

# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

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## *Warsaw Ghetto Uprising . . . 10 pages*

### **PEACE AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY . . .**

*by Louis Harap*

### **JEWS AND THE JEFFERSONIAN**

**MOVEMENT . . .** *by Morris U. Schappes*



# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

... The New York Jewish Conference held a forum late in February at which Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation*, proposed setting up "committees of correspondence" to combat the attack on civil liberties.

**The red smear** against Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes by professional anti-communist Benjamin Gitlow last summer before the Velde Committee which aroused the broadest protests, was repeated on March 3 by this same character at the "trial" of Ben Gold, fur union president, on the charge of perjury in signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. (Gold had publicly resigned from the Communist Party in 1950 before signing.)

**In a press** interview on February 28, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt reported that she has been receiving more anti-Semitic literature in the mails recently than in many years. When asked what organizations she regarded as the greatest threat to the country today, she replied, "McCarthy."

**Negro and Jewish** organizational representatives testified at the long-delayed hearings before the Senate Labor Committee on the Ives FEPC bill in the last week of February. A. Philip Randolph, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told the committee that Jim-crow hiring exists in every federal agency and department, including the White House. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, told the committee that racial discrimination in jobs is increasing as unemployment grows. Representatives of the National Community Relations Advisory Council (NCRAC), coordinating agency of major Jewish bodies, the Anti-Defamation League and the National Council of Jewish Women were among the groups urging passage of the bill. President Eisenhower made his position on FEPC quite clear at his press conference on March 3 when he said that he opposed compulsory or punitive enforcement of FEPC laws.

## EUROPE

**The French** Jewish Committee to Combat German Rearmament, a broad group recently formed including all elements in French Jewry, early in January

sent a message to the Berlin Conference warning against the "danger of a remilitarization of Germany in any form whatsoever."

**News of Soviet Jews** ... *Soviet Culture* of February 9 reported that Venyamin Isakovitch Zalsman-Nekhindov, actor at the Pushkin Dramatic Theater at Krasnoyarsk, was awarded the title of "Merited Artist of the RSFSR" (Russian Federated Republic) on February 5. ... *Pravda* announced on December 19, 1953, awards for research in chemistry and technical sciences by the USSR Academy of Sciences. Among those honored were E. Ye. Vainshtein and M. M. Kokhana "for working out methods for quantitative X-ray spectrum analysis in heavy metals"; M. I. Yelinson and G. A. Bernshevsky for invention of new devices, and E. A. Neyerovich as co-author "of a new work method in underground gasification of coal."

**Ruben Avramov Levi**, a member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, was elected in February as Bulgaria's Minister of Culture by the National Assembly on nomination of Prime Minister Vulko Chevenkov.

**Anti-Semitism** is being used as a weapon in the fight against Mau Mau. From London came the report in February from the Board of Deputies of British Jews that the notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, was published in Nairobi, Kenya, as "evidence" of Jewish support for the Mau Mau movement.

**Renazification notes** ... Dr. Erich Mix, who had been mayor of Wiesbaden during the Nazi regime and is now a member of the "Free Democratic" Party, was elected mayor of the city in February. ... A neo-Nazi party, the "German Socialist Workers' Party," was given permission recently to bring out a newspaper, *Nationaler Beobachter*, which has a strong resemblance to Goebbels' *Voelkischer Beobachter*. ... The opening night in the British sector of Berlin of *Stars Over Columbo*, a movie made by Veit Harlan, Nazi director of the anti-Semitic *Jew Sues* under Hitler, was greeted by protests by students and the Jewish community that were broken up by police and riot squads. Students and protesters in the audience shouted "Down with Harlan" and made

it impossible for the film to go on until police cleared the theater. The Berlin branch of the Federation of German Trade Unions has demanded banning of all films by Harlan. One sidelight: a Jewish movie-owner in West Berlin sees no reason why he should not exhibit the film.

## ISRAEL

**Of the 10,347** immigrants who entered Israel in 1953, the Jewish Agency announced in February, about half came from North Africa, 2,790 from Asian countries, 1,000 from Eastern Europe, over 700 from South Africa and about 700 from Western Europe, including 140 from Britain.

**Sixty-nine Rumanian** Jews left Israel for Rumania late in January. Their transportation was paid by the Rumanian government. The Rumanian legation in Tel Aviv says that about 2,000 more have registered to return to Rumania and about 200 a month will depart.

**A jingoistic call** for a "march on Suez" was made by the largest afternoon paper in Tel Aviv, *Maariv*, on February 26. "Israel can mop up the small Egyptian garrison in Gaza and reach the Suez," the paper blusters.

**Negotiations continue** for increasing trade between Israel and the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Israel trade representatives in Moscow have sent word back that the Soviet Union is interested in trade on a large scale.

**A financial crisis** at the Hebrew University at Jerusalem is so grave that the university may have to shut down unless the government gives help.

## Jewish Life

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# From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

## AT HOME

**Resistance notes . . .** The American Jewish Congress on March 1 called upon the House Judiciary Committee, which is considering the law to legalize evidence obtained by wire-tapping, to reject all bills that ease restraints on wire-tapping and to outlaw all wire-tapping altogether. . . . An Institute on Civil Liberties comprising a series of four conferences on various aspects of the threat to civil liberties is being held February-March under the auspices of the American Jewish Congress with Prof. Horace M. Kallen, distinguished philosopher and vice president of the AJ Congress, as moderator. . . . In a Purim article published in *Opinion* (February-March), "More Dangerous than Hamanism," Rabbi Morton M. Ber- man, of Chicago, and a vice president of the American Jewish Congress, strongly criticised the American Jewish Committee for "the unsavory business of . . . flirtation with Rep. Velde and his committee. . . . This is truly business of a dangerous character to the cause of religious freedom. . . . Actually what they did was to help rescue the fast-vanishing respectability of Illinois' lesser McCarthy and that of his committee." . . . The annual meeting of the New York Board of Rabbis early in February passed resolutions commending individuals and groups who have "resisted the tide of pressures by extremists threatening to curtail civil liberties"; urging on Congress improvement of investigative procedures to guarantee basic rights, and urging replacement of the McCarran-Walter law with the Lehman-Celler bill. . . . The 20th annual meeting of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council on January 21 expressed vigorous opposition to inquisitorial congressional committees which make irresponsible attacks on individuals and condemned the "iniquities and injustices" of the McCarran-Walter law. . . . Seventeen leading Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis late in February signed a petition sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee in which they denounce informers before McCarthyite committees as guilty of obvious perjury in many cases and urge that the subcommittee on civil rights hold hearings on the activities of these informers with a view to offering legislation to protect innocent Americans against them. Among the signers were Rabbi David J. Seligson, president of the New York Board of Rabbis, and Rabbi Leo Jung, of New York.

(Continued on page 32)



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# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## PASSOVER GREETINGS

**T**HE Warsaw Ghetto Uprising broke out on the first day of Passover in 1943. The Exodus from Egypt, which the Jews celebrate on Passover, and the Uprising were great liberating actions in the history of the Jewish people: the first saved the Jews from the oppression of the Pharaohs; the second was the supreme act of defiance of the nazis that was at the same time a grim affirmation of life in death. So the joy of Passover is now mingled with the heroism of the Uprising.

This year Passover is celebrated on April 18. In this year of McCarthyism it will be a joyous reassertion of the will to freedom and the invincibility of life over the tyrants who would destroy life. We wish our readers a happy Passover!

## AMNESTY — BLOW AT McCARTHYISM

**I**N this time of rising resistance to McCarthyism our thoughts turn to those Americans who have been deprived of freedom in the physical sense, those who are imprisoned for thinking un-McCarthyite thoughts. We refer to those jailed under the Smith Act, those earliest victims of McCarthyism who foretold in their defense that the thought-controllers did not aim only at Communists, but at all those who dared to advocate ideas to the left of McCarthyites. And Supreme Court Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas also warned against the danger to the First Amendment in their dissenting opinions in the first Smith act case. Since the Communist leaders were imprisoned, the fascist-like attack has moved relentlessly against liberals, Democrats and even Republicans in the highest places. These attacks form a continuous web of fascist action with the Smith act trials. As for the Jewish people, when the fascists move on the people, anti-Semitism is not far behind.

What happens to the Smith act victims is therefore of essential importance to the fight against McCarthyism. You cannot have repression against Communists and McCarthy-labelled "communists" and freedom for the rest of the people. The growing movement against McCarthyism needs therefore to turn its attention to the question of demanding not only proper treatment of Smith act victims as political prisoners, but also amnesty for them. The reports indicate that those jailed have been objects of discriminatory treatment. The case of Philip Frankfeld, of the Baltimore group, imprisoned in Atlanta Penitentiary, is one of the worst. He was thrown into the "hole" on charges of "preaching Communism" to his fellow-prisoners, which Frankfeld denies. There he contracted an eye disease last December that was improperly and tardily treated so that he now has virtually lost sight of one eye.

But most of the Smith act prisoners suffer one or another form of discrimination and hardship. Many are placed in prisons far distant from their families. They are restricted unduly in their correspondence, their reading matter, the allowance of "good time" that may be credited to earlier departure from prison; they are not given earned parole. In addition, the President made another threat of flagrant persecution, the proposal to deprive those convicted under the Smith act of citizenship.

A broad campaign for treatment as political prisoners of these targets of McCarthyism is long overdue. More than this, a loud outcry against their imprisonment altogether—a demand for amnesty—needs to be made, particularly by labor organizations. This is a vital sector on the battle against McCarthyism that can be neglected no longer.

## TRAVELS OF A LIE

**T**HIS particular lie started in a front page headline in the *New York Times* of February 18. "Malenkov Link to 1953 Plot on Doctors Held Confirmed," said the head to a story by Harry Schwartz, anti-Soviet sleuth. What support did the story contain for this most serious charge? A careful reading of the story revealed no confirmation whatever. It seems that Semyon D. Ignatiev, who had been Minister of State Security when the false charges had been made against the Soviet doctors in January 1953, was recently named to a not very high post of first secretary of the Communist Party in the Bashkir Autonomous Region in the Urals. Ignatiev had been removed as secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the post he held in April 1953, when the falsity of the charges against the Moscow doctors was announced, for "political blindness" and "gullibility" in connection with those charges. To the eager Mr. Schwartz the recent assignment of Ignatiev to a post in the Communist Party of a small Autonomous Region "confirms" Malenkov's implication in the affair.

But Schwartz' logic escapes us completely. The only thing that this news proves to us is that Ignatiev is now being permitted to rehabilitate himself after an extremely serious manifestation of "political blindness" and "gullibility"—not implication in the plot. Nor can we see how any reasonable, honest person can derive any other conclusion, let alone "confirmation" of Malenkov's "anti-Semitism."

But this dishonest concoction did not stop with the *Times*. The anti-Sovieteers in the Jewish community, ever seeking for any stick to beat the Soviet Union with, leaped on this story. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency sent it out straight and many English-Jewish newspapers carried it with headlines like that of the *Times*. But the climax was reached when the story got to California. The Los An-



geles *B'nai B'rith Messenger* on February 26 carried the story under a five-column, page one streamer—"Malenkov an Anti-Semite."

Who is being served by these big and bigger lies? Certainly not the cause of peace, for slander does not help to relax international tension. Surely not the Jewish people, for this recent embellishment on the big lie of "Soviet anti-Semitism" only serves to thicken the murk of the McCarthyite atmosphere. The danger to the Jews in threatening fascism and war is too serious to allow such flagrant disregard for truth and logic.

## WHOLESALE ANTI-SEMITISM

**B**ROTHERHOOD Week was marked in a strange way in the "Quad-Cities," Rock Island, Moline and East Moline, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa. On the morning of February 21 stickers were found plastered in the windows of 35 shops reading, "This Place Owned by Jews." Rubber-stamped on the stickers was the information, "Anti-Jew Week, Feb. 21 to 28"—that is, the dates of Brotherhood Week. The stickers even appeared on store-windows of shops owned by non-Jews whose names were taken for Jewish. In addition, a flood of anti-Semitic literature was received through the mails in the area. And a few days later the racist campaign, anti-Negro as well this time, had spread to Des Moines, Waterloo and Grand Rapids, Iowa.

It is not only the magnitude of this racist operation that is significant. These manifestations occurred in the orbit of influence of the reactionary *Chicago Tribune*; they erupted in the midst of McCarthyite hysteria; and, it should be noted, in an area of mass unemployment. In the Quad-Cities, which are a center for farm equipment manufacturing, there are about 10,000 unemployed. Following the incident a group of trade unionists and others met in Rock Island to consider this grave development. One of the unionists pointed to the special dangers emphasized by the incident. "This is the Hitler pattern," he said, "turning the discontent of the people toward prejudice and fascism."

The labor movement and Jewish organizations should concern themselves with the serious implications of this manifestation of wholesale anti-Semitism in an area of high unemployment. Jewish organizations, particularly, need to rouse themselves out of their complacency regarding the state of anti-Semitism in this country. There have been too many expressions from Jewish leaders recently about the "subsidence" of organized anti-Semitism. The Quad-Cities affair should shock them out of their roseate outlook. What is required is not only specific alertness in relation to outbreaks of anti-Semitism. What is more fundamental is to work to combat the underlying conditions that create a favorable situation for the anti-Semites—increasing economic insecurity, the spread and deepening of McCarthyism, anti-communist hysteria and a warlike foreign policy. The only effective answer to the Quad-Cities affair by organized Jewish life is a more vigorous campaign against the recession and against McCarthyism and its

expression in foreign policy, reluctance to settle international differences by negotiation.

## APPEAL FOR JUSTICE FOR WELLS

**T**HE deadline for Wesley Robert Wells is April 9. That rapidly approaching date is assigned for his scheduled execution. As we have explained in previous issues, Wells is not under death sentence at San Quentin because he took a life. The court has decreed that he should die for having thrown a cuspidor—without permanent injury to the man at whom it was thrown—under extreme conditions of stress after years of the most trying Jimcrow treatment in jail. Since all recourse to the courts has been exhausted, Wells' life now is in the hands of California Governor Goodwin J. Knight.

An immense outpouring of public sentiment from all levels and strata and opinion nationally and in California particularly has presented Gov. Knight with an overwhelming public demand to save Wells' life. Among the thousands of others in trade unions and in the professions, there has been impressive expression in the Jewish community of California for Wells' life, for the Jewish people realize that the Jimcrow that is responsible for this situation also threatens their own condition. Thus it is that 13 California rabbis joined 39 ministers in a plea to the governor on January 20 for clemency. The local American Jewish Congress has participated in the fight for clemency, as has the Southland Jewish Organization and many other Jewish bodies. Dr. Jess Nathan, publisher of the *Valley Jewish News*, has conducted a strenuous campaign in his paper and personally.

There is not a moment to lose. Every reader should immediately write a telegram or letter to Governor Goodwin J. Knight, State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif., urging clemency for Wesley Robert Wells.

## WILLIAM WEINER

**W**HEN the pain-wracked William Weiner expired on February 21 at the age of 58, the American people and the Jews lost an outstanding fighter against the enemies of the workers and the Jewish people. Weiner had a militant career as a leading anti-fascist. He was in his younger years a labor reporter for the *Freiheit*; during the thirties he was the president of the Jewish People's Committee and led many demonstrations and campaigns against persecution of the Jews in Pilsuski's Poland and in Nazi Germany. He was a co-founder of the International Workers Order, multi-national people's organization which included the large Jewish People's Fraternal Order. In his last years the Communist William Weiner was hounded by the FBI and the Immigration Department, for the deportation hysteria stretched its fascist hand in his direction. We mourn the passing of this devoted fighter for peace, for a better life and for the Jewish people.

# PEACE AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

*Peace is the first line of defense for the Jewish people. The Jews in their organizations should stimulate action for peace*

*By Louis Harap*

**"P**EACE for the Jewish people is part of world-peace."

We quite agree with this pregnant editorial statement in *The Reconstructionist* (February 12), organ of an important middle class element of Conservative Judaism. There is no more important fact than this in Jewish life today. Why then do many Jewish leaders try to keep this issue of peace out of the main Jewish organizations? That is the problem and the challenge that Jews face today.

It is obvious that the threat of hydrogen bomb annihilation faces everyone and that all the people are concerned to avert this threat. All Americans, except those who reap prodigious profits from the war hysteria and their political agents, need stubbornly to exert their force in organized ways to compel Washington to negotiate and negotiate again until outstanding problems are peacefully resolved.

But the Jews stand in double jeopardy from another world war. Every honest person, no matter what his opinions about the issues that cause world tensions, must admit that within the "free world" alliance there are the most virulent fascist forces in every part of the "free enterprise" world that are pushing toward war. There is the renazified West German government, riddled with nazis from top to bottom and with cartellists who financed Hitlerism; there is the Hitler-relic, Franco of Spain, with whom the Eisenhower administration has made a military pact; there are various fascist, anti-Semitic emigres from Eastern Europe who swell the ranks of the "free world" military, espionage and propaganda forces; there are the war-bent wild man Syngman Rhee and the Chinese hang-over, Chiang Kai-shek; not to speak of the assortment of home-grown American fascists and McCarthyites now riding high in the wake of war hysteria. On a world scale these fascists and their followers spell mortal danger to the Jews in case of war, which also provides rank soil for anti-Semitism.

In the face of these dangers it devolves on Jewish organized life, which should regard the security of the Jewish people as an urgent concern, to act against the coming of a war in which the Jewish people of our country, of Israel and everywhere will be placed in jeopardy from such fascist forces. *It is thus clearly within the immediate province and in fact a necessity of all Jewish organizations to further the peaceful settlement of outstanding problems. Peace is the first line of defense of the Jewish people.*

But what is actually happening in organized Jewish life on this question? What, for instance, was the response of the Jewish leadership in our country to the Big Four con-

ference in Berlin, which offered the greatest hope in several years for progress toward peace? The fact is that, so far as we know, not a single United States Jewish group, with the exception of the Jewish left, took any action toward ensuring a hopeful outcome of the conference. On the other hand, prompted by the powerful anti-war and anti-fascist sentiments of the Jews of Europe, the European Executive of the World Jewish Congress in December passed a resolution in support of the conference and welcomed "the prospect that the four great world powers will . . . discuss the problems which have so far given rise to tension between the states and anxiety among the peoples of the world." But from the American Section or from the World Jewish Congress as a whole, which is dominated by the American Section—not one word in support of negotiations toward peace.

## *Jewish Leaders and Berlin*

But the Jewish leaders did have something to ask the Big Four conference. The Jewish Claims Conference and the Mapai-General Zionist government of Israel did submit memoranda to the conference (Israel even sent an observer). Were they concerned with the urgency of reaching agreement on outstanding questions or the grave dangers to the Jewish people of the projected rearmament of West Germany? No. The sole concern of these Jewish leaders, according to the press reports, was assurance that payments under the Adenauer "reparations" agreement would not be disturbed by the disposition of the German question and a petition that Austria should be made to go through with a similar "reparations" agreement. In the light of the special danger to the Jews in the crisis of peace, was this fulfillment of responsibility on the part of Jewish leaders? Did not this leadership owe it to the millions of Jews for whom they purport to speak, to regard as their primary duty the urging of peaceful settlement of questions and to protest as strongly as possible against the rearmament of a renazified Germany which is a threat to the peace and to the Jewish people?

Why this failure to protest?

After Hitler's slaughter of the Jewish people, the intense feelings of the Jews compelled their organizations to keep close watch on the renazification of West Germany. In the post-war years almost every Jewish organization in this country at one time or another protested the renazification of West Germany. A series of documented studies



were issued by such organizations as the American Jewish Committee, the World Jewish Congress and others to show how far renazification had gone. Various manifestations, such as the continuous freeing of nazi war criminals and the toleration of neo-nazi parties and veterans organizations in West Germany, have aroused protest.

Yet, in the past year there has been general silence with Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver almost alone among American Jewish leaders to speak out against this danger. Dr. Silver has many times urged the necessity for negotiating peaceful co-existence between the two world systems and for a demilitarized Germany. Most recently, at the end of February, in a sermon in Cleveland he said: "there is no solution [to the German question] other than that of Potsdam. . . . A rearmed Germany would be a menace to the world. There will be peace if Germany is reunited, but a demilitarized Germany. United States policy will have to change on this point. It is unrealistic."

Among labor leaders, too, Jacob Potofsky, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, has been among those relatively few who urge persistent negotiation if we are not to adopt the alternative of "atomic war and the destruction of our civilization." Before many CIO conventions throughout the country Potofsky has reiterated that "there are no international conflicts which in the final analysis cannot be resolved by negotiation."

### ***Why Appeasement?***

But in the organized Jewish Community Dr. Silver's call for a "reunited . . . but a demilitarized and neutralized Germany" is virtually a voice crying in the wilderness. There has been a strange quiet on the issue of Germany in Jewish organizations in the past year or so. For instance, while the 1951 convention of the American Jewish Congress passed a resolution urging that rearmament of Germany be withheld until the country was denazified and democratized, the recent convention in November 1953 made no mention of Germany altogether.

The reason for this appeasement policy is twofold. First, Jewish leaders do not wish to offend the Adenauer regime because of the "reparations" agreement made with West Germany a few years ago. At that time we pointed out that this deal was intended to soften the resistance of the Jewish people and democratic elements to West German rearmament. That the State Department and Adenauer were in great measure successful in this aim is evident from the soft-peddalling of opposition to German remilitarization in the Jewish community. Renazification has advanced so far in these past two years that the Adenauer cabinet includes at least four former important nazis and that 85 per cent of the key positions in West Germany are now held by nazis in that government, according to Harry N. Sperber, chief interpreter at the Nuremberg war trials, "in a speech before a B'nai B'rith lodge (*Springfield (Mass.) Union*, January 20).

But there is another and perhaps more fundamental

reason for the tacit consent by Jewish leaders to West German remilitarization: the basic agreement of this leadership with the cold war policy of the State Department. This was evident, for instance, in the bestowal in November 1953 by the Anti-Defamation League of the "Democratic Legacy Award" on President Eisenhower. "Most of all we honor you for your continuing leadership of the free world," said ADL National Chairman Henry E. Schultz in his speech to Eisenhower. Whatever tactical differences Jewish leaders may have with cold war policies, they concur in the State Department myth that the Soviet Union has "aggressive intentions" against the rest of the world and on the whole they support the policies based on it, including the heart of this policy with respect to Europe, integration of a renazified West German army into the "European Army."

### ***The Sands Are Shifting***

However, among the Jewish masses there have been signs of the unsettling effects of events of the past year. Under the influence of relaxation of tensions and the Korean armistice, as well as the mounting peril of McCarthyism, the Jewish masses and some Jewish leaders have felt increasing apprehension at the Eisenhower-Dulles policies. A gnawing fear has set in among the Jewish masses of the anti-labor, pro-fascist, McCarthyite, pro-war policies of the national administration. The economic recession has increased that uneasiness. The new emphasis of Dulles on reliance on the feudal Arab leaders in closing the gap of the military ring around the Soviet Union, together with an accompanying rejection of the Israel government's appeals to be used as the leading anti-Soviet military prop in the Middle East, has caused questioning by the masses of Jews of the Dulles State Department. Taken together, all these developments are a part of the shifting attitude of the American masses in general toward the Eisenhower administration, as was indicated by the electoral defeats suffered by the Republicans last November.

The Jewish masses, like the American people as a whole, are basically pro-New Deal and want peace. They are beginning to see through the Herbert Hoover-like character of the Eisenhower policies. Silence on McCarran-Walter and the utterly inadequate attention to civil rights in Eisenhower's January State of the Union message were severely criticized in the English-Jewish press and by Jewish organizations. Increasing signs of Eisenhower's surrender to McCarthyism, from the Big Lie of "20 years of treason" directed against the New and Fair Deal in the Lincoln Day dinners to the disgraceful surrender of the army in the Stevens affair, have intensified the mistrust and apprehension at the Eisenhower administration. One clear indication of this unsettling effect of the Eisenhower-Dulles policies is the editorial in *The Reconstructionist* (January 29) commenting on the State of the Union message. The editorial criticizes many aspects of domestic policy in the message: it condemns Eisenhower's proposal to deprive Communists convicted under the Smith act of citizenship, the proposed

"strike-vote" amendment to Taft-Hartley, desertion of the fight against McCarran-Walter, the do-nothing policy on FEPC and civil liberties. On foreign policy it is evident that the paper still adheres to the "containment of Communism" approach of Truman-Acheson, but it severely criticizes Dulles' "new look" military policy of devastating attack "at places and with means of (our) own choosing." *The Reconstructionist* analyzes this policy and characterizes it thus: "We are adopting, more and more, a policy of naked militarism, relying on the threat of force to maintain peace and risking heightening of distrust and tensions everywhere in the world."

Most striking of all has been the very sharp and almost unanimous criticism by Jewish leaders and the Jewish masses of the Dulles policy in the Middle East. The application of this policy in the UN by using the Kibya incident to "condemn" Israel, designed to keep the Middle East in turbulence by avoiding any steps towards restoring peace in the area, gave the Jewish leaders and the Jewish masses a severe jolt. A leading Zionist publicist, Dr. S. Margoshes, went so far in his English column in the *Jewish Day* (October 24, 1953) as to say that "Very seldom was there a case when American Jews were called upon to oppose their government. However, the time has come now when they must stand the test of the first examination of their spiritual maturity and determination."

The sharpness of the Zionist opposition is significant, even though it does not challenge the basis of Dulles' policy. The objective of this policy is both anti-Israel and anti-Arab: it is to prevent progress toward a settlement of the issues between Israel and the Arab states in order to keep the area in a state of unrest that would require Washington to intervene to "keep the peace" by exercising control over the area. Unfortunately, Zionist leaders are in basic agreement with the war-provoking anti-Soviet strategy in the Middle East. They are bitterly opposed to Dulles only because they believe that the anti-Soviet strategy should be carried out through Israel rather than the Arab states. In the course of their questioning of Dulles' policy, however, the masses of Zionists need to reach the understanding that Dulles' anti-peace policy in the Middle East is typical of his *general anti-peace* policy. It is important that the Jewish masses understand that the Dulles policy *as a whole* is working against peace on a world scale. And acceptance of the idea that Israel should become a "better" anti-Soviet base leads to the tragic consequences of a war which would result in the destruction of Israel.

### ***For Action Toward Peace***

The numerous instances of self-exposure of the Dulles policy in the past year have shaken the confidence of labor and the American people and the Jewish people in it. It is of the utmost importance that the Jewish community begin to *act* and organize grass-roots opposition.

Part of this fight for peace is resistance to McCarthyism because fascism at home and refusal to negotiate peace are

two sides of the same coin, just as they were under Hitler fascism. On the domestic phase of this fight Jewish organized life has been active. The Jewish masses perceive clearly enough that McCarthyism is anti-democratic, as was indicated in the Gallup poll (*Time*, January 25) showing that 71 per cent of the Jews polled were "unfavorable" to McCarthy. Although some Jewish leaders collaborate with McCarthyism, as in the case of the American Jewish Committee's conferences with the Velde Committee, and although opposition to the inquisitors is based largely on their "methods" without clear vision of the fascist unity of "methods" and aims, there is much vocal opposition in Jewish quarters. The Jewish people and all Americans need to realize that one condition for a victory over the McCarthyites is that defense of the civil liberties of all demands protection of the constitutional rights of the communists.

An anti-McCarthyite program on foreign policy calls for increasing support for the position expressed by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver on many occasions for peaceful co-existence of the two world systems. It means workers' support for the call to negotiations by labor leaders like Jacob Potofsky. It means that members of Jewish organizations should press upon their leadership support for a position like that expressed by Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, president of the Rabbinical Association of America, on January 9 when he urged the necessity for "compromise" in dealing with the Soviet Union. "Compromise," he said, "is positive. It seeks the good and is willing to settle for less than the perfect. . . . It represents accepting the lesser good; appeasement accepts the lesser evil. . . . We all pray that both sides will have the patience and the wisdom to recognize that everything depends on the willingness to negotiate. The disposition to negotiate, to sit down together and yield on both sides is, in the ultimate sense, the criterion of a sincere love of peace." (*New York Times*, January 10.)

Promotion of such a program is not easy because the leadership of many Jewish organizations often hesitate to express themselves on such issues. They are disinclined to press the State Department where, they may say, "Jewish issues" are not directly involved. In this case, one needs to point out to the membership that *peace is very much of concern to the Jewish people*. It presents, in fact, the number one problem for the Jews because the fascist accompaniments of war constitute a prime danger to the Jewish people on a world scale. This is easily seen on the issue of renazification and remilitarization of West Germany. The continuing opposition of the grass-roots of the Jewish people to the Nazi threat should be re-activated in Jewish organized life and once more made a live issue. Lively discussion of and action on the German question, which is the heart of the problem of peace in Europe, can make a significant contribution to peace. And finally, the Jewish masses need to throw their organized support to a peaceful resolution of the Far Eastern questions to be negotiated at Geneva on April 26. The indivisibility of peace means that the averting of war on a world scale calls for action for peace *wherever* it is threatened.



# EMANUEL BLOCH AS HE LIVED

*The resolute defender and best friend of the Rosenbergs was selflessly and passionately devoted to justice for the people*

*By Alice Citron*

THE factory whistles were stilled and hunger stalked the land. Young eyes were old with suffering and bodies ached with deprivation's pain. America of the 1930's was a land of shattered dreams and soup lines. Millions of people angrily questioned the why of starvation in a country with vast food-giving plains. Thousands emerged from their self absorption to join with others to demand answers.

Among these was Emanuel H. Bloch. His own practice as an attorney went to pieces because his clients "lost their shirts" in the depression. He began ravenously to read books on economics, sociology, history and politics. His self-study convinced him that only by fighting in an organized way could the people win a better life. It was this that made a new kind of lawyer of Manny. The contradiction between representing business and his awareness of social injustices turned Bloch to the civil liberties field. His new clients gave him token fees but Manny handled them like "million dollar" cases. In the years 1937, 1938, 1939 Manny practically commuted to Washington, D. C. The little Joes were represented by him before congressional investigating groups and grand juries.

In 1943, as special counsel for the Fair Employment Practices Commission, set up by President Roosevelt, he fought doggedly to defend the Negro people against money-mad employers. When President Truman brought with him the cold war era, Manny resigned because he could no longer serve the people in the emasculated and rapidly disappearing FEPC.

Manny's intimate knowledge of the sufferings of the Negro people led him into one of the most unusual legal assignments ever undertaken by an attorney. The infamous Bilbo of Mississippi was campaigning for reelection to the Senate in 1946. Wholesale intimidation of Negro voters was practiced as usual. The Civil Rights Congress asked Bloch to gather evidence of the current terror. This episode reads like a movie scenario. Manny hid out during the day and gathered his evidence only after the sun went down. Though Bilbo was reelected, the evidence produced by Manny stopped Bilbo from taking his accustomed seat in the Senate. A special committee of the Senate held a hearing in Jackson, Mississippi, to confirm Manny's report. Hundreds of Negroes defied the terror and gave testimony.

Four years later he was one of the attorneys for the Trenton Six. It was their selfless activity that won the reversal of the death sentences.

But all these activities were a prelude to the kind of battle that no other lawyer has ever had to wage—the fight for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. When Manny agreed to be Julius' attorney in June 1950, neither of them could know the three years of passionate struggle that were to come. The Rosenbergs had little money and the lurid press stories frightened their friends and family. Manny himself was called the "A-spies" attorney and only rarely did a friendly voice offer to help.

It was during this period that Manny's measure as a man reached gigantic proportions. He was determined that no matter what happened to his own resources, no matter what others thought, he would fight for the Rosenbergs through every moment, every hour. With anger he told of the horrible days in court without a friendly face present. "There were only cannibals and if they could have skinned Julius and Ethel, they would have done so." Manny was asked what motivated his selfless devotion. He vehemently reaffirmed his conviction that the Rosenbergs were innocent. More than that, Manny was the first to see that their conviction would be a long step to fascism. This he asserted wherever and whenever he could find an ear to hear him.

Manny's tenacity was also strengthened by his belief that the world would never let Julius and Ethel die unknown, unloved and unmourned. In the long, lonely months of isolation such a belief was possible only because he loved and respected the intelligence and integrity of the average person. This was the thread throughout his battle.

Manny's skills and phenomenal memory were known to many. But it is his greatness of heart that will be enshrined everywhere. He undertook the support of Michael and Robert. Even the closest associate did not know that, despite sleepless nights, endless days of court briefs and visits to Sing Sing, Michael and Robert were not deprived of a single material need.

## *Letters to Ethel and Julius*

The world knows that the Rosenbergs loved "Dear Manny." But Manny's love was just as strong. In a letter to Ethel, January 28, 1953, he wrote:

"... Ethel, let me express my unbounded admiration for your intelligence and courage. You have displayed to the world a character which, despite vilification and distortion, will shine as an example and provide inspiration to

millions of people. I say this advisedly and as frankly as I can, knowing full well that already there are signs that the sniping is being directed at me, . . . that I am instrumental in holding Julie and you to your continued assertions of innocence. I am convinced as I have always been that Julie and you are innocent. . . . I will not be a party to any attempts to coerce you into making a 'confession' which cannot be truthfully forthcoming from Julie or you."

In the same letter he truthfully said: "... I am not leaving a stone unturned to aid both of you. . . . I pledge you . . . to exert every ounce of my strength to save you."

On the same day he wrote to Julius: "... I, together with millions throughout the world, can only state with humility and reverence our feelings of admiration for the dignified manner in which Ethel and you have stood up in the face of such terrible odds. You have sparked the imagination and provided the courage for decent people everywhere in your resistance to the terror that has been directed against you. . . . History plays strange quirks on people and events. Already Ethel and you have found your way in the hearts of millions. . . . Already, two little people . . . by their own principles and adherence to moral and decent standards fought your enemies to a standstill. . . ."

Manny was asked one day, "What was the worst of all the moments during the case?" He answered: "Ten minutes to eight on June 19, 1953." Behind this lies a story of agony. The last week of life for the Rosenbergs was one that Manny couldn't articulate. It could be seen in flashes in his face. When he left for Washington on June 13, 1953, it was to a week of cat-naps in hotel chairs and containers of coffee. June 16th wasn't very unusual. Manny with one hour's sleep flew into New York. He was met at La Guardia field to receive legal material. He then took Michael and Robert to Ossining for the last look at their parents. He came back to New York and immediately flew back to Washington. But, the ten minutes to eight on June 19th. . . . It was the first time in three years that Manny could do nothing for the Rosenbergs. These ten minutes and the radio announcement, "Julius Rosenberg was the first . . ." were the longest and most awful of Manny's life. As he suffered in the impersonal hotel room, the thought whirled and whirled, "This is not my Julie." He did not and could not listen to the unemotional voice telling of Ethel's death.

Manny was back in his office on June 22, 1953, planning the defense of a young doctor hounded by the Velde Committee. His face was terrible. Etched in every line was grief; etched in every line was anger. He had gone to Sing Sing with a fellow attorney to pick up the Rosenbergs' last words to the world. Manny talked with the owner of a little restaurant near the prison. He wanted to know how the people of Ossining had reacted to the execution. "Did they understand the issues involved?" "Did they know that McCarthyism had triumphed on June 19th?" "Were the people friendly or hostile?"

Manny came back with the letters. It was a long time before he could read with his own eyes the writing that was so vibrant for him.



*Emanuel H. Bloch*

"Rest, guy, rest." This was a common cry after June 19th. Even though he became ill after the execution, he took a minimum rest and won life and vindication for the young doctor.

### *The Fight Will Go On*

"Dear Manny." The whole world wrote this. There is no lawyer in this country who has ever received the thousands of letters that Manny did. Manny found the energy to answer little boys and girls as seriously as he did important figures. He wrote to two little English sisters: "I am writing to answer your letter to Mike and Robby and to thank you for your sweetness toward them in their time of great sorrow." To a child in Australia: "Mike and Robby probably have the biggest family and the most friends of any two little boys in the world." To a magnificent leader of the Rosenberg campaign in Paris, attorney Paul Villard, four months before his death: "I thought of how pleasant it would be, if times were such that good friends from both sides of the Atlantic could enjoy beauties together. Perhaps some day we shall."

In spirit, yes. But only in spirit. The vile ones of our land called for Manny Bloch's scalp week after week. Walter Winchell led the howlers. How could one let a lawyer of the truth live? The New York Bar Association obsequiously responded and served Manny with "papers" on January 19, 1954. The papers are now matters of historic interest. One wonders if these petrified souls ever have moments of self-examination, moments of shame.

There are so many times when one is impelled to call out, "Manny, Manny, you died too soon." How well one knows it as the fight for Michael and Robert's lives goes on.

Manny would truly say, "Stop eating your heart out over me. Get on with the job." His image and memory call out to us, "Do everything, everything for the kids. Let them live as Julius and Ethel wanted."

P.S.

Dear, Dear Manny:

We'll do everything we can.



# WHERE WILL THEY BE PASSOVER?

*Michael and Robbie Rosenberg are threatened with deprivation of happiness. But they can be with their beloved friends if we act*

*-By Hershl Hartman*

FROM March 10th to April 17th—the first Seder night of Passover—is only five short weeks on the calendar. But for Michael Rosenberg and his brother Robbie that interval bears the deepest significance for their future lives. March 10th was Michael's 11th birthday—the happiest he has had since his mother and father were torn from him in 1950. He and Robbie were with their family, with people who loved them and who lovingly granted Michael's wish to celebrate the occasion with a big meal in a restaurant and a subway ride 'way out to the end of the line in Brooklyn—as he used to do with his father.

That was March 10th. But what about April 17th? Will Mike and Robbie spend Passover among loved ones or in the cold, impersonal and hostile atmosphere of one or another of the institutions these two orphans have come to know so bitterly? The answer may be given on April 5th, when New York City Surrogate William T. Collins is scheduled to hold a hearing on the appointment of a legal guardian for the children. He is to decide whether they are to remain with those they love or whether they are to be turned over to those who accompanied police in a brutal, inhuman raid last February 17 on the home where the children had found anonymous sanctuary and a happy, love-filled life.

Since last Christmas, Mike and Robbie had lived with Abel and Ann Meeropol, both former teachers, whom they quickly began calling "daddy" and "mommy." Their new daddy writes song lyrics under the name of Lewis Allan, including such songs as *The House I Live In*, *Strange Fruit* and *I Am a Jew*. In February, the New York City Department of Welfare and the Jewish Board of Guardians petitioned Domestic Relations Judge Jacob Panken to remove the children from their new home. The morning after the raid they were taken to the Pleasantville, New York, institution of the Jewish Child Care Association on Judge Panken's orders. Two days later State Supreme Court Justice James McNally ordered them temporarily returned to their grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg, after he had heard Michael say: "We are all one family, my grandmother and the Meeropols and Robbie and I." Meanwhile, the Welfare Department sought to have the Surrogate Court place the children under the permanent guardianship of Morton L. Deitch, president of the Jewish Child Care Association. It is this action with which Surrogate Collins will deal on April 5th. Judge Panken and Justice McNally have deferred action until

the Surrogate Court assigns a legal guardian to them.

For Michael and Robbie Rosenberg this is a new chapter in the nightmare existence they have endured since the days in August 1950, when their mother, Ethel, was torn from them before she could make any arrangements for their welfare. They were taken to their maternal grandmother, Mrs. Tessie Greenglass, who at first insisted that they be taken immediately to the police station and then after keeping them reluctantly for a few weeks, released them to the Department of Welfare. For one year they lived at the Welfare shelter in the Bronx since all efforts to place them in a foster home failed. After a year with their grandmother Sophie their parents' heroic lawyer and their friend Manny Bloch found them a home in Toms River, New Jersey, where they lived happily until the FBI prevailed on the local school authorities to have them excluded on the ground they were "non-residents." It was this renewed attack on them a few short months after the execution of their parents, that led to their coming to live with the Meeropols.

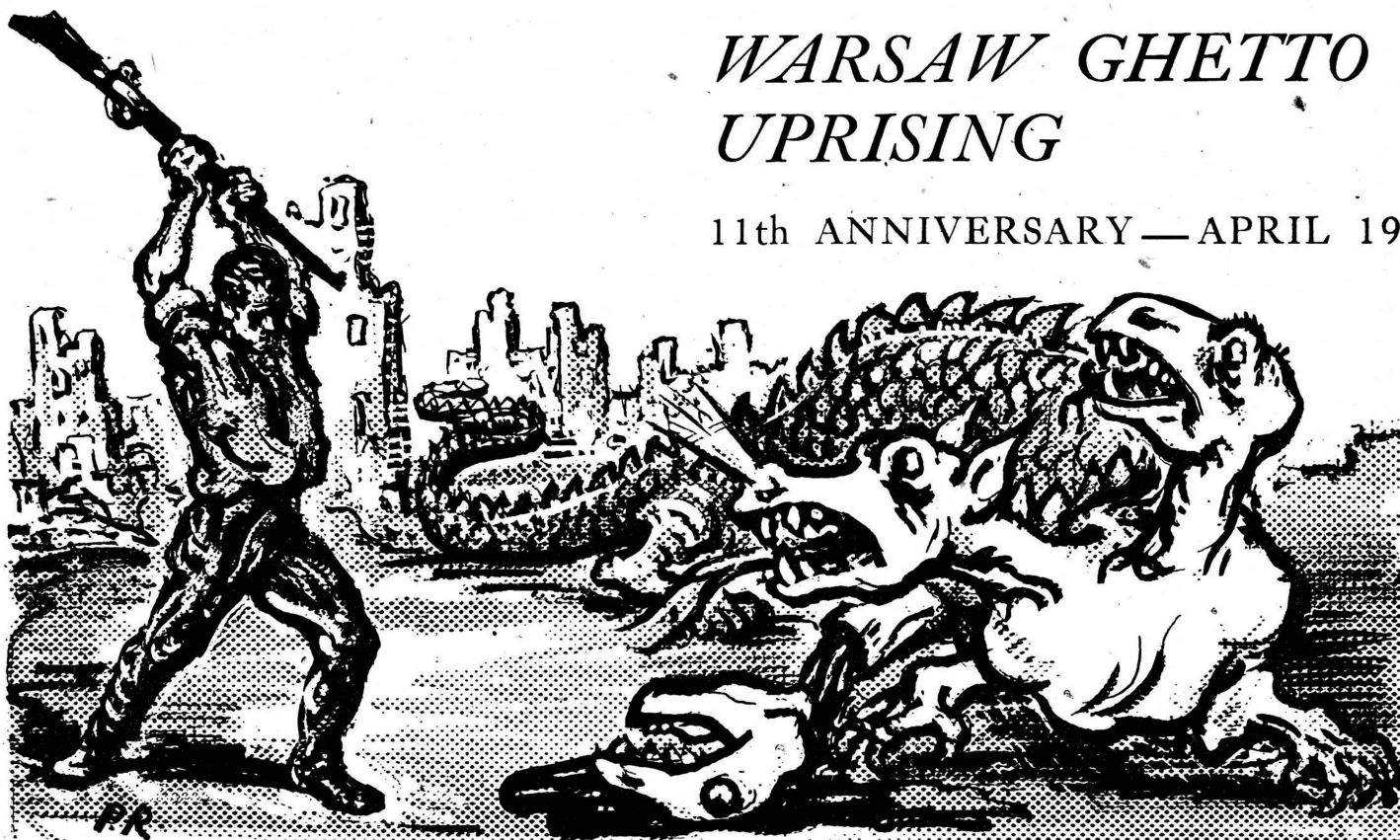
Where were the Jewish Board of Guardians and the Jewish Child Care Association all this time? The most reactionary newspapers in New York and other cities condemned the action of the Toms River school authorities. But the now-zealous "protectors" of the children were strangely silent then. Perhaps not so strangely: the plot to tear the children from their loved ones has been long in hatching. It was presaged by S. Andhil Fineberg of the American Jewish Committee in his book *The Rosenberg Case*, p. 128-32. It was revealed as far back as last October, when Herschel Ault of the Jewish Board of Guardians met with Manny Bloch and City Welfare Commissioner Henry L. McCarthy and indicated that his organization was planning to challenge Bloch's guardianship. They began to move, ghoulishly, as soon as Bloch died on Jan. 30th.

Are the Jewish and city agencies really interested in the boys' welfare? If so, why take them from a home where they are loved and wanted and place them in a shelter where attempts to find foster homes have already failed?

Michael and Robbie, orphaned so horribly, targets of suffering that no human being should have to endure—much less children—deserve to keep their happiness. You, your friends and neighbors can help them. Write to: Surrogate William T. Collins, 31 Chambers Street, New York City, and urge him to leave the children with their grandmother and those who love them.

# WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

11th ANNIVERSARY — APRIL 19



## WHAT THE GHETTO MEANS TODAY

### *Editorial Introduction*

**T**HE Jews paid a frightful price for the knowledge of how fascism is to be fought. Extremely valuable was the experience of the Warsaw Ghetto: the emergence from the bewildered passivity in the early days of the liquidation to the forging of a completely united Jewish front that carried through one of the most heroic actions in human annals. We owe it to the heroes of the Uprising—let alone ourselves—to apply to our own days the lessons of that devastating experience. The annual commemoration of the Uprising is the appropriate occasion for imbedding that lesson more deeply into our consciousness. And this year such a stock-taking is more urgent than ever. For our country is in increasing danger of being taken over by McCarthyism, the American equivalent of nazism. And the foreign policy makers in Washington are trying to tie our country closer to a renazified West Germany and to recall into life a nazi Wehrmacht.

In the aspects of the Jewish response to the genocidal plans of the nazis that are covered in the material in this commemorative section on the Uprising, the essential features are represented: not only the horror of the nazi reality in relation to the Jews, but the *resistance* and *unity* as well as the betrayal from within. Ber Mark's account of the formation of the anti-fascist Jewish bloc in 1942 illustrates the drive for unity; the moving description of the heroic

Jewish women underground workers by Dr. Ringelblum and of the setting up of an underground press by Hersch Smoliar illustrate the indomitable spirit of resistance; and the behavior of the Warsaw Kehillah told in the Ringelblum diary exposes the betrayal by the Judenrat element.

In the light of the McCarthyite fascist threat at home and the danger of war from a revived renazified Wehrmacht, the Jewish people can derive essential counsel from the Warsaw Ghetto experience. Are there Jewish leaders today who are playing the part of the Judenrat? To the extent that the Jewish leadership has abandoned the fight against renazification and rearmament, the immediate goal of the neo-nazis most powerfully represented in the Adenauer regime, they are playing that part. The absence of resistance by many leaders in Jewish organized life to the State Department's sponsorship of this program—in exchange for the "reparations" deal with Adenauer—shows that we Jews still have a Judenrat with us. For such appeasing leaders are in effect delivering the Jewish people into the hands of those who would revive a nazi war machine, thus endangering peace in the world and threatening destruction of all.

In another respect, too, the Judenrat are still with us. We refer to the collaboration of such Jewish leaders as those of the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and of other Jewish organizations who are cooperat-



ing with the Velde Committee. If there is anything to be learned from the Jewish experience with the nazis, it is that fascists cannot be appeased but must be fought without compromise. Many Jewish leaders have not yet learned this.

But there can be no doubt that the masses of Jews have continued the heritage of resistance to fascism in their overwhelming opposition to McCarthyism today. Yet this is not enough. For, as the Ghetto fighters learned, that resistance is not sufficiently effective unless it is organized and united. A degree of organization and unity in resistance has been achieved in connection with the movement to repeal or revise the racist McCarran-Walter law, one of the main expressions of fascism today. But even here far greater unity can be achieved.

Further, in all movements to fight the various expressions of McCarthyism, the Jewish people have not yet freed themselves of one of the basic techniques of McCarthyism, the anti-communist hysteria. They have not yet caught on to the fact that the McCarthyites have befuddled too many

into accepting one of the basic techniques of Hitler, anti-communist baiting. The result has been a refusal to unite with progressive and left wing forces in the Jewish and general community in combat against the common enemy, McCarthyism. The absolute necessity of *united* struggle against the common enemy is one of the basic lessons that the Warsaw Ghetto fighters themselves learned. Shall American Jews wait until it is too late before they too understand that unity must be forged with *all* elements to present the maximum resistance to American fascism?

Those elements in Jewish life who would, as editor J. I. Fishbein of the Chicago *Sentinel* (February 25) said, "like to forget the Warsaw Ghetto uprising," are the same leaders who are preventing unity. But the Jewish masses dare not forget the uprising or what this great event has to teach us: vigilance against Judenrat betrayal from within, utmost resistance to the fascist enemies of humanity and maximum effectiveness in that resistance by the broadest unity against the threat of fascism.

### III. PESACH HAS COME TO THE GHETTO AGAIN

[Warsaw, April 19, 1943]

By Binem Heller

Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld

Pesach has come to the Ghetto again.

The wine has no grape, the matzo no grain,  
But the people anew sing the wonders of old,  
The flight from the Pharaohs, so often retold.  
How ancient the story, how old the refrain!

The windows are shuttered. The doors are concealed.  
The Seder goes on. And fiction and fact  
Are confused into one. Which is myth? Which is real?  
Come all who are hungry! invites the Haggadah.  
The helpless, the aged, lie starving in fear.  
Come all who are hungry! and children sleep, famished.  
Come all who are hungry! and tables are bare.

Pesach has come to the Ghetto again,  
And shuffling shadows shift stealthily through,  
Like convert-Marranos in rack-ridden Spain  
Seeking retreat with the God of the Jews.  
But these are the shards, the shattered remains  
Of the "sixty ten-thousands" whom Moses led out  
Of their bondage . . . driven to ghettos again . . .  
Where dying's permitted but protest is not.  
From Holland, from Poland, from all Europe's soil,

BINEM HELLER is an outstanding Yiddish poet of post-war Poland.

Becrippled and beaten the remnant has come.  
And there they sit weeping, plundered, despoiled,  
And each fifty families has dwindled to one.

Pesach has come to the Ghetto again.  
The lore-laden words of the Seder are said,  
And the cup of the Prophet Elijah awaits,  
But the Angel of Death has intruded, instead.  
As always—the German snarls his commands.  
As always—the words sharpened-up and precise.  
As always—the fate of more Jews in his hands:  
Who shall live, who shall die, this Passover night.  
But no more will the Jews to the slaughter be led,  
The truculent jibes of the nazis are past.  
And the lintels and doorposts tonight will be red  
With the blood of free Jews who will fight to the last.

Pesach has come to the Ghetto again.  
And neighbor to neighbor the battle-pledge gives:  
The blood of the German will flow in the Ghetto  
So long as one Jew in the Ghetto still lives!  
In face of the nazi—no fear, no subjection!  
In face of the nazi—no weeping, no wincing!  
Only the hatred, the wild satisfaction  
Of standing against him and madly resisting.  
Listen! how Death walks abroad in the fury!  
Listen! how bullets lament in their flight!  
See how our History writes END to the story,  
With death heroic, this Passover night!

# III. HOW UNITY WAS FORGED

*Under the hammering of annihilating blows of the nazis the Warsaw Ghetto Jews set aside their differences and unitedly met the enemy*

**By Ber Mark**

**T**HE first phases of the extermination [total "deportation" of all Ghetto Jews "to the East," July 1942] not only made clear to every Jew in the Ghetto the horrible truth that deportation meant death. It also clarified two other things to the Ghetto underground: the need for *unity* and the urgency of immediate *active resistance*. When the extermination action began, every one in the underground understood that an end had come to the period when the ideals of mutual cooperation and self-help were the important things. The most important problems now were—arm yourself and unite for battle!

The latter was understood even sooner than the former. In the very heat of the extermination, various political groups organized their own separate self-defense units. In the beginning it was not yet clear to all that without a common effort no concrete results would be achieved. Even in the first days of the liquidation there already were several self-defense units in the Ghetto. But, in the first place, they led a very disorganized existence; and second, they limited their activities to their own circles and defended only a small number of Jews. All too often they also spent their energies on intra-party wranglings and disputes.

## ***The Three Self-Defense Groups***

According to the materials of the [Jewish Socialist] Bund underground, the Bund's self-defense was already mobilized on July 28, 1942, and was in contact with the Polish Socialists. At the head of the Bund's self-defense was Shlomeh Pav. True, the same sources confess to one shortcoming: the self-defense had no weapons. The contact with the

BER MARK is the director of the Jewish Historical Institute at Warsaw. The above is taken from a chapter of his comprehensive book on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, *Hurvus Dertseiln* (Story of Destruction) published in Yiddish in Lodz in 1947.

Polish Socialists was of no help in this respect despite their access to the secret arsenals of the Polish military. To offset this, however, the Bund's self-defense did have this one virtue: it was the first to establish a well-camouflaged intelligence unit which was an important source for advance information regarding the plans of the Germans.

The self-defense of the Hashomer Hatzair [left wing Zionists], which was organized by Shmuel Broslaw, was not much better off. This unit was organized in groups of five and armed with knives and blackjacks. Shmuel Broslaw also laid stress on propaganda and often distributed the radio bulletins of London and Moscow. On July 28, 1942, the same day the Bund unit was mobilized, the Hashomer unit joined with the resistance groups of "Dror" and "Akiba" and together they formed a Zionist-Socialist Fighting Organization. This organization at first had an arsenal of—one revolver. Later they obtained from the Polish comrades of the PPR [Polish Workers (Communist) Party] on the "Aryan" side [outside the Ghetto walls] five revolvers and eight grenades. On the staff of this organization were: Shmuel Broslaw, Itzhak Zuckerman, Zviah Lubetkin and Mordecai Tenenbaum. This self-defense too, although it contained various ideological groups—the Hashomer, the Halutzim and the Akiba youth—was basically a partisan group of Socialist-Zionists.

Finally, there was a third self-defense organization in the Ghetto which was perhaps not so outspokenly partisan as the previous ones, but which still bore the stamp of a specific movement—this was the Jewish section of the general Polish "People's Guard" which was set up in the Ghetto. This was under the influence of the PPR.

Despite the fact that the first days of the deportations saw the death of many active PPR workers, despite the general confusion and bewilderment and despite the fact that it was even more difficult for them than for most people to be in touch with each other, there were still those in the PPR ranks, self-sacrificing and full of initiative, who undertook to rebuild the organization and make

*All the material in this special section on the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising was translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld. The Editors wish to thank Mr. Rosenfeld for his generous cooperation.*



plans for defense. We are told by Sarah Shacher that in those tragic days she met Comrade Loeb Fayl ("Ignatz") who at the height of the deportations was busy looking up the survivors and drawing up a new "membership list" of the organization. Sarah Shacher says: "Fayl told me then, 'It is time we did something. They (the Germans) are getting away with too much, and we keep quiet. We must close our ranks and take some action.' He told me to look up Comrade Michael Byali (Michael Rosenfeld) and deliver a note to him. After much searching I discovered where he was living. His address had previously been on Zhelna Street, now he had moved to Lubetski No. 4. I delivered Fayl's note, of which I remember a few words: 'Michael, there are eight more of us than we thought. We must get together.' And it wasn't long before we actually met. . . . We were then very poorly armed, our only weapons being knives and hatchets. We were divided into groups of five, and each five led its own separate, conspiratorial existence." . . .

### Moves Toward Unity

Thus, at the beginning of the extermination [July 1942], there were three separate self-defense units, three Fighting Organizations, each of them made up of enthusiastic, self-sacrificing youth. Then how explain the fact that, despite the presence of this excellent personnel, the Germans and Ukrainians and their Polish and Jewish assistants were allowed to run riot in the Ghetto *without opposition*?

The chief reason lay in this: *The defense movement was split, disunited, did not even work together.* Political dogmatism and partisan narrowness even then lay like an oppressive spirit upon the most valuable forces in the Ghetto.

And there had been many attempts to create unity. For some time, even before the first physical liquidation descended upon the Ghetto, there were forces in Jewish communal life who tried to achieve the national fighting unity of the Jews.

"At the end of February 1942," writes the Poale Zionist Hersch Wasser in his book, *The Fiery Pillar of Courage*, "there began a series of conferences, first between the Soviet parachutist, Andzhei Schmidt, and Dr. Berman and later with the participation, beside the PPR and Left Poale Zionists, also of Hashomer Hatzair, Poale Zion, Z.S. and Hechalutz. An anti-fascist bloc was formed, made up of three sections: (1) political, (2) military, (3) care for the victims of Hitlerism. Among its most important tasks the anti-fascist bloc placed the building of the fighting groups of five. The reputation of the anti-fascist bloc grew quickly among the organized workers and the young people. Basing itself upon methods of strict secrecy, the military section, carried on a broad activity."

This was confirmed by the testimony of the Ghetto fighter, Gershon Aleph, who was also a co-worker in the "Centaurs" and the "Joint." "In February 1942, a meeting took place in our office (either Centaurs or Joint—B.M.)

between representatives of the following parties: PPR, Left Poale Zion, represented by S. Zagan, Right Poale Zion, represented by Dr. Sak, the Hashomer Hatzair, represented by Joseph Kaplan, and Hechalutz and Akiba. They established the anti-fascist bloc, which agreed to organize underground cells and to train fighting groups. The Bund did not join this bloc. The Bund at that time had its own organization, political as well as military, which was in touch with the Committee of the London Polish Government-in-Exile."

### The Anti-Fascist Bloc

The work of the anti-fascist bloc was led by the Communists Joseph Lewartowski, Andzhei Schmidt and Shmuel Meretik; the Left Poale Zionists S. Zagan and Adolph Berman; the Shomrim (Hashomer Hatzair) Joseph Kaplan, Shmuel Broslaw and Mordecai Anielewicz; and the Right Poale Zionist Dr. Joseph Sak. The military section was under the supervision of Andzhei Schmidt, Hersch Lent, Fishelsohn (a sports director of the club, "Star"), Mordecai Anielewicz and Mordecai Tenenbaum.

In cementing this anti-fascist unity the role of the Polish comrades of the PPR should be emphasized. According to the testimony of Christina Kowalska, an active worker of the underground PPR, they supplied the initiative and did the spade work for this unity. The role of Joseph Lewartowski should also be stressed. It was he who formulated the slogan, "We are all brothers, children of one family," and spread it throughout all the Ghettoes where there were Jewish PPR groups.

At the same time the Hechalutz group was making attempts to draw the Bund into the anti-fascist bloc. In March 1942 a conference was held at the initiative of Hechalutz in which there took part the Right Poale Zion (Lazar Levin and Sholom Groyek), the Left Poale Zion (Melech Feinkind and Hersch Berlinski), Hechalutz (Itzhak Zuckerman) and the Bund (Moiritz Ozchek and Abrasha Blum). As we see, the representatives of the PPR were not at the conference. It may be that this was due to the anti-communist prejudices of certain elements who were close to the W.R.N. [a right wing Socialist Party group]. At the March conferences the Poale Zion and the Hechalutz made the proposal for a unified Fighting Organization. The Bund rejected this proposal. Ozchek explained the rejection by saying that the Bund was a *socialist* party and not a *Jewish* party and that it was affiliated with the Polish Socialist movement. According to Tevya Bozhikowski, Blum (the other Bund representative) expressed himself as follows: "You are speaking with your heart; logic is against your proposal."

The anti-fascist bloc existed until the beginning of the first liquidation [July 1942]. It played an important role as the first concrete example of fighting unity, as the force which not only spread the *idea* of active resistance among the people, but which introduced secret military methods, organized the Fighting Groups and began to

gather weapons. "Despite all obstacles," writes H. Wasser, "the anti-fascist bloc is creating rock-like, tempered fighters who will later distinguish themselves by their heroism, disregarding death itself." The anti-fascist bloc was the father of the eventual unified Fighting Organization.

The bloc issued an underground newspaper, *The Call*, which prepared the personnel, ideological and military, who later put into life the aims of the initiators of the anti-fascist movement.

The enemy, through his spies and agents, discovered that an active power capable of putting up resistance was growing in the Ghetto underground. His "counter-intelligence" apparatus was put in motion. The first victims were the PPR workers in the anti-fascist bloc; first the active and energetic Shmuel Meretik (Adam). Leaving a secret appointment in a cafe, he was surrounded by Gestapo agents. Somewhat later, in May 1942, the fearless Andzhei

Schmidt (Elya Moses), was arrested at his post. The name of Andzhei Schmidt was popular in underground Jewish circles. We are told by Ephraim Shedletska that his name was known in the youth circles in many towns near Warsaw and even in the labor camps. When he was captured, the Jewish fighters felt that one who had seemingly been born to lead the fight had perished. His place at the head of the Self Defense unit was taken by Gershon Aleph.

When the catastrophe of July 22, 1942 [the nazi order to "deport" all Jews from the Ghetto] struck the Ghetto, the anti-fascist bloc was only in the process of building itself. Its plans and its previous accomplishments were destroyed. In the face of the extermination action the self defense movement again stood divided. [Complete unity of all Ghetto groups in the Jewish Fighting Organization was achieved and this united force carried out the uprising on April 19, 1943.—Eds.]

## IV. AND THE EARTH REBELLED

By Yuri Suhl

*(News Item: "A great number of Jewish prayer-shawls, many of them blood-stained, were given burial in the Jewish cemetery in Yavar, Lower Silesia. . . . Together with the prayer-shawls, there were also buried several small cakes of soap which the nazi murderers had made out of Jewish bodies. . . .")*

The earth rebelled.  
The good and patient earth,  
Which knows so well  
Death's varied look, its every shape and mold,  
Had never taken to itself  
A corpse of soap,  
Enshrouded in a prayer-shawl's bloody fold.

The Grave was stunned,  
And beat the earth with frantic cry:

YURI SUHL is a noted Yiddish poet as well as a well-known novelist and short story writer in English. He is the author of four volumes of Yiddish poetry and of the novels *Cowboy on a Wooden Horse* and *One Foot in America*. The above poem, translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld, was published in Mr. Suhl's latest volume of poetry, *A Vort Fun Treist* (A Word of Consolation), Mexico City, 1952.

"And where is body? Where is bone?"  
But earth had no reply.  
The Grave insisted: "I have always been  
The confidant of Death, his trusted kin,  
I know the turn of all his harrowed lines:  
Death with gaping holes instead of eyes,  
Death with shape of life, or cruelly torn,  
And tender, cherished infants dead, new-born,  
And those who died by gas, the 'peaceful' dead,  
'Efficient' Death, with bullet-hole in head,  
And Death imprinted with the hangman's rope.  
But never have I seen a corpse of soap,  
Nor heard that Jewish prayer-shawls can die!" . . .  
But earth had no reply.

The earth was stark  
In soundless shock  
From drop of dew to mountain mass;  
And all the leaves on all the trees were numb,  
And all the winds arrested in their paths.

The birds in all their secret nests  
Were stricken dumb,  
As though the Grave, by disbelief,  
Had turned the pulse of earth to stone,  
And now moaned lonely in his grief:  
"Whence this talis? Why this soap?  
And where is body? Where is bone?"

But suddenly a blast of thunder split



The clotted silence of the earth to bits,  
 And over all of Europe's fields and seas,  
 From ocean beds to misty mountain peaks,  
 Was heard the throbbing of the Grave's demand:  
 "For every bit of soap there was a soul,  
 For every *talis* there was once a man!  
 Now earth and Grave must call the awful roll,  
 And never will the reckoning be done,  
 Till all the dead are counted,  
 One by one!"

And thus the Grave spake to the wondering Wind:  
 "Get ye into that land of frightful sin,  
 Where German nazi—forever cursed name—  
 Destroyed a people in a flame of pain.  
 Awaken all the martyrs, tortured, bled,  
 Bestir the crumbling ashes in the pits,  
 And ask the ashes, ask the restless dead,  
 And ferret out the traces, find a way  
 To recognize the *talis* and the corpse  
 Of human soap that came to me today!"  
 And thus it was that in a herald's guise,  
 The Wind pressed forward into Polish skies.

The grasses wept, and all the stalks of grain,  
 And every threshold, suffering memory's pain,  
 And all the splintered ruins, charred and burned,  
 And all the ancient hallowed streets, upturned,  
 And anywhere the searching Wind appeared,  
 Arose the sound of sobbing and of tears.

The Wind, perplexed, turned here and there.  
 So many graves on Polish earth!  
 Lublin or Lodz or Warsaw first?  
 Or maybe Maidanek? Or where?

"Where!" the echo came from far and near,  
 And from the disembodied multitude  
 A million-voiced reply resounded: "Here!  
 Our corpse, an image of six million Jews!  
 The tortured dead of Warsaw, Vilna, Lodz,  
 The bitter weeping and the tears unshed,  
 Each smouldering ash, each drop of blood,  
 Are all one corpse, one body of our dead!"

But still the doubting Wind did not believe,  
 And tarried, unconvinced, to hear the truth.  
 Again the echoes cried, "Go back!  
 And take along these signs as proof."  
 And then the heavens shook  
 And from the emptiness  
 Came forth the witnesses:  
 A speck of glowing ash.  
 A letter from a sacred Book.  
 A last *Shema*.  
 And shifting in his course, the Wind returned  
 To tell the waiting Grave what he had learned.

But as the Wind moved past a Polish wood,  
 A voice arose: "Your work is not yet done!  
 Add to the prayer, the ashes, and the Book,  
 The thunder of a Jewish Fighter's gun!"

## V. A VOICE FROM THE GHETTO

*Several excerpts from the diary of the archivist of the Ghetto and  
 the leader of the project to preserve the record for the future*

*By Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum*

### KEHILLAH'S BETRAYAL

April 26, 1941  
**L**AST week the Jewish authorities, with the help of  
 the Jewish police, revived a tragic tradition—the force-  
 ful seizure of human beings. They imitated the sorrowful  
 past in all its details, as though they were copying a pic-  
 ture. The factors that led to the seizures were three:

First, the Kehillah [Jewish council] had to produce on  
 April 19, fifteen hundred people for the labor-camps. Only  
 50 appeared. When the Jewish and Polish Police began  
 their round-up in the houses of the Ghetto, they found  
 only 130 people. The rest had not even slept at home,

having learned their lesson from the men who had re-  
 turned from the camps last year, physically and mentally  
 shattered.

The second factor was the behavior of the Kehillah,  
 which neither last year nor this had done anything to lighten  
 the burden of the families whose men had gone to the  
 camps. Nor had they done anything to ease the conditions  
 of the camp inmates themselves. The Kehillah representa-  
 tives who last year had visited the labor camps, had not  
 even inspected them, but had come back with reports that  
 everything "was in order."

The third cause was the flagrant crime of taking only  
 the poor for work in the camps. The "rich sons" are em-  
 ployed in the police force, in community institutions, or

DR. EMANUEL RINGELBLUM was the archivist of the Warsaw Ghetto, the scholar who supervised the underground collection of diaries, documents and materials of every kind in order to preserve for posterity the travail of the Jews of Poland in the Nazi Gehenna. Many cases of these documents, which were buried under the Ghetto ruins, have since been dug up. Among the material thus far published are excerpts from Ringelblum's own diary (*Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto* (Yiddish), Warsaw, 1952) from which the brief entries above are taken. Ringelblum was murdered by the Nazis in 1944.

they are engaged in so-called "productive" work in various factories. Above all, they can always buy their way out of serving. The amount of money required is not very large—I know a rich man who is paying 100 zlotys a month. Many of the "rich sons" are getting exemptions through the Jewish doctors, who work together with the official German doctors. There are even "middle-men" in this business.

In the midst of this corruption it is no wonder that the poorer people have rebelled and refused to go to the work-camps. It is noteworthy that out of 45,000 men who were required to register, only 11,000 showed up. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to think that all of the other 34,000 consciously refused to appear. The Labor Department of the Kehillah is not only corrupt, it is completely inefficient. Every detail (for instance, the very act of registering) requires a superhuman effort. In order to be examined by the doctor you have to stand in line every day for two or three days, beginning at five o'clock in the morning. At the same time, for a "tip" of five or ten zlotys you could get in through a side entrance with no trouble at all. Nothing was foreseen and everything was corrupt. All of this caused the leaders of the Labor Department to lose their heads and, not being able to handle the situation, they resorted to forceful seizure of the population.

The first night was frightful. This was the night on which the Jewish Police was crowned with the name of "gangsters," a name which was repeated hundreds of times at meetings called by the House Committees to discuss this question. The police, instead of searching for those who had actually hidden during the night of the 19th, went through entire houses demanding ransom money. Only those who could not pay were taken away. They concentrated particularly in those locations where the refugees were massed, seizing many of these hungry and suffering men. On the second and third days there were further raids, which completely paralyzed the life of the Ghetto. Streets were blockaded, searches were conducted at random; again blackmail thrived everywhere. These searches did not have the desired results, because the population was hiding in cellars, attics, warehouses; some individuals hid on the Aryan side of the Ghetto. These were

shameful days which will remain an ineradicable blot upon the Jewish Kehillah.

The embitterment of the Jewish population against the Kehillah was therefore indescribable. This received clearest expression at the meeting of the House Committees, which was called by the Kehillah to persuade the people to "volunteer" for the labor camps. At this meeting the official speakers were constantly interrupted by various shouts of protest which made quite clear the opinions of the population. The head of the Labor Department, Councilman Rosen, let slip his "words of wisdom" about the "personal responsibility" of the House Committee leaders for the refusal of the people to volunteer for the camps. As is the custom with the Kehillah, no discussion was allowed. The meeting was adjourned amidst loud protests. The leader of the House Committee of No. 2 Leshno Street, Shapiro, called out, "Where are the leaders of the gangsters who have been forcing us to pay ransom money these last few nights!" He and two others were immediately seized by the Jewish police, but were freed in a few minutes by the stormy protests of the other House Committee representatives.

## HEROIC WOMEN OF THE GHETTO

May 19, 1942.

THE sisters Hayka and Frumka Plotnitska are couriers for the "Underground." How heroic these girls are! Their story would challenge the pen of a great writer. Women of daring heroism, they travel back and forth between the cities and towns of Poland. Their papers identify them as "Aryans"—Polish or Ukrainian. One of them even wears a crucifix, which is always upon her person. (In the Ghetto she keeps it hidden.) Daily they are exposed to great anger. They chance everything on their "Aryan" faces, and on the kerchiefs which they wear on their heads. They accept the riskiest assignments and fulfill them without a hitch or a moment's hesitation. Is it necessary to go to Vilna, Bialystok, Lemberg, Kovel, Lublin, Chensto-



Hayka and Frumka Plotnitska



chov, Rodom—to smuggle into these places illegal literature, money, materials? They do it as though it were a natural thing. Is it necessary to smuggle comrades out of Vilna, Lublin? They accept the task; they acknowledge no obstacles. Is it necessary that they make the acquaintance of German railroad authorities in order to obtain special passports for out-of-state travel? Then they do it, simply, as though they had been especially trained for the work.

They visit cities where no representatives of any Jewish organizations have ever set foot, as for instance Volynia and Lithuania. They were the first to bring the tragic news from Vilna and they were the first to bring words of encouragement and help to the survivors in Vilna. How many

times have they stared death in the eyes? How many times have they been arrested, cross-examined? But thus far luck has been with them, truly, "the people's envoys, whom no harm shall befall."

How modestly they make the reports of their missions, how simply they tell of their travels, their experiences on trains from which Aryans are seized at random for work in the German labor camps! These girls know no rest. They have just returned from Chenstochov and now, without a moment's pause, they are ready to go elsewhere.

The Jewish woman is writing a glorious page in the history of the present war. And in this history, the Haykas and the Frumkas will occupy the front rank.

## VI. UNDERGROUND

*Before the nazis attacked the Soviet Union, a group of Jewish workers in Poland gather to start a daring resistance project*

*By Hersh Smoliar*

**T**HIS was the secret sign: At the corner near the cemetery a fellow would be sweeping the pavement and his coat collar would be turned up around his neck. You were to ask him. "Where do they dump the garbage when they take it out of the Ghetto?" He would show you.

Shlomeh Nissen, when they had given him Sasha's orders and the password, had maintained his studied expression of indifference, as though to say: "These underground tricks are nothing new to me!" But inwardly his heart leaped. Something unusual was happening. Most likely a new "action" was being planned.

And although he was tired after a day's slave-like labor at the construction of the new German garage and so hungry that his insides were cramped, he could not relax enough to rest awhile or to take a bite to eat. But in order that his neighbors might not notice his restlessness, he began to busy himself with his few belongings which lay in the corner near his bed. It was natural, however, that Dvorah (people said she was his "Ghetto-wife") would notice his disquiet and when she asked him where he was going so late, he thought it wiser to forewarn her. Speaking with a forced casualness, he told her, a story of a hiding-place that had to be built for a certain family, a chance for him to earn a little money, and that he might be away

all night.

Even from a distance he noticed that the fellow with the broom was extremely agitated; instead of sweeping the pavement in a natural manner, he stood moving the broom nervously back and forth over one spot. Shlomeh Nissen had not even finished the "password" and the fellow had already given him his directions, crisp and clear, adding reproachfully, "When they say six o'clock, they mean six o'clock!"

In the attendant's hut at the cemetery, Sasha met him with the same reproach—"Thought you were no longer among the living!" and angrily motioned him to follow.

From Sasha's firm and confident mien, Shlomeh Nissen knew that it was not because of some misfortune that he had been summoned. Rather it must be because of an important piece of work that had to be done. Only now did he begin to feel the fatigue of his hard day's work settling in his legs, which began to complain as he descended deeper into the cellar beneath the hut.

EVEN BEFORE SASHA BEGAN TO SPEAK, SHLOMEH NISSEN FELT that there were others present. But the darkness was so intense that he could not even distinguish Sasha, who was an arm's length away.

"I will come directly to the point," he heard Sasha say. "Henceforth you are dead, and your graves are here, ten feet beneath the real corpses." Then he paused for a moment, as if to see what effect this startling announcement had made on his listeners. But his words had created such an air of unreality that no one spoke.

"None of you has families," he continued, "so there will be no one to mourn your untimely death, except . . . perhaps one of you leaves behind a 'Ghetto-wife' . . . (Shlomeh

HERSH SMOLIAR is a writer and cultural leader of Poland today. He was active in the anti-nazi underground in the Minsk Ghetto. The above is drawn from his book *Yidn un Gele Lattes* (Jews Without Yellow Patches) Lodz, 1948, stories about Jewish partisan fighters in Poland in the days before the nazi attack on the Soviet Union.

Nissen felt the barb; he knows everything, that Sasha!) but 'Ghetto-wives' don't matter, they may as well be 'Ghetto-widows.'"

Someone tittered. Another tried a feeble joke. Suddenly a flashlight lit up in Sasha's hand and everyone leaned forward curiously to see who was in the room. There were five or six men and a woman.

"You will have plenty of time to become acquainted," Sasha resumed, and again they were sitting in darkness. And although his tone was more severe and his words clipped like military commands, everyone felt more confident and at ease.

The matter became clearer. No one in this room would return to the Ghetto—it was either death here, or . . . but that remained to be seen later. The former was guaranteed if it became necessary: a vial of poison for each one as a last resort. The assignment was urgent and only they, because they were tested, were to be entrusted with its execution.

It was necessary to dig a tunnel. The direction, the length, the dimensions, all this Sonya knew. She would be the leader. She was completely responsible. Liaison, food, news, these would come from Finkel (he with the broom). Now was not the time to go into all these things—this would be taken care of by the engineer, Sonya. One fact they must be aware of—it was a task of great importance. Its successful conclusion would mean that here, where Death reigns supreme, Life would bloom. Understood? Well, you will understand later. Now—and here the light beamed again—now, to work!

He embraced each one individually and when everything was calm again, only the shifting of sand could be heard as the trap-door closed quietly above their heads.

THEY WAITED FOR SONYA TO BEGIN, BUT SHE WAS UNABLE TO find the right words. She could not continue in Sasha's military tone. Her silence dragged on, creating an uneasiness. Something had to be done, and quickly. Someone scraped his feet along the floor, and stood up. The others followed. Sonya bit her lips, not knowing how to remind them that she was in charge. She knew that her words would sound silly and quite beside the point, but she could think of nothing else to say: "Rest for a little while," she said, "in a few minutes we will begin."

Later she admitted that it was Shlomen Nissen who finally broke the tension and gradually they began to feel bound to each other by one secret, one goal, one fate.

"For 20 years," Shlomeh has exclaimed, "I have been in the underground! Where haven't I been! And what kind of work haven't I done! But *really* underground I have *never* been! I have always wondered why they called it the 'underground'—we were more often up in the attics! Now Hitler has come along and answered my question."

"Did you say 20 years?" asked a squeaky voice. "As for me, from the first hour I came into the movement, I felt that I was living in two places at one time. How much trouble I went through because I could not remember an

address. At least, now I'll have no trouble with that!"

"What an address! Underneath the cemetery!" someone bumbled in the darkness.

"Apparently, there was a lot you didn't know!" said another voice, and it began to chuckle.

"And what did *you* know, that *we* didn't?" asked Shlomeh Nissen skeptically. "Secrets? Conspiracies?"

"And what conspiracies!" the chuckling voice answered. "How many years have gone by, and nobody knows of them! What do you think of a group of young fellows who voluntarily accepted a post that prevented them from seeing the light of day for months on end; who choked on their own blood every time they took a deep breath! How many times I told them to go above ground for a while, to take a rest, to restore their health. But none of them would listen. They knew that once they went above ground, they would never come back down."

"YOU WORKED IN A PRINTING SHOP?!" SONYA BURST OUT. The others thought that she had exploded this way because she was the first to realize what kind of "group" he had been talking about.

But in a moment, the soft whisper of a woman's voice reached their ears, telling them, unhesitatingly now, about the great undertaking which had been entrusted into their hands. From the depths of this spot of earth would arise words of Truth. And from these words—those who had no faith, would find it; those who had despaired would be encouraged; those who were waiting would hear the command; those who were engaged in battle would redouble their blows.

"A printing shop? Here?!"

"Yes! And with passageways to both sides of the world—our side and the 'Aryan' side."

Someone lit a match, produced a candle. No one was curious any longer about the faces of the others. Each one arose from his place, took up the tools which lay ready and in an instant Sonya stood in front of her group, wordlessly marking off with a spade the height and breadth of the tunnel. . . .



A corner of the Lewartowski Jewish House of Culture in Walbrzych, Lower Silesia.



# VII. EVENING AT THE CLUBHOUSE

*The new Poland has insured full equality for the surviving Jews and is providing the means for cultural expression and development*

By V. H. Ivan

*What of the Polish Jews today, 11 years after the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising? Below is an account of a Wednesday evening—any evening—at the Jewish clubhouse in Dzerzhoniov in western Poland, among Jews who are rebuilding a new life in a land where socialism is being established. It is translated here from the Polish Yiddish newspaper, Folks-Shtimme of January 26, 1954.—Eds.*

THE clubhouse of the Jewish Cultural and Social Society is located on Roskovsky Street in the very center of Dzerzhoniov. The lights go up early in all the rooms of the spacious two-story building. The Jewish workers, housewives, working youth and students of Dzerzhoniov enjoy coming to the well-lighted, well-heated rooms of the clubhouse to spend their free time. The walls are decorated with pictures and slogans and the radios play soft music throughout the evening. Here people sit and chat about books or magazines, about production, about everyday problems. Here Jewish men and women tell one another their joys and their worries, as friends usually do.

In the office you can meet Chairman Greenberg of the Press and Book Committee. The quota for new subscriptions to *Folk-Shtimme* (the Yiddish newspaper) and "Jewish Book" (publishing house) have been fulfilled. The committee now decides to overfulfill the quotas and makes plans to win new readers for the Yiddish press.

The auditorium, on the first floor, is especially lively tonight because more than 90 members of the Jewish People's Chorus of Dzerzhoniov and neighboring Byelova have come together for a rehearsal. On Saturday evening they will give a concert in Byelova in the large theater of the textile workers. The singers are workers and students of all ages. Most of them have come straight from work, those from Byelova by special bus.

Suddenly the noise stops. All the singers take their places. The director, Zachariah Klutzkovski, takes the stand. The entire hall, the corridors, the whole clubhouse is filled with song. Ninety rousing voices sing Binem Heller's, *Our Army*. "Poland lay desolated and beaten by the occupying enemy, until Moscow showed us the way to victory, gave us the weapons to fight." Gradually all the empty seats in the hall are taken by "uninvited guests" (only a rehearsal, after all!).

In another room the drama group is rehearsing under the leadership of Director Nathan Rothbloom.

On the balcony are the recreation rooms for chess, checkers and other games. Kibitzers are not lacking. At a table on the left, things are particularly hot. The sound of the checkers on the glass-top tables ring through the hall. Tonight Millie Hershman is "in charge" and she tries to quiet the guests with her smiling reminder, "Please try not to disturb the others." This doesn't always help of course. Only one corner is quiet, where Naimler and Goldman sit pondering deeply over a chess board.

Here is a bulletin board with a copy of the "wall newspaper," *Advance*. How is it that the managers of the Society never look at this prominent spot? Because certainly, if they did, it would not be possible for a newspaper dated November 1953 to be still tacked up in the middle of January 1954!

Mothers and their small children also come to the clubhouse. The little ones grab up the illustrated magazines or stand around watching the grown-ups play. Why doesn't the management, especially the women's section of the Society, give some thought to a special play-room for the children so that the mothers would be free to take part in club life?

On the balcony we also find the library and reading room. The walls are lined with pictures of I. L. Peretz, Sholom Aleichem, Adam Mickewicz (Poland's 19th century national poet), Mendele Mocher Sforim, Pushkin, Gorki. On the table is a wide selection from the daily Polish and Soviet press. The public is especially partial to the *Folk-Shtimme* and the progressive Yiddish newspapers and magazines from other countries. The librarian, Berl Weinrib, tells us: "We have about 2400 books, but we are especially lacking in new, modern works, Polish and others. We have enough readers, but not enough books. That is our most serious problem." The national executive committee of the Society must help this library in Dzerzhoniov.

In the reading room we meet the 17-year old Esther Eisenman, who works in the radio factory, and her friend Malke Schwartzbaum, and several other workers. All are absorbed in their newspapers and magazines.

It is getting late. The guests begin to leave. The lights go out in some of the rooms. But in the auditorium the rehearsal goes on: "We fought as we were commanded, we upheld the trust that was placed in us, so that a free and just Poland would be built upon the ruins."

# JEWS AND THE JEFFERSONIANS

*After the American Revolution was won, the Jews participated in the fight to hold on to democracy; but they met anti-Semitism*

By Morris U. Schappes

**A**FTER the achievement of Independence, new social struggles developed in our country. The issue whether our form of government should be a monarchy or republic was speedily settled by popular pressure in favor of a republic.

But should this republic be broadly democratic, based on the franchise of at least the adult white male population, or should it be limited in its base to a small electorate with a property qualification, and should even the will of that restricted electorate be checked and balanced by devices such as indirect elections for the Senate and the presidency? The power of the wealthy merchants and traders and some of the big landowners dictated a draft Constitution along the latter lines. This Constitution the American people agreed to adopt only upon the promise that a Bill of Rights to protect them in part from the anticipated tyranny of the dominant class would be immediately added as amendments. This Bill of Rights finally went into effect at the very end of 1791.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was marked by especially sharp class conflicts. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, held political power and swiftly seized all the available executive and judicial offices. These Federalists served the interests and were composed, as Jefferson said, of "old refugees and Tories," of "British merchants" and "American merchants trading in British capital," and of the especially hated "speculators" in land and currency.

The small farmers in the countryside and the artisans, journeymen and small merchants in the cities suffered from the financial and taxation policies of the Federalists in power. Anti-Federalist sentiment needed to be organized and expressed politically.

## *Democratic-Republican Clubs*

To provide this expression there speedily developed the Democratic-Republican clubs, inspired by the principles of and soon rallying around Jefferson. By the end of 1794, there were 35 such political clubs in the 13 states, most of them in the main cities, but 14 of them in rural areas.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Perry Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1789-1800*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942, p. 14-15.

These clubs and similar ones founded in subsequent years were the radical vanguard of the political movement that swept Jefferson into the presidency by 1800. They fought for the economic interests of the small merchants, workingmen and farmers, and asserted the right of revolution by declaring, as in the Preamble to the 1794 Constitution of the Democratic Society of New York, "that all legitimate power resides in *the People*, who have at all times the natural and inherent RIGHT to amend, alter, or abolish the form of Government which they have instituted." (Of this New York club the merchant and Jewish communal leader, Solomon Simpson, was both a founder and at that time the second vice president.<sup>2</sup>) These societies were also internationalist in their outlook, especially with regard to the French people, then engaged in a war of national defense against foreign invaders headed by Britain.

With the organized movement of popular democracy expanding, the Federalists became alarmed. "The wealthy feared the populace," writes Dr. Link, and by 1794 "it was the hour for the counter-revolutionists to attack democracy without restraint."<sup>3</sup> The Federalist onslaught was indeed ferocious. Most of the clergy and almost the entire press was mobilized for torrents and floods of smears and lies. Jeffersonianism was denounced as "a crazy system of Anti-Christian politics." The Democratic Societies were branded as "bloody French Jacobins." Jefferson was scored as a French agent and the cry that "French gold" was financing the American democracy resounded. In such a "cold war" atmosphere the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed in 1798, and the Federalist judiciary promptly used them against the leadership and the press of the democratic movement.

It has been known for a long time that the Federalist pattern of reaction was anti-democratic, anti-alien, anti-Negro and anti-French. The Jeffersonian movement was denounced as pro-French, pro-democratic, pro-alien, pro-Negro (the latter because the Jeffersonian harping on equality and the rights of man, the Federalists rightly feared,

<sup>2</sup> Schappes, "Anti-Semitism and Reaction, 1795-1800," *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, vol. 38 (1948), p. 115. Unless otherwise indicated, the source of most of the facts and the texts of the documents will be found in this article and in Schappes, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875*, New York: rev. ed., 1952, pages 84-99, 588-593, 139-141, 160-163, 168-171, 602, 604-607.

<sup>3</sup> Link, work cited, p. 186, and the entire chapter, pages 175-209.



would inevitably be taken by the Negroes to apply to them too). What has only recently been noted is that anti-Semitism was also used by the Federalists as part of their arsenal of reaction, and that the Jeffersonians therefore had to and did fight this anti-Semitic propaganda. Although anti-Semitism was by no means one of the main issues, the fact that it was used at all is noteworthy and instructive. The Federalist use of anti-Semitism was sporadic, but by the decisive election campaign of 1800 even a hasty survey reveals it cropping out in three cities, and in one, Philadelphia, it met a classic reply in Benjamin Nones's historic document.

The issue was first joined in New York in 1795. The role of Solomon Simpson as a leader of the Democratic Society has already been mentioned. Simpson, it will be remembered [see March issue, p. 23], was the president of the Shearith Israel Congregation in 1776 and it was partially under his leadership that the majority of that congregation decided to go into voluntary exile rather than stay in the city and collaborate with the British occupation. After the Revolutionary War, Simpson continued to be in the vanguard political movements. By 1795 he had risen to the first vice presidency of the Democratic Society. Nor was he the only Jew in the Society or in the general Jeffersonian movement. There was Naphtali Judah, printer, merchant and publisher of democratic pamphlets. Later in New York, Isaac N. Gomez, Isaac Levy and Isaac Seixas were to join the then radical Society of Tammany and Mordecai Myers, when he came to New York from Richmond, Virginia, campaigned and canvassed for Jefferson in 1800.

### ***Rivington's Anti-Semitism***

The anti-Semitic issue was raised in 1795 by James Rivington, a thoroughly reactionary newspaper editor and publisher who had been a loyalist and the "King's printer" in New York during the Revolution and was now a vigorous Federalist. Republishing here an English novel, *The Democrat; or Intrigues and Adventures of Jean Le Noir*, he included a nasty preface to this coarse attack on the French Revolution and democracy. To him Jean Le Noir is "a Democratic Missionary, sent from the Metropolitan See of Sedition and Murder at Paris, to propagate their principles in a neighboring country." The Democratic societies, it seems, are also French missionaries, waiting only for a new supply of French gold to "sally forth . . . for rousing the mob to a 'holy insurrection'." To these standard slanders Rivington attached this description of "this itinerant gang": "it will easily be known by their physiognomy; they all seem to be, like their *Vice-President*, of the tribe of Shylock: they have that leering underlook, and malicious grin, that seem to say to the honest man—*approach me not.*"

To this low blow, the Jeffersonians responded quickly and decisively. A member of the Democratic Society, Thomas Greenleaf, was then the editor of two newspapers, the *New York Journal* and the *Argus*. On December 17,

1795, he printed two replies to Rivington in the *Journal* and two days later he reprinted them in the *Argus*. In the first item, a member of the Democratic Society signing himself "Slow and Easy" rises to the defense. First, he argues, there is reason to believe that the historical original of Shylock was a Christian; second, the vice president is known for "his liberality of sentiment and general character"; finally, "if, by the word Shylock, you mean a Jew, from my knowledge of the vice president, I dare say he would think himself honored by the appellation, Judaism being his religious profession, as Democracy is his political creed." In the second letter, "Hortensius" rejects Rivington's "impudent" remarks "not only upon a worthy individual, but also upon a numerous class of citizens, who are certainly, at least, more sincere in their attachment to the interests of America than yourself." If Rivington's fame is perpetuated in a New York street named after him, it is perhaps poetic-historic justice that for more than half a century that street has been part of the Jewish Lower East Side. As for Simpson, he was reelected first vice president of the Democratic Society in 1796 and president in 1797.

### ***Federalist Jew-Baiting***

Meanwhile in Philadelphia a Democratic Society had also been established, later to become the largest and most influential of all the 42 such organizations in the country. One of the leaders of this Society was Israel Israel, an active member of the Universalist Church. Also in the Society from the first year of its existence were inconspicuous Jews like Henry Hyneman and Solomon Marks, Jr.,<sup>4</sup> but it was the leading figure of Israel Israel upon whom attention focused.

In a sharply contested election in the fall of 1797 Israel won the office of Pennsylvania state senator. Federalist judges ruled that a recount showed improper voting and Israel was unseated. But even before then William Cobbett, an Englishman editing the Philadelphia Federalist *Porcupine's Gazette*, wrote on October 16, 1797: "Since the Jews obtained such a complete triumph over the Gentiles, it is said they have conceived the idea of imposing on us a *general circumcision*.—Ah! poor Pennsylvania!" Might one not say, "Ah! *Skunk's Gazette!*"

The public anti-Semitism of the scurrilous Cobbett is echoed privately by the Rev. Charles Nisbet, president of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pa. Writing to a fellow-countryman in Edinburgh on December 11, 1797, Nisbet expresses concern at the report that in England "vast numbers of the middle & lower Rank of People" are planning to emigrate to the United States to escape "the intolerable Oppression . . . at home." Let them go elsewhere, he urges, since they would probably be "only Frenchmen in Disguise" and "we have too many of their Sort among us already." Why, he almost explodes, "a Jewish Tavern-keeper, with a very Jewish Name (viz. Israel Israel) is

<sup>4</sup> *Minutes*, Democratic Society of Philadelphia, p. 95, 132, Manuscript, Hist. Soc. of Pa.





**Mordecai Myers (1776-1871) in his uniform as captain during the War of 1812.**

chosen one of the Senators of this Commonwealth for the City of Philadelphia, solely on account of his violent Attachment to the French Interests.”<sup>5</sup>

At about the same time in New York, Alexander Hamilton himself in summing up a case in court took “unbecoming liberties” with “two as respectable merchants as any in this City” by comparing them, among other things, “with *Shylock the Jew*,” as was noted by a protesting correspondent in the democratic *New York Journal* of November 1, 1797.<sup>6</sup>

These strands have a cumulative effect. But the climax comes in 1800. The social conflict became bitter. As Mordecai Myers remembered it later in his autobiography, under the Alien and Sedition Laws “the President had power to transport or imprison, without trial, any suspected person, and he actually did imprison many valuable citizens, for speaking disrespectfully of him as an individual. Several of these were editors.”

“The rich merchants and traders” of the Federalist party, moreover, used their economic position as an election argument and “would neither deal with or employ those who differed from them in politics. . . .” And of course the Federalist press became more and more vituperative.

Thus when the famous revolutionary and scientist, Dr. Benjamin Rush, won a suit against William Cobbett and was awarded \$5,000 damages for Cobbett’s libels against him, Cobbett resorted to a vile anti-Negro, anti-democratic

and anti-Semitic attack on Rush and his lawyers, one of whom was Moses Levy (who later turned Federalist and became an anti-labor judge). On February 28, 1800, in a publication called *The Rush-light* issued in New York, Cobbett said of one of Levy’s court-room statements: “Such a diabolical thought never could have been engendered but in the mind of a Jew!” Furthermore, he sneered, “a poor, devil like Moses . . . did not believe a word that he said; he vash vorking for de monish, dat vash all.” It need hardly be added that the Philadelphia-born Moses Levy did not speak with a foreign accent.

Joseph Dennie was even more sweeping in his anti-Semitism. A leading New Hampshire Federalist editor, he had been brought to Philadelphia as private secretary to Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State. Dennie was a “fierce Federalist,” according to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, who “loathed democratic innovation in any form.” When Pickering was removed from the Cabinet for conspiring to precipitate a war with France and Dennie’s position was uncertain, Dennie wrote home a sour letter to his loyalist-Federalist parents on May 20, 1800. Should Jefferson be elected, he announces, he will “abandon public life, and, perhaps, even my country.” Here, he cries, “in this *republic*, this region, covered with the Jewish, and canting and cheating descendants” of those who, when a Stuart was King, fled to the American colonies to escape “their creditors,” “the Church,” “their Sovereign” and “their God”—here what can a Dennie expect? It will be remembered that during the reign of the Stuarts, Jews were not legally allowed to live in England.

### **Benjamin Nones, Jeffersonian**

Against such background, the anti-Semitic incidents in the election campaign itself in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Charleston takes on added significance. The first and most important of these involves Benjamin Nones, who had come here in 1777 from Bordeaux, France, as a youth of 20 to fight for the remainder of the Revolutionary War and who after the war had maintained his political principles in the Jeffersonian movement.

On July 30, 1800, Nones attended a meeting of the Democratic Society of Philadelphia at which nominations for local and state governmental office were approved. On August 5, the foremost Federalist organ, *Gazette of the United States*, printed an account of this meeting conceived in gall, written in spite and published with venom. The people at the meeting were described as “the very *refuse and filth* of society,” as consorters with Negroes, as perjurers, drunks and illiterates. Every line spattered contempt for artisans, workingmen, Negroes, for democracy and the people in general. The last lines reeked with anti-Semitism.

The reporter would have us believe that, when a collection to pay the rental for the meeting room was being taken at the end of the meeting, Nones begged off, as follows:

“*Citizen N— the Jew. I hopsh you will consider dat*

<sup>5</sup> Nisbet to Wallace, Manuscript, New York Public Library.

<sup>6</sup> My attention to this item was directed by Dr. Peter Paulson of New York.

*de monish ish very scarch, and besides you know I'sh just come out by de Insholvent Law.*

"Several. Oh yes let N— pass."

Immediately Nones wrote a reply of tremendous dignity, eloquence and depth of conception not only of democratic principles but of the relationship of Jews to radical movements. The reactionary stereotype tying together Jews, poverty and radicalism receives a classic dissection altogether devoid of any defensive or apologetic note. If this magnificent document has not won its way even into a footnote of *The Growth of American Thought* by Prof. Merle Curti or of *The American Mind* by Prof. Henry Steele Commager, this neglect reflects more upon the narrowness of even these liberal professors than upon the merit and distinctiveness of Nones's thought as a radical American Jew.

When the editor of the *Gazette* refused to print Nones' rejoinder, even though he offered to pay for the publication, Nones took it to *The Philadelphia Aurora*, the leading Jeffersonian newspaper in the country, which promptly published it on August 11, 1800. "I am accused," Nones wrote, "of being a Jew; of being a Republican; and of being Poor." To all three indictments he pleads guilty—with pride.

### Nones's Reply

His answer to the first count, though it may lack originality, is lofty in tone. "I am a Jew. I glory in belonging to that persuasion, which even its opponents, whether Christian or Mahomedan, allow to be of divine origin. . . . A persuasion, whose patient followers, have endured for ages the pious cruelties of Pagans, and of christians. . . . To be of such a persuasion is to me no disgrace. . . ."

He is most brilliant and incisive in responding to the charge that he is a "republican," that is, a radical of the vanguard democratic-republican Jeffersonian societies. "I am a Republican!" he declares. "Thank God, I have not been so heedless, and so ignorant of what has passed, and is now passing in the political world. I have not been so proud or so prejudiced as to renounce the cause for which I have fought . . . and for three and twenty years I felt no disposition to change my political, any more than my religious principles."

But then Nones comes to the new, distinguishing feature of his political creed. He is not content with asserting his democratic right as an American to hold any political views.

Nones advances from the position of the democratic rights of Jews to the concept of the necessity that Jews be among the vanguard of the fight for progress. "On religious grounds," he asserts, "I am a republican," and he points to what he, and many others who fought in the American Revolution, regarded as Biblical hostility to "kingly government."

Where there are established churches fused with the state, Jews suffer, and so Jews need the separation of church and



Benjamin Nones (1757-1826)

state. "I am a Jew, and if no other reason, for that reason am I a republican. Among the pious priesthood of church establishments, we are compassionately ranked with Turks, Infidels and Heretics. . . . Among the nations of Europe we are inhabitants every where, but Citizens no where unless in Republics. . . . In republics we have rights, in monarchies we live but to experience wrongs. . . . How then can a Jew but be a Republican? . . ."

As for the final charge of poverty and bankruptcy, Nones shows that his poverty too is connected with the Federalist cold war against France. Poor, yes, but honest, he cries. "I know that to pursue proud aristocracy poverty is a crime, but it may sometimes be accompanied with honesty even in a Jew." A few years ago, after having had to declare bankruptcy, he "unsolicited" paid off all his creditors eight years later, and even offered to pay interest on the debt which was refused. If now he is again bankrupt, it is "because having the amount of my debts owing to me from the French Republic, the differences between France and America have prevented the recovery of what was due to me, in time to discharge what was due to my creditors." When there is real peace again, he will repay his creditors. Between his slanderers and himself, "the Public will judge," Benjamin Nones ends this resounding declaration.

### Slander in Pittsburgh and Charleston

At about the same time that Nones's letter was being read in Philadelphia, out in the frontier town of Pittsburgh beyond the Alleghanies the Federalist press monopoly was being broken by the publication in mid-August of a Jeffersonian organ, *Tree of Liberty*, edited by a John D. Israel. Although Israel was not Jewish and tried to explain that in his issue of September 6, the Federalists in circular and newspaper denounced the *Tree of Liberty* as "the Jew Press" preaching "sedition" and "Jacobinism," and Israel's editorial office was called "a Synagogue."



In Charleston, S. C., too, the issue was raised as the December 3 election day neared. There towards the middle of October 1800, the Charleston *Times* printed a communication from an "A.B." peddling the unfounded story that in the Jewish synagogue "a federal or state officer affected to join in worship with the Jews, attending Divine service, and afterwards distributing tickets" of an electioneering nature. The Jews, "A.B." explained, "prostitute the temple of the Most High, for electioneering purposes." That this unholy prostitution was supposed to have been stimulated by anti-Federalists is to be inferred from what purported to be a defense of the Jews by a "C.D." in the *Times*, October 15. "C.D." testifies that it was not a federal but a state officer who was the culprit, apologizes to the Jews "for the illiberal and groundless assertion" of "A.B.," and assures the public that the Jews "wanted no change, and merited the approbation of all good men."

Thus both misrepresented and badly defended, "E. F." writes in the *Times* of October 16 "at the request of several respectable" Jews of Charleston to set the record straight. First, "A.B." "most wantonly asperses" the Jews when he says there was any kind of electioneering in the synagogue; there was none, and none would have been allowed. As for "C.D.'s" affidavit that the Jews want no change, "E. F." wants it known that "there are also very

many respectable Hebrews, who . . . indulge a hope, that ere long a *free, unmixed and uncontaminated republican* form of government will arise out from the abolition of the sedition and alien laws." Here too, then, in the face of anti-Semitic falsehood, Jews were not content with the craven defense that they are conservative, but wanted it published that there are radical Jews fighting the Alien and Sedition laws and other Federalist iniquities.

While it would be extreme to state that the Federalists to the last man were anti-Semitic and that the Jeffersonians always fought anti-Semitism and never gave way to it, nevertheless the growing weight of evidence shows that Federalism, as a reactionary movement, did not hesitate to use this instrument of reaction for political purposes, and that the Jeffersonians, out of democratic principle and out of necessity, had to meet the issue.

As the eighteenth turned into the nineteenth century, there were 5,308,000 people in the United States, of whom only some 3,000 were Jews. Yet, as shown by the foregoing, even this tiny percentage of Jews became one of the many tests of the extent and consistency of democratic theory and practice. Even then, too, it was becoming broadly clear that the Jewish population as a whole would benefit only from the march of progress.

7 Charles Reznikoff, *The Jews of Charleston*, Philadelphia, 1950, p. 287-288.

## NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

### *Yiddish Theater Presentation in Odessa*

THE Israel press in February published an interview of the Mapai journalist A. S. Yuris with some Israeli seamen who had just returned from Odessa, where they had brought a cargo of oranges. Among the interesting information given by the sailors was the fact that there had been a "theater presentation" in Yiddish in Odessa. They also said that the population of Odessa was estimated to be about 25 per cent Jewish; that they had been welcome everywhere in the city and were free to roam anywhere they pleased up to midnight; that conditions were greatly improved since their last visit; and that Jews occupied important positions in the life of the city. (*Morning Freiheit*, March 7.)

### *Hanukah in Czechoslovakia*

HANUKAH was celebrated in all Czech Jewish religious communities and synagogues in traditional style, reported *Vestník* (News), Czechoslovak Jewish paper, recently. Chief Rabbi Dr. Gustav Sicher preached in the Prague Synagogue. Regional Rabbi Dr. Bernard Farkas led the services in the seven synagogues of the Jewish community around Ustá nad Labem and Chief Cantor Samuel Landerer sang the services in these places. Services were held also in Karlovy Vary, Teplice, Mariánské Lázně, Liberec, Brno, Olomouc and other places.

### *Jewish Religious Unity in Czechoslovakia*

DURING the Congress held by delegates of all the Jewish religious communities in Bohemia, Moravia

and Silesia in Prague on November 22, 1953, to form a united organization, Chief Rabbi Dr. Gustav Sicher said, in part, as follows:

"For the fourth time since the rise of the Czechoslovak State, the delegates of the Religious Communities in the Czech regions are gathered to hold their Congress. Today's convention, however, will be marked as especially important in the history of the religious Jewish community. As far back as during the First Republic there was an effort of the existing so-called Supreme Council of the Federation of Religious Communities of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to unite the individual religious communities into one organizational entity based on a constitution. However, the fatal Munich events and the Nazi occupation, which culminated the work of destruction, made impossible any such efforts. . . .

"The constitution which we are about to adopt is, of course, different from those which preceded it. Its preamble stresses that the Jewish religious community possesses equal rights with all other churches. It can be said that every citizen, including the Jew, has equal rights under the law of the Republic. However, the equality of the churches, the emphasizing that no church has preference over others and therefore neither over the Jewish church, is a novum of the People's Democratic order.

"The Jewish Religious Community will also live according to its constitution and in accordance with the principles of this order. I further believe that the preamble also reflects the rejection of racial and religious hatred and of anti-Semitism by the People's Democratic State, prohibited by law for the first time in history."



# ISRAEL AND ARMS FOR PAKISTAN

By B. Balti

**Tel Aviv**

The attempts of United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to force an aggressive alliance upon the Middle East, consisting of Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq and Iran, have evoked a storm in India, Burma and many other countries of Asia.

Indian Premier Nehru at a mass meeting in Balangur declared that American military assistance is not only a step to a new world war, but that it would bring the war to the borders of India. He rejected the excuse that Pakistan, armed by the United States, would "help" India. He emphasized that there are disputes between India and Pakistan and that Washington's help to Pakistan would only increase the war danger on the Indian peninsula. Nehru asked for a treaty of friendship between India and Pakistan which would prevent the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of these countries.

The United States-Pakistan dealings have also called forth great concern in Burma, Afghanistan and other countries which border on Pakistan.

Pakistani Foreign Minister Zafrullah Khan assumed the responsibility of initiating the establishment of a new aggressive bloc in the Middle East. He visited Damascus (Syria), Teheran (Iran), Beirut (Lebanon) and Rabath Aman (Jordan). In all these capitals he held official discussions with the premiers. The Pakistani press is trying to create the impres-

sion that these visits are no more than "courtesy-calls." But the speeches of United States politicians leave not the shadow of a doubt about the real aims of these "courtesy calls" to Iran, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. *Newsweek* reported that Vice President Richard Nixon proposed establishment of a "military alliance which would include Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Indo-China, Formosa and Japan, and in this way close the circle" around the Soviet Union and People's China. Nixon also said that it was not necessary to worry about India, since Pakistan was a counter-balance to the Nehru government.

Attempts of the United States reactionary press to present help to Pakistan as something given "for nothing" are ridiculous. It is impossible even to imagine that Washington would shower the Pakistan government with gifts of airplanes, rocketships, tanks and other modern weapons, without receiving something in return.

The effort to set up an aggressive bloc consisting of the United States, Pakistan,

Turkey, Iraq and Iran, is fraught with the greatest danger to all the countries of the Near and Middle East. For such a bloc is not only an attempt to encircle India, but also an obvious attempt to hitch all the countries of the Near and Middle East by force and blackmail to the plans of Washington. The London *Times* in a leading editorial warned the United States government against the consequences of inserting a wedge between England and Pakistan and between England and India. The London government openly expressed its concern about the American attempt to oust England from this broad area which lies between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

The Washington policy is intensifying the differences not only between India and Pakistan, but also between the Arab countries and Israel. The State Department is seeking openly to sharpen the existing contradictions in the Near and Middle East and to force itself upon these countries by the system of "divide and rule." After the establishment of the United States bases in Franco Spain and monarcho-fascist Greece and with the

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strengthening of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, the United States was transformed into a first-rank imperialist power in the Mediterranean. The United States government is pursuing the old colonial policy and is improving upon it in great measure. This fact touches directly upon the question of peace between Israel and the Arab countries.

The debates on the question of Kibya in the UN Security Council showed that the United States government is not interested in negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries. The debates on the question of the Jordan water project again showed that Washington is not interested in direct negotiations between Israel and Syria.

**The shipping** of American arms to neighboring Arab countries underscores the danger to Israel inherent in this attempt of Washington to set up an aggressive bloc in the Middle East.

How did the Israel government react to this new United States plan? It did not protest, as did the governments of India, Burma and Afghanistan. It is true that both *Haaretz* (independent conservative) and *Davar* (Histadrut organ) expressed

their concern. But this concern was that Israel would not be included in the plans! This position is entirely different from that of India, Burma, Afghanistan and Indonesia, which manifested their opposition to transforming the area between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean into a military base.

In connection with the arms shipments to Egypt and other countries, the official position of Israel is expressed by the request for more arms to Israel as though the arms race in the Middle East could guarantee the security of Israel. Israel circles in Washington argue that Israel was the first to request military aid as far back as two years ago and that supplying arms to the countries of the Arab League in this period would be interpreted as American aid to Israel's enemies.

The request of the Israel government will not stop the arms race in the Middle East; it will only draw Israel into it. This position is in contrast even to that of the right wing Social Democrats in Burma or to that of a liberal politician like Nehru, who requests a *cessation* of arms shipments to *all* the countries of the Near East and the Indian Ocean. These men

do not seek the "favours" of the United States for their countries because they understand that the purpose of these arms is to provoke bloody incidents.

There is general hostility to the aggressive plans of the United States not only in India, Burma, Afghanistan and Indonesia, but also in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, because they are justifiably afraid that their independence will be entirely wiped out by the armies of Turkey and Pakistan. Nor do they want to be cannon-fodder in an anti-Soviet war.

**An unequivocal** position by the Israel government against the Washington program is not only in the interests of her security, but it would also bring Israel closer to the peoples of the Middle East and Asia generally. It would bring peace between Israel and her neighbors that much nearer. It would prove that there is a decisive difference between the position of Israel and United States strivings for domination. The Israel government could take such a position especially in view of the fact that such great international powers as the Soviet Union, China, India, Great Britain and a number of other countries, have expressed their opposition to the war program of Washington. The road to peace and understanding between Israel and her neighbors lies in common resistance to the plans of John Foster Dulles and not in begging for the inclusion of Israel in these plans, as is being done by the press which is close to the government.

The demand of the hour is this: *nullify* the request for Washington's "military assistance," which can only lead to the occupation of Israel and which serves only the plans of Israel's enemies.

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**Winthrop, Mass.**

GREETINGS  
**Emma Lazarus Clubs**  
of Dorchester, Mass.

To a happy future to  
MY GRANDCHILDREN  
**L. K.**  
Brooklyn

After night comes day  
After darkness comes light  
After rain comes sunshine  
We fight to have light and sunshine  
**SHORE FRONT FRATERNAL CLUB**  
Brooklyn

CONEY ISLAND  
GREETINGS  
"JEWISH LIFE"  
**A Group of Friends**  
Brooklyn



# Letters from Readers

## Brotherhood in Action

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We thought your readers might be interested in the following story of how we celebrated Brotherhood Week this year.

A joint program of songs, dances, essays and a dramatic narrative featured the celebration of Brotherhood Week on Sunday, February 21, by the Washington Jewish Children's School and the First Baptist Church of West Washington, at the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., 9th and Rhode Island Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.

This was the second year in which the two organizations have collaborated in presenting a diversified program dedicated to the extension of democracy in the nation's capital. In greeting the meeting, Rev. T. Ewell Hopkins of the First Baptist Church, and Sol Tabor, president of the Jewish Children's School, pointed to the progress that has been made in ending Jimcrow in Washington's eating places, hotels and theaters, and urged a more vigorous fight to wipe out the segregated school system that is the shame of the city. (The First Baptist Church is a Negro Church in Georgetown.)

Approximately 75 children, ranging in ages from three to 15, performed for an enthusiastic audience. There were several songs presented by the choruses of each school and other numbers sung by the entire group of 75. Most stirring was the concluding number, "Made My Vow to be Free," which brought down the house.

Last year the two organizations presented separate programs on two successive Sundays. This year, the leaders of the two groups felt that a single unified program would enable all concerned to work closer together, in preparing the concert and thus put into practice the ideas to be

celebrated. The result was a most successful affair.

Both the church and the Jewish Children's School hope to be able to enlarge the participation in forthcoming celebrations of Brotherhood Week by inviting other organizations to take part. The management of the Y.W.C.A. which served refreshments to all the children after the concert, graciously offered the facilities of the "Y" for future affairs.

C. GUREWITZ

Secretary, Washington Jewish Children's School, Wash., D. C.

## "Mind Your Own Business"

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Following is a copy of a letter that I sent on February 12 to Mr. Alfred J. Bohlinger, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York.

My dear Mr. Bohlinger:

I am in receipt of a printed communication, dated January 20, 1954, over your printed signature. It is related to insurance that I had (and still have) with the International Workers Order, Inc.

I resent very vigorously your gratuitous statement that ended this printed note. I can assure you, dear sir, that I will associate with any person who I feel will enjoy my company or whose company I may enjoy. I would suggest that you mind your own business, which is to supervise the insurance industry in New York State.

MORRIS GOODMAN

Beverly Hills, Calif.

Greetings  
**JEWISH AMERICAN  
CLUB**  
of Bensonhurst  
Brooklyn

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## Individual Greetings

### BROOKLYN

Gabriel Lansky  
Harry Kaplo  
Leah Nelson  
George Barkow  
Bella Terry  
Morris Weiner  
Clara Weiner  
Carl M. Rubin  
Ruby Yalkut  
Leonard Freund  
Mr. and Mrs. Reiter  
Mr. and Mrs. M. Covici  
Jack Greenberg  
H. Elekman  
Jack and Rose Nashbir  
Gussie Brodie  
Abe Mednick  
A. Brickman  
Esther & Helen  
M. Adams  
Mrs. Sackman

### SYRACUSE, N. Y.

Lillian E. Reiner

### DORCHESTER, MASS.

J. Spitz  
Ida

### DAYTONA BEACH, FLA.

Lloyd Kaufman  
Charles Kaufman  
Rose Arnold  
M. Bell  
Pete Shishko

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## MASSES & MAINSTREAM

832 Broadway  
New York 4, N. Y.

# MIKE GOLD IS 60

To the Editor of JEWISH LIFE:

I think you are doing a very nice job against McCarthy and anti-Semitism and for the Rosenbergs.

Will you please have more stories like "Susie's Hanukah Report" [by Alice Citron, December 1953]. And, by all means get that \$15,000. Because I don't want your magazine to stop making magazines.

N. C., aged nine

New York City

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is check for \$2.00. I herewith pledge \$2.00 a month to keep JEWISH LIFE going. Sorry it can't be more, but financial needs on all progressive fronts plus personal needs make it too difficult to do more at this time.

Your magazine is truly too "indispensable." We can't let the McCarthyites crush this breath of fresh air for freedom. Good luck, and keep us informed as usual on the truth.

S. M.

Detroit

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Please send me two copies of the February issue. I want to use them in our study group on Human Relations.

C. D.

Shrewsbury, N. J.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The March issue is outstanding. I just finished reading Peretz' story ["A Weaver's Love"]—excellent—very apropos these days. The only thing that disappointed me was the ending, the last letter—the optimism and hope for the future is kind of shaken in this last letter.

M.S.

Cleveland

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Am enclosing a dollar for your fund. Have all kinds of doctor and dentist bills staring me in the face this month and am wondering how to meet them.

I was very much moved by that very beautiful story in this issue, "A Weaver's Love." I have never heard of Isaac Loeb Peretz. [This reader is non-Jewish.—Eds.] Will try and find more of his stories, or rather these excerpts from life.

Mrs. G. A.

Los Angeles

ON April 12, Mike Gold, the well-loved progressive writer and critic, will be 60. The Editorial Board of JEWISH LIFE joins the many people all over the country in sending Mike Gold heartiest birthday greetings and wishing him long life!

As a creative writer Mike Gold is best known for his *Jews Without Money*, the moving and ever-fresh story of life on the teeming East Side in the first two decades of this century. This work still stands as one of the few genuinely progressive and enduring works of immigrant Jewish life and of the aspirations of the second generation in its early years.

Mike Gold has also played an important role in the literary life of our country. The impact of his critical writing during the thirties can hardly be overestimated. And the impress of his warm personality remains with those who have had the good fortune to know him.

Selections from his prose and poetry

will be published on the occasion of his birthday by International Publishers. *The Mike Gold Reader* will include an introduction by Samuel Sillen, editor of *Masses & Mainstream*.

In many parts of the country, including New York, Mike Gold's birthday will be celebrated by meetings and receptions. Mike Gold has accepted many speaking engagements in the next few months all over the country. Requests for speaking dates can be addressed to Mike Gold, care of International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

GREETINGS  
on the glorious day of the  
WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING  
May it live in eternity  
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San Francisco

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—BROOKS ATKINSON, N. Y. Times

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## Make it a one year plan!

### WHAT is our one-year plan?

As our readers know, we are still in the midst of our annual fund drive. We have found that many readers have responded favorably to our suggestion that they send in one, two, five, ten or more dollars a month to give the magazine a solid, dependable income through the year.

We are confident that many more of you will agree to join our sustainers. When enough of you join, it becomes a one-year plan.

So we urge you to join the growing band of sustainers for JEWISH LIFE. Just let us know that you're coming in and how much you will contribute. And you won't have to worry about remembering. We'll remind you each month.

Join up now!

JEWISH LIFE, 22 E. 17 St., Rm. 601, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Please enlist me under the one-year plan to help sustain JEWISH LIFE. Enclosed is a check (money order, cash) for \$..... and I shall send you this sum each month.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....



# OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

## Campaign Droplets

Too many places aren't moving on the JEWISH LIFE Fund Drive—thus endangering the whole project. . . . Cleveland, Boston and Pittsburgh among those not heard from. . . . Not working on all cylinders in other areas but strong efforts being made. . . . This is time to tell our JEWISH LIFE committees, readers and friends that unless campaign finishes strong, the summer will open with the magazine's existence in danger for lack of funds. . . . Let's wake up! . . . But don't get me wrong—many things were and are in the doing:

Miami Beach, always quick and effective on response, sent \$200. . . . Chicago likewise. . . . But Chicago is a little larger than Miami Beach and not much time is left for achievement of its quota of \$1000 plus 200 subs. . . . Bronx committees have already had four parties for the mag. . . . Brooklyn three. . . . Manhattan two. . . . But still, giant New York City is not carrying its load in campaign. . . . Los Angeles started rolling. . . . Its campaign began later than rest of country because of local commitments. . . . But when LA starts, it starts: sent in \$800 as first instalment. . . . Springtime note: keep circulation-minded these days. Check on your friends whether they have renewed their subs, get that bundle for distribution at meetings and affairs and among your friends.

## Bravo Emma Lazarus Clubs!

In many organizations the celebration of 300 years of Jewish life in the United States is still in the discussion stage, but not so with the Emma Lazarus Women's Clubs. The E. L. clubs have already organized a number of projects and the celebration has permeated the work and program of the clubs in such a way that all their activities reflect the historic event. Imagination, boldness and creativity are applied to their celebrations and programs. Outlines and other material have been issued. A publishing fellowship on 300 years is contemplated. A beautiful gold Tercentenary medalion and bronze award is offered to clubs and members which reach certain achievements in the campaigns of the organization. The women in the Emma Lazarus Clubs are living the Tercentenary in their daily work—not only upon special occasions. The keynote of the Tercentenary celebration is the contribution made by Jews to the strug-

gle for American democracy, progressive culture, militant trade unionism and progress.

## Bronx Shows Way

On March 6 the Emma Lazarus Clubs of the Bronx presented a unique and outstanding program in celebration of 300 years. The highlights of Jewish settlement in this country were presented in a dramatization including music, chorus and dance with narrative—all of which was written, directed and produced by members of the Bronx organization. Effective scenes were presented dealing with Peter Stuyvesant's effort to oust the Jews, with the anti-slavery struggle as symbolized by the great Negro leader Sojourner Truth and the militant Ernestine Rose, with the influx of immigrants from Europe, with the historic shirt and waist-makers strike in 1909-10. The presentation closed with an effective court-room scene with the McCarran-Walter immigration law on trial.

The Bronx script with a few alterations should become available to other clubs and organizations. Thus the contributions of the Emma Lazarus clubs to the Tercentenary can be expanded. An exceptionally effective *Souvenir Journal*, containing among other things several articles on 300 Years, was given out.

## News from Newark

The Jewish Life Committee of Newark also opened its celebration of 300 years with a Lecture-Concert on March 7. Morris U. Schappes spoke and Eleanor Stone Birnbaum presented a program of songs. An interesting sidelight on the malady, with which many so-called Jewish leaders are afflicted, appeared in relation to this affair in Newark. The *Newark Jewish News* of March 5 carried an item quoting a statement by Rabbi Ely E. Pilchuk and Adrian M. Unger, issued, according to them, "in response to inquiries received by the Jewish Community Council." Rabbi Pilchuk is chairman of the Council's committee on the Tercentenary and Unger the chairman of its Community Relations Committee.

These gentlemen in their statement felt it necessary to warn that the celebration organized at the Jewish Culture Center "has no connection with the organized Jewish community's celebration." Please stay away from the JEWISH LIFE celebration, the statement implied, be-

cause pretty soon we will make an announcement of plans to mark the 300th anniversary.

Why the petty, uncalled-for admonition, we ask these pillars of the Newark Jewish community? Shouldn't they be happy as many groups as possible celebrate the anniversary? Is it of benefit to the Jewish community to bring the spirit of McCarthyism into the celebration? This very act is in contradiction to the words of the rabbi and Mr. Unger further on in their statement: "The celebration will serve as a rededication of American Jewry to the principles of liberty and human rights." Let's not mar the celebration with the ugly disease of McCarthyism and red-baiting.

## Greetings, Yiddish Writers

The editorial board of JEWISH LIFE greets the appearance of a new Yiddish literary quarterly—*Zamlungen* (Collection). This journal, published by the Jewish Writers Organization of the YKUF, makes its debut with a rich collection of short stories, essays and poems by well-established and new Yiddish writers and translations. The American Jewish literary scene is brightened by the appearance of *Zamlungen*.

## Warsaw Ghetto Meeting

There will be an observance of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on Tuesday, April 20, 7 P.M., at Manhattan Center in New York. The significance of this anniversary is amply attested to in this special Warsaw Ghetto issue of JEWISH LIFE. Therefore, the Memorial Meeting, which will have a number of renowned speakers and an appropriate program, should be attended by all our readers and their friends. Too many Jewish leaders and organizations are trying to forget the Warsaw Ghetto and its lessons—and therefore there is a shameful reticence in observing this historic resistance. Be there and add your voice in commemoration of the Jewish heroes, who have so much to teach us in this day of McCarthyite repression.

## GREETINGS

Leo Ritz	Jack Ames
Harry Bolton	Jack Schucman
Anonymous	A Friend
Mollie Lapin	Isabelle Pearlman
Bertha Bloksberg	Dave Vines

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

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