

Jewish Life

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APRIL 1947

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

April 19, 1943

*"The fire, 'tis we, vengeance
for the bygone tears, the woes of
the people; vengeance for the
lords that hunted human game
upon their lands; vengeance for
the fruitless battles, the blood spilt
in prisons, men burned and wom-
en and girls buried alive; ven-
geance for the fettered and bleed-
ing past. The fire, 'tis we: we are
the souls of the dead."*

—Charles de Coster, Tyl Ulenspiegel



Letters From Readers

No Evasions

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Like many other Jews with the recent history of suffering and the present threat of anti-Semitism facing Jewry, my husband and I have become very interested in Jewishness.

We have read and discussed between ourselves, and with others the rather meager Marxist material available. We find ourselves puzzled, and with a great many questions.

For example, precisely how does one maintain his Jewishness? (This precludes religious Judaism.) What is American-Jewish culture? (The article in December JEWISH LIFE by Nathan Ausubel on Jewish culture seemed to get nowhere. It posed several questions which it proceeded to ignore.)

I hope that in the near future JEWISH LIFE will feature discussions of these subjects, discussions that will offer concrete answers rather than evasions.

Rochester

MARION ROXEN.

On Jewish Labor Council

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

It is with the most sincere feeling that we greet the publication of JEWISH LIFE. The publication of a magazine dealing with Jewish problems in the English language has fulfilled a real need for the American people.

The fact that no article has as yet been printed explaining the role and activities of the American Jewish Labor Council is hard to understand. We know that you will not allow this omission to stand too much longer.

Los Angeles

SHIRLEY MARON.

On Organizations

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

I would like to commend you for the job you are doing.

There is a suggestion I would like to make. There is such a large number of Jewish organizations in the United States and in the rest of the world that there is considerable confusion as to their programs and activities. I think it would be well worth while to publish a series of articles reviewing these organizations. It would be especially worth while to discuss the various Jewish organizations in the Soviet Union.

Another lack that I have experienced is a series of bibliographies of books in English and Yiddish which deal with Jewish history, Jewish problems and Jewish culture from a progressive viewpoint. It is particularly difficult to determine the sources of Yiddish books. Somehow you ought to try to supply bibliographies from time to time.

Guelph, Ontario

HENRY H. RICHMOND.

Likes Song

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The *Song of the Mountain-Jews* is beautiful! And how Mr. Green has kept that oriental poetic style! The work has so much of what seems its original flavor that you can hardly feel it is a translation at all.

I hope the plans regarding the further development of the poem, suggested by Moise Katz, will materialize. I have read the poem several times, and each time I am moved anew by it.

New York

VAL LITVINOFF



VOL. I, No. 6

APRIL, 1947

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JEWISH LIFE is devoted to the scientific study of the political, economic, cultural and social development of the Jewish people, and to the militant struggle for equality and democracy. It carries on a consistent struggle against anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination in the United States. It fights for the building up of a progressive Jewish life in our country and throughout the world. It gives maximum support to the development of Jewish communities where they exist. It recognizes that the chief strength of the Jewish people lies in an alliance with the progressive forces of the world, particularly labor, and with the masses of the oppressed peoples.

THE EDITORS.

CONTENTS

	Page
COVER DESIGN by William Gropper	1
FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
IMPERIALIST SCHIZOPHRENIA	3
RELIEF WITHOUT BIAS	3
CHURCH AND STATE	4
NOBLEST OF DEEDS IN ALL OF TIME by Joseph North	5
PARTISAN, a woodcarving by Aaron Goodelman	6
PARTISAN SONG by Hirsh Glick, translated by Aaron Kramer	7
STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL by B. Mark	8
DIARY OF A GHETTO BOY by Werner Galnik	10
WOODCUTS by Miklosz Adler	10, 11, 12
A NEW FORTRESS IS RISING by Alexander Bittelman	14
POETRY	
DPS by Martha Millet	17
FIRST PASSOVER by Martha Millet	17
FROM OUR ASHES by Alfred Levinson	17
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN FACES TEST by Ruth Simon	19
TOWARDS THE BIOGRAPHY OF JUDAH TOURO by Morris U. Schappes	21
LETTERS FROM ABROAD	
BEVIN'S PALESTINE PLAN AND UN by I. Rennap	25
DOCUMENTS	
MEMO TO UN ON PALESTINE by the Communist Party of Palestine	26
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS	32
LETTERS FROM READERS	2

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This issue of JEWISH LIFE

is dedicated to

ALL WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES

in the

STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

JEWISH LIFE

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

IMPERIALIST SCHIZOPHRENIA

THE future historian will find it incredible that imperialist reaction could expose its cynical inhumanity so thoroughly without calling down upon itself the avenging wrath of the people.

Consider the fact that imperialism is to a great extent responsible for the murder of 6,000,000 Jews, victims of the fascist Frankenstein it had brought into the world. One would think that if imperialism were incapable of remorse, it would at least have the decency to postpone temporarily any further plans for the oppression of the Jewish people. But imperialism would not be imperialism if it possessed an iota of humanity. Instead, it not only plays political football with the miseries and suffering of the Jews but it flaunts its unbelievable depravity in its own venal press for all the world to see.

What else can one say of the Bevin attack on Truman for playing politics with the Jewish question? Or of Truman's hypocrisy in trying to brighten America's intentions with a halo? And all this just as a new imperialist wave of terror descends upon the Yishuv!

One thing is clear: this is not a matter of Bevin versus Truman. It is not necessary to choose sides. For to do so would be to admit that there was a fundamental difference of policy toward Palestine between the two. Nothing could be further from the truth. As a matter of fact, Palestine is an Anglo-American problem, in which imperialist division of labor operates. Just as the United States is paying the British piper to play the tune in Greece, so in Palestine British colonial armies are carrying out terroristically the joint policy of British and American imperialism. And while Bevin may so far forget himself at a moment of special stress as to wash dirty imperialist linen in public, it does not for one moment negate the absolute agreement between the British and American partners on the use of Palestine for economic exploitation for their joint imperialist benefit, for a military base against the rising national movement in the Middle East, and against the Soviet Union. To try to choose between Bevin and Truman is to divert one's attention from the main struggle.

Neither British nor American imperialism is the least bit concerned with the Jewish people. Imperialism, which has to rely for its future existence on anti-Semitism (as it had to rely on anti-Semitism under fascism), is not going to worry about helping Jews, either in Palestine or elsewhere. And unless it needs Jewish refugees as cannon-fodder, or as a bargaining point, neither American nor British imperialism is going to intervene in favor of immigration into Palestine.

APRIL, 1947

Something of the same politics played by Bevin and Truman today, and by Bevin, Truman and Dewey before the elections of 1946, was also played by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. And if Rabbi Silver would gamble with Jewish lives, why may not Bevin or Truman or Dewey? For it was Silver, if you remember, who played politics with Jews, and urged them to vote Republican in the last election. This was a perfectly logical position for Silver. If you are going to rely on imperialism to solve your problems, you might just as well rely on the most militant imperialism—the most reactionary, the most chauvinist imperialism, in other words fascism. And the pro-fascist elements in our country are centered in the Republican Party, and particularly under the Taft-Dewey-Hoover leadership, the allies of Silver. And it was precisely Silver's position, which was the position of the dominant leadership of the Zionist Organization of America and of the Revisionists, that called forth the auction-block sale of Jews by Dewey and Truman.

There is no future for the Jews in reliance on either British or American imperialism. Our future lies only in democratic solutions for our problems. And with regard to Palestine, that means demanding now an independent and democratic Palestine, free from British or any other imperialist domination; an independent Palestine state of Jews and Arabs with equal national rights. To achieve this the Palestine question must be transferred to the UN Security Council now (and not to the General Assembly in September as Bevin proposed). Any other proposals are merely vague gestures designed to avoid a solution, to aggravate the situation, in order to guarantee the continuation of Anglo-American imperialist domination.

This has been the policy of progressives with regard to Palestine and Anglo-American imperialism from the very beginning. Recent events have merely verified the correctness of this policy.

RELIEF WITHOUT BIAS

THE Jews of America have undertaken to raise \$170,000,000 for the support of their brethren in need. The overwhelming amount of this huge sum is going to victims of the war in their effort to rehabilitate themselves. The United Joint Appeal, the name under which this campaign for funds is organized, merits the support of the entire Jewish community.

We cannot, however, refrain from pointing to certain facts which wet-blanket the enthusiasm that could be generated among the masses of Jews for this great relief and rehabilitation effort. Basically it reduces itself to this,

that the Fund which is so democratic in its source of income, is extremely limited in democracy in its administration and in its distribution.

We need give but two examples of the biased distribution of funds. For Poland, where the democratic government is fighting to secure the future of the Jews by eliminating anti-Semitism, where the Jews are being encouraged to build a new Jewish community life, where Jews have achieved economic, political and social equality—for Poland the Joint Distribution Committee, the major recipient of funds from the UJA, has reduced its budget.

And the Soviet Union, where even its enemies admit anti-Semitism has been completely eliminated, where the Jewish people have the greatest freedom and opportunity and perspectives, where the devastation of war reached unbelievable proportions—the Soviet Union has this year been completely eliminated from the budget by the JDC. From the point of view of need, of importance to the Jewish people, of democracy and peace, there is no justification for the policy of the JDC other than pure bias.

To many Jews, it is a question of giving and submitting to the undemocratic policies of the JDC and other beneficiaries of the UJA, or not giving at all. But there is another alternative. There are a group of organizations whose affairs are democratically conducted, and whose distribution of funds are in accord with the democratic desires of the Jewish people.

The Relief and Rehabilitation Fund of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order has been doing an outstanding job in such countries as France, Poland and other places where non-partisan help is required. The Emma Lazarus Division of the JPFO has been especially useful in helping to build and support children's homes. The American Jewish Labor Council has brought the needs of the Jews of Poland to the attention of labor, and had only recently sent a delegation of trade unionists across with funds not only to Poland, but to Hungary, Rumania and Italy, where the funds were distributed in a strictly non-partisan fashion.

We do not suggest that one fund be substituted for the other. We do suggest, however, that in addition to the UJA, these democratic organizations be given the support of the Jewish people, and that if the UJA will not share funds with these organizations, then the Jewish people share their contributions. Taxation with representation is a correct principle of democracy which the masses of the Jewish people must establish in the Jewish community.

CHURCH AND STATE

THE principle of the separation of church and state is one of the foundations of our government and our way of life. Any attack upon this can only come from political motives, regardless of the character of the attacker.

We recognize the right of every individual to give his child religious instruction, and of any church to organize

such instruction. Similarly do we recognize the responsibility of the State for secular education, and any interference with this by any church is a breach of the principle of separation of church and state. But of late there has been a steady encroachment of the church on our educational institutions. And while all faiths have played a part in this, it is a fact that the Catholic hierarchy has spearheaded most of these campaigns. Perhaps the most serious divisive influence in the life of our children has been the so-called "voluntary" religious instruction hour in the public schools. But two more recent incidents are equally disturbing.

The first is the decision of the United States Supreme Court giving states the right to use public tax funds to provide schools buses for parochial schools. This has been a pet project of the Catholic Church which seeks to make attendance at parochial schools more advantageous than attendance at public schools, and preferably at the taxpayer's cost. In line with this we agree with the statement of Justice Rutledge in his dissenting opinion, "This is not just a little case over bus fares." What is involved is the separation of church and state, established by the first amendment, and fought for by every progressive, democratic element. If parents exercise their right not to use the public school system, they should do so at their own, not public, expense.

The second incident is the opposition by the Catholic hierarchy to the Austin-Mahoney Bill in the New York State Legislature. This bill would prevent discrimination in schools. The opposition of the hierarchy is based, as stated by Rev. J. Francis A. McIntyre, Coadjutor Archbishop of New York, on the fact that the bill is "formed after a Communist pattern. . . . The bill states that education is the function of the state. Education is not the function of the state. Education is the function of the parent." Mixing the principle of no state responsibility for education with red-baiting does not make this medieval principle the least bit more palatable, nor discrimination in schools more justified, nor the Catholic hierarchy more acceptable as exponents of democracy and progress.

While parents reserve the right to educate their children where they please, the state reserves the right to guarantee education for all at public schools. If the parents will not accept the principle of freedom of public education, and the type of public education as will meet the needs and desires of the majority of the people, they can take their child elsewhere than the public school, but not at public expense. If they wish public expense, then they must accept government regulation.

No body of people can have freedom for itself at the expense of freedom for others, not even religious bodies. Every restriction of the democratic principles upon which our country is founded must eventually limit the rights of all, Catholics included. It is for this reason that our attack on the reactionary position of the Catholic hierarchy is in the interests of all people, Catholics included. The principle of separation of church and state must be maintained, and the lost ground must be regained.

NOBLEST OF DEEDS IN ALL OF TIME

By Joseph North

THE Warsaw ghetto is rubble today; those who lived in it are dead today—and yet they are immortal. Four years have shot by since the Jews of Warsaw wrote their names in history. The Pans who built that ghetto and the nazis who shattered it with bomb and cannon have good reason to remember. For what happened those immortal Forty-Two Days spurred on anonymous millions—in other ghettos, in the dark woods, in the factories—to defy the nazi power. Those who died, and who knew they would die, understood it would not be in vain, for already a new Poland is arising on the ruins, and the Jew there will be free as all men; and across the world today men say “Warsaw ghetto” as we in America say “Valley Forge.”

I have seen the Jew as soldier: saw him at Belchite in the blazing Aragon sun; saw him at Teruel in the snow-topped mountains; saw him crossing the Ebro under the muzzles of the Falange and the Reichswehr. His name? Any Jewish name will do—they were all on the roll-call of the International Brigade—Hyman and Jacob and Saul and Abraham. I did not need to see him fight to know him as warrior: the annals of every battle that roared for freedom this past millennium record the Jew. Whether history knows his name or whether he died anonymously, you know he was there. You know he fought. Those who fling the word Jew as an epithet will yet be taught that it is a proud word, as noble as any in any language. You cannot besmirch it with the jibe of ignorance, the sneer of malice. You cannot cage it in the ghetto. That the Warsaw Jews told the world.

Consider; some fifty-thousand Jewish men, women and children, totally surrounded by the swaggering armies of the “Herrenvolk” had arrived at a decision. The roaring furnaces in the death camps had swallowed up millions of their brothers, their fathers, their mothers, their children. Every day the nazi guard goose-stepped through the ghetto gates, growled their commands, rounded up the quota of Jews to be shipped to death. The invader, arrogant with arms, had his tanks, his *Flammenwerfer*, his Stukas, his mortars by the thousands. The Jews—their dream of freedom, little more. But the Jews knew this: the enemy was no *Ueber-Mensch*. He was mortal flesh and blood, with the brain of a criminal—that they knew. And already the great news had seeped into the ghetto—the word of Stalingrad. The Red Army’s epochal achievement made hearts pound in bony chests.

Stalingrad inspired them, though they had already decided upon their course. As early as March 1942 all Jew-

JOSEPH NORTH is editor of *New Masses*. He is an outstanding journalist who has covered the Spanish Civil War and who has visited and described Dachau.

ish anti-fascists in the ghetto had banded into a bloc, planned to unite their struggle with that of anti-fascists everywhere. They organized in bands of five, smuggled in small-arms. Drilled.

“Their Spirits Never Ebbd”

Gaunt* with hunger, combatting epidemics as they trained, their spirits never ebbd. Clandestine activities flourished under the very eyes of the watchful guard. Beneath the cloak of childrens kitchens, the Jews created a network of underground schools. The secular classes taught resistance in Yiddish. The Society for the Pleasures of the Sabbath taught hatred for the enemy in Hebrew. Throughout the nazi occupation the underground press issued newspapers, journals, books. A letter smuggled out by Jewish writers told the matchless story of the Jews’ love for culture even in the face of death: “A symphony orchestra under the able leadership of Szymon Pullman was active in the ghetto. Whenever the occasion presented itself, concerts of beautiful orchestra music provided moments of rest and escape.” We learn all this from this letter that came out of the ghetto a few days before the end, and which closes with these words: “This is all we wanted to tell you, dear friends. Not many of us are alive. We doubt whether we shall ever see you again. Give our warmest greetings to all Jewish cultural leaders, writers, journalists, musicians, artists, all builders of modern Jewish culture and fighters for the salvation of the Jews and of all humanity.”

And thus the idea had crystallized, the motto which the Jews had adopted: “To live with honor or die with honor.”

And so these anonymous Jews—Abraham and Rachel and Jacob and Sarah and their children—organized their resistance.

The Jewish combat organization sought contact with the delegate of the London Polish government-in-exile. No response. Promises, nothing more. A man named Orlok turned up as agent of this government, led groups of Jews out of the ghetto, ostensibly to rescue them, lured them into the forests and had them murdered.

But the Jews found support from the Polish People’s Guard, who backed up their word with help, with men who later fought side by side with the Jews in the uprising.

“All Jews Will Fight . . .”

The first real test of the Jewish combat organization: January 1943. A mass roundup. Armed resistance flared up at many central points in the ghetto. The losses mounted heavily on both sides, but the nazis withdrew. The roundup was halted.

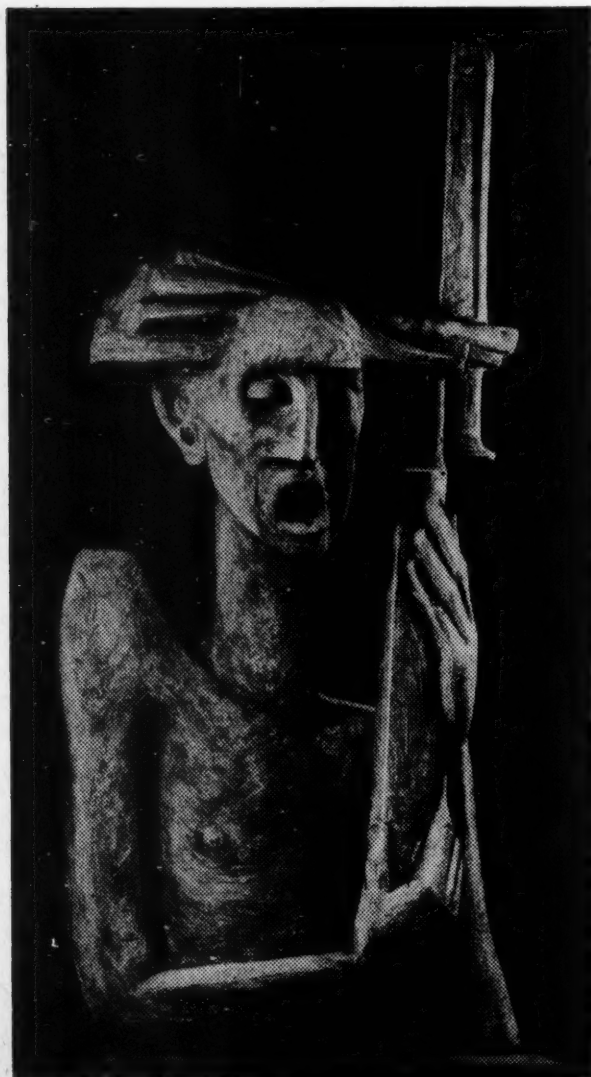
Furore in Warsaw. The nazi could be frustrated. The imagination of many was fired, and new men came forward to join the combat groups, as epidemic, deportation or capture depleted ranks.

And so, on the first Seder night of Passover, an amazing thing happened. The signal for a general uprising flashed as the nazi guards arrived to carry off the Jews as in previous mass deportations. Proclamations suddenly fluttered on shabby buildings with the message: "All Jews will fight to their last drop of blood." Guns slowly smuggled into the ghetto were handed out to every able-bodied man and woman. The youth took posts as sentinels on the narrow streets. The taller houses became forts. Under

PARTISAN

By Aaron Goodelman

Woodcarving on exhibition at Whitney Museum Sculpture Show, 1947.



cover of darkness trenches were dug. From secret places bottles of gasoline (called "Molotov cocktails" even in the ghetto) were handed out. Other cellars afforded home-made hand grenades that had been manufactured and stock-piled for weeks and months. Let no man tell you this was unplanned, desperate resistance; it was organized, clearly thought out.

Every Jew a soldier and even the children served. They ran heroically through the streets as scouts and messengers, bringing word to the various fortified centers.

Bullets spattered around them as they fulfilled their missions, bearing food as well as messages. The old men and women accepted assignments in the kitchens preparing food for the fighters. Not a man, not a woman, not a child, stood aside.

The nazis, repulsed, slowly realized they faced organized resistance, evidently planned for months. Every ambush the Germans attempted failed; every house they approached spurted rifle-fire. Late that evening every tank lay disabled, machine-guns wrecked. The houses on the ghetto's outskirts crumbled in flames, but the defenders had withdrawn to other vantage points.

All Warsaw leaped to the new: the Jews had repelled the nazis. The next day passed without a shot. The Germans had withdrawn to plot their strategy, fearful that the uprising would spread beyond the borders of the ghetto. They hoped they would subdue the Jews before Berlin knew.

"The Jews Would Not Surrender"

The following day Warsaw learned that German arsenals had been captured and blown up, that dozens of Gestapo agents had fallen prisoner to the Jews.

On the third night six thousand young Jewish workers in another neighborhood, "the smaller ghetto," forced into labor for the German army, joined the revolt. Though they had privileged positions, were in no danger of deportation to death camps, they burned down their "little ghetto" and lined up with their brothers.

On the seventh night a messenger arrived at Jewish headquarters from the Pawiak jail which held several thousand prisoners, mostly Jews and Poles, and deserters from the German army as well. "Save us and we will fight for you," the message read. The Jews sent back word: "Every one of you is dear to us, we will do everything to free you."

On the eighth day, 500 Jews, clad in German uniforms, made their way to Pawiak prison. They waited for night-fall and opened fire. In the confusion, the Jews broke into the jail, bearing German uniforms for the prisoners, and led them out dressed as nazi soldiers. By dawn the jail was emptied. All the prisoners, including the deserters from the German army, were fighting by the side of the ghetto Jews.

When word of this swept around Warsaw many Polish youngsters volunteered to fight in the ghetto; partisans turned up from the woods. One of the noblest stands made by man was on.

Berlin knew, by this time and hysterically ordered the ghetto obliterated. Storm troopers rushed in from Galicia, the army in Warsaw was multiplied. When nazi infantry failed, they brought up heavy artillery. Tanks and cannon roared day and night. The nazi command decided upon a continuous bombardment until the Jews surrendered.

The Jews would not surrender.

Suicide squads, dressed as Germans, crawled on their bellies under nazi tanks, blew them up with hand grenades.

Then the German high command decided on incendiary bombs. All night they showered the buildings, bringing them down on men, women and children. The ghetto was one vast holocaust.

Still the Jews did not surrender.

They retreated into the center of the ghetto, contesting each house, each corner, each floor in the house.

"... To Their Last Drop of Blood"

So the forty-two days passed; the final days without food, water. Still the survivors fought on. On the forty-second day, one four-story house remained in the center of the ghetto, the Jewish flag of resistance flew over it. For eight hours the battle raged and by midnight the nazis entered.

The banner was carried by the survivors battling from floor to floor. At midnight it waved from the top story. When the shooting suddenly ended, a crash was heard. The last survivor, wrapped in his battle-flag, had flung himself to the street.

The next morning the nazi command announced that the Warsaw ghetto no longer existed.

So the battle ended—and a tradition began. A tradition that stands with the noblest of all man's deeds, in all of time.

In this season of reverence for these martyrs, I should like to draw attention to several undisputable truths for American consideration. The nazis defended their barbarism by claiming defense of Aryan against Jews. There were Poles who aided them, believing that the atrocity would end with the end of the Jews.

But they were infinitely wrong. After the Jews were decimated death camps still roared over Poland. The bodies of millions of Poles fed the roaring furnaces, and eighteen months after the Warsaw ghetto was levelled, the nazis destroyed practically all the rest of Warsaw.

And thus, many Poles learned the nazi strategy. First brutalize the Poles, make them accessories to nazi crimes, then turn on the accessories. And so, millions of Roman Catholics died with their Jewish countrymen.

That is the picture of fascism; its logic. Appeasement first destroys the soul of the appeaser, and later, his body. And so it is today. Let no American believe he sleeps safe when a Jew, or a Negro, is in danger. Your life, your freedom, is invested in every man. The fascist respects nothing alive; respects no man whatever his origin, his color, his religion.

This knowledge the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto left us as legacy. And this, for those who still need to learn: the word Jew is a proud word, as noble as any in any language. No scorn can besmirch it, no ghetto can cage it. It is as holy as the word "Man."

PARTISAN SONG

by *Hirsh Glick*
English by *Aaron Kramer*



Never say that there is only death for you
Though leaden skies may be concealing days of blue—
Because the hour that we have hungered for is near;
Beneath our tread the earth shall tremble: We are here!

From land of palm-tree to the far-off land of snow
We shall be coming with our torment and our woe,
And everywhere our blood has sunk into the earth
Shall our bravery, our vigor blossom forth!

We'll have the morning sun to set our day aglow,
And all our yesterdays shall vanish with the foe,

And if the time is long before the sun appears,
Then let this song go like a signal through the years.

This song was written with our blood and not with lead;
It's not a song that birds sing overhead.
It was a people, among toppling barricades,
That sang this song of ours with pistols and grenades.

So never say that there is only death for you.
Leaden skies may be concealing days of blue—
Yet the hour that we have hungered for is near;
Beneath our tread the earth shall tremble: We are here!

STRATEGY FOR SURVIVAL

By B. Mark

THE uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto did not come like a bolt out of the blue. It was the inevitable product of the spirit which permeated the ghetto. The uprising was the result of definite planning and action, of definite internal developments achieved through long drawn-out preparations, as well as from outside technical preparations. These developments had prepared the people psychologically for resistance.

The Warsaw ghetto always rejected the idea of capitulation. It defied that isolation was the inevitable fate of the ghetto. Unceasing passive resistance had existed from the very first day the ghetto was created. This resistance took the form of bitter struggle to maintain life, to get food, to avoid epidemics; struggle against corruption; struggle to create clandestine self-protection; struggle to have the right to come together to worship, to pray to God collectively in the synagogues.

This was characteristic of life in the ghetto right from the very beginning. With time this sort of resistance was transformed into armed resistance. The first important armed struggles took place in the months of March and April 1943. The uprising was the result of prolonged internal developments. The first uprisings were the strongest blows in the long chain of unceasing, successive outbreaks.

Jewish National Unity

The first outbreaks did not come spontaneously, or as unconscious reflexes of self-preservation. They were planned by certain leading forces which came to the fore as soon as a "Jewish ghetto" was created. The leaders of the ghetto underground, having the political consciousness to evaluate the situation, proclaimed an inter-party peace and halted their sectarian struggles. Joseph Levartovsky, the unforgettable leader of the ghetto united organization of all working class parties, a recognized leader of the Jewish working class masses, had issued a slogan that became the guiding principle in the struggle. The slogan was adopted not only by the Warsaw Jews, but by the Jews of all ghettos and concentration camps. The slogan expressed the highest ideals of national unity. "*We are brothers and children of one family.*"

Everybody rallied around this slogan. This made it possible for Adam Berman, the Labor Zionist, to work with

the Bund leader, Sonia Novogradzka. It made possible collaboration between the Zionist Henech Kirschbaum and the Communist Joseph Levartovsky. The Jewish combat organization grew on the basis of unity. Every ideological tendency, every psychological type contributed its bit to the hammering out of the ideological foundation of the organization. The communists brought their experience of long years of underground activity and their enthusiasm; the Zionists brought their contacts with people to whom the whole psychology of direct struggle had previously been very strange; the members of the Bund brought their organizational abilities.

A new type of fighter appeared in the ghetto as a result of this unity. The combat organization which brought forth this new type had revived through this unity the old traditions of the Maccabees, of Berek Yosselevitch, the Jewish hero of the Polish revolt. The organization planned and called the first armed resistance in January 1943 and then the uprising in the months of April and May of the same year.

The second and main armed resistance of the ghetto was fought in a united national front of all Jews.

Unity with Non-Jews

The determined wishes and pressure of the Jews alone was not enough. The ghetto was like a huge prison. Without contact with the outside, without help from the non-Jewish population, all the efforts would have been doomed to failure. The uprising would have been just an act of desperation.

The leadership of the underground movement in the ghetto established these connections. The agents of the so-called London government had cynically refused to supply the ghetto with arms. But the Polish anti-fascist organizations did not reject the hand that reached out to them for help. Better still, they came to the ghetto themselves to offer all possible aid. Christina Kowolska, the daughter of a Polish worker, visited the ghetto every other day. She took an active part in the preparations of the resistance committee and in the inter-party conferences. Her secret quarters in the "Aryan" part of Warsaw were the mecca not only for the Jewish members of the Workers Party, but also for the members of the Hashomer Hatzair, of the Labor Zionists (Poale Zion), for all the Jewish fighters.

The commander of the People's Guard, Richard, personally helped train groups of commanders for the Jewish combat organization. The Workers Party and the Polish socialists also gave the Jews all possible help. "Comrade Kazick," a Polish socialist, was killed while guiding Jewish fighters,

B. MARK is a hero of the Polish underground. He was secretary of the Committee of Polish Jews in the Soviet Union. He is now a member of the Central Committee of Polish Jews, the officially recognized leading body of Jews in Poland.

who had left Warsaw, into the forests. In the course of the uprising, the People's Guard strengthened the Jewish fighters. The memory of the Richard brothers, Kowalski, Wroblewski, Waschina and hundreds of others, who bravely defended the ghetto, will remain forever in the hearts of the Jews. Their memory will be honored by the whole progressive and democratic world.

The fraternal relations between the Jews and the Richards, the Wroblewskis, the Kaziks, the Christinas, will be a determining factor which will shape the relations of the Polish people with the tragic victims of nazi terrorism. The anti-Semitic policy of Count Bor-Komorowski and his partners will leave no trace in the psychology of the Polish people. For in the heroic struggle of the Warsaw Jews, *unity*, collaboration and a united front with the Polish fighting democracy was forged.

For the Honor of Our People

Certain foreign writers falsely described the defense of the ghetto as an act of desperation. The fact that the defense came about only as a result of a long process that began much earlier, before anyone suspected that the nazis would want to annihilate the ghetto population entirely, proves that it was no act of desperation, but an act that called the Jewish youth to arms. The uprising in the ghetto had definite goals, aspirations and ideas. These were expressed in the slogans written on the banners, on the posters that appeared on the walls of the ghetto in the first days of the uprising: "*Polish Jews, to arms! Defend the Honor of our people!*" The leaders of the uprising raised the struggle of the Polish Jews to an incomparably high ideological level. The fighters were fully conscious of their historic mission when they attacked the German tanks.

This was a rare and uncommon struggle. It was not a struggle in defense of one's own earth, because there really was no expectation of holding back the mighty enemy. The struggle was not calculated to save the lives of near and dear ones, because they had already been previously murdered. This was not a struggle to save one's own life, because one's life was difficult to endure in any case. The struggle was generated by moral driving forces on a much higher plane. This was a struggle for the honor of a people for its future. The irresistible urge came from the determination to uphold the honor of the Jewish people. This was the main goal of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

Heroes and Ideals

The high point of the ideological unity was expressed in the collective and individual heroism of the fighters. The democrat, Adam Messetick, a tailor, fell heroically in the same ranks as Lev Sokolow, an orthodox Jew. Mordecai Anilewitch, of Hashomer Hatzair, Michael Klepfish, a member of the Bund, Jacob Dreier, a communist, all died for the same idea, for the honor of their people. Joseph Kirman, the poet, and Zalman Pinkert, a grave-digger, fought in the same ranks. Rebecca Peckier, a seventeen-year-old girl, and Rachelle Shtoya, a veteran organizational

leader, both aimed their fire against the Germans. Several fighting groups that escaped German machine-guns forced themselves out of the ghetto and went to the forests. There they united with the resistance movement of the country and carried on the struggle of the Polish Jews. Some of them, like Major Alef, Zalman Krotkow, Ziviyeh Luhetkin and Isaac Zuckerman have remained alive and they are now living evidence of those heroic last days of the Warsaw ghetto.

The forty-two days of struggle not only marked the end of a period but also opened a new page in the history and life of Jewry. Warsaw was a pillar of flame that lit the way for other cities, ghettos and camps. After Warsaw came Bialystok, Treblinka, Sabibor, Bendin, Minsk-Mazowiecki, Vilna, Lutck and Royno. Members of the Warsaw resistance organization travelled far in order to reach cities where they could join their efforts with Soviet partisans. The ideals of the Warsaw fighters were an example to the Jewish officers and members of *Polska Wioska* and strengthened their struggle against the nazis.

Mordecai Anilowitz, the defender of the Warsaw ghetto, and Michal Szmulewicz, a soldier of the first Polish army, who fell in the battle for Lenina, were casualties for the same ideal. The Polish and the Jewish people will forever cherish the memory of the heroes who fell in all the battles for Warsaw.

תנועת הנוער

אפריל 1940

ד'תש"א

מס' 1

הנהגת התנועה: יעקב בריינר
נשיא, בריינר, שמואל, יעקב
מזכיר, רייזמן, און קל"מ
סניף און מיינסטראנט סניף.



לעבן די אינטערנאציאנאלע פארב'דערונג

VOICE OF YOUTH, underground paper issued in the Warsaw ghetto. The verse quoted is from I. L. Peretz, and reads, "All men are brothers! Yellow, brown, black, white, nations, races and climates—it is pure invention." The line on the bottom reads, "Long Live International Collaboration." The shaking hands represent unity of Jews in the ghetto with Poles outside the ghetto.

DIARY OF A GHETTO BOY

By *Werner Galnik*

Introduction by *G. Movshovitch*

INTRODUCTION

WERNER GALNIK, the author of this little diary, was born in Cassell, Germany in 1932. He was nine years old when he landed in the ghetto of Riga, Latvia.

Riga was the destination of Jews from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries. The expulsion of these Jews toward Riga began in November 1941, and was timed so that they would arrive on the tenth and eleventh of December, 1941, by which time the Riga ghetto had been emptied of the Latvian Jews, whose slaughter occurred on November 30, and December 8 and 9. In these "bad actions," as the Germans called them, twenty-five to thirty thousand Jews were annihilated.

Altogether 577,000 met death in concentration camps in Latvia (at least 170,000 near Riga alone), and 175,000 others were deported as slave labor. Until 1941, 94,800 Jews lived in Latvia. There was time between June 27 and 29, 1941, when the Germans neared Riga, to evacuate into the Soviet Union, and thus save the lives of twenty thousand Jews. The remaining 75,000 fell into the hands of the Hitlerites. Of these, a total of only 500 were rescued, two hundred within Latvia, three hundred in Germany into which they had been driven in 1944, when the Red Army began to approach Latvia.

Approximately 150,000 Jews were brought to Riga from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and other countries. A part of them were transported toward Riga in echelons called "Davidstadt." These Jews were taken as far as Skirotava, twelve kilometers from Riga, and immediately upon arrival were taken into nearby woods and, according to the well-known German formula, murdered. A part were brought in under the identification mark "Judenstadt." These Jews were sent to the Riga ghetto. The stronger among them were used, so long as their strength lasted, for slave labor. The rest were destroyed in small groups.

Jewish youth in the Riga ghetto organized armed resistance. Many of the youth worked in war plants, and used this opportunity to get pistols, grenades and rifles. The youth also organized regular escapes from the ghetto of Jews who wished to join the partisans.

Werner Galnik was among the "Judenstadt" Jews when he was brought to Riga from Cassell together with his father, mother, brother, small sister, aunt and cousin. Of his family only Werner and his older brother remained. His father, little sister, aunt and cousin were murdered in Riga. The fate of his mother is still unknown.

Werner Galnik was saved from a crematorium. From among the hundreds of thousands of Jewish children who were annihilated by the German regime (40,000 children in

Latvia alone), Werner was an exception. He was rescued. This child-martyr had gone through all the aspects of the Hitler hell: ghetto, concentration camp, lashings, slave-labor, sickness, hunger, cold, filth, pain. With his child's eyes he had witnessed the murder of his father, his little sister; the hanging and shooting and torturing of Jews. The testimony of this little martyr is exceptionally important.

The diary was written in Werner Gelnik's mother tongue, German. It has many errors, is without punctuation, and with naive expressions. But for that very reason it has the simplicity and sincerity of a child.

DIARY

I came to the Riga ghetto on December 12, 1941. Our family was made up of five persons: my father, my mother, my brother and I, and my sister.

"Our marking was a star of David . . ."



MIKLOSZ ADLER is a Hungarian Jewish artist who lived through all the terrors of the concentration camp. After liberation by the Red Army, he produced a series of concentration camp woodcuts, of which we reprint a few. Life in all concentration camps was so much alike that Mr. Adler's work served as perfect illustrations for material in the independently written Diary.

My father, Schmuël, is 48 years old, his trade is tailor. My mother, Irma—39 years, by trade a saleslady. My brother Horst, 11 years, is a student, and I, Werner, 8 years old—a student; my sister, Vera, is four years old.

We had lived in seven rooms: the tailor shop, fitting room, office, kitchen, bedroom, dining room and maid's room. Suddenly we received notice from the Jewish community in Cassell that we must appear on December 8, 1941 at the depot where thousands of Jews had already collected, men, women and children.

My aunt, Bertha Klurman, thirty-four years old—she was a milliner—my cousin, nine years old, a student, were also at the depot. There were also my playmates, boys and girls of my age.

I had already heard about a ghetto in Lodz several months before. I thought that we would also have to go into such a ghetto where there are barracks and where we would have to work.

I figured this way: Hitler loves only the Germans, but no other people, and particularly not us Jews. Does it follow that because we are Jews we must be prisoners? Did my father perhaps steal or murder that he should be arrested? And what had my dear mother done? And what did we children do?

On December 9, when we went to the railroad station under guard, I was very despondent. We were crowded together. Many Jews wept, especially those who had left their sick relatives in Cassell. I also cried: Why should not the old people go along with their near ones?

On the trip to Riga there was very little water. We were very thirsty. When we stopped at a station all the Jews ran to bring some water. But the German police came and beat and drove us back.

When we arrived in Riga we were told that whoever had money or gold must give them up. Otherwise they would be shot. The money and the gold was given up. The heavy baggage, in the baggage cars, was also taken away. Only the light baggage we had with us we could take along to the ghetto.

We arrived in the ghetto under guard.

We had one room—filthy, and the kitchen was also—filthy. They had been left by Jews who had gone in a German roundup.¹ We cleaned the two rooms and lived there.

My father went to work every day and I went to school every day.² My little sister went to a kindergarten in the ghetto, and my brother studied barbering in the ghetto.

The Latvian Jews told us that there had already been a roundup³ in the ghetto. But I could not believe it until I lived through it myself.

The SS often beat or shot any one who brought bread,

¹ The concentration camp and the ghetto inhabitants use the word *aktzia* (action) to describe the roundup and mass murder of Jews by Germans that occurred periodically.

² Despite the hellish conditions in the Riga ghetto, the Jews organized schools and kindergartens.

³ There had in fact already been two roundups of the Jews in the Riga ghetto, on November 30 and December 9, 1941.

butter or other food home from work. If it was discovered, the person was either shot, placed in confinement or punished with blows.

When we were freed, I also saw the Hanover, and Vienna bunkers.⁴

If anyone exchanged something at work or ran away from the ghetto, he was either hung or shot. One Jew was hung because he ran away from the concentration camp in the ghetto to his relatives. He hung for three days, and every Jew in the ghetto had to look at him. He was hung under the supervision of SS Officer Kreuze, and his dog also was around. The Jew was big, his hair black, his hands bound behind his back, his tongue hanging out, his head on a side. In this way he hung for three days, beginning to stink. In the evening when Jews came from work, they had to march by the hanging man, and the commandant pointed to him and said, "This is what will happen to every Jew who tries to run away from us."

On November 2, 1943, my father started to go to work. But he returned home and said, "The air is very heavy in the ghetto today. There are many autos and SS higher-ups near the commandant. I'm afraid there's going to be a roundup in the ghetto. . . ."

My sister and mother hid in the cellar. My father, I and my brother waited near the door of our house. Suddenly five autos with SS troopers arrived. They went around the ghetto chasing every Jew. At the assembly point⁵ the com-

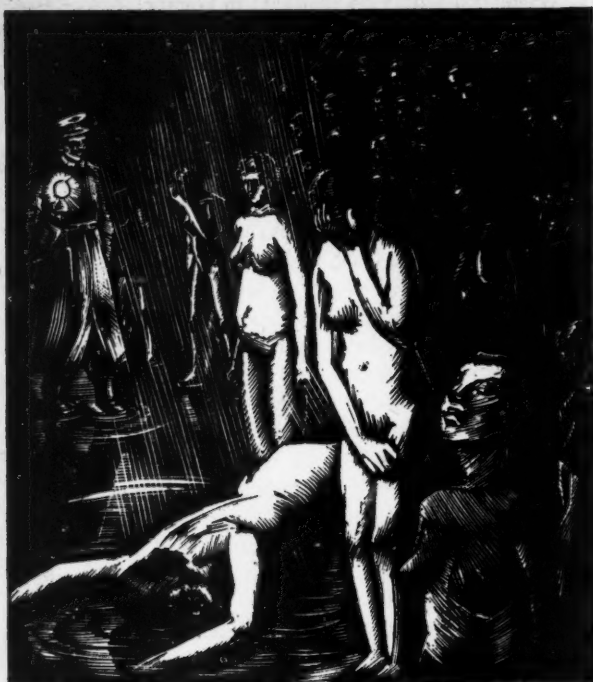
⁴ There were three torture-chambers in the ghetto, the Hanover, the Vienna and the Riga bunkers. Few came out of these chambers alive.

⁵ *Appel*—this was the place where the Jews of the ghetto were counted and controlled.

" . . . A quart of watery soup."



"The women had to undress . . ."



mandant stood by. Every Jew, man, woman and child, passed him. Every Jew was studied: the old, the weak and the children went in the roundup. My aunt and her child also went in the roundup. Young people, who did not go in the roundup, went to the central work room and after that were sent home. My father and I and my brother, when we saw the SS come, hid in the cellar. My brother was found by an SS trooper and was taken to the assembly. He came before the commandant and said, "I am eighteen years old."

"What do you do?" the commandant asked.

"I am a barber."

The commandant said, "Right, with those able to work."

My father, I, my sister and my mother were in the cellar a day and a night. It was very dark. We heard in the cellar, how the SS cried, "Get out, you Jews, Out to the assembly!"

I lay on the straw and wanted to fall asleep, so that I would not hear the commotion. But I was afraid. This was the first night in my life that I could not sleep. The night dragged on so that I thought it would never end.

My brother returned home and said, "Come out, the roundup is over." I thought: the roundup is really ended. But the night I had just lived through was not over. I cannot forget that Jews were shot for nothing. . . . They went under guard to the cemetery and there were forced to stand, face to the wall, and from a distance of ten feet the commandant shot—that I will never forget.

In February 1942, there was another roundup in the ghetto. The Jews were told that volunteers would be sent to the fish works in Dinamunde. But they were not sent to the fish works. They were shot. It was very terrible, because no one knew whether to volunteer to go, or remain.

The ghetto was liquidated in November 1943, and we were sent to the Obea work camp. There my father worked on the docks and my mother in a laundry. And I and my brother dragged wheelbarrows. The work of us children was very hard. Our marking in the camp was a star of David and convict number 13,228.

On April 22, 1944 all the small children under ten, who could not work, were taken away in an auto and were sent to Auschwitz. There they were gassed and burned.

I came home from work and looked for my sister, but she was no longer there. My father and I and my brother and mother cried for days.

I thought: why shouldn't my little sister live? My little sister was seven years old when she went away in the children's roundup. My little sister was a beautiful little girl. She had beautiful blond hair. It is a pity that I no longer have a picture of my little sister. All the pictures of my father and mother were taken away.

If someone brought food—butter or bread—from the work gang, and the camp leader, non-com Miller, got wind of it, that person would receive 25 blows with a rubber hose on his buttocks and was obliged, in addition, to work hard and sleep that night in the cellar. People were punished for nothing. The body of the one who was punished was black and blue.

One day, August 5, 1944, when all the people returned from work, he ordered all men to present themselves. That meant another roundup was taking place. The roundup was ordered by SS Leader Dr. Krebsbach.

All the men had to undress completely and he examined each one of them thoroughly. Old people, sick Jews with ruptures, and those who wore glasses, were taken away in the roundup.

At the moment when he examined me I was very frightened. I thought he would say: into the roundup! But I was strongly built, and he let me and my brother alone. When he was through with the men, he ordered the women to present themselves. The women also had to undress, and he examined every one of them. He wrote down the numbers of those who were sent away in the roundup. I was freed and so was my brother. But my mother was not yet examined. She was in the court where the examination of the strong mothers took place. The weak and older mothers were taken away in the roundup. I worried very much about my mother who was not built very strongly. It took a long time before my mother came home because she was among the last women at the roundup. But my mother presented herself with firm posture and the storm-troop leader let her go. I was very happy when I saw my mother return free from the roundup. A boy I knew, Wolfgang Katz, 14 years old, whose mother was taken in the round-

up—his mother was 55 years old—wept bitterly because his mother perished, as well as his brothers and sisters.

His mother worked and always brought him something to eat from her place of work. Now he remained quite alone. A Jew, Joseph Strauss from Cassell, took care of him, and always gave him something to eat in addition to his ration.

My father was caught with a little bread and butter on the docks in December 1943; he was taken away from us and was sent to the Kaiserwald concentration camp, where he worked very hard, and we remained without our father. We wept very much because our father was no longer with us. When my father was with us no longer, my mother had to work even more, in order to be able to feed us a little—my father had done this before. After she came from work, my mother always washed clothing in the evening in order to earn an additional bit of food.

On September 25, 1944, when the Red Army was not far from Riga, the Germans sent us Jews to the Stutthof concentration camp near Danzig. On the way, on the Baltic Sea, Russian flyers came and bombed three ships: one ship with ammunition, one with supplies, and one with German soldiers. The three ships were sunk. Fortunately they did not bomb the ship in which we Jews were.

It was very crowded on the ship. There were more than 3,000 Jews packed into the space, and there was very little air. No toilets were available. The majority of the Jews became seasick. There was an epidemic of coughing. Thirst was so great that you could choke. And if anyone wanted to get a little water for himself, he was hit over the head with a rifle butt.

When we arrived in Danzig, we were guarded at bayonet-point. Here we took a small ship to Stutthof. One hundred and fifty people were on a ship that could hold only fifty. For two days we got nothing to eat. But that was not the worst. The worst was that we all wanted water and there was nothing to drink.

Everything was taken away from us at Stutthof. We were allowed only the prison clothes we had on our backs. We had to come to assembly and be counted. Then we were shown our sleeping quarters. Four people had to sleep on a cot six feet long and 20 inches wide. I was here only with my brother. My mother was in the women's camp, and I was in the men's camp. I could see my mother only through a fence.

When I got a piece of bread for a present because I was small, I would carefully throw the piece of bread to my mother over the barbed wire. When a woman guard saw it, my mother would be hit with a belt. Once, a woman guard saw that I gave my mother a little piece of bread. My mother was terribly punished. I begged them not to hit my mother, but they hit her even more.

I did not want to part from my mother. I succeeded in becoming a furnace stoker in the same place where my mother worked in the tailor shop. The work was hard,

but I was nevertheless happy because I could give my mother bread without fear of her being beaten.

Every day when I came from work tired, I still had to attend assembly for three hours. And when the assembly ended, I still had to run around to try to earn an extra piece of bread. You could not live on the ration. For a whole day you got barely two hundred grams of bread and a quart of watery soup.

We were infested with lice and many became sick with typhus from it, and the majority died. There were so many sick and dead, that no one worried about them. The sick received only half rations so that they would die sooner. So many dead were lying about that no one even bothered with them.

Late in the evening, we had to bathe under a cold shower. Here also you had to dip your clothing in disinfectant, put them on while still wet and go to work. Many became sick from this. Every day we had to get up at half past four and slave the whole day.

When the Red Army was not far from Stutthof, the Germans moved us again. My brother and I were very weak, because we had not yet recovered from the illness we had contracted. But we didn't tell anyone that we were weak. Otherwise we would have been forced to remain in Stutthof and they would have burned us.

We marched but where we did not know. I had marched 30 miles when I became weak and I remained lying at a farm. I was frozen. At the peasant's place there were British prisoners of war. They massaged me to get my hands and feet to work again.

"I never saw my mother again."



On this march, my brother had all his fingers frost-bitten.

I have never again seen my mother, because she was also taken away from Stutthof.

Then a horse and wagon were brought, and the sick and weak were taken to the camp to which we should have gone, Proist, near Danzig.

We were 14 Jewish boys of the 580 who had remained, the rest were all sent to Oswieciz in October 1944. There they were gassed and cremated. We fourteen had saved ourselves because we ran into the labor colony and hid ourselves there by working. The Germans told us young boys that we were going to the fish works to clean fish. But I told myself I would rather remain here and not clean fish. This was not to clean fish. This was to burn.

Later, when all the boys had left, the commandant asked me why I did not go with the rest of the boys to clean fish in the fish works. I told him that I worked at the camp. He said to me, "Here there is work only for grown-ups." I answered him on that: "I am fifteen years old already and I am already able to work among grown-ups."

On the first day, when this happened to the boys, I was very frightened at work.

At Camp Proist near Danzig things were very bad. For a long time we did not get any bread, only soup twice a day. There was an epidemic of typhus. Many people died. Many people froze parts of their bodies at work. Jews who froze any parts of their bodies were taken in a car to Stut-

hof and killed there. When the Red Army encircled Danzig, the Germans could not send us away. You could hear firing very close by.

One morning when we awoke, we could not find a single SS man. We looked and we looked—but it was true. There was not a single SS man. The firing became very loud. We went down into the cellar.

On March 23, 1945 I came out of the cellar, and saw the first two Russians. I was very happy. I became a free person. I ran back and cried to the Jews, "Come, come, the Russians are here, we are free people." They all ran to the Russian soldiers and kissed them in joy.

Then we fourteen boys went to a German village. There we dressed in German clothes and took pigs and cows to eat. Then we kicked the Germans out of the court, and we boys lived there. We lived there for fourteen days. Then we left for Danzig and for a hospital, where we were cleaned and disinfected so that the sicknesses we had in camp would not spread through the hospital, where I remained for three weeks. Then I went by auto to the discharge center at Grodenz. Here I stayed for six weeks. Then I went to Riga with some Jews I knew, Glazer, Sverdlov, Gutkin and Bloch.

Now I would like to have my parents, and would like to live again like we lived before with my parents. I hope very much that my mother still lives, and that I will meet her again.

Riga, August 26, 1945.

A NEW FORTRESS IS RISING

A NEW fortress of people's democracy is rising in the new Polish state, despite the persistent attacks of world reaction spearheaded by Wall Street imperialism and supported by Jewish reactionaries of the type of the *Jewish Daily Forward* and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Similar fortresses are rising in all the other new democratic states of Europe.

And within this Polish democratic fortress, and as an organic part of it, there is rising, in the face of superhuman difficulties, another fortress—a new fortress of Jewish survival. This is the new and growing Jewish community in Poland.

There are still only 130,000 Jews in Poland. They are as yet only laying the foundations of their new existence as a Jewish community in the new Poland. But the quality of their efforts, exerted in the new democratic climate produced by the military defeat of fascism and the growing influence of the Soviet Union, gives every indication that the results

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By Alexander Bittelman

of these efforts will be permanent, stable and of great historic significance for Jewish survival, not only in Poland but everywhere else.

Nothing in the world can compensate our people for the loss of six million of our flesh and blood at the hands of fascism. Nothing can compensate us for the loss of over three million of our brothers and sisters of the pre-war Jewish community in Poland. Our national tragedy is too great and immeasurable. But we have something else to carry forward and to build upon. It is the conviction that our people will survive; that the Jews, together with all democratic peoples and nations, will build a new world of freedom, peace and security, a world free, completely free, of reaction, fascism and anti-Semitism. And to this conviction, to this objective possibility, the new Jewish community in Poland is making a brilliant and most significant contribution.

Contributions of Warsaw Heroes

These are the thoughts uppermost in the minds of the masses of our people on the anniversary of the glorious up-

rising of the Warsaw ghetto. Generation after generation will honor our martyrs and heroes with feelings of infinite sadness and pride. The fighters of the Warsaw ghetto built with their suffering, with their blood and their lives, an immortal monument to the honor, the dignity and the future happiness of the Jewish people. In doing so, our martyrs and heroes—in the Warsaw and other ghettos set up by fascism, in the partisan detachments, in the armies of the Allies—made their contribution to the honor, dignity and future happiness of all peoples.

When we see the new fortresses of democracy now rising in Europe, we must think of the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto, because they have their share in the building of these fortresses. When we see a new Jewish community now rising in a new and democratic Poland, we must turn our thoughts with particular gratitude to the anti-fascist fighters of the Warsaw ghetto. They helped to make this possible. And when we now observe the new opportunities for the survival of our people in a world which the struggle of the people will eventually free of all dangers of fascism and anti-Semitism, we say: all honor to the heroes and martyrs of the Warsaw ghetto. The bright memory of their glorious deeds will live forever in the very life and survival of the Jewish people everywhere and especially in the new Jewish community in Poland.

Where are the men of little faith who told us that no Jews will be able or willing to live in Poland or in any other country of Europe? Where are the faint-hearted preachers of surrender and capitulation, the advocates of a Jewish "Exodus from Europe," the sowers of panic and organizers of panic-flights from Poland? They are still with us, to be sure. But have they learned the full lesson of their profound errors and dangerous outlooks? Have they finally understood what we have been trying to tell them, that if Jews could not live in Europe, or any part of Europe, they would eventually be unable to live anywhere, unable to live at all? Have they grasped the truth that a Europe "free of Jews," which they tried to bring about, would sooner or later lead to a Palestine free of Jews, and to an America free of Jews—in short, to a world free of Jews, precisely as Hitler had planned it? It would be very healthy for the progressive development of the Jewish masses, especially in the United States, if those advocates of "Exodus from Europe," who are now reported to have seen the errors of their ways, were to engage in a bit of honest and sincere self-criticism. For the issue is not dead, by any means. And the difficulties, external and internal, in upbuilding a new Jewish life in the liberated countries of Europe are still tremendous.

Call for Unity

What does this situation call for? It calls for the collaboration, sincere collaboration, of all forces in Jewish life able and willing to make their contribution, material and moral, to the upbuilding of the new Jewish community in Poland,

and in all liberated countries. This calls for an honest and complete abandonment of the dangerous orientation toward a European "exodus." *It finally calls for a united resistance to all reactionary forces in American Jewish life which support the attacks of Wall Street imperialism upon the security and well-being of the new democracies in Europe.*

For it is quite evident that the hostility of the American government to the democratic government in Poland continually incites and encourages *within Poland* every reactionary and fascist element. This official American hostility, dictated by Wall Street imperialism, is giving aid and comfort to every anti-Semite and murderer of Jews in Poland. And in general, the net effect of the official American policies in Europe is to support and mobilize reaction, pro-fascism and anti-Semitism. Thus, the question arises, what must be done in the United States to help the Polish people, especially the Jewish community, to combat and destroy anti-Semitism, fascism and reaction in Poland? This is a major element in the upbuilding of the new Poland and its Jewish community. And the answer is: all progressive forces in American Jewish life must fight together against the hostile official American policies towards Poland, and for a democratic and friendly policy.

Yet we see elements among the American Jews who pretend to favor support for the new Jewish community in Poland, but are also favoring support for official American hostility towards the new Polish state. How can these two contradictory positions go together? At "best" such an attitude destroys with one hand what it promises to build up with the other, for every political encouragement to reaction in Poland by the American government makes so much harder the upbuilding of the Jewish community. And at the worst this double-faced attitude means only paying lip-service to the upbuilding of the Jewish community in Poland, by formal and nominal material help of a narrow partisan nature, while doing everything to disturb the new Polish state and to create new dangers for the Polish Jews. And this latter attitude is the one followed by the reactionary Social-Democratic *Forward*-Dubinsky group which dominates the policies of the Jewish Labor Committee.

Hypocrisy of Jewish Labor Committee

This double-faced policy is freshly demonstrated in the declaration of the Jewish Labor Committee adopted at its recent convention in Atlantic City. On the one hand, it pledges support—"with both hands and a full heart"—to the upbuilding of the Jewish communities in the liberated countries, presumably also in Poland. And, on the other hand, it says not a word—not one single word—against the reactionary attacks of American government policies upon the democratic governments of Europe, attacks which also militate against the security and well-being of the Jewish communities.

To some delegates at the Jewish Labor Committee convention this contradictory declaration might have appeared as a satisfactory compromise, since the dominating *Forward*-

Dubinsky leadership would never tolerate criticism of the reactionary foreign policies of the American government. But what is the practical meaning of this compromise? Considering that the *Forward*-Dubinsky reactionary clique, enemies of the new Polish state and its Jewish community, are the bosses of the Jewish Labor Committee, it stands to reason that this so-called compromise will be used as a convenient shield for their reactionary deeds. Under the cover of some slight nominal material contributions of a narrow partisan nature, the Dubinskys, Jacob Pats and Nathan Chanins will promote the interests of Wall Street imperialist reaction in Poland and in Europe as a whole. And this means serving the enemies of the new Jewish community in Poland.

That is why it is so important to expose and combat the hypocrisy of the dominant leadership of the Jewish Labor Committee. That is why it is so essential for the anti-fascist Jewish labor forces, and all progressive elements in American Jewish life, to seek to establish *united action* with the affiliates and followers of the Jewish Labor Committee for assistance to the upbuilding of the new Jewish community in Poland and in the other liberated countries. Life itself has projected the following task as a major obligation for united action: *to render material and moral help to the upbuilding of the new Jewish community in Poland, through its representative—the Jewish Central Committee—and to fight for a friendly American governmental policy towards the new Poland and its democratic government.*

It is from this standpoint that the statement of the American Jewish Labor Council sent to the convention, calling for united action with the affiliates of the Jewish Labor Committee derives its importance and significance. It was a first step. It indicates the need of united labor action and general people's action for the upbuilding of the Jewish communities in the liberated countries. Now *this must be followed by intensive work within the affiliated organizations for such united action.* The aim must be to demonstrate before the masses that the reason why the *Forward*-Dubinsky leadership of the Labor Committee convention rejected the approaches of the Labor Council for united action is because these reactionaries are opposed to the upbuilding of the Jewish community in Poland, and to the new Polish state as a whole. The aim must be to win the *affiliates and followers* of the Jewish Labor Committee to united action. This can be achieved, but only in struggle against our "own" reactionaries and not otherwise.

. Fate of American Jews

One must also remember that what is involved here is not only the fate of the Jewish community in Poland but even more so the fate of our own Jewish national group in the United States. Who can fail to see that the reactionary and pro-fascist forces in the United States which inspire the official American hostility to Poland and to all democratic forces in Europe are also inspiring reaction, labor-

baiting, red-baiting and anti-Semitism in the United States? The American monopolies carry on their reactionary offensive simultaneously at home and abroad. Failure to combat American reactionary policies abroad strengthens reaction and anti-Semitism at home. Hence, we must fight for democratic foreign policies, for an American friendly policy to Poland, not only for the sake of the Polish Jews and the Polish state, but for our own sake in the United States.

It should be remembered further that the attack on Lilienthal, led by the Republicans and supported by the Southern Democratic poll-taxers and lynchers, is full of ominous meaning. Lilienthal has been made a special target by reaction—Republican party reaction—because he is a pro-Roosevelt Democrat *and a Jew*, despite the fact that he supports fully Truman's atom bomb policies and diplomacy. The Tafts and Deweys are making anti-Semitism an organic part of their major policies, whether at home or for Poland. That's why we must once more sound the alarm among the American Jewish masses of the dangers involved in Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's support—the support of the reactionary Zionists—for the Tafts and Brickers, and in the *Forward*-Dubinsky support for American reaction in Poland as well as at home. That's why we must increase manifold our efforts for the unity of all democratic forces in American Jewish life, as part of the general democratic unity of the American people. That's why we must fight consistently for the unity of Jewish labor, and its alliance with the progressive forces *in the middle classes*, especially the broad and important following of Dr. Stephen S. Wise. That is why all democratic forces in the American Jewish national group must combat unitedly the dangerous reactionary policies of Rabbi Silver, Segal, Dubinsky, Chanin, etc.

We need this united action and democratic unity to liberate our suffering brothers and sisters from the DP camps in Europe. This is a major national duty, and we must concentrate all our efforts to get the United Nations to assume full responsibility for the free immigration and settlement of the Jewish refugees in the lands of the United Nations, with particular emphasis on the United States. We need this unity for the building of a progressive Jewish life in collaboration with the Soviet Jews and in the upbuilding of Birobidjan. We need this unity to combat anti-Semitism and reaction at home and to fight for our rights. And this united action and unity will also create conditions more favorable for united Jewish democratic action for a democratic Jewish-Arab solution of the Palestine crisis.

These are all links of one chain. It is the chain that binds the Jewish communities of all countries into a people—the Jewish people struggling for survival. And in this struggle the new Jewish community in Poland is a major rising fortress, rising out of the sufferings, martyrdom and heroism of the anti-fascist Jewish fighters of the Warsaw ghetto.

POETRY

Forever driven, forever conquered—
Men, not demons, have marked them so.
Sorrow has scored them, fleeing spent them.
Give them a bone and let them go.

The young are old, and the old are palsied,
Arms bereft of child, of friend.
Eyes stalked death into pitiless chambers.
Toss them a crust and bid them fend.

Breasts that broke under toppled banners,
Hopes cast living into the flames. . . .
(Ghosts of children whimper and tremble
Under the camps of infamous name.)

Human plows tracking the ages
With bleeding furrows, the earth's great breadth.
Give them a foot of mud to squat on.
Sowing sweet things, they harvest death.

Give them a shadow to sit and stare in,
A window to blink out at the day.
(Yesterday's maniac eats, is bedded.)
Give them—the others—a word to pray.

Martha Millet

FIRST PASSOVER

A sheaf of unleavened bread,
Candles in the menorah,
The bitter herbs and the sweet,
The yellowed text held like a loving hand
In hands whose fingers are interrogations. . . .

Around the makeshift table
The barracks faces gather,
Stern and thoughtful.

An empty seat for the angel,
The wine for his lips alone,
A prayer for the Messiah.
The ritual is intoned.

From scraps and songs of years past
They fashion seder night.
Few and feeble and heavy
With memory that peoples
The gaps in their ranks.
A host of invisible children,

APRIL, 1947

DPs

Brothers they lay down with
And rose with in the morning.
Mothers they cherished,
Men who were their fathers,
Crowd in the uneasy light,
Come with them to supplicate;
Those bones and bits of people
Following with voiceless lips
The ancient recitation
Of wanderings and woe,
Of desert centuries in a green land.

"How long, O Lord, how long?"

Their hearts were aching,
The dead hearts and the living,
Pressing together, impassioned, in the long night.

We are hungry for bread,
We are hungry for peace,
We are hungry for a time of rest
And a time of planting.
May hatred shrivel and bleach,
May the evil ones be thrust
From the hearths of the clean and honest.
May our seeds not perish.
May our children
Never know pursuit.

Martha Millet

FROM OUR ASHES . . .

(After death
The fascists rid our bones
On logs precisely piled.

My voice is a torch of sounds.
Our earth is embered blood. . .)

I speak to you from graves
Which Death has filled, with lips
That breathe no more, eternal dust
Thrown heavy on each word. . . .

Once in this land peacefully we lived,
As men of strength we grew, rich
In seed of earth. At dawn we rose
And chased fleet shadows of the sun
With brittle scythe.

There our songs of growth were sung,
The song of wheat whose shell is crushed,
And sun on leaves, and thrust of wind
That bends the hands of trees into your hair.

*And every son begets new kin
And fruit will spin within the earth
Hear sighs of spring winding
Through thin-fingered trees
They sang.*

After death
The fascists placed our bones
On logs triangularly piled.

Here is method
Without waste, a plan
Of minds superior,
Hear these high commands:

Rush cold air into their veins
Until convulsive hearts are crushed
In swirl of arteries.

Naked, bulge them tight in lime-caked walls,
And sear their flesh into the bone.

Place spades between their hands,
Dig huge graves, then,
With cutting bullets, plant the bodies
In the earth.

Rape the flower of their youth, crush
The brawn and muscle of their heart.

Burn
The history of Jews
With brands across the page,
Flood
Their history with blood
That flowed from silent sphinx
Through rotting caves, and damned
The alleys of our earth for centuries.

Now cut in segments,
First methodically, then dull
The blade of death by saying those
Who die are weak, and creep among
The dead, and point to death and say:
"A Jew. . . ."

We were Jews in a town of fascism,
We desecrated Aryan soil; their eyes
Would shock when we were seen,
And so our lives must end—

II

With bayonets they drove us to a plain.
Here were preparations for our death
And seconds frozen in the jaws of clocks.
We stood: my son and I, the people
Of the town, eyes clasped beneath my arm
Unseeing.

Our sadness swelled,
Sucked as from the deepest lake,
And mounting through dark waters,
Burst the sky and shook the shivering stars.

Machine-guns crouched,
Twilight trickled from the sun
And helmets in the chilling light:
Flame
In my brain. I turned:
The captain's taut-drawn lips
Began to move. . . . Bullet-fire. . . .

The shudder of three hundred deaths
Vibrated in my heart . . . among the dead
I lay, my child across my breast, his blood
Upon my lips—

III

IV

Brothers,
Learn this from our ashes,
From our funeral-pyre learn this:

If unrecalled we dead
Will choke the unconceived,
If unrecalled we dead
Will smother unborn hearts.

Vow, brothers, on these our ashes:
Vow this, people who yet live:

We will turn the streams of life,
We will point them toward a common sea
Like rivers from the snow-peaks.
We will span the valleys,
We will bridge the level stretch of sea
And barricade all roads unto the end:
Unite!

Alfred Levinson

JEWISH CULTURE

Because of lack of space, the discussion on "What Is Progressive American Jewish Culture?" had to be omitted from this issue. It will be resumed in the May issue. In the meantime we urge you to write us your opinion and comments on this vital question.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN FACES TEST

By Ruth Simon

WHEN a spokesman for a Jewish organization can even think of comparing nazi social legislation and labor relations program favorably with the program of the Jewish organization, it is time for the entire Jewish community to become alarmed. Definitely the organization that uses such spokesmen is heading in a disastrous direction.

In January of this year, the National Council of Jewish Women fired a trained social worker without warning, for "malfeasance." The Council accused the ousted employee of an "ill-conceived and ill-concealed" effort to divert the program of the Council along the "Communist Party line."

In a recent hearing between the union involved and the Council on the firing, the Council's representative, Murray Barron,¹ compared fascist ideologies with the program of the National Council of Jewish Women in these words:

"... We do not want to be identified with Peron's Fascism, Hitler's Nazism, Italian Fascism, Franco's Fascism, because their programs in some respects contain measures of social legislation, labor relations which not only are identical with certain points in our program but sometimes constitute an improvement on them."²

Now let us pick up the story from the beginning.

On January 6, 1947, Miss X,² a field secretary for the Council was suddenly called to the office of the executive director, Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein, and asked to resign. When the field worker asked why, *since her personnel folder was filled with the highest praise from professionals and Council members alike*, she was told that no reasons would be given to her.

The worker then said that she could not resign, since that would mean an admission of guilt to charges unknown. Mrs. Elfenbein informed her that she would have to be fired, the dismissal to be effective at once. The field secretary was promised a month's salary and terminal vacation. The Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, of the United Office and Professional Workers, with which the Council has a contract, pointed out that this was a violation of the contract, which specifically requires the Council to give reasons *before* the dismissal of the worker.

The Council replied that she was being fired for "malfeasance," not only incompetence. It should be pointed out that in the history of the Union the term malfeasance has been used for cases involving personal violence or theft.

¹ Excerpt from stenotype minutes of hearing between the Union and the Council, January 27, 1947, prepared by Bar Association Stenographic Service, 36 West 44th Street, New York City.

² In order to protect the professional standing of all employees, we are omitting their names.

RUTH SIMON is the pseudonym for an experienced journalist who specializes in labor matters.

The Charge and the "Proof"

The chief charge against the field secretary was that she had tried to inject a "communist" point of view into the program. As proof, the following was offered:

A list of books which Miss X was supposed to have recommended to Council groups in her territory. Some of the titles are: *Germany Is Our Problem* by Henry Morgenthau, Jr.; *Report from Red China* by Harrison Forman; *Apartment in Athens* by Glenway Wescott; *Days and Nights* by Konstantin Simonov; *Wind in the Olive Trees* by Abel Plenn. The Council also objected to some of the organizations which Miss X was supposed to have used. These include the British Information Service, Public Affairs Committee, and Win the Peace Committee. As further "proof," the Council presented extracts of a child welfare study outline which Miss X had prepared at the request of her superiors. This project was approved by the head of the social welfare department, by her supervisor, and by the Council members who were chairman and vice-chairman of her department.

The Union asked whether this was the complete "evidence" against the field secretary. The Council said that it had presented the bulk of the "evidence," but admitted that it had a "secret dossier" which it would not reveal to the Union. During the next few weeks, the Council offered further bits of "evidence," after the New York State Mediation Board prevailed upon the Council to agree to giving further "evidence."

Among the additional "proof" the Council offered was a "Quiz on Democracy," which Miss X had passed around to Council groups. This had been prepared by the St. Paul Council on Human Relations, which the mayor of St. Paul had been instrumental in organizing. The quiz dealt with people's attitudes toward minority peoples and was designed to promote greater understanding and tolerance.

Council's Tricky Behavior

Several important features of this case should be noted:

1. The Council sent out press releases on the case before any real attempt had been made to deal with the Union and reach a settlement.

2. The Council wrote letters to Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and to Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, asking them to prevent the Union chapter from supporting the employee. In these letters, the Council spoke of the Social Service Employees Union as "presumably a legitimate labor union," and referred to the Union chapter as a "political faction."

3. The Council asked a secretary to spy on the chapter chairman. This secretary resigned in protest.

4. The Council did not adhere to its promise of paying Miss X a month's salary and terminal vacation.

5. The Council cancelled all the field trips of all workers, thus demonstrating its suspicion of the entire staff.

6. The Council revealed that it was not interested in the individual employee involved, but wanted to engage in a full-scale witch-hunt. In a letter sent to all Council section presidents, it was stated that this case was to be made a national test case, and it was the Council's hope that the case would serve to encourage agencies which had up till now been "timid" about firing "communists," to begin doing so at once.

7. Two of the most active union members were brought into the office of the executive director and were told by Mr. Barron that they were guilty of "nefarious" activities, that they were "pro-communist," and that they would be "disciplined in due time."

8. The Council has violated many professional social work practices, including refusal to discuss the matter with the employee's supervisor.

9. The Council has admitted that it is "investigating" another worker.

10. The Council is asking prospective employees what their political beliefs are.

Subversive Forces In the Council

It might perhaps explain the incredible behavior of the National Council of Jewish Women, if some of the influences operating within the Council were indicated.

The first of these is Sidney Hook, to whom the winter 1946 issue of *The Council Woman*, official organ of the Council, is practically dedicated. He was called in by the Council for advice and guidance in charting a course for the organization, which was adopted at its recent Triennial, the first fruits of which, it is presumed, is the dismissal of Miss X. Sidney Hook's qualifications for giving organizational advice are unknown, except that he is well-known as a pro-Trotskyite, who has a world-wide reputation for disruption. Mr. Hook was expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for disruption and Trotskyism. Later on he defended Prof. John Dewey's committee to whitewash Trotsky from the guilt proved at the Moscow trials, and further proved by the whole experience of World War II. Hook established his anti-Soviet position when he attacked Max Lerner, no Red himself, in the March-April, 1940, issue of *Partisan Review* for finding differences between the Nazi and Soviet governments. Hook's position during World War II was well expressed by Hook himself in the September-October, 1943, issue of *Partisan Review*. He wrote: "Since Pearl Harbor, I have made only one passing reference to Trotskyism, and that without mentioning it by name. I have aimed my political fire at (a) clerical totalitarianism . . . (b) Stalinism and (c) chiefly at uncritical support of the Roosevelt regime by labor and progressive movements."

Mrs. Elsie Elfenbein is executive director of the Council,

and therefore holds the reins of the organization in her hand. But her position runs very parallel to Sidney Hook's, particularly for the period of World War II. And with her in the post of executive director, Hook has left behind what amounts to a disciple to carry on for him his Trotskyite organizational and political wrecking and sabotage. Mrs. Elfenbein was executive director of the Post-War World Council, of which Norman Thomas is president. The Post-War World Council, during the war, was opposed to unconditional surrender, opposed to the bombing of German cities, opposed to labor's no-strike pledge, opposed to the Potsdam agreement, and in many ways sought to weaken the war effort. Prior to that, she was executive director of the Workers Defense League, which was most active in the case of the 18 Trotskyites convicted by the United States government the week of Pearl Harbor for sabotage against the war effort.

Democracy Is Involved

When Trotskyism enters an organization, democracy in any of its aspects, from labor relations to programmatic activity, must suffer. This, the Council is now experiencing.

But more than that is involved in the case of Miss X. This is indeed a test case, but not in the way the Council believes. It is a short step from banning books to burning books. It is a short step from prohibiting the use of organizations to forbidding membership in organizations. It is a short step from firing workers without cause and warning to imprisoning workers without cause and warning.

It needs no genius to see the similarity between this case and the David Lilienthal case. Lilienthal, who himself has made anti-communist statements, is attacked by reactionaries in Congress because even he is too liberal. The heads of communists must roll, say these reactionaries, but also the heads of Roosevelt New Dealers. Or again, we find that in New York City several of Howard Fast's books have been banned from the schools. Here, too, a bonfire of books is in the making. It is a dreadful reminder to all of us that when the anti-communist hatchet is used, it does not stop with communists, but moves on to New Dealers, liberals, and even conservatives.

In a letter to Mrs. Mildred G. Welt, president of the Council, the Rev. W. B. Spofford, editor of *The Witness*, Episcopal Church weekly, objected to the Council's actions in these words: "I write of course as a non-communist but as one who is thoroughly anti-fascist. And it has been my observation that those who are anti-communist and anti-Soviet actually, whether they know it or not, are aiding the cause of fascism. Being anti-fascist I am of course also thoroughly against anti-Semitism. We have in fact devoted a number of issues of our weekly publication to combating anti-Semitism. But your action, in my judgment, actually is aiding anti-Semitism in that it is aiding the cause of fascism."

It is indeed sad to see that some American Jews have learned nothing yet from the holocaust in Germany. There is little time left to learn!

TOWARDS THE BIOGRAPHY OF JUDAH TOURO

By Morris U. Schappes

A Difficult Subject

WHEN Bilbo absented himself from Washington, at the height of the move to expel him from the Senate, in order to undergo an operation for cancer of the mouth, he was lodged in the Touro Infirmary in New Orleans. For two years, a Liberty tanker, *Judah Touro*, served our Navy. There are Touro Streets and Touro Synagogues both in Newport, R. I., and in New Orleans. There is a Touro park in Newport and a Touro Hall in Philadelphia and in Providence, R. I. Students at Tulane University in Louisiana compete for Touro Medals; and there are the Touro Almshouses in Jerusalem, and the Touro-Shakespeare Almshouse in New Orleans. For many years a century ago, the Touro Free Library was the only public library in New Orleans. In 1871 a German novelist, Moses Wasserman, published a novel, *Judah Touro*, and it was translated into English in 1923. Today the gorgeous new State Capitol of Louisiana at Baton Rouge has twenty-two panels of bas-reliefs with portraits of its greatest men, and one of them is Judah Touro. In more than twenty cities in fifteen states, institutions secular and religious, Jewish and non-Jewish, have memorials of Judah Touro, some written on paper and some on bronze, all praising him as their benefactor.

Such a figure, it would seem, merits a biography. Lesser persons have had biographies written of them. Yet Touro is not to be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and the earlier biographical dictionaries slight him with a short paragraph or two. Even in *American Jewish History*, the writing of which has been so unsystematic, he has received eulogy but no adequate historical treatment and evaluation. More than ninety years after Touro's death in 1854, one could find only a few sketchy articles in out-of-print and largely inaccessible publications, or popular digests of this material used on occasion to express the pride of Jews in this early nineteenth century Jewish philanthropist.

Therefore the publication of *The Life of Judah Touro* by Leon Huhner¹ seemed a promising event indeed in the scanty annals of American Jewish biography. Mr. Huhner appeared eminently fitted for his task. For more than forty-five years, while engaged in the practice of law, he has pursued the avocation of research in American Jewish history. For several decades he had been serving as the curator of the valuable collections of the American Jewish Historical Society. His own interest in Touro goes back to the very beginning of the century, when he wrote his first article on Touro; work on this particular volume was begun many years ago. Despite the fact that Mr. Huhner's previous writings had occasionally been subjected to sharp criticism, it was reasonable to expect that this biography would be a sound, even a definitive book.

¹ Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia, 5707-1946, pp. 192, \$1.50.

The writing of such a biography of Touro is not easy. Touro himself ordered all his own papers burned. Although he lived to almost eighty, his life spanning from the eve of the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775 to the beginning of the Kansas-Nebraska fighting preliminary to the Civil War, the materials for a biography are few, or at least have to be sought out with the utmost resourcefulness. Furthermore, Touro's life is what is called "uneventful." He was, as Mr. Huhner notes with proper temperateness, "simply an industrious, energetic and enterprising merchant" who became during his life and through his famous will, "one of the foremost philanthropists in America before the Civil War." Except for his participation in the New Orleans militia in the War of 1812, when he received a grievous wound, his long life was almost wholly private and unadventurous, impinging upon public affairs only in connection with his diverse philanthropies.

Touro's personal life, his business career, his religious and Jewish communal interests, his one military adventure, and his "charities," as Mr. Huhner calls them, are the substance of any biography of this figure. Mr. Huhner makes one contribution to our knowledge in respect to Touro's business as a merchant. By having located the important Thwing Collection of papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has business records and letters written to Touro and preserved by Touro's agent in Boston, Supply Clapp Thwing, Mr. Huhner has made possible the serious study of Touro as an important American merchant that Mr. Huhner himself has not undertaken. The following up of such material may lead to other collections, too, that will possibly multiply our knowledge of Touro's business practices and relations.

In other major aspects, however, Mr. Huhner's book is quite unreliable, and neither the scholar nor the layman can be content with it. The great destructive weakness in Mr. Huhner's biography is the tendency to omit facts available to him in the sources he cites, each omission serving to change the total effect both in minor and major features. His documentation is copious to an excess, but a careful investigation of more than fifty of his citations leads to the conclusion that he is untrustworthy.

On Touro's Romance

To exemplify his practice first in a matter that is of secondary importance, I would note Mr. Huhner's treatment of why Touro was not allowed to marry his cousin, Catherine Hays, to whom he remained sufficiently attached for almost sixty years although they were completely separated to remember her in his will. Orphaned from the

age of twelve, Judah and his brother and sister, Abraham and Rebecca, were brought up in the home of the wealthy merchant and their maternal uncle, Moses Michael Hays of Boston. Judah fell in love with his daughter, Catherine. Mr. Huhner states: "While Moses Hays had a high regard for his nephew's character and ability, he was unalterably opposed to their marriage because they were cousins, and all efforts to overcome this prejudice were in vain" (p. 30). In support of this interpretation, Mr. Huhner cites no fewer than ten sources, of which the fifth, he admits, gives the reason for the ban on the marriage as "the poverty of young Touro" (p. 151). Checking the nine of the sources that I could locate, I found that the first, fifth, sixth, seventh, and tenth offer poverty as the reason for the parental hostility; the second, fourth, and eighth venture no interpretation; the ninth is Max J. Kohler, who carefully wrote: "Tradition has it that he formed a romantic attachment for his cousin, Catherine Hays, in these early days, but that their near relationship precluded their marrying, so that each remained single." ("Judah Touro, Merchant and Philanthropist," in *American Jewish Historical Society Publications*, XIII [1905], p. 96.) Thus one reported tradition is converted by Mr. Huhner into a positive assertion of fact bolstered by ten sources of which only one is supposed to differ!

To the same period in Touro's life belongs this incident: Moses Hays, apparently to frustrate the romance, discharged Touro, who soon left Boston for what was then still the French territory of New Orleans. Working with Touro in Hay's establishment was one William L. Stutson. Mr. Huhner writes: "William L. Stutson of Boston had been a fellow employee of Touro's before the latter left that city. Misfortune had overtaken Stutson in his later years and, owing to his advanced age and his inability to earn a living, he was cared for by a relative. The situation was reported to Touro who at once instructed Supply C. Thwing . . . to do everything necessary for Stutson's comfort and support, but with the express injunction not to disclose to him the name of his benefactor." Touro's generosity is not at all marred, and is in fact made more meaningful, by the fact, omitted by Mr. Huhner but noted in other sources, that "After he was discharged from his employment, Judah found temporarily shelter and care in Boston with a kind friend, William L. Stutson . . . [who was] willing to share with him his own small home and means. . . ." (Morris A. Gutstein, *Aaron Lopez and Judah Touro*, New York, 1939, p. 75).

On His War Experience

Or take the matter of Touro's being wounded and his life being saved by his friend Rezin D. Shepherd. Although he was in his fortieth year, Touro volunteered for the militia when the British were trying to capture New Orleans. On January 1, 1815, the American lines being under very heavy British artillery fire, Touro offered to help carry shot and shell to one of the American batteries. Those bringing ammunition were particularly exposed and the casualties

were high. Mr. Huhner quotes from Alexander Walker's *Jackson and New Orleans* thus: "It was while thus engaged that he was struck on the thigh by a twelve-pound shot, which produced a ghastly and dangerous wound." (p. 61) But where Mr. Huhner put the period, Walker had a comma, and continued, "tearing off a large mass of flesh. Mr. Touro long survived this event, never marrying because of this wound, living a life of unostentatious piety and charity. . . ." Now Alexander Walker, in this and other works of his, is one of the sources Mr. Huhner relies on most heavily. It may be that Mr. Huhner has some reason to discount Walker's theory of why Touro did not marry, but a biographer should at least explain why he rejects the testimony of one writer who knew Touro.

But Mr. Huhner continues: "The historian then proceeds to tell how Touro's friend, Rezin D. Shepherd, found him, carried him to safety and thus saved his life." What Mr. Huhner omits is Walker's statement that when Shepherd arrived on the scene, Touro "was in charge of Dr. David C. Ker, who had dressed his wound, but who, shaking his head, declared that there was no hope for him. Mr. Shepherd, with the devotion of true friendship, determined to make every effort to save his old companion. He provided a cart and, lifting the wounded man into it, drove to the city." Having the doctor in the picture certainly makes a difference!

The friendship between Touro and Shepherd of course became more fast than ever. Touro lived in Shepherd's home for forty years, a fact that Mr. Huhner does not record. In his will, Touro makes Shepherd one of four executors and the "residuary legatee of his large fortune." How much was thus received by Shepherd is not indicated by Mr. Huhner. The impression is created that Touro left virtually all his large fortune to various worthy causes, to which he bequeathed more than a half million dollars. Since the other executors were given \$10,000 each, one assumes that Shepherd was left somewhat more. In Mr. Huhner's own sources, however, Shepherd is reported to have received between a half and "more than three quarters of a million dollars!" Bequeathing half to charities and half to Shepherd again provides us with a somewhat different picture than that which Mr. Huhner draws.

But in this very connection there is still another omission. One of the sources quoted by Mr. Huhner, sometimes as his sole authority as to facts otherwise uncorroborated, is the *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs* (New York, 1885), which was compiled by members of the New Orleans press including Alexander Walker. This volume contains the following assertion, unnoted by Mr. Huhner: "A notable event in the life of Mr. Touro occurred just two weeks before his death. One of the newspapers printed a lengthy editorial which went on to say that Mr. R. D. Shepherd had saved the life of Mr. Judah Touro. The consequences of this was that a contemplated will which had been made, but not signed, was altered, and his entire property amounting to considerably over a million was bequeathed to Shepherd." Now the *Guide Book* errs

in the last detail, *but*, was there such an editorial and did it affect the will? Mr. Huhner neither gives an answer nor poses the question.

On Religious Attitudes

In relation to Touro's religious attitudes, Mr. Huhner is even less satisfactory. Mr. Huhner refers frequently and pointedly to Touro's "deep devotion to his ancestral faith," and to his "devotion to Jewish traditions." Mr. Huhner draws the moral: "He learned that one could be a devout Jew, and yet mingle freely and easily with his Christian brethren, teaching them to respect his faith, while at the same time respecting theirs." Mr. Huhner's own account first led me to question this simplification of Touro's religious practices. During the first twenty-four years of Touro's stay in New Orleans, although the number of Jews kept increasing, Touro made no effort to help organize a congregation. It was a visiting New Yorker who in 1826 helped found "the German congregation." Touro contributed some funds to this congregation but did not attend its services, perhaps because, as Mr. Huhner condescendingly expresses it, "the men who conducted the services during the early years were neither learned men nor even possessed of spirituality. They seem to have been simply laymen who were able to read and chant from a Hebrew prayerbook, and who called themselves rabbis without possessing the necessary qualifications." Fourteen years later, about 1840, "when the congregation had assumed a settled character owing to a more earnest and a more intelligent membership," as Mr. Huhner again superciliously sees it, "Touro became really interested," and "sometimes attended its services." It was not until, in 1846, a new congregation with a Sephardic ritual was founded that Touro, who was not much interested in the German congregation, which "consisted of men in the humbler walks of life," became definitely identified with the synagogue. Thus much I derived from Mr. Huhner's own sketch. But from one of Mr. Huhner's sources there came additional sharp clarity: the Rev. Isaac Leeser, editor of *The Occident*, one of the important Jewish leaders of his time, corresponded regularly with Touro. In an obituary article frequently cited by Mr. Huhner, Leeser made these judgments, which Mr. Huhner omits: "But all that time but few Israelites resided in New Orleans, and with the greater portion of the few Mr. Touro held no intercourse, if we are correctly informed. But when gradually our numbers increased, and respectable men came to lead our public affairs, Mr. Touro awoke to the importance of religion, and became an attentive reader of our magazine, immediately after it started into existence [in 1843] . . . there is no risk in asserting that though it was late in life when Mr. T. became impressed with the necessity of being an Israelite in more than in mere words, he was thoroughly convinced of its truth and died in a firm faith of its saving power." (*The Occident*, March 1854, pp. 590-591.) Again one finds that Mr. Huhner's sources alter the picture. (Mr. Huhner might also well have included the

following statement by Leeser in the same article: "And it is a pleasing reflection that in making his will, Mr. Touro remembered nearly all the objects of public beneficence which we had brought to his notice as editor during the last ten years. . . .")

Social Meaning of Philanthropy

If Mr. Huhner's weakness shows up so glaringly in the instances already given, it becomes even more serious when major considerations are involved. Touro was a philanthropist. What was the social meaning of that in the first half of the nineteenth century in our country? Mr. Huhner merely notes that philanthropy before the Civil War was not as common as it is today. He is indifferent to basic factors. During Touro's lifetime, the development of laissez-faire economics and capitalist expansion brought riches to some, and acute and sudden poverty to many. Public social welfare was undeveloped. To bridge a little of the gap, Fair Charity appeared. Charity, I understand, has its uses; but the odor of charity is not pleasant in the nostrils of the poor. Nevertheless, the rich who give are preferable to those who only take, and of the givers, Touro was distinguished. In certain situations, indeed, his benevolence became an instrument in a struggle for equal rights for Jews. Thus in the fall of 1822 (not 1823 as Mr. Huhner states) Touro purchased the First Congregational Church, occupied by a much despised Unitarian congregation, at a forced auction. Instead of trying to profit from his bargain, Touro continued to make the church available to the congregation at a nominal rent; and even contributed many thousands of dollars toward its repair and the maintenance of its minister, Rev. Theodore Clapp, whom he also remembered in his will.

News of the Jew Touro's conduct with reference to a Christian church spread quickly, for on December 18, 1822, in an incident not cited by Mr. Huhner, Colonel J. W. D. Worthington used Touro's action as an argument for abolishing the disabilities against the Jews in Maryland, in a magnificent speech in the House of Delegates. If such arguments were not in themselves convincing they at least helped to redden the face of prejudice. That Jewish philanthropy is not of itself a cure for anti-Semitism Mr. Huhner himself suggests in his quotation from *The New Bedford Mercury* obituary, which said of Touro, "He gathered money with honest Judaical eagerness, but gave it away with true Christian liberality."

Negroes and Slavery

But Touro's philanthropy had a serious limitation. At the risk of being charged with looking a philanthropist in the hand, I must note that those millions in our country who perhaps needed philanthropy most were generally disregarded by Touro and omitted from his will. Touro's generosity had no religious or geographical boundary, but it stopped short of Negro slaves or Negro freemen. Not one

Negro institution, or institution to aid the Negro, and there were such in 1854, was a benefactor of a Touro bequest. His philanthropy was bounded by the social wisdom and narrowness of the rich southern white merchant. Even today Bilbo can sleep in the Touro infirmary, but a Negro cannot.

Touro lived in the atmosphere of slavery. His best friends, the Shepherds, were slave-owners. His friend, the Rev. Clapp, was a militant defender of slavery. It has escaped Mr. Huhner's notice that on April 15, 1838, in the very church Touro rescued for him, the Rev. Clapp preached an apology for slavery in which he argued that the Old Testament sanctioned slavery, and made statements like the following: "Slave-holders in the Southern states are in the main, the most mild, merciful and benignant class of men that I have ever met with. They treat their slaves with paternal kindness. . . . In my judgment, the Southern States secure to the slave all the rights and privileges which he is at the present capable. . . . I now feel certain that by emancipating our slaves, we would be guilty of the greatest injustice." (*Slavery: A Sermon*. . . . New Orleans, 1838, pp. 43, 44, 60.) At about the same time, Lincoln, it will be remembered, was repelled by the New Orleans slave-trade and became an enemy of slavery.

But Mr. Huhner has a paragraph on this subject that demands analysis: "A man of his sympathies, even though living in the very heart of the South, was naturally averse to the institution of slavery, and so we find that, as he became wealthy, he would frequently purchase Negroes for the sole purpose of liberating them. Slaves whom he had purchased to wait on him, or to work in his various enterprises, would receive their freedom, and in several cases, he even set them up in business for themselves later on" (p. 69).

For this paragraph, Mr. Huhner gives two sources, which turn out, however, to be identical, since the later one (1889) merely quotes the earlier one exactly (1858). Alexander Walker, the single source, wrote: "Mr. Touro never forgot a service or kindness, how small soever it might be. The Negroes who waited on him in the house of the Shepherds, with whom he had lived for forty years, were all emancipated by his aid and supplied with the means of establishing themselves very respectably in the world. He never owned but one slave himself, and, after training him to business, he gave him his freedom, and a handsome sum of money, with which he bought a place, upon which he lives with his family very comfortably and independently." Comparison of Mr. Huhner's exaggeration with his source is instructive of Mr. Huhner's reliability.

Controversy on Slavery

Walker's account in itself does credit to Touro to a certain extent. But there is one aspect that Mr. Huhner omits entirely, the reputation that Touro had on the eve of the Civil War. It is a fact that apologists for slavery used

Touro's reputation for philanthropy as evidence that slave-owning is not evil and no sin, since the benevolent Touro himself had been a slave owner. On December 3, 1860, Henry Ward Beecher, preaching in his Brooklyn church, found it necessary to denounce this particular apology for slavery. On January 4, 1861, Rabbi Morris J. Raphall, in his famous Fast-Day sermon on the Bible and slavery, attacked Beecher for his criticism of Touro. An answer to Raphall by another Jew came from far-off Manchester, England, where the Rev. Dr. Gustav Gottheil on January 26, 1861, preached the first of two sermons, "Moses versus Slavery," in which he said: "And, finally, what shall we say in reply to the question 'What right have you to place yonder gray-headed philanthropist, Touro, on a level with a murderer?'" This Touro, more or less, known to you as a co-religionist, was a slave-holder; and, having accumulated a large fortune, left the whole or part of it for beneficent purposes. But, my brethren, can the example of a thousand Touroes prove black to be white? Or can his beneficence in the disposition of his fortune vindicate the means by which it was accumulated? If the law of God condemn slavery as a sin, on a level or not with the crime of murder, can any amount of charity so change the nature of it that, what is in itself a vice, can become a virtue? The only excuse of Touro, and such men as he, is that, despite their general philanthropy, their eyes were not open to see into the real nature of slaveholding. . . ." (p. 28).

While Gottheil probably inflates the extent of Touro's slaveowning, since Touro was a merchant, shipowner, and city real-estate owner and not a plantation-owner, the important thing is that Touro, never known as an opponent of slavery, and having bequeathed nothing to Negroes, became a factor for dispute in the battle over the immorality of slavery. More investigation into manumission records, and into Touro's business affairs, might well disclose vital additional data.

As a whole, then, Mr. Huhner's study is untrustworthy. He handles his sources cavalierly. His transcriptions of documents and quotations are unreliable; many of those I checked were inaccurate and some were garbled. Sometimes what appear to be his own paraphrases of quotations appear in quotation marks; sometimes quotations appear without quotation marks as his own statements. There is no critical evaluation of sources. An article by James A. Renshaw in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* is given as a major source innumerable times when it is in fact an unscholarly article with no documentation and is generally little more than a restatement of a couple of well-known sources. In its present form, the book does not provide the scholar or the general reader with any serious objective picture of Touro.

It is unfortunate that a book about a figure like Judah Touro by a man with Mr. Huhner's reputation in the field of American Jewish historiography should contain so many errors and such serious shortcomings. Only when these are removed will we be able to regard this volume as in any sense a contribution to our knowledge of American Jewish history in particular and American history in general.

LETTERS FROM ABROAD

BEVIN'S PALESTINE PLAN AND UN

THE fuel crisis in a shivering and freezing Britain has tended to remove the Palestine issue from the front pages of the newspapers. Nevertheless, the unsettled future of Palestine and the seriousness of the problem is still reflected in the press.

A typical example is a private conference on the government's foreign policy attended by about five hundred delegates of the London Labor Party held on Feb. 15, 1947 at the Kingsway Hall, London. It was addressed by Bevin and, according to the report in *Reynolds News* of Feb. 16, "the discussion ranged largely around the government's policy in Palestine and the position of the Arabs and the Jews."

One thing is clear. The decision of the government after the fiasco of the St. James Palace talks to refer the whole problem to the General Assembly of the UN which meets in six months, bears out the opinion that Bevin is "playing for time," deliberately delaying any real attempt to find a solution, in order to keep the situation as "fluid" and as "unsettled" as possible, so that Britain's hold could be tightened still further on the country.

Should anyone think that the British government, by deciding to bring the whole matter before the UN, has become highminded, then the following press observations will shatter this illusion: "The problem is far from being solved by the decision to submit it to the United Nations. The government announcement does not make clear under what circumstances Britain is going to stay on in Palestine." (*Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 15) This liberal paper is realistic enough to say that this reference to UN is merely a question of the "circumstances" under which "Britain is going to stay on in Palestine."

The diplomatic correspondent of the conservative *Sunday Times* was more explicit on Feb. 15: "It is generally believed that Britain will not formally renounce the Mandate. It is expected the government will submit positive proposals for dealing with the future administration of Palestine, and seek the guidance of the United Nations as to the plan best suited for a long term settlement. It will solicit advice and if necessary help, and only in the last resort would there be a question of British withdrawal." (My emphasis—I. R.)

To announce that the matter will go before the UN, without a word about surrendering the trusteeship to the United

Nations, and the withdrawal of troops; and to submit it to the meeting of the General Assembly which is due in September and not forthwith to the Security Council—these indicate clearly the real purpose of the gesture. The more responsible papers have made clear that they did not think the Bevin scheme was meant to be a serious attempt to seek a final solution.

"In no sense was it intended to be final," said the conservative *Times* on Feb. 11. "It was by no means certain that the government has taken a final decision in Palestine," declared the *Manchester Guardian* on Feb. 10. "British policy has hardly risen to the occasion and no final decision has been found."

From the mass of rumors and stories which filled the papers on the Bevin plan, a number of statements have, more or less, corresponded with the facts. The division inside the Cabinet is undoubtedly true. The Colonial Secretary's plan which envisaged two self-governing states in Palestine after a five year transition period under a so called central government did, according to the left-wing journal *Tribune*, make every allowance "for the continued use of Palestine as a British base." This "moderation" and "reasonableness" of the "Zionist-inclined" Colonial Secretary, appear to be confirmed by the *New Statesman and Nation* which said that he, and the High Commissioner, were continually urging "that a final decision must be announced before the Jewish Agency can be expected to cooperate against the terrorists."

This plan, which still assured Britain's strategic position, was not to the liking of the generals and the power politicians. They feared Palestine Arab opposition to partition might shatter their overall Middle East plan to build a mighty power bloc, stretching from the eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, against the democratic upsurge in this area and, in the last resort, against the USSR. They opposed the limited measure of self-government envisaged in a partitioned Palestine. Even the Morrison plan, in which the British grip on Palestine was doubly assured, appeared "dangerous," and was subsequently whittled down to the Bevin proposals.

The Morrison plan envisaged a semi-autonomous Arab province and a similar Jewish province; whereas Bevin proposed a number of scattered Jewish and Arab zones, isolated from each other with no

prospect of the Jewish areas eventually linking together. The Morrison plan proposed one year in which 100,000 Jewish immigrants would enter Palestine; Bevin's plan spreads this number over two years. While the Morrison scheme placed real power in the hands of the High Commissioner heading a so-called general government, it did set up a whole mechanism of provincial governments, legislative chambers and a central executive. But in the Bevin plan even this facade of self-government has been scrubbed out and instead there are vague references to local councils and a central advisory council headed by the High Commissioner.

Can anyone think that the British government was really serious in its intentions when it put this plan forward to the Zionists, who had categorically rejected the Morrison plan; and to the Arabs, when these proposals are even further away from their extremist demand for an independent Arab Palestine?

Almost eight years ago a similar conference in St. James Palace ended with the White Paper. This was British imperialism's "reward" to the Weizmann-Ben Gurion-Shertok fraction in the Zionist movement for their faithful services to their British imperialist overlords. Much has happened since that period—and yet those Zionists have learned nothing.

The Basle Congress resolution against participation in the London talks, which was a narrow victory of the pro-American imperialist faction over the pro-Weizmann faction in the Zionist movement, was brushed aside. Instead, six members of the Zionist executive negotiated with the government. In effect, instead of entering St. James Palace by the front gate officially, as they did eight years ago, to negotiate with the government (at no time then did Palestine Arabs and Zionist leaders ever negotiate directly), they went this time to the Colonial Office instead. There, Mr. Bevin told them that he had no less than five partition plans in the Colonial Office files. None, he said, was acceptable to him because each had a large Arab minority in the proposed Jewish state.

One well informed political correspondent reported that the most striking part of their meetings with Bevin was when David Ben Gurion complained that the Bevin scheme was vague and a mass of generalities and that the government had not even troubled to provide a map of the proposed Arab and Jewish areas. Mr. Bevin, somewhat taken aback, said he would oblige and so at the next meeting a map was already there. Three non-contiguous areas were marked as the Jewish areas, totaling less than the proposed single zone in the Morrison plan (which, incidentally, was smaller than the proposed partitioned Jewish area in the Peel

Plan). What stung the Zionist leaders was to see the whole of the Negev included in the Arab zone.

After all the exhortations made by these leaders at the recent annual conference of the British Zionist Federation to keep faith with Britain, not to expect too much from America, etc.; after Nahum Goldman's vicious attack on the UN which lined him up with the most pro-fascist anti-democratic elements, Britain once again meted out its "reward" for services rendered, the Bevin Plan.

If however, these so-called "moderate" Zionists did not swallow Bevin's bait, there are other poor fish in the Jewish community here who have. Both the Agudah and the Anglo-Jewish Association received from the government copies of the Bevin scheme and were invited to send delegates to the Colonial Office to discuss it. The former, an anti-Zionist clerical organization, and the latter, representing the upper class *Yahudim* who oppose the official Jewish state policy of the Zionist movement, had previously favored participation in the St. James Palace talks.

Now that the Zionists had participated—through the back door—it was to be expected that these bodies also wanted to have their say. So, in order to show some kind of "united front," a meeting was

called of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist dominated Board of Deputies, the Agudah and the Anglo-Jewish Association. Nothing, however, came of this meeting.

But the Agudah, after its delegates had consulted with Mr. Bevin, came out in favor of the Bevin Plan. Mr. H. Goodman, on behalf of the Agudah, declared, "that the Bevin Plan should not be rejected outright and that an effort should be made to reach agreement." He stressed that "the promise of a monthly quota of 4,000 immigrants over two years was of the utmost importance . . . nothing should be done to lose it."

The attitude of the Anglo-Jewish Association, which also sent a delegation, is not yet known. This body in the past always supported the government and was the first to go on record for participation in the London talks, and elected two delegates to "stand by" in case the Jewish Agency would officially participate.

Democratic opinion here has not shown any surprise at the most recent "solution" put forward by Bevin and has condemned it outrightly, exposing it as another imperialist maneuver which will not bring the long desired settlement of this burning problem any nearer.

London

I. RENNAP

Far from serving the peace of Palestine, military and police forces have inaugurated a regime of terror in the country (*vide*: Memorandum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Palestine on "Outrages Committed by the British Army and Police Against the Population of Palestine," submitted to the United Nations Organization on Nov. 26, 1946).

The Budget of the government of Palestine for the financial year 1946-47 provides for an expenditure of £6.4 million, i.e., over 30 per cent of the total budget on Police and Prisons. According to official government figures, expenditure on the "maintenance of law and order" for the period 1920 to 1945 amounted to £43,352,000, while expenditure on all other services totalled £96,268,000, including £22,252,000 expenditure on special measures arising out of the war.

The police and military rule in Palestine is expressed not only by the magnitude of police and prison establishments, but also by the orders and regulations giving every policeman and soldier nearly unlimited power over every citizen. The Defense (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, published in the Supplement to the Official Gazette of Sept. 27, 1945, have abolished the last remnants of personal freedom, freedom of conscience, speech, press and assembly.

Any person may be placed under police supervision, banished to a certain residence, detained or deported from the country. Youths may be whipped, in addition to or without imposing any other punishment.

Requests for Habeas Corpus have been rejected by the Palestine judiciary stating "that the District Commissioner's powers under the Regulations are absolute and that he is not obliged to give any reasons when he acts under the Regulations."

In order to facilitate its rule of oppression, the British Government has applied its well-known policy of "divide and rule" producing antagonism between Arabs and Jews by encouraging and assisting reactionary elements among Arabs on the one hand, and reactionary Jewish elements on the other. In order to divert the attention of the Arab and Jewish masses from their common national and social struggle, the British government places the most chauvinistic demands of Arab and Jewish reactionaries into the center of agitation and discussion.

Government reaps its political fruits from the policy of divide and rule and its support of the reactionary forces among both Arabs and Jews in that it has not to face a united struggle of the Arabs and Jews in Palestine for the abolition of colonial rule, independence and democratization of the country; instead, government has succeeded in fomenting hostilities on national lines around such problems as immigration, fear

DOCUMENTS

MEMO TO UN ON PALESTINE

ACCORDING to the Charter of the United Nations Organization the former Mandated Territories of the League of Nations have to be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations and to be administered by the Trusteeship Council to be set up by UNO.

The principles governing these territories should, therefore, be applied also to Palestine, "to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. . ."; and to promote the progressive development of the inhabitants of Palestine "towards self-government or independence, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances . . . and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

The British government as Mandatory Power has failed to submit a trusteeship agreement in regard to Palestine.

This default is not only a violation of the UNO Charter. The continuation of British rule in Palestine endangers peace and is contrary to the interests of the inhabitants of Palestine.

A. DANGER TO PEACE

1. *Danger to Peace in Palestine*

The situation in Palestine, resulting from the colonial regime and policy of the British government, is characterized by successive phases of bloodshed and disturbances of the peace. According to the Survey of Palestine, submitted by government to the Anglo-American Commission of Enquiry, "since the British occupation there have been but few intervals when the problem of internal security has not been a major preoccupation of the administration."

British police and military rule in Palestine has not been instrumental in preserving peace, but on the contrary has produced a state of tension between Arabs and Jews and the constant danger of bloody disturbances.

Military and police forces in Palestine have been increased to such an extent that there is now one soldier or policeman to every 18 civilians; yet with the increase of "security measures" insecurity has increased.

of national domination, purchase of land, employment in government service and public works, import policy, industrial and agricultural development, taxation, education and health services. Government has succeeded in making the reciprocal boycott propaganda of the Jewish and Arab reactionary leadership a characteristic feature of the political and economic life in Palestine, thereby furthering not only its own political ends but also the sale of British products to the detriment of local production.

Every national, economic and social problem is exploited by government to stir up one community against the other. For instance, in the municipality of Jerusalem government worked up antagonistic demands until it could finally dismiss the Municipal Council and set up municipal rule by British officials.

The present situation in Palestine created by British policy is fraught with grave danger. The Arab and Jewish masses have gained considerable political maturity from the bitter experience of the past. They have so far resisted all attempts at provoking communal disturbances. But British policy in Palestine is continuing its provocations to break down restraint and foment communal riots as in other colonial countries under British rule.

2. Danger to Peace in the Middle East

Though Palestine is but a small country in the geographic sense, it is of sufficient strategic and economic importance for British imperialism to have made it into a formidable military base. This base is directed not only against the inhabitants of Palestine, but against all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East. Egypt or Syria cannot be fully independent while a large imperialist army is stationed at their frontiers.

In addition to using Palestine as a military base against the countries of the Middle East, British policy exploits the Arab-Jewish antagonism of its own making in Palestine for imperialist purposes in all Arab countries. This antagonism is built up into a major problem in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, the Lebanon and Iraq, distorting the peoples' struggle for independence and side-tracking it, as for instance in the promotion of economic boycott, thereby facilitating imperialist domination and exploitation.

3. Danger to World Peace

The huge military base which the British government has been building up in Palestine greatly surpasses any needs even of a colonial army of oppression directed against the people of Palestine and the

colonial and semi-colonial countries of the Middle East.

The British maneuvers recently held in the desert adjoining Palestine, where troops were made to fight an imaginary Red Army that had invaded the Middle East, give a clear indication against whom British reactionary circles intend to direct these military preparations in Palestine.

B. OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE

The Covenant of the former League of Nations stipulates the well-being and development of the colonial peoples as a sacred task of civilization. Accordingly, the Mandate for Palestine and Transjordan charges the administration of Palestine to take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country. It is submitted that the British government has grossly violated the interests of the population of Palestine.

1. The Political Bondage of Palestine

Palestine is ruled by Great Britain on the lines of a crown colony. The political life of Palestine, after 29 years of British rule, is characterized by the absence of all democratic legislative or executive institutions. British rule has prevented the democratization of the country, sabotaging even the most elementary initial measures.

Even the Advisory Council established in 1936 is comprised exclusively of British officials. All power is vested in the High Commissioner. The system introduced by the British military administration after the conquest of Palestine is still in force today. The executive is composed entirely of colonial officials. Likewise, all higher government posts in the central as well as the district administrations are filled by officers of the Colonial Administrative Service. Palestinians are excluded from all higher administrative posts.

Nor are the municipal and local council areas governed democratically. The franchise is subject to various qualifications, including rate-paying requirements, in the majority of municipal and local council areas, the right to vote in the election of councillors is vested solely in the propertied classes (at the last Jerusalem elections held in 1935 only approximately 7,000 out of 70,000 adults had the right to vote). In Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa and in almost all smaller towns and villages, women are disfranchised.

The High Commissioner may appoint mayors and deputy mayors from among

the councillors against the majority vote of the Municipal Council—as has been done in Tel-Aviv. The High Commissioner is free to dismiss a mayor, a deputy mayor or a whole elected municipal council—as has been done in the case of Jerusalem and nine other municipalities.

Existing municipal, local and village councils have very limited powers. They are not allowed to expend even the smallest item without the written consent of the British District Commissioner.

Elections to municipal councils are postponed by government time and again, in order to keep reactionary majorities in power; in most municipalities, no elections have taken place for the last twelve years.

Only recently, a further retrogressive measure in the administration of Arab rural communities was introduced by the Village Administration Ordinance of 1944, abolishing council elections.

2. The Economic Bondage of Palestine

By means of the political bondage, the economic bondage of Palestine is enforced. As in any colonial country within the Empire, the British government uses the people and resources of Palestine as objects of the grossest exploitation.

MONOPOLY CAPITAL

The principal economic positions of the country are in British hands, such as the Dead Sea and electricity concessions, oil refineries and pipe lines, insurance companies, large banks.

The mineral wealth of the Dead Sea—the most important raw material of Palestine—instead of being used to finance the improvement of the conditions of the people of Palestine, their health, education and standard of living, is extracted solely for the benefit of the British shareholders of the Palestine Potash Company. No tax is levied on the company, nor has the company to pay custom duties on imports.

The oil refinery at Haifa (The Consolidated Refineries Limited) is a foreign concern exempted from all payment of custom duties.

Monopoly concessions have been granted to the Iraq Petroleum Company and to the Trans-Arabian Oil Company. These concessions include the right—free of royalties, taxes, import duties or other payments, charges or compensations—to lay pipelines through any part of the country, to expropriate land, to seize any wood, stone, water and other local materials required, to import cheap labor regardless of existing immigration laws, to pass freely the border of Palestine, to build and use their own harbors, railroads, aerodromes and wireless stations, to exact port taxes

for harboring and loading, and to keep their own police force. The population of Palestine does not derive even cheaper oil and petrol from these concessions, granted by government without any consultation of the people.

Monopolistic concessions have been granted to two foreign concerns for the supply of electricity in Palestine. The concessionaires have the right—without payment of any royalties and taxes—to exploit the water power of Palestine and to fix exorbitant rates. They have to pay no import duties on machinery, nor any other import duties, until a taxfree dividend of eight per cent is secured to their shareholders. No steps are taken by government against them when failing in their obligations to supply the public with electricity (Jerusalem).

The power of foreign monopoly capital can be gauged from the fact that in 1943 two companies, the Palestine Electric Corporation and the Palestine Potash Company, owned over 40 per cent of the total industrial capital investments in Palestine.

By agency of the Palestine government, British monopoly capital has succeeded in securing majority holdings and cartel rights with regard to purchase areas and prices for raw materials and sales areas and prices for manufactured goods in numerous secondary industries which have been made subservient to British monopoly interests.

The British government has exploited the war against fascism in order to extend the hold of British monopoly capital over additional fields of the economy of Palestine. The British monopoly concern, Steel Brothers, deprived in the course of the war of their dividends from Burma, were made sole government agents, with a transport monopoly as well as a trade monopoly in all important foodstuffs consumed by the people of Palestine, resulting in an enormous increase in the cost of living and exorbitant profits to the monopoly concern.

LOCAL INDUSTRY

The British government uses Palestine as a market for British goods and, in the interest of British trade, hinders the development of competitive local industries.

War conditions compelled government to permit an expansion of certain local industries within the limits of war requirements. But since the end of the war, government does everything in its power to strangle industrial development through an import and control policy maintaining inflationary conditions in this country which heavily burden the masses of the consumers and render local industries non-competitive with British industry.

The means employed towards this end

are: 1) restrictions on the import of modern machinery; 2) restrictions on the import of raw materials, combined with a licensing policy directing the purchase of raw materials for Palestinian industries towards the most expensive sources; 3) maintenance of a high cost of living by a policy restricting imports of cheap foodstuffs from so-called hard currency areas, closing of cheap empire sources of foodstuffs to Palestine consumers, maintaining a purchase monopoly for certain foodstuffs from countries with inflationary price levels; restricting the import of cheap building materials with the purpose of creating a high level of rents for workers' flats and industrial premises; and enforcing a large number of unsocial measures burdening the masses of the population.

LOCAL AGRICULTURE

The importance of the agrarian problem in Palestine is indicated by the fact that the majority of its inhabitants live on and from the land.

As in other colonial and semi-colonial countries under British rule, the British government in Palestine does not support the development of a well-balanced agricultural economy, supplying the requirements of the local market, but directs its policy towards an excessive expansion of a monocultural product—citrus—which renders the country dependent on the metropolitan market, and the large planters subservient to British interest. The complete neglect of general agriculture is illustrated by the allocation for agriculture of a mere three per cent of the total budgetary expenditure.

Government has done hardly anything to provide farmers and tenants with cheap credit for the purchase of seeds, fertilizers, livestock, machinery, or for land melioration. The large banks—Barclays', Anglo-Palestine and other institutes representing foreign banking interests—heavily burden local agriculture with exorbitant interest rates. Through this policy, government has strengthened the position of usurers in their dealings with tenants and small farmers, and has forced tenants to abandon their land, and small peasants to sell their land to large owners and large land purchasing companies.

Government does not support any irrigation schemes. The import of modern agriculture machinery is restricted by an unsympathetic import policy. During the war, the import of fodder was handed over to a private monopolist (Cegla) who drew huge profits from poultry and dairy farmers. There are no government laboratories for undertaking research in agriculture problems. After more than a quarter of a century of British occupation, the land survey is still far from complete.

THE GOVERNMENT BUDGET

The budget, dictated by government without consultation of the population, is characteristic of the colonial policy of exploitation and oppression—as regards both revenue and expenditure.

Revenue

More than 50 per cent of the revenue is obtained by indirect taxation, such as customs duties for imported articles and excise duties on local products. From year to year, indirect taxes are growing relatively and absolutely, burdening the masses of the population. Only a quarter of the total revenue is derived from direct taxation.

(Continued on page 30)

**IN MEMORY
of the
JEWISH HEROES
of the
WARSAW
GHETTO**

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WE CALL ON YOU to join the JPFO to contribute most effectively in the spirit of the Warsaw Warriors. Together, let us strive to attain the goal for which they so nobly laid down their lives.

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

General Office

30 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK

An Important Message to Us and to You!

COMMUNIST PARTY
Illinois District

208 N. Wells St.
Chicago 6, Ill.

February 20, 1947

EDITORS, JEWISH LIFE

Dear Sirs:

It was impossible to refrain from writing to you after reading the March issue of Jewish Life. By the way, I read it from cover to cover at one sitting. I have been a subscriber of J. L. from its beginning but with so much to read through or at least glance at, one sometimes misses much.

The Carlson article caught my eye and after reading it there was no pause or peace until everything had been read.

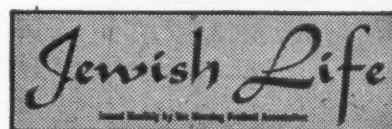
What an informative, lively and easily digestible magazine! Every controversial issue is so simply but soundly argued that it is difficult in arguing to over-ride your position.

I must say although the letter from England describing the growth of anti-Semitism there frightened me, it also helped me. I immediately mailed it to a friend who was wavering and vacillating in face of the frantic maneuvers of reaction and its terror. He will see if he reads aright that "there's no hiding place," as Joe Louis said of Conn, "He can run but he can't hide." Today we fight. How Jewish Life helps! Thanks.

Sincerely,

(Signed) WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
Vice Chairman

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(Continued from page 28)

Capital taxation or death duties to be borne by the propertied classes do not exist, while on the other hand such archaic taxes as titles and animal tax are still in force.

Income tax—only recently introduced—burdens particularly the small taxpayer,

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since inflation of prices has drawn a large number of workers and employes into the orbit of income tax payment, while the large incomes are relatively little affected. The huge incomes of the foreign concessionaires, extracted from the resources of the country, are not subject to income or other taxes and duties. Local companies pay a flat rate of 25 per cent on *declared* profits.

From the much advertised British Colonial Development Fund, Palestine has received in 11 financial years (1933-34 to 1944-45) the meager pittance of £P. 133,094.

Expenditure

Of the huge sums extorted from the masses of the people of Palestine, hardly anything is spent towards their economic, social, educational, or hygienic improvement. Over £P. 6 million per annum, *i.e.* over 30 per cent of the total expenditure, is used to finance the oppression of the people—police and prisons.

In 1945-46, nearly £P. 8 million were expended by the Control Departments, not in the interests of the masses, but for the benefit of a small section of milling interests, cattle dealers, butchers, government agents and blackmarketeers, as well as on political bribes paid to large exporting interests in neighboring countries in the form of grain export monopoly to Palestine.

On education, health, and other social services, the government spends about eight per cent of the total budget. The disgraceful state of education in Palestine illustrates this side of colonial policy.

Among the Arab population in towns, 60 per cent of boys and 45 per cent of girls of school-going age attend school; in villages 40 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively. 23,000 Bedouin children do not receive any schooling at all. After 29 years of British rule in Palestine, 70 per cent of the Arab population are completely illiterate.

Even among the Jewish community which contributes towards its own educational system, about 10,000 children do not receive any school education. 30 per cent of children at the age of 10 years, 40 per cent at the age of 11 years, 55 per cent at the age of 12 years and 65 per cent at the age of 13 years do not attend school.

The small number of professional schools and agricultural institutions existing in Palestine have been established by private means without Government assistance.

THE QUESTION OF DISPLACED JEWS

The linking, in promotion of the various imperialist as well as Zionist politi-

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cal aspirations in Palestine, of two entirely different problems, i.e. the Palestine problem and the problem of displaced Jews in certain parts of Europe and of the Jewish masses in countries where they are sub-

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ject to persecution or discrimination, adds to the difficulties in Palestine, without striking at the roots of anti-Semitism.

The eradication of anti-Semitism and racial and religious persecution can be achieved only by the complete destruction of the political, economic and social roots of fascism and reaction, the implementation of the principles, laid down in the charter of the United Nations Organization, and by the victory of genuine democracy.

The rehabilitation of displaced Jews is one of the most urgent post-war problems. Palestine cannot solve the problem of the large number of Jews displaced by fascism and war. The resettlement of homeless Jews in their countries of origin should be facilitated. For this purpose, the governments and Jewish communities of the new Eastern and Central European democracies should be assisted in establishing close contacts with displaced Jews in the camps of Germany, Austria and Italy.

Displaced Jews unwilling to return to their countries of origin should be given immediate opportunities to emigrate and settle in democratic countries overseas or in Europe, whereby individual requests should be given the fullest possible consideration.

The question of immigration of displaced Jews into Palestine must be solved by Arab-Jewish agreement within the framework of a general democratic agreement on the Palestine problem and within the framework of the international agreement on the future of displaced Jews.

SUMMARY

Since the basic problem of Palestine is the consequence of British colonial rule, which endangers peace and violates the political, social and economic interests of the inhabitants of our country, the Communist Party of Palestine herewith appeals to the United Nations Organization to apply the terms of its Charter to Palestine, and declare Palestine free and independent and to order the evacuation of the British army of occupation. Any other plan forced on the peoples of Palestine by an imperialist power can only aggravate the problem. We appeal to the United Nations Organization to assist the peoples of Palestine in setting up a democratic Arab-Jewish state, based on an internationally guaranteed democratic constitution which provides complete equality of national rights for both Arabs and Jews, and secures full civic rights to all inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race, sex, creed or nationality.

Tel-Aviv, February 7, 1947.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF PALESTINE
THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

AT HOME

A survey of the application blanks of 171 leading non-sectarian colleges in all parts of the United States with an enrollment of more than 500 revealed that 135 colleges, or 79 percent, asked questions referring to the applicant's race, religion or national ancestry. Such questions on application blanks have been outlawed in New York State by the State Commission Against Discrimination created under the Ives-Quinn Law.

Commercial employment agencies and private employers are flagrantly violating the New York State Ives-Quinn Law prohibiting discrimination in employment. An American Jewish Congress investigation showed that requests for "white Protestant," "Christian Only," or "No Negroes" were being accepted by commercial employment agencies and by the New York State Employment Service. Violations in the latter agency have increased in the past year. The Congress is calling for a public hearing.

When Lord Inverchapel, British Ambassador to the United States, visited Maryland's lower chamber, the House of Delegates, six Jewish members walked out in protest against "British policy towards Palestine and their breach of faith with the Jewish people."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise protested to Senate Majority Leader Wallace H. White, Jr., that applicants for jobs on Senate committees are being asked their religion. He stated that such questions could have no other purpose than discrimination and that this violated the Constitutional prohibition against religious tests for qualification to any public office. Drew Pearson broadcast a request that anyone who is refused a job for declining to state his religion should notify him so that he can make a test case of it.

Four bills providing for the immigration of displaced persons and refugees into this country have been introduced in the House of Representatives by Democratic Congressmen Emanuel Celler and Arthur Klein of New York. Celler's bill and one of Klein's provide for the assignment of unused quotas of all nationalities to cover the immigration of refugees. Another of Klein's bills provides for the admission in the fiscal year ending in June, 1948, of 100,000 displaced persons over the regular quotas.

A bill introduced into the New York State Assembly would outlaw restrictive clauses prohibiting owners of houses to sell or rent their property to Negroes, Jews or members of other minority groups. The American Jewish Congress is among the Negro, Jewish and civic organizations backing the bill.

The American Birobidjan Committee sent gifts of food, clothing, school supplies and other needed materials worth \$300,000 to the orphans of Stalingrad and Birobidjan during the last months of 1946.

A bill outlawing all organizations seeking to spread racial or religious hatred, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians, has been unanimously adopted by the Indiana State Senate. The bill was supported by a widely representative group of citizens of all religions and nationalities.

Several additions to the network of pro-fascist sheets have been made since the end of the war,

following the usual anti-communist, anti-labor, anti-Semitic pattern. The four-page "Think Weekly" is published in New Jersey by "Charles Shelton" and Conde McKinley, believed to be the same person. The "Washington News Digest" is a 64-page monthly edited by former Congressman John J. O'Connor, No. 1 man on President Roosevelt's 1938 purge list. The Nazi line is followed in "Today's World," 96-page monthly digest published in St. Louis by anti-Semite Tom Finan, Jr. Fight for Free Enterprise, Inc., an anti-labor organization headed by William Walker, publishes the pro-fascist "Freedom News."

THE AMERICAS

A project for the settlement of displaced Jews proposed by the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization has been adopted by the legislative council of Surinam, in Dutch Guiana. The Governor of Surinam has invited a League commission to investigate local conditions and discuss plans for execution of the project.

The Federation of Uruguayan Teachers has sent a memorandum to President Juan Peron of Argentina protesting the recent discharge of Jewish Teachers in Argentinian schools. A high percentage of teachers dismissed were of Jewish origin. The protest appeals for their re-instatement as an indication of progress towards democracy in Argentina.

A chair of Hebrew has been established at the Central University at Caracas, Venezuela. Dr. David A. Gross, of New York, graduate of Dropsie College, formerly director of the Hebrew School in Caracas, will fill the chair. Among those registered for the course are twenty non-Jews.

EUROPE

A delegation of the Central Committee of Polish Jews has submitted a memorandum to the Minister of Education asking full recognition of the Jewish school system in Poland. The thirty-two Jewish schools located in principal cities do not yet receive a government subsidy. The first Jewish teachers convention held in Lodz adopted a unified curriculum for the schools and they expect to receive a subsidy from the government.

Leo Finkelstein, president of the Union of Jewish Writers and Journalists, now visiting the United States, recently received a silver medal from the Polish Government in recognition of his literary and public work.

The first Hebrew club in post-war Poland was recently opened in Lodz. The club's purpose is to further cultural work in Hebrew among the Jewish population of Poland.

Several Nazi war criminals have recently been uncovered in Poland by Jews who recognized them as their concentration camp administrators. Bertold Gross, liquidator of 4,000 Jews of the Konow, Galicia ghetto, was recognized in a street of Hirschberg by a Jewish woman whose child he had buried in a mass grave, after tearing it from her arms. Johann Groegel, responsible for the mass murder of 3,000 Jews in Zolkiew, was recognized while living in luxury on money and valuables looted from Jews. A female Nazi

supervisor in the Ravenbruck camp for women was recognized by two former inmates of the camp. All three war criminals are awaiting trial by Polish courts.

The British consulate in Bucharest rejected applications for tourist visas for Palestine of a group of rabbis on the advice of the British political representative.

Some 30,000 displaced Jews now in Austria will be transferred to the United States zone of Germany before American troops are withdrawn from Austria. Joseph Schwartz, European Director of the Joint Distribution Committee has revealed. He said that the attitude of the Austrian Government and the people has caused concern over the fate of the Jews if they are left behind after the Allied troops withdraw.

More than 1,000 displaced Jews recently set up a children's clothing manufacturing project in eight DP camps in the American zone in Germany in co-operation with Army officials, UNRRA and the Joint Distribution Committee.

Nearly 1,000 Jewish refugees from Poland, Austria and Hungary, recently sailed from Marseilles for resettlement in Australia.

Adoption of a resolution by the Central Jewish Committee of Germany, meeting for its second annual congress, condemning terrorism in Palestine, led to a walk-out of the 30 Revisionists among its 105 delegates.

PALESTINE

Sir Alexander Cadogan, British representative to the United Nations, recently stated that, if the Palestine question goes to the UN, it must decide the following points: 1) Whether to admit the claim for a Jewish state; 2) Whether to admit the claim for an Arab state, in which a Jewish national home would be safeguarded; or 3) Whether to favor the creation of a Palestinian state balancing the interests of both communities.

Prominent Arab merchants of Palestine have filed a memorandum with the Arab League in Cairo asking that the boycott of "Zionist goods" be called off or compensation paid to Arab merchants to defray "losses resulting from the ban." Loss in trade caused by the boycott has forced a number of Arab mercantile establishments to the edge of bankruptcy.

The Jewish National Council called a one-hour country-wide strike in Palestine last month to protest the deportation to Cyprus of the 900-odd refugees who arrived at Haifa aboard the Hama-apil Haalmoni. The strike passed quietly.

Mayor Israel Rokach of Tel Aviv announced that the Palestine Government has refused to underwrite a four million dollar loan sought by the Tel Aviv municipality for public works projects, including a veterans housing development.

An agreement was signed between the shipping company Harris and Dixon, Ltd., of London, and the Zim Palestine Navigation Company, Ltd., of Haifa, for the formation of a Public Company in Palestine with a nominal capital of 250,000 pounds for the development of shipping lines between Palestine ports, Europe and elsewhere.

Books, religious items such as mezuzot, phylacteries, Torah scrolls, Kosher wines and brandies valued at several thousand pounds for each item were imported to the United States from Palestine in the first six months of 1946.

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