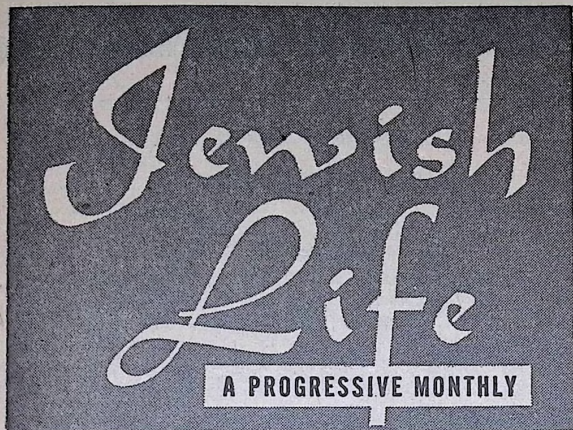


Seventh Anniversary Issue

NOVEMBER 1953 • 25c



MCCARTHY— ENEMY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE

an 8-page documented expose by CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

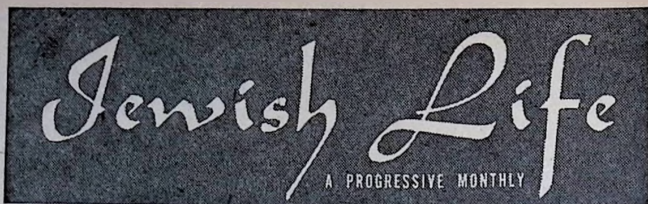
MORE ON THE WISE-MAGNES SMEAR

ZELIG'S DILEMMA *excerpt from a work in progress by Yuri Suhl*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME



VOL. VIII, No. 1 (85)

NOVEMBER, 1953

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CONTENTS

WE ARE SEVEN, <i>an anniversary editorial</i>	3
WHO WILL BE NEXT? <i>an editorial article</i>	4
IS THERE NOT A CAUSE? <i>a poem by Walter Lowenfels</i>	6
WORDS OF STEPHEN WISE	7
MAGNES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS	8
MCCARTHY: ENEMY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE <i>by Charles R. Allen, Jr.</i>	9
I: RACIST FRIENDS AND BACKERS	
II: ANTI-NEGRO BOOK BONFIRE	
III: THE NEGRO PEOPLE HIT BACK	
ZELIG'S DILEMMA, <i>excerpt from a work in progress by Yuri Suhl</i>	17
MORTON SOBELL STATES HIS CASE	21
NEW FACTS ON SOVIET JEWS <i>by Louis Harap</i>	23
ISRAEL AND TURKISH WAR BASES <i>by I. Elsky (Tel Aviv)</i>	26
LETTERS FROM READERS	27
BOOK REVIEWS	
PLAYING WITH DEATH <i>by Alice Jerome</i>	28
NOVEL OF EARLY AMERICA <i>by Morris U. Schappes</i>	29
OBSERVATION POST <i>by Sam Pevzner</i>	30
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS <i>edited by Louis Harap</i>	31

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EUROPE

New Year messages were received by the London *Jewish Chronicle* (Sept. 4, 18) from the chief rabbis of Moscow, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. Rabbi Shloimo Shliefier of Moscow wrote: all Jewish religious communities of the Soviet Union "are practising their faith and carrying out their religious duties in conditions of complete religious freedom. All the Jewish religious communities of the Soviet Union have been taking part in the general struggle for peace . . . and . . . call upon all practising Jews in the British Commonwealth to raise their voices and to take an active part in the sacred work of the realization of peace and friendship between the peoples of the whole world."

Among the books issued this year by (Continued on page 31)

gated, to which the audience shouted, "McCarthy!"

Philip B. Perlman, solicitor general in the Truman administration, late in September called the Eisenhower administration's refugee law even worse than the McCarran-Walter law—he called it "the most discriminatory, the most restrictive and generally the worst piece of immigration legislation" in our history.

Physical assaults were made on Yeshive University students in the Bronx four times in the second week of October by a group of teen-age anti-Semitic hoodlums. Yeshive authorities demanded police protection.

Jewish Book Month this year falls from October 30 to November 30.

Resistance notes . . . In a speech before the New York State CIO convention early in October, Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, called for "a complete re-evaluation of the policies of the administration in Washington and of the Congress." He echoed the position of Adlai Stevenson that "there are no international conflicts which cannot be resolved by negotiation." He also lashed out against McCarthyism: "Unless and until McCarthyism and McCarranism are routed out, unless the reign of fear, distrust, hysteria and terror to which so many people in high places have succumbed, is extirpated at home, our need to win friends and allies throughout the world and to influence the uncommitted peoples of Asia, may fail dismally." . . . On his return from a European trip early in October, Senator Herbert H. Lehman said, "I expect to continue my fight against McCarthyism, which I believe is one of the great threats to our country, our liberties and our civil rights." . . . Late in September the newly-elected national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Harry T. Madison, issued a statement criticising McCarthy for using investigative procedures "that in a number of instances have led the public to accept mere accusations as actual evidence of guilt. This procedure is destructive of the American principle that an individual has a right to be heard on what he is charged with having done rather than on what he thinks or with whom he associates." . . . In his Rosh Hashonah message in mid-September, Rabbi David J. Seligson, president of the New York Board of Rabbis, called for the "need for protection against another form of aggression—the curtailment of civil rights of our citizenry by ambitious politicians who, in their misguided zeal to demonstrate their super-patriotism render the greatest disservice and weaken the ties of brotherhood, which must exist among free men everywhere." . . . There were many recent local expressions of resistance: a debate on McCarthyism on October 7 at the Montefiore Lodge of B'nai B'rith of Buffalo; a speech on the upsurge of nazism in West Germany before the Bergen County Section of the National Council of Jewish Women and another speech on measures to avert war at the Bayonne Section of the Council; a debate on McCarthyism by the B'nai B'rith in Philadelphia in September in which Roy Cohn participated, at which he asked if the audience could point out any fascists to be investi-

WE ARE SEVEN

An Anniversary Editorial

WITH this issue, we enter the eighth year of our existence. We shall continue as best we can to advance the interests of the Jewish people, which coincide with those of the masses of people in our country. The security of the Jewish people is anchored in the democratic tradition and it is in the defense of this tradition and to its extension that we have devoted ourselves. To the extent that this defense has been effective, we have gained in prestige and influence. In the past few months the magazine has brought down on itself an attack from the counterparts in our country of the Judenrat, those Jews who collaborated with the nazis under the occupation, because we dared to challenge the collaboration of certain Jewish leaders with the McCarthyite Velde Committee. The abuse we have received from such sources indicates that our exposures have struck home and that the guilty can answer truth only by baiting diversions. We have no doubt that the Jewish people will recognize the American-style Judenrat for what it is sooner than these false leaders think.

As we enter our eighth year, new signs of hope for freedom and peace in the world are on the horizon. The truce in Korea and the growing demand for peaceful negotiation by the common people all over the world has somewhat checked the deteriorating international situation. Tensions are much relaxed and the common people all over the world are pressing their governments to do their part in the reaching of an understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has been forced by world sentiment to switch his talk from "liberation" to proposals for mutual security arrangements with the Soviet Union, somewhat along the lines proposed by Adlai Stevenson after his world tour. Pressure for a top level meeting of the Big Four continues to be insistent.

At home there are signs of increasing resistance to the policies of Dulles-Eisenhower and McCarthy, as the election in October of a Democrat to Congress in a rock-ribbed Republican district of McCarthy's state of Wisconsin showed. The Jewish people have increased their vocal opposition to McCarthyism in the past year, as we have continuously reported in our pages. When McCarthyism struck out at respected deceased leaders of the Jewish community in the labelling of Rabbi Wise and Magnes as "subversives," practically the entire Jewish community rose up in wrath. For the Jewish people know that they stand in special jeopardy from McCarthyism as the American version of the fascism that has already cost them so dear. Together with the Jewish people, various vital sectors of the American peo-

ple, such as the labor movement and the Negro people, are growing restive under the anti-peace, anti-labor, anti-democratic policies of the Eisenhower administration and its fascist spearhead McCarthy. The danger of destruction of our democratic heritage is arousing the people because it is jeopardizing the standard of living and our freedoms.

While new hope has appeared for saving the peace and our democratic tradition, the dangers remain great. The arrogant, world-threatening Dulles foreign policy, whose most recent shame is the conclusion of a military alliance with fascist Franco, is no less menacing to the Jewish people than it is to all humanity. The specter of a renazified Germany, which especially has haunted the Jewish people and has brought forth many warning words from Jewish leaders all over the world, looms larger than ever. The victory of West Germany's Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in the September election has increased the danger of war from a remilitarized, renazified Germany. This danger is not an accident, but a direct, planned result of Washington's foreign policy, and consequently that policy itself must be opposed.

In the past year McCarthyism has grown more pervasive and brazen. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights have been chipped away with the same tool of anti-communist hysteria as Hitler used. When *JEWISH LIFE* first appeared in November 1946, this danger to the democratic tradition was in its early stages. The combating of McCarthyism has animated all our efforts and our opposition has grown more intense as the danger grew. Today we are joined in a fight to save the Bill of Rights in which most elements of the Jewish community in varying degrees are participating. For we know that McCarthyism can be turned back only by a maximum of united action and the time for such united action was never more urgent than at present. We have in our pages exposed the connection of McCarthyism with the fascist, anti-Semitic and anti-Negro forces in our country. These realities dictate that all men of good will must participate in the fight against the Hitler-like anti-communist hysteria that is blighting our country.

We look forward to our eighth year as a voice of the Jewish masses of our country, as a defender in the Jewish community of the democratic tradition. Together with the growing resistance of labor, of the Negro people and of all genuinely democratic citizens and organizations, we shall in one eighth year do our utmost to help assure the peace and defend the democratic tradition of our country, life-line of Jewish security.

WHO WILL BE NEXT?

*The Wise-Magnes smear followed on the heels of the pact with Velde.
The moral: "When you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas"*

An Editorial Article

WHY were the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes the objects of attack by an Un-American Committee witness? Naturally the Jewish people were outraged by this McCarthyite assault on two of the most eminent and honored rabbis of our century. More or less vigorous statements were issued by various Jewish organizations in protest. But it is not enough to protest. The full implications of this "shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency" (as Dr. Israel Goldstein and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath said) by the Un-American Committee in soliciting and releasing this smear must be fully understood. Appropriate and vigorous action must issue from such an understanding.

Who were these rabbis? Neither of these men, as any informed person knows, was a communist. Both were courageous, outspoken, independent advocates of advanced causes in their time.

Dr. Wise was a leader of the liberal sectors of American and world Jewry. He was president and founder of the American Jewish Congress and the World Jewish Congress. He fought corruption in government and had an impressive pro-labor record. He defended the cause of the steel strikers in 1919 against the magnates and spoke up for labor's right to organize in the thirties, often to the discomfiture of the Big Business elements in the Jewish community. He fought for the lives of Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti and for civil liberties. He led the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish masses into militant anti-Nazi action during the thirties in direct opposition to the American Jewish Committee and similar hush-hush elements.

In 1947, in the midst of the cold war, while he disagreed with the Soviet social order, he courageously voiced his faith in the need and possibility of peaceful co-existence of capitalist and socialist countries in order to avoid a hot war. Throughout his life he fought for the unity of the Jewish people against common dangers irrespective of political views.

As for Dr. Magnes, he too was a foremost liberal of his day, as is evident from his brief article of 1921 that we reprint on page 8. For many years he was spiritual leader of the influential Temple Emanu-El. He courageously opposed on pacifist grounds our participation in World War I. As an indication of the recklessness of the witch-hunters' charges—Dr. Magnes left this country to live in Palestine

in the early twenties! From 1924 until his death in 1949, he was president of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. He was the leader of a group which advocated equal status for the Arab and Jewish peoples in a bi-national Jewish-Arab state in Palestine.

Why the Wise-Magnes Smear?

It is clear from this brief look into their careers that these two eminent men were easy marks for the inquisitors since they believed that there was much in the world that needed to be righted, because they were extraordinarily strenuous in their belief in democracy. The fact that they sometimes worked along parallel lines with left wingers in certain struggles cannot be obliterated by assertions of shock at any suggestion of cooperation with "communists." Instead, there should be frank recognition that there is something wrong with the political climate in which such parallel or cooperative action is regarded as evil.

At a time when a majority of Congress not only passes a racist, pro-fascist McCarran-Walter act but even overrides a strongly worded presidential veto, when the Eisenhower administration kow-tows to a fascist like McCarthy, the Wises and Magnes become "subversive." Who will be next? It is this ominous question that has prompted the vigorous outcry against the inquisitors on the part of many distinguished Americans and of organizations of every kind and of almost every political hue. This question is behind the protests by Jewish organizations at this particular smear and against the witch-hunters generally, for the Jews are particularly vulnerable to attack from anti-democratic forces.

Among the Jewish people there is increasing demand that McCarthyism be resisted. This has found expression in the many strong statements issued by many Jewish organizations and in the fighting stand taken by men like Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Dr. Albert Einstein. Yet it is singular that the leadership of the major Jewish organizations fear to face up to the evil for what it is—a creeping fascist threat. Few have sounded the call for an all-out battle for an unconditional end to the whole witch-hunt. In the case of organizations like the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League one is impelled to ask, are they not at certain junctures doing precisely the opposite, collaborating with the fascist inquisitors?



Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

For the past two issues JEWISH LIFE has carried an exposure of the secret meeting on July 2 between officials of these organizations and Rep. Harold H. Velde of the Un-American Committee at which an agreement of cooperation was reached in case left wing Jewish figures were subpoenaed to appear before the inquisitors. Retribution followed fast, a few weeks later, with the attacks on Rabbis Wise and Magnes by this very congressional committee. One is tempted to quote in this instance the realistic warnings of this magazine that a widening attack on liberals would follow inevitably.

Even the statement of protest issued by the ADL against this smear of Rabbis Wise and Magnes contains a taint of collaboration when it appeals to the McCarthyite committees "to take *further* steps to ensure the preservation of human liberty" (emphasis added). "Further" steps! Have these inquisitors taken *any* steps to preserve democracy? From such a statement one can only conclude that certain leaders of the ADL consider the inquisitors to be not destroyers but guardians of the people's liberties. And how can one find any consistency of even this protest against the Wise-Magnes attack and the agreement to collaborate with the very committee guilty of this attack?

Why Stony Silence?

The information concerning this shameful act of collaboration with the Velde Committee has been in the hands of the Yiddish and English-Jewish press for some weeks now. Yet they maintain a stony silence. Should not the masses of the Jewish people know that collaboration with a fascist committee is being practiced in their name?

Are we to suppose that the editors of this press and leaders of major Jewish organizations are in accord with this act? There are some who are. But we believe there are many who are not. Nevertheless, the latter must face the fact that silence gives consent; that by their failure to repudiate this act of collaboration, they are abdicating responsibility to resist fascism. By the same token they are betraying their trust of leadership of the Jewish people. It

is not enough to issue statements against McCarthyism as many of them are doing. They are also obligated to hold the line of the Jewish organizations against giving aid and comfort to the fascists, who would break down democracy, with the anti-Semitic results that this inevitably entails.

Hardly was the ink dry on the jubilant memorandum of the ADL in which the meeting was described (see JEWISH LIFE, September) than the attack on Rabbis Wise and Magnes ensued. He who sups with the devil must have a long spoon. He who walks on all fours must expect to be kicked in the face. Perhaps the collaborators responsible for the pact with Velde, like the Judenrat under the nazis, thought that they would gain immunity by their collaboration. What the collaborating leaders do not see—or do not want to understand—is that the drive against the "communists" is an integral part of the larger objective of destroying democracy itself. These Big Business leaders of the AJC and ADL are thereby turning their backs on democratic interests of the Jewish people and are hence failing to come to grips with McCarthyism and instead are sometimes collaborating with it.

But their words and actions don't always coincide. In a recent speech in Chicago, Joseph Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, made an acute observation: today many anti-Semites do not operate openly but in the guise of "anti-communists." "We are facing today," he went on, "far more dangerous problems than old-fashioned agitation, far more insidious and far more complex." But the implications of this keen observation are apparently lost on the officers of his own organization, for they entered into collaboration with the forces who are furthering this "complex" process, whose issue can only be the death of democracy and the accentuation of anti-Semitism. The fascist ax hangs over us all, not merely the "communists." There is a method in the witch-hunters' madness: the attack on Wise and Magnes is part of the attack to wipe out the tradition for which they stood.

It is not enough, as many Jewish leaders and other anti-McCarthyites have said, that it is only the "method" of McCarthyism that endangers democracy and the Jewish



Rabbi Judah L. Magnes

people. The fight against McCarthyism is weakened by the refusal to take issue with McCarthyite purposes and by the demand that only its "methods" be improved. To be sure, the congressional inquisitors are guilty of violating fair play and due process of law, of character assassination. These must of course be vigorously exposed. But what the Jewish leaders do not yet see is that these irresponsible methods are not accidental, but are essential to the purpose of the witch-hunt. As Albert Friedman wrote in the *Brooklyn Jewish Examiner* (September 25), "to press for procedural improvements without challenging the purpose itself will not, I fear, eliminate the threat to freedom but merely camouflage it. After all, the democratic spirit can just as easily be throttled with kid gloves as with brass knuckles."

Total Fight Against McCarthyism

Friedman puts it neatly. It would be self-deluding to suppose that the *methods* of political gangsters can or will be "improved." For the inquisitors are not accidental deviators from democracy: their activity aims toward fascism. And they are using Hitler's method—anti-communist hysteria—in an American adaptation. Fascism is not depraved only in its "method." It is a rejection of the democratic tradition and ideology and action; it means terrorism in politics and unbridled chauvinism toward the Negro and Jew: its objective is total destruction of democracy itself. The McCarthyites are fascists who drape themselves in the mantle of democracy. Just as Hitler called himself a "national socialist"—"nazi" for short—in a country where the socialist tradition was strong, so the McCarthyites in a land of a strong democratic tradition operate under the mask of defenders of "democracy." The mask must be torn off. Their cry of the "communist danger" is the same as Hitler's and its purpose is to divide and confuse the people. It is not enough that the inquisitorial methods be "improved": the inquisition must be rooted out altogether. This means absolutely no cooperation with the witch-hunt, as Dr. Albert Einstein has urged.

The inquisitors are trying to destroy the constitutional liberties of all, as fascists everywhere do. To save these rights for any one, the rights of everyone, including the communists, must be guarded. A defense of the rights of communists obviously does not by any means require that these defenders either be communists or defend communism itself. It only means that they protect the *rights* of communists to the liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. It is this application of the basic democratic principle for which Wise and Magnes fought. Nor does it imply a curtailment of any opposition to communism. Only one thing is needful, that the communists have the right of free speech and that opposition to communism be carried on by the democratic method—by free debate, by exchange of ideas. The objective of the witch-hunters is ultimately to *suppress* democracy by terror, imprisonment, threats of loss of livelihood and intimidation of every sort. When anti-McCarthyites challenge the "method"

and not the fascist *aims* of McCarthyism, they are acquiescing in a movement which can only end in fascism, in the curtailment of *their own* freedom and in a threat to the Jewish people.

How can this disastrous outcome be prevented? We can learn from the experience of Hitlerism—only by resistance to the *whole program* of the would-be fascist inquisitors. This can only be achieved if the masses of the people are organized in protest and by their immense power of protest force the dissolution of the witch-hunt altogether. The people possess the power to defeat the McCarthyites, but they must be organized if they are to win.

Further, victory can be won only if the McCarthyites are fought every inch of the way. No McCarthyite measure can be left unchallenged by the people—the McCarran-Walter, the Taft-Hartley and Smith acts; the rebuilding and rearming of a *renasified* West Germany; refusal to negotiate with the Soviet Union to end the cold war.

It is of the utmost importance that the leaders, who speak in the name of the masses, should understand this. The masses must gird their power to effect a shift in tactics from the present one of calling for change in McCarthyite "method" to one of rejection of the entire inquisition. The Jewish leaders, for their part, risk the intensification of anti-Semitism unless they see this and act accordingly. The masses in the Jewish community are at a crossroads. Their future is most insecure unless they press upon their leaders to fight McCarthyism without compromise, for its elimination *root and branch*. Unity of all democratic elements, Jewish and non-Jewish, Negro and white, can achieve this task. And it must be done—or else—fascism. It is late, but not too late. McCarthyism can, it must be stopped cold.

IS THERE NOT A CAUSE?

By Walter Lowenfels

Is there not a cause?
David leapt up and cried,
and he slew the giant, Goliath,
ten times his own size.

Is there not a cause
to believe what we believe—
take on our own Goliath
and bring him to his knees?

The poor no longer poor,
the blind no longer blind,
the brotherhood on earth
of all human kind.

Goliath seemed a giant
till David laid him low,
the strength of all his people
in one great freedom blow.

WORDS OF STEPHEN WISE

The McCarthyite smear of the late Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes sent us back to the writings of these eminent Jewish representatives. We have selected a few of these to show the kind of ideas that the McCarthyites today regard as "subversive," writings that are actually among the best expressions of the American democratic tradition. Of the innumerable such passages that could be cited from the writings of Rabbi Wise, we have reproduced below several which are indicative of his leadership in the Jewish people's resistance to nazism in the thirties and his courageous stand in fighting for peace in the last years of his life against the ruling powers in our country.—Eds.

IT was the American Jewish Congress which, more than any other organization and before all other Jewish organizations, took up and led the fight against nazism. Jews, save for the fewest, were unready to enlist in that uneven war. Here, too, the sentinels of fear and folly arose to plague us. One American sentinel [this was Dr. Cyrus Adler, then president of the American Jewish Committee, as Dr. Wise revealed in his autobiography.—Eds.] said to the president of the American Jewish Congress in answer to the query: What shall we do when Hitler comes to power—five days before the fatal January 30, 1933—"We will cross that bridge when we come to it, not before," no dream of building a bridgehead in advance. Twenty-nine out of 30 German-Jewish sentinels who were interrogated assured a representative of the American Jewish Congress as late as October 1932: "Hitler wird nie zur Macht kommen" [Hitler will never come to power], Jewish sentinels in nearly all West European lands cable to us their protest against the Congress virtually alone rising up against Hitler, and an Anglo-Jewish leader urged me by trans-Atlantic telephone in March 1933, not to be unduly alarmed over nazism, seeking to comfort me in the terms: "The German Jews are not in danger; only the East European Jews in Germany." (From speech before American Jewish Congress biennial convention on April 13, 1948.)

Iwould be unworthy to be either American or Jew if I failed to speak for you and for myself simply and briefly of the one overwhelming problem we face. I am not a politician, least of all a statesman. I am an American. I am a Jew. I am a teacher of religion and ethics. Therefore, I must speak to my country and to the Soviet Union alike.

I cry that there must not, that there shall not, be war between us. Infinitely difficult is the way of peace: incredibly easy is now the way to war. Let the governing bodies of the two mightiest nations of earth foregather to ensure peace, or let them place leadership in the hands of such as have not committed themselves to war. War must not be between the two most powerful nations. These, including our country, have no right to convert earth into a raging battlefield. The highest patriotism, that of loyalty to the whole human race, must in this hour of imminent peril, take the place of the lesser loyalties which lead to war. Do I propose limitlessly difficult steps to avert war? How easy these steps would be compared with the task of repairing the cataclysmal hurt to be wrought by war. If it be unpatriotic solemnly to urge that a better way than war can yet be found, I am ready to be branded as unpatriotic. My country and the Soviet Union together are wise enough to choose a better way than war. (From speech before American Jewish Congress biennial convention, April 13, 1948.)

I continue to cherish the hope and to join with deepest devoutness in the prayer that the wisdom and statesmanship of the great nations of East and West may yet succeed in averting the most calamitous of all calamities, the most tragic of all tragedies—war between our own country and the Soviet Union. In averting this, the religious bodies of the world must dare to take their part, however unpopular it seems for a time in the sight of those to whom might is right, who understand and accept no other right. The third World War would be worse than a war. It would be the betrayal and the surrender of civilization, of all moral and spiritual values. After a long life I still believe in one world and one humanity, with freedom under law, with justice and peace for all peoples and races and faiths. "If it be sin to covet honor for my country, I am the most offending soul alive." I continue to covet for my country the honor of doing most to maintain the peace and freedom of all mankind. (From article in Congress Weekly, March 21, 1949.)

RABBI Wise concluded his last public statement, made shortly before his death in March 1949, with these words: "I am not going to be silent. I am going to speak for peace to the last breath of my life."

MAGNES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS

This short article by Rabbi Judah L. Magnes is reprinted as a contribution to the fight to beat back the Velde Committee smear of that militant liberal. It was first published in Debs Freedom Monthly, Chicago, November 1921, as part of the campaign to free Debs and other World War I political prisoners. Most of those who have risen to "defend" the reputation of Magnes from the Velde attack have contented themselves with defensively denying that Magnes took orders from the Communist Party. But Magnes in his own lifetime did not merely "deny" misrepresentation. He was an active fighting liberal who attacked those who undermined American democracy by holding a Debs and a Mooney as political prisoners. The accompanying article is an answer to Velde that all his defenders might well include in their thinking. Magnes (and Wise) cannot be defended by obliterating their democratic past.

When he wrote this article, Magnes was chairman of the Administrative Committee of the New York Kehilla (organized Jewish community). In 1922, Magnes left our country to settle in Palestine, becoming head of the Hebrew University there.

In the same issue, the lead article was one by Debs, "written in the United States Prison at Atlanta, Ga.," entitled, "Lion Hearted Russia." Debs from behind bars proclaimed that "Russia is fighting as men, women and children have never fought before, for the overthrow of tyranny and the liberation of the race." Today, in the Atlanta and other federal prisons, there sit political prisoners like Eugene Dennis, John Gates and Ben Davis, victims of the Smith Act which, according to the dissents of Justices Black and Douglas, destroyed the right to freedom of speech. One way to "defend" Magnes is to support the campaign for amnesty for these and other Smith act victims.—M. U. S.

THE fact that the political prisoners are still in jail means one of two things: either that the government is afraid of the influence of this handful of men and the movement for freedom that is behind them, or that the American people are so little concerned with political and spiritual liberty that the significance of political prisoners is lost upon them.

Can it be that both of these motives are operative at the same time?

If the government is afraid of this handful of men and the movement for freedom in this country, I want to assure them that they need have no alarm for the present at least, because, unfortunately, the reaction is victorious all along the line, and liberal and radical movements are much weaker than they were during the war [World War I] and immediately after. It would, after all, show that the government valued the liberal and radical movements in this country at their real worth if it opened the prison doors and said, with a beau geste, "Go, we are not afraid of you!"

That this impotence will continue forever is, of course, something that not even the present administration of our government can be altogether sure of; but, for the duration of its own lifetime, that is, probably, eight years, they may rest assured that they have the upper hand and that nothing will happen to them.

We ought therefore to ask them in their own language, and in words that they can understand, "Why not be 'good sports' and let the political prisoners go free?" I should think that our kindly, well-meaning, "human" President might make this added contribution to the era of good feeling which he preached with touching sentimentality. I am thoroughly convinced that it would please and receive the applause of even some of the bitterest enemies of the political prisoners and the ideas for which they stand.

Much more serious, of course, is the failure of the American people to understand the depth of their political servitude. The war has robbed them of almost the last vestiges of independent political thinking. Their teachers and preachers and writers and all the organs of public opinion were bludgeoned or seduced into acquiescence during the war. It is questionable if the generation that has lost its spiritual freedom and its intellectual integrity can ever regain them, except through a mighty act of religious conversion which seems barely possible for them. The political prisoners still in jail are the symbol of the political servitude of the American people and the spiritual slavery of the American nation. The very fact that Debs is among these prisoners makes the portent all the more startling in the heavens. He is the one authentic Saint whom American life has produced. It is not the first time in the spiritual life of mankind that a saint is stoned and martyred.

McCarthy: Enemy of the Negro People

By CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

I: RACIST FRIENDS AND BACKERS

"IS McCarthy anti-Negro?" At first glance the question seems to be begged: anyone who cooperates as closely as he does with known anti-Semites must necessarily be anti-Negro. But the only way to find out is to examine how Senator Joseph McCarthy has himself acted regarding the rights and problems of American Negroes.

It is incontestable that the sordid characters populating the racketeer racist fringe of fascism in the United States are as anti-Negro as they are anti-Semitic. And it will be recalled that McCarthy's strong attraction for the anti-Semitic professionals and his collusion with them on numerous occasions have included some of the more infamous figures.

When for example McCarthy joined in the attempt to block the appointment of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg to the post of assistant secretary of defense in the Truman administration, the Wisconsin senator worked closely with one of the foremost racists of America today, Gerald L. K. Smith. Smith and his organization, the Christian Nationalist Crusade, are blatantly anti-Negro and anti-Semitic and this fact has never bothered Senator McCarthy who has, cloquently enough, never rejected Smith's support. McCarthy has received Smith's hearty endorsement.

Since the 1948 national convention of Smith's Christian Nationalist Crusade, anti-Negroism has been an official plank in its platform. This writer possesses a tape record-

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ing of part of this convention. In one speech by a Smith lieutenant, Smith's followers roared in raucous approval when he ranted: "Now we're not demagogic about the Negro problem. . . . We're going to speak what we believe, we're going to seek what is the only solution of the problem of black and white mixture in the United States. We advocate a constitutional amendment making segregation of the black and white races a law of the United States of America. And we advocate making it a federal crime for intermarriage between the black and white races." At the same convention Gerald L. K. Smith told a gathering of nearly 7,000 American fascists a story so vile that we cannot bring ourselves to repeat it here.

McCarthy's other anti-Semitic collaborators such as Upton Close, Joe Kamp and others and the numerous financial backers of these professional bigots are as unreservedly anti-Negro as they are pro-McCarthy.

Anti-Negroism and Tydings Campaign

It is no secret that Senator McCarthy masterminded the defeat of Millard E. Tydings, Democrat, in the 1950 senatorial election in Maryland. A Senate committee characterized the campaign as "shocking," "misleading" and a crude display of political defamation which "eats like acid at the whole fabric of American life."¹ According to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 4, 1951), "Senator McCarthy was brought into the subcommittee's findings that the Wisconsin rabble-rouser's staff was at the disposal of

¹ All citations on the Tydings affair can be found in *Maryland Senatorial Election of 1950*, Report of the Committee on Rules and Administration, United States Senate, 82nd Congress, Pursuant to S. Res. 250, August 20, 1951.

the Butler [GOP candidate] campaigners, and that out-state contributions were channeled through his office." After having read the Senate report of McCarthy's campaign against Tydings, the *Post-Dispatch* felt that it was "like walking through a political sewer, a sewer under Rat Alley."

The most disgraceful performance, for which McCarthy was directly responsible, was a cynical, white chauvinist trick based on naked, calculated anti-Negroism. At the direction of the McCarthy-picked campaign manager, some 75,000 tri-folded and multi-colored pamphlets, entitled *Back to Good Old Dixie*, were distributed throughout the Negro community in Baltimore. Prominently displayed on its cover were pictures of four ranking Negro leaders. The theme of the throw-away was: "We've been Tydings' political football" and contained references to the voting record of Senator Millard Tydings supporting charges of discrimination against Negroes.

In the words of the Senate investigating committee: "The pamphlet *Back to Good Old Dixie* was neither published nor paid for by the four Negro citizens listed as its sponsors. Use of the names of the four Negro leaders constituted nothing more than a false front for the publication of the pamphlet. . . ."

At the hearings conducted by the Senate committee it was revealed that none of the Negro leaders was aware of this cynical fraud until *after* the elections! According to the printer who composed the pamphlet, he was paid directly by a man subsequently shown to be the hand-picked campaign director of Senator McCarthy. In the judgment of the Senate committee the distribution of *Back to Good Old Dixie* was a violation of the Maryland state election laws.

But—more important—that McCarthy consciously devised a plot to exploit the rightful hopes and demands of the Negro people in a Southern state emerges more clearly. Here we witness McCarthy *fraudulently* abusing the most imperative demands of the oppressed Negro people to gain their votes for his "puppet candidate" (St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, August 4, 1951). Certainly such a device was nothing less than a by-product of a twisted racist mentality.

Pet of Racist Texas Tycoons

McCarthy himself refused to appear before the Senate committee investigating his major role in the defeat of Tydings. Instead he told the *U.S. News and World Report* that he thought the Tydings defeat was a "blow against communism" and "one of the cleanest campaigns in the country."

The Senate also discovered that out-of-state funds had been funneled through McCarthy into Maryland. Among these funds was a sum of \$10,000 from Mr. and Mrs. Clint Murchison of Texas. Just who is Clint Murchison? He is part of "a group whose oil wealth is virtually un-

limited" and whose politico-financial backing is firmly behind Senator McCarthy. According to the Washington columnist, Marquis Childs, (*New York Post*, June 18), one of the group, H. L. Hunt, has an annual income in excess of \$20,000,000 after taxes!

Just how reliable an investment do they consider Joe McCarthy? So much so, that members of this fabulously wealthy and influential petroleum club contributed money to the Maryland campaign to elect a McCarthy "puppet"; they have given sums for the 1952 Wisconsin campaign to assure McCarthy's re-election; and, recently, they are giving financial backing for McCarthy to take the TV airways over more than 145 outlets throughout the United States under the speciously-titled production "Facts Forum," an outright propaganda stage reaching millions of Americans for McCarthyism.

Among the *facts* which the McCarthy forum will *not* televise are that the backers of this extremely costly program are some of the foremost white supremacists in the South. One of these is the incalculably wealthy Clint Murchison. During the 1952 presidential race in Texas, Clint Murchison supported the Republican Party. He told the *New York Post* (July 6) that he had issued a campaign publication distributed in the hundreds of thousands for the GOP. This McCarthy backer admitted that one of the things he emphasized was white supremacy. "Well, it's not hard to see that Texas farmers are almost all Anglo-Saxons. . . . And, whatever you think about it, they're anti-Negro on the equality thing anyway. *My paper kind of catered to these feelings*" (emphasis added).

If this is how McCarthy's largest financial powers behind him feel on the vital issue of the rights of the Negro people, how must McCarthy himself feel? To get the backing of Murchison, Hunt and the others, McCarthy must be considered absolutely reliable, otherwise there would be no TV programs and no "unlimited" funds for the next objective. And what is that? In commenting on the oil billions behind McCarthy, Frederick W. Collins, capital correspondent for the Providence (Rhode Island) *Journal* said, "His nomination for the Presidency could be the objective."

Another member of the Texas "group" that backs McCarthy is a familiar figure among the professional racists in America—John Hancock, retired insurance executive in Dallas. His avocational sideline is the violently anti-Semitic and anti-Negro "American Heritage Committee," which floods the mails with racist propaganda. In addition to having contributed generously to Gerald L. K. Smith over the years, Hancock admits to a \$5,000 donation for the McCarthy election in Wisconsin in 1952 (see *New York Post*, July 9). Hancock recollects with beaming pride his first meeting with his hero: "I was introduced to McCarthy," he told the *Post*, "and I told him that he was too valuable to lose, too valuable to travel without bodyguards."

Hancock also expressed his opinion unreservedly on "that FEPC thing up in New York." He told the *New*

York Post reporter, "You've got worse discrimination against the n—r up there than we have here. We get along with our n—s down here; you don't." Just to prove his point Hancock called to "[my] boy, a good n—r, honest and loyal as the day is long." He told the reporter, "I'll let you see him." John Hancock grinned in the manner of showing off a household pet, "Smoky," he yelled. The man appeared and "as his servant stood silently before him, . . . Hancock gazed at him pridefully and then dismissed him."

Hancock, the racist backer and financial supporter of Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy, turned back to his guest and drawled, "Now as I was saying, McCarthy understands America's problems. . . ."

These men, remember, are sinking big money into Joe McCarthy. They have confidence in him. They know a sound investment when they see one. After watching his book-burning orgies they had good reason to be doubly assured where McCarthy himself stood on the question of Negro rights.

II: ANTI-NEGRO BOOK BONFIRE

WHEN the State Department at the prodding of McCarthy "banned" several hundred works of some 40 authors from the shelves of United States libraries overseas, the *New York Times* (June 6), noted that "the nearest to a common factor" for removing the books "appeared to be the refusal (by the authors) to tell Federal investigators about communist affiliations."

It is perfectly true that McCarthy and his lesser imitators—Jenner and Velde—hound progressive authors, imputing "communism" to their writings. But an examination of the list of banned books will reveal that McCarthy went after not only authors, but also anti-racist writings. Conspicuous among the titles that fell victim to McCarthy were the outstanding contributions concerning racial discrimination, particularly anti-Negro oppression, in the United States.

For example, the banning of books by two well-known anti-communists, Walter White and the Swedish Rockefeller-financed scholar, Gunnar Myrdal, (*A Rising Wind* and *An American Dilemma*) dramatically attests to the pure and simple anti-Negroism of McCarthyism.

During World War II, Mr. White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, served as an accredited correspondent for the *New York Post*. His reporting was eventually published in the book, *A Rising Wind—A Report on the Negro Soldier in the European Theatre of War*. It is a factual, well-told account of the positive as well as the negative aspects of the Negro GI's treatment by the United States military in Europe during the war against fascism.

Among other facts Mr. White disclosed that, while Negro troops comprised more than one-tenth of all American troops then stationed (1944) in England, all of them, with the exception of a single anti-aircraft group, did *only* manual labor.

Mr. White also quoted from "an official order of an American colonel of Southern birth": "Colored soldiers are akin to well meaning but irresponsible children. . . . They cannot be trusted to tell the whole truth. Among

the peculiar characteristics of the whole race (are) excitement, fear, religion, dope, liquor. . . . They individually or collectively can change form with amazing rapidity from a timid or bashful individual to brazen boldness or madness. The colored individual likes to 'doll up,' strut, brag and show off. He likes to be distinctive and stand out from others. *Everything possible should be used to encourage this.*"

Such reporting, by McCarthyite standards, is "subversive" and should be removed from overseas libraries. The fact that protest resulted in restoring this book to the shelves, does not alter the initial impulse to ban it. Before the McCarthy committee, the Negro poet and writer, Langston

Reprinted from the *Amsterdam News*, July 11



Hughes, renounced his past and cooperated with McCarthy. Yet McCarthy was not primarily concerned with Mr. Hughes's recantation. He was interested in such Hughes books as *Simple Speaks His Mind*, which were banned abroad notwithstanding the author's cooperation. The following selection particularly irked the Wisconsin book-burner:

"You figure the Constitution has fallen down on you?"

"I do," said Simple, "Just like it fell down on that poor Negro lynched last month. Did anybody out of that mob go to jail? Not a living soul! But just kidnap some little small white baby and take it across the street, and you will do 20 years. The FBI will spread its dragnet and drag in 40 suspicions before morning. And if you are colored, don't get caught selling a half pint of bootleg licker, or writing a few numbers. They will put you in every jail there is. But southerners can beat you, burn you, lynch you and hang you to a tree . . . and every one of them will go scot free. Gimme another beer, Tony! I can lean on this bar, but I ain't got another thing in the USA on which to lean."

Books Against Racism—Verboten

Was therefore only alleged "pro-communist" authorship the cause of book banning, as the *New York Times* opined? Actually, such was not the case. In the same account the *New York Times* as analyst rushes headlong into the *New York Times* as reporter. From India its correspondent reported interviewing an American official regarding the removal of "the innocuous . . . but deceptive" titles of the Bernhard J. Stern books dealing with medical conditions in the United States. "It was discovered," the *Times* reports, "that [there was] the impression that Negroes had no medical care in the United States' and [they] 'unduly stressed Negro medical statistics.'"

Are McCarthy and McCarthyism concerned solely with "communism"? Or are they in fact more concerned with keeping the truth about the vicious racism which exists in our country from reaching the eyes of the colored and colonial peoples abroad? Messrs. White and Myrdal were never even called as witnesses and are certainly not "communists." Yet any facts regarding oppression of colored peoples anywhere in the world coming from any source—communist, non-communist or anti-communist—are labeled "subversive" by the racists and burned in the name of freedom.

But at the hearings conducted by McCarthy himself, the witch hunter's own anti-Negroism was most clearly bared. On April 1, McCarthy was grilling Dr. Gene Weltfish, an anthropologist who had co-authored the popularly-written pamphlet *The Races of Mankind*, a widely-read presentation of scientific evidence exploding the myth of "race supremacy." Its appearance in 1942 contributed to the destruction of the Hitlerian "Aryan myth" then facing a fatal reckoning on the battlefields of World War II.

From the very outset of the hearings, McCarthy and

his political ingenue, Roy Cohn, collaborated on several variations of the familiar "are-you-now-or-have-you-ever-been" theme to set up Dr. Weltfish as a "communist." After hearing Dr. Weltfish assert her constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment, Senator John L. McClellan (Dem., Arkansas) asks McCarthy what the contents of the *Races of Mankind* are. The chairman blandly admits: "Counsel tells me . . . that they had not gone through the book word for word and are not prepared at this time to read quotes into the record. *The principal thing I was concerned about here was to show the background of this author*" (emphasis added). This is a tangential way for McCarthy to say that he wanted the "communist" label pinned to Dr. Weltfish. The reason for this painstaking smear job emerged clearly just a few moments later when McCarthy picks up the pamphlet and remarks, "Just opening at random I find something on page 18 of the book entitled *The Races of Mankind* which *should interest my Southern colleagues to some extent*. It shows the intelligence tests of the Southern whites, Arkansas, 41:55; Northern Negroes, Ohio, 49:50" (emphasis added).

It's "Communist Propaganda"!

A careful reading of the entire testimony and, more important, an understanding of the technique and motivations of Joe McCarthy, reveal that he was not merely pulling the leg of a "Southern colleague" who sat on the opposite side of the Senate aisle. Roy Cohn intrudes at this point

Anti-Jimcrow Books Banned!

AMONG the several hundred books by 40 authors banned by the Department of State from overseas United States libraries (listed in the *New York Times*, June 22), works containing factual information about oppression of the Negroes in the United States are conspicuous. Following are such works named:

American Medical Practice, Medical Service by Government and Medicine in Industry, all by Dr. Bernhard J. Stern.

American Negro Slave Revolts, A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Essays in the History of the American Negro and The Negro People in America: A Critique of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma", all by Herbert Aptheker.

Freedom Road and all other works by Howard Fast.
The Races of Mankind, by Gene Weltfish and Ruth Benedict.

African Journey and Paul Robeson, Negro, by Eslanda Goode Robeson.

A Rising Wind: A Report on the Negro Soldier in the European Theater of War, by Walter White.

Special Problems of Negro Education, by Doxey Wilkerson.

An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal.
Not Without Laughter, Simple Speaks His Mind, Laughing to Keep from Crying, all by Langston Hughes.
Black Folk and other works by W. E. B. Du Bois.

after McCarthy has given him the cue and tells McClellan: "Senator, . . . we are trying to get excerpts from every book referred to here . . . for the record." Just a few minutes before this statement by Cohn, McCarthy had admitted that no one on the committee had even read *The Races of Mankind*. Yet here is the spectacle of the ranking book-burner tearing out a "random" extract for the record. Why did McCarthy throw this tidbit out to the Dixiecrat Senator from Arkansas?

McCarthy's point was not missed. "I think that [*i.e.*, the figures showing that the average "Northern Negro in Ohio" scored a higher IQ than the "average Southern white (in) Arkansas"] is pertinent to the record," said McClellan. In other words, this extract selected by McCarthy should go into the official record of the hearings. And why? McClellan continues: "Some of the contents that are objectionable as communist propaganda . . . should be inserted in the record so that those who read the record will have some understanding of what is involved." And—according to McCarthy (and McClellan)—precisely what is involved? The "communist propaganda" that a Negro can possess a higher IQ than a white person! McClellan concludes his agreement with McCarthy on the point by noting: why should the United States foot the bill "to propagandize other countries and other peoples in a way favorable to communism instead of anti-communism, or the American way . . . when we have a book like this" (emphasis added).

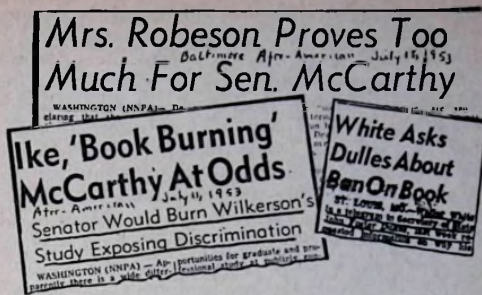
Certainly this patent McCarthyite technique exposes the same racist mentality which directed McCarthy's anti-Semitic cross-examinations of the Jewish witnesses at the Malmedy hearings in 1949. Only here he brazenly employs his Goebbels-like talents to evoke an official expression of anti-Negroism.

The Wilkerson Hearings

But McCarthy is not yet satisfied that he has slammed home his point. Patronizingly he engages the Arkansas again: "I may say, Senator McClellan, I have given the staff the instruction that where you have a well-known Communist, like Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, in those cases it is not necessary to read the book, because the person buying the book should recognize its nature from the name of the author. Where you have an undercover communist, one not generally known, then, unless the book itself contains communist propaganda, you could not blame the individual who purchased the book" (emphasis added.)

All of this high-toned patriotism by McCarthy and McClellan was predicated *exclusively* on the *single* extract torn out by Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy. What inference can logically be drawn other than that McCarthy necessarily must be deeply anti-Negro to engage in such a vile display of racism?

Two Negroes, in addition to Langston Hughes, were hauled before the McCarthy Committee. Professor Doxey A. Wilkerson, who had been called up by the Jenner Com-



How the Negro press headlined the book-burning.

mittee early in 1953, was subpoenaed by the McCarthy Committee in July. Each time he was subjected to more than the usual abuse which these boards of inquisition mete out to anyone who risks resisting them. When this writer asked if he could comment on the McCarthy committee's attitude toward him, Mr. Wilkerson replied, "While there was no conclusive evidence at that particular time, as a Negro I could not but feel heavy overtones of white chauvinism throughout the hearing."

An examination of the testimony of the Wilkerson hearing more than confirms the scholar's feelings. In this case the McCarthy committee was red-baiting Professor Wilkerson's book, *Special Problems of Negro Education*, a work commissioned by the federal government when he served as research associate for President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education in the late thirties. At the hearing the author described his work as "an analysis of the horrible discrimination against Negroes in education."

Professor Wilkerson, formerly a member of the Howard University faculty, pointed out that the book contained "nothing about communism" but rather concerned itself with a "weakness of American democracy." He said, "if the proposals had been followed" that were laid down in his book, "it would have strengthened democracy." His question: "Is there something about a book on Negro education that is subversive?" provoked a typical McCarthy outburst when the Wisconsin senator gavelled, "We'll ask the questions!"

She Was Too Much for McCarthy

And most of the questions had to do with everything else but the book. Particularly did Senators Mundt and McCarthy stress the witness's alleged advocacy of "force and violence." But Mr. Wilkerson doggedly tried to keep the hearings on their ostensible subject, a book on discrimination against Negroes in American education. His refusal to knuckle under to intimidation finally prompted Senator Mundt wearily to call for the book's removal from the overseas libraries. For McCarthy the opportunity proved too tempting. He openly proclaimed himself a book-burner when he snapped defiantly: "I don't care what they do with that book . . . whether they burn it or not!"

Another Negro called before the McCarthy Committee was Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson. Although the *New York Herald-Tribune* (July 8), described it as "by and large . . . a good-humored session," the appearance of Mrs. Robeson was hardly a "humorous" occasion. McCarthy was particularly taken aback when Mrs. Robeson, in declining to discuss her private beliefs and opinions, underscored the rights of the Negro people by invoking the Fifteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. This bulwark of the Constitution guarantees equal rights regardless of race or color. When she elected the Fifteenth Amendment in addition to the Fifth—McCarthy snapped, "You have no special rights because of your race!" He overruled Mrs. Robeson's position, but not without a final word from the famous anthropologist: "I don't quite understand. As a Negro and as a second class citizen I have been fighting racial discrimination all my life. You're white and I'm Negro and this is a very white committee."

Again the questioning pursued the familiar, relentless line of the McCarthy committee: advocacy of peace, "communism" and the inevitable alleging of advocacy of "force and violence." The last query prompted Mrs. Robeson to rejoin: "I don't know anybody dedicated to the overthrow of the government by force and violence. The only force and violence I have seen has been that against the Negro people."

McCarthy tried with a desperate politeness to assure Mrs. Robeson that the only reason no Negroes were on the committee was that there were no Negro senators. The only discrimination he saw was "discrimination by the voters." This apology by McCarthy for Jimcrow elections is not naive. He knows the score—and it is clear where he stands on the issue—with the Dixiecrats. Mrs. Robeson took a few minutes out to provide the "naive" McCarthy with a few elementary facts in American life: "Most Negroes are in the South," she said, "and they don't have much right to

elect a senator."

Mrs. Robeson's sharp rejoinders and her refusal to be intimidated by the McCarthy apparatus evoked a significant response from the thoroughly piqued McCarthy. Her answers, McCarthy threatened—but with a "deep courtesy," as the *New York Times* reported (July 8)—would normally bring down a citation for contempt. "He (McCarthy) would not seek (a contempt citation) . . . as . . . proof that she was getting 'special consideration.'" He added that it would be "different" if a man had given the same testimony. McCarthy compounded the racism when "he asserted that other members of minority groups, as witnesses, had 'capitalized' on their 'race' to berate the subcommittee."

When asked if she had recently spoken on the subject of McCarthyism, Mrs. Robeson acknowledged that she had. McCarthy then asked, "What did she say?" The obese J. B. Matthews replied, "She didn't say whether she was for or against us." Mrs. Robeson laughed and quipped, "I'll just give you two guesses!" While the press noted that McCarthy joined in the "roar of laughter" from the packed hearing room, others observed that Mr. Witch-Hunt shifted in obvious discomfort and relief as the wife of Paul Robeson left the witness chair.

Further evidence of anti-Negroism of McCarthy was supplied in connection with the testimony of the white scholar of Negro history, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who testified before the McCarthy Committee on May 6. An excerpt from that scholar's *Essays in the History of the American Negro* was printed as an appendix to the record of his hearing as evidence of the "subversiveness" of this book. The excerpt stated that the "present struggle for Negro rights is bound up with the battle for democracy" and that this alliance of Negro and white could complete the democratic revolution begun by Reconstruction and left unfinished by the arrest of that movement.

III: THE NEGRO PEOPLE HIT BACK

THE Negro people have suffered too much not to detect the presence of an enemy. More than anyone else, they know when somebody is gunning for them. That is why the most crucial evidence for McCarthy's profound anti-Negroism is to be found in the reaction of the American Negro community to McCarthy. Far from being bullied by McCarthy, the Negro press promptly greeted McCarthy with a vigorous blast. The *Baltimore Afro-American* incisively charged that "Senator McCarthy would burn books against discrimination" (July 11) after the Wilkerson hearing. The paper promptly got the point of McCarthy's attack on Professor Wilkerson. The *Afro-American* remarked: "As far as Senator Joseph McCarthy is concerned,

all books which expose America's racial discrimination can be burned—and the sooner, the better."

The united resistance which McCarthy inspired among Negroes throughout the country was expressed editorially (July 7) by the conservative *Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia: "A proper question to ask [McCarthy and Munde] is . . . do you approve of the discriminations Mr. Wilkerson bared? Do you think that the banning or burning of this book will hide from the world the indignities which this democratic nation still imposes upon its Negro minority? *These questions are entirely aside from any left-wing leanings the author may or may not have. Be he Communist or anti-Communist, the merits of his book*

Do The Senators Approve Of School Discrimination?
 Journalist Guide July 11, 1953
 A MONG the recent witnesses called before Senator McCarthy's investigating committee was DOXEY WILKERSON.

A proper question to ask the two Republican senators whose books... defame the President... is... do you approve of the discriminations Mr. Wilkerson asked? Do they think that the banning or burning of this book will hide from the world the indignities which this democratic nation still imposes on its Negro minority?

These questions are entirely aside from any left-wing leanings the author may or may not have. He no Communist or anti-Communist the merits of his book should be the only test of its eligibility for inclusion in any library.

AFRO Editorial Page March 14, 1953

"... No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States..."

U. S. CONSTITUTION.
 14TH AMENDMENT

Two Disturbing Orders

We are disturbed over the implications of new orders just issued by the State Department.

Jumping each time Senator McCarthy cracks the whip, the department has ordered its overseas information service to no longer use material from the works of liberal writers like Howard Fast.

The Negro press editorializes against McCarthy.

should be the only test of its eligibility for inclusion in any library" (emphasis added).

The New York *Amsterdam News* of July 11 carried a lead editorial against McCarthy, illustrated with an appropriate and hard-hitting political cartoon.

Again the *Afro-American* (July 18), sharply pointed up the real issue behind McCarthy when it editorially exposed his attack on Mrs. Robeson: "The insidious purpose of Senator McCarthy's latest junket into the darkened cave of the book-burners is becoming increasingly clear. . . . His aim is to create the impression that authors who dare expose or protest American racial shortcomings are 'following the communist line' and therefore what they write must be subversive." To reinforce its editorial conclusions regarding McCarthy, the *Afro* cited the anti-communist study, *An American Dilemma*, by Gunnar Myrdal. Accompanying the editorial was a lead news story headed, "Mrs. Robeson Proves Too Much for Senator McCarthy."

Other Negro journals which not only defended Mrs.

Robeson but retaliated sharply against the McCarthy committee during the week of July 18 included the New York *Amsterdam News* and the Philadelphia *Tribune*. The Pittsburgh *Courier*, generally a very conservative sheet, capped its story with a five-column head: "I'm a Loyal American—Mrs. Robeson."

Negro Churchmen Resist

Further confirmation comes from the leaders of the Negro church in America who have denounced the McCarthy attacks so clearly aimed at the Negro people. The Rt. Rev. William J. Walls, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion, declared in commenting on the McCarthy attacks on Mrs. Robeson, Professor Wilkerson and others, that "The efforts of McCarthyites are being made to defame Negro leaders." Bishop Walls, an outspoken advocate of peace and brotherhood, went on to declare: "I do not believe that these people [the McCarthyites] are afraid of ministers and communism, they are afraid of religion and righteousness."

The Rev. Edward D. McGowan, chairman of the National Committee to Defend Negro Leadership, called on his people to resist McCarthyism when he said, "Nearly 2,000 years ago the founder of the Christian community gave His life for the right to think, to speak and to believe according to the dictates of His conscience." When J. B. Matthews, the professional "anti-communist" who masterminds many of the ranking anti-Semites in the United States, made his "contemptuous" attack on the Protestant clergy as the "largest single group" supporting "communism," the Negro church scored the McCarthy aide. In a letter of protest to McCarthy himself, the First Episcopal District of the African Methodist Episcopal Church "vigorously condemned" Matthews (*New York Times*, July 11).

And for particularly good reason did the Negro church take fighting exception to the Matthews slur. Matthews, it will be recalled, was personally selected by McCarthy to head his committee staff until nation-wide protest forced McCarthy to fire Matthews. An examination of the celebrated Matthews article, "Reds and Our Churches" in the reactionary *American Mercury* for July, shows that Matthews listed—separately from the whites, significantly enough—no less than 12 outstanding bishops of Negro churches. Matthews noted that there were some "7,000" clergymen who were part of this "communist conspiracy" within the American church community. There is only one place where J. B. Matthews could have secured the very listings and numbers which he used in the *Mercury* article. The names, the numbers, and the very language of his article are very nearly verbatim selections from a pamphlet published in 1949 entitled *How Red is the Federal Council of Churches?* by the notorious merchant of fascism, Allen Alderson Zoll, war-time head of the openly fascistic American Patriots, Inc., and currently profiting handsomely from

Negro Fears College 'Witch Hunts' May Harm Race

Louisville Courier-Journal March 6, 1953

Courageous Ministers, Churches Will Survive McCarthyism, Dr. Mays Says

From American July 19, 1953

ATLANTA, Ga.—The minister with conviction who understands the Christian gospel, knows the historic role of Christianity, and who has a deep conviction that the church is ordained under God, will not be frightened by

church. Nevertheless, he reminded his listeners that the church has always fought when religious freedom was jeopardized. An example of this, the audience was told, is the World Council of Churches which has

Ministers Denounce Slur Clergymen Are 'Reds'

From News July 11, 1953

An editorial in this week roundly denounced the inference that ministers and Brooklyn in the midst of our clergyman, church leaders and group in the United States this week over a magazine article which the "Israel" angle appears

The fight-back spirit of the Negro people is reflected in its press.

his anti-Semitic activities. Zoll was aided in his "research" for this pamphlet by J. B. Matthews (*Bridgeport Herald*, July 12).

It was apparent from the beginning of McCarthy's implacable drive against books which exposed anti-Negro discrimination and his conspicuous assault on key Negro leaders that his efforts to split the Negro community along artificial lines of personal political belief would fail. And it has failed miserably. The Negro people, their leaders and their press have put up a united and vigorous protest to McCarthy that is unique in American life today.

The anti-Negro line of McCarthy that we have shown here is not a random manifestation, any more than his connections with the anti-Semites (see "McCarthy and

Anti-Semitism," by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff, *Jewish Life*, July). McCarthy's campaign against the civil rights and liberties of all Americans is an essential and inevitable part of his fascist offensive against the American people. This must necessarily include depriving minorities of their rights. McCarthy's actions over the past few months have enforced this realization among the Negro people. McCarthy's anti-Negroism and anti-Semitic connections, together with his offensive against civil liberty, stamp him for the full-blown fascist that he is. These are grim facts which all Americans, Negro and white, Jewish and non-Jewish, had better examine closely. Then the resistance against McCarthy and McCarthyism must grow until this blight is driven from our land.

THE NAACP CONDEMNS MCCARTHYISM AND ITS WORKS

Condemnation of book-burning, particularly of books about discrimination against Negroes, and of all forms of McCarthyism was voted in a resolution passed at the annual convention of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People in June. The resolution follows:

THE Constitution of these United States unequivocally guarantees to all Americans freedom of speech, thought and assembly. If these liberties should be lost, weakened or destroyed either by legislation or by direct or indirect intimidation, our crusade for civil rights will be seriously hampered.

Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or "un-Americanism."

In some communities, textbooks, courses of study and teaching techniques dealing with human relations and minority group situations have been condemned or eliminated on the ground that these are not "American."

In examinations designed to test the loyalty of applicants for or holders of positions in government, a question frequently asked persons is whether they believe in the equality of the black and white races or entertain Negroes socially in their homes.

In many areas the advocates of low-cost public housing are already branded as socialists, while those advocating

non-segregated housing are called communists.

Professors and teachers who declare that segregation and discrimination based upon color are undemocratic are suspect, as are those who assert that scientific inquiry supports the thesis of the basic equality of peoples, regardless of race or color.

Books which displease Senator McCarthy or others are to be banned, if not burned. We recall that it was a controversial book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which helped mightily to strike the shackles of slavery from the ankles of America's slaves.

In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked in our nation's capital until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a tornado, it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination and inequality.

In this day of pilloring, of browbeating, of branding, of cunning indictments, we call upon our people to stand firm upon the platform of the Americanism of the founding fathers as set forth in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States of America and stoutly to defend and protect it. These are the precious charters of liberty for free Americans. Under them we have life. In their death or perversion we die and with us die all our fellow citizens of every national derivation, color or religion.

ZELIG'S DILEMMA

Excerpt from a Work in Progress

By Yuri Suhl

IT was around nine o'clock on Sunday morning when Zelig and his wife, Feige-Henie, were sitting at the kitchen table, in the back of the store, eating breakfast. The kitchen door was left open so that they could keep an eye on the business. The newsstand stood outside the store and they could watch the customers pick up their papers and leave the change on the stand. Zelig enjoyed this impersonal method of "doing business from a distance." "With newspapers it's a pleasure," he would say, "they sell themselves alone. If only the rest of the merchandise would sell that way, my legs would be spared the varicose veins."

Occasionally, however, a customer would appear, holding a dollar bill and waving it in the direction of the open kitchen door. Then Zelig would run out to give the customer his change, and return to the table muttering complaints about the gloomier aspects of his business. "You can't even drink a cup of coffee in peace! Sunday comes once a week for everybody, but not for the candy-store keeper."

Feige-Henie would never let her husband's complaints go unchallenged. "Awright," she would say, "hire a salesman so you'll be able to drink your coffee in peace. Or better yet. Open up a department store like Mrs. Woolworth, so you won't even have to get near the store. You will have yourself a saleslady for every counter and you will lie on the sand in Miami Beach."

"And where will you be?"

"I'll be right there, near you, don't worry. Whatsematter, you think I'll poison myself with a little Miami Beach? It's awright. If it's good for Mrs. Woolworth, it's good for me, too."

"How many times did I tell you not to call her Mrs. Woolworth. Her name is Mrs. Hutton. I read it in the papers."

"Hutton-Shmutton. What's the difference? She still goes to Florida, and I go from the kitchen to the store and from the store to the kitchen."

"A woman is 30 years in America and she doesn't know yet that Mrs. Woolworth is Mrs. Hutton."

YURI SUHL is a well-known novelist and Yiddish poet. He is author of several volumes of Yiddish poetry and of the novel, *One Foot in America*. His new novel, *Cowboy on a Wooden Horse*, a sequel to the former volume, was published in October.

"So why are the stores called Woolworth and not Hutton? Tell me, if you're so smart."

"If you want to know, go ask her. I can only tell you what I know."

Though such conversations between Zelig and Feige-Henie were not infrequent and were always charged with a tone of irritation, they were by no means an expression of mutual hostility. What to the ears of a total stranger could, perhaps, appear to be a quarrel between husband and wife, was, in reality, nothing more than the surface rumblings of their agitated nerves; the audible by-product of the many frustrations that rankled in their lives. It was as though with the aid of a stinging word and an occasional high-pitched voice, they were draining off from each other the top-layer pressures of their humdrum existence which led from the kitchen to the store, and from the store to the kitchen.

BUT ON THIS SUNDAY MORNING FEIGE-HENIE WAS WILLING to ignore Zelig's mutterings about the "business." She had missed a big event the night before and was eager to hear all about it. "Zelig," she said, "you didn't tell me anything yet about the party."

"When did I have time to tell you? When I came home you were asleep already, and when I got up you were still asleep."

"Awright, so tell me now. How was it?"

"What's there to tell? It was a big party. Like a wedding. Plenty to eat and to drink. From salami, to chicken, to turkey. Whatsematter, Shmulik can't afford it maybe?"

"Never mind the food. Tell me about the people. First tell me about Sender. He's skinny like a bone, I suppose, and dark as the night. He went through so much!" She ended with a deep sigh.

"About Sender I can tell you this: if you saw him you would be surprised. He isn't skinny like a bone, and he isn't dark like the night. He's awright. Compared to me he looks like a giant."

"Compared to you anybody can look like a giant."

"Thanks for the compliment."

"Awright, tell me already and don't draw the breath out of me. Is he tall? Is he short?"

"He's not tall and he's not short. He's just right."

"What's by you just right? Let me hear."

"When I say just right, I mean just right. What do you want me to do, paint you a picture? I am not a painter. I am a candy-store keeper."

"That I know without you. You don't have to remind me. Now, will you tell me how he looks?"

"He looks very good."

"What does he look so good from, his *tzures*?"

"He went through plenty. He was a Partisan."

"What's that?"

"A Partisan is the same as a soldier only without the uniform. They fight in the woods. With guns, without guns. With grenades, without grenades. With anything that falls into their hands they fight. Sender was a regular Partisan. He killed plenty nazis."

"How do you know, he told you?"

"He has to tell me? What then do Partisans do, sell chewing gum? Besides, you take one look at him, so you know."

"Thank God he came out alive," she sighed again. "Tell me, and who else was there?"

"Ask me better who wasn't there. Everybody was there. The rich and the poor. The uptown and the downtown. Riverside Drive and Houston street. And I, Zelig, in the middle. You should have seen the welcome they gave me. How are you, Zelig? And what's new, Zelig? And where have you been, Zelig? And how is business, Zelig?" You would think that all they do a whole year is sit with folded hands and worry about Zelig."

"Talk is cheap. Sweet words and a false heart. Where are they a whole year to ask how Zelig is?"

"And for you I got a compliment."

"For me? From whom?"

"From Mendel?"

"Why all of a sudden a compliment?"

"We talked about Shmulik, this, that and the other, so I told him what you said. I mean about your suspicions why Shmulik became so good-hearted all of a sudden and spent so much money to bring Sender over. So Mendel said, 'Tell your Feige-Henie that she's a smart woman.' It seems he has the same suspicion you have, that he brought over a husband for his daughter Bella. Funny. I, too, thought something was fishy. But it didn't occur to me to think what you think."

THE TELEPHONE RANG AND WOKE UP THEIR DAUGHTER ANNA.

"I'll get it, Ma," she shouted from the bedroom and quickly got out of bed and hurried to the living room where the phone was.

"It must be the boy friend Morty," Feige-Henie said. "A nice boy. I like him."

"The question is whether your daughter likes him."

"When Anna goes out with the same boy for six weeks, she must like him."

They both fell silent, straining to listen.

"It's for you, Pa," Anna announced as she came into the kitchen. "What time is it?" she said, stretching sleepily.

"For me?" Zelig said with surprise. "Who is it?"

"I don't know, it's some man."

"It's early yet," Feige-Henie said, "go back to sleep."

Anna went back to her bedroom. Zelig went to the living room to answer the phone and Feige-Henie trailed after him and remained standing in the doorway of the living room.

"Hello . . . oh, hello, Mendel! My Henie and I were just sitting and talking about you."

"And saying nice things about me, I hope."

"About you, Mendel? Only nice things. What else can one say about you?"

"I'll tell you why I'm calling you, Zelig. I just had a few calls from *landsleit*. It seems that the news got around that Sender is here already, and they all want to see him. They want to hear something about Lodz, about their relatives. After all, he was there and he just comes from there."

"Yes, yes. Of course."

"And I am sure that Sender would like to see them, too."

"Positively. The only question is how will the cat cross the water?"

"That's right. That's exactly why I called you. Maybe you should call up Shmulik and tell him that you want Sender to come to your house for supper tonight. Then I and the others will come over a little later. What do you say to this plan?"

"The plan is a good one. The only question is, will I be able to carry it out. Mendel, why don't you call him up?"

"I'm surprised at you, Zelig, for even asking a question like that. You know how much Shmulik likes me and how much I like Shmulik, and yet you suggest that I should call up."

"And I, you think, like him?"

"With you it's different, Zelig. With you Shmulik never quarrelled."

Zelig didn't know whether to take this as a compliment or an insult. "He can't frighten me, you know," Zelig raised his voice. "I'm not impressed with his money. I know him from the days when he was still a house-to-house peddler. . . ."

"All right, Zelig. That's not the important thing now. The important thing now is to get Sender to your house. And you are the one to do it."

"I'll try, Mendel, I'll try," Zelig said, without enthusiasm. "Then I'll call you back."

"Insist on it. You are more entitled to Sender than he is."

"Awright, Mendel, I'll call you back later."

"IT WAS MENDEL," ZELIG SAID TO FEIGE-HENIE WHEN HE TURNED AROUND AND DISCOVERED HER STANDING IN THE DOORWAY.

"Thanks for the information. I'm not deaf. And I even know what he wants. He wants Sender and you haven't got him."

"A regular detective my wife is. Everything she knows. Awright, I haven't got him. But if you're so smart, let's see if *you* can get him out of Shmulik's house. Let's see."

Feige-Henie made no reply. She turned around and walked back to the kitchen. Zelig was right behind her, following her with reluctant steps. She shook her head and muttered something to herself.

These headshakes and murrings were familiar portents to Zelig. They were the forerunners of a type of verbal thunder that would rumble, intermittently, throughout the day. Right now he was in no mood for heated words with Feige-Henie or anyone else. What he needed most at this moment was an ally and not an opponent; someone to help him think clearly and give him some sound advice as to how to produce Sender in his house. He suddenly realized how grave and delicate a task he had undertaken when he promised Mendel that he would call Shmulik. What would Mendel and the *landsleit* think of him if he failed in this mission? He, Zelig, is unable to get to his house his own relative. Why? Because Shmulik says no. Why? Because Shmulik's yes or no is backed up by a pants factory, and a house in Borough Park. It was Zelig versus Shmulik for the first time in his life, and Zelig had better win, he thought, if he is to face his *landsleit* without bowing his head in shame. It was clear to him now, clear as the impending storm on Feige-Henie's long face.

Back at the table, she refilled her glass with fresh coffee, held it to her mouth with both hands, and blew at it before each sip. Zelig waited for what he considered a reasonable pause. And when his wife still continued to sip her coffee in ominous silence, he decided to take both the initiative and the offensive at the same time. "And where am I, in Canarsie? Why don't you fill up my glass, too?" "Sometimes I wonder myself where you are," she continued to stare into her glass, "on this world, or on some other world."

"Thanks for the compliment so early in the morning."

"You're welcome," she said and rose from the table. She brought the coffee pot over and refilled his glass.

"That's what I call a good wife," he said, rolling his eyes like a clown. He was determined to head off the storm and would not cringe even from flattery, if need be.

Silence again.

"Where is Anna? Went back to sleep, I suppose." Zelig asked and answered his own question.

"Let her sleep a little longer. What's the rush?"

"The rush is that Sunday is the only day she can help you out a little in the house."

"She was to a dance last night and she came home very late."

"When you were her age, you didn't dance till three in the morning."

"When I was her age, I was already 'dancing' behind the candy store counter."

Zelig sighed. No matter how solicitous he was this morning, she somehow turned it into a complaint. What he needed most right now was Feige-Henie's sympathy. But even more than that, her level-headed advice. Mendel was waiting for a call from him and he had not yet brought himself to call Shmulik.

ZELIG DEBATED WITH HIMSELF: SHOULD HE CALL AND ASK FOR Sender and take up the whole matter with him, or should he talk to Shmulik and tell him point blank: "Shmulik, I am calling you to tell you that I am coming over to take Sender to my house for supper tonight. And I will not take no for an answer!"

They had both finished drinking their coffee, and, with Zelig conducting a mental telephone conversation with Shmulik, it grew strangely quiet around the kitchen table. Feige-Henie turned to him and said, "Nu, my dear husband, what are you waiting for, a miracle? When will you call Shmulik and what will you tell him?"

Her question startled him. "I was just thinking the same thing," he said. "You took my thoughts right out of my mind."

"If I took them, I'll give them back to you, with pleasure," she said. "What I want to know is this. Mendel wants to see Sender, the *landsleit* want to see Sender. All very good and fine. But why didn't it occur to you that I, too, want to see him? I didn't go to the party, so that you could go. I thought you'll have sense enough to invite him for supper tonight. Whatsematter, Shmulik is more entitled to him than I?"

"You are right," he admitted. "A hundred per cent right."

Now he knew why she had been so short-tempered with him after Mendel had called. He was glad that she had spoken up. Without knowing it, he thought, she had given him the strongest argument against Shmulik's possible refusal of his request. "My wife wants to see Sender and she's entitled to it," he would tell him firmly. And let's see what he can say to that.

"At least you admit that I am right. Thank God for that."

The telephone rang again.

"I'll get it, Pa," Anna called out from her bedroom.

While Anna was in the living room answering the phone, Zelig and Feige-Henie remained uncomfortably silent. Each waited for the other to start the conversation with some kind, conciliatory word.

"Pa, it's for you again!" Anna announced, somewhat disappointed. "You're so popular this morning," she said. "Two calls one after the other."

Anna stretched and gave a prolonged yawn. "What were you two bickering about?" she said to her mother. "I couldn't get a wink of sleep."

Feige-Henie motioned to Anna to be quiet. They both listened.

"Oh, Hershel. Good morning, Hershel. I didn't recognize your voice," Zelig shouted into the mouthpiece. "What I do? So-so. Thank God one lives. . . . My relative? He's fine. No, not by me. By Shmulik. Yes. . . . I know. . . . Mendel called me already. . . . Yes. . . . Later. . . . Call me back later. Awright. . . . Good-by."

WHEN ZELIG RETURNED TO THE KITCHEN HE RAISED HIS ARMS and dropped them again. He did this several times, as

though he were flapping a pair of wings. "You know who called?" he said. "The president of 'The Lodzer Young Men's United Benevolent Association.'" He deliberately paused after each word, making the title sound twice as long.

"Young Men's," Anna said, with mild sarcasm. "That always makes me laugh whenever I hear it. There is no one under 50 there and they call themselves Young Men's."

Zelig had something to say on that subject, but now was not the time. How many times had they tried to draw their children, the younger generation, into the Young Men's? Offered them leadership in the organization; wanted them to gradually take over, make it worthy of the name Young Men's, and carry on from where they, their parents, left off. After all, one doesn't live forever. But it had never worked. Except once a year when they all came to the Association's annual ball. The younger generation danced away the night and the parents talked away the night, reminiscing of bygone days and catching up on the year's *landsmanshaft* gossip. Around four in the morning it was all over until next year.

Feige-Henie chuckled. She knew why Hershel had called. Zelig's dilemma was mounting and she wanted him to know that she was not only aware of his predicament but in a sense enjoyed seeing him in it. It was a needling kind of chuckle.

"Laugh! Laugh!" he said, challengingly. "By you it's all a joke."

"Your father got himself into a nice mess," Feige-Henie said to Anna, as though Zelig were not around. "He brings over a relative, so Shmulik has him. Now everybody wants to see him, so they call up whom? Not Shmulik, God forbid, but your father. And his hands are empty. No relative!" She spread her hands apart to illustrate her words.

"I don't get it," Anna said, looking at her father. "Isn't Sender your relative?"

"Whose then relative is he?" Feige-Henie answered for Zelig, "Shmulik's?"

"So why don't you call him up, Pa?" Anna said, casually.

"Call up Shmulik and tell him you want Sender over at your house tonight. I'd like to see him myself," she added as an afterthought.

"Call him up," he shrugged, as if to say, it's easy for her to say. He looked at Feige-Henie and she knew the meaning of his look. He wanted her to do now what she had done many times before when he was in a difficult situation—take over and pull him out of it. But this time she was adamant. "Don't be a *lemeshke*," she prodded him on. "Go in and call up."

THE WORD *lemeshke* STUNG. A *lemeshke* WAS A MAN WITH the spine of a jellyfish, and this was the epithet she used freely in reviewing his failure in life. Whenever she learned that a friend, an acquaintance or a *landsmanshaft* had done something to improve his lot, he, Zelig, was a *lemeshke*. Where was he after all these years in America? Still on

Houston street counting pennies at night. Yes, he was a *lemeshke*, and a *shlimazel*, and a *shlimiel* and all the other "flattering" epithets that go with failure. And to himself he had to admit that she was right. Somehow things didn't go so well with him as they did with others. Others could take pennies and turn them into dollars, but with him it was always the other way around. Take Shmulik, for instance. . . . To hell with Shmulik! . . . He hadn't even had the decency to tell him yesterday, "Zelig, I suppose you will want to have Sender in your house tomorrow. After all, he is a relative." No. Even that he grabs! Some day he would tell Shmulik a few things! Some day . . . some unnamed day on the calendar . . . his own, private, invisible repository for all his ungiven replies, his unanswered challenges, his unspoken complaints, his muted hurts, insults and humiliations. Some day the lid would come off and he would give Shmulik a piece of his mind, once and for all . . . Some day. . . .

But right now he drew off just a few drops of that bitter brew of this private repository, enough to fortify him for his telephone talk with Shmulik. Not because Feige-Henie had called him a *lemeshke*. He was used to that. It was not the first time and not the last. It was Mendel, and Hershel, and the rest of the *landseleit*. He felt as though they were all here now, in the kitchen, looking at him, watching him, waiting to see what he would do.

Without saying anything he turned around and went into the living room to call Shmulik.

The Rosenberg Case Goes On . . .

THE civilized world was again shocked when Michael and Robby, ten and six, orphaned children of the Rosenbergs, were ordered out of the Tom's River, N. J., school they had been attending. The supervisor of the town school board told the family with whom the children are staying that the children be withdrawn from school within 24 hours on the technicality that the children are not legal residents of the district although they had lived there for a year. Supervisor Clyde Slocum violated an agreement made with attorney Emanuel H. Bloch, guardian of the children, not to make the matter public. While Slocum refused to call a meeting of the school board to reconsider the decision, he extended the children's deadline.

At a press conference, Mr. Bloch revealed that "FBI agents have been in the area (Tom's River) during the past three weeks. . . . Civilized people must stop this blow to the children. I want these children to grow up normally, without exclusiveness or tensions, as Americans."

Earlier, Bloch had announced the formation of a trust fund for the upbringing of the children, to be administered by himself and Shirley Graham, author; Yuri Suhl, poet and novelist; James Aronson, executive editor of the *National Guardian*, and Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago.

On Oct. 14, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously, but without comment, denied a motion for a new trial for Morton Sobell, convicted with the Rosenbergs and sentenced to 30 years in Alcatraz. A national conference to map further action in the Rosenberg-Sobell case was held in Chicago on October 10th and 11th.

MORTON SOBELL STATES HIS CASE

A new affidavit by the fellow-defendant of the Rosenbergs, who did not take the stand at his trial, answers the charges against him

A motion for a new trial for Morton Sobell was argued at a hearing before the Second Circuit of the United States Court of Appeals by Sobell's attorney, Howard N. Meyer, on October fifth. On this occasion Mr. Meyer submitted an affidavit by Sobell in which Sobell, who did not take the stand at his trial, states his reply to charges made there. Below is the text of the affidavit except for a few opening legal sentences.—Eds.

THE action of the Attorney General in transferring me to a penitentiary which was the most inaccessible to my attorney [Alcatraz—Eds.], and the furthest removed from the pending litigation in the case, prevented me from adding the following statement which would have been material and relevant on the new trial motion.

While not a part of the record appealed from, I respectfully ask the Court to take into consideration the following as being, in substance, an "affidavit of merits" on this motion. I am impelled to submit this affidavit particularly because my counsel have informed me that at every stage of this proceeding, since the trial, the United States Attorney has stressed in oral argument and affidavit, the fact that I did not take the stand in my own behalf, at the trial. It is highly inappropriate in this case that this fact be given any significance whatsoever, for the following reasons, which I owe it to myself and my family to bring to the Court's attention.

I wanted to testify on my own behalf at my trial. I did not do so because my trial attorneys insisted that I should not, because (1) of the fact that the case that the prosecution had put in against me was so weak that my innocence was clearly established; and (2) that it was so clear that I had nothing to do with any atomic espionage conspiracy (as Judge Kaufman later admitted in sentencing me) that it would necessarily follow that I would be freed. Judge Frank's dissent from the affirmance of my conviction, while illustrating that my trial attorneys were motivated by reasons of substance, was nevertheless only a dissent, and hence I now know I should have insisted on telling my story.

I am completely innocent of the charges made against me. The fantastic tale Max Elitcher told about a wild midnight ride to Julius Rosenberg's apartment is untrue, and I had thought this to be plain, particularly since he admitted at the trial that he did not concoct it until after several interviews with FBI agents, several months after he first was "persuaded" to cooperate with them. The bal-

ance of his testimony against me, which consisted in not a scintilla more than the insinuation by him of a reference to "espionage" in innocent and routine conversations I had had with him, is likewise untrue.

The only other testimony concerning me at the trial related to a trip to Mexico which I made with my family, which had nothing to do with espionage, and which only after the trial did I realize was given significance by court and jury out of all proportion to what the facts actually showed. It was only after the trial that I realized how this testimony was misconstrued and misused, and to make the record clear, I want to tell the whole story now.

My wife, daughter, infant son and I left New York late in June 1950 for Mexico City. This was no suddenly developed plan. I had become dissatisfied with my work in the summer of 1949, but I couldn't very well leave then because I was in the middle of a big project at the Reeves Instrument Company, where I worked. I was in charge of the design and manufacture of a special radar computer known as a Plotting Board, and to have deserted it in mid-stream would naturally have prejudiced opportunities for future employment. During the following year I investigated several positions but couldn't find anything like what I wanted. I was really interested in getting into more basic research or an academic position.

My project was completed by June 1950. At about the same time my daughter's school term ended, my wife's graduate physics course at Columbia wound up, and my own course I was teaching at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, a graduate course on "Feed-back amplifiers," came to its summer recess. None of us had any special ties keeping us in the city, so we decided to go to Mexico. As my attorney showed, on his motion for reduction of my sentence, we had been planning and dreaming of such a trip for several years, and had documentary evidence to prove it.

Although we naturally made no public announcement of our plans, there was no secret about it either. I wrote my employer for an indefinite leave of absence, applied for and obtained necessary visas from the Mexican consul in New York, and bought round-trip tickets at the American Airlines ticket office. On the way, I had the customs officials at Dallas examine and make a record of my foreign-made cameras, so I wouldn't have to pay duty on them when bringing them back into the country. In Mexico City, we rented an apartment for a month or two, where the family stayed all the time we were there.

There was one aspect to the trip, however, which differentiated it from a routine vacation. I was not alone, in mid-1950, in having become apprehensive over signs of political intimidation and repression in this country—the inquisitions, purges and political prosecutions—which were products largely of the cold war. Although a scientist, I was not oblivious to political developments, and in fact, in common with many other scientists, saw a danger to my future in the oppressive atmosphere in which we had to work. My wife and I talked about saving our children from the terrible things the world had seen occur in Nazi Germany, and had at least half an idea we could escape its threatened repetition here. We had both engaged in left of center political activities in college days and every day saw people, including distinguished scientists like Dr. Condon, harassed and persecuted for no more than their opinions. All this, coupled with my dissatisfaction with my job anyway, and the fact that we had saved up a little money meant that when we left, we just didn't know whether we would come back or not. I recall thinking that Mexico might offer me a real challenge and opportunity—a country that, in my technical, engineering field, was really in its pioneer days.

In Mexico, there were more typical examples of our indecision. On one occasion, in Mexico City, I talked to a travel agency about an Italian Line ship due to sail from Vera Cruz to Havana, and from there to France and Italy. But I asked only for the price of Havana, and how much it would cost to fly from there back to the United States—and made no reservation for anywhere. Again, we cashed in our adult American Airlines return trip tickets that were good for only 60 days, but kept the one for our daughter that was good for six months.

Then, in the midst of our uncertainties, the newspapers suddenly published the news of Julius Rosenberg's arrest as an alleged "atom-spy." To me, the charge was absurd, but nonetheless frightening in what it meant. I had known Julius in City College years before, we had been together in a number of progressive student organizations during our college days, and had seen each other infrequently since then. I felt that he was being persecuted for political reasons and that the charge was calculated to intimidate and silence political dissent in the United States. I reasoned that anybody who opposed the then new Korean war, or otherwise dared to speak up and oppose any American policies he disagreed with, would be slapped into jail on one pretext or another. But this led me to make the mistake of feeling that a dictatorship was already taking over my country.

Then, and only then, was it that I left the family in the Mexico City apartment and traveled around Mexico—to Vera Cruz and Tampico—even using false names, and inquiring about passage to Europe or South America for all of us. It is hard to understand how I might have been led to do such a stupid thing, but it didn't take long for me to recognize how inept and pointless it was. Of course, I had no idea how it could be misinterpreted, and how

dangerous it would turn out to be.

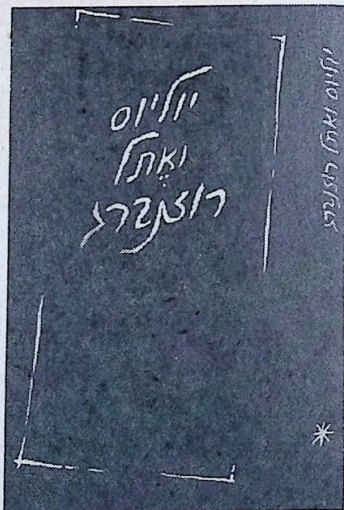
So I went back to Mexico City, and my wife and I talked it over once again. We realized that our ties to home were too strong, that we owed it to everyone to return and help combat the repressive tendencies from which we had contemplated staying away and "sitting it out." I now know how right this last decision was, and how wrong I was to think I could isolate myself from others who had the same problem.

So my wife and I decided to come back to New York, take up our lives, and join in whatever way we could in resisting the attacks on the liberties of people that were being made in the United States. We made plans for our return. There is tangible, documentary proof of this, too, for we then secured vaccinations in Mexico City—which we had not needed to get there, but which we did need to return to the United States.

But then came the unheard-of attack which deprived us of the chance to return voluntarily. My apartment was invaded by armed men who represented themselves as Mexican police, but refused, when I requested it, to take me to the American Embassy. This fact, and the rest of this incident, was set forth in my uncontradicted affidavit in support of my trial counsel's motion to arrest judgment. The United States Attorney at my trial as much as admitted that the FBI had engineered the whole affair. I cannot understand to this day, how this lawless act, apparently calculated to prevent me from returning voluntarily—for I was never informed of so much as even that I was wanted for questioning—has remained unrebuked.

(signed) MORTON SOBELL

Sworn to before me this 23rd day of September, 1953
R. DeImore, Jr., Ass't. Warden



Dust-jacket of Hebrew edition of the Rosenberg letters, published in Tel Aviv.

NEW FACTS ON SOVIET JEWS

Many lies currently being spread about the attitude of the Soviet government toward the Jews are exploded in a new factual study

By Louis Harap

NEW Light on "Soviet anti-Semitism" has recently come from an unexpected source, the Russian Institute of Columbia University, which can hardly be accused of partiality for the Soviet Union. The Institute has just published a series of studies by various authors on several aspects of Soviet life as reflected in Soviet literature (*Through the Glass of Literature: Views of Russian Society*, edited with an introduction by Ernest J. Simmons. Columbia University Press, New York. \$4.50). To a considerable extent the volume displays the misunderstanding and distortion that we have come to expect from anti-Soviet "scholarship" in the postwar period under the guise of a purported objectivity.

But one essay in the book is especially interesting in relation to the much-discussed question of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The author, Bernard J. Choseed, a leading American research authority on this subject, has made a careful, extensive, fully documented study of the "Jews in Soviet Literature." In this study Choseed illuminates many areas of that much-abused question. The material he presents shows, among other things, the falsity of several crucial points in Solomon M. Schwarz' *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, a "research" work whose writing and publishing was financed by the American Jewish Committee. Choseed reveals some new facts about the polemic on "cosmopolitanism," supplies data on Jewish heroes in Soviet novels, who rank among the most esteemed in that whole body of writing, and throws light on other points, some of which we shall discuss below. Choseed states his aim as follows: "By using Russian literature as the primary source, as well as Yiddish and, to a lesser extent, Ukrainian literature as corroborative evidence, we shall try to see: how Jews have been presented in literature; what social patterns have been pictured; the relations between Jews and non-Jews; and, concomitantly, the attitudes and patterns of thinking with relation to Jews that have been imparted to the Soviet reading-public" (p. 110).

Lies Refuted

The special value of Choseed's study is that he backs up every statement he makes by careful documentation. It is quite apparent that Choseed has tried to present his topic in strict accordance with the facts free of current hysterical prejudices.

It is in the latter sections of Choseed's essay that he supplies data that expose certain lies in Schwarz' book. Choseed

himself never mentions Schwartz at all. One section of Schwarz' book, called "Jewish Tragedy Shrouded in Silence" (pp. 334-342), argues that the Soviet government deliberately tried to suppress within the Soviet Union any mention of the horrors perpetrated by the nazis against the Jews in the temporarily occupied areas. Schwarz asserts that it was a "calculated lie" (p. 336) of the Soviet government that the nazi policy of mass murder was directed against all Soviet citizens, "regardless of nationality," rather than against the Jews specifically. Yet it is obvious that of the seven million Soviet citizens, including soldiers, officially estimated to have been killed during the war, several million were in fact murdered by the nazis "regardless of nationality."

But Schwarz goes even further. He maintains that it was a calculated Soviet policy altogether to enforce "silence on the anti-Jewish terror" (p. 338). Schwarz says: "The taboo placed on all discussion of the Hitlerite extermination of the Jews remained as much in force after as before the publication of the Molotov note" (p. 335) of January 6, 1942, to the Allied governments on nazi atrocities, including the exterminating murders of the Jews. Further, Schwarz tries to convince the reader of the "Soviet government's failure to fight anti-Semitism. . . . The Soviet press not only ignored anti-Semitism, it minimized, if it did not conceal altogether the presence and deeds of Jews at the front" (pp. 342, 343).

The facts disclosed by Choseed show that all of these assertions of Schwarz are outright lies. Choseed's citations from Soviet propaganda material published in 1942, 1943 and 1944 show concern for nazi anti-Semitism. "Soviet agit-prop organs," says Choseed, "repeatedly warned" against the nazi divide-and-rule technique. "Thus, in 1942, the mass propaganda organ *Agitator's Handbook* showed how Hitler set the Russians against the French, Russians against Ukrainians, and 'incites everybody to hatred of the Jews, to anti-Semitism'" (p. 139).

Choseed quotes an article of 1943 in a similar journal, *Propagandist*, as follows:

"The slightest attempt of the Fascists to sow national hatred in any form; and especially in the form of anti-Semitism, must at once be repulsed by our agitators and propagandists. Do not forget that the Fascists . . . like to set rumors in motion in the hope that there will be found credulous and hasty people who will spread them further. . . . Not a single such machination of the enemy must be allowed to remain unexposed" (quoted on p. 139).

The *Agitator's Handbook* in 1944 cited heroic Jewish participation in the war and goes on to quote the famous definition of anti-Semitism by Stalin in 1931: "Anti-Semitism as the most extreme form of racial chauvinism is the most dangerous hangover from cannibalism. . . . Anti-Semitism is dangerous for the toilers as a false sidetrack . . . leading them into the jungle. Therefore, Communists as consistent internationalists cannot but be uncompromising and mortal enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR anti-Semitism is most severely prosecuted as a manifestation deeply hostile to the Soviet order" (quoted on p. 139-140).

More On "Cosmopolitanism"

Further, Choseed calls attention to Soviet works during and after the war that expose as a lie Schwarz' claim of a "taboo." Choseed cites five literary works published during the war and 15 published after the war—several of these prize winners—that include material on the Nazi murder of Jews. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Choseed's citations are exhaustive, since he does not mention even the well-known novel, *The Underground R.C. Carries On*, by A. Fyodorov, in which Nazi treatment of the Jews enters (JEWISH LIFE published the relevant excerpt from this novel in the January 1951 issue). The decline of Yiddish in the post-war years by no means involved any change in the Soviet attitude toward the Jews. "That the 'command' [that is, social demands made on Soviet writers—L.H.] did not mean that the Jewish tragedy could not be presented," says Choseed, "is evident from the continued treatment of this theme in Soviet literature since the polemics of late 1948 and early 1949" (p. 142).

Choseed also provides interesting data on the discussion of "cosmopolitanism" that took place in the Soviet Union in 1948-49. This charge, Choseed says, was by no means made only against certain Jewish writers. It was "leveled against many writers of all nationalities in all parts of the Soviet Union," he says (footnote, p. 149). Choseed goes on to say that this critical movement "saw the eclipse of a considerable number of Jewish writers (non-Yiddish) as well. However, the large majority of Jews working in Soviet literature were not touched by the polemics and of those attacked a significant number have since reappeared. The continued prominence of Jewish figures in all branches of Soviet belles-lettres is indicated in the following partial listing taken from a larger survey of the period June 1949 to October 1951." Choseed then lists the names of 75 Jewish writers in Russian and Ukrainian presently active in the various literary fields, creative, critical and scholarly. Of these, he names 20 who had been criticized for "cosmopolitanism" and who have since reappeared in Soviet journals. In each of these cases he cites the publication in which their work was printed.

Choseed observes in a summary way that the Jews appeared rarely in pre-revolutionary Russian literature up to the twentieth century and then as "invariably . . . stereotyped, often grotesque and sometimes vitriolic caricatures"

(p. 110). Even the sympathetic characterization by Gorky and others and by the classical Yiddish writers from Mendele Moicher Sforim to Sholem Aleichem were "little," pathetic people separated from society in general, as indeed many Jews were in the pre-revolutionary Russian reality.

The New Jew

But a new type of Jew had also been in the making. Many Jews had participated in the revolutionary movement from the start. "It was from these people," says Choseed, "that Soviet literature drew its first Jewish hero types and set the pattern for almost all the later Jewish 'positive' heroes" (p. 115). One of the most important of these, says Choseed, who is also one of the outstanding heroes of all Soviet literature, was Osip Abramovich Levinson in Alexander Fadeev's *The Nineteen* (1926). Next to Mikhail Sholokhov's *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Fadeev's novel is the most popular of all Soviet novels (75 editions in 16,250,000 copies had been printed by 1947). Levinson is depicted as a leader of a partisan detachment during the Japanese intervention and was recognized by the critics and Soviet people, Choseed points out, as a mature picture of the new Soviet man. He was accepted by all Soviet people as one of themselves. The fact that he was Jewish, although no doubt universally recognized, was referred to largely only by Yiddish critics. In Levinson the full acceptance and equality of the Jew in Soviet society is symbolized.

Choseed's comment on this phenomenon is worth quoting in full. "From these first Jewish heroes," he says, "it can be seen that not all Jews were in mourning during the early period. The Revolution had opened the gates for Jewish heroes in literature as well as in real life. That a Levinson could be created by a Russian author and could achieve such a high acclaim is a significant sign of the fundamental changes that had taken place. Not only was a Jewish Communist hero something very new in the pages of Russian literature, but also he was a new Jewish type. His plane of action was not confined to his own national horizon but was extended to society as a whole. Even at this early date he had stopped using Yiddish as his language of daily communication and he was not preoccupied with the 'Jewish problem.' The very term 'Jew,' therefore, while still denoting a specific group origin and a common upbringing, now had to be broken down into the Yiddish speaking people, living in nationally homogeneous groups and cherishing the national traditions and mores, and people no longer using Yiddish who had moved into heterogeneous situations" (pp. 118-119).

The NEP and After

Choseed is here saying in effect that the characterization of Levinson symbolized the Soviet reality to come in which the ghettoized separation of the Jewish people was broken down once and for all. The Jews were to become full and equal participants in Soviet society.

The study goes on to show how the temporary retreat

of the New Economic Policy in the twenties in which many Jews turned to private trade also evoked a group of unfavorable Jewish characters in Soviet literature. But the anti-Soviet potentialities of this fiction were pointed out by both Jewish and non-Jewish Soviet critics. "In literature," says Choseed, "anti-Semitism is shown as halted by non-Jewish Communists. . . . Those who instigate anti-Semitism are clearly portrayed as counter-revolutionary elements, as kulaks in the village, as saboteurs in the mine or as wreckers in the factory. The campaign to stamp out these renewed manifestations was pushed in all fields" (p. 122). Choseed states that there were literary works by Russian, as well as Yiddish writers opposing anti-Semitism. The data given by Choseed confirm the fact that anti-Semitism was incited by those who would undermine the new Soviet society. The incompatibility of anti-Semitism and the survival of Soviet society itself is thereby indicated.

The next period of development, that of the First Five-Year Plan, which began in 1928, Choseed points out, saw the creation of that literary "hero who is generally considered the outstanding Five-Year Plan figure in Soviet Russian literature." This hero was a Jew, David Margulies, in Valentin Kataev's novel *Time, Forward* (1932).

As in the case of Levinson, Margulies is in no way differentiated from the Soviet worker either in the book itself or in critical comment on the novel. Both Russian and Yiddish literature and criticism of the period did not regard as crucial either the fact that a character was Jewish or whether he spoke Yiddish or not. What did figure importantly was the drawing of a sharp contrast between the survivals of the "wailing," separatist Jews with eyes fixed on the past and the new integrated Soviet Jewish citizens looking toward the future.

Choseed introduces much interesting data about the development and decline of culture in Yiddish in the Soviet Union and of the return of nationalistic elements in Yiddish literature from the late thirties onward. He says: "There was no compulsion to make Russian the language of the Jews. The right to speak Yiddish was secured and enforced with tangible material aid in the form of schools, publishing facilities and the like. At the same time the slightest manifestation of any drive to work for the Yiddish rather than the social goal, that is, the intimation that Yiddish *should* be spoken, was quickly eliminated" (p. 157). In other words, the question of Yiddish was treated in a democratic way by ensuring complete freedom of choice on the part of all Jews whether they should or should not speak Yiddish.

Cold War and Truth

In this brief survey of some of the material contained in Choseed's valuable essay, we have not by any means exhausted the extent and significance of the illuminating new data which he has made available. The work of Choseed again demonstrates that any honest appraisal of the facts about Jews in the Soviet Union exposes the lies that have been so liberally circulated these past few years in the interests of the cold war. Among those most active in the

spreading of these lies, it is necessary to recognize, have been several Jewish "defense" organizations like the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee. But the interests of the Jewish people, as of the American people as a whole, are best served by the truth about the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The lie of "Soviet anti-Semitism" circulated by these and other organizations and the press are being used as a means of carrying on the cold war. Nothing is more effective than the truth in dispelling the cold war and Choseed has helped us to see this truth more clearly by his honest and scrupulous study.

Report on Bokhara Jews

Below are excerpts from an article by Harrison E. Salisbury in the New York Times of October 1, describing the life of Soviet Jews in the fabled city of Bokhara, Uzbekistan, in Central Asia.—Eds.

Over the clay walls and roofs of Bokhara's ancient city still echoes the wail of the muezzin's cry summoning the faithful to their prayers in scores of mosques. And in the ancient Street of Jews, just half a dozen steps from the heart of Bokhara, the city's historic sect of Jews practices its rites as in former times.

This correspondent is the first to visit the once forbidden city in a generation or more. Visits by foreigners to Bokhara have been virtually non-existent, not only under the Soviet regime, but in pre-revolutionary times when it was the seat of the Emir of Bokhara, one of the world's most cruel and primitive rulers.

Because it has so seldom been visited, Bokhara has in recent years been regarded as a place of mystery and speculation. There have often arisen questions as to the colony of Bokhara Jews, which has existed here since medieval times, and there had been much interest in how Bokhara had fared as one of the most holy of Moslem cities and one of the great centers of Moslem study and learning.

In a visit of two and a half days it is not possible to give any exhaustive answers to questions concerning Jews and Moslems. However, this correspondent has been staying in a small hotel right in the heart of the old city just a stone's throw from the Street of Jews and one of their principal residence quarters for some hundreds of years. He has been inside one of the principal synagogues of the Bokhara Jews and has met the rabbi of the synagogue. Changes there have been no doubt for these people under the Soviet regime, but perhaps not of the quality and quantity that might be imagined.

Bokhara's Jews are still practicing their religion in their ancient way. They are still studying their Talmud. They are still living on the same streets and in the same quarter.

If there are major changes affecting the Bokhara Jews, they relate to the professions and to the youth. Under the Soviet regime there has been a great reduction in private trade, although individual artisans, especially in a city like Bokhara, still ply their trades. And young Bokhara Jews, like Soviet young people of other faiths, are tending to break away from the strict and special Bokhara orthodoxy.

ISRAEL AND TURKISH WAR BASES

By I. Elsky

Tel Aviv

For years the people of Israel have been told that, thanks to the dollars of "our great American friend," the State of Israel would be built up and enabled to absorb the mass immigration.

At present, 200,000 people live in Israel under shocking conditions. Immigration has stopped and 50,000 people have emigrated. Thousands of families are unemployed. In 1952, there were 342 attempted suicides. From these few figures one can get some idea of the tragic results of the policy of orientation on the "American dollar."

Recently the government press, with *Davar*, Histadrut organ, in the lead, has begun a campaign of self-praise for a new "national accomplishment." The reference is to an agreement between the Turkish government and "Solel Boneh" (the Histadrut's construction company) to build three military airfields in Turkey at the borders of the Soviet Union. The government press plays upon national pride: Jewish instructors, Jewish construction

workers, Israel machinery, Israel cement and pipes, are now so highly prized throughout the world that Israel is being invited to build roads and airfields in other countries.

Not all details of the agreement are known. But those which have been made public reveal a picture of humiliation and betrayal of the national interests of the Israeli people and their state. It turns out that Solel Boneh is carrying out this construction together with a Turkish and an American organization. The Turkish company has a third interest in the business and Solel Boneh has 60 per cent of the remaining two-thirds. The overall value of the project is \$11 million.

It is characteristic, however, that Israel must supply the materials for the construction. Israel will have to supply cement at the price of \$17 a ton at a time when Israel itself is buying cement in Italy for \$27 a ton. The citizen of Israel will have to make up the balance of ten Israel pounds out of his taxes for every ton of cement transported to Turkey to build anti-Soviet bases for the "Atlantic Army."

It is worth noting that only recently the press reported importation of 7,500 tons of cement from West Germany against the account of the "reparations agreement" at a price of 90 Israel pounds a ton. The cost of construction in general is rising but the Israel government will deliver cement for \$17 a ton to build anti-

Soviet military bases in Turkey. For *Davar* and government spokesmen this is a "national accomplishment."

Solel Boneh has also taken on itself the obligation of exporting valuable materials such as pipes for conduits. But to send pipes to Turkey is a national scandal. For today entire settlements lack water because of a pipe shortage. Agriculture cannot be developed because there are no pipes for irrigation systems. Now we are suddenly informed that Solel Boneh will supply pipes to build anti-Soviet bases in Turkey.

While the government has not provided homes for tens of thousands of families still living in huts, hovels and ruins, it allows the export of tens of construction experts and skilled workers to build anti-Soviet bases in Turkey.

Even the conservative paper *Haaretz* has recently admitted that from a purely business standpoint this undertaking will mean a loss for Israel. Is this the way the Israel government is "doing its share" in the execution of anti-Soviet war plans? One can imagine the alarm that would be sounded in the Israel press if the Soviet government were to send out instructors, machines and materials to build fortifications and military airfields directed against Israel.

Israel's participation in the building of these military airfields is also a severe blow to the political position of Israel. For the Israel government is thereby injuring the cause of friendship with the Soviet Union by agreeing to participate in the setting up of these bases, built by the Atlantic-European Army, with an outspoken anti-Soviet, war-inciting intention. The Israel government is thus acting against the economic, political and national interests of the country.

Anniversary Greetings

Clinton Hall English Speaking Chapter
**EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
 OF WOMEN'S CLUBS**
 Newark, N. J.

Anniversary Greetings

Clinton Hall Yiddish Speaking Chapter
**EMMA LAZARUS FEDERATION
 OF WOMEN'S CLUBS**
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Anniversary Greetings

Members of Lodge 55, JPFO
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Greetings

Members of Lodge 507, JPFO
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Greetings from the

Patterson Emma Lazarus Club

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Heartiest Greetings on Your
 Seventh Anniversary

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
 EMMA LAZARUS READING
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 of democracy and brotherhood

Emma Lazarus Club

of Lakewood and Whitesville, N. J.

Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Shortly before our conviction [in the Pittsburgh Smith act cases], I read the article in JEWISH LIFE on the civil liberties situation in Pittsburgh ["War on Freedom in Pittsburgh," by Harry Levine, August issue]. I thought it was a good article and I am writing this to inform you of some of the latest developments. The prosecutor, Edward Boyle in his summary to the jury, referred to me as some one who had gone out to organize coal miners, but who had never worked a day in his life in a coal mine himself. Yet the testimony had amply brought out the fact that I am by trade an iron worker, having worked as a ship's builder and arc welder in shipyards and boiler shops. Again, Boyle referred to Bill Albertson as some one who had become a union official of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, but whose sole qualification for this was that he had a job in a drug-store jerking sodas and making sandwiches after school hours. Yet the testimony had amply brought out that Albertson had worked as a waiter and had been elected and re-elected to posts in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, AFL, for a period of 11 years.

Albertson and myself were the only two defendants who took the witness stand, also both of us are Jewish. The jury to

whom Mr. Boyle spoke had not a single Jew and was steeped in all kinds of prejudices. Mr. Boyle's appeal to anti-Semitism in his description of Bill and myself was not too subtle, I would say. Every Jewish person knows the anti-Semitic slander that Jews don't work with their hands, but get along on being "com-mies."

We're engaged in an important bail fight—the bail has been doubled—\$40,000 each now for Bill and me. For Nelson it will be \$60,000, since there is \$20,000 on him already in the state case. Dolsen was also out on a double bail up until now, \$10,000 in his state case, \$15,000 in the federal. Now his total would be \$40,000. Carreathers is out on his former bail of \$20,000, because he has TB.

[Since this letter was received, the bail situation has changed. The doubling of bail from the original \$20,000 has been reduced to \$5,000 additional for each, except for Ben Carreathers, who is out on his original \$20,000 bail. Albertson and Weissman turned over \$5,000 each of their original bail to Steve Nelson and Jim Dolsen. All defendants, except for Albertson and Weissman are now out on bail. These two need \$20,000, of which \$5,000 has already been raised. Therefore \$15,000 is needed to have them released on bail after their 60-day contempt sen-

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 243) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF:

JEWISH LIFE, published monthly at New York, N. Y. for October 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.
Editor, none.

Managing Editor, Louis Harap, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

Business Manager, Lester Blickstein, 22 East 17th St., Room 601, New York 3, N. Y.

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3. The known bondholders, mortgage, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.)

LOUIS HARAP

Managing Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1953.

DAVID CANTOR

Notary Public for the State of New York.

(My commission expires March 30, 1955.)

[SEAL]

tences for refusing to become stoolpigeons are over.—Eds.]

I would like to appeal for help from the Jewish community in raising this bail. We are at this moment engaged in a court fight to lower it. But without waiting upon the outcome of that fight, bail money could be raised and earmarked. If help is at all possible, all I can say is that it is sorely needed.

IRVING WEISSMAN

Allegheny County Jail, Pittsburgh

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Miami Beach

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M. Katz

Isaac Garte

Syracuse, N. Y.

Lillian E. Reiner

Wabash, Ind.

Ruth H. Ashley

Book Reviews

PLAYING WITH DEATH

The Game of Death, by Albert E. Kahn. Cameron and Kahn, New York. Paper edition, \$1.00.

There are people who believe this is the best of all possible worlds—especially our one-thirteenth of it here on the North American continent. They count the frigidaire, stall showers, automobiles, washing machines, television sets and conclude that we have the highest living standard of any country. They survey our synthetic packaged foods glamorously displayed on the chain store shelves and decide that we are a well-fed nation. The typical American family they see owns its own home, with a two-car garage and a well-stocked freezer. They may once have read in the papers about milk being dumped into the river and people starving—but that was long ago, in the depression. They may even read today about children dying of polio while gamma globulin, which may modify or check the disease, is too scarce for distribution because neither commercial drug companies nor the government will invest the price of one army tank on processing a preventive that may soon be outmoded. But this, they say, is unusual—a temporary evil that will be corrected in time.

These people need to read Albert Kahn's new book, *The Game of Death*. With bold, sure strokes of his truth-dipped pen, he will open their eyes—and all of our eyes—bringing picture after picture from his great storehouse of carefully collected, fully documented facts. They will see the wooden shacks of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Mexican Americans in our big cities as well as on tenant farms—shacks papered with mail order catalogues, lit by candles, heated by wood stoves, with an outhouse for a toilet and one bed for every four of five inhabitants.

They will see over three million children in these United States with backs bent in child labor and another half million migrant farm workers under 14 years of age. They will see a growing army of young criminals, drug addicts, delinquents, and self-styled teen-age vigilantes, constantly stimulated to further crimes by fiendishly degrading conditions in reform schools and detention homes. They will see families broken up, fathers turned into fugitives, children torn from their mothers and mothers from their children—because the parents championed peace or equality for

national minorities. And that untypical American family with the garage and freezer so well filled—they will see it in three dimensions for the first time; they will see the content of their own lives.

Mr. Kahn shows us the child of that family—and of most American families—on his knees at school expecting a bomb to fall, or half-sitting, half-standing in an over-crowded classroom, learning not to ask questions, or practising how to spy on his schoolmates. At home, with a comic book on his lap and a television screen before his eyes, the child is further pumped up with terror, violence and brutality (more than 100,000,000 comics sold each month in 1952).

With a sharp scalpel Mr. Kahn lays bare the cancerous growth of disregard for human life brought on by the pervasive militarization of all aspects of living to serve the cold war. It is hard to believe that the following takes place in an American school but Mr. Kahn has facts to prove it: "Teachers have been known to punish children who misbehave by making them sit near windows. The children are informed that if an atomic bomb should fall this would be the most dangerous place in the classroom. . . ."

Everyone who reads this book will think more deeply and see more clearly—whatever he saw before—about what this richest country in the world gives its children and the "climate of horror" which it provides for their growing up. It's a devastating picture, irreconcilable in its smallest details with any illusions, overpowering in its total effect.

Perhaps through the eyes of a Korean child, "wandering homeless over the blood-drenched countryside," we may still look like a privileged nation. But there is a price the so-called conqueror pays in corruption that eats deep into the heart of his people, that is far worse than what the suffering millions of our victims will ever know. This Mr. Kahn points up aptly by quotations from Hitler's fiats and nazi educational material alongside of similar quotes from Truman, Eisenhower or McCarthy pronouncements.

"All knowledge and experience gained should serve the sole purpose of shooting straight, to kill the enemy," said Dr. Helmut Stellrecht, senior district leader of the Nazi Party. "I believe that we should have

total preparedness based on the laws of the jungle, that everyone should learn every art and science of killing," spoke Dr. Elwood Nance, president of Tampa University in Florida.

"An immense piece of work . . . in five months we had to examine the political loyalty of more than 160,000 officials, about 120,000 of whom were elementary school teachers." Is this an excerpt from a 1953 report of the Jenner Committee? No, it is from a 1933 report by Dr. Bernard Rust, Reichsminister of Science, Education, and Culture in nazi Germany. One wishes for more discussion of anti-Semitism as an aspect of the cold war drive. The recent growing number of attacks and beatings of Jewish children need to be seen as part of the neo-nazi picture in our country today.

Mr. Kahn has penetrated deeply and widely into the plight of America's children; his knowledge and his documentation are matched by his insight and his social passion. The book evokes a feeling of cumulative horror at what is hap-

Many greetings received late
and a number from California
will be printed in the December
issue.

We look forward to many
more anniversaries of this
great magazine

EMMA LAZARUS
JEWISH WOMEN'S
CLUBS
of
LOS ANGELES

pening to all children in war-primed United States. The only way to shake off this feeling is to get to work to end the nightmare.

Mr. Kahn gives us some encouraging facts about groups that have protested these conditions, but we could use more information on positive actions which have taken place throughout the country to stop the killing and the preparations for killing. The only antidote for that hopeless feeling is to get to work—work through parents'

associations, through civil rights groups, prison reform agencies, anti-child labor committees and above all—as Mr. Kahn says—to work for permanent peace. He concludes: "The way in which we answer their [our children's] demand for peace will be the measure of our love for them." Perhaps this splendid book can be the signal for forming a large new organization, cutting across all political, economic, and social barriers—in *defense of our children*. Let us act.

since, historically, intermarriage with or without conversion, was common then.

However, at the end of the war Joel is destined for happiness in two ways. First he loves and undoubtedly will marry Judith Levino, patriot daughter of a Jewish Tory. Secondly, he has a job as a "schoolmaster, in a new free school in Connecticut," which he looks upon as a "chance to help spread the ideas [Jeffersonian] in which I believe." In the army Joel had met, and downed, an anti-Semite. Joel had also stood up for the right of the free Negro, Moses Jones, to be a soldier when the right had been challenged by that same anti-Semite. Joel knows the meaning of democracy.

Mrs. Kubie writes simply and with good pace. Sometimes her moralizing is too obvious. Occasionally her ideological slip shows clumsily, as when she would have us believe that in 1775 Joel would, when he is mocked here as a foreigner, regret that Palestine is in Turkish hands and therefore closed to him. But all in all this is a brisk and worthwhile effort to show the merging of the democratic elements in Jewish and American tradition in terms of a human narrative.

NOVEL OF EARLY AMERICA

By Morris U. Schappes

Joel, A Novel of Young America, by Nora Benjamin Kubie. Harpers, New York. \$2.50.

This is a pleasant little novel, skillfully written for the early teen-ager who prefers, or can be helped to prefer, a book to the "comics." Mrs. Kubie takes her 17-year-old hero, Joel Davidov, with a skip and a zip from the eve of the American Revolution in 1775 to the evacuation of the British from New York in 1783. Imbedded in the adventure and romance of the book is the serious note of Joel's development into a conscious young revolutionary soldier.

At first, coming from the pogroms of Poland, Joel could not see why the Americans, with relatively more freedom under King George than the people of Poland had, should organize against and fight the British monarchy. Living with his brother-in-law, Jacob Peretz, in New Haven, Connecticut, Joel appears on the scene first as defending a Tory from molestation by the Sons of Liberty. Joel believes his Jewish traditions requires peace at all costs.

But in the next 15 months Joel, like many others in the colonies, changed. Nathan Hale makes Joel begin to doubt his position. He learns something of British tyranny when he is imprisoned after being caught on board a sloop on which he had thumbed a ride and which turns out to be smuggling gunpowder for the colonial troops. Then comes the experi-

ence of contact with the stirring ideas of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*. Finally Joel decides to join the Continental Army after hearing the Declaration of Independence read in a village near New Haven. The Declaration's ideals of human equality are decisive for Joel.

During the war, Joels falls in love with a spirited Revolutionary lass, Abigail Bailie. She loves Joel too but the marriage founders when she insists Joel be converted to Christianity. Here Mrs. Kubie seems to be straining to make a point against intermarriage, especially

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May these seven years prove to be only the prelude to larger cultural tasks and wider influence

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A group from the
Jewish Folk Chorus
of
GREATER MIAMI, FLA.

OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pezner

On Operation Betrayal

Our readers will be interested to know that JEWISH LIFE distributed 25,000 copies of a reprint of the ADL-AJC confidential Memorandum and the "Open Letter." They were mailed to Jewish community leaders throughout the country. While it is too early to register the effects of the disclosure of the disgraceful offer of the ADL-AJC-JWV to collaborate with the Velde Un-American Committee, some reactions have been reported to us. The Memo has been causing disturbed discussion in a number of communities and has angered influential individuals. However, there has not been enough evidence that the Memo and "Open Letter" have reached the rank-and-file members of the Jewish organizations. These are the people who have the power to put a stop to the dangerous policy of collaboration with American police-staters. These are the people who know that it is *their* necks, as Jews and as ordinary American citizens, if the McCarthyites are not fought to the finish by the Jewish people together with all democratic-minded Americans.

Our readers and friends should be instrumental in bringing the Memo and "Open Letter" to the members of Jewish organizations, in stimulating discussion and registering protest. American Jews will not stand for those leaders who bend their knees before and offer to collaborate with the fascist-minded cabal that attacks men like Rabbis Wise and Magnes. Readers of JEWISH LIFE should press upon those leaders in their communities who profess to be anti-McCarthy to express themselves on the Memo of the ADL-AJC-JWV. Professions of dislike of McCarthyism are good, dear friends—we must tell them—but what about this offer to become "musim" for the McCarthy-

ites by some who call themselves "Jewish leaders"? The closed mouth today is the gagged mouth tomorrow. Speak out before it is too late—men who claim they speak for you are betraying you.

That October Issue

Speaking as one of the editors, which means my complete objectivity cannot be challenged, I think the October issue of JEWISH LIFE was a significant, colorful, varied and lively one. That's waxing adjectival, as that master of the blue pencil, Louis Harap, would say. But the October issue deserves a rave, (and keep that blue pencil away from the adjectives, Louis). A reminder of some of the sparkling articles: Charles R. Allen's "A Talk With Velde Collaborators," Alice Citron's human document on Julius Rosenberg's mother, Schappes' "The Tercentenary Celebration," Harap's "How Shall We Fight McCarthyism?" and A. Strauss' "Fighting Jimcrow in Cleveland." A treasure house indeed. But—that omnipresent but—not enough people are dipping their fingers into this treasure chest. How many Jewish Americans are seeking just such material—but don't know it is available because no one has introduced them to JEWISH LIFE? Yes, how many progressive Jews feel the lack of information and enlightenment on the "Jewish question" because they have not yet discovered our magazine? That, members of all JEWISH LIFE committees and kind readers, spells out your mission at the present time. Go after those subscriptions among your friends, fellow-members, co-workers and all opponents of McCarthyism. Ignore no one. That is how YOU can participate in the present campaign for 2,000 subscriptions.

In Steps California

No sooner is sub drive mentioned and our live-wire Los Angeles committee under the leadership of Rickie Roth heats up the cross-country wires with a pledge of 500 new subscriptions by December 31. Which is L.A.'s way of saying: How about you Jewish Lifers in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and points all over? Yes, how about 'it?

Good Advice

Parents who are today concerned with the plight of their children under conditions of cold war hysteria, and want them to breathe some of the fresh air of pro-

I. B. Bailin at 70

THE Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE joins the progressive Jewish community in sending heartiest greetings to the noted *Morning Freiheit* journalist and cultural figure, I. B. Bailin, on his 70th birthday and 50th year of leadership in labor, cultural and literary life.

gressive humanism, as well as to learn something about the Jewish people, their progressive culture and traditions—should not fail to send their children to the progressive Jewish schools which are found in their cities or communities. If you don't know where to get the information, write to the Committee for Progressive Jewish Education, 166 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Parents who have read Albert E. Kahn's vital book on the effects of the cold war on our children, *The Game of Death*, will understand how imperative it is to bring the children in contact with a world where decency, humanity, democracy and progress replace atom-bomb hysteria, Mickey Spillaneism, racism and McCarthyism. The progressive Jewish schools extend this opportunity.

Morris on Tour

The cities of Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit were visited by Morris U. Schappes in September. He lectured on "McCarthyism, Racism and Peace" and other subjects. He reports an intense interest in JEWISH LIFE but a failure to take the necessary organizational steps to assure distribution, except possibly in Detroit. It is hoped that these cities will make Morris' tour a success by establishing functioning committees and expanding the readership steadily.

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A GROUP OF FRIENDS

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

the *Yiddish Buch* publishing house in Warsaw in editions of 5,500 are works of Sholem Aleichem, Mendele Moicher Sforim and a series of books on Jewish workers who have gained recognition for special achievement in industry.

David Federovich Oistrakh, leading violin virtuoso and professor of music at the Moscow State Conservatory, was awarded the honorary title of "People's Artist of the USSR" in mid-September by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR for his "outstanding services" to Soviet music.

In West Germany . . . A statistical breakdown of "loss of human life in Frankfurt population" during the war omits any mention of the more than 6,000 Jews murdered in concentration camps. . . . The Jewish cemetery at Drove, near Aachen, was desecrated in September.

ISRAEL

Moshe Sharett, Israeli foreign minister, warned in a nation-wide broadcast on September 20, that difference of opinion may arise between Israel and Washington. A few days later, Meir Argov, chairman of Israel's Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, said that Israel is "eager" to have friendly relations with the socialist countries and he called Israel's foreign policy one of "non-identification" with any group of world powers rather than "neutrality."

While Israeli workers during 1951-52 covered 60 per cent of the income taxes collected in Israel, capitalists paid in 16 per cent.

The Soviet Union has offered to sell Israel 75,000 tons of crude oil on terms of barter of goods, probably citrus fruits. A

sample of the crude oil is expected to reach Israel soon. This quantity of oil would make up six per cent of Israel's annual oil needs.

Protest was manifested in Israel, among others by Levi Eskhol, Israel minister of finance, at Henry Morgenthau's statement in New York in September suggesting that

the Histadruth "get out of private business."

David Horowitz, head of Israel's Central Bank, said in September that emigration from Israel now exceeds immigration.

Closing of kindergartens for five-year olds as an economy measure announced late in September has aroused a great protest movement. A "Save the Kindergarten Committee" representing 10,000 parents of 103 kindergartens, has been set up.

The IWO decision

AS we went to press, word was received that the Supreme Court had refused to review the action of New York State in ordering liquidation of the International Workers Order. The executive committee of the IWO issued a statement on October 19 calling the refusal to review the case "a gross miscarriage of justice. (It) allows the imposition of a death sentence by the lower courts upon a financially sound labor, interracial, fraternal organization. . . . The denial . . . actually strikes a blow

to the Bill of Rights with its guarantee of the rights of freedom of speech and association. . . . We call upon the membership of the IWO in this critical hour to stand united, to express solidarity with the organization as they have in the past years, with the definite assurance from the officers and the executive committee of the Order that they will continue to stand guard over the interests, the welfare and the protection of the membership."

The fight is not finished.

Greetings

Members of Lodge 523, JPFO

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1. JEWISH LIFE keeps talking about NEGOTIATING a peaceful settlement with the Soviet Union.
2. JEWISH LIFE was the first to expose McCarthy's anti-Semitic connections (you may have missed the July issue jammed with 13 pages of facts!)
3. JEWISH LIFE for the first time anywhere exposed the full facts about Joe McCarthy's anti-Negroism (in this very issue!)
4. JEWISH LIFE blew the lid off the secret "deal" between the Velde Committee—McCarthy's allies in the House—and leaders of the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Committee and Jewish War Veterans!
5. JEWISH LIFE keeps this up and McCarthy and McCarthyism will be out of business!

Friends of Joe McCarthy

P.S. On top of all this JEWISH LIFE has mapped out an attractive subscription campaign so that the magazine can continue its relentless drive against McCarthy and McCarthyism. They are offering PREMIUMS with subs, like this:

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