, by Bill Cahn. Cameron & Kahn, New York. \$1.50.

From the very beginning the Jews battled against great odds to secure their living and their liberties in America. This was particularly true of the Jewish workers. They made up for their lack in numbers, however, by their militancy and their doggedness.

It was no accident that two of the most outspoken Jews among the 23 who settled in New Amsterdam 300 years ago were manual laborers. You get a rich feeling of the kind of stuff they were made of in Schappes' *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*.

Jacob Barsimson and Asser Levy were men of courage who in demanding their rights to stand guard or be freed of paying taxes gave the anti-Semitic, wooden-legged and wooden-headed Peter Stuyvesant a hard time. There was another Levy, a shoemaker, who shortly before the Revolutionary War ran for constable in New York; disqualified because he was neither freeman nor freeholder, he ran again and was promptly re-elected at a special election. So great was his popularity that he was elected constable for three other terms.

This courage, this persistence and endurance typified the tens of thousands of Jewish immigrants who helped put the main gears into American industry. In observing the tercentenary of the first Jewish settlement in our country, we have an opportunity to study Jewish labor's share in its growth. Here Bill Cahn's *Mill Town* is a positive contribution.

The heart of Cahn's *Mill Town* is the story of the textile strike that took place in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912. This is one of the great strikes in our history. Men and women and children of about 20 nationalities participated in it. Prominent in their ranks were Jews.

The strike started when the state legislature passed a law reducing the working hours in the mills for women and minors from 56 to 54 hours a week. The American Woolen Company, the largest textile company in the world, ordered an immediate wage cut. The answer of 25,000 workers was strike.

Bill Cahn writes: "Leaderless, the men, women, and children milled through the streets. It was midwinter with below-freezing temperature. When the workers sought to set up a picket line in front of a plant, the company sprayed them with freezing cold water. . . . When angry women strikers met a policeman on a bridge, they stripped him of his uniform and were about to throw him into the canal when he escaped." The militia was called out, the first time in the history of Massachusetts.

The workers were presumably organized into the Textile Workers of America, headed by John Golden. When it faltered, the I.W.W. swung into action. It set up picket lines of 6,000 around the plants, formulated strike demands, called for the election of committees, translated reports to the workers daily in a dozen languages. It was a masterfully organized strike, democratically run, operating with the precision of a machine, its strategy and tactics models to be studied to good purposes and taken to heart by American labor.

The strike lasted 65 days. Terror, the shooting down cold-bloodedly of a textile worker, the bayoneting to death of a 16-year-old-boy, attacks on pregnant women strikers and their children, provocations of all sorts including the planting of dynamite, the frame-up and arrest of strike leaders Ettor and Giovanitti, nothing could break the spirit of the workers, the majority of whom still had the milk of the old country on their lips.

As the determination of these men and women hardened, the country learned who the master criminals really were. Scores of trade unions came to their help: the American working class was aroused. Intellectuals like the novelist William D. Howells, Helen Keller, Vida Scudder, professor at Wellesley College, who died at 92 a few months ago, and many others sided with the strikers. Leading newspapers and magazines gave the workers' side of the struggle. Congressional hearings were held. And it was discovered that the man behind the planting of the dynamite was none other than the president of the company himself.

Such is the story Bill Cahn has written in *Mill Town* which is fast becoming a best seller. For here we have something new in labor reporting for which Cahn's experiences as a newsman and co-author of a lively book about Eugene Debs qualified him. He tells his story chiefly with photos, photostats, old prints, and he does it so expertly and vividly that from the first page to the last the reader is caught and held fast.

Furthermore Cahn does not limit himself to his account of the strike. He breaks the corners for us and brings us right down to the present. He shows us how Lawrence has become a ghost town, the mills dumping their workers and skedaddling off to the South where labor is cheap. He binds the fight against the runaway shops with the battle against McCarthyism. The parallels are clearly drawn by him between what occurred then and episodes of the struggle now: the failure of oldtime labor leaders to do a job and the stepping into the breach of the leaders of the left, the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Bill Haywoods, Ettor and Giovanitti; the use of the Fifth Amendment by Bill Haywood in his refusal to disclose his political views in court; the role of the intellectuals, a far happier one than the role played by so many intellectuals in our country who have turned against the people and have become lads in fleshpots.

Though the scope of *Mill Town* does not permit Cahn to do more than mention the various nationalities among the strikers, his book opens a great door to them, especially to the Jewish workers. Let the reader but open a copy of the hearings held before the Committee on Rules of the House of Representatives of March 2 to March 7, 1912.

There we can meet some of the Jewish figures in the strike who could not be mentioned by Cahn for lack of space. We learn of a Jewish widow, a Mrs. Brown, with seven children, who worked in the

mill. We read the testimony of Samuel Goldberg, a 15-year-old boy, a doffer who takes off full bobbins and puts empty ones on the machines, and then there is Pearl Schinberg, all of 14, a burler, one who takes knots out of cloth. In many respects the most important witness was Samuel Lipson, a weaver, who was subjected to severe grilling by the congressmen, withstood it all and set the tone of what the workers said later on.

There were Jews not only among the strikers but also among those who came so quickly to their help. These were men and women who opened their homes to the children of the strikers and formed the committees to help get them out of Lawrence during the strike's duration. *Mill Town* reveals how the police attacked these children gathered at the railroad station and threw them into waiting station wagons as if they were rag dolls and beanbags. Max Bogatin, Jane Bock, Simon Knebel were among these friends who, like Samuel Lipson and the young doffer and the burler, were the true children of the heroic Barsimon and the Levys of our great early history.

DON'T MISS NOVEMBER MASSES & MAINSTREAM

Contents:

American Correspondents in Moscow by Joseph Clark.

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Of This Man, Upon This Earth by Meridel Le Sueur. The life and death of a mid-western Communist, Bill Herron.

The Right Approach to Adolescents by M. Dragunova. A common-sense approach to adolescents by a Soviet educator.

The Drama of Douglass and Brown by Herbert Aptheker. A review-article of *In Splendid Error*, a play by William Branch.

The annual William Wiener Memorial Awards announced for 1954, with statements of acceptance from Charles White, John Howard Lawson, and Walter Lowenfels.

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Letters from Readers

To a 30th Anniversary

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

In connection with the 30th anniversary of International Publishers and the 70th birthday of its director, Alexander Trachtenberg, there will be book fairs and lectures about books all over the country. A certain number of poets will be absent. They will now be heard from. . . .

Ezra Pound

I was tried for treason
and what was the crime?
Helping the nazis
ahead of time.

Allen Tate

The Civil War was all wrong.
Those damned Yankees
Ought to go back to Russia
where they belong!

Greetings from T. S. Eliot

We do not like you, workers,
and you don't like us, either,
for we are the shadowy squeaks
of Wall Street's Paper Tiger.

WALTER LOWENFELS

Philadelphia

New Year's Greeting from Israel

We received the following New Year's card from a member of Kibbutz Merhavie in Israel:

(In Hebrew): "May the hand of friendship be extended among all nations. A happy year—and a year of peace."

(Then, in English): "Many thanks for your progressive and important monthly. Long live JEWISH LIFE!"

The Tercentenary Issue

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Congratulations on the 8th anniversary of JEWISH LIFE and your superb Tercentenary issue.

This issue was brilliantly conceived and realized. The editorial article setting forth

the theme, "We celebrate the Jewish masses and their heroic heritage of struggle for freedom in all its phases"—followed by the many-sided development of this theme in the articles and poems—presents an exciting picture of the contributions of the Jews to the democratic development of America.

I read the magazine right through, led on by the editorial article. I read of the struggles of Jewish workers in industry, of their culture expressed in their music and theater. What a history packed in 32 pages!

Never did you forget the present in picturing proudly the Jewish past. Your words: "We pledge ourselves to continuing the struggle in the progressive traditions," give courage to those now fighting and those who will join the fight against McCarthyism and for peaceful coexistence.

May the Jews of America celebrate many more anniversaries. May JEWISH LIFE continue for many years its contributions to the building of a better America.

New York City

L. T.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

May I offer my congratulations on the terrific issue that JEWISH LIFE put out this month (November Tercentenary issue).
Washington, D. C.

D. J.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is \$2.50 for a sub. This is the first time I've seen JEWISH LIFE—the November Tercentenary issue—and it looks very good. McCarthy and Gabriel Heater are very much admired in this little town.
Oceano, Calif.

R. K. D.

Appreciation

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Here is a contribution. I am trying to collect some more but find it a little diffi-

cult getting contributions from farmers, who have been enormously hard hit. I will continue to try.
Woodbridge, N. Y.

E. K.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is one dollar. I wish it could be a hundredfold but it is needless to go into details. . . .

There are too many progressives who have been sucked in by psychological terror so it's time to stand up on your feet.
A Town in Rhode Island

Y. M.

Corrections

1) In Mr. Schappes's article in the December issue, a typographical error crept into the footnote "1," which should read: William J. Schultz and M. R. Caine, *Financial Development of the United States*, New York, 1937, p. 436-440.

2) In Mr. Schappes's review in the December issue, a typographical error rendered meaningless the last part of the third sentence, which should read: "... and on the bibliographical items on Chicago to be found in the European Jewish press."

In Memory of

Our Mother

MARIE S. WALDEN

Died October 18, 1954

Los Angeles, Calif.

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OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

Lift Your Glass

The celebration of 300 years of Jewish life in the U.S.A. has given us the opportunity to appreciate the contributions of many Jewish individuals and groups to the forward march of democracy. JEWISH LIFE thinks one of the best ways to celebrate the Tercentenary is by expressing our appreciation for one who has done so much to help us understand the real values in the 300-year saga of the Jewish people in this country. We are sure that thousands of our readers and friends will agree that Morris U. Schappes, our editorial compatriot, has done more than any other Jewish historian to bring to life the true essence of 300 years experience of our people. His series (still running) in JEWISH LIFE has not been matched by any contemporary historio-journalistic work in this Tercentenary year, or before for that matter.

Therefore, in honor of Morris U. Schappes and his contributions to the celebration of the Tercentenary, JEWISH LIFE will tender him a testimonial banquet on Sunday afternoon, March 6th, 1955, at the Great Northern Hotel, New York City. We are sure that hundreds of readers of our mag and the many friends and admirers of Morris will be present to make this *the event* of the Tercentenary celebration.

Good Work, Newark

A recent house party in Newark, N. J., presented a scintillating cast of JEWISH LIFE stars, so to speak—and the result was an exciting evening with good results. On hand to enliven proceedings were actress Karen Morley, author Yuri Suhl, and folk-singer-lecturer Ruth Rubin. Miss Morley, author Yuri Suhl, and folk-singer-lecturer Ruth Rubin. Miss Morley gave a reading from Peretz' "Weaver's Love" (JEWISH LIFE, March 1954) and it tore the house down. Yuri surprised as a consummate humorous story teller and Ruth Rubin kept the affair going singingly. The party netted JEWISH LIFE 500 much-needed dollars. Keep it up, Newark.

Adenauer Won't Like

Off the press has come a Fact-Sheet on West German Rearmament that punches many holes through the arguments for reviving German militarism, which can only mean catastrophe to the Jewish people and to world peace. The Fact-Sheet is a six-page brochure creamed with facts and quotations on rearmament, renazification and their dangers. Already over

40,000 of them have been ordered. JEWISH LIFE is glad to be able to make this contribution to the fight against rearmament. And this column, for one, wants to express appreciation for the job that editor Louis Harap did in preparing a most effective Fact-Sheet. Our advice is to order as many as possible at 2 cents per and get them into the hands of leaders and members of all Jewish organizations. Follow up by getting action wherever possible for urging your senators to vote against ratification of the Paris rearmament agreements.

Dots and Dashes

Emma Lazarus Clubs ahead of most organizations in celebrating Tercentenary. . . . We said this before, but now more convinced than ever after attending Concert at Brooklyn Academy of Music on December 11th. . . . Theme of evening was "Bread and Roses Too" and before packed house, narrators Alice Childress, Elliot Sullivan and Dora Teitelbaum spun the tale of 300 years while the great pianist, Ray Lev, the Jewish Young Folksingers under the baton of Harvey Schreiber and the Lillian Shapiro Dance Group unfolded a varied program illustrating episodes of Jewish life and music depicting Jewish and Negro life. . . . One high point of evening was the presentation by Brooklyn Chairman Leah Neison of the new painting by Philip Reisman, depicting the labor struggles of the early twentieth century with the figure of Clara Lemlich speaking at Cooper Union in the center (picture reproduced on p. 22 of this issue.) . . . Clara Lemlich Shavelson spoke on those early struggles and while listening to her one felt a sense of gratification at seeing Reisman's painting at her side. The color, tempo and electricity of history pervaded the huge hall. . . . Artist Reisman and the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs which commissioned the painting have made a stand-out contribution to the Tercentenary. . . . The celebration was a credit to the Emma Lazarus clubs of Brooklyn and to the Jewish community.

Philadelphia Too

Connie Mack's Athletics may have kissed Philly goodbye, but our Jewish Life Committee is still in there pitching. In order to test their pitching arms and batting eyes for the big league game of building JEWISH LIFE, coach Morris U. Schappes is visiting Philly for a Reception

on December 8th and a Readers' Conference on the 9th. Should help the hallowed old city get started in the fund and circulation campaign.

Los Angeles Dots

To read what the L.A. committee did for the November (Tercentenary-J.L. Anniversary) issue of the mag is to read what good organization work can do. . . . They distributed 2800 copies over normal. . . . No other city came near it. . . . They approached all interested organizations and helped plan an organized distribution. . . . But most significant was a determined approach to all Jewish communities in the area. . . . Committees of friends of the magazine were set up to distribute the issue. . . . Thus commitments were accepted by committees in the areas of East Side (325 copies), West Adams (100), West Side (500), Valley (250), Long Beach (50) and Ontario (100). . . . Now this is expanding the scope of JEWISH LIFE activities—other cities please copy. . . .

Here's How

How did L.A. do it? Well, let Rickie Roth, the Executive Secretary of the local J.L. Committee, tell you: "We made an approach in every area and field (Culture, Women's, Youth clubs, unions, etc.), to discuss the magazine and, to some extent, 300 years with as many leaders and interested people as possible. The objective was two-fold: to stimulate discussions and celebrations on 300 years and to circulate the November issue. Along with this, an attempt was made to seek out people who would assume responsibility for JEWISH LIFE beyond the November issue."

More From Rickie

More interesting news from Rickie: "As a result of the critical financial situation of JEWISH LIFE, a group of women undertook to run an affair for us. They held a luncheon with the movie actress, Ann Revere, as featured guest. This was the first time in L.A. when she presented readings from Sholom Aleichem. It was a resounding hit. The eighty-six women who attended were so enthused that they donated \$60 without a pitch. Twenty-two copies of the October issue were sold and six new subs signed. So excited were the people in that area as a result of the success that they decided to run another performance by Ann Revere, this time in the evening. This, too, was a success. We are going to make plans for many more areas." Rickie, and all of you in L.A., despite many problems, and some weakness, you are doing a good job. Good luck! All of us are learning from you!