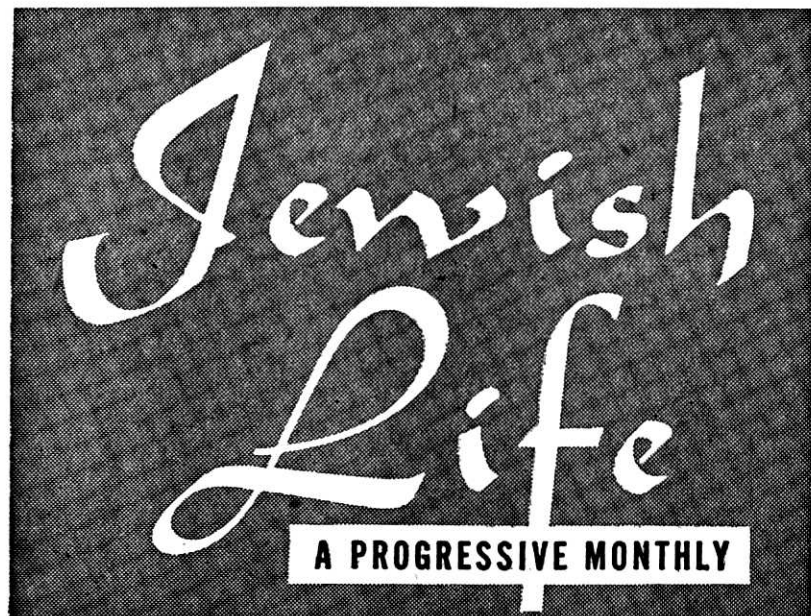


The Tercentenary Celebration

by Morris U. Schappes



OCTOBER 1953 • 25c

A TALK WITH VELDE COLLABORATORS

by Charles R. Allen, Jr.

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT McCARTHYISM? *by Louis Harap*

“WHAT DID THEY DO TO THEM?” *an interview by Alice Citron*

THE FACTS ABOUT BIROBIDJAN *by Andrew Rothstein*

FIGHTING JIMCROW IN CLEVELAND *by A. Strauss*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance notes . . . "When newspapers lose their freedom, democracy is dead," warned *The Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, late in August. The paper editorialized on the danger to press freedom from Senator Joe McCarthy. . . . An editorial in the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle* in August attacked the witch-hunt against teachers and students. "The right of free inquiry and of academic freedom, traditional prerogatives of our American school system," said the paper, "are being riddled by the buckshots of irresponsible investigations and accusations." . . . American traditions, said Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, late in August, are threatened by those who "implant fear, especially in the minds of those who would create new directions." However, Klutznick tended to negate this position by his condemnation of communism as a "conspiracy." . . . Barry Gray, radio broadcaster and *New York Post* columnist, campaigned in August to warn that a virulently McCarthyite play *Red Rainbow*, by Myron Fagan, West Coast anti-Semite and pro-fascist, was on its way to Broadway. . . . The president of the AFL American Federation of Teachers at the union's annual convention on August 17, warned that "the American people have stumbled precariously near a dangerous precipice—'McCarthyism'" and attacked teachers' loyalty oaths. The union also amended its constitution on August 19 to forbid racial segregation in any of its chapters.

Reconsideration of the NLRB ruling rejecting charges made against the New York Hearn's department store by the striking CIO Distributive Processing and Office Workers, was urged on August 24 by Sen. Herbert H. Lehman in a letter to the NLRB.

The annual America's Democratic legacy Award of the Anti-Defamation League will be bestowed on President Eisenhower at a dinner on November 23, at which the President will speak, it was announced early in August. Observers queried the award in the light of the President's unsatisfactory record on McCarthyism and other anti-democratic tendencies.

Circulation in this country of a radio dramatization of the intensely anti-Semitic "Prioress' Tale" (from Chaucer's *Canter-*

(Continued on page 30)



VOL. VII, No. 12 (84)

OCTOBER, 1953

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

WHOSE VICTORY?

THE apprehension with which the World Jewish Congress viewed the West German elections in a report issued shortly before they took place on September 6, was well-founded. This report pointed out that the parties of the Adenauer coalition were deliberately courting nazi sentiments by putting up for nomination many prominent members of the Hitler retinue. Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Party had nominated high nazis like General von Schweppenberg, Colonel-General Stumpf and Herr von Keudell. The Free Democratic Party, ally of Adenauer, put up Field Marshal von Kesselring and General von Manteuffel. From these few examples one can readily see that the prospects for peace and democracy were not brightened by the election victory of Adenauer.

Nor does the satisfaction with which the United States press greeted the Adenauer victory bode well for the American people, let alone the people of the world and the Jewish people among them. For *who* really won the election? The beneficiaries are the most powerful reactionary and war-like elements in Germany, backed by the industrialists who rode Hitler into power and by Washington's post-war policy of renazification and remilitarization. As Ludwell Denny, writer on foreign affairs for the Scripps-Howard papers, said candidly a few days after the election, "The rejoicing that West Germany is now a genuine democracy is absurd. . . . Those who followed Hitler now follow Konrad Adenauer. . . . Meanwhile a strong Germany is a dangerous Germany. An armed Germany is a potential menace. Yet American aid is making Germany economically stronger than her neighbors and soon will rearm her." The truth is that the dangers of a return to fascism in West Germany and of world war have been increased by the victory of the parties of German disunity, of steely reaction and of revival of an aggressive Wehrmacht.

It took only a few days for Adenauer to make this brutally plain. Right after the election victory he baldly stated that he was taking steps to recreate what is in effect a revival of Hitler's "Labor Front" by demanding that the West German union movement, which had supported the Social Democratic Party in the election, be "removed" from politics by coming under the domination of his own party. This was to be done by moving his own men into leadership of the labor movement. As Clifton Daniel wrote from Bonn in the *New York Times* of September 18: "The demand that his (Adenauer's) party is now making on the (labor) federation would be equivalent to President Eisenhower's insisting that since the Democrats lost the 1952 election, two Republicans should be placed on the National Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations." The fact that Washington rejoices at and is responsible for a West German government of this kind, is a warning

that Washington's foreign policy is a profound danger to democracy and peace.

If Adenauer succeeds in getting his planned quick ratification of the European army scheme sponsored by Washington, which is really an attempt to revive an aggressive Wehrmacht on the Hitler model as the keystone to an anti-Soviet army, Germany—or its western part—will for the third time threaten to plunge the world into the war. And this time the very extinction of mankind into a hydrogen bomb ash becomes a real possibility. And this time our own country would not be exempt from the devastation. The emergency is serious. The masses of the American people, especially the labor movement and the Negro and Jewish people, can avert this greatest of all threats ever to face mankind by working to change the Washington foreign policy that has brought us to this pass. There is no more important task today.

ROUT OF A REACTIONARY

PROBABLY the most important elections in the country this year are taking place in New York City, where the forces of corruption, McCarthyism and anti-labor policy are undergoing their severest test. The outcome of the primary vote for the Democratic mayoralty candidate on September 15 was encouraging to the pro-labor and anti-McCarthyite forces. The resounding, humiliating defeat of Mayor Vincent Impellitteri, one of the most reactionary and least competent mayors under whom New York has suffered, shows that victories can be won against McCarthyites. For Impellitteri was supported by the most sinister forces in New York State—the double-dealing, hypocritical Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, the pro-Franco McCarthyite James Farley and his machine and local profascists like Christian Front elements in Queens. Despite the small vote—about 25 percent of the Democratic registration—the sentiments of New Yorkers was clearly manifested in the victory for Robert F. Wagner, Jr.

Wagner had the support of the New Deal elements in the Democratic Party like Senator Herbert H. Lehman and the Americans for Democratic Action. We need be under no illusions about the reliability of Wagner and most of his fellow Democrats in the fight against McCarthyism to recognize that the primary vote was a defeat for the most reactionary wing of the Democratic Party. The struggle against McCarthyism and reaction within that party is still severe despite the Impellitteri defeat. But the significance of the primary vote was that it dealt a blow against the reactionary program of Gov. Dewey and his Democratic partners: it showed that the people of New York are in their majority still adherents of the New Deal.

Another highly significant aspect of the New York elections is the fact that all parties—climaxing the pioneering

efforts of the American Labor Party—nominated Negroes for president of the Borough of Manhattan. This ensures the election of a Negro to that post, thus breaking the Jimcrow pattern in the New York City Board of Estimate. This development is a recognition by the major parties of the growing strength and determination of the Negro people to end the white supremacist denial of representation in government. The most advanced expression of this determination, shared by democratic white Americans, was the primary victory of the independent Negro candidate for judge of the municipal court in Brooklyn, Lewis S. Flagg. He won over both Impellitteri and Wagner candidates for the office in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, thanks to united action of Negro and white, with many Jews among them, in this locality.

The last stretch of the election lies ahead. In New York, the American Labor Party ticket is headed by Clifford McAvoy for mayor. The ALP is the bearer of the most progressive program, which puts forward not only a people's platform locally on lower fares and rents and pro-labor city government, but also recognizes the vital necessity for a national policy against McCarthyism and the fight for peace, and is most deserving of voters' support.

THE JWV ENCAMPMENT

DID the Jewish War Veterans measure up to the urgent needs of the nation and the Jewish people at its 58th National Encampment at Chicago from September 2-6? "No one attending its sessions," editorialized J. I. Fishbein in the *Chicago Sentinel* (September 9), "could possibly come away with the feeling that American democracy in general and American Jewry, in particular, were in serious peril requiring bold and courageous leadership." A glance at the speeches and resolutions at the Encampment indicate the reason for this inadequacy.

The convention showed no responsiveness to the desire of the people for peace. The relaxation of the international tension in recent months did not reach the Encampment. The leadership offered the delegates the perspective only of an indefinite continuation of the cold war: more appropriations for the Air Force and the "Voice of America," opposition to membership of New China to the United Nations, establishment of a Pacific counterpart of NATO and total cessation of United States trade relations with the USSR and the people's democracies. The leadership gave no sign of willingness to build on initiatives toward peace.

On the other hand, there was ample evidence that in some respects the JWV diverged from the reactionary positions taken by the American Legion. The Encampment urged revision of the pro-fascist McCarran-Walter act, thereby providing a basis for united action in the Jewish community and outside of it against this racist law. The Encampment also opposed the Bricker resolution, which is in part intended to prevent ratification of the UN Genocide and Human Rights Conventions. It also opposed a resolution unanimously deploring the "rising clamor for United

States withdrawal from the United Nations."

But the Encampment leadership showed no signs of clarity on the nature and direction of the anti-communist hysteria. Instead of standing on the ground that this hysteria was undermining American democracy and constituted a special danger for the Jewish people, the Encampment urged the formation of specifically anti-communist groups in community relations councils which would carry on the hysteria in the Jewish community. Despite the JWV expressions against "bigots and racists" who exploit anti-communism, the leadership are promoting this very tendency that they deplore. The Jewish veterans should let their leadership know that clear opposition to the anti-communist hysteria is needed.

DEFEND NOVICK AND GOLD!

ATTORNEY General Herbert Brownell has had a busy month. Early in September, his Department of Justice lawyers professed to find nothing criminal in the peculiar financial dealings of Joe McCarthy that were uncovered by Senate investigators. Brownell told the press that he agreed with J. Edgar Hoover's comment that his (Hoover's) friend McCarthy was "an earnest and honest" politician.

At the end of August, the busy Mr. Brownell had moved against Ben Gold, the president of one of the most genuinely democratic trade unions in the country, the International Fur and Leather Workers of America. Ben Gold was arraigned on charges of perjury for having signed three years ago a Taft-Hartley affidavit that he was not a member of the Communist Party, from which Gold had publicly resigned. Ben Gold's real crime in the eyes of the McCarthyite attorney general is that he continued to give honest leadership to his union in the fight for better conditions, civil liberties and peace, despite his resignation from the Communist Party. Brownell and the administration he represents is determined to intimidate the labor movement into rigid conformity to Big Business policies.

About the same time, Brownell continued the McCarthyite offensive against freedom of the press by initiating moves to deprive Paul Novick, editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, of citizenship, acquired in 1926. A technical violation was charged but the real intention is obvious: intimidation of the progressive press. Of course, the Department of Justice had previously taken steps in the same direction with the Smith act arrests of editors and writers for the *Daily Worker*, *The Peoples' World* and some foreign language papers, and with the deportation proceedings against Cedric Belfrage, editor of *The National Guardian*, after he defied the McCarthy Committee.

An important front of resistance to McCarthyism and the encroachment of fascism therefore becomes for us in the Jewish community the fight to defeat these pro-fascist attempts against Paul Novick and Ben Gold. These figures have been leaders in the fight against anti-Semitism, against the attacks on labor and for a peaceful world.

Defend Paul Novick and Ben Gold!

A TALK WITH VELDE COLLABORATORS

An interview that reflects a policy of appeasement by three Jewish "defense" organizations toward the McCarthyite danger to democracy

By Charles R. Allen, Jr.

IN the nation's capital on Monday, August 24, I interviewed by telephone official spokesmen of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish War Veterans. These were the organizations involved in the "confidential" meeting with Rep. Harold H. Velde of the Un-American Committee and his two committee counsel described in the confidential memorandum published in the September issue of this magazine. Two of my interviewees, Marcus Cohn of the AJC and Ben Weitzer of the JWV, had participated in the meeting. Since the third participant, Herman Edelsberg, ADL Washington representative and author of the memorandum, was on vacation, I interviewed instead David Brodie, ADL Washington counsel, who characterized himself as Edelsberg's "close associate and personal friend."

It should suffice to remind the reader of the contents of the memorandum in question by quoting the summary contained in The Editors' "Open Letter" in the September issue. The Jewish representatives "offered to help the Velde Committee stave off outspoken criticism of the committee's nazi-like activity; offered with staggering presumption to call the press 'for an accounting' in case the press should print 'bad stories,' that is, material exposing the committee; urged the committee to make empty, self-serving statements against anti-Semitism; offered to make the research files of their organizations available to the committee in order the better to handle uncooperative witnesses."

A Revealing Policy

Among the many revealing points, made in the course of these interviews, the following stand out as of critical importance.

First, when these self-avowed "defense" organizations paid their respects to the Velde committee, the operation had not been the sudden inspiration of the Washington subordinates. Edelsberg, Cohn and Weitzer had been directed to go there by the ranking officialdom of the Anti-

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Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee. (Said Marcus Cohn of the AJC, "I act under instructions and do as I'm told.")

Second, the dominant leaders of the ADL, the AJC and JWV, blinded by their "anti-communism," are fast becoming apologists for and collaborators with certain pro-fascists. In implementing this policy, they have offered to provide the Velde committee with "information" on Jews who elect to oppose the Un-American inquisitors.

Third, these purported "defenders" of the Jewish people have acted contrary to the mandate of many segments of the Jewish community which, notwithstanding their differences on other issues, have uniformly denounced the McCarthy, Jenner and Velde inquisitions. By such acts as the secret deal with Velde they have not only rejected the demand for a common struggle against McCarthyism. These self-appointed "defenders" have flouted the public anti-McCarthyism of their organizations and have actually crossed over into the camp of the enemy. They furtively barter away the honor and true interests of the Jewish people in the United States.

Fourth, some of the leaders of these "defense" agencies have such cynical disregard for the mass of Jewish people that they operate on the theory that the less the Jewish people knew about affairs like this secret deal with the Velde committee, the better off the people are. (This is shown in all the interviews.)

The Weitzer Interview

Of my three interviewees, Ben Weitzer, Washington representative of the Jewish War Veterans was the most voluble and unrestrained. With some difficulty he was located at the Veterans' Administration building, telephone extension number 717. After introducing myself, I said: "Now, I'd like to confirm a meeting alleged to have taken place on or about July 2 of this year at which you and Messrs. Cohn of the American Jewish Committee and Edelsberg of the ADL conferred with Rep. Harold H. Velde and his counsel, Robert Kunzig and Frank Tavenner."

"What do you mean 'alleged'? Sure it took place. I don't know the exact date, but it sure took place. And I must say that it was a very satisfactory discussion we had with

those gentlemen. We went there with one of the purposes in mind to make sure that incidents like that thing [of] a few weeks ago didn't happen again." He meant the Dr. Louis Harap testimony of June 29, 1953? "Yeah, that's it," he said brightly.

Did he, Cohn and Edelsberg seek out the Velde Committee's "cooperation"? Weitzer answered: "Why certainly we did. We want to help in any way we can in this fine fight against communism." It was also alleged by some that they had agreed to turn over the files of their organizations for the Velde Committee's use on prospective witnesses. Was this true? "The three of us went over there for that purpose. We're going to help out in any way we can. Files, information—even investigators." What did he mean by this last reference, "investigators"? Weitzer thought silently for a moment or two and then said: "Well, some of the others have investigators and I guess they'll take on some projects in cooperation with the Velde Committee. By the way, I know most of these men in Congress."

He did? Just whom? "Oh, I know Senator McCarthy. Of course I've been on the opposite side of the fence from him on a couple of occasions. Housing for instance. But he's a personable chap. Respects my opinion."

"But let's return to the Velde Committee for a while," he was asked. "Do you think in any way—either through its individual members or through its past history—that it has evidenced an anti-Semitic bias?" Weitzer promptly blasted: "That's a lot of bull—! Not anti-Semitic at all. That's bull—!" Did he want to be quoted? "Sure you can quote me. And you can print it. The committee is categorically not anti-Semitic!" He admitted that the various Congressional investigating committees had been what he called "rough" on individuals but not because of their "religion." What for, then, he was asked. "Because of their opinions and what they've done to the American way of life," was the response. "Now, take John Wood—there's a fine Southern gentleman—he treated our organization [the JWV] equitably of course," he laughed.

McCarthy Is "Just a Politician"

Did he think McCarthy was anti-Semitic? "Joe is not anti-Semitic at all," was the flat reply. Would he care to comment on the Wisconsin senator's excursions into anti-Semitism with such figures as Upton Close, Joe Kamp and such financial backers of Merwin K. Hart, as Walter Harnischfeger and Frank S. Sensenbrenner? "Now look," Weitzer assured me, "McCarthy is a politician. In order to get things going he might take up with a Close or even a Kamp to put some water on the wheel. But just because he might be chummy with Close, that doesn't make him anti-Semitic in any sense. And Hart is no *force* in this country. I know the *facts* about that guy. The few thousands bucks that Harnischfeger and those other boys toss his way are peanuts!" How would Weitzer like to have "peanuts" regularly tossed his way from DuPonts, the

Chrysler Corporation and other industrial giants who contribute so generously to Hart? Weitzer laughed appreciatively. "Anyway, McCarthy might be a little hard up here and there for support. He's just a politician!"

Some people feel rather strongly that McCarthy displayed an undeniable anti-Semitic nature during his questioning of the American prosecution team at the time of the Malmedy hearings in 1949. [See "McCarthy and Anti-Semitism," by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff, *JEWISH LIFE*, July—*Eds.*] Did he recall the hearings and the role of McCarthy? "Recall them," Weitzer rhetorically snorted, "I attended every session. I knew Senator Baldwin very well." Then he knew how McCarthy, an uninvited, unwanted guest at the hearings, took the measure of the American investigator "Steiner," and tried to discredit him because, in McCarthy's own words, he was "a man whose mother was killed in a German concentration camp"? Did Weitzer of the Jewish War Veterans remember this and similar tactics of McCarthy?

"Just a minute," Weitzer said, "he was just employing the tactics of a very shrewd trial lawyer who will do anything to blacken the witness. He's just a lawyer, that's all." But what was the effect of such maneuver? "Oh, the effect is anti-Semitic," Weitzer admitted. "But McCarthy himself is not anti-Semitic. His remarks have the effect of being anti-Semitic. But he personally is not an anti-Semite. There's a difference, your know." I confessed that the difference had eluded my grasp. "What you are saying, Mr. Weitzer, then is that the consequences of an anti-Semitic slur are not important, but an appreciation of its context is the real thing to be understood. Is that right?" He reflected for a while and then said, "Yes, that's about it."

"But there is one way that McCarthy could become anti-Semitic," Weitzer volunteered. "Now you take Tito. We play footsie with him for our own defense even though we know he's a Communist." And Franco and Chiang Kai-shek too? "Yeah, those birds too," he said. "But take Tito. McCarthy will become anti-Semitic if he sees that these people who have been attacking him for this are really anti-anti-communist. When that happens he might become anti-Semitic. Not before."

Does Weitzer Represent the "Jewish Vet"?

The last point was somewhat breathtaking, but the purport seemed to be that Jews risking opposition to McCarthy and his "anti-communist" crusade also risked the fatal danger of McCarthy's eventual adoption of an anti-Semitic pogrom. Was that it? "Precisely," said Ben Weitzer. "In a word, Mr. Weitzer, your advice to the Jewish people of America is not to oppose Senator McCarthy." "We have nothing to fear from him," Weitzer maintained.

Weitzer then galloped off in several unconnected directions but the overall impression he left was that Frank Tavenner of the Velde committee was "a nice easy-going Southern gentleman" and that "the other guy on the com-

mittee, Cowhig [Weitzer meant "Kunzig"-C.R.A. Jr.], certainly appreciated the finer points in the Jewish problem. He was a prosecutor at the Nuremburg trials, you know." As to Velde, Weitzer's only objection was that "he's a little too smooth for me."

But the July 2 meeting had gone off well? "You bet," Weitzer enthused. Just what was his own role at this meeting? "Well, I represent the Jewish War Veterans of America. I was there as a spokesman for the Jewish vet." And would the Jewish veterans learn of his role in the conference with Velde? "I don't think we are going to publicize the meeting. Isn't necessary. It was quiet and successful. That's all." Some people felt that at one time in the past the same committee had demonstrated a friendly attitude toward fascism in this country. "Oh, I say again that's a lot of crap. The fascists are stink bombs not gas bombs. Communism is the real threat. It's worse than the nazis were at any time," he concluded.

Did he recollect Velde's having called Herman Edelsberg by his first name during the July 2 meeting with the House Un-American Committee? "No," he replied, "there was no fooling around. The meeting was on a very high level and very serious-minded."

How far had the offer of "cooperation" with Velde gone? Weitzer said: "Well, they took some of the ADL and AJC literature and I know they were going to send some of their staff people over to look through their files. Can't have a thing like that Harap thing happen in the future."

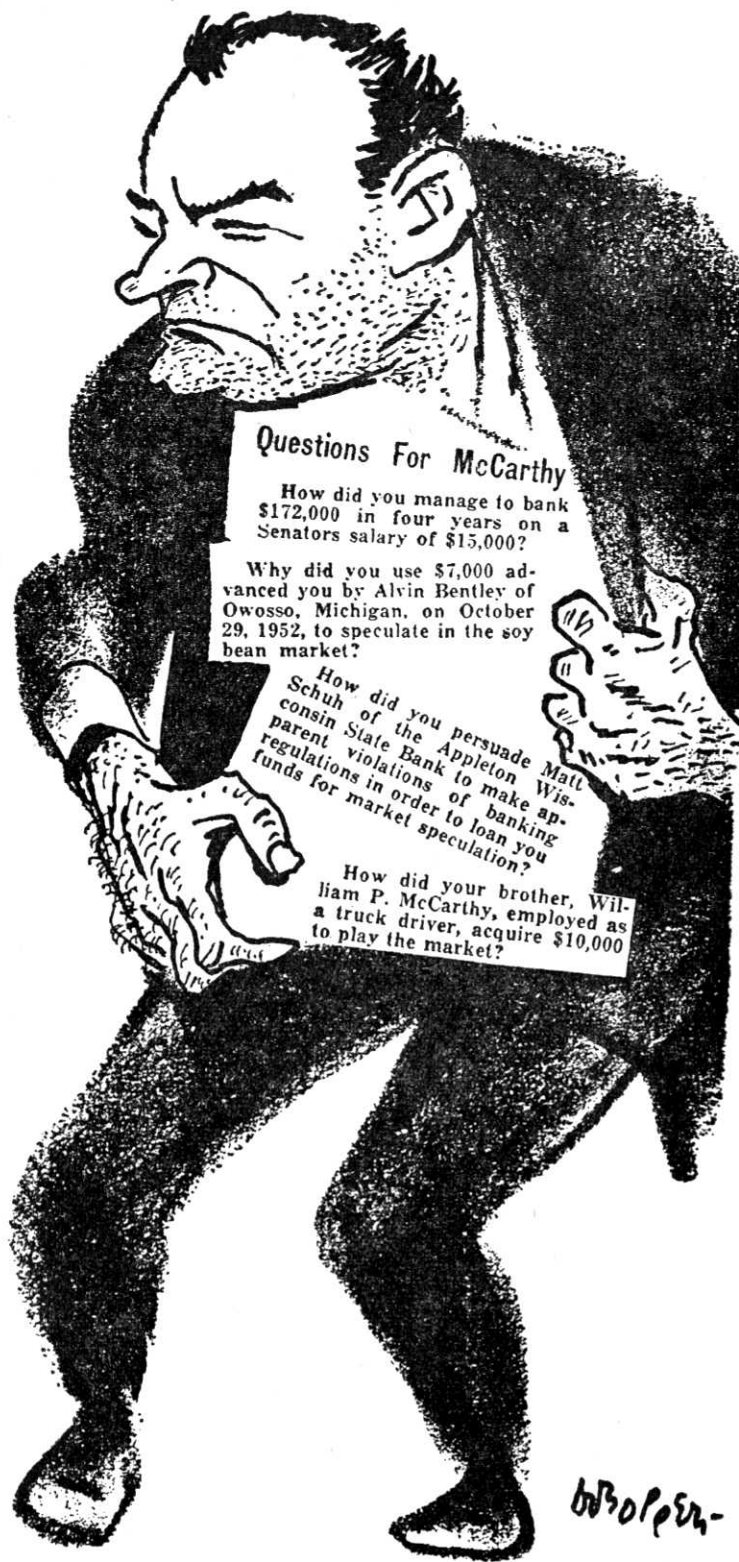
Weitzer then asked: "You say your name is Arno. [Weitzer had a hard time catching my name—C.R.A., Jr.] No relation to Peter—the guy who does those cartoons, are you?" He was assured that there was not the remotest relationship. "Oh," he said, "I thought maybe you were. I sure enjoy his cartoons." At this juncture even Weitzer seemed to be running low on conversation, but he rallied briefly to say, "Don't worry about a thing down here, young fellow, we've got everything under control."

The Brodie Interview

David Brodie, Washington counsel for the ADL, was a more reserved and cautious person. He assured me that he could discuss Herman Edelsberg's affairs. "I know everything he does and everything he's doing. In fact I handle his desk while he's away, so I'm sure that whatever you have on your mind, I can tell you all you want to know about it."

Well, since he was so willing, perhaps he could confirm some aspects of a story I had recently picked up. "Do you recall that July 2 meeting which took place at Rep. Velde's office with Mr. Edelsberg, Marcus Cohn of the American Jewish Committee and Ben Weitzer of the Jewish War Veterans?" I asked. "Yes, I remember that meeting."

"Well, if you are so close an associate of Mr. Edelsberg, perhaps you also recall the July 3 memorandum he sent to



Fur and Leather Worker

Arnold Forster describing in some detail the meeting of July 2." Brodie was dumbfounded. He stammered somewhat incoherently and then broke through with, "Why, yes, I certainly do remember the memo although I do not have it right in front of me at the moment." He was assured that I had a copy of the July 3 memo in front of me.

There was a painful silence from Brodie. "I'd like to discuss Mr. Edelsberg's memorandum with you if we may. Mr. Brodie? Did you hear me? I'd like to discuss . . ." The silence was broken. "You what! . . . Now just where did you get hold of that!" Journalists protect their sources, it was explained.

I asked what was the real point of item one on page two of the copy of the memo which "suggested" to the Velde committee that a public hearing with an "insignificant Commie" would do little "good." "Look," Brodie said, "the whole thing was because of the Harap hearing." What aspect of the Harap hearing? "The nonsense he prated about Jews receiving equality in the Soviet Union," replied Brodie. Well, let's put that issue to the side and discuss the central charge leveled by Dr. Harap at his hearing in which he maintained that the House Un-American Committee was by its actions setting the stage for wholesale persecution of minority groups, including the Jews. Did Brodie think that this type of criticism should be prevented from circulating publicly by limiting the witness to an executive session? After another incoherent moment, Brodie remarked, "In the first place we merely *suggested* it to the Velde Committee. Harap certainly doesn't speak for the Jewish community and we feel that the newspapers treated him as though he did. Furthermore, the Velde Committee is certainly not contributing to anti-Semitism in its investigation of communism."

The Un-American Committee Record

Was Mr. Brodie familiar with the component records of the House committee's membership? "Well, not exactly," he confessed. Was he aware of Velde's position on the McCarran-Walter act, which has been variously described as "racist" and "oppressive" by such prominent Jewish leaders as Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver? "You can't tell just why he voted for it. Probably straight party-line vote," Mr. Brodie allowed. Velde held firm through every vote on this racist law—often called "America's Nuremburg Law"—and finally voted to pass it over former President Truman's veto. "I didn't know that," Brodie, with all the highly touted ADL information apparatus at his disposal, stammered lamely. Here were a few other items: that Velde was a spearhead in the various legislative drives against non-citizens residing in the United States; that on April 25, 1951, on the floor of the House he eulogized the late William Randolph Hearst, publisher and founder of the racist Hearst empire; that he opposed a national FEPC in 1950—a bill which, Brodie was reminded, was supported by the ADL; and that Velde has been in vocal opposition to every measure aimed at improving the lot of minority groups and the general social welfare.

Brodie admitted that "his [record] is not too good on those things, but that doesn't make him anti-Semitic." I again reminded Brodie of the original question regarding Dr. Harap's contention, that the committee was *in effect*

substantially contributing toward the creation of an atmosphere in which conceivably Jews and other minority peoples would suffer harsh persecution, even to the point of physical oppression. "Ah, that's impossible," Brodie said flatly.

But what of other members of the Un-American Committee—past and present—and their performance on issues germane to the original question of the committee's effect on anti-Semitism? Francis E. Walter, a present Un-American Committee member, has been no staunch advocate of racial equality, has he? Brodie was asked, "What do you mean?" the ADL counsel returned. "Did you ever hear of the McCarran-Walter act?" Brodie was asked. "Oh, that," muttered Brodie.

"And of course I guess you recall his anti-Semitic slur about 'professional Jews' shedding 'crocodile tears' while opposing his immigration measure?" There was no comment from the other end of the phone.

"Let's go to the Congressman John Wood of Georgia," it was suggested. "And where shall we start? With his opposition to the anti-poll tax measures and anti-lynch proposals, or his statement of June 5, 1946, when, in refusing to investigate the Ku Klux Klan as the chairman of the committee, he declared, 'The threats and intimidations of the Ku Klux Klan are an old American custom—just like illegal whiskey making'? . . . Brodie, are you still there? . . . Perhaps Wood ought to have mentioned the 'old . . . custom' of lynchings by the KKK too, don't you think?" A very weary voice then commented: "Look, Wood is no longer on the House committee." The ADL certainly had the resources at its command to know the committee's history, or they should have, since they sought cooperation with it. Again, no comment.

Who Speaks for Whom?

Point two of Edelsberg's memo mentions that the "files of the ADL and the AJC should be consulted by the Velde Committee for information about such witnesses [as Harap]." Did Brodie recall that element of the meeting with Velde? "No, I don't—you have the memo there in front of you and if that's what's there, then make of it what you can!" Mr. Brodie had no comment when asked if the word "files" in this case was to be given the same meaning as, for example, informers.

Another item in the memo I found to be of great interest was the notation by Edelsberg that "if the newspapers persisted in writing bad stories, this same delegation would call on them for an accounting." Did not this smack of either censorship or intimidation of the press? Or both? And just where did Edelsberg, the ADL and the AJC get the idea that they are in any position to call in the press for "an accounting"? Brodie answered hesitantly, "Well, he doesn't mean there what you take it for. You've taken it out of context." The entire paragraph from which the sentence was taken was then read to Brodie. Did it alter what Edelsberg had said? Brodie still insisted that the

ADL was not preparing to browbeat the press. "Edelsberg merely meant probably that he would point out the *facts* to editors of the papers so they could write their stories straight." By "straight" did Brodie mean according to the line officially adopted by the ADL? There was no comment.

"Has there been any attempt on the part of the ADL to inform the Jewish community of the meeting which took place between the ADL official and Velde?" I don't believe so as yet," he replied. "What effect do you think that this meeting will have upon the Jewish community once it becomes public knowledge?" Brodie answered, "Oh, I don't think it will have any adverse results, if that's what you mean." Did he think that the ADL might incur as much displeasure as it did when it engaged in a celebrated gin-rummy game with Senator McCarthy? "What do you mean," Brodie challenged, "we admitted that and nobody got excited particularly." Nobody except most of the Anglo-Jewish press, the *New York Post*, a host of conservative Jewish rabbis, educational and professional leaders throughout the Jewish community. Furthermore, the ADL had at first categorically denied the meeting with McCarthy and then was forced later to admit it. "Well, that so-called gin-rummy game with McCarthy . . .," continued Brodie. What did he mean, "so-called"? It took place. "Anyway," blurted Brodie, "Wechsler and the *Post* don't speak for the Jewish community!" Brodie was told that this was a convenient formula for dodging an issue.

Furthermore, do the ADL and the AJC speak for American Jews? "We speak for a substantial segment of the American Jewish community," Brodie snapped. Which segment and how substantial, he was asked? "We are a public service organization devoted to the defense of Jewish interests in the United States," he said. Then why all this secrecy about the Velde meeting?

"What secrecy?" Brodie inquired. It was noted that Edelsberg's memo to Arnold Foster was stamped "Confidential, Not for Publication." "That's merely put down as a routine on all inter-office memoranda," explained Brodie. Now this clearly was not just a routine inter-office memo because, 1) the memo had gone to the director of the ADL's Civil Rights section in the national office, Arnold Forster; and, 2) most important, Benjamin R. Epstein on July 9, 1953, sent copies to the ADL National Commission, the Eastern Region Board, the Chicago Board and the National Civil Rights Committee. Was this the typical procedure for an ordinary inter-office memo? Brodie's silence was eloquent.

There was one further point: at the end of his memo Edelsberg notes that Velde hardly took active part in the conference but, to quote Edelsberg, "Velde did make a contribution—counsel noted that he called me by my first name." Just what did Edelsberg mean by that? Could the ADL expect special dispensation from the witch-hunters if they started investigating the ADL at the next session of Congress under the resolution to continue the probe of tax-exempt foundations? "That has nothing to do with

it," replied Brodie, "and I don't know what he [Edelsberg] meant by that. He was probably joking." Sort of a joking matter, the meeting with Velde? "That's not what I meant," said Brodie. Not at all? Perhaps not, for according to Brodie's associate, Edelsberg, the Un-American Committee and the ADL had parted on a "most friendly basis."

The Cohn Interview

The third telephone interview, that with Marcus Cohn, Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee, was brief but most revealing in several respects.

"Yes," he acknowledged when questioned about the July 2 meeting, "such a conference did take place but there was nothing done there which was said or done for any subsequent publicity. It was held for altogether different purposes." "What therefore was the nature of the meeting on July 2 with Rep. Velde and his counsel on the House Un-American Activities Committee?"

"Look," Cohn replied, "you sound like a nice guy and I want to tell you quite frankly that it's none of your damn business. I have many people who regularly come in here to my office and to my home for dinner who impart highly confidential matters to me which are not meant for public consumption. That is precisely the reason I refuse to discuss any further the meeting of July 2."

Was a private discussion with friends quite analogous to a conference with a Congressional committee, particularly in light of the AJC's position as a public body organized ostensibly in the interest of the Jewish people? Cohn argued that it was quite analogous. He then remarked that "often it remains for people particularly trained in these concerns to exercise mature judgement based on their experience in releasing certain information to the general public. All too often such delicate matters are misunderstood or twisted out of context beyond recognition." In other words, "What the people don't know, won't hurt 'em." Was that the appropriate adage?

"I tell you again that I refuse to comment further. After all I am just an employee of the American Jewish Committee. I act under instructions and do as I'm told. If you wish to discuss the nature of that meeting, why don't you contact Ed Lucas, director of the Civil Rights division, and Dr. John Slawson, executive vice president. . . . I refuse to discuss the meeting, which I assume is rather public knowledge by now. . . . If you contact these gentlemen at the national offices of the American Jewish Committee in New York City, you may secure some satisfaction. I merely discharged my obligations as an employee of the AJC." It was apparent from Cohn's remarks that the policy of collaborating with the Velde Committee was made by the top AJC leaders.

It was learned later that day that already staff investigators of the Velde committee had called on the ADL since the July 2 meeting. The collaboration of these Jewish "defense" organizations with the pro-fascist Velde Committee has passed beyond the discussion stage.

HOW SHALL WE FIGHT McCARTHYISM?

Liberals weaken the fight against McCarthyism by failure to see that victory cannot come without defense of rights of communists

By Louis Harap

WILL the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee now turn over their "files" on the late Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes to the Un-American Committee, now that these eminent deceased rabbis have been named as "subversive" in testimony before the Un-American Committee? For these organizations had on July 2 concluded an agreement with Rep. Harold H. Velde, Un-American Committee chairman, to open their "files" to the committee, as we revealed in the last issue.

To the fantastic, fascistic charges against Rabbis Wise and Magnes, a swift and incisive reply was made by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. They charged the Un-American Committee with "a shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency." They called on the American people to "move . . . to action in defense of their liberties" against the Un-American Committee. (See page 18 for the full text of their statement.)

This newest outrage of the inquisitorial committee against American democracy, as well as against the Jewish people, underlines the enormity of the betrayal by representatives of the Jewish organizations involved in the agreement to collaborate with the Velde Committee. The significance of the interviews in the preceding article thereby becomes clearer. The views contained in these interviews express in naked, unguarded form the policies pursued by certain leaders of the Jewish "defense" agencies. These views show more than complacency in the face of the McCarthyite danger: they display faith in the pathetic but dangerous theory that the Jews can head off the anti-Semitic consequences of McCarthyite fascism by keeping the Jew as Jew of the resistance against McCarthyism. The Jewish people should awaken to the realization that these leaders are trying to take them along essentially the same path as that taken by the leaders of organized Germany Jewry some 20 years ago.

Yet, despite acts of appeasement of McCarthyism such as the conference with Velde, these organizations have issued statements attacking McCarthyism. From time to time, for instance, American Jewish Committee officers have warned that the current hysteria threatens a complete blackout of freedom. In mid-August, for instance, Edwin J. Lucas, director of the AJC's Civil Rights Department, said in a speech before the AJC Pittsburgh chapter that religious and civic groups in this country must take the lead in lifting the

"blanket of fear which is smothering America's basic freedom." Yet this is the same Mr. Lucas who, according to Marcus Cohn (see preceding article), shares responsibility for the Velde conference, in which the AJC agreed to collaborate with this leading agent of repression of "America's basic freedom." Mr. Lucas and other officers of the Jewish "defense" organizations should make up their minds if they are fighting for or against freedom—and the Jewish people should make sure that this decision is made in favor of democracy and properly enforced.

A Controversy On Fighting McCarthy

A controversy, prompted by the racist *Chicago Tribune*, has been raging in the English-Jewish press in recent weeks on whether Jews and Jewish organizations as such should participate in the fight against McCarthyism. After the Rabbinical Assembly of America at its annual meeting on June 22 vigorously attacked McCarthy and McCarthyism, the *Chicago Tribune* threatened the Jewish people with dire consequences if they attacked McCarthy. Anti-Semitism will be stimulated, the paper said in effect, if the Jews attacked McCarthyism.

Support for the *Chicago Tribune's* position came, not unexpectedly, from Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, director of the American Jewish Committee's Community Relations Department, who has been the most vociferous advocate of hush-hush in organized Jewish life. In an interview with Robert S. Gamzey, editor of the *Intermountain Jewish News* (July 2), Fineberg thought it a "terrible error" for Jewish organizations to attack McCarthy. "The AJC leader," wrote Gamzey, "fears that Jewish opposition may drive McCarthy to anti-Semitism."

The issue was taken up by a number of English-Jewish papers. The *Intermountain Jewish News* (July 9) itself agreed with Fineberg's approach and advocated that Jews should protest McCarthyism *only* "on a broad non-sectarian front in which Jewish organizations and spokesmen submerge their identification with non-Jewish leadership." Of course, it is essential to have the widest possible united action against McCarthy. But the Jews have the right and duty *also* as Jews to carry on the offensive, no less than any other religious or ethnic or any other group in the country.

Several English-Jewish papers quite properly took exception to the Fineberg-Gamzey approach. The *Jewish National*

Post sharply criticized this approach. According to the *Jewish Newsletter* (July 20), Gabriel Cohen, editor of the *National Jewish Post*, "argues in effect that McCarthy's repressive activities are in direct contradiction with the traditional American way of life based on freedom of speech and expression of belief, which is the foundation upon which rest the rights of all Americans and particularly of the Jews. Jews, more than any other people, depend on freedom, democracy and liberalism. Once these principles are undermined, the Jewish position is undermined. Whether McCarthy is personally an anti-Semite or not, his methods like those of all fascists, must lead to anti-Semitism. The second point that Cohen makes is that for 'Jews to avoid entering into the public arena on an issue like this because they fear repercussions against themselves by McCarthy if he rose to power, would make them unworthy of their citizenship.'"

We think that Cohen hit the nail on the head. The Jew, who stands to lose as much as any group in the country, must resist because democracy is in danger. In fact, Cohen's view that McCarthyism "must lead to anti-Semitism" is close to the view that this writer advanced before the Velde Committee. Will the "defense" organizations now express "outrage" at Mr. Cohen for this as they did in the case of this writer? But there are many Jews who know this statement of Cohen's to be true. It is no accident that there have been frequent synagogue and Jewish cemetery desecrations and attacks on Jews in various parts of the country in the past few years. The McCarthyite atmosphere has stimulated these and other forms of anti-Semitism.

The Achilles Heel

But there are other strong elements in the Jewish community, such as the rabbinical associations and many individuals like Senator Herbert H. Lehman, who are putting up a fight against McCarthyism. Yet most of these attacks have an Achilles heel—the stress on the fact that these battlers object to McCarthy's "methods" alone. It is true that the McCarthyite techniques of smear, star chamber proceedings, wild and unsubstantiated charges and the rest are destructive of the Bill of Rights.

But it is also the *objective* of McCarthyism to convert the country into a fascist state by means of anti-communist hysteria, that constitutes its ultimate danger to freedom. The McCarthyites thereby hope to beat down living standards, destroy the labor movement and lead the country into war in the Hitler manner. They hope to achieve these aims by asserting that the communists are the targets and then by stretching "communism" to include every progressive view, from the New Deal leftwards. The shocking smear of Rabbis Wise and Magnes are prime examples in point. For these eminent democrats on a number of occasions advocated causes also fought for by the communists—which made the rabbis the targets of the witch-hunters.

What many Jewish, labor and liberal fighters against McCarthyism have not yet learned is that *it is impossible to conduct a witch-hunt in which a separation can be maintained between real communists and non- or anti-commu-*

nists who are hauled into the McCarthyite dragnet. Most of these enemies of McCarthyism are also enemies of communism who assert that they must conduct a two-pronged fight against both. Thus *The Reconstructionist*, which regards itself as a liberal journal, on June 12 ran an editorial, "Standing Up to McCarthyism," that purports to put the journal behind the fight. But the journal is at pains to point out that it must equally fight against communism. "We must not assume . . . that, because the 'witch-hunters' are frequently seized with obsessive delusions, that there are no communist 'witches.'" The journal urges liberals to enter the anti-communist campaign with more vigor. "This does not at all mean aping the inquisitors but it does mean breaking their monopoly of anti-communist action. It means recognizing the fact that real communists do appear before congressional committees and are justly exposed."

The Danger Is Indivisible

We do not agree that McCarthyites do in fact have a monopoly of the witch-hunt. Anti-communist hysteria has unfortunately been all too common and vocal among labor leaders, liberals and Jewish leaders. But we are here concerned with the view that it is proper to conduct a witch-hunt of "real communists." This view is self-defeating. In saner times such elements recognized clearly enough that the civil liberties of *all* depend on defense of the civil liberties of any group persecuted at the moment. But the liberals today have failed to learn the lessons of Hitlerism that the anti-communist hysteria is not a disease that can be localized and kept from attacking the whole body politic and destroying all freedom.

The attack on the communists is the *focus of anti-democratic infection* that is corroding American freedom as a whole—and threatening the Jewish people as a consequence. Unless the Constitutional guarantees of free speech and association are vouchsafed to the communists, they are lost to all. The liberals cannot join the McCarthyites in depriving the communists of freedom without destroying it for themselves. This does mean that the liberals must agree with communism. It only demands that the Bill of Rights must apply to the communists, if it is to be retained for all.

If the labor leaders, liberals and Jewish leaders do not learn this lesson, they themselves will go down with the communists. Dr. Albert Einstein has learned this lesson from his experience with Hitlerism and that is why he entreated total non-cooperation with the inquisitors. The witch-hunt, he knows, is indivisible. Anti-communist liberal fighters against McCarthyism should know that their attack on the rights of the communists cannot be separated from the McCarthyite attack on the rights of non- and anti-communists. In a democracy, differences with communism should be debated with communists instead of muzzling them, as *The Reconstructionist* and many liberals recommend. In the last analysis, irrespective of one's view of communism, McCarthyite fascism cannot be defeated unless the fight is seen as resistance against the assault on the rights of *all* Americans, including the communists.

THE TERCENTENARY CELEBRATION

The meaning of three hundred years of Jewish life in the United States. Will the celebration highlight the democratic heritage?

By Morris U. Schappes

IN September 1954 it will be three hundred years since the first group of Jews settled in territory now part of the United States! Certainly that event calls for public commemoration and celebration.

These were three centuries of Jewish life in which there were many and varied struggles, all kinds of trials and dangers, and many, many a victory for progress for the Jews and the American people as a whole. Rich and meaningful are the lessons that emerge from a study of this history. The minds and hearts of the American Jewish masses will quicken and thrill, as, during this celebration, they learn more and more about the great progressive traditions of American Jews, of the ideals of democracy and progress that they espoused in the thick of battle, of heroic personalities and also of the mass of the Jews that have always been the hard core of this militant heritage. None will be so cold as to be indifferent to the American Jewish history of these three centuries.

Immigrants in Search of Democracy

From the beginning the immigrant Jews found both opportunities and hostilities. To use the opportunities they had to overcome the hostilities. The first 23, who came to New Amsterdam in 1654 as refugees from the Inquisition in Brazil, were faced on landing with the need to fight for the right to remain in New Amsterdam, to make a living there, to build their own institutions, to become citizens.

Whether they were only handfuls as in the seventeenth century or millions as in our century, the Jews were continually taking part in the development of the land in two directions. By their skills, energy and resourcefulness they enriched the economic and cultural life of our country. By their persistent and still unfinished fight for equality of opportunity they added to the political, religious, and social values of the United States.

Confronted with anti-Semitic restrictions from the start, Jews had a stake in, and a passion for, democratic rights, and many had a high consciousness of the need for social progress. As a Jew in Georgia wrote in 1820, the Jews coming to our country "panted for Liberty and the enjoyment of equal rights." Whether it was the cause of American independence, of broadly-based Jeffersonian democracy, of anti-slavery and abolition, of free schools and separation of church and state, of women's rights or medical education

—Jews were at home in all these forward movements.

As each historic period brought forth new basic issues, there were Jews always in the van of proposed solutions and the struggle for them. When during the past 75 years the immigration tide created here a mass Jewish working class and new social solutions flowing from the nature and needs of the workers were put forward, Jews were among the conspicuous bearers of these new banners of progress of the conscious working class movement.

Of course there were Jews who, then as now, did not recognize that the fate of the Jewish population is determined by the level of social progress. In the history of our country there are two traditions: the tradition of those who sought to place barricades on the road to progress and the historically triumphing tradition of those who fought to clear the road. Among the Jews too there were those who sided with King George, with the slaveowners, with the monopolies. But this minor tradition of reaction has always been and will continue to be defeated and the Jews who fight against McCarthyism and McCarranism today are inspired by the victorious progressive Jews of 300 years.

With the Tercentenary approaching, every element in the Jewish community is preparing for this anniversary.

History, however, is a reflection and a product of social struggles. The writing of history is also influenced by social conflict. And so is the celebration of historic anniversaries. By their celebrations, so to speak, shall you know them.

For instance, in 1950 the New York Congregation Bnai Jeshurun celebrated its 125th anniversary. The climax of the event was staged on November 11th, and the main speaker was—General Lucius Clay, liberator of Ilse Koch!

That same year, the Charleston, S.C., Jewish community celebrated its 200th anniversary. The stellar attraction was Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, for many years a partner in Kuhn, Loeb and Co. Just before that anniversary, Strauss had resigned from the Atomic Energy Commission in protest against the delay of the commission in getting to work promptly on the hydrogen-bomb (Eisenhower recently appointed Strauss as chairman of the commission). In his address, Strauss revealed his indiscriminating concept of Americanism by lumping Roger Williams and Thomas Jefferson together with Confederate leaders Robert E. Lee and Judah P. Benjamin as "great Americans."

Unfortunately, it seems that the most conspicuous aspects of the 300th anniversary celebration will follow this

pattern and will become a tool in the hands of the Jewish plutocracy and those communal and rabbinical leaders who function as their humble servants. For the initiative was seized almost a year ago by the American Jewish Committee, which set about to organize what will be presented to the American public as the "official" American Jewish Tercentenary.

The Three Hundred

Under American Jewish Committee manipulation, there emerged a properly selected "Committee of 300" to head the celebration, which is formally to open September 12, 1954 with a special service in Congregation Shearith Israel in New York (the oldest in the country) and close with another religious event late in May 1955 in Washington. Chairman of the "Committee of 300" is Ralph E. Samuel, vice president of the American Jewish Committee and a New York stockbroker. Even a superficial review of the personnel of the Three Hundred shows that of the 278 names listed, at least 36 are defined in the official *Newsletter* in terms of their business affiliations. Among these members of the acknowledged plutocracy are such figures as Joseph L. Block, executive vice president of Inland Steel; Norman Hirschfield, president of the Consolidated Gas Utilities Corp., Oklahoma City; Stephen Klein, president of Barton's; Fred Lazarus, Jr., president of Federated Department Stores; Joseph M. Mazer, treasurer, Hudson Pulp and Paper Co.; William S. Paley, chairman of the board, Columbia Broadcasting System; General David Sarnoff, chairman of the board, Radio Corporation of America; Roger W. Straus, chairman of the board, American Smelting and Refining Co., and of course Rear Admiral Lewis L. Strauss.

The chairman of the Finance Committee of this apparatus has recently been in the public eye. He is Albert M. Greenfield, chairman of the board of City Stores Co. and a director of the Bankers Bond & Mortgage Co. of Pennsylvania, the Bankers' Security Corp. of Philadelphia, Union Building Co. of Newark, Philadelphia Transportation Corp., Loft Candy Corp., Transit Investment Corp., R. H. White Realty Corp. of Boston, etc. As chairman of the board of City Stores (Oppenheim Collins, Franklin Simon, Bonwit Teller, and Hearn's), Greenfield recently directed the breaking of the strike at Hearn's. One of the instruments used by Greenfield was the Velde Un-American Activities Committee, which, according to testimony given at the New York hearing, moved into New York to "investigate" the union conducting the strike on the suggestion of Greenfield.

It is such personalities that are dictating the tone and content of the "official" Tercentenary celebrations. Aiding them on the "Committee of 300" are 25 judges, 34 lawyers, 24 rabbis, and a host of "communal leaders," many of whom are also prominent business men (thus Maxwell Abbell, who is on the list as president, United Synagogue of America, also happens to be the owner of the Abbell chain

of hotels). Of historians there are shockingly few, about a half-dozen, and many who have written volumes applauded by plutocratic organs are insultingly omitted.

Eight from Labor

Labor leaders? Oh yes, the Membership Committee which selected the Three Hundred, and which was dominated by the American Jewish Committee, would not entirely omit labor. So a handful, more or less, were chosen from those trade unionists considered "reliable" by the American Jewish Committee. Thus from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union there are Jacob S. Potofsky, Samuel Levin (Chicago), and Louis Hollander; from the headgear workers' union Alex Rose; from the Jewish Labor Committee Adolph Held; from the *Jewish Daily Forward*, its editor Harry Rogoff; from the Workmen's Circle, its assistant general secretary Benjamin A. Gebiner, and from the C.I.O. its general counsel, Arthur J. Goldberg—and that is all. At best this is token representation, but there is not even token representation for the large militantly progressive element among the workers and the Jewish masses that are not represented by the Jewish Labor Committee but that, in the many tens of thousands, are in trade unions, fraternal organizations and cultural groups of many kinds. When Judge Simon H. Rifkind, chairman of the Membership Committee, boasted that his 278 persons were "as broad and as diversified as the American Jewish community itself," he was far from the truth. The imbalance is striking: of the 278 members, 87 are from the American Jewish Committee, eight from the right and center of labor, not one from any mass movement even slightly to the left of center.

It was this "Committee of 300" that met on April 12, 1953 to decide on the program and budget. This was to be a Million-Dollar Celebration: exact budget adopted was \$1,014,270 (but in June, Finance Committee Chairman Albert M. Greenfield announced that this was now reduced to \$600,000). That sum was to go only for the national events; state-wide, city and local community affairs would have to be separately financed.

The Program Is Expurgated

Most revealing, of course, was the program adopted. An unusual insight into the ideological tendency of the program can be derived from a comparison of the published first draft, adopted by the Steering Committee of 30 persons (17 of whom are members of the American Jewish Committee) on November 18, 1952, and the final statement adopted on April 12, 1953. Instructive are the following deletions from the first draft.

The Jews, said the *draft*, "helped to mould the idea that every man has the right to be treated for what he is, rather than for what his faith is or what the color of his skin may be." The *final text* struck out "what the color of his skin may be."

contains sets of Julie's college texts, carefully handled, well preserved. Ethel and Julie were married on June 18, 1939, the Sunday before he graduated from the School of Engineering of the College of the City of New York.

"They struggled for a living and never even had good furniture. My darling children, my wonderful children, *what did they do to them?*"

But the heart-rending evening is not yet over. My hand is grasped and I'm taken to a clothes closet. The smell of moth balls and tar paper assails the nostrils. A numbness comes for these are Ethel's and Julie's clothing . . . waiting and ready for them. They are lovingly dusted and now never to be worn again. Mrs. Rosenberg fondles two suits.

"I went to Delancey Street to help Julie buy these. They were the first suits he bought in a long, long time. He never had a chance to wear them. Not even once."

It's hard to look, so there are but fleeting glances of a grey woman's coat, a polka dot dress, a blue and white man's bath robe and of course, the never-to-be-worn suits.

We sit down without speaking. There's a struggle for

the words that console, that ease a wounded heart. Near my chair is a record cabinet. Involuntarily I slide the doors open. Sophie looks at me and bends her head in acknowledgement of Julie's and Ethel's ownership. There's an album of Todd Duncan, many albums of folk music. There are children's records, too. "Little Dogie," "Mary Had a Little Lamb," "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean" and that ageless children's classic:

"Twinkle, twinkle little star,
How I wonder what you are,
Up above the world so high,
Like a diamond in the sky."

How many thousands of little ones have sung this to their parents? The first song ever learned and proudly articulated; a song so simple, so pure, so right for the Michaels and Robbies.

It's time to go and there's a powerful anguished outcry, "I pulled Julie through everything. Why couldn't I pull him through this? Why? Why?"

WAS THE SOBELL SENTENCE FAIR?

The facts about the hysteria-dictated sentence of Sobell, who asserts innocence, and the sentences of proved spies and traitors

By Fred E. Daniels

WHEN Judge Irving Kaufman sentenced Morton Sobell to jail for 30 years, the hysterical atmosphere was such that the judge remarked: "While it may be gratuitous on my part, I at this time note my recommendation against parole."

The judge having thus shut the door and thrown away the key—the courts having thus far refused to reverse the verdict, to alter or lower the sentence or to grant a new trial—Morton Sobell now faces the prospect of spending 10,000 more of his days and nights behind bars.

Sobell was 33 when he was arrested. Now he is 36. He will be close to 60 when he will be legally entitled to release with time off for good behavior. His four-year old son will then be about 30—his 13-year old daughter a woman of 40-odd—his wife in her late fifties.

Certainly, then, Morton Sobell's crime must have been heinous to warrant his being virtually buried alive. Yet, what exactly *was* his crime?

Dr. Harold C. Urey, who has been able to solve some of the most baffling nuclear and mathematical problems of our time (he was awarded a Nobel Prize)—this same Dr. Urey studied the Sobell trial transcript with great care and acknowledged himself perplexed. "I do not know what he did do," Dr. Urey confessed.

But didn't Sobell's "crime" involve atomic espionage?

Didn't it involve delivering our nation's most precious secrets to a foreign power?

Is there such a thing as an "atomic secret"? Dr. Ralph Lapp, former executive director of the Atomic Energy Commission's Research and Development Board, in a television interview on August 23, described as a "fiction" the idea that the Rosenbergs and others accused of espionage could possibly have given the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. But even if this were possible, Sobell was never charged with atomic espionage. He was accused of "conspiracy to commit espionage" and absolved of any connection with atomic espionage whatsoever! Who says so? Judge Irving Kaufman says so. Upon sentencing Sobell, Kaufman declared: "The evidence in this case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atom-bomb project."

Then why the sentence of 30 years—the absolute maximum that Judge Kaufman could have fixed? How does this sentence compare with other sentences in similar cases? Even a superficial comparison reveals the enormity of the crime committed not by Sobell but *against* Sobell—the crime of flagrant miscarriage of justice. Consider this.

In cases involving the same crime of "ordinary espionage" which was charged against Sobell—cases tried under the same act under which Sobell was tried and where con-

Listing the Jewish heritage and contributions, the *draft* declared, "We have brought a healthy and growing culture in the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, with a flourishing literature, press and theatre." The sentence was cut out!

The *draft* proposed that the celebration "emphasize the pure and applied quality of Judaism as a religion, the great growth of philanthropy, the spirit of intellectual exploration, and the intense desire for social progress." When the sentence was rewritten, "the spirit of intellectual exploration, and the intense desire for social progress" were *eliminated*.

Further along, the *draft* indicated that "Jews have shared in the work of building an America where the accepted ideal is one of liberty, equality, and dignity. These things were not ready made for the earliest settlers of any nationality or religion. They had to be fought for. Certainly the Jewish settlers in New Amsterdam had to fight hard. . . ." This was a welcome, realistic and historically sound note, that Jews had had to fight for equality, had had to fight against anti-Semitism. But in the *final form* these sentences too, in fact the entire concept of the need to fight for equality, were *stricken out*.

Then the *draft* observed that "Jews were not the only ones who faced these problems and fought them through. The Catholics, the Quakers, the Irish, the Negroes, and many other groups have been engaged in similar battles." This too is historically sound, and links the freedom struggles of the Jews with those of other groups. But this too disappears from the *final* text!

Grist for "Voice of America"

If you add up what was eliminated from the original draft you will find that *what was eliminated was virtually the history of 300 years of Jewish life in our country*. For what kind of history can be written or celebrated that omits the struggles of the Jews for equality, their share in the struggles of other groups in the United States for freedom and equality, the culture of the Yiddish speaking working class masses that until recently were the majority of the Jews here, and the "intense desire for social progress" that expressed itself in many forms, not least of all in the battles to organize Jewish workers into trade unions and in the movements that rallied around the ideals of socialism? One might conclude that a celebration that deliberately rules out these phases of Jewish life and Jewish history in our land could only be a mockery, were it not for the fact that the manipulators of this Tercentenary of the Million-Dollar stripe have a serious and a dangerous purpose.

For the difference between the first and final draft of the program does not lie only in what was cut out, but in one all-significant factor that was added between November 18, 1952 and April 12, 1953. From the final document we learn that the celebration is not only supposed to represent the Jewish plutocratic "officialdom," but is also supposed to conform to official State Department policy. We are told that "discussions have already taken place with the

Department of State with a view to intensive coverage by the Voice of America."

Obviously, if the programs are to be suitable to the requirements of the Voice of America as defined by a State Department that takes its broadcasting cues and policy from McCarthy, the Tercentenary ideas and personnel will have to be "cleared" with all the assorted un-American committees operating in Washington. The Tercentenary will have to fit the cold war requirements of United States foreign policy. And that is exactly what the Tercentenary program calls for when it boldly and shamelessly proclaims: "In the eyes of the world, the Tercentenary will stand as America's most powerful commentary on Soviet anti-Semitism." No wonder you must leave out "the intense desire for social progress" and the struggle against anti-Semitism!

Already there is a tactical rift in the front of this Million-Dollar celebration. The Jewish Labor Committee, at its annual conference on April 18, 1953, strongly disapproved the fact that the official program ignores the role of labor and of the East European immigrant Jewish masses in the past 75 years and that the celebration "should concentrate primarily in the synagogues." So this right wing element, while continuing to maintain representation in the Committee of 300, will organize its own anniversary events. The content of this "labor" celebration will, however, be in line with the political aim of the Million-Dollar celebration. For when it comes to working for the Voice of America, the Jewish Labor Committee has an old and vile record. Has not David Dubinsky, main financial backer of the Jewish Labor Committee, written articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* (May 9, 1953) and the *New York Times Magazine Section* (July 26) advising the McCarthyites how to fight communism more effectively than they now do?

In the hands of these Jewish Labor Committee forces, the militant, progressive traditions of Jewish labor here will be perverted to "prove" that the great service of the Jewish workers was to lead the entire country in the fight against "communists" and in misrepresentation of the Soviet Union. McCarthy will be demonstrated to be a bungler and a Johnny-come-lately in the ferocious art of red-baiting when set alongside an Abe Cahan (late editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward*) or a Dubinsky.

The Other Jewish Tradition

The question is: will the millions of American Jews be content to allow *their* history to be thus misrepresented and used for reactionary purposes? Will the workers and the children of the workers who wrote such glorious, militant and colorful pages in the history of the American labor movement be satisfied to have their tradition reduced to the debased McCarthyite monotone of "anti-Red"?

The memberships of middle class and working class Jewish organizations still have time to effect changes in the programs that are being imposed upon them. Particularly is this the case in the local committees that are still in

THE FREEDOM-MOTHER WEEPS

By *Dora Teitlboim*

On Bedloe's Isle the Freedom-Mother weeps
Silently.

And no one hears her lamentation
And no one knows her thirst
Out of the stone to burst.

Her vigil-torch is wedded to her hand,
Sentry against eternities of night;
Each evening kindling heaven with her light,
Each dawn extinguishing
With mother tears
The last pale flicker of the distant spheres.

Wakeful is she at the gate of the land
Lest the wild winds snuff out
Flame of her hand.

She stands. She knows
A people moored her here
Where the Atlantic flowed
With hope to all the earth:

"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The tear, the pang that wracks the wanderer
Reach unto her.

But forbidden is the shore
And shut the golden door.

The Freedom-Mother at the portal waits,
And sigh, and sob
And heartbreak throb
Pulsate within her sorrowing ear.

About her feet the silvery Atlantic streams
In white cascades,
Like arms for rescue flung up, frantic.
Through shores of history the ocean leaps and brings
A song of old Parisian barricades.
He sings
Of fighters, heroes, dreams.

The Freedom-Mother weeps,
In the breakers seeking one
Who shaped her.
Out of stone
She would leap over all the States,
And out of sleep command
Her own,
Her Paine, her Lincoln, Jefferson,
With living hand
To free once more the children of her land.

(Translation from the Yiddish by *Martha Millet.*)

the process of being set up and in which everything is not yet cut and dried to suit the McCarthyite pattern. There is still time to see to it that the stress is laid on the democratic and progressive traditions of the Jews of the past 300 years: the tradition of the fight against the anti-Semitic elements for full equality in theory, law and practice; the tradition of support of all democratic movements and struggles of other minority groups and particularly of the Negro people; the tradition of the Jewish abolitionists; the tradition of the Jews who fought in just wars and opposed unjust wars; the tradition of the Jewish workers who beat the sweatshops and work for a society without exploitation of man by man and without wars; the tradition that today can inspire the battle against the McCarran-Walter Immigration act, the McCarran Internal Security act, the Smith act and the other laws that are swiftly undermining every democratic right won by the American people, including the Jewish population.

At the same time, liberal and progressive organizations, separately or in joint efforts, are planning to challenge the cold-war Million-Dollar historical circus with the truth as the Jewish masses know it and see it. In the search for democratic unity, some of these organizations are seeking in various localities and communities to bring about a Tercentenary committee that will include all groups ready

to agree to a common denominator of celebrating the *democratic* tradition in American Jewish history. Successes in this direction would indeed be a blow to the McCarthyites.

But in those localities in which Jewish reaction will prevent any such unity, the Jewish voice of progress will not be throttled. It may be that the Voice of America and McCarthy will refuse to broadcast programs that deal with the history of the struggle of the Jews against anti-Semitism, of their fight for the extension of democracy to all Americans, Negro and white, native and immigrant, of their fight for cultural equality and the proper evaluation of the treasures of their heritage in Yiddish, of the Jewish masses' "intense desire for social progress," for peace and freedom and plenty for all peoples. Most of the people of the world, who despise the Voice of America exactly because they have learned that it is really the Voice of McCarthyism, will not pay much attention to the official Million-Dollar misrepresentation of American Jewish history. These people will somehow or other learn of this *other* American Jewish tradition and of these *other* American Jewish masses that will celebrate 300 years of their life in the United States in such a way that the cause of the fight for peace, of the fight for democracy against McCarthyism and McCarranism, of the fight for security and equality, will be advanced by these very celebrations.

THE DEMORALIZED ELEMENT

Chapter from "The Volunteers"

By Steve Nelson

Following is a chapter from The Volunteers, the recently published personal narrative of the war against fascism in Spain, by Steve Nelson, published by Masses and Mainstream (832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.) As political leader of the American volunteers in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Nelson was a deeply loved figure. In the postwar period Nelson has been the target of extreme reactionary forces in Pittsburgh, where he was given a savage 20-year sentence for "sedition." This was followed by his conviction under the Smith Act, adding five years to his prison sentence. One has only to read the chapter below and the whole book from which it is drawn, to understand that Steve Nelson's real crime is a heroic devotion to democracy and peace.—Eds.

THE days whirled past and no day was long enough; for every task accomplished, three new tasks sprang up. Every problem boiled down ultimately to a human being, a person, an individual. The leadership was dealing with men; and the problem of the army, the battalion, the company, was the problem of the individual.

Albacete was crowded with men from the front, from the hospitals, from the States. They lounged on the street, basking in the sun, flirting with the girls (with whom they enjoyed singularly little success). Their vanity told them their failure was due to ignorance of the language and soon the sale of Spanish-English dictionaries rose sharply. But still something was wrong. . . . They told each other their troubles, and with some, at least, their wrath and self-pity grew and grew in the telling. These were the men who were referred to by many as "demoralized elements."

CROSSING THE SQUARE, I SAW JOE GORDON LEAVE THE GROUP by the fountain and come toward me. Joe was hard, a boy from the East Side of New York, strong, stocky, a shock of black curls surmounting his tough face. He wore a white patch over his left eye; a bullet had grazed his cheek bone and he had lost the sight of that eye. I knew him by reputation—a reputation for remarkable heroism at the front, for being hard, for hanging out in the square every day, for being able to talk at length, and profanely, on any possible subject. Some called him a "demoralized element."

Joe said, "Hey, Steve, when do I get to see you?"

"What's the matter?"

"I want to see you. Not here, I want to sit down and give you the low-down, some place where nobody'll butt in."

"Okay," I said, "let's go right now."

We went to the room where I slept and I sat Joe down and said, "Shoot." But Joe was up at once, pacing the room while he spoke, profane and emphatic. His right eye was going bad. He didn't want to go home blind. The eye hurt badly, day and night, a piercing pain that shot through his head. He had been time and again to the French doctor at the hospital but he only wiped it with a rag and said there was nothing could be done; yet the doctor claimed to be the best eye doctor anywhere around. Joe, of course, didn't like this doctor, had no confidence in him.

"What do you want me to do?" I asked.

"There's a specialist in Barcelona. I want him to have a look. But this monkey won't let me get a pass to go there. So I come down to the base, but the guy in charge tells me it's up to the doctor. So there I am. Look, I got his name, address, everything. The Barcelona guy. He's tops."

"Come see me tomorrow," I said.

"All right," Joe said gruffly. "Tomorrow, then. So long."

I hunted up my interpreter and went immediately to the hospital. The doctor was in his office—a young Frenchman, neat, handsome. He wore pince-nez glasses on a broad, flowing ribbon, in odd contrast to the martial smartness of his uniform.

I spoke at length and somewhat emotionally on Gordon's case; and the doctor listened, politely condescending, while the interpreter unreeled my speech. . . . "He says, 'There is just so much a doctor can do. He cannot replace organs. Everything that could be done has already been done.' He says he is sorry."

I lost track of the interpreter. "I think you should authorize his transportation to Barcelona."

The doctor's eyes popped angrily and he hammered the desk. "I am the medical chief of this hospital."

"No, that won't do," I said. "Gordon has no confidence in you and you are making matters worse if he doesn't go immediately."

The doctor scrawled on a slip and the interpreter did not see fit to translate what he said meanwhile. I took the slip and marched out doggedly. I hunted over the square for Joe but could not find him. Joe came next day to the office where Bill and I were at work. His hard young face was carefully masked. I said, "How soon can you leave for Barcelona?"

"I can leave right now. I—only thing is, I got no dough." His face reddened. "We drunk it up yesterday."

"It's okay," I said. "Ed's got some money."

Joe smiled—the first time I had seen him smile. He whirled and dashed out. Two weeks later, a postcard from Barcelona:

“Dear Steve: Everything jake. Doctor wonderful—eye not bloodshot any more. Can see a little in the bum eye! *Salud y victoria*—Yours, Joe Gordon.”

When he returned, the patch over his left eye was gone. The removal of the patch marked his transformation from a “demoralized element.”

A FEW DAYS AFTER THE GORDON INCIDENT ANOTHER DOCTOR came to visit me. The name he gave was Polish. His English had a stilted, academic flavor, as if it was learned from books.

“I wish to discuss with you,” he said, “certain experiences which I have been having with your Americans. With those among them who are Jewish. I too am Jewish.” He smiled. “Because of that fact, I am able to draw closer to those boys. We speak in Yiddish. So I have been able to— to study those boys rather carefully. So I wish to speak of them to you.” “Sure. Go ahead.”

The doctor laced his fingers, and assumed a serious air, pursing his lips judiciously. “I have reached the conclusion,” he said, “that these young Jewish boys, because of their so extreme sensitiveness, they cannot become soldiers.”

I was too startled to speak. The doctor nodded gravely. “Their nerves,” he said. His long fingers made a flickering motion. “No. Their nerves cannot endure the terrific strain of war. They become shell-shocked, much more than the other soldiers. This my study of the 12 cases has shown me.” He smiled again, wistfully, a trifle humbly.

(There was Solly going down under the cops’ clubs and back on the picket line two hours later with red soaking through the bandages on his head. There was Goodman,

standing over me on the bridge, and I was lying there with the blood running out of my scalp; Goodman had driven off the goons before they got me into the river or that would have been the end of me. And the little “Kid” enduring the bludgeonings and obscene howlings of the gorillas in the Chicago jail. I heard again the cop’s bellow: “Ah! I see you eyein’ my gun! You’d like to get your hands on it, wouldn’t you? You’d like to shoot me, wouldn’t you!” And I saw the grin spread slowly on the “Kid’s” dazed and bloody face; I heard his thick, muttered, “Yeah!” Solly-Matt-Mary-Paul and Ed and Charlie, all Jews, all comrades. . . . So Jews couldn’t be soldiers! I could feel my neck getting thick and a vein pounding in my forehead as I stared glassily at the doctor.)

“Doctor, your psychological treatise is absolutely revolting. You can’t come in here and—” I stopped and swallowed. “Damn your 12 cases!” I yelled. “Your ‘science’ smells of nazism! and damn your rotten, damn theory!”

The doctor flounced away, talking to himself. I sat for a long time, staring at nothing, until the hot glare of my eyes cooled. I thought about Ruby, first. Ruby was a pal of Joe Gordon’s. Ruby talked an awful lot. Ruby had been in the office the day before and he’d had a lot to say, which was not unusual, but the line of gab he’d been handing out was new. Psychology. “After all, a man’s been through fire,” he had said. “He gets hurt—his mind is shocked—he should be given light work, or sent back home and replaced by fresh men in the lines.”

“I tell you,” Ruby said, “they’ve been through too much. They’ll never be able to live up to what it takes to be a soldier under fire, no matter how much they want to. They should either be put to light work or sent home to do what they can there. Of course, this ain’t for me, you understand. It’s about Joe and—” He had gone on to name



Author Steve Nelson (right) as lieutenant colonel in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Milton Herndon (left), Negro leader who was vice president of the Young Communist League and who died fighting for democracy in Spain; and Dave Doran (center), who was killed in action in Spain.

several comrades. All Jewish.

I went out, and made some inquiries. The doctor had arrived at Albacete a month before. Because of his credentials, his experience in his field and his interest in "rehabilitating" the sick and wounded, a post of "psychologist" had been created for him. Shortly before my arrival, he had submitted to the commissariat a plan for establishing a soldiers' home.

THAT NIGHT I REPORTED TO BILL AND ED. THEIR ANGER surpassed mine. Ed said thoughtfully, "You know, some of the boys talking to me lately—I thought there was something awfully queer about the line they pulled."

"But not all of 'em were Jewish," Bill said. "At least two were Irish somewhere back. Jack O'— was one."

I said excitedly, "Isn't he the red-head hangs around Ruby all the time? Sure! There it is!"

"Then these 12 cases this phony's been 'studying,'" said Bill, "they're a kind of infection center. A bunch of Typhoid Marys, huh?"

"Exactly," I said. "This psychological bull the guy is peddling is knocking the props out from under a lot of good men. The real issue involved here is the whole question of shell-shock."

"Shell-shock can exist," Ed said doubtfully. "There were real, valid cases of it—lots of 'em—in the World War."

"Sure there were," I said. "No doubt of it. That's what our friend the phony psychologist is basing himself on. That's what makes it possible for him to put his stuff across. The experience of soldiers in the World War. . . . But that wasn't this war, nor this army!"

After a moment, Bill said slowly, "Shell-shock under those conditions was an involuntary way of escaping from a war a fellow didn't want to fight in the first place."

"Exactly," I said. "Where soldiers don't have any real interest in the war they're fighting, shell shock can and must exist as a scientific fact. But in this army—in our army—it's different. Our boys know what they're fighting for. They're here because they want to be here. They came to Spain because they understood what this war is about. This is their war and they know it, or they never would have come. . . . And when men like that start talking about 'shell shock,' it can only be because they've been poisoned by a lot of fake science dished out by a fake 'scientist,' or for other reasons which can contribute to demoralization."

Bill swore suddenly. "With all the good doctors that come over here," he said, "there has to be a phony like this one to louse up the joint!"

"Maybe we ought to take this up with some of the doctors—the good ones," Ed suggested.

"What we've got to do is expose this fink—and do it in a way that'll stick!" Bill said.

But it was not Bill nor Ed nor I who exposed the psychiatrist. Three mornings later, the air of Albacete shook with an explosion; a factory where hand-grenades were manufactured for the Army had blown up. He was not

arrested at once, however, and late that night, they followed their man to a nest of POUM-ists, the Trotskyist organization of spies and saboteurs who a few days later were to lead the Barcelona uprising.

One of the POUM conspirators arrested that night implicated the Polish psychiatrist.

Ruby was the first to reach me after the news broke of the doctor's arrest. "Believe me, Steve, I never really fell for the line that guy put out," he said. His face was red and his eyes stinging with embarrassment. "I—oh, hell, I guess I did too, sort of. But I—anyhow, we had to work off some steam somehow. You know how it is. . . . Look, I'll show at the front what I really got to say. And that goes for all of us, too."

"A Frightening Betrayal"

A ringing call was issued to the American people on September 13 to end the threat from the "congressional vigilantes." It was made in a joint statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, after the release by the Un-American Committee of the testimony gives to it by Benjamin Gitlow. Below is the full text of the rabbis' statement.—Eds.

THE Congressional committees have evidently decided to become forums for defaming the dead as well as the living. For the Committee on Un-American Activities to have permitted the publication of the fantastic charges of ex-Communist leader [Benjamin] Gitlow against persons both living and dead, among whom have been foremost spiritual leaders of the American people, is a shocking and frightening betrayal of elementary public responsibility and decency.

We earnestly hope that this climatic revelation of the irresponsible character of the committees' procedures will move the American people to action in defense of their liberties.

For half a century the late Stephen Wise was America's foremost rabbi and Judaism's proudest champion. Men of all faiths and creeds looked to him as one of the nation's most dauntless and effective foes of injustice and corruption where they appeared.

The late Rabbi [Judah] Magnes served with distinction first as rabbi of one of America's largest Reform congregations and later, after 1924 for a quarter of a century, as president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Both men were hailed the world over as among the most independent, courageous and moral figures of our generation. Both men, whose views frequently differed widely, took direction only from their own consciences and the deep religious and ethical principles by which they were motivated throughout their lives.

To charge them with having taken instructions from the Communist Party and having collaborated with it, is a contemptible and vile desecration of two of the most noble and revered names in American Jewish history.

“WHAT DID THEY DO TO THEM?”

*An interview with Mrs. Rosenberg, grief-stricken mother of Julius.
A loving, intimate account of Julius and of the Rosenberg family*

By Alice Citron

SOPHIE ROSENBERG, Julius Rosenberg's mother, is 65 years old. Her face is a lined, tired working class mother's face. Her story comes slowly. She starts to speak and her voice chokes with sobs as she cries out, "I'm alone! I'm alone! My children! What did they do to them? They loved each other so. They were so good. Look at them."

In a glass cabinet is a faded snapshot of Ethel and Julius. Mrs. Rosenberg found it recently in a wallet of Julie's. The picture is under lock and key; her most priceless possession. Julie is sitting on the grass grinning from ear to ear. Ethel is behind him resting on her knees. One arm lies on Julie's right shoulder, the other is flung across his chest. It is the face of an Ethel no one has ever seen in the press. This is Ethel in her young, untroubled love. This is Ethel before Michael was born.

"Julie was such a loving boy. His teachers liked him. He was smart in school. I never had trouble with him." The words come between moans. The memories of years gone by come back.

"My whole life I had trouble. When I was 14, I worked in a shop and we sweated plenty. My family dressed me up to look older. Would you believe I was only 14 when this picture was taken?"

No, it is not to be believed. The face before one looks more like a 20-year-old. There is the high, adult pompadour, long severe skirt that touches the floor and the stiff shirt-waist of the working class girl of 1902. Every immigrant's child in America has seen these pictures. They know Sophie's story. She worked from seven in the morning until six at night. In the immigrant's land of "milk and honey" she made eight dollars a week by sewing buttons on men's coats.

"Yes, eight dollars a week, and remember I had to be a fast worker to make that. I worked and worked to bring other members of my family to America."

The thought races through my mind: just like Jenny, my mother, my friends' mothers and thousands more never met.

"What about schooling?" I ask.

Angrily comes the reply. It's a long remembered hurt.

"School! School! I never had a chance to go. When I came home from work I had to sew for the rest of the family . . . blouses, skirts, everything. There was always something for me to do. I never rested."

AT 19 SOPHIE MARRIED HER FIRST AND LAST LOVE, HARRY. They lived in the crowded immigrants' slum . . . the east side. Harry was a dress operator. Sophie comments, "He became a shop chairman. The workers liked him because he stood up for them."

"We lived on Columbia Street. I'll never forget Columbia Street. Julius was four years old, then. We had a terrible apartment. The toilet was in the hallway, the ceiling was always coming down because the rain came in from the roof. It was steaming in the summer and freezing in the winter. Times were hard and everything seemed to happen."

"One day I was sitting outside on the sidewalk. Suddenly, I saw a crowd of people rush to see a car accident. I didn't want to see someone else's troubles. Someone screamed. 'Mrs. Rosenberg! It's Julie!' I still didn't understand. But someone took me by the arm and pulled me across the street. Julie, my baby, was all covered with blood. Such a pain came into my heart. I bent over my baby. The pain wouldn't leave me. Julie, Julie. . . ."



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in their young love (1942).

The terrible memory is so real it almost wipes out the agony of the present. The whole image is invoked through these gasps of remembered pain. Julie is lying in the gutter, a penny still clutched in his hand. The mother tries to hold onto him as the ambulance carries him away. The little boy's cries of "Mommy, mommy, don't leave me. Don't go away!" echo all about the room.

Shortly after this Mrs. Rosenberg gave birth to a still-born child. Still another baby was to die in its very infancy. Those were bad years for the needle trades workers. They were struggling desperately for the right to live, for food for their children. Julie's young boyhood was permeated with "Poppa's on strike" and all the misery it implied.

"So many times there wasn't a piece of bread in the house. My children had nothing. (There were five living ones.) I waited on long lines when the union gave out milk. I didn't want to borrow money so I became a janitor."

I strain to catch the phrases . . . "had to wash the stairs . . . make the hot water . . . shovel the snow . . . bitter year . . . bitter. . . ."

Our eyes meet and our heads nod in mutual understanding. We say almost in unison. "Those were terrible times."

This naked grief is unbearable and my eyes stray to the locked cabinet. I spot a child's text book, *Arithmetic by Grades, Fifth Year*. Was this Julie's school book? He must have been ten when he used it. As if in answer to these thoughts, Mrs. Rosenberg says, "I had another terrible scare with Julie. When he was ten years old, he came home from school one day with a white, white face. He was holding his stomach and crying. Momma, it hurts so badly I don't want to cry but it hurts. Do something, momma."

A smile flickers across "momma's" face. "You know, Julie thought his momma was magic. She could do anything; ease every hurt." Julie survived a ruptured appendix after many weeks of pain.

THE YEARS FLOW ON. JULIE MET ETHEL WHEN HE WAS 16. They become sweethearts and vow to marry when he finishes college. His older brother tried to interest him in pharmacy but his love was engineering. The locked cabinet



Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, mother of Julius, speaks at a Rosenberg rally at Union Square. Seated at her right is Mrs. Emily Alman, present executive secretary of the national Rosenberg committee; at right front is Rev. Amos Murphy, of Boston, and next to him is Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, who worked devotedly in the case.

viction was brought in on the same "not guilty" plea that Sobell entered—the following sentences were imposed:

John S. Farnworth got four to twelve years. Mikhail N. Gorin got six years. Hans H. Gros got ten years. Frances Gros got one and a half years. Franke Grote got 15 years. Kurt Molzahn got ten years. Hafis Salich got four years. Frederick W. Thomas got 16 years.

And notice these facts too. In the case of Frances and Hans Gros, as well as in the case of Kurt Molzahn, the sentence was a *wartime sentence*, and the beneficiary of the espionage charged was an *actual enemy of the United States*. Whereas in Sobell's case, the alleged espionage did *not* take place during wartime, and the alleged beneficiary was *not* a wartime enemy but a wartime *ally*! Yet the top sentence was ten years for Molzahn—while Sobell's was 30 years!

In the Frank Grote case (15 years), actual "intent to injure" the United States was charged and proven. But in the Sobell case, intent to injure the United States was not only unproven—it was *not even charged*!

In the Frederick W. Thomas case (16 years), Thomas was charged with being *the leader of a wartime ring for a wartime enemy*—which doesn't approximate the charge against Sobell in the slightest conceivable way.

And in the Heine case of wartime espionage, the average sentence imposed on defendants *who admitted their guilt*—who admitted, in short, committing espionage on behalf of a wartime enemy of the United States—the average sentence was 11 years.

Eleven years, then, the average sentence for people who admit espionage during wartime and on behalf of an enemy nation. Eight years, the average sentence for people who deny committing "ordinary" (i.e.—non-atomic) espionage—but are convicted nevertheless. But for Morton Sobell, who denies committing espionage, who is not even charged with intent to injure the United States—for Morton Sobell, 30 years!

When this and other points were submitted by Sobell's lawyers in argument for a reversal of the verdict and for reduction of sentence, the answer of the government attorneys was that Sobell showed "no remorse" for his crime.

Of course, the attorneys shot right back that Sobell had always insisted on his innocence and continues to do so to this day. How could he show remorse for a crime he denies ever having committed at all? On this the government has maintained an eloquent silence.

But if the government's criterion for a lower sentence is a display of penitence, how does it happen that the sentences of Grote, Molzahn, Thomas, Gros, etc. are each less than half of Sobell's, although none of them has ever "shown remorse," either?

Learned counsel for the prosecution has no comment.

What accounts for this double standard that is certainly without the slightest legal or moral validity? Again Judge Kaufman's statement before sentencing the Rosenbergs and Sobell supplies an answer: "It is so difficult to make people realize that this country is engaged in a life and death struggle with a completely different system."

Is this, then, the new yardstick for measuring length and severity of sentence? Is punishment now to be geared not to fit the crime but the time? And not so much the time, either—but a judge's illiterate comprehension of politics? Is Sobell to be buried alive, as the Rosenbergs have already been buried dead, to teach the American people to accept a world war against a "completely different system"?

Evidently this is what Kaufman believes, just as it was in President Eisenhower's stated reason for denying clemency to the Rosenbergs (his "army experience" taught him it was necessary to "make examples"!).

But it is not what Americans believe. It is not "equal justice under the law." It has no more resemblance to justice than a wolf has to a human being.

Human beings will ask: "Why 30 years for Sobell when no one else gets 30 years? Why Alcatraz for Sobell? Why torture for Sobell? Why pressure to lie or die?"

And if enough human beings ask the question they will not only find but create the answer—and it will be an answer that will vindicate the Rosenbergs and gain a new trial for Morton Sobell.

(Note: *The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case asks all Americans to urge Attorney General Brownell to remove Sobell from Alcatraz and agree to grant him a new trial.*)



THE MOTHER
By Charles White

THE FACTS ABOUT BIROBIDJAN

An authority tells the story of the history and resources of the Jewish Autonomous Region, which is very much alive and flourishing

By Andrew Rothstein

ANTI-Soviet propaganda in recent months has spread a lot of misinformation and confusion about the Jewish Autonomous Region in the USSR, commonly called Birobidjan from the name of its chief town.

The *Manchester Guardian* stated (January 15) that "an autonomous republic was established in 1928" in this area, but "the project died after a great deal of suffering."

Lord Vansittart wanted to know (same paper, January 20) why "the Jews were packed off to that horrible spot." Mr. Israel Cohen, a Zionist leader, asserted (January 22, same paper) that in May 1928, instructions were given for a "five year plan" of Jewish settlement there, "to be consummated by the proclamation of a Jewish Republic in 1933," but that the project was a "failure."

What are the facts behind these contradictory stories?

From the moment the Russian workers took power on November 7, 1917, the Jews of Russia were freed from their former persecution *wherever there was Soviet power*. That is a necessary reservation, for the working people, Jews among them, had to fight hard against the counter-revolutionary armies raised, equipped and financed by the British, French, American and other foreign invaders.

Two hundred thousand Jews were massacred in the Ukraine alone by the forces of General Denikin and other counter-revolutionary bandits.

But once the Red Army had triumphed, the Jews found all racial discrimination mercilessly punished by law, all occupations open to them, special facilities for retraining, education in their own language, public business done in Yiddish where they constituted a majority. Hundreds of thousands gradually entered industry. Over 200,000 settled on the land, whence they had been excluded for 40 years.

In December 1926, a Communist Party conference discussing how to resettle Jewish people who wished to go further afield than Byelorussia, Ukraine and Crimea—where unallotted lands were running short—recommended setting up "a Jewish autonomous territorial unit" somewhere else.

In the summer of 1927, two government commissions investigated possible areas for settlement, one on the Azov Sea in southeastern Russia, the other in the Far East where the rivers Bira and Bidjan flow into the mighty Amur river that marks the border between China and the USSR.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN is a noted British authority on the Soviet Union.

In March 1928, the presidium of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets decided in favor of the Far East, adding that, should compact settlement of this area by Jewish working people yield favorable results, "there should be envisaged the possibility of forming a Jewish national administrative unit in this territory."

Voluntary settlement began. It had many pioneering difficulties on the virgin soil at first; but by September, 1930, some 2,500 Jewish people were settled there—about 6 per cent of the population—and the next step was taken along the road cautiously marked out in 1928. A separate district of Birobidjan was set up.

The Jewish Region Is Set Up

In the summer of 1931, the authorities of the Russian Federation (the largest republic of the USSR and the one which includes Birobidjan) ordered plans to be drawn up with a view "to the formation, by the end of 1933, within the boundaries of the Birobidjan district, of a Jewish autonomous administrative territorial unit."

By May 1934, the Jewish settlers numbered about 10,000—about 20 per cent of the population—and on the 7th of that month the Jewish Autonomous Region was officially proclaimed.

Note that there was no "packing of the Jews": settlement was voluntary, whoever didn't like it could leave. Nor was there any mention of a "Jewish Republic" in any plan or law, although many gossips speculated about it. When Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin was questioned on it by American journalists in November 1933, he pointed out that this rested with the Jewish working people themselves.

At the January 1939, census the population was over 108,000,¹ more than half Jews. As an Autonomous Region, they had their own five deputies in the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament), and their own deputy in the single-chamber parliament of the Russian Federation. They elected their own Regional Soviet and the municipal authorities under it (town and rural Soviets and district Soviets).

Public business in municipal and government offices, the courts, schools, theaters, newspapers, etc., was conducted in Yiddish (in other languages as well, where the minority

¹ The present population is estimated to exceed 180,000.

nationalities needed it). Agriculture, industry, arts and sciences were rapidly developing.

But perhaps it has all "died" since then, as the hostile propagandists say?

Well, the Soviet school children's atlas (1949) showed the Jewish Autonomous Region still where it was; the Soviet elections in 1951 and 1952 found it still electing its deputies, and now, in 1953, there has appeared (in 300,000 copies) volume 15 of the new *Soviet Encyclopedia*—published at the height of the alleged "anti-Semitic campaign in the USSR"—which gives the complete and crushing reply to the rumor-mongers.

Here is the map, facing page 380, of the Jewish Autonomous Region itself—13,800 square miles of it, larger than Belgium or Holland, half as large again as Israel: with its two bigger towns Birobidjan and Obluchye, its nine industrial workers' settlements (there were six only ten years ago).

A Rich Land

Its five districts (one more than in 1942, showing more rural development): with its place-names showing Jewish influence, like Amurzet, Birofeld, Smidovich, Stalindorf, Waldheim; with its new 75-mile railway linking Birobidjan town with the Amur—built since Jewish settlement began, in addition to the 200-mile west-east stretch of the Trans-Siberian, running through the Region; with its "Warm Lake" health resort in the mountains at Kuldur.

In this "dead" territory there is mineral wealth such as many a state cannot boast—iron, brown coal, gold, asbestos, mica, graphite, marble and much else, all belonging to the people.

There are magnificent forests—Korean cedar, Manchurian walnut, Mongolian oak, cork tree and innumerable other species.

There is a wealth of fish, the valuable fur bearing animals in its woods (bear, ermine, racoon, Siberian squirrel, etc.) and fertile land (raising crops of wheat, rice, potatoes, sugar beet, flax, tobacco, soya, sago and numerous fruits and vegetables).

Above all the article tells us of what Jewish working people are making of these riches. There are more than 20 timber, wood-working, furniture and paper factories using the abundant forest resources.

There is a big textile factory at Birobidjan and many clothing, footwear and food processing factories scattered throughout the Region.

Its quarries and cement works supply building materials to the vast Khabarovsk Territory, of which the Region forms part, and fine marble from Birakan and Kuldur can be seen in the Moscow subway.

Ore-mining develops rapidly. Total output of industry in 1950 was more than ten times as large as in 1939.

The area under grain in 1951 was one-third larger than prewar, thanks to the progressive collective farmer; industrial crops were more than two-thirds larger.

Agriculture is almost completely mechanized. The cattle herd in 1951 was considerably greater than before the war. Bee-keeping is widespread, with an average honey yield of 130 pounds per hive, well above European averages.

Agricultural research stations, strongly supported by the collective farms, have produced valuable frost-resisting varieties of pears and apples, and the high-quality "Birobidjan" tomato. Two big canneries send the Region's excellent river fish all over the USSR.

All this brings revenue to the Region's budget—and the *Encyclopedia* article gives some idea of what this means for the people.

There are two regional newspapers, one in Yiddish and one in Russian, and four district papers. The Regional Library (80,000 volumes) bears the name of the famous Jewish writer Sholem Aleichem.

There are 142 primary and continuation schools and 18 ten-year (secondary) schools—in all, 30,000 school children and 2,000 in nursery schools. Eight young workers' schools cater for those who wish to take up a full secondary course again without leaving their jobs and there are eight technical colleges of various kinds.

Trade union and village clubs number 70 (there were 24 only five years ago); there are six Palaces of Culture and a Pioneer Palace and the Kaganovich Theater at Birobidjan (of which another article tells us) sets the standard for the amateur circles in the clubs.

In 1948 there were 29 libraries and one museum; today the *Encyclopedia* reports 37 libraries and two museums.

Statistics don't count? Rest assured that the anti-Soviet propagandists would quote them fast enough, if they showed decline instead of growth. But in point of fact the Jewish Autonomous Region, far from having "died," shows continuing health and growing strength.

Getting Down to Cases

THE campaign against the racist McCarran-Walter immigration act in the Los Angeles English-Jewish press got down to cases in August.

In its August 28 issue, the *B'nai B'rith Messenger* printed on its front page center a double column box entitled "It's Happening Here." This item was a letter from Morris Linn, of Los Angeles, who reports the outrageous case of his wife, Ethel, who was arrested for deportation under the racist act during the summer. The government charges that at some unspecified time since she was six she was a member of the Communist Party. The racist law does not require a Bill of Particulars, so Mrs. Linn has to shadow-box with a vague, unspecified charge to defend herself.

In the issue of August 28, the *California Jewish Voice*, through the column of its editor, Samuel B. Gach, indignantly reported that "a Los Angeles Jewish family, one of the finest and most meritorious," who remain anonymous, is being threatened with deportation for a technical visa violation.

The *Voice* is carrying on a fund-raising campaign for the defense of these victims of America's fascist law.

FIGHTING JIMCROW IN CLEVELAND

Relations of Negroes and Jews in the struggle to win democratic housing for Negroes. They must act jointly

By A. Strauss

Cleveland

TWENTY-ONE years ago a shameful agreement was concluded in Cleveland which prohibits "Negroes and other colored races from purchasing, renting or building homes in the Lee and Harvard districts" and provides that "none of the present occupants shall have the right to sell to Negroes or people of Negro origin."

Early in July a Jewish citizen, Richard G. Lepon, sold his house at 15508 Tolford Avenue to a Negro, Wendell Stewart. This is the first time a Negro family purchased a home in this neighborhood. Eighty per cent of the population consists of Slavs and Italians. Mr. Stewart is a well known Negro intellectual, whose family for generations has contained fighters for Negro rights.

As soon as it became known that the house was sold to a Negro family, the racists began a lynch agitation throughout the neighborhood. On the 10th of July the racists held a meeting at Sokol Hall under the sponsorship of the "Lee-Land Civic Council." Five hundred people attended. The speakers threatened to "get even" with the Jewish family which had sold the house and to prevent the Negro family from moving in. On the 11th of July, 50 racists held a demonstration in a lynch spirit at the Lepons' furniture store, where Richard Lepon is employed by his father. The police dispersed the "demonstration" and Mr. Lepon declared that he had received full cash payment for the house and that he would not yield to these racists running rampant. On the 14th, the Negro family moved into the house which was then guarded by the police 24 hours a day.

It has been revealed that at first the racists offered Mr. Lepon a large sum of money to void the contract. When he categorically refused—to his great honor—they went through with the demonstration.

A prominent Jewish leader who is an intimate friend of Mr. Stewart's, relates that 30 years ago his own father had the same trouble as the first Jew to move into the Shaker Heights neighborhood. At that time the racists tried everything. When his father refused to be frightened, they brought him into court. This beauti-

ful neighborhood now contains hundreds of Jewish families.

Negro Housing Conditions

It is enough to walk through the Negro section in Cedar Central and downtown Woodland Avenue, to see a frightful picture of racist discrimination against the Negro population, to see how people are actually forced to live under the most terrible conditions. During the Roosevelt years a number of housing projects were built which made it possible for several hundred Negro families to free themselves from the horrible slums. But it was only a drop in the ocean. The local Negro population doubled during the war years as thousands of Negroes came from the South to help build the arsenals which played a part in defeating the murderous enemy of all peoples—Hitlerism.

The local and national politicians promised that after the war, they would build large housing projects. But the plans remained on paper. Those that were built were for whites only. Negroes are not allowed to live in the new apartment houses or the new neighborhoods, including the Jewish neighborhoods such as South Euclid Heights and University Heights. Yes, it is also our fault and our misfortune, that the new Jewish neighborhoods are barred to Negroes.

To show you how this Hitlerite program works against the Negro people in Cleveland (and Cleveland is not an exception), we quote a few figures issued about a year ago by the local city government. During the last eight years, 80,000 new homes were built in Greater Cleveland. Of this total, only 200 homes were occupied by Negro families.

A prominent Negro leader points out: "The urgency of the Negro masses to free themselves from the horrible ghetto conditions is greater now than ever before. But the problem of discrimination affects not only the Negro masses; the struggle against this plague is in the direct interests of the whole people.

"Especially tragic is the lot of the Negro youth, which is hard working and cannot find a bit of free air to breathe. The parents of these young people deprive themselves of many necessities in order to

save enough money for homes in other neighborhoods, where their children may grow up a little freer. But then they come up against this hateful discrimination. First they must overpay for the right to buy a house (renting is out of the question). And when they do buy the house, they cannot get a mortgage, and the bank refuses a loan. That is the bitter lot of my people."

Negroes and Jews as Neighbors

The same Negro leader told me about important acts of solidarity on the part of some Jewish leaders and individuals, who have been helping morally and financially in the attempts of Negro workers to escape from the slums. This is good to hear, but on the other hand, much to our shame, we have witnessed disgraceful racism among some Jews who are victims of the poisonous propaganda which plays into the hands of the anti-Semites and strengthens the racists and Jew-baiters precisely in the Lee and Harvard area.

During the last six years Negro families have begun to move into the Kinsman section, which for 30 years was thickly populated by Jews and Italians. The new neighbors have improved and beautified the appearance of their homes. They have made every attempt to build the best relationships with their white neighbors. But as soon as a Negro family moves into a given street, the evil whispering campaign begins—and then the "emigration" to other "pure white" sections. And this, much to our sorrow, is true even among a large number of prosperous and "intelligent" Jewish workers, many of them related to European Jews who perished in Hitler's gas-chambers. Among these workers too, are many who have fought through the years for trade unionism and other progressive movements, including struggles against fascism and racism! This is happening not only in the Kinsman section, but also in another neighborhood, 123rd Street, which for many years was settled by compact masses of Jews.

On the other hand, it is a fact that in both neighborhoods hundreds of Jewish and Negro families are living together as neighbors and can relate many episodes of good neighborliness and brotherly solidarity. The Jewish trade union progressives and the leaders of the progressive Jewish movement in Cleveland are carrying on a struggle against the deadly poison of anti-Negro and anti-Jewish racism. In both these neighborhoods the progressive Jewish cultural movement in the schools, choruses, and fraternal organizations, is active.

We recently visited the home of Mr. and Mrs. Wendell Stewart and Mr. Stewart's mother.

"We are thankful to the Lepons, a Jewish family, who did not yield to those who refuse to live with the American Constitution!" said Mr. Stewart. "We worked very hard to save the money for a better home. We came here only with intentions of good relations with our neighbors. Regardless of the shameful provocations of some misguided individuals, who apparently have never read the Constitution, we are pleased to report that since we have moved into this house, we have received expressions of support and friendship from a good number of our neighbors, expressions which we value very highly."

Support Against Jimcrow

Mr. Stewart showed me a heap of telegrams containing greetings and support from hundreds of white and Negro citizens of Cleveland and from several states throughout the country. A group of Negro veterans of World War II wrote him that they "were prepared to come and guard his house as long as necessary!" Similar offers came from various Negro and white organizations and individuals in Ohio. A Jewish merchant, Joseph M. Goldwasser, both personally and through the local Negro weekly *Call and Post*, offered his services to protect the property and sent a sum of money toward the expenses of the fight against the racists.

Members of the United Electrical Workers Union who live in the neighborhood visited the Stewart family and offered moral and material help. Members of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and readers of the *Morning Freiheit* as well as members of B'nai B'rith who live in the area came to see the Stewarts and expressed their warm solidarity and practical cooperation.

The racists, however, continue their incitement. They sent delegations to Mayor Thomas Burke and demanded that he remove the police guard. In reply to the first delegation the mayor stated that if anything happened to the Negro family, he would hold each of them responsible and that the police guard would not be removed.

On the 13th of July the mayor, together with the Director of the Community Relations Board and the secretary of the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation held an unusual conference with the representatives of the racists. Such conferences were held daily. Although the mayor was adamant in his stand of not evicting the Negro family from its home, he began to waver on the demand that the neighborhood draw up a "restrictive" covenant relating to further sale or rental of homes in the area.

On the 21st of July the mayor appeared at a meeting of 500 neighbors at the

Gracemont School. He and several members of the Community Relations Board were greeted by catcalls and racist epithets reminiscent of the infamous meetings of the Coughlinites and the Nazi Bund. In his remarks the mayor declared that the Constitution guarantees everyone the right to live where he chooses. He deflated the false "theory" that "real estate values fall when Negroes move into a neighborhood." "Keep your houses in good shape, and the price will not fall!" he told his listeners.

At the same time, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded by the racists on the question of a "restrictive covenant," thereby playing into the hands of the very people whom he had castigated.

Common Action Against Racism

The officers of the Jewish Community Federation, who work together with the leaders of the Negro organizations, are taking an active part in the struggle against racism. They are, however, under the strong influence of the rich real estate operators in the Jewish Federation.

The leaders of the Jewish community, together with those of the Negro community, immediately began a struggle for the right of the Negro family to move into its new home. The Jewish Federation helped to organize an atmosphere of good neighborliness among the Jewish population. At first the Jewish population did not allow itself in any way to be hitched to the wagon of the racists. Now, however, we find in the leadership of the racist committee two Jewish lawyers and an active worker of B'nai B'rith. Their names appeared in the local press: Davis, Cohn, and Moskovitch. They are participating, ostensibly, as neighbors in the community.

The question arises: in whose name do they speak? Have they listened to the opinions of other Jews in the community? They are certainly members of the Jewish Federation or of synagogues or of Jewish organizations. Why doesn't the Jewish Federation call these individuals to account? Why are they not informed that the behavior of these Jewish partners of the racists is not in accord with the official position of the Jewish Federation?

A prominent leader of the Federation tearfully confessed to me (and he himself is a fighter against racism) that broad sections of the Jewish masses are poisoned with racism. Therefore he feels that it is necessary to move slowly. "We need a process of gradual education." The old story.

We know that in the Jewish Federation, just as in the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress, there are elements who would like to rid Cleveland of

racism once and for all. The Jewish Community Federation has on its staff young and energetic forces who have gained a wealth of experience in the fight against McCarthyism and race discrimination. Cleveland could really become an example in the struggle against racism.

The Negro masses are full of anger against the racists. They know that these Jewish individuals do not represent the Jewish people. They know that the broad sections of the Jewish masses, which suffer from anti-Semitism and discrimination, are their brothers in the historic battle for equal rights.

The Jewish Community Federation, which represents the entire Jewish community, has never before faced such a serious test of leading an uncompromising struggle, together with the Negro and democratic forces, against racist provocation.

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RESISTANCE AGAINST BOOK-BURNING

A Letter by Morris U. Schappes

We print the following letter by our fellow-editor Morris U. Schappes to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as part of our continuing battle against McCarthyism.—Eds.

July 18, 1953

Secretary John Foster Dulles
Department of State
Washington, D. C.
My dear Sir:

For several months now I have refrained from writing to you about the status of my book, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, in relation to the United States Information Service Library in Tel Aviv, from which it was removed on April 3, 1953, the day after I testified under subpoena before the McCarthy Committee. Now that Dr. Robert L. Johnson, head of your International Information Administration, has issued the statement of policy on the purpose and principles of selection of books in these libraries, I am impelled to explain why my book should be restored to our library in Tel Aviv (and wherever else it may have been). Failure to do so would lead to the conclusion that in this as in other respects your Department continues to be intimidated and duped by McCarthy—but I hope no such conclusion will be necessary.

Dr. Johnson wrote the following (according to the text in the *New York Times* of July 9, 1953): "Basically, the yardstick for selection is the usefulness of a particular book in meeting the particularized needs of a particular area. . . . We must begin with the content of a book. . . . Each book is to be considered on its merits. . . ."

It was somewhat reassuring to learn that it was the book itself and not the author (who is himself not on the library shelf) that was to be judged. This approach contrasted with the report in the *New York Times* of June 22, 1953 that my book had been banned because I had exercised my constitutional right not to discuss my political affiliations, if any, with the McCarthy Committee.

Dr. Johnson, however, went even further, declaring that books even by "Communists or Communist sympathizers" would or could be included, provided the book "affirmatively serves the ends of democracy."

That my book, a documentary history

of the Jews in the United States, meets "the particularized needs" of the people of Tel Aviv, needs no argument. But what of the "content" and the "merits" of the book and its capacity for affirmatively serving the ends of democracy?

Since the McCarthy Committee so conducted the hearing on April 2, 1953, that neither the "content" nor the "merits" of the book was discussed, the printed record of that hearing would be of no help in deciding this point. Permit me therefore to quote from some of the exhibits bearing upon the book that are now part of the files of the Committee.

The first piece of evidence introduced against the book by Committee counsel, Roy M. Cohn, was a long, hostile criticism in a scholarly journal, *American Jewish Archives*, June 1952, pp. 88-99. This article, together with my rejoinder in the next issue of the same journal, January 1953, pp. 22-33, are both among the exhibits, but let me quote this one passage from Dr. Ellis Rivkin's attack on the book: he refers to "the hundreds of passages in which Mr. Schappes sings the praises of democracy, progress, freedom, and liberty. There can be little doubt that the average reader will come away from the volume feeling not only like a proud, democratic American, but also anxious to contribute to American democratic ideals as a progressive Jew" (p. 89). If, according to this opponent, my book is so affirmatively capable of serving the ends of democracy in our country, will it do so any the less in Tel Aviv—or anywhere else where our government may have a library?

As to the "content" and "merits" of my book, I would refer you to the dozen or more reviews in scholarly and general periodicals that I succeeded in having accepted among the exhibits in the Committee files. Among them are items from *New York History*, January 1951; *The American Historical Review*, July 1951 and April 1952; *American Jewish Congress Weekly*, March 1951; *The American Hebrew*, January 5, 1951; *The Jewish Exponent*, Philadelphia, December 15, 1950; *The Sentinel*, Chicago, May 22, 1952; *The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, December 22, 1950; the *Boston Jewish Advocate*, December 28, 1950; etc.

I should like, however, to quote from a couple of reviews, selecting only those written by persons that have met the ap-

proval of the McCarthy Committee, of its counsel, Roy Cohn, and of its advisers. As an Appendix to the printed record of my hearing, there is a "selected bibliography" on American Jewish history. This bibliography was introduced at the close of my hearing by Mr. Cohn with the comment that "we can forward it to the State Department, and maybe they can look at some of those books and see if they would not better suit this particular purpose" in Tel Aviv than my book does (pages 155 and 169, *State Department Information Program—Information Center, Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, 83 Cong., 1st Sess., Part 2*). Mr. Cohn obtained this bibliography by writing, not to the scholarly organization in the field, the American Jewish Historical Society, but to the American Jewish Committee, which, to say the least, is not an organization of scholars with authority in such matters.

Be that as it may, the American Jewish Committee list, approved by the McCarthy Committee, names the works of eight historians. Now it so happens that three of these have expressed their judgment on my books and I commend these judgments to your attention as evidence of the high merits of the book. The first is Dr. Lee M. Friedman, who, while president of the American Jewish Historical Society, reviewed my work in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. 41, April 1951,

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pp. 415-418. He wrote: "Morris U. Schappes has long been known as an accurate and indefatigable researcher and an original and successful investigator in the field of American Jewish history. There are few today so competent as he to undertake so laborious, demanding, and time-consuming a task as is inherent in such a compilation with each document necessitating an illuminating introductory explanation and copious footnotes. Only one who has himself attempted original research in this field can appreciate how well and successfully he has accomplished his task of assembling and editing this vast compilation as a source of American history. . . . On the whole, this is a real contribution to American Jewish history."

The second is Lee J. Levinger, historian and rabbi, whose review appeared in the *Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. 42, September 1952, pp. 109-111. Dr. Levinger called my work "more than a pioneer effort; it is a valuable aid to every student of the subject. . . . On the whole, the reception of this selected mass of factual material on the American Jewish past must be one of gratitude."

The third is the Rev. Dr. D. de Sola Pool, vice president of the American Jewish Historical Society and rabbi of the New York Congregation Shearith Israel, the oldest in our country. Dr. Pool has called mine "a work of primary importance. It gathers together and makes available for the general public source material which is ordinarily very widely scattered in not readily accessible places. . . . To this classified material Mr. Schappes has added valuable bibliographical and explanatory notes, making every student of American Jewish history doubly indebted to him."

Finally, Dr. Friedman's successor as president of the American Jewish Historical Society, Professor Salo W. Baron of Columbia University, and a scholar also endorsed by the American Jewish Committee, reviewed my book in *Jewish Social Studies*, January 1951, pp. 77-80. Dr. Baron wrote that "all students of American history, moreover, will be grateful to Mr. Schappes for this handy compilation which will greatly facilitate the study of American Jewish history, much neglected in both Jewish schools and general colleges. . . . The author reveals considerable erudition in the vast literature in general American history as well as in the specialized monographs on some of its Jewish phases. . . . It certainly is one of the major contributions in this field to appear in recent years."

Now whatever incidental criticism these and other reviewers may have had of my book, it is obvious that on its merits they regarded it as of value to all interested in

the subject—and I believe that none would say that its value is limited only to the American reader and is not to be extended to the reader in Tel Aviv.

If additional evidence on the merits of the book were wanted, I should merely list the following: the book was recommended in the organ of the National Jewish Welfare Board, *In Jewish Bookland*, March 1951; it was adopted as its selection for June 1951 by the Jewish Book Guild; it was recommended by the Education Department of Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization, in its book list for June 1951; it is listed in the International Missionary Bibliography published in the *International Review of Missions*, London, Summer 1951; it is recommended in a survey of books of the year in the Catholic weekly, *America*, November 24, 1951; it has just been included in a very select Reading List issued by the American Jewish Tercentenary Committee, April 1953.

Judged by its content, on the merits, and by the contribution it can make to democracy, this book, it seems to me, should be restored to the shelves of the U. S. I. S. Library in Tel Aviv. It was undoubtedly selected in the first place because of the reputation it had won in scholarly and general circles. It was withdrawn only under the pressure of a McCarthyism that the American people have come to loathe.

I trust you will not sanction the disservice the McCarthy Committee is doing to our country. To let the McCarthy Committee become the censor of what is included in our libraries anywhere is to destroy confidence in these libraries as anything but crude propaganda agencies. I know it is so in the case of my particular book, as I suspect it is of most of those under attack.

Very truly yours,

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

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THE EDITORS

OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

Hot Issues Three

With or without heat waves the summer months saw the JEWISH LIFE office busy as a bee-hive. Generally the summer lull in activities also affects publications and the result is often pretty routine issues. But life does not permit of such laxity anymore—and we feel that your magazine lived up to the demands of the moment with three historic issues. In July it was the devastating expose of "McCarthy and Anti-Semitism" by Charles R. Allen, Jr. and Arthur J. Dlugoff. In August it was 15 rich pages on the "Legacy of the Rosenbergs," and in September the publication of the damning "Memorandum of the ADL" and the "Open Letter to the Jewish People of the United States" plus the testimony of editors Harap and Schappes before the witch-hunt committees. Three issues that are invaluable weapons against McCarthyism.

For those who haven't been on the ball during the summer months the opportunity still exists to bring these three great issues to more people. Send for copies—especially of the all-important September issue expising how leaders of the ADL, American Jewish Committee and Jewish War Veterans are playing footsie with the *Gauleiters* on the witch-hunt committees. Members of the above-mentioned organizations and community leaders should be reached with the "confidential" memorandum of their leaders. Every Jewish community in the United States should reverberate with protest against this arch-betrayal of Jewish interests as well as the interests of our whole nation. JEWISH LIFE readers have the opportunity to bring the facts to the people by spreading the magazine among them. Give the leaders in your community the September issue (or the special reprint of the "Open Letter") and ask for their statement on the offer of the ADL-AJC-JWV leaderships to act as *Mosrim* for the witch-hunters. The ADL memorandum and the "Open Letter" have been reprinted in a four-page folder for wide distribution. Write for copies. They sell at 2 cents each.

California Report

Manager Lester Blickstein returned recently from an exciting trip for JEWISH LIFE in California. The remainder of this column was offered to Lester for a short

account of his trip. He accepted the invitation so here goes!

"My tour of California was both exciting and heart warming. The hospitality shown me by the people of the West Coast was a demonstration of what our magazine means to them. At every meeting people approached me and told me how they look forward to each issue of JEWISH LIFE and how that which they learned from the magazine was being translated into action in their everyday activities.

"The Los Angeles Jewish Life Committee under the leadership of its dynamic secretary, Rickie Roth, di da magnificent job in organizing the tour in that city. I spoke at 15 meetings there which included talks to Negro leaders, youth, trade-union members, fraternal organizations and several large public gatherings. At the meeting with Negro leaders I was told of many incidents of how JEWISH LIFE plays a role in the Negro community.

The Hugh Gordon bookshop in that community raised its sale of JEWISH LIFE from 15 to 65 copies a month and is looking forward to much larger circulation. Similar stories of the growth of our magazine and the influence it is developing among larger sections of the population, were recounted to me at every meeting.

"As usual L. A. fulfilled the financial quota it set for itself and now pledges to do big things in its circulation drive. It seemed to me that there is such a reservoir of good will for our magazine in L. A. that I am certain there will be quite an increase in circulation there in the next few months.

"In the northern part of the state, I spoke at five meetings: three in San Francisco, one in Petaluma and one in Berke-

ley. There too I found great interest and desire to increase the readership of our magazine. The results there were good and I received pledges that they would increase their efforts on behalf of JEWISH LIFE.

"Thank, California, for your hospitality and wonderful resistance to fascism and war."

How to do It

To stimulate the circulation of our fighting mag among more people we are starting a big subscription campaign on October 1st to last until New Years Day 1954. We are out to get 2,000 subscriptions and to multiply the bundle orders by many times. Therefore, this is the signal to all Jewish Life Committees and individual readers to get to work at once. Let's make sure that every friend, acquaintance, fellow member of our organization or union, and relative receives JEWISH LIFE. Prizes will be presented to those who get subs. To work!

Book-burning Note

Fellow-editor Morris U. Schappes wrote a letter to Secretary of State Dulles demanding that his banned "Documentary History of the Jew in the United States" be returned to the library shelves. Read it on page 27 of this issue. It is interesting to note that at least three English-Jewish publications have printed items on Schappes' letter. These were the Brooklyn *Jewish Examiner*, the *American Jewish World* (Minneapolis and S. Paul) and the *Detroit Jewish News*. If readers come across news items on the Schappes letter, please send clips to our office.

The news in *The American Jewish World* prompted one soured "historian" to write a letter (published August 21) attacking Schappes as being much more dangerous than McCarthy. Which only emphasizes the state of degeneracy reached by some fearful intellectual souls whose good sense and decency have been polluted by McCarthyism.

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

bury Tales) which originated in the British Broadcasting Corporation, was protested by Samuel Scheiner, executive secretary of the Minnesota Jewish Council, late in August. Protests to the BBC office (630 Fifth Ave., N.Y.C.) against this play are asked.

A shocking vandalism was perpetrated on a synagogue in North Winnipeg, Canada, in Mid-August by a group of children between five and ten years old. Considerable damage was done to religious objects.

On the eve of an agreement to build United States air and naval bases in Spain, pro-fascist Senator Pat McCarran, an ardent Franco admirer, was awarded a high Spanish honor by the Spanish ambassador on August 25.

Federal law requires that all government contracts be fulfilled under no-discrimination employment conditions. This means that all government crop loans must contain an FEPC clause. When this was announced in August, Dixiecrat Governor James F. Byrnes (recently appointed UN delegate over widespread protests) and other Dixiecrats asserted that the FEPC clause would be struck out of crop loan contracts. On August 28, Byrnes applied to President Dwight Eisenhower to rescind this clause. On September 4, the Agriculture Department announced that it had withdrawn the FEPC requirement from such contracts. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People demanded that President Eisenhower ask for the resignation of Agriculture Secretary Ezra T. Benson. Benson is still in the cabinet.

The Congressional Committee appointed by President Eisenhower in April to investigate the racist Walter-McCarran Law with a view to revision and headed by McCarthyite Senator Arthur V. Watkins, recommended in its report late in July that no changes be sought in the fascist immigration law. Senator Herbert H. Lehman in mid-August asked the President "not to be swayed" by this report. Late in July Senator Pat McCarran said after a conference with the President that the latter would not lead a drive to revise the law.

The tremendous demand for *The World of Sholem Aleichem*, a dramatization of material from Sholem Aleichem and I. L. Peretz made by Arnold Perl

which ran for a few weeks last spring, caused the reopening of that magnificent production for an 11-week run at the Barbizon-Plaza Theater in New York. The New York drama reviewers praised the show very highly. It is directed by Howard Da Silva and contains an all-star cast including Da Silva, Morris Carnovsky, Ruby Dee, Jack Gildford and others.

EUROPE

A rest-home at Marianske Lazne in Czechoslovakia was named the "Rosenberg Hotel" in July after Ethel and Julius Rosenberg at a ceremony after which a telegram protesting the murder of the Rosenbergs was sent to the United States Embassy at Prague. . . . One of three summer camps organized by the Central Jewish Consistory of Bulgaria was named the "Ethel and Julius Rosenberg Camp. . ." Streets, avenues, quais, squares and a housing project have been named after Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in the following cities and towns in various part of France: Saint-Denis, Tremblay-les-Genesses, Givors, Estangel, Fraisses, Bagneux, Arbervilliers.

A collection of some 10,000 proverbs and sayings from Bulgaria and Turkey has been made by the Jewish Scientific Institute at Sofia.

Dimitroff Prizes for 1952 were awarded in Bulgaria in July to two Jewish figures, Anshl Vagenshtein and Haim Oliver, for a film made by them.

The Jewish Music Ensemble of Wrocław, comprising over 100 instrumentalists and choral singers, went on tour in the Polish rural districts in August. . . . Hundreds of Jews attended the tenth anniversary of the Bialystok Ghetto Uprising, which took place on August 16, 1943, and special broadcasts on the heroic battle were given over the Polish radio. . . . A number of Polish Jewish youth are presently studying at the Moscow University.

The opening of a rebuilt synagogue was celebrated in East Berlin on August 31.

Renazification notes . . . Dr. Herbert Dittman, who had been removed as head of the West German Foreign Office personnel department because of his nazi background, was appointed consul-general at Hong-Kong. Dittman had been a senior officer of the foreign ministry under the nazis. . . . Two former Gestapo officials responsible for the deportation and death

of Jews under Hitlerism were freed by a court at Offenbach, near Frankfurt, early in August. . . . It was reported in mid-August that the West German Bundestag had failed to pass a bill which would have made it possible to prosecute dissemination of anti-Semitic incitement. . . . About 600 Jews in West Germany's last DP camp at Föhrenwald, near Munich, had returned from Israel, many illegally, after having failed to get jobs there. They are now resisting attempts of the Bavarian government forcibly to deport them.

Robert Lehr, formerly a high nazi official and recipient of a medal from Hitler, who is at present interior minister in the Adenauer government, is reported to have delivered a speech before the veterans of Hitler's "Afrika Corps" in Hanover in August at which he called for a fight for the "great German soldier tradition" under Adenauer.

ISRAEL

Living costs in Israel rose in July by 100 per cent over September 1951, according to official government figures.

Dr. Shmuel Elyashiv, former Israeli ambassador to the Soviet Union, is returning to Moscow following resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Twenty young Jews who had been in Israel for three years, left Haifa to return to Hungary in mid-August. Expenses were paid by the Hungarian Consulate in Tel Aviv.

Thirteen young Israelis were sentenced on August 25 to from one to 12 years imprisonment for participation in a terrorist organization responsible for many acts of terror. The court considered after a seven-week trial that the group was guilty of the bombing of the Czech legation, fire at the Soviet legation and a Soviet bookshop and probably also the bombing of the Soviet legation that led the Soviet Union to sever diplomatic relations and probably the assassination of Count Folke Bernadotte, UN mediator, in 1948. The group was made up of former Stern gang terrorists and fanatically Orthodox young people.

The Knesset on August 27 passed a law continuing rabbinical control of marriage and divorce. The law was opposed by the Communist Party and Mapam. The law gives the Rabbinical Courts jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce of Jews. This means that all litigation on marital matters are undertaken in the Rabbinical Courts. The law in effect perpetuates the situation existing under the British Mandate.

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 "Project X"—Jan., 9; Sept., 13
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MORRIS SHAFRITZ

The Philadelphia Jewish Life Committee has suffered an irreplaceable loss in the sudden, tragic death of Brother Morris Shafritz in the prime of life and activity. He died of a cerebral hemorrhage on September 10 at the age of 43.

Brother Shafritz was an effective, cheerful, tireless worker for a number of cultural and community organizations. He sparked our work for JEWISH LIFE and translated his awareness of the magazine's importance into activity which gave others the same conviction. It was his cordial but insistent work which gradually brought others to the realization that JEWISH LIFE was a weapon in the fight for progress.

To his grieving family we can only say: Morrie will always be remembered with honor. In his name we will carry forward the worth which gave purpose to his dreams and meaning to his life.

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