

Skokie—A Lesson in Combatting Nazis

By SAM PEVZNER

Jewish Currents

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"Abraham," Bronze sculpture, 21½×12×17", by Haim Gross. Courtesy, Forum Gallery, New York, from Retrospective Exhibition, May 26-Oct. 24.

HOWE'S "WORLD OF OUR FATHERS" ANALYZED: 2

By

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

SPILLED BEANS

Story by

MALA REYNAUD-APPEL

STONEMALLING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

An EDITORIAL

READERS' FORUM ON ISRAEL

Jewish Currents

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Stonewalling in the Middle East

An EDITORIAL

Aug. 20

TODAY the United Nations General Assembly convenes. Israel will face a barrage of invective about its intransigence from a host of Arab speakers, many of whom are no less intransigent.

Yesterday Israel Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan met with U. S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance and then Pres. Jimmy Carter. The latter urged "courageous leadership" upon both Arabs and Israel to make the compromises necessary to get negotiations at Geneva under way. At issue between Israel and the USA are the indispensability of Palestinian representation at Geneva, the un-avoidability of Palestinian self-determination in the West Bank (the Dayan "plan" for local Arab "autonomy" of course evades the issue of sovereignty and self-determination), and the expansion of settlements by Israel in the occupied West Bank.

With regard to these settlements, the Begin government is pushing ahead despite international protest. *The Jerusalem Post* International Edition Sept. 6 reported that on Israel TV Sept. 2 Agriculture Minister Res. Gen. Ariel Sharon "outlined a 20-year plan for establishing two million Israelis in a new belt of settlement running along the Jordan to Ophira (Sharm e-Sheikh) at the southern tip of Sinai." Adding fuel, Sharon in an interview in *Maariv* Sept. 9 "said several new settlements were begun secretly in the West Bank . . . last month" (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 10). Next day he "explained" in a denial that was in fact a confirmation: "the minister said Israel

had established and would continue to establish settlements all over the historic land of Israel and had full right to do so. He said the Government did not always announce the establishment of new settlements. . . . He added that some settlements had been named before the *Maariv* interview and others had not" (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 11).

In the USA, the settlement issue is embarrassing to Jewish Establishment leadership. The Council of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations was unable to agree on a statement defending the settlements and referred the matter to its constituent organizations. To date, no major Jewish organization has publicly supported this Israel policy.

Further embarrassment was created when the U. S. right-wing weekly *Human Events* July 23 rushed to Begin's support in two articles. One was headed: "Begin: Israel's Ronald Reagan." The other also pictured him as "a sort of Ronald Reagan of the Middle East. . . ." While the *Jerusalem Post* Aug. 18 reported this development with a headline, "The American right warms up to Israel," the Jewish press here kept the news from its predominantly liberal readers.

Begin's stonewalling is being matched by that of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Aug. 26 the PLO Central Council declared that it would adhere to its Covenant, which calls for the destruction of the Jewish State of Israel. Both the Arabs and Israel will have to give way if the road to Geneva, the only road to peace, is to be kept open. ■

Skokie—a Lesson in Handling Nazis

By SAM PEVZNER

SKOKIE, Ill., a suburb north of Chicago, has been the focus of the activities of the American National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis) since last April, when the Nazis announced plans to stage a march in Skokie and to picket the Village Hall.

The choice of Skokie for the Nazi parade reflected a specially sinister motivation, since around 7,000 Jewish refugees from Germany, many of them former inmates of Nazi concentration camps, live in Skokie.

The Village of Skokie (the citizens prefer to remain a village although its population qualifies it to be a city) has a population of 69,000, with the estimate that 50% or more are Jews. It does not take a vivid imagination to picture the feelings, distress and anger of these Jews at the prospect of the Nazis marching in their brown shirts, jackboots, Nazi uniforms bedecked with swastikas, with their genocidal slogans against Jews, Blacks and other minorities.

Of course, Skokie is not the first instance of Nazi activity in the United States. The bully boys have been befouling the American scene for many years. Even though they probably number less than a hundred in the Chicago area, they have been active with parades, demonstrations, physical attacks against democratic

groups in New York, Washington, Milwaukee, Los Angeles and other cities. *The Christian Science Monitor* July 1 estimated that: "Nationally, there are thought to be possibly 100 neo-Nazi groups, with a total membership of under 5,000."

While some are tempted to laugh off the "small" group, and others to advocate "ignoring them" ("don't give them publicity") those who remember recent history, and try to learn from it, will take the Nazis, and any other fascist group such as the Ku Klux Klan, seriously. Hitler started with a very small group in a Munich beer hall, but when powerful monopoly industrialists and bankers saw their domination in Germany threatened they hastened to help build the Nazi Party, first into a threat and then into power—a disaster for all humanity. I have no desire to overestimate the threat of the Nazis in the United States, since different historical factors are at play here, but Nazis, fascists, racists and anti-Semites are no laughing matter anymore.

The majority of Jews in Skokie saw the issue that way, even though there were influential voices who said "let's ignore them," or passed them off as a few "hooligans." In a story by Douglas E. Kneeland in the *N. Y. Times* July 7 we read: "The handful of swaggering Chicago Nazis who keep planning to march in this peaceful suburb may not look like much of a threat, but to the large Jewish community in Skokie they are seen as a clear and present danger, a menacing and painful reminder of the deaths of six million Jews at the hands of Hitler's Germany."

To their credit, Skokie's Jews used a two-pronged approach to prevent

the Nazi Party from marching in their community. They, and the Village authorities, took legal action, but did not put all their eggs in that basket. They organized public mass actions, which probably played a more decisive role in preventing the Nazi march up to the time of this writing.

With the threat of a Nazi march July 4, several hundred Skokie citizens participated in a counter-demonstration. It would have been larger but village officials issued reports that no demonstrations at all will be allowed. However, previously more than 750 angry citizens came out April 30, ready to keep the Nazis off the streets after they announced they will march that day. Skokie police intercepted four carloads of Nazis coming off the highway, presented them with a court order, and the Nazis turned around, saying they would return.

In the July 4 counter-demonstration by Skokie citizens, Rabbi Meir Kabane and some of the members of his Jewish Defense League held a rally at the Jewish Community Center. The JDL members were unwanted guests, so to speak, because with their own tactics of violence they damage the possibility of forging unity of all Jewish groups, and of Jewish groups with non-Jewish groups. The Skokie Coalition received messages of support from church, Polish and other groups.

Rabbi Lawrence Montose of the Skokie Central Traditional Congregation, who calls himself "unofficial chaplain" of the village's death camp survivors, stated that, although he wants to confront the Nazis with a "good strong protest" if they march, he is opposed to the violent tactics of the Jewish Defense League.

Together with the mass actions

discussed above, the second prong of the counterattack against the Nazis was simultaneously utilized by the Village of Skokie and its Jewish inhabitants. This prong was administrative and legal actions to prevent the Nazis from parading or demonstrating in Skokie.

On April 28 an injunction was issued against the Nazi march. The Supreme Court of Illinois May 25 refused to lift, pending appeal, the lower court injunction that forbade the Nazis to demonstrate. The injunction bars the Nazis from parading in their military-style uniforms, displaying the swastika and distributing materials that "incite or promote hatred against persons of Jewish faith or ancestry" or against persons of "any faith or ancestry, race or religion."

On June 14 the Supreme Court of the United States, in a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the Nazis, ruled that the lower court either lift the ban on the parade or hear an appeal promptly.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith instituted a class action suit June 28 alleging potential "psychological harm" to residents of Skokie. ACLU executive director David Hamlin filed a third suit to nullify the Skokie Village Board ordinance that would: prohibit demonstrations by members of a political party wearing military uniforms "repugnant" to the community; ban handouts that incite hatred on racial or nationality grounds; and require parade sponsors to post \$350,000 bond to offset property damage or injury costs.

The ACLU defense of the Nazis has aroused a strong reaction among the Jewish people around Chicago and nationally. The use of a Jewish

lawyer, David Goldberger, as the chief advocate for the ACLU does not sit well with the Jewish people and anti-fascists in general. There is also a bitter irony in the fact that Frank Collin, the leader of the Chicago area Nazis, is the son of a Jewish father who is a survivor of a German concentration camp.

David Hamlin, executive director of the ACLU's Illinois division told the *Jewish Week* Aug. 21 that more than 1,000 members of the Illinois ACLU resigned as a result of its defense of the Nazis; 2,100 persons resigned from the national ACLU.

Maynard Wishner, spokesman for the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), an umbrella organization for Chicago Jewish groups, stated: "This march represents an obscenity. Saying 'We aren't finished with you' or 'Hitler was right' goes beyond the pale of what we should expect under the First Amendment."

In recorded remarks by Charles R. Allen Jr., whose articles in *JEWISH CURRENTS* on Neo-Nazism are distinguished contributions to the anti-fascist struggles, broadcast in the Chicago area by the Skokie coalition, Mr. Allen stated that "Free speech had nothing to do with Skokie. It is incitement to genocide."

Unlike the Chicago area Jewish groups, "The mainline Jewish organizations outside Skokie had counseled to ignore these people," said Abbot Rosen, director of the Chicago Anti-Defamation League. "But it became apparent the Skokie citizens would not ignore them."

There is an important international precedent backing the argument that the banning of Nazi groups is vital for the defense of democracy and human rights. On Aug. 2, 1945, the Big Three of the Allied Nations (United States, the Soviet Union

and Great Britain) signed the Potsdam Agreement, in which they decided that "all war veterans' organizations and all other military and quasi-military organizations, together with all clubs and associations which serve to keep alive the military tradition in Germany, shall be completely and finally abolished in such a manner as permanently to prevent the revival or reorganization of German militarism and Nazism."

If the need to prevent the renazification of Germany justified the Potsdam Agreement, certainly there is need to use the same principle against the Nazis in the United States, or any other democratic nation. The U.S. Nazis are the first to proclaim that Hitler and the German Nazis are their model as far as methods, uniforms and program are concerned. Why tolerate the breach of the Potsdam Agreement in the United States? If denazification and banning of racist and anti-Semitic organizations are valid in Germany, why not in the United States, one of the main signers of the Potsdam Agreement?

In the United States the free speech and First Amendment rights issues are complex and one cannot make light of them since these rights are justifiably treasured by the American people. However, Skokie and other instances of Nazi and fascist (KKK, for example) anti-democratic, racist and anti-Semitic activities seriously pose the question of what can be done with these groups that represent everything antithetical to democracy and the human rights of American citizens who are Jewish, Black, or from other minorities.

Discussing the ACLU's defense of the KKK at Camp Pendleton (San Diego) in the May issue of *Moving*

On, monthly magazine of the socialist New American Movement, one side of the free speech argument was presented by Ben Margolis, Los Angeles civil liberties lawyer, and the other side by Frank Wilkinson, director of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

Ben Margolis writes:

"The ACLU, of course, justifies its position by its traditional stand that it will defend the right to advocate ideas which it hates. . . . But no court and no government has ever adopted the principle that the right of free speech must always prevail when it comes in conflict with other rights. . . . The Supreme Court has held that during wartime speech, which is protected during peace, may be punished; speech labelled as obscene may also be punished; libel and slander are not constitutionally protected; an employer may not say he is considering closing down his plant if a union wins an election; restrictions may be placed on First Amendment rights of public employees; etc. One may agree with some of the above restrictions and one may disagree with others or with all. The fact is that we live in a world where restrictions on free speech exist."

In his answer Frank Wilkinson writes: "The demand for racial equality is indivisible from the absolute assertion of the First Amendment in the political arena. Consistency in the defense of the First Amendment, and all the Bill of Rights, is the prime protection against reaction; inconsistency invites repression. . . ."

"Margolis, however, obfuscates his point somewhat by citing a number of uncontested examples, permit requirements for parade, limitations on speech making in public libraries,

restraints on electioneering adjacent to polling places, the generally recognized laws relating to libel and slander, and restrictions on employers' speech attendant to union elections—where all agree speech is subject to reasonable regulation. . . .

"Further, I believe that in his effort to circumscribe what he derides as 'the sacred right of free speech,' Margolis speaks to our frustration and anger. . . ."

Wilkinson concludes that the best way to achieve a "favorable political climate to achieve optimum effect . . . in decision making related to racism" is "by mass actions for human rights—not by repression in any form."

In reply to a letter by Aryeh Neier, executive director of ACLU, Phineas Stone wrote in the *Jewish Week* Aug. 7: "I cannot agree that it is not a clear and present danger' for demonstrators to deliberately provoke an outraged people into violence. It is far too much to expect Jews sensitive to the Nazi Holocaust to react dispassionately to an organized Nazi provocation in a Jewish neighborhood, just as it would be too much to expect the people of Harlem to be judicious about an organized anti-Black provocation in their area. Shouldn't there be a distinction in law and law-enforcement between demonstrators for realization of constitutional rights and demonstrators who seek to destroy constitutional rights for others?"

This writer personally agrees with the rhetorical question asked by Mr. Stone. Every avenue of approach to halting the plague of neo-Nazism, racism and anti-Semitism—organizational, mass action and legal—must be taken. If recent history has taught us anything, this approach is it. ■

From Jewish Currents Dinner

Honoring Morris U. Schappes

May 15, 1977

To Morris

By **RICHARD YAFFE**

IT'S a pleasure to join with you in honoring Morris Schappes, to whom I would like to give a word of advice. The Surgeon General of the United States has ruled that praise need not be harmful as long as you don't inhale. In this case, however, I think that even if Morris does inhale, he will find it not only sweet but extremely beneficial. And he certainly deserves all the praise he has gotten, and will get. My fondness for him goes back a long, long time, even before I knew him in person while his name was part of a continuing story in the newspapers. He has come through that ordeal well, as, indeed, have most of us who survived it, for those of us who remained firm in our beliefs and activities have nothing to regret for ourselves, but only for our country.

In praising Morris, I must, of course, state that we have not always seen eye to eye, but I think that it

RICHARD YAFFE is Editor of the New York monthly, Israel Horizons, published by Americans For Progressive Israel—Hashomer Hatzair. He has just celebrated his 50th year as a newspaperman. He was Foreign Editor of PM, 1939-48; Eastern European correspondent for CBS, 1949; U.S. correspondent for the London Jewish Chronicle for 25 years; and is now also Associate Editor of The Jewish Week.

has been throughout a matter of semantics, and as for myself, I am anti-semantic. We have differed about terminology. I read JEWISH CURRENTS faithfully—I almost said religiously, although that may not be the proper word for it—and I have little to quarrel with it as a Zionist. For I am a Zionist, a Socialist Zionist, and Morris throughout has claimed that he is not. If he will excuse my saying so, I don't believe him, for we have the same visions of the kind of an Israel we would like to see—a socialist Israel at peace with its neighbors, and with the world, a socialist Israel which will eventually be accepted into the world in which it belongs and which it can help, and be helped in turn.

I know that some of the more important differences center around the phrase "the centrality of Israel" in Diaspora Jewish life. I have accepted that phrase as part of the Jerusalem Program to which I, as a Zionist, am pledged, but I must confess to you that I have also found it inadequate. I prefer to think of the matter as a coin, with Israel on the one side and we Jews who are not in Israel on the other, and with each side indispensable to the other.

I cannot in my wildest dreams think of an Israel existing without the help and the encouragement and the love and goodwill of the Jews everywhere, and I cannot think of a diaspora now without Israel; I cannot think the unthinkable.

In this, I think we are all together. I think that we all consider ourselves as an *am ehad*—a single people—and that when one Jew bleeds anywhere, all Jews feel the hurt. We are, after all, children of the Holocaust, and its lesson shall forever remain with us, and we shall—we must—pass it on to our children.

The seder ritual on the Passover enjoins Jews to tell it to their children, the story of the first recorded movement of national liberation, as though they themselves were there. To this must be added the injunction that we must tell the Holocaust as though we, and our children, were also there.

We must also tell other stories, too—how we stood at the doors of the camps when the liberation came; how we stood behind the barbed wire at Cyprus on that day when we were told that we were free at last to go to the home, the only home, that would take us; how we stood in that square in Tel Aviv and heard Israel's Declaration of Independence read from the balcony and joined in the mass hora that snaked through the streets of that city, and the streets of the newborn Israel everywhere; and how we stood in front of the General Assembly building of the United Nations and saw the flag of Israel raised, and sang Hatikva with tears in our eyes and lumps in our throats.

Yes, we Jews have many stories to tell—stories how the *yeshiva bocher* and the *luftmensch* and the intellectual, none of whom had held a spade in his hand, became workers in the fields and on the roads of Palestine, building the state that was to be, dying like flies of malaria—how we belied the old, wrong adage that man—that the Jew—cannot be made over into a productive human being.

We dream of an Israel which will one day return to the dream, the vision of the kibbutzim where, really, Marx's injunction, from each according to his ability, to each according to his need, became a reality for the first time. Ironic, wasn't it, that it should happen in

a Jewish state when the man who said it had forsaken his own Jewishness.

We are perhaps in the most fateful year since Israel came into being—a year when the first faltering steps towards a peace between Israeli and Arab may be taken at last, and all of us are glad that this is so.

It will not be an easy step, nor will the process towards a final peace treaty be quick nor easy. I think that Haim Weizmann said it best when, after his first visit to Palestine, he made the remark that it was easy to adjudicate a dispute when there is a right and a wrong, but difficult indeed, if not impossible, when there are two rights involved.

But solved it will be, and Israel will one day find itself at peace among its neighbors in the area from which it came, and to which it has now returned. How it is going to look, what it is going to be, will depend not on the Israelis alone but also on the input from us, the progressive Jewish forces of America and indeed the world.

Don't let anyone tell you that only the Israelis can solve their own problems. We, too, are part of the process—the process that envelopes the entire Jewish people—for you and I and each of us has a share, a stake, in that tiny state situated on that crossroads of the world.

We who have kept the flame of socialism alive against all odds here and elsewhere, whatever we call it or what name we give it, will live to see the day when Israel will carry the flag of peoples' liberation.

And Morris will be there, at the helm of JEWISH CURRENTS, to report it and comment on it, and I, I hope, will still be around to cheer him on.

To Morris, a *Yashar Koach*; to all of us, *Shalom!* ■



ISRAEL

At a reception Aug. 10 for U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance in the home of Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan, a group of West Bank mayors presented a memorandum proposing: mutual recognition of the national rights of Palestinians and Israelis; a plebiscite of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to decide affiliation with Jordan or a separate state; a non-aggression pact between Israel and the Palestinian state, whether linked with Jordan or not, that would exclude inviting foreign armed forces onto either territory or enter a military pact with a third party without mutual consent; shared sovereignty for Jerusalem, etc. . . . Measures advocated by U. S. conservative economist Milton Friedman during his visit to Israel in July have begun to be implemented. (There was a protest demonstration against Friedman by several left wing groups under slogans like "Friedman, go home!" and "No unemployment!") There has been a rise about 25% in price of some staples. In early August Finance Minister Simha Ehrlich predicted that unemployment would rise, which is the admitted conservative mode of reducing inflation. Officials said in July that grocers' profits were increasing as a result of the price rise. In accordance with Friedman's advice, the government is moving toward freeing the pound so that it may float freely on the market. . . . Ehrlich has agreed to meet with Histadrut General-Secretary Yeruham Meshel every so often to consult on government decisions. A Histadrut protest July 14 against the price rises was spottily observed.

Prof. Shlomo Avineri, director-general of the Foreign Office in the ousted Labor regime, sharply criticized the Labor Party in mid-July for its failure to act as an effective opposition, instead of "trailing behind" the Begin regime's decisions. . . . Talks of the Begin regime with the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC) about possibly joining the government coalition were resumed in July, but broke down early in Aug. on the issue of abolishing proportional representation as favored by DMC. This was followed by serious disputes within the DMC over the breakdown. The executive of the DMC is divided on the proposal to join the coalition.

Jewish-Arab relations . . . Since consultations toward negotiations started, Arab terrorists have resumed terrorist acts in the hope of frustrating these efforts. Aug. 16 a bomb injured nine

passengers on a bus in northern Israel. Aug. 4 Israeli forces killed three and captured two Arab infiltrators in the Jordan valley who had apparently planned a major action. July 6 a bomb explosion in a crowded supermarket in Petah Tikvah killed one woman and wounded 20. . . . The Israel government allowed newsmen in mid-July to question Arab prisoners in the Gaza area to gain further information about charges of torture of Arab prisoners by Israelis. The journalists reported that no prisoners had complained about torture, but some prisoners reiterated that they had been beaten before and or after arrest. . . . Israeli authorities July 29 stated they filed charges against 10 Israeli reservists who participated in the beating death of an Arab suspect, and the major commanding the group was sentenced to two years in prison for manslaughter. . . . Israeli Arabs have the highest life expectancy of any Arab Middle East population—72 years, as against 64 for Lebanon, 55 in Syria, 54 in Egypt and 52 in Iraq.

News briefs . . . The 13th annual dialogue of American and Israeli scholars under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress was held in Jerusalem for four days early in July. The 35 legal and rabbinical scholars from the U.S. and Israel discussed "The Rights of the Individual Under American, Israeli and Halakhic Law." . . . Over 2,500 athletes from 34 countries competed in the 10th Maccabiah Games in Israel July 12-20. U.S. was first with 192 medals, Israel second with 190, and South Africa third with 24. . . . "One Hundred Black Men," the organization of leading Black business and professional men in New York City, had a 15-man delegation visiting Israel July 8-15 at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry. . . . A group of 15 Soviet Jewish immigrants, all intellectuals, are undergoing training for settlement in a kibbutz. . . . Two noted Soviet Jewish dissidents were finally allowed to emigrate to Israel and received teaching posts at the Hebrew University. Professors Benjamin Fain and Mark Azbel arrived in Israel in July. . . . Israel has been informed by the World Bank that she is now classified as a "developed" country and therefore is not eligible for loans from the Bank. . . . Over 40,000 Americans are shareholders in the Ampal-American Israel Corporation, which loans money for industrial, commercial and agricultural enterprises in Israel. . . . In face of objections, predominantly religious, to the construction of a stadium in Jerusalem, Mayor Teddy Kollek asserted July 10 that construction may start in a few months. The structure is planned to hold 25,000 seats. . . . Interior Minister Yossef Burg said Aug. 7 that "Organized crime certainly exists in Israel," and cited the scale of drug traffic as evidence. . . . U. S. actress Anne Bancroft spent a few weeks with Mrs. Golda Meir in Israel in preparation for the role of Golda in the play about the life of the former premier adapted by William Gibson from her autobiography.

L.H.

Howe's "World of Our Fathers": 2

A. Cahan, the Left, Novick, B. Z. Goldberg, Mike Gold, etc.

By MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

7
NOW Abraham Cahan (1860-1951) was unquestionably a powerful force in American Jewish immigrant life, especially as editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* for more than 50 years—during most of which it had the largest circulation of any Yiddish newspaper in the USA and often in the world. Cahan was a journalist who was fiercely and crudely partisan and very controversial, no less so 26 years after his death than during most of his long life. Some swear by him; others swear at him. Post-World War II interest in Jewish immigrant life here has stimulated a few studies of Cahan's work, mainly by those who are insufficiently steeped in the milieu to be able to evaluate Cahan comparatively and in historical context. The result has been a chorus of superficial encomia that have put Cahan on a pedestal, and dissenters tend to be too easily dismissed, in true Cahan style, as reds.

Of Howe it may be said that he has made an effort to see him whole, but without too much clarity. Howe, who found (or his assistants found) so much usable material in the pages of the *Forward*, seems to take Cahan and the *Forward* too much at their own self-evaluation, perhaps criticizing Cahan's personal manner without adequately judging its effect upon the basic content of the *For-*

ward. So Howe seems often smitten with Cahan but ambivalent about him; overwhelmed by him but uneasily aware of the hostility Cahan continually generated, not to speak of the fear Cahan was able to stoke by the power he wielded over jobs and reputations.

Howe seems to regard Cahan as venerable, and therefore shies away from certain perceptions or at least the recording of these perceptions. For example, on p. 528 Howe quotes from an oft-quoted Cahan editorial of March 16, 1902, the issue with which Cahan resumed editorship of the *Forward* with absolute control. To check the quotation I turned to Howe's cited source in Ronald Sanders' *The Downtown Jews* (1969), based mainly on Cahan's autobiography. The transcription was typically inaccurate (a word added, a word changed), but what was important to me was that Sanders, after quoting extensively from the editorial, entitled, "Send Your Children to College if You Can, but Don't Let Them Become Disloyal to Their Parents," and summarizing what he did not quote, concluded his comment thus: "... Cahan is really using the cloak of a discussion of socialist principles to address a visceral appeal to the everyday experience of the uneducated masses. Beneath the aspect of the ideologue, the demagogue was emerging" (p. 262).

Then Sanders, noting the circulation boom that followed Cahan's taking the helm of the *Forward*, adds that "... he had begun to move imperceptibly from the liberal frame of reference of Steffens or the Hapgood brothers to the demagogic one of those other journalistic contemporaries of his, William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer. For Cahan was beginning already to have glimmers of their prophetically American vision of the newspaper as an instrument for creating a realm of charismatic power." Howe might have benefitted from pursuing Sanders' insight into Cahan's demagogy.

*Howe perceives in Cahan an "intuitive grasp of the immigrant mind" (p. 111). "Among all the early Jewish radicals, Cahan stands out overwhelmingly . . . Cahan emerged as the most lucid intelligence in the early Jewish labor movement" (p. 112). He properly appreciates Cahan's "understanding that for the Jewish unions it would be suicidal to confront religion head on" (p. 112) and praises him for beginning "to curb the excesses of the Yiddish secularists" (p. 528). In the *Forward* Howe is particularly impressed by "its roving sociological eye" (p. 265), by "the sustained curiosity it brought to the life of its own people. . . . 'the sociological imagination'" shown by Cahan (p. 531).*

Yet he regards with a tolerance that seems to say there is a certain charm in Cahan's ways such things as this: reporting on Cahan's fight with the Orthodox *Tageblatt* in the first 5-6 years of Cahan's editorship, Howe says, "Scandals, sensations and apparent slanders were among the weapons it [the *Forward*] used. . . . The invective was choice" (pages 527-528). Of course that may be

Howe the literateur merely reacting to "style."

On the other hand, Howe is aware that after a few years "Cahan became the all but unchallenged ruler of the *Forward*, setting its policies, excluding critics from its staff and its pages, fixing its tone, and thereby becoming one of the two or three most influential men on the East Side." Howe reports Cahan's "rather grim and acrid temperament . . . He could be narrow, philistine and spiteful; his personal culture was limited. . . . [from 1902 on, he had] powers that soon enabled him to establish himself as a virtual dictator. The paper took on its characteristic mixture of *shund* and *literatur*, vulgarity and seriousness, a reaching down to immigrant narrowness and a reaching up to Yiddish intelligence. . . . he soon made himself into a Bonaparte arbiter of immigrant life. . . . [there was] the ruthlessness with which Cahan violated sensibilities in order to make the paper exactly what he wished. Under his editorship, the *Forward* would always have a monolithic narrowness . . . Not even his most ardent admirers cared to suggest that Cahan was a likable man. He was often irritable and cranky, inordinately vain, seldom at ease. . . . intolerant and imperious . . ." (pages 523-526).

Now that is quite a characterization of Cahan. But Howe fails to explore what happens to a newspaper and its readers when an editor with Cahan's easily recognizable and notable qualities (so aptly defined in the quotation above) excludes from its pages all criticism and all but abusive reference to his critics, reducing them to non-persons. At what social cost to the immigrant Jewish community and its institu-

tions did Cahan wield his enormous influence?

Grudgingly in a footnote (pages 529-530), as if in response to the criticism of someone who read the manuscript or the galley-proofs, Howe casually remarks, "A thick volume could be put together of denunciations of Cahan by Yiddish intellectuals." And then Howe quotes one sentence each from Leon Kobrin, Isaac A. Hourwich, Haym Zhitlovsky and Menaheim Boraisha—and dismisses their criticism as beside the point! Had much more been quoted, and from many more Yiddish intellectuals, writers, dramatists, and even trade unionists in his own social-democratic camp, Howe might have given us a more balanced view of Cahan that would include the evil that he wrought in the Jewish immigrant community.

Instead, Howe contents himself with the defensive brush-off footnote cited above, and with a fleeting reference to "a memorable excoriation of Cahan by S. Niger, the dean of Yiddish literary critics and usually a temperate man" (p. 533). This memorable excoriation, from which Howe does not find it necessary to quote even a sentence, was apparently found by one of Howe's staff "In the 1928 files of a Yiddish little magazine, the *Feder* . . ."

How healthy was the Jewish immigrant scene in 1928 when the temperate dean of Yiddish literary critics had to file his criticism of the East Side Bonaparte in a soon defunct little magazine because that Bonaparte dominated that scene? Howe does not even tell us what was the occasion for Niger's "excoriation" of Cahan, perhaps because it would be embarrassing to record that Cahan had, for the tenth anniversary of the death of the "grandfather" of

Yiddish literature, Mendele Mokher Sforim (c. 1836-1917), loosed a typically vitriolic attack on him as a worthless writer who was an obstacle to the development of Yiddish literature! Now Howe has written appreciatively of Mendele in the introduction to his (and Eliezer Greenberg's) *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories*; therefore Howe's restraint in withholding from us Cahan's views on Mendele is remarkable, if not admirable.

Since for 50 years Cahan was the Forward and the *Forward* became Cahan, Howe's depiction of the *Forward* is open to serious question. He is so enthusiastic about the sociological value of materials to be found in the *Forward* (for example, the *Bintel Brief*, the value of which was recognized even by an Olgin and a Zhitlovsky), that he is evasive on such very controversial *Forward* matters as its relation to many Jewish union leaders (from Baroness to Hillman) and to the socialist movement itself. Take as important a matter as the *Forward* position on World War I. In convention in St. Louis April 7, 1917 (the day after the peace-candidate Woodrow Wilson led the Congress to declare war), the Socialist Party denounced the war as imperialist—as the Socialist International had in 1912 predicted it would be—and called for opposition to it. In Chicago, it may be added, since Howe does not mention it, a socialist editor like Kalman Marmor found ways and means of expressing opposition despite the censorship. But what did the *Forward* do? With apparent approval, Howe writes, "Gradually, with a *shrewd evasiveness*, it eased away from the antiwar stand of the Socialist party, though never formally repudiating

it" (p. 539, emphasis added). If Debs went to prison, it must have been because he could not muster that "shrewd evasiveness," perhaps because he believed in the St. Louis resolution. Is Howe's way the model of a democratic socialist in writing even about World War I almost 60 years later?

8

HOWE moves from empathy with the immigrant striving for socialism—when he is at his best—to antipathy to the left wing in its struggle against right-wing socialists, and to communists and their supporters—when he is not only at his worst but, as a historian, downright bad, that is, unreliable and one-sided. At one point, Howe felicitously refers to "historical perspective, which may be no more than another name for decency of feeling . . ." (p. 245). It is this "decency of feeling" generated by "historical perspective" that is lacking in Howe's account of Jewish communists and their followers in the union struggles and political confrontations. His stereotypic vision prevents him from seeing as human beings men like Moissaye Olgin and a score of effective union leaders like Ben Gold, Irving Potash, Joseph Boruchovich and others. Howe dehumanizes the whole Jewish radical movement they led, reducing these thousands of idealistic, self-sacrificing, devoted human beings to political scarecrows twisting in the wind. Even their unmistakable achievements in winning better wages and working conditions, such as the five-day week, are dissolved in Howe's hyperactive bile.

In Howe's personal experience there may well be ample reason for his bitter bias. As a member of the Young People's Socialist League in

his youth, Howe was probably called a "social fascist" by members of the Young Communist League—and the international communist movement has paid a tragic price, especially in Germany, for such political stupidity. Howe remembers. Again, Howe as a Trotskyist must have been outraged by Olgin's 1935 book, *Trotskyism, Counter-Revolution in Disguise*, linking Trotskyism and fascism. Therefore when Howe says that Olgin "wielded the most vitriolic pen in the immigrant quarter," I assume he is referring to that work and may even not quarrel with the judgment, although "vitriolic" hardly characterizes Olgin's style in the vast bulk of his writings on literature and culture as well as political matters. But Howe's deep bias against communists, or Stalinists, renders him professionally incompetent in important sections of this book. He is no more able to obtain and evaluate evidence in these areas than is the Stalinist historian he despises. If it is anything, history is the study of change. But Howe's prejudice prevents him from perceiving or recognizing change, just as it sometimes keeps him from perceiving adequately the reality he is presenting.

Now Howe is able to distinguish between the kind of obsessive anti-communism that, according to his own perception, turned some anti-communist intellectuals of his acquaintance into virtual supporters of McCarthyism in that period, and an opposition to the principles of communism as advanced by Stalin and his presentday followers. Yet, sadly, and pity 'tis 'tis true, Howe sometimes slips into at least one practise that is typically Stalinist—or is it Cahanist in this case? Howe has a category of non-persons and

even non-institutions. Take for instance the omission, except in an unindexed reference note on p. 678, of the name, work and influence of B. Z. Goldberg (1895-1972), who for almost 50 years, as a popular and intellectual columnist on the *Tog* and *Tog-Morgen-Jurnal* (*Day* and *Day-Morning Journal*), was a force in the immigrant Jewish community, and as a foreign correspondent for newspapers in Europe and Israel was a factor there too.

Never a Communist, Goldberg was an independent liberal in U. S. politics and a socialist-Zionist. For a time he was in a united front with others, including communists, in the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (YKUF) until he broke with it in 1953 over the Soviet Yiddish writers' situation. He defended New York high school teachers against red-baiting purges (court action 25 years later led to reinstatement of scores of these persecuted teachers with piddling financial reparations) and opposed the destruction of the International Workers Order, including its 50,000-member Jewish People's Fraternal Order, during the McCarthy heyday.

But, when Cahan died in 1951, Goldberg was not among the eulogists who fulsomely covered up Cahan's role in Jewish life. Instead, he published an elaborate article, "Ab. Cahan—Der Historisher Emes" ('The Historic Truth'), in the YKUF organ, *Yiddishe Kultur*, Oct., 1951 and Feb., 1952. The final sentence read: "The historic truth is that Ab. Cahan had primitive concepts about literature and very little artistic taste. More even than in the press, his activity in our literature was negative and harmful, despite the fact that he published many good literary works in his newspaper." Now Howe used this essay to cull an item that showed

how brutally Cahan could deal with a Yiddish writer, but he neither quoted Goldberg's conclusion nor mentioned his long and significant career as a major Yiddish journalist. And I can think of no other reason for such an omission than the fact that B. Z. Goldberg was, in Howe's mind, somehow tainted with "Stalinism." If I am wrong in this surmise, then Howe is less than competent as a historian of the world of our fathers.

B. Z. Goldberg, of course, was known mainly to the Yiddish audience and omitting him would offend only those knowledgeable in the field, although depriving the English reader of information of Goldberg's significance is no less mischievous because it may go unnoticed. But to slight Michael Gold's *Jews Without Money*, as Howe does, is to elicit astonishment that Howe would allow his anti-communism to show so vulgarly. It was Marcus Klein in a perceptive review in *The Nation* March 27, 1976 that called attention to the way in which Howe both used Gold's book and slighted it unfairly. Howe in fact adroitly manages to quote from the book three times (on pages 97, 221 and 215), but without mentioning the title, although the very title, *Jews Without Money*, has existed since 1930 as a challenge to the anti-Semitic stereotype of the wealthy, grasping Jew.

Only in the notes, which are unfortunately so confusingly organized and printed as to baffle any but the scholar, can you dig out the source of the quotation, but nowhere in Howe will you find any, even pinhead, evaluation of a book whose place in the history and literature of immigrant Jewish life simply cannot be reasonably denied. Yet be-

cause Gold (1893-1964) was a Communist until he died, Howe reduces Gold's major work to a non-book. Surely at the point (p. 589) at which Howe is naming Cahan's *The Rise of David Levinsky* and Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep* "the best [novels] we have portraying the earliest immigrant years" the *littérateur* in Howe should have injected *Jews Without Money* into the setting, but instead Howe the rigid politico won out, more to Howe's than to Gold's detriment.

Howe was driving the democratic socialist anti-communist line beyond the bounds of ideological duty. For it so happens that when *Jews Without Money* was reprinted for the umpteenth time in 1965 as a paperback by Avon Books, a division of the Hearst Press, no less, the edition contained an "Afterword" by none other than Howe's fellow democratic socialist and anti-communist Michael Harrington. And Harrington is forthright: he begins by calling Gold's book "an imaginative social document which communicates the sights and sounds of that distinctive American experience, immigrant poverty . . ."; then he pays his disrespects to Gold as a "Communist cultural commissar" and a Stalinist, and then concludes that "this book is a moment in the American literary tradition, a social documentation of the miserable, hopeful poverty of the immigrant, and a work of modest, but unquestionable aesthetic value."

Would that Howe had been at least as ecumenical as Harrington—or, if Howe disagrees with the consensus of *Jews Without Money*, as he has a right to do, he should have explained his dissent. But to make a non-book out of *Jews Without Money* is a symptom of how an ideological hostility may be reduced to a path-

etic, even counterproductive, petteyness. This method, by the way, characterized Cahan's treatment of left-wing opponents.

Not that all Howe's strange omissions are ideologically motivated. Some, I take it, are the result of sloppy scholarship, of that impressionistic, unsystematic approach already mentioned. Thus Milton Hindus, in a somewhat overwrought review in the *New Boston Review* Jan., 1977, is sharply critical of many demonstrable errors and also calls attention to Howe's omission of reference to Leo Wiener's history of Yiddish literature, "the first serious history . . . in the 19th century . . ." and to Howe's failure to mention notable and relevant works like Charles Reznikoff's *Family Chronicle* and his novel, *By the Waters of Manhattan*, as well as to other lapses.

Sometimes Howe will ostentatiously disregard ideological affinity, as he does in sneering at a 60-year-old institutional gem like the *Folksbiene*, which he manages to dismiss (p. 491) in one sole single solitary name-dropping short sentence as "an animated museum"—thereby insulting museums too. No empathy here with self-educated workers who, after a day's work in the shops, became skilled actors and for generations maintained a repertory of the highest quality. Surprisingly, Howe is generous with all of a half page (pages 489-490) to the work of "the Communist-inspired Artef," mainly because it was an avant-garde theater (1927-1939) and attracted the attention, despite language barriers, of the major theater critics in the country. But of the content of its advanced socially conscious repertory Howe gives us nothing.

But for an omission that borders

on the grotesque-humoresque I must conclude this listing with Howe's brazen denial that the now 55-year-old *Morgen Freiheit* is a daily newspaper. Perhaps because the *Forward*, which by this time is brazen to the marrow, has for years proclaimed itself incredibly as the only Yiddish daily, Howe slipped into the pattern and (p. 638) solemnly affirmed that "there's no other Yiddish newspaper left . . ."! And when a *Freiheit* reader wrote to Howe to express his surprise, Howe haughtily replied on a postcard:

"Dear M—I said in my book that the *Forward* is the only Yiddish daily. The *Freiheit* isn't a daily, or at least it wasn't when I wrote. Hence I did it no injustice—though considering its wretched record as an apologist over the years for the worst aspects of Russian totalitarianism, it would be hard to do it an injustice. (signed) *Irving Howe*" Well, what is a daily? The *Forward* publishes six times a week, the *Freiheit* five. To eliminate subjectivity, Howe might have sent one of his staff to consult the authoritative reference works in the field: the *Ayer Directory of Publications* and the yearbook of *Editor and Publisher*, both of which list the *Freiheit* as a daily. But instead of admitting an error that would be trivial were it not ideologically motivated, Howe obtrudes his ideological stiletto about the *Freiheit's* alleged policies—and he does this three years after the editor of the *Freiheit* has been expelled from the Communist Party USA exactly because, among other things, he had for 16 years, since the Khrushchev report in 1956, unremittingly criticized the Soviet treatment of its Jewish nationality! Thus does Howe's ideological malice nurture

ignorance and breed folly—hardly a recommendation in a historian.

9

FROM these sins of omission that are far from inconsequential let me turn to sins of commission of even greater weight. Howe's 35-page Chapter 10, "Breakup of the Left" in the 1920s is the least historical, most crudely biased, and utterly unreliable. No one can underestimate the difficulty of writing the history of that bitter period when Jewish workers, polarized between Communist and Socialist leadership, fought each other, with the Socialists winning "a noble victory" that left the Jewish unions wrecked. A glance at Howe's reference and bibliographical notes revealed to me at once that Howe and his staff simply had not done their home-work as researchers. It is not enough, as Howe does, to rely on the accounts in the *Forward* or on the writings of ex-Communist anti-Communists. Nor is it enough to have a couple of token references to the *Freiheit* as a source. In addition to thorough examination of both the *Freiheit* and the *Forward* the researcher who wants to rise to a historical perspective should also consult systematically the reports of the labor editors of the liberal *Tog* and the anarchist *Freie Arbeiter Shtimme*, who can add some balance to the partisan reporting of the first two newspapers. And in oral interviewing, of which Howe makes so much, at least some interviews should have been sought with both left-wing leaders and rank-and-filers, many of whom are fortunately still available.

Howe unfortunately did not live up to his professional historical responsibilities in producing this chapter. Hence there are startling and crippling omissions of indispensable

background and foreground material. He omits entirely the 1914-1917 years and the various attitudes of Jewish workers to World War I before the Feb., 1917 Russian Revolution. Therefore he cannot show how the divisions about the war later deepened into divisions over the character of the Russian Revolutions. Howe also omits reference to the post-World War I Red Scare, to the Palmer Raids and Deportation Drives, both of which had great influence on Jewish workers. He even omits the anti-immigration movements that led to the racist restrictions on immigration, and the conflicts in the Jewish community as how to deal with these menaces. The world of our fathers was certainly shadowed by these events, but there is no place for them in a book by that name!

Howe's inability to rise to the level of a historian is spread all over this chapter, despite the volume of colorful detail he has assembled. Take for example Howe's introduction (p. 331) of William Z. Foster as "a left-wing trade unionist who had led an unsuccessful steel strike" in 1919. But that "unsuccessful strike" was a little more than that among the Jewish workers. Why, the Fur Workers Union contributed \$20,000 to that strike, and the I. L. G. W. U. gave \$60,000, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—\$100,000, "the largest gift of its kind ever made by any union in this country."

This strike was an event in the lives of tens of thousands of Jewish workers, who contributed almost 45% of the \$418,000 received by the Foster strike committee for the conduct of that strike. But for that unsuccessful strike there would have been no Steel Workers Organizing

Committee of the C. I. O. in the 1930s and no United Steelworkers of America—as any historian of the U.S. labor movement knows. But Howe, seeing Foster only as the later leader of the Communist Party (which called Socialists "social fascists" and maligned Trotskyists as akin to fascists), not only cannot give him his due in the 1919 steel strike but cannot give the masses of Jewish workers who supported that strike *their* due.

Throughout the chapter, Howe's sensibilities as a democratic socialist sincerely devoted to democratic forms and methods are offended by the blatantly undemocratic tactics of the right-wing socialist trade union leaders whose course he is impelled to defend but whose methods he must mildly deplore while rejoicing in their triumph over the communists they and Howe hate. The undemocratic, bureaucratic right-wing socialists he can exculpate by faulting them only with "petty corruption" and "small weaknesses," while the left-wingers he finds guilty of "large brutalities" (p. 336). Howe is right in blaming "... the Communists [because they] fought the old-line union leaders as if Jewish socialists were their main enemy" (p. 332), yet he must admit that "A majority of the New York garment workers ... supported the left wing ..." (p. 333). Howe is being more underhanded than even-handed.

Howe sinks to his lowest point when he tries to saddle the left-wing with hiring gangsters in the 1926 garment workers general strike led by the I. L. G. W. U. Howe writes: "During the 1926 strike, the employers hired the notorious Legs Diamond mob to terrorize pickets,

(Continued on page 31)

The Editor's Diary

• *Boss Tweed Rehabilitated?*

Leo Hershkowitz, professor of History at Queens College and a specialist in New York history, makes a valiant attempt to set in a different focus William Magear (not Marcy) Tweed (1823-1878), the "Boss" Tweed whom cartoonist Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly* and the *N. Y. Times* made into a hateful and disgusting symbol of a politician steeped in civic corruption. Dr. Hershkowitz, as the head and founder of the Historical Documentation Collection housed at Queens College, has had access to hundreds of boxes of documents (vouchers, bills, warrants, etc.) of the Tweed period. Exhaustively examining these, he concludes that Tweed was a "scapegoat." Because he represented the interests of an urban immigrant center like New York, he was destroyed by reformers representing "the traditional suburban leadership" in its hostility to the Big City. "Bigots like Nast . . . and others saw in Tweed an outsider threatening their position by his supposedly championing the 'drunken-ignorant Irish,' the overly ambitious German-Jewish immigrants and those seeking to change the *status quo*" (p. xix). Tweed was "more a victim than a scoundrel or a thief" (p. xviii).

This book, *Tweed's New York, Another Look* (Anchor-Doubleday, N. Y., 1977, 428 pages, indexed, \$12.50), argues its case well. Whether his revisionist thesis will stand up under cross-examination by other scholars in New York history of that period remains to be seen. To Dr. Hershkowitz, "reformer" is a dirty word. He holds it against the *N. Y. Times* that from its first issue Sept. 18, 1851, it was "a rabid anti-Tammany journal" (p. 17), and that its editor, Henry J. Raymond, "had political ambitions and waged war on the city in general and on Tammany and urban corruption in particular." Dec. 2, 1858 the *Times* even "said Tweed was of Jewish origin because of the length of his nose" (p. 4).

To Dr. Hershkowitz "Tweed emerges as anything but a master thief. It was the contractors who willingly padded bills, never calling attention to any undue pressure upon them to do so . . ." (p. 347). Studying his entire career, Dr. Hershkowitz affirms that "Tweed spent some 20 years in public service. In the Fire Department, as alderman, member of the Board of Supervisors and Board of Education, member of Congress, state senator, commissioner of public works—it was a long list and resulted in a great deal of public good. He was instrumental in modernizing governmental and educational institutions, in developing needed reforms in public welfare programs, in incorporating schools, hospitals, establishing public baths, in preserving a site in Central Park for the Metropoli-

tan Museum of Art, in widening Broadway, extending Prospect Park and removing fences from around public parks, establishing Riverside Park and Drive, annexing the Bronx as a forerunner of the incorporation of Greater New York, in building the Brooklyn Bridge, in founding the Lenox Library. . . . Tweed was a pioneer spokesman for an emerging New York. . . ." (p. 348). But "He became a club with which to beat New York, really the ultimate goal of the blessed reformers" (p. 349). Yet he died in prison, disgraced in his time and for a century, until Dr. Hershkowitz took his "another look."

Flitting through the pages are items of Jewish interest. In 1863, Tweed attended the dedication of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in pursuit of "a small but growing Jewish vote, though at cost of losing the bigot vote. Anti-Semitism in New York was quiet, though present, and on the increase with the arrival of more Jewish immigrants" (p. 95). Individual Jews, some known to history, most of them not, turn up here and there: August Belmont (1816-1890—Dr. Hershkowitz errs in giving his year of birth as 1813), Rothschild's representative and a power in the Democratic Party; Albert J. Cardozo (1828-1885), Tammany sachem who resigned from the State Supreme Court when the State Assembly voted to impeach him; Gustave Cardozo and Jacob and Gershon Cohen of Tammany; two jurors in Tweed's trial, Solomon Marx and Louis Arnheim; William Edelstein, Tweed's counsel at his trial; Emanuel Hart (1809-1897), Tammany leader, congressman and Commissioner of Immigration, 1870-1873; Henry Hart, Abraham Kuhn and Charles Louis Lazarus; Tammany Alderman Samuel L. Lewis, who in 1877 proposed an investigation of "all the facts and circumstances connected with the Tweed Ring" (p. 328); and an "Ex-Governor Edward Solomon of Wisconsin" who in 1871 denounced Tweed at a large Municipal Reform Meeting (p. 183—Dr. Hershkowitz makes two errors here: Solomon in 1871 was Governor of Washington Territory).

If Dr. Hershkowitz' revision withstands the historians critical examination, he will have written an object lesson in how the press in 19th century New York manipulated the public mind and justice.

• "AJSreview," Vol. 1, 1976

The publication of this periodical marks another step in the professionalization of Jewish Studies in our colleges and universities. The first was taken in 1969 with the founding of the Association for Jewish Studies, with offices at Harvard University and with a membership that grew as the number of teachers in the field expanded. After issuing a scholarly *Newsletter* for several years, the AJS, with a grant from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture, launched a learned journal as a "forum in which scholars can communicate serious scholarship to their colleagues . . . in rigorous examination of detail and of the seemingly abstruse . . ." (p. vii). Edited by Frank Talmage of the University of Toronto, the first volume of *AJSreview* appeared late last year in hard covers

(387 pages). There are 16 papers (one in Hebrew) by 17 scholars teaching at 13 universities, three of them in Israel.

Four of the papers were of particular interest. In "The 1913 New York State Civil Rights Act," Jeffrey Gurock (Columbia) describes in illuminating detail the origin of the Act and the methods used by the Jewish community leaders in finally getting it passed, although Jewish opinion was divided on the issue. In "The Origins of the Jewish Reform Movement in England" in 1840, Robert Liberles (Jewish Theological Seminary of America) stresses the close "connection between politics and religion" in the struggle. In "The First Charter of the Jewish Merchants of Venice, 1559," Benjamin C. I. Ravid (Brandeis) corrects the record with new data. In "Coming Home: The Personal Basis of Simon Dubnow's Ideology," Robert M. Seltzer (Hunter) traces Dubnow's path from "shtetl Judaism" through assimilationism to a concept of a Jewish community with "legal autonomy in a culturally pluralistic, multinational state . . ." (p. 299):

● "Yiddish," Vol. 2, No. 4, Summer, 1977

Published by the Queens College Press with a grant from the Atran Foundation, this Quarterly, edited by Prof. Joseph C. Landis of Queens, is beginning to make itself felt (98 pages, \$7 per year). Outstanding in this issue is the leading article by Gerald Stillman, "A Defense of 19th Century Yiddish Literature," really an effective rebuttal of an article by Joshua Rothenberg in an earlier issue crudely misrepresenting Mendele Mokher Sforim. Not only does Stillman know his Mendele (having translated two of his works into English), but he brings devastatingly to bear his knowledge of Zola, Upton Sinclair, Chesterton, Balzac and Belinsky.

Also of special interest is "A Reisen Sampler," four stories by Avrom Reisen (1872-1953), two of them from our own pages: Max Rosenfeld's translation of "His Brother's Bullets" (Sept., 1953—not 1973 as the typo would have it) and Curt Leviant's "The Heart-Stirring Sermon" (Sept., 1972). Milton Teichman translates the other two, "The New Patch" and "His Grandfather's Clock."

"A Sholem Aleichem Portfolio" begins with "Language, *Luftmenschen*, Catastrophe: Some Riches of Sholem Aleichem," by Murray Baumgarten (University of California at Santa Cruz) and proceeds to "The Narrator in Sholem Aleichem's 'The Enchanted Tailor'" by Zoya Prizel (Columbia), both of which seem to me to obscure rather than illuminate their subjects with heavy-handed academic formalism. Baumgarten even accepts Ruth Wisse's view that Sholem Aleichem's Jews "are a kind of *shlemiel* people!" Serviceable, on the other hand is a list, "Sholem Aleichem in English: The Most Accessible Translations," in 13 books, five anthologies and two periodicals (omitting our's, which has more such translations than the two included). The compiler, David Neal Miller (Queens) also indicates what has *not* been translated, as a guide to translators. Articles on Isaak Babel and I. B. Singer, and reviews, complete the issue.

● *Fired 8/23/27—and Re-fired*

50 years later I remembered: I was 20 and a senior at the City College. I was working in the basement shipping department of a manufacturer of women's hats named after an actress. The shop was on Broadway near Prince St. That morning I awoke sullen. What had happened to Sacco and Vanzetti? We had no radio. I learned the news when I saw the tabloid headlines on the newsstand at 10th St. and Ave. B as I walked to work. By the time I reached the basement shipping department I was glum and stiff with wrath.

My fellow workers knew my concern for Sacco and Vanzetti. They had me marked lousy because at lunch time, instead of listening to their leering talk of women, I sat out on the sidewalk reading E. Haldeman Julius' Little Blue Books. When I came down the steps they began to bait and taunt me, led by the shipping clerk: "Those anarchists, wops, foreigners—they shoulda been hung years ago." I was stone silent. Finally I flared up, arguing shrilly that Sacco and Vanzetti had been framed up. Suddenly the shipping clerk shouted, "You're fired, fired. Get out of here. Go. You're fired." I stalked up the steps and headed for the outside door.

"Hey, where are you going?" It was the boss himself. I told him I'd been fired. "Why?" I told him. "Go on down and back to work."

Today I read the proclamation of Mass. Gov. Michael S. Dukakis that Sacco and Vanzetti had not received a fair trial. I remember Ill. Gov. John P. Altgeld's June, 1893 pardon of the Haymarket Martyrs. Will it take 50 years before a President proclaims the injustice done the Rosenbergs?

● *Belated Acknowledgement*

In the *Workmen's Circle Call*, July-Aug., 1977, William Stern, the Executive Director of this fraternal order and editor of its publication, finally takes notice of the Memorandum to Soviet Jewish Leaders published in our Dec., 1976 issue and more recently noted in the *N. Y. Times*. Of the four signers, Paul Novick, Haim Suller, Itche Goldberg and I, Stern writes, "I have mentioned the names of some of these Jewish communists a number of times on this page, but never with intended kindness. This time . . . I say, Bravo!"

Novick and Suller have, in the *Morgen Freiheit* Aug. 17 and 25, made their own comments on this acknowledgement, 21 years late, that things have changed in many respects in the progressive Jewish movement (would that Irving Howe would recognize this!). For myself I would say this: Since the Khrushchev report of Feb., 1956, our periodical has reviewed and corrected many of its blunders. Has the Workmen's Circle tried self-criticism? Or has it made no mistakes? May I suggest it review its attitude to World War II, to the visit of the Soviet Jewish spokesmen, Mikhoels and Feffer, and to the opening of the Second Front in 1942, which could have saved millions of Jews (and others) by shortening the war, and which the *Forward* and Workmen's Circle crowd denounced as a Soviet-inspired communist plot?

M. U. S.

Spilled Beans

A Story

By **MALA REYNAUD-APPEL**

MAMA had the meanest scowl on Monroe Street—except when I asked her for a stocking for coffee beans. To Mama coffee beans were magic words like “open sesame” to Ali Baba. Right away her scowl became a smile and her voice softened to a purr.

“Yes, my dear child, what is it

MALA REYNAUD-APPEL, a new contributor, left the New York City school system in the late fifties to start a second career. Her Stovetop Cookbook, in both American and British editions, was published in the sixties by Gramercy Publishing Co., New York. Author of several short stories and poems, she is presently completing a novel.

you want, Malkale?” she asked, as if she didn’t know that I was offering to go down to the docks to scrounge around for spilled coffee beans. I knew by her happy sighs that despite her preaching about not counting the chickens before they were hatched, she was already converting those beans to cash.

Beaming, Mama put down the cup of coffee she was drinking. She loved black coffee, taking first a bite from a lump of sugar and then a sip. Papa shook his finger at Mama. “Some day, Rivka, you’re gonna cost me a fortune in teeth.”

Mama, scowling, said, “It costs you something, the coffee I drink?” Then Mama pulled out the wooden box of rags from under the iron bed and, keeping me at bay with one hand, rummaged in it with the other until she found the proper stocking. Ours, my five sisters’ and mine, and, of course Papa’s, were too short. She hunted for one of hers. With no holes in the foot part, though there were plenty of darns there, and no tears in the leg part except for one or two at the top too large to stay fastened to the garter of her corset.

“Here, a good one, a long one with plenty of stretch,” she said and stuffed the cotton stocking into my coat pocket. I hated the bulge it made there. It made me feel lopsided. So I stuffed my fist into the other pocket to sort of even things out.

“Maybe this time you can bring back a full stocking?” she said cooly, showing her dimples.

“Maybe,” I answered glumlike and trudged off, as if she were forcing me, toward Pike and Water and so on to South Street along the East River. I knew Mama was watching me from the window so I walked slow, sad-like. And as soon as I turned the

corner, I started to skip because I loved to go to the docks. But Mama was so perverse that if she found out I enjoyed it she'd make me do the chores Lily had to do for me after school.

Oh, how scary it was there. Mama never knew how dangerous it was. Stevedores all over the street, pushing stand-up hand trucks loaded with sacks of green coffee beans they got from the big ships on the river. And they wove in and out of the wagons to get to the warehouse to pile up the stuff. And they pushed their trucks towards me as if they were going to go right over me and they yelled, "What the hell are you doing here?"

I had to move fast to get out of their way. I had to step out into the gutter, where there were big heavy trucks pulled by four horses with bellies that could crush you to death. And I'd see the big horses coming at me and the noise was terrific. The horses snorting and shaking their manes. The clang, clang of the horse-shoes on the cobble-stones. And the drivers sitting up high, hollering at the horses, "Giddap, Who-o-a," and I had to go zig-zagging around the wagons and hand-trucks. Wow! I had to be careful. It was easy for your shoe to get stuck in the cracks between the cobbles. When it was wet it was slippery and it was hard to walk slow so as not to slip when you had to walk fast so as not to be trampled by a horse.

What I liked best was a collision.

Then the hand trucks got all mixed up and the sacks of beans tumbled down and the men cursed and kicked the sacks with their boots and kicked a hole in the sacks and there was a big gush of coffee beans. Hallelujah! When the men picked up the sacks

and were out of the way I had to run fast to beat the other kids to the beans. On my hands and knees I even crawled under the horses' heads. Whew, was that scary!

It was scary, too, when I worked on the sacks with the holes. I'd force my pinky into a hole and coax out the beans. What a lovely green they were! When I was feeling real brave, I pushed a nail in to make the hole bigger but honest, I never used the nail to start a hole. I once told Mama about the nail. She acted like she didn't hear. The bigger the pile, the faster you could work, scooping it into the stocking instead of bean by bean. Bean by bean was a good way to get caught. Sometimes the watchman'd holler, "Get out of there, you . . . you. . ." But mostly he said nothing. Only looked away.

My sister said, "He probably likes you 'cause you're cute with your blonde hair, freckles and pugnose." I wasn't so sure about him. Once he gave me a paper bag full of beans, then pinched my backside.

When I had time to go across the street to the river, how I loved it. The ships, the smells! The smell of horse stuff when it dropped from the horse with the steam coming out of it. It was a smell I shouldn't like, I suppose. But I did. Maybe because it was mixed up with other smells—the smell of the spice that looks like a tiny brown nail and the cinnamon sticks.

Mama had no respect for the cinnamon I picked up. She said, "The grocery man does me a favor giving me a few pennies for cinnamon. 'In this neighborhood,' says he, 'they don't go for cinnamon. Garlic, give them garlic.' But coffee beans he grabs. And for a good price. I say to him, 'No cinnamon, no coffee.'"

So when I brought home a bulging

stocking, Mama not only respected the coffee but me too. "Sit down, my golden darling, sit down. You want a banana? Or Cracker Jacks?" She couldn't wait to run her fingers through the beans. "Such small ones. Who needs them? You couldn't get bigger ones?"

"But Mama, the grocery man buys them anyway."

"Buys," she scowled, "You call it money, what he gives me? He's a thief—a crook!" I set to thinking how could Mama be so sweet and so mean at the same time.

Still scowling she dragged out from the closet a potato sack half full of beans. She dragged it over old shoes and rubbers. With eight people in the family, there were plenty. We had more old stuff than new. If one bean rolled away when she was putting them into the potato sack, she made me hunt for it in the dark closet. What I found was dust.

"Six girls I have and the dust rolls around like clouds," she screamed. "It's getting dark before my eyes. Ah, let me revive myself. I'll go roast a few beans for your father."

"For Papa, Mama? Papa drinks tea. Coffee gives him heartburn."

"Don't be such a smarty, daughter. You've got a swell head these days."

Well, why not? I was bringing in money like Papa. And from what I overheard maybe more than Papa these days.

"The child needs shoes," Papa said to Mama.

"I don't touch coffee money. You're the big provider. Go work for your family," said Mama.

"They'll break my head, the strikers," said Papa.

"Sneak around the back," said Mama.

Well, not only Papa had bad days.

I also had a bad day. I started out feeling happy. The sun was shining. At last my stocking was full. I was thinking of Mama's face when she saw the stocking. It was still light so I took a little walk over to the ships. I stood up on the river wall. I held my stocking tight with both my hands. I looked down into the river. The ripples in the water made me look broken up. I shivered. What if my foot slipped and down I would go me and my stocking! Those kids would be happy if I drowned, like I was when they were too sick to get to the docks. I saw Micky—a meany. He was always on the docks. He was walking towards me with his hands in his pockets. "Where are his beans?" I thought. "Did he bring them home already?" He got close to me.

"What's inside?" he asked me.

"Coffee," I said.

"Coffee, huh!" he said. "You ain't got it anymore." And he yanked the stocking out of my hands so fast I almost fell into the river. I screamed. I started to run after him. I screamed some more. It was no use, I couldn't run; my shoes were too loose. They were my big sister's. I just stood and cried and cried.

When I got to my stoop and pushed in the street door I smelled Mama's coffee beans roasting. Mama was sitting by the stove drinking coffee. When she saw my tears and my empty hands I didn't have to tell her anything.

"Crooks, thieves, cutthroats are moving in the neighborhood," she screamed. "And you, little fool, why did you let yourself? Why didn't you run after the bum?"

I sobbed, "I couldn't Mama—not—with Lily's shoes."

"All right, all right," said Mama. "The world's not coming to an end."

About Meir of Rothenburg

By DAVID M. MILLER

Said the Jew to the emperor—"We have no obligation to support you!"

IN the 13th century, Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg declared that each human being has inalienable rights free of obligation to God or man. No one, not even the Almighty, has a right to coerce a human being against his will. Meir did not originate this doctrine of human rights; they went far back into the depths of Jewish law. A century earlier the Rabbenu Tam had upheld the doctrine of individual rights, upheld it even when a Crusader sword entered his flesh. Meir carried the doctrine to its extreme; and in the 13th century he was put to the test by Rudolph, crowned in 1273 King of Germany and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

His reign was preceded by the Great Interregnum, when no head wore the crown and the land was chaos. Previous emperors had given the income derived from various Jewish communities to local rulers, and during the interregnum the treasury was drained. The burghers rose to power. They controlled the towns. As an aspect of their power, they battled the aristocrats for the right to tax the Jews. The Jews fought back: they still retained the mentality of free men despite the

massacres inflicted by the Crusaders.

Rudolph the First leaped into the arena. He declared that the Jew, his kin, his possessions belonged to the royal treasury, to protect or dispose of at imperial caprice. Rudolph found a doctrine stated by England's Edward the Confessor: "All Jews, wherever in the realm they are, must be under the king's liege protection"—words which courteously said that the Jew belonged to the king. Prince, burgher, emperor, all wanted the Jew, that mysterious creator of wealth. In his book, *Rabbi Meir of Rothenburg*, Irving A. Agus writes: "the three powers fiercely fought for decades, and in the process they fiercely ripped apart the freedom, the security, the dignity of the German Jews."

The Jews found their leader in Meir of Rothenburg. They confronted an emperor determined to subjugate the nobility, wrench power from the Church and degrade the Jew. Determined to remain free, the Jews fought with spirit, a spirit mutilated by the Crusades that triggered the first Jewish trek into the Polish-Lithuanian Empire. There Jewish skills helped develop a backward realm that stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This time the Jews left Germany, not through fear of extortion, brutality, massacre, but in opposition to slavery. A leader of the exodus, Reb Hayyim, wrote: "I replied to the king three times—'We are under no obligation to support you.'"

DAVID M. MILLER of *Shaker Heights, Ohio* last appeared here in April, 1977 with an article, "The Holocaust and Jewish Resistance."

Meir of Rothenburg stood at the helm in this Jewish defiance of a German emperor. Meir ben Baruch of Rothenburg, known in talmudic literature by his acronym—the Maharam—was born in Germany in or about the year 1215. His elementary studies completed, he was sent to Isaac ben Moses, originally of Vienna, whose brilliant mind became the jeweler's tool that shaped the gold of Meir's greater brilliance. Isaac ben Moses, master scholar, master of self-restraint, would sit, face impassive, lips almost smiling, when Meir the young bantam cock flip-pantly dug his spurs into the opinions of Reb Isaac.

In perpetual search of Jewish learning, Meir went on to a town in France, on to Paris, on to the great talmudic experts who lived there. He was developing into a man of fiery temperament. Confident, courageous, strong of mind, master of the Talmud, that "portable homeland of the Jew," he could erupt into a crescendo of passion when confronted with a serious crime, above all the crime of Rudolph of the Holy Roman Empire.

During centuries the Church would periodically force Jewish scholars into public debate against monks; from the 13th century on, mostly Dominican monks, whose self-appointed task it was to ferret out heresy. In these debates Christian doctrine stood above the battle, un-touchable, beyond attack. Judaism was the sole target. It was the task of the Jew to prove Judaism true, or accept baptism. For the Jew it was dangerous to lose the debate; it was even more dangerous to win.

The debate attended by Meir took place in 1240. His teachers debated too well; they won—and in 1241 the

Jews of Paris were massacred. In 1242 all volumes of Jewish learning in Paris were burned, and again, perhaps, in 1244. One year later Meir settled in Rothenburg where his yeshiva drew hundreds of students.

Through 30 years, Meir, out of Jewish law, developed his concept of human rights. The rights of the majority must not impose a tyranny on the rights of the minority. Irving A. Agus said of Meir that his ideas of freedom would have done credit to the fathers of the American constitution. He sums Meir's views thus: Man is absolutely free; "the legitimacy of the government is derived solely from the free and uncensored consent of the governed; the legislative powers of the majority are limited to certain areas only and cannot encroach upon the private and inalienable rights of the individual."

Before the Crusades massacred them, the Jews of France and Germany had been proud free people, firm in the awareness of their rights. Their sense of freedom was still alive. Rather than become chattels to prince or king, the Jews uprooted themselves and left their wealth behind. Putting freedom above everything, they made their way to Poland.

Others made ready to settle in Palestine together with Meir of Rothenburg. While he lingered in Lombardy, waiting for his followers, an informer betrayed Meir to Emperor Rudolph, who imprisoned Meir. Some insist that Meir forbade the Jews to ransom him lest a chain reaction begin, with Jew after Jew imprisoned, Jew after Jew ransomed.

Under Jewish law, however, a captive must be ransomed even

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INSIDE THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Red Squad Vs. Jewish Groups

Jewish Post and Opinion of New York Aug. 12 reprinted from its Chicago edition a report that "Files on 25 Jewish organizations were kept by the Chicago police department's spy unit—The Red Squad. . . ."

While the establishment organizations for many years felt secure in the belief that only left (and some ultra-right) organizations were under surveillance, the spying of the Red Squad against Jewish organizations dates back "to the 1930s." Some of the organizations that themselves practiced a bit of red-baiting during those days and in the period of McCarthyism, should learn now how anti-democratic repression knows no boundaries when it is permitted to exist.

The *Jewish Post and Opinion* article stated: "The files on the Jewish groups have come to light as a result of the class action suit that has forced the police to make public their spying activities. The number of files on Jewish organizations totals more than all police files on other religious organizations combined, according to Richard Gutman, an attorney in the class action suit. [How about files on other ethnic groups: Blacks, Poles, etc?—Ed.]

"Aside from the 25 organizations on which police maintained separate files many other Jewish organizations were mentioned in police intelligence reports, according to reliable sources. . . ."

"The *Chicago Jewish Post and*

Opinion was able to obtain a partial list of the Jewish organizations that were spied on. This list includes:

"Jewish United Fund, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jewish Defense League, Jewish War Veterans, Chicago Rabbinical Council, Chicago Jewish Alliance, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Conference of Jewish Women (Evanston and Chicago chapters) Young Men's Jewish Council. . . ."

"The *Chicago Jewish Post and Opinion* was also able to obtain the police index cards of the intelligence reports filed on the Jewish War Veterans. The reports detail the Jewish War Veterans' political and public activities. . . ."

"The *Chicago Jewish Post and Opinion* has also learned that the police identified members of Jewish organizations as 'Jews' whereas individuals of other religions were listed by nationality. . . . [Jews are an ethnic group, not only a religious group—Ed.]

"The suit that forced the police to make public the spying reports was filed by several organizations including the Alliance to End Repression, the National Conference of Jewish Women and the Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago as members."

Likud Victory—"Disturbing"

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith reported in its *June Bulletin* that in its "Big 50" Press Survey;

"The prevailing reaction of the leading American newspapers commenting on the May 17 Israeli elections was that the Likud victory was a disturbing development in the quest for Middle Eastern peace. . . . Of the 50 papers with the largest circulation, 80% commented. The survey revealed that:

"-30% reacted negatively to the election outcome, their comments ranging from expressions of gloom to intimation of a potential Middle Eastern disaster;

"-35% took a basically 'disturbed but hopeful' position, expressing concern at the unexpected Likud victory but tempering it with optimism;

"-17.5% were disturbed and showed little optimism to counteract their gloomy and negative reaction;

"-15% reacted in positive terms to the Likud victory, adopting a generally optimistic viewpoint about the impact of the elections on chances for peace;

"-22.5% made special reference to the fact that in the Israeli democracy people have the basic right to express their views in free elections and determine who shall be their leaders. Among the papers making this point were several which were unhappy about the Israelis' choice."

A View of the Upset

In a study of the Israeli elections released June 22 by the American Jewish Committee, Hanoeh Smith, a veteran election analyst, concluded that young voters, Sephardic Jews, and blue collar voters were largely responsible for Likud's victory in Israel's recent elections. Thus, for the first time in Israel's history, ethnic and socio-economic factors emerged as significant elements in the relative appeal of the political parties.

Moreover, adds Mr. Smith, "the typical Israeli had the view that the Ma'arach (Labor Alignment) would win by a narrow plurality, and that he could therefore afford to express his dissatisfaction by voting for an opposition party."

An ORT Anniversary

Women's American ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) will celebrate its 50th birthday Oct. 23-27 at its 24th Biennial National Convention in Jerusalem. WAO, which today numbers 130,000 members in 1,049 chapters from coast to coast, contributes over \$3 million annually to the ORT program.

The women's organization has sponsored the construction of some of ORT's finest schools, including the Aron Syngalowski Center in Tel Aviv; the Jeanette Gayle Apprentice Center in Haifa; the Lyons high school in Lyons, France; and the John F. Kennedy Apprentice Center in Jerusalem. It has participated in the expansion of ORT schools in every major country of operation; it has also provided heavy equipment for ORT schools.

The WAO pioneered the "social role" of ORT in providing programs for those lacking educational prerequisites; pressed for accelerated and innovative adult-training programs; sponsored scholarships for the training of teachers; made possible student medical and health services and provided for "social assistance" in the form of clothing, meals, cultural and recreational facilities.

Women's American ORT was "born" in Brooklyn in 1927. It was established by a small group of women

S. P.

“World of Our Fathers”

(Continued from page 19)

and the left-wing locals responded by hiring a rival mobster, ‘Little Augie’ (Jacob Orgen).” Then Howe explains that “Arnold Rothstein, the absolute boss of the New York underworld,” whose father, A. E. Rothstein, was “a respected manufacturer,” obliged his father “by telephoning Legs Diamond and Little Augie, both of whose gangs he controlled, and suggesting that they calm things down. They did” (pages 336-337).

Nowhere in his reference notes does Howe cite a source to support his statement that the left hired Little Augie. Charles (Sasha) Zimmerman, a union leader interviewed and cited by Howe as a highly creditable ex-communist anti-communist witness, does not make that charge and has in fact denied it to another interviewer. From the July 5, 1926 *Forward* one can learn that Little Augie was a partner of one Yudel November, a garment manufacturer! Why did not Howe cite a source, any source, for his charge?

Worse, a source Howe does cite for a quotation in the same chapter (p. 336) tells an entirely different story about Rothstein and Legs Diamond, etc. Melech Epstein, one of the ex-communist anti-communists mentioned above, in *Jewish Labor in U. S. A., 1914-1952*, a work frequently cited by Howe, writes (p. 150): “Several weeks after the general strike was declared, old Rothstein was approached to use his influence with Sadowsky [& Co.] and other large employers to reach a settlement. . . . [old] Rothstein, eager to conciliate a big labor dispute, arranged for a meeting between Sadowsky and Zimmerman and [Louis]

Hyman [another union leader]. Arnold [Rothstein], seeing his father’s interest in the strike, wanted to be helpful too. First he called off the ‘Legs’ Diamond gang, then he changed the opinion of a couple of judges in favor of arrested strikers” (emphasis added). Nothing about calling off Little Augie, but something about Rothstein and judges that might have been at least as interesting to Howe’s readers.

Not only is Howe’s malign charge that Jewish left-wingers brought gangsters onto the scene unsubstantiated, but Howe is perverse enough to omit the easily ascertainable fact that it was Jewish communists that drove the gangsters out of the industry and put them behind bars. This fact, so disconcerting to Howe’s conviction that these Jewish communists are evil incarnate, is covered over in Howe’s bland statement (p. 337) that “It was not until the mid-thirties that the Jewish unions would be able to shake off these unsavory connections” with Lepke and Gurrah, who ran Murder, Inc. Now Howe has been necessarily taken to task for his brazen coupling of gangsters with the left by Paul Novick, who of course has a mastery of the Yiddish sources cited by Howe that Howe never attained (pages 18-20 of the pamphlet by Novick). Louis Harap, in his understated but very pointed review, has also scored Howe on this issue, using Philip S. Foner’s minutely documented history, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, to show Howe’s baseness in this respect.

Yet Howe is aware of Foner’s book. At least he read pages 73-74 because he cites them when he introduces Ben Gold with a fanfare: “In the whole immigrant world

there was no one quite like Ben Gold . . ." (p. 339). And then we learn that Ben Gold was "a flaming rabble-rouser," "a virtuoso of invective" voicing "arias of abuse" and venting "a flood of rage" so that "his hysteria ate into his audiences . . ." But Howe, dazzled by his own opulent images, forgot that on p. 74 Foner also says that Ben Gold "lead the fight against gangsterism and to clean the union of its bureaucratic, corrupt officials . . ." Instead Howe smears the union, saying their 1926 strike was "fought out with gorillas and *shtarke* . . ." not telling us that the gorillas were the gangsters and sluggers hired by the employers and protected by the police, while the *shtarke* were the embattled young workers who had to risk their lives in the struggle for a livelihood. (Incidentally, a Jewish historian like Howe should have noted that when the furriers, for the first time in labor history, won the 40-hour 5-day week, Orthodox fur workers were for the first time able to observe the Sabbath without penalty, and had for this reason been among those most active and concerned in the strike.)

More important is Howe's ignoring the struggle against gangsterism in the garment industry led by the Furriers Union, and brilliantly narrated by Foner, pages 359-414. A convenient summation of that struggle, from a source neither then nor now suspect of being "soft" on communists, is an editorial in the *N. Y. Post*, Nov. 11, 1936 (reproduced photographically in Foner, p. 405a). Headed "A Labor Victory Over Racketeering," the editorial expresses fear that the conviction of Lepke and Gurrah in a Federal court may be taken by some as "examples of labor-union racketeering, happily

ended in the courts. The truth is that the Lepke and Gurrah convictions are outstanding examples of racketeering *ended by courageous cooperation of trade union leaders with the United States prosecutor* [Thomas E. Dewey, emphasis in original]. Lepke and Gurrah were convicted of racketeering . . . largely on the testimony of Irving Potash, assistant manager of the joint council of the International Fur Workers' Union and of Samuel Burt, manager of the Fur Dyers Union, Local 88. . . . The courageous testimony of Potash and Burt gave backbone to the Government's case. . . . *Potash and Burt have set examples to other unions with housecleaning problems on their hands. It should be a matter of pride to the labor movement that it has done what local law enforcers were never able to do; that it has helped break the amazing immunity enjoyed by these two thugs for so many years. The Lepke-Gurrah convictions are labor's pride, not labor's shame. It will be a pity if enemies of union labor are allowed to broadcast the opposite impression*" (emphasis in original).

In Howe's book, Sam Burt is not mentioned, but Irving Potash (1902-1976) is—once. How? Well, it seems that after that great 1926 strike the "Communist party sent in another 'representative,' Irving Potash," to take over the "role of helping, steering and restraining Gold" (p. 340)! Of course Foner had (p. 159) reported that in 1925 Potash, on summer vacation as a City College student, had gotten a job in the office of the Furriers union, and did not return to college. But a year later Howe has him sent in to restrain the great leader of a great victory . . . In the whole world of writing immigrant

Jewish labor history there is no one quite like Irving Howe.

10

EARLIER in this critique we stated that a historian who ignores change, who rules out the possibility of change and the consequences of change, is bound to make frozen judgments that must be rendered irrelevant by change. I have already indicated to what methodological folly this can lead by pointing out that Howe had gone so far as to deny that the *Morgen Freiheit* was a daily newspaper because he hated and despised its policies—of 20 years ago. He has a right to his opinion but he also has a responsibility as a historian to know that, under the leadership of Paul Novick, the policies of the *Morgen Freiheit* have undergone a tremendous change, not only on the Soviet Jewish question but on Israel's defensive wars for survival in 1967 and 1973 and other issues. As a result the *Morgen Freiheit* has, since 1968, been the target of escalating public attacks in the U. S. communist press. There is no excuse for Howe's not knowing this or, knowing it, not taking it into account.

At issue is not whether Howe should forgive or forget what he, in the postcard already cited, scornfully characterized as the *Freiheit's* "wretched record as an apologist over the years for the worst aspects of Russian totalitarianism . . ." In his book Howe effectively (p. 342) gives an example of the *Freiheit's* "lockstep loyalty to the international Communist movement" in 1929, when an "Arab guerrilla raid brought death to a number of Jewish settlers in Palestine. The first response of the *Freiheit*, presenting the news as a tragic event in Jewish life, was in accord with the natural feelings of

its writers and readers. But a few days later, prodded by the Jewish Bureau of the Communist party, the paper turned about to hail the Arabs as 'fighters for national liberation.' . . ." Of course many readers and writers therefore turned against the *Freiheit* then and there.

But the historical record does not end there, as Howe implies it does. Paul Novick, *Freiheit* editor since 1939, comments on this passage and event in his bitter review of Howe's book (p. 24): "In 1929 an *unforgivable* mistake was committed, *almost a crime*, when a pogrom in Hebron, Palestine was wrongly defined as an expression of the Arab national liberation struggle. A self-critical analysis of this error was made as far back as Jan., 1957 at the National *Morning Freiheit* Conference. Irving Howe does not find it necessary to state that the *Morning Freiheit* had for many years been critical of its position in 1929 and that *learning from this error* it did not repeat it in June, 1967 when it stood firmly at Israel's side" (emphasis added).

By calling the 1929 position "unforgivable," Novick indicates he does not expect forgiveness. But he has a right to expect that a *historian* will not stop in 1929 in a book written in 1975. Yet Howe *deliberately* avoided following the record of the *Morgen Freiheit* down to the present period. For Howe interviewed Novick on tape on June 7, 1971. Since the transcripts are on deposit in the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research I was able to read the entire text (of which Howe quoted only three lines on p. 306, not naming Novick except in the unindexed and hard to unravel reference notes).

It was a long interview, with many interesting things in it, but what

shocked me was that Howe, in his questioning, did not go beyond the early NRA of the first FDR term. Howe made no attempt to probe Novick's recollections or views of the left-right conflict in the 1920s, nor did Howe ask Novick anything at all about the *Freiheit* positions on the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, or on the birth of Israel, or on the Soviet Jewish situation, or on any of the issues since 1956, when the *Freiheit* broke with "lock-step loyalty" and, learning from its acknowledged mistakes and crimes, became an independent left-wing newspaper.

Why did Howe, in interviewing Novick, stop in the early 1930s and not pursue matters that the historian should have ascertained so as to be able better to inform his readers of the full course of the record of the world of our fathers? Not forgiveness but forthrightness is the issue. By obsessively nursing his anti-Stalinism so that he could continue to believe "it would be hard to do it [the *Freiheit*] an injustice," Howe has done an injustice to his role as historian and undermined credibility in his competence in this controversial area. By not rising above his known prejudice, Howe sank below his level as a professional. In a historian, empathy leads to vision and insight but antipathy induces blindness to reality.

Howe of course knows the value and can practice the art of self-criticism, as he demonstrates in what are among the best 10 pages in the book. His section, "The New York Intellectuals" (pages 598-608—transplanted bodily from another book of Howe's in 1970), is a remarkably objective, self-critical depiction and evaluation of a group composed of

Philip Rahv, William Phillips, Meyer Schapiro, Paul Goodman, Harold Rosenberg, Sidney Hook, Lionel Abel, Leslie Fiedler, Lionel Trilling, Alfred Kazin and Howe himself. He sees them tellingly as part of the Jewish experience that surged up among these would-be cosmopolitans in the controversy precipitated by the award in 1949 of the Bollingen Prize to the fascist anti-Semite Ezra Pound. Howe perceives what some of them to this day have not understood, that "The left-wing anti-Stalinism . . . hardened into an anti-Communism which drove some intellectuals to become surreptitious accomplices of the Cold War. A legitimate revulsion against Bolshevism led to a casual dismissal of socialism. A warranted respect for the values of democracy became entangled with impatience, sometimes contempt for radicalism. During the McCarthy years, the New York intellectuals did not entirely cover themselves with glory. *Commentary* . . . was inclined . . . to minimize the McCarthyite threat and preferred . . . to attack the delusions of those liberals, many of them Jewish, who saw no parallel threat from Stalinism . . . there had been a significant decline in their radicalism and an equivalent growth in their readiness to look upon American society, not only its democracy but its capitalism also, as a reasonably good arrangement. . . ."

Howe, it should be remembered, is still a democratic socialist. It is from that vantage point that he views the Jewish socialism whose spokesman, advocate—and eulogist he has become in this book. Many reviewers have noted that *World of Our Fathers* is elegiac in tone. Howe has come to bury that world with eloquent praise. It is well to bury the

dead, but Howe also buries the living, and does it with a mean-spirited *kaddish*. In one of those long afterthoughts that Howe consigns to a footnote (p. 623), in which he irrelevantly misstates the charge on which the Rosenbergs were executed, Howe brushes aside as having shrunk "to relative insignificance" the entire progressive Jewish movement: the YKUF, with its score of reading circles, its some 200 volumes published in Yiddish, its 38-year-old monthly literary magazine, *Yiddische Kultur* and the quarterly of its writer's section, *Zamlungen*, some 15 years old; the Jewish Music Alliance with its 8-10 choruses singing Yiddish choral works (on p. 342 Howe has an unilluminated passing reference to the important composer Jacob Schaefer), the Jewish cultural clubs and women's clubs and aid-to-Israel organizations, its secular schooling system, largest in the country, its daily newspaper (*Morgen Freiheit*) and its 31-year-old JEWISH CURRENTS, and new institutions that have grown up around it. To all this, and to a score of talented writers in Yiddish and English, he gives the silent treatment, the non-person snub given its name by one of Howe's favorites, Orwell. Maybe Howe would be less elegiac if he realized that it is not impossible that the torch of Jewish socialism has not been totally extinguished, that some of its heat and light are still alive in this progressive Jewish movement, that Howe's *kaddish* is not only mean but premature.

After all, a eulogy reaches the living, not the dead. If the dead did not die in vain they are transmitting something valuable, a heritage, to us. Howe implies the heritage is noble but there are none worthy to receive it. Read and weep, or sigh.

We recognize the heritage, somewhat misshapen by Howe's bias, and claim it.

To conclude: can a book so marred as has been indicated still have value for the readers? Indeed! Not that its virtues overshadow its vices, but that its virtues are there, to be distinguished and separated from its vices and appreciated for themselves. Some hold its vices obliterate its virtues, but that is too simple, too righteous, too, in its own way, blind. Anyone interested in the subject who does not read this book will miss an invaluable broadening and deepening experience. But anyone who reads only this book—and does not go beyond it—will mistake a rich and tainted part for a richer whole. ■

Meir of Rothenburg

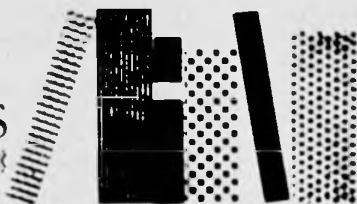
(Continued from page 28)

against his will. German Jews gathered 23,000 pounds of silver and gave them to the emperor. He took the ransom, then refused to release Meir. Ransom was not Rudolph's motive: By his holding their revered leader prisoner, the Jews would feel compelled to accept the doctrine that they and their possessions belonged to the king emperor. The Jews would not yield, and they left Germany.

Meir of Rothenburg died in prison in 1293. His dead body remained imprisoned until 1307. The corpse was ransomed by a Jew who brought it back to the Jews for burial.

In Loving Memory
of
Dr. Froim Camenir
Father and Grandfather
Shura, Sid and
Family
The Bronx

BOOK REVIEWS



Jewish Currents' Rich Harvest

By ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN

A Ten Year Harvest: Third Decennial Reader—A selection of short stories, poems and essays from *Jewish Currents* 1966-1977. Ed. by Louis Harap, 286 pages, \$10 deluxe; \$7.50 regular; \$3.75 paperback.

THIS Third Jewish Currents reader, containing a selection of some of the best material published by the magazine during the past decade, is certainly the most mature, interesting and substantial of the three.

Louis Harap, a member of the magazine's editorial board since its inception and former editor of its predecessor, *Jewish Life*, has achieved an admirable balance of drama, humor, controversy and intimacy with, as he says, excellence as a "minimum requirement."

The wide variety of form and content is at least superficially indicated by the titles of the five divisions—Problems Of Our Day, Jewish Culture and the Prophetic Tradition, Zionism and Israel, Jews and the

Left, Holocaust and Resistance. I say "superficially," for these section headings do not really show the great divergence of attitudes and broad range of questions treated in any one. The very first for example, contains three quite different approaches to three such important current issues as the "Jewish Woman Today" by Carol Jochnowitz, "The Meaning of Black History" by John Henrik Clarke, and "The Soviet Jewish Situation" by Harap.

Similarly the 100 page section devoted to Jewish Culture includes among its 20 selections nine unusual poems, a short story which reads like a confession (by Irene Paull) and an autobiographical sketch (by the magazine's editor, Morris U. Schappes) which reads like fiction, a delightful feminist exegesis by Elsie Levitan of the forgotten or undervalued women of the old Testament—this is perhaps the most surprising single piece in the volume—an erudite study of secularism and religion by Max Rosenfeld which bears its learning gracefully and lightly, and several interesting reviews of film, music and literature by David Platt and others which speak directly or tangentially of the Jewish spirit as exemplified in those arts.

The section on Zionism and Israel confines itself to three truly vital discussions. The first, "Moshe Dayan

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN last appeared here with a review of Stefan Heym's *The King David Report* in Jan., 1975. A literary critic and historian, her works include *The Great Tradition in English Literature from Shakespeare to Shaw*.

and Lebensraum," was originally written in Hebrew by a radical Israeli novelist, Amos Oz, a veteran of both the 1967 and 1973 wars. Unfortunately it is even more timely now than at its first publication in the Histadrut daily, *Davar*, just 10 years ago. The second piece, a cogent, temperately reasoned refutation by Sid Resnick of the proposition that a Jewish state is by definition or in fact, a racist state is again, most unfortunately, more needed today than at its first publication in 1971. The closing piece of the section, a 33 page review of the Zionist movement as a whole from its 19th century origin to the mid-20th century, succeeds in summarizing without oversimplification an incredible wealth of carefully researched material and presenting it readably. (This article, slightly revised, has also been published as a pamphlet. Its author, Dr. Harap, frankly states that some of its conclusions are open questions in his own mind, submitted to provoke discussion.)

The next section, "Jews and the Left," offers four controversial essays on the questions of Jewish identity in the United States by Schappes, Lenin's stand on national minority assimilation by A.B. Magil, the tragic destruction in socialist Poland of the miraculously reconstituted Jewish community—a destruction all the more tragic in that that same community had been reconstituted with such generous assistance by an earlier socialist government there—by Yudel Korman and a critical but hopeful analysis by Haim Sloves of the a-historical attitudes which threaten the survival of Jewish culture in both the Soviet Union and Israel.

Finally the concluding section—

what is there left to say, what can possibly still be said, about the Holocaust? This section opens with an illuminating historical account by Michael Mirski of the first armed revolt against the Nazi occupation—the incredible immortal uprising of Polish Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. That terrible and wonderful story is followed by an intensely concentrated legendary account by the late Leonard Tushnet of three brothers, devout students of the Law in happier days, who meet as survivors in the midst of utter desolation to judge and excommunicate Him Who is the Master of the universe for "the neglect, for the indifference, for the casting away" of the children of Israel. Then comes a scrupulous, compassionate but unequivocal judgment by Paul Novick of the role played by the Judenrat, a group of nine moving short poems by Yuri Suhl on life and death in Treblinka, and a brilliant piece of reportage by Rachel Fialkoff centering on the experiences of one of the very few who escaped the "Death Factory at Ponay."

When, in 1957, I reviewed the first Jewish Currents Decennial Reader I remarked on the anomaly that in the entire interesting group of short stories, poems and essays there presented there was no serious theoretical discussion. The entire tone of the collection was so markedly non-intellectual or, at least, empirical it seemed to belie the heritage of the people of the book. That is a criticism no one could make of the present volume. Without sacrificing humor, drama, or concrete detail, almost every selection here shows how profoundly Jewish life at its best is permeated by the need to learn, to question, to understand.

(Continued on page 42)

Readers' Forum on Israel

By A. J. HOFFMAN, M. RANGEL, M. U. SCHAPPES

Dear Mr. Schappes,

You don't know me, but I know something of you. I've been with you, on and off, since the Forties. We come from the same crucible of the Thirties, and I have been willing to trust your judgment in the past.

But please tell me, if you can, where are the Breiras in the Arab communities? If they do exist, I'd love to hear from them. If not, why do they not exist? What might this tell us, if you cannot find them?

I am a friend who really wishes to learn. Can you enlighten me?

ABRAHAM J. HOFFMAN

Bedford, Mass., May 24

[Your letter of May 24, which you addressed to me at the office of Breira, has finally been forwarded to me. Your question, "Where are the Breiras in the Arab communities?" can be answered: Within the ranks of the Palestine Liberation Organization there are many divisions and differences with regard to the attitude to Israel. At one extreme you have what is called "The Rejection Front," which rejects any negotiations with Israel and calls for its destruction. On the other hand there are trends within the PLO that would be ready to negotiate with Israel, provided Israel recognized Palestinian national rights to self determination.

About two years ago, you may remember, the Minister of Information of Israel, Yaariv, issued a statement that Israel would be ready to negotiate with the PLO if the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state. This statement had an immediate effect in the ranks of the

PLO, sharpening a conflict between the extremist Rejection Front and those who have a more moderate policy. Unfortunately, two days later this Minister of Information was dismissed from the Cabinet! Within the PLO, the rejectionists rejoiced, saying, "See, as soon as any Israeli government figure speaks of negotiating with the PLO, he is promptly fired."

The best way to isolate the rejectionists in the ranks of the PLO and to sharpen the divisions and differences in their ranks is, first, to recognize that such differences exist, and, secondly, to work to have the Israeli government issue such a statement as did the Minister of Information, Yaariv. Statements recently issued by Prime Minister Menahem Begin, however, to the effect that he will not tolerate the participation of the PLO at Geneva, can only strengthen the extremist Rejection Front.

Almost two years ago it became apparent to us that the extremists among the Arabs and the extremists among the Israelis were both using the fact that neither recognized the other as an obstacle to negotiations for peace. We therefore published an editorial in our Jan., 1976 issue in which we proposed that both the PLO and Israel go to Geneva without putting down recognition of one by the other as a pre-condition. We believe that what comes out of Geneva is more important than what you go to Geneva with. If negotiations could lead to an over-all peace settlement then the question of who recognizes whom first would become irrelevant.

If Israel is to have peace, it must make peace with the Palestinians. The alternative would be a horrible fifth round of war, in which Israel would probably emerge the "victor"—but the problem of achieving peace with the Palestinians would still be before the people of Israel.—*Morris U. Schappes*]

Your disastrous editorial ("Confronting the Begin Menace," July-Aug. issue) could not have come at a worse time. Although dated June 17, it reached the public in July, at the precise moment when the new, democratically-elected Prime Minister of the Israeli people was preparing for his meetings with Pres. Carter. These negotiations with a new American President were highly sensitive, complex and crucial to Israel's security. Recognizing this, political foes within Israel dropped their differences to unite behind their new Prime Minister. And responsible journalists here (*The New York Times*, *The Saturday Review* and others) refrained from hostile judgments and from building up a climate of opposition to an already beleaguered Israel. It remained, unfortunately, for a Jewish journal to do just that.

With Israel tremblingly poised as a potential victim of Arab hatred, with its international support precariously balanced, with a new alignment of American politics that could endanger Israel's single crucial ally, with a new Israeli Prime Minister arriving here to face these multiple challenges, it was JEWISH CURRENTS that took this moment to smear Israel's leader and spokesman as "a menace," to compare him with the unspeakable Nixon, to characterize his course as "disastrous . . . annexationist . . . extremist . . . hostile

to Palestinian national rights," etc., etc. Your editorial was injudicious in timing, prejudicial in tone and in content, and totally destructive to Israeli national security needs in the political context of the moment. No Arab spokesman could have wished for more!

Contrast this with the fair, responsible and supportive editorial in a non-Jewish journal: *The Saturday Review* (July 23), in a first rate piece by Norman Cousins, tuned in precisely and sensitively to Israel's dilemma, recognizing clearly that "The issue for the Israelis, as it is for the Palestinians, is justice." Mr. Cousins did not doubt, however, that such justice was not to be secured by unilateral concessions by Israel before negotiations are even started:

"But they (the Israelis)," he writes, "fear they are now being asked to make concessions, in the name of peace, that will jeopardize their existence. It is not to be expected that such a people would acquiesce in their own destruction.

"So they are speaking up and asking questions. They want to know whether the Arab countries would have returned captured Israeli territory had they been successful in 1967 and in the Yom Kippur War of 1973 . . . They can't forget that Pres. Nasser of Egypt was not making idle propaganda in 1967 when he declared that his aim was to drive Israel into the sea . . .

"It may make good sense for the Palestinians to have a state on the West Bank, but Israelis feel it would be foolish indeed to make this mammoth concession before they are satisfied that such a state would not become a springboard for the eventual conquest of Israel."

Would that JEWISH CURRENTS exhibited, at this crucial moment, sim-

ilar sensitivity to Israeli needs and purposes!

That Menahem Begin is unequivocally devoted to Israel's survival and security is a proposition which even his most vocal enemies would not deny. In his first talks with Pres. Carter he seems to have pursued that goal with skill, boldness and realism. If, on the other hand, he took the course suggested by your editorial, making concessions *before negotiations and without a quid-pro-quo from the Arab countries*, he would be a poor negotiator indeed and Israel would be the loser. You don't give away your best bargaining chips for nothing before you get to the bargaining table. Especially when those chips have been won in bloody battles started by your enemy. Especially when that enemy still holds to his stated position of destroying you and still refuses, after 30 years, to end the "state of war" which he initiated. Indications are that most Israelis agree with this assessment.

After a trip to Israel that coincided with the Yom Kippur War of 1973, I wrote in JEWISH CURRENTS (Readers' Forum, March, 1974) that the times called for the friends of Israel to rise above internecine in-fighting and old ideological disputes for the sake of Israel's survival. That would still seem to be necessary today—perhaps even more so.

MEYER RANGELL

Highview, N. Y., July 25

[We are Jewish survivalists and Jewish internationalists. As survivalists, we support the survival of Israel as a Jewish state. Therefore we oppose the Palestine Liberation Organization's declared aim of destroying the Jewish State of Israel as a chauvinist proposition.

As Jewish internationalists, we favor the right of all peoples to

self-determination, to a homeland. Therefore we oppose those Israelis who deny the Palestinian Arab people's right to self-determination and a homeland. We should think Jews especially would be among the first to recognize the right of other peoples, including the Palestinian Arabs, to a homeland.

We do not, as Mr. Rangell implies, ask for "unilateral concessions by Israel before negotiations." We ask for official Israeli recognition of the Palestinian Arabs as a people entitled to self-determination, including a homeland. That is not a "concession" but a recognition of a reality. Without such recognition, peace negotiations are impossible. Without peace negotiations there can be no peace, and, as Jewish survivalists, we believe Israel must have peace to survive.

There is no point to Mr. Rangell's contrast between our position as a Jewish magazine and that of *The Saturday Review*, whose editorial is written by Norman Cousins, also a Jew. We agree with Mr. Cousins that Israel should be satisfied that a Palestinian Arab state on the West Bank "would not become a springboard for the eventual conquest of Israel."

There are Israelis who are thus satisfied. For instance, the economic editor of *The Jerusalem Post*, Meir Merhav, has an article, "A Palestinian Solution," in its International Edition Aug. 2. He writes: "The heart of the matter is a solution to the Palestinian problem. To that, without which there can be no hope of a settlement, Mr. Begin has one answer: nothing. No territory, no self-determination, no participation, no homeland, no sovereignty. . . .

"Mr. Begin has repeatedly conjured up the specter of the security

threat that a Palestinian state would pose for Israel. The modern Soviet artillery, he said, could put 'every man, woman and child' in Israel under the gun. He failed to mention that Israeli guns probably have a similar range, nor did he answer the question what will happen if tomorrow even longer-range guns are developed. . . .

"Mr. Begin's opposition to a Palestinian state is based on the assumption that there will never be real peace, that our conflict with the Palestinians has no solution, and that therefore Israel must have boundaries designed for war. . . .

"If Palestinian irredentism is what Israel fears, then a 'Jordanian' solution of one kind or another is most likely to fan it. For the Palestinians are likely to feel that their national aspirations have been thwarted in the interest of both Israel and Jordan. . . . Only recognition of their right to self-determination can, ultimately, build a bridge to peace. . . ."

Would Mr. Rangell presume to say of this article in *The Jerusalem Post* that it was, as he says our editorial on Begin was, "totally destructive to Israel national security needs in the political context of the moment"? To us it seems that to fawn upon Begin, or to hold your breath until he "proves" he is what he has for decades been known to be, a right-wing reactionary, is to trifle with the security and survival of Israel.

Perhaps Mr. Rangell believes that Israelis have a right to criticize Begin and his policies but Jews in the USA have the right only to park their minds and open their mouths in sustained hosannas: "Begin, Begin, Begin!" But another Israeli publication, the socialist-Zionist monthly, *New Outlook*, published in Tel Aviv, carried in its June-July issue a tren-

chant article by its editor, Simha Flapan, "Begin and the Diaspora." To quote briefly:

"The diaspora's unconditional support for the Labor-led government did not save it from the consequences of its mistakes. Similar support for an Israeli leadership that carries within it the danger of social reaction, religious intolerance and self-destructive chauvinism will not only *not* save Israel, but also boomerang on the diaspora itself.

"Surely, the diaspora cannot determine for the Israeli government the terms of a settlement with the Arabs on matters of physical security, frontiers and guarantees. This is the exclusive prerogative of Israelis, their legislature and executive. On two issues, however, the diaspora cannot avoid taking a clear and independent position vis-a-vis any Israeli government. The first is the question of war and peace insofar as this depends on Israel. The diaspora cannot tolerate an Israeli government that considers war as a means to force a solution to the Israeli-Arab conflict. Jewish communities will not escape its consequences, the chain-reaction begun by a war whose responsibility lies with Israel.

"The second issue is whether Israel will remain a Jewish and democratic state or whether it will become a state ruling over another people against its wishes and in violation of its national rights, in which case Israel will cease to be either Jewish or democratic, or both. . . ."

Simha Flapan and Meir Merhav are among the passionate partisans of Israel, but they do not allow their passion and their pride in Israel to cloud their judgment on what Israel needs for survival.—*Ed.* ■

173-174th LIFE SUBSCRIPTIONS TO JEWISH CURRENTS

Because for more than half my life JEWISH CURRENTS has given me guidance and understanding—and a chance to voice my own objections when the few occasions called for it—and because I feel very strongly about the need for and the need of this fine publication, I am very happy to become a life subscriber. My check for \$200 is enclosed.

Los Angeles, Aug. 15

THELMA BRENNER

On the occasion of our 36th wedding anniversary (Sept. 7, 1941) we would like to honor the fine little magazine that has been with us most of that time. Our check for \$200 is enclosed.

Lakewood, Cal., Aug. 15 SID AND ETHEL (JENKINS) WEINSTEIN

Rich Harvest

(Continued from page 37)

This is a collection to read and re-read, a collection to help grandparents interpret their own lives, a collection which will introduce grandchildren to a way of life which they must regard with respect and pride. The book is a living monument to a tradition which reaches ahead as well as behind.

In conclusion it is fitting to say a word of appreciation for the insight and generosity which made publication of the volume possible. The children of Hyman and Toby Rosenstein, who met as young socialists in Poland during the First World War, undertook the responsibility as a memorial to their father (1896-1966) and a tribute to their mother. She, at 76, still carries on her lifelong work for the preservation of radical Jewish culture and the creation of a truly socialist world. No more appropriate memorial or tribute could have been devised. ■

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July 9, 1977

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We Report Jan. 1-Sept. 8

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Virginia	10.00	
Rhode Island	5.00	
Kansas	2.50	
Indiana	3.75	3
Colorado		1
Washington State		1
Mississippi		1
Israel		1
Jordan		1
Totals	\$30,952.61	278

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SUB HONOR ROLL—1977

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Dr. S. Shrut, New York	6
A. B. Magil, New York	5
Jay Schulman, Great Neck	5
Abe Boxerman, Los Angeles	4

AROUND THE WORLD

AT HOME

Five U. S. Senators and 26 Representatives Aug. 24 telegraphed an appeal to Pres. Jimmy Carter to stop plans to produce and deploy the neutron bomb. Among the 31 were Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn, Dan Glickman of Kansas, Richard L. Ottinger of Westchester, Frederick Richmond of Brooklyn, Henry A. Waxman of California and Theodore Weiss of Manhattan.

Chattanooga, Tenn.: Friday night, July 29, shortly after evening services, a bomb leveled the small Beth Shalom Synagogue, which has a membership of 55 families (out of 2,250 Jewish population). . . . In Rockville, Md. July 25, a bomb damaged the home of Morris Amitay, new executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and shattered windows in buildings five blocks distant. No one was injured in either bombing. In Chattanooga, wires were found leading from the synagogue 300 feet to a motel. In Rockville, electric cord was found leading from the house 400 feet to a road. No arrests have been made.

Christian Yellow Pages, a directory promoting a boycott of Jewish-owned business, was denounced by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church June 24 as "divisive and discriminatory." The resolution was introduced by the Rev. Charles N. Davidson of Jacksonville, Fla. Earlier this year similar denunciations had come from the Dallas, Tex. and the Richmond, Va. Councils of Churches.

Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland was found guilty Aug. 23, with five wealthy business associates, of some 18 counts each of mail fraud and racketeering. The Federal District court set Oct. 7 for sentencing. The jury deliberated 113 hours in 12 days before reaching a verdict. The prosecutor was Assistant U. S. Attorney Barnett D. Skolnik, who had led the prosecution of former vice-president Spiro T. Agnew for tax evasion. The basic case against Gov.

Mandel was that he had accepted some \$350,000 in bribes in the form of jewelry, clothing, investments, vacation trips and cash from his five associates, in part to pay for a \$200,000 divorce settlement in 1974. In return he got laws passed extending the number of racing days at the Marlboro Race Track owned by his friends. Before the verdict, the *Baltimore Jewish Times* published an article by Neal Freidman (reprinted July 8 in the *Atlanta Southern Israelite*) pointing to evidence at the trial that \$54,000 of the money given Gov. Mandel came from the Pallotine Fathers, a Catholic order, and was "... donated by religious, but gullible people all over the country who thought they were contributing to the welfare of starving children. . . ." If Gov. Mandel resigns before being sentenced, he will get a pension of \$12,000 a year. He is appealing the case.

To revoke the citizenship of Ukrainian war criminal Feodore Fedorenko, 69, now living in a Jewish residential area in South Miami Beach, the Justice Department Aug. 15 filed a civil suit in Federal court. The regional Immigration and Naturalization Service in Dallas has evidence that, as a leader of Ukrainian guards in Treblinka, where 250,000 Jews were exterminated, Fedorenko "cruelly beat" Jews, shot them "at the edge of a pit in which a fire was burning so that their bodies fell into the fire," "beat Jewish arrivals with a whip," and also hung Jews "on a gallows by their feet, and then shot them. . ." When he entered the USA in 1949, Fedorenko claimed he was Polish. If convicted, Fedorenko could be deported to West Germany (which is notoriously lenient with war criminals). . . . Aug. 15 in Los Angeles Federal District Judge Irving Hill ruled that Yugoslavian war criminal Andrija Artukovic, 76, cannot be deported to Yugoslavia unless new evidence is presented. This deportation was staved in 1959; circumstances suggest political manipulation. The call for new evidence is evasive, for existing evidence is massive.

ABROAD

Italy: Herbert Kappler, serving a life term as a Nazi war criminal for massacring 335 Italians, including 70 Jews, escaped Aug. 15 from a Roman military hospital to which he had been sent because he was suffering from cancer. His 52-year-old wife, who was allowed to marry the 70-year-old SS Colonel in prison in 1972, is supposed to have carted him out in a large suitcase! Aug. 16, 250 demonstrated at the Ardeatine Caves, where the executions had taken place in 1944. Fernando Piperno, head of Rome's Jewish community, demanded the extradition of Kappler from West Germany, where he is now in seclusion. The same day, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy postponed a meeting with West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn. Italo-German relations continued strained as Bonn declared extradition was unconstitutional, forbidden by Art. 16. Aug. 18 Chief Rabbi of Rome Elio Toaff charged that "The powerful Nazi group of West Germany has won, thanks to unknown complicity by Italians . . ." Aug. 19 Chancellor Willy Brandt disclosed a letter he had written to Schmidt late in July expressing worry over revival of Nazi ideology and symbols in West Germany.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, based in Munich, West Germany, merged in 1976 and funded by Congress since 1971 (until then by the CIA), is being charged with harboring anti-Semites and anti-Sovieters by recent Soviet Jewish emigrants now employed by the Radio, according to an article by Michael K. Burns in the *Baltimore Sun* Aug. 14. Rachel Fedoseyev, who emigrated in 1971, "complained to the station directors about anti-Semitic remarks made by a staffer at an open meeting," and then filed a court suit charging them with "anti-Semitism" and "fascist tendencies." Mr. Burns also noted "tensions between the recent emigres from the Soviet Union, mainly Jews and activists in the dissident movement, and the earlier emigres . . . from the post-revolutionary and World War II period. . . . The new generation also fears that many of their older colleagues are either affiliated with or beholden to the NTS, or 'Popular Labor Alliance' . . . an anti-Bolshevik group of Russians formed in Europe 40 years ago . . . and inclined to anti-Semitism. Many members of the organization collaborated with the Nazis during World War II to fight the Russians."

USSR: During the summer the Moscow Synagogue was already selling the new Jewish calendar for the coming year at two rubles per copy. . . . In Leningrad July 15, Lev Furman, one of two licensed Hebrew teachers in that city, was sentenced to 10 days in prison on charges of "disobedience." After he applied for emigration in 1974 he was dismissed as an engineer. His father, Mikhail, a Communist party member, was arrested in May and ordered to convince his son to cease his activities. For refusing to do so, he was sentenced to 10 days for "breaching public peace." He resigned from the party. . . . In Moscow the Yiddish People's Theater was awarded the Gold Medal of Laureate at the First All-Union Festival of Artistic Creativity of Working People for its performance of Sholem Aleichem's *Stempenyu*. Titles of Laureate were also bestowed on producer Berta Shilman, conductor Georgy Shnatko, choreographer Berl Khalin and actors Haya and Max Epshtein. All 40 in the amateur company were awarded gold medals. The traveling company was established in 1965. . . . Arrested March 15 on charges of "treason," Anatoly Shecharansky is still held incommunicado. When three French lawyers, one a Communist party member, were denied visas to go to the USSR to represent him, the Yiddish communist daily, *Naiv Presse*, wrote in July, "We cannot remain indifferent to this case and others like it. Precisely because we are a progressive Yiddish newspaper and a friend of Socialism, we cannot remain silent in the face of actions that are impossible to accept, especially in a Socialist country. It is for this reason that we express our feeling of concern in regard to the Shecharansky affair, while we intervene, at the same time, in our own way so as to prevent any unjust outcome to this case and to urge that injustices that had already occurred should not recur again." . . . June 29, in the Lithuanian resort town, Druskenik, a hall seating 750 overflowed with an audience that came to a concert of the Yiddish Amateur Ensemble from Kovno (Kaunas), consisting of vocalists, a dance group and an orchestra. When summer visitors from Minsk, Moscow, Leningrad, Zhitomir and Tbilisi urged the ensemble to come to perform in their cities, where there would also be large and receptive audiences, the answer was that the Kovno ensemble consisted of students and workers who could not go on tour. Apparently there is no lack of an audience for Soviet Yiddish culture. M.U.S.

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