

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

15¢

**APRIL 1948**



**WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING April 1943**

**PALESTINE INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE 1948**

## **IN SIGHT OF THE PROMISED LAND**

**An Editorial**

**By Samuel Barron**

## **TRUMAN DOCTRINE IN PALESTINE**

**By Henry A. Wallace**

## **WONDER OF THE GHETTO**

**A Poem**

**By Itzik Feffer**

## **RESISTANCE IS THE LESSON**

**By Morris U. Schappes**

## **THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE OLIGARCHY**

**By Louis Harap**

## From the Four Corners

### AT HOME

The American Jewish Assembly, newly proposed united Jewish organization is having hard sledding. Some time ago the American Jewish Committee declined to join, as well as other national organizations. In early February B'nai B'rith, largest Jewish fraternal body in the country, at a special meeting attended by 63 lodge representatives, unanimously voted not to join the Assembly on the ground that this body would postpone, rather than achieve, "a substantial unity" of Jewish organizations. Refusal of major Jewish organizations to join was given as the reason for B'nai B'rith's decision. The Assembly's Interim Committee has called an emergency meeting for March 20-21 to discuss the situation.

★

National membership of the B'nai B'rith is 203,000 men and 103,000 women, said Maurice Bisgyer, national secretary.

★

More than 76 per cent of the American press commenting on the Palestine situation in the third week of February, demanded speedy UN action to constitute a police force of sufficient strength to assure the success of partition and to maintain the prestige of the UN, according to the Twokey Analysis of Newspaper Opinion in Washington, D. C., made public by the Zionist Organization of America. Editorial opinion in the New York press unanimously joined in this demand.

★

The UN Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press rejected a proposal which would have denied press freedom to publications which spread or incite racial and religious prejudice. The proposal was presented by Dr. Maurice Halperin, secretary of the Coordinating Board of Jewish Organizations. The French, Czechoslovakian, Soviet and Canadian representatives voted in favor, while the United States, with three others, voted against it.

★

Mayor Israel Rokach, of Tel Aviv, addressed a dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria arranged by the American office of Keren Hayesod attended by more than 200 industrialists, bankers, professional and business men. Rokach explained that the new Jewish state would need additional capital. He pointed out that no American bank has branch offices in Palestine and stated his opinion that American bankers were not taking full advantage of important business opportunities there. At present banking in Palestine is principally controlled by the British.

★

Two best-selling novels attacking anti-Semitism were banned from the library of DeWitt Clinton High School in the Bronx. Laura Z. Hobson's *Gentleman's Agreement* was banned because "it makes light of extra-marital relations" and Arthur Miller's *Focus* because "it is offensive to the Roman Catholic Church," according to a statement by principal John B. Walsh. A committee of teachers appointed by Walsh voted approval of the books, but Walsh rejected this vote and decided to adhere to the advice of the librarian to ban the books. Among those protesting the ban were the executive board of the CIO Teachers Union and the New York *Herald-Tribune*.

★

Congressman John Rankin has been giving out with a rash of anti-Semitic statements recently. On Palestine he said: "It is about time that the American people were given to understand that we are not going to let the Zionist group, a branch of the communist movement, drag us into another world war to sacrifice one million or two million or possibly five million American

# Jewish Life

Issued Monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association

VOL. II, No. 6 (18)

APRIL, 1948

## EDITORIAL BOARD

ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

ALBERT E. KAHN

MOSES MILLER

PAUL NOVICK

SAM PEVZNER

MORRIS U. SCHAPPEES

SAMUEL BARRON, *Managing Editor*

LOUIS HARAP, *Editorial Associate*

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

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
IN SIGHT OF THE PROMISED LAND, an editorial by Samuel Barron	3
ISACSON VICTORY	4
DEPORTATION TERROR MOUNTS	4
BNAI BRITH RENEGES	5
WARSAW GHETTO	5
JEWISH STATE ANNIVERSARY	5
PASSOVER SUPPER, oil painting by Jerome Land	6
TRUMAN DOCTRINE IN PALESTINE by Henry A. Wallace	7
THE WONDER OF THE GHETTO, a poem by Itzik Feffer	9
RESISTANCE IS THE LESSON by Morris U. Schappes	11
ANTI-SEMITES, a poem by Lewis Allan	14
MODEL LEGISLATION AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM AND DISCRIMINATION by William Levner	15
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE OLIGARCHY by Louis Harap	16
THE STONE, a poem by Ber Green, translated by Aaron Kramer	20
HOW THE MINSK GHETTO RESISTED THE NAZIS by H. Smoliar, translated by Dr. H. Lewbin	21
BORDER ILLUSTRATION FOR THE "HAGGADAH," gouache by Ben Shahn	23
RACISM IN THE ADMINISTRATION by Cyrus McCrackin	24
WARSAW GHETTO, pencil drawing by Alvena V. Seckar	26
DOCUMENT	
PLATFORM OF UNITED LEFT ZIONIST PARTIES	27
REVIEWS	
ONE HUNDRED JEWISH ARTISTS by Marion Summers	29
AMERICAN PARADISE IN SAUDI ARABIA by H. Shmelev	30
BIROBDJAN IS TWENTY YEARS OLD	32
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS	2

JEWISH LIFE, April, 1948, Vol. II, No. 6 (18). Published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East 12th St., New York 3, N. Y., ALgonquin 4-9480. Single copies 15 cents. Subscription \$1.50 a year in U.S. and possessions. Canadian and foreign \$2.00 a year. Entered as second-class matter October 15, 1946, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright 1948.

boys." On the Ives FEPC bill he said that "Under this bill, an employer couldn't even ask a man what his name was before he changed it." Rankin's right to his congressional seat was challenged recently by three Negro attorneys in a brief as friend of the court in the appeal of Eugene Dennis, communist leader convicted of contempt of Congress.

★

Johnson Smith and Company, of Detroit, nation's largest dealers in cheap jewelry, jokes and novelties, is advertising a 10-15 cents package of "tricks and jokes" designed to spread nazi-like ridicule of Negroes and Jews. Among these are a "Jewish Nickel," with an insulting caricature

(Continued on page 31)

## PICTURES IN THIS ISSUE

The cover drawing is reproduced from a poster in the archives of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO). This poster was displayed in Berlin to commemorate the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. JEROME LAND'S oil painting "Passover Supper" received a Special Award at the 29th Annual Painting and Crafts Show in Cleveland last May. ALVENA V. SECKAR made the pencil drawing of the "Warsaw Ghetto" on the spot during her recent visit to Europe. BEN SHAHN'S "Border Illustration for the Haggadah" is one of a series of water color illustrations for the *Haggadah* done in 1931-1932.



# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## IN SIGHT OF THE PROMISED LAND

*An Editorial*

*By Samuel Barron*

AS Americans we find great difficulty in putting down these words. No one likes to humiliate himself in public. Yet how can an American speak of his government's position on Palestine without a sense of humiliation, without a feeling of blood-guilt. We can well understand why the masses of the people of the world, where they still have an opportunity to act independently, recoil from American protestations of friendship and generosity.

Consider the administration's policy on Palestine. Here is revealed in all its sordidness, in all its immorality, in all its ruthlessness and predaciousness the entire bi-partisan foreign policy of our government, of which our Palestine position is an integral part.

The United States had committed itself to the partition of Palestine under UN supervision and to the establishment of independent Jewish and Arab states. True, it had done so reluctantly. True, it had done so under pressure of public opinion, and under the influence of the clear-cut positions of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, particularly Poland. But it was a commitment made by the most powerful state in the world, a state that had arrogated unto itself the right to pass judgment upon all the peoples of the world, a state that presumed to pose as the epitome of international virtue.

But the rejoicing of the Jews at having come in sight of the promised land was short-lived. This time the Jews were not dealing with a mere second-rate Jehova. This time they were face to face with the host of hosts, Imperialism himself, laved in Standard Oil, surrounded by the cherubim of Wall Street, his praises sung by angels from the counting houses of Europe, serviced by the hosts of the world's political underworld.

The words of U.S. delegate Warren Austin in the Security Council of the UN were coated with sickening sweetness. But the hard core was poisonous betrayal. Partition? Yes . . . no . . . maybe. If it could be implemented peacefully . . . then perhaps. But if the UN decision were flouted, and force were necessary? Then . . . tut, tut! The UN could set up another committee to investigate the situation (was this to be the 24th or 25th in the last 30 years?), this time made up of the Big Five, and if it could prove that the peace were endangered (of course, what is flowing in the streets of Palestine today is not blood, but imperialist milk and honey, we presume!), then . . . then we will see. But even then only to protect the peace, but not to implement

a UN decision and safeguard the existence of the UN. Talk and double-talk, hair-splitting and tongue-twisting . . . but it all adds up to issuing an urgent demand to do nothing in a hurry, to go places on a treadmill and to view vistas in a chamber of concave and convex mirrors.

Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko, in his brief remarks on March 2, exposed the maneuver. Of course the five big powers should consult. That has been always the position of the Soviet Union. But why not consult directly and report in ten or fifteen days? Why bother with committees? Why should any big power state want to hide behind a committee? That would only complicate matters instead of simplifying a solution. Besides, what could such a committee discover in an investigation and by consulting with Jews and Arabs that the UN Palestine Commission had not already told the Security Council? The Committee could only be a duplicate or parallel set-up. Therefore the United States proposal was wholly artificial and unjustified. All members of the Security Council should be ready to answer all questions in public. So said Gromyko.

But Gromyko was speaking with socialist honesty, not with imperialist tongue-in-cheek. The United States proposal was made because it *did* have something to hide behind a committee. It had the Truman Doctrine to hide, not in order to get rid of it, but in order to implement it in Palestine. The international task of "containing communism," which is the American-made model of the anti-Comintern pact patented by I G Farben prior to World War II, and which is sold under the trade mark of Truman Doctrine, calls for the following: the safeguarding of the oil profits in the Middle East. The protection of the oil resources necessary for World War III. The conversion of Palestine and the Middle East, the last large land mass touching the Soviet Union that still rests securely in imperialist hands, into a *place d'armes* and jumping off place for a war against the Soviet Union to "contain communism" and destroy democracy wherever it may exist. And if a mere 700,000 Jews stand in the way of carrying out these objectives efficiently, then the 700,000 are to be destroyed as cold-bloodedly as Hitler did in Europe.

That is why Henry Wallace could very well say: "Day by day the evils of the Truman Doctrine—the very core of administration policy—become more and more apparent. It is that Doctrine which is at the heart of the administra-

tion's contribution to the strife and mass murder—the unnecessary, shameful mass murder—in Palestine.”

This the masses of the American people, in daily increasing numbers, are beginning to understand.

## ISACSON VICTORY

**T**HAT increasing numbers of American people are beginning to see that the “lesser evil” in the White House is an illusion, was proved recently by a number of events. Among them are the successful campaign to collect a half million signatures in California to place Henry Wallace on the ballot and the thousands of Minnesota citizens braving a most severe snowstorm to come to hear Wallace. Outstanding was the victory of Leo Isacson in the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx on February 17.

It was a clear-cut struggle and a clear-cut victory. Henry Wallace spoke for Isacson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mayor O'Dwyer of New York spoke for the Democratic candidate. It is not exactly true that Palestine was the main issue. The main issue was the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. All the candidates were apparently in agreement on Palestine, including the machine-made “Democrat” Propper, the fog-horn “Liberal” Alfange, the shadowy “Republican” De Nigris. They all agreed with Isacson on the need to lift the embargo, and for the United States to do something.

What was the key to the difference was the fact that Isacson laid responsibility for the situation where it belonged, on the Truman Doctrine. If it was a desire to protest against the betrayal of Palestine by Truman, then the people in the district could have voted, for Dean Alfange, who posed as a liberal, and who was supported by such a powerful newspaper as the *New York Post*, and by such a well-known, if consistently wrong, Jewish leader as Dr. S. Margoshes of the *Jewish Day*. But the community in the Bronx was not just protesting. It was expressing opinion on basic policy. And in order to express this policy, it defied red-baiting, it defied threats, it defied dire warnings.

The Jewish people and the Negro people and the Puerto Rican people and the Irish people and all other peoples in the community quickly and clearly saw that all was empty talk and empty promises, if they did not include the demand for the destruction of the Truman Doctrine and the expunging of the “lesser evil” and co-authors of the Doctrine from the seats of power.

And in the process they exploded a good many other things. They exploded the myth that the Wallace movement could not win. They proved that the Wallace movement did not help the Republicans except to bury them. They proved that the Wallace movement did not help even “liberal” saboteurs like Dean Alfange. They proved that the Wallace movement will not interfere with, but will encourage, the election of progressive congressmen.

That is the significance of the Isacson victory. That is

the significance of the snowballing movement for Wallace. In the face of this situation, those Jewish leaders who would advise that Jews remain strictly neutral, are doing a disservice to their people. *It is precisely this kind of “neutrality” of Jews and other peoples that eventually led to the annihilation of six million of our people, and tens of millions of other peoples in the blood-bath of World War II.* That and the triumph of the “lesser evil” in Germany in the fall of 1932.

The Isacson victory shows that the Jewish people, and all other peoples, are rejecting such false leadership, and are moving to the establishment of a new first party in our land.

## DEPORTATION TERROR GROWS

**I**T IS this progressive behavior of the American people, who are beginning to see more clearly through the hoax of the bi-partisan betrayal of the American people, that is driving the Democratic-Republican pro-fascist cabal to desperation. And true to its imperialist character, it is responding with the customary increasingly fascist terror.

First of all, it began with a whole series of arrests of foreign born for deportation. It was no accident that all of them were outstanding trade union and progressive leaders who were fighting against the reactionary policies of the present Administration. With John Santo, Michael Obermeier, Charles Doyle, the police state rising in our country intended to weaken the labor movement in preparation for its destruction. With Alexander Bittelman, John Williamson, Claudia Jones and Beatrice Siskind, it meant to disarm the progressive forces in the hope of splintering and disorienting them.

It did not work, and so the terror was stepped up. Now Ferdinand Smith, the Negro national officer of the National Maritime Union, and Irving Potash, one of the outstanding Jewish labor leaders of the country, were picked up. And with it came the next step of Gestapo persecution—the establishment of the first concentration camp in the United States on Ellis Island, where five of the arrested foreign born are, at this writing, being kept without bail in violation of the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States. The Heinrich Himmler of America, Attorney General Tom Clark, has taken over.

It is no accident that three of the arrested, including one of the five not permitted bail, are Jewish, a disturbingly high percentage of those under attack. The effort to deport Alexander Bittelman, Beatrice Siskind and Irving Potash is the reply of the Truman Doctrinaires to the resistance of the Jewish people to the policy of American imperialist betrayal of Jews in Palestine and of Jews in DP camps and in Eastern Europe.

The struggle of the foreign born victims of American reaction to remain in this country, climaxed by the hunger strike of those being kept without bail, is the struggle of



all the Jewish people, and must receive the firm and united support of the Jews of America.

Protest to Attorney General Tom Clark, demanding the release of these political prisoners from Ellis Island, the dropping of deportation proceedings and the granting of citizenship to these thorough Americans of foreign birth.

The Jews must act unitedly in this situation, and not permit political differences to keep them divided in the face of the increasingly terrorist American reaction.

## BNAI BRITH RENEGES

**T**HE Jewish community in America thought it had achieved such unity recently. But once again reaction asserted itself.

The American Jewish Conference, in a session in Dec. 1947 in Chicago, decided to convert itself into a permanent American Jewish Assembly. The decision grew out of the achievements of the Conference since 1943, as well as out of the situation in which the Jewish people, and American Jewry in particular, find themselves today.

The achievements had shown how important and effective is Jewish unity. In view of the serious problems of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine, and in view of the growth of anti-Semitism in America, Jewry was in continued need of unity.

Bnai Brith, which was one of the leading forces in the formation of the American Jewish Conference, and whose late president, Henry Monsky, despite his own limitations, was an initiator of the whole movement for the Conference, participated in this Chicago session. But in December a 63-man committee of Bnai Brith lodge representatives decided to take the Bnai Brith out of the Assembly.

In the statement which the Bnai Brith leadership issued, it seeks to justify this action with motions toward . . . unity. Because of this, apparently, it adopted a decision . . . to break unity. We doubt that those who are seriously concerned with unity, including a large section of the membership of Bnai Brith, will accept this statement.

On the contrary, everyone who understands the importance of Jewish unity, will condemn the Bnai Brith leadership for its action. Especially when the reason behind this action is hardly a secret.

There are in the Jewish community reactionary, anti-democratic and anti-national forces, among which the American Jewish Committee occupies a central position. The American Jewish Committee withdrew from the American Jewish Conference soon after it was organized in 1943, presumably because the Committee had not agreed with the Conference position on Palestine. But in fact, the Committee could not enter into any pattern of organization of Jewish life, which would make possible the expression in a democratic way the will of all Jewish social groups and organization.

It is known that autocratic, anti-national elements in the Committee have consistently tried to influence the Bnai

Brith into following their splitting maneuver. For years, under the leadership of Henry Monsky, Bnai Brith resisted these elements. Now, under the influence of general reaction, the American Jewish Committee, with the help of certain leaders in the Bnai Brith itself, has succeeded in carrying out the splitting act.

Will the membership of Bnai Brith approve this? One must hope that it will do everything in its power to help the constructive and democratic forces in Jewish life by remaining in the American Jewish Assembly, and thereby remain true to the role which its late president Henry Monsky had played in sparking the Conference.

It is also necessary to warn all other Jewish organizations that too much is at stake for the Jewish people for any organization to take advantage of the disruptive action to indulge in partisan politics. Unity is still the key to Jewish survival, unity on a principled and progressive program.

## WARSAW GHETTO

**U**NITY is one of the great and overwhelming lessons of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Resistance is the other. These two helped stall the Nazi war machine, helped weaken it. And that is why Jews must never forget the heroic events that took place in this Polish city.

Is there anyone who would dare suggest today that disunity would have served the Jews better in the ghetto while they were fighting with bare hands against Nazi murders? Is there anyone who would dare suggest that "neutrality" would have better served for the defeat of Hitler?

Yes, there are those who would suggest such craven attitudes for the Jews. They are those who live by but one principle, the principle of anti-Soviet hatred, for which they would sacrifice everything, even the remnant of world Jewry.

But Jews are no longer being driven blindly into the anti-Soviet position. The Jews of Poland, murdered by anti-Soviet Nazis, rescued by the Soviet Red Army, have learned this lesson indelibly. The American Jews must think fast and clear also on this vital question.

## JEWISH STATE ANNIVERSARY

**I**N the midst of the betrayal, turmoil and bloodshed connected with the achievement of Jewish aspirations in Palestine, we must pause to reflect that Jews are engaged in achieving national aspirations in another part of the world.

March 28 marks the twentieth anniversary of the designation of Birobidjan as a Jewish territory on which those Jews in the Soviet Union who desired could participate in the development of a Jewish nation armed with a Jewish state.

The historic significance of Birobidjan lies precisely in the comparison between Jewish experiences there and in Palestine.

The thirty odd years since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration have been a period of extreme travail for the Jewish people in Europe and Palestine. In Europe it was the period during which the Western democracies failed in their responsibility to defend the Jews from the program of annihilation carried out by Hitler nazism, the creature of Western democracy's imperialism.

In Palestine it was a period of British double dealing, of implementing a policy of divide and rule, of colonializing the *Yishuv*, of murder and concentration camps, of martial law and curfew, of economic strangulation and political oppression.

It was a period during which the United States raised high the hopes of the Jews of Palestine, and the Jews of the DP camps, by making one commitment after another to safeguard the interests of the Jews, only to have them knocked down at climactic moments, one commitment after another, one pledge after another, one obligation after another, until today, at the moment of realization, the Jews stand once again betrayed and deserted by the Western democracies.

And in the Soviet Union, this period was one of hard work, of pioneering struggles, of physical discomfort. But they have also been years of construction, of rehabilitating

the Jewish people, of developing the new Jew. These were the years of achievement of equality—not only for the Jewish people but for all the peoples constituting the Soviet Union. But this was also the period of the establishment of a Jewish district for the development of a Jewish nation, a period of generous support by the Soviet government and the Soviet peoples economically, politically and socially in order to implement the historic decision. It was a period of the transformation of the chaos of wilderness into the order of civilization, of the reduction of the frontier and its conversion into a productive area, of the development of a Jewish district into an Autonomous Region, with its sights already set to achieve the status of a Jewish Autonomous Republic.

The historic significance lies in the fact that the Soviet Union has related the solution of the problem of the Jews to a correct policy on the national question which calls for laying the basis for national development; and that the Western democracies related the problem of the Jewish people to imperialist ambitions inherent in the economic system of which they are a part, and which can only lead to the oppression and destruction of nations.

The historic significance is becoming daily more obvious to the peoples of the world.

## PASSOVER SUPPER

By Jerome Land





# TRUMAN DOCTRINE IN PALESTINE

By Henry A. Wallace

*Following is a speech delivered at the Hunt's Point Palace in the Bronx on February 15 climaxing the intense special election in the 24th Congressional District in the Bronx. Leo Isacson, running as an American Labor Party, third party, pro-Wallace candidate, won an overwhelming victory on February 17, with an absolute majority of 4,797 over the combined vote of his three opponents. This strategic victory for third party forces was a demonstration of decisive popular rejection of the bi-partisan Palestine policy and the Truman Doctrine.—Editors.*

**T**UESDAY, February 17, will be an important day in American history. On that day the citizens of the 24th Congressional District will have a chance to demonstrate to the nation the practicality of a straightforward, progressive approach to political issues. I hope that we shall see such a demonstration—that we shall see thousands upon thousands of citizens casting their votes for Leo Isacson. It is a chance to make what is sometimes called “the third party” the first party to achieve victory at the polls in 1948.

We need Leo Isacson in Washington and we need him there soon. His voice, added to the small progressive chorus in the House of Representatives, will be a signal to the nation and the world that the forces of reaction have not achieved total victory in their battle for America. Tuesday's election here in the 24th District truly has both national and international significance. Its significance with respect to foreign policy is unmistakably clear.

Day by day the evils of the Truman Doctrine—the very core of Administration policy—become more and more apparent. It is that Doctrine which is at the heart of the Administration's contribution to the strife and mass murder—the unnecessary, shameful mass murder—in Palestine.

The Democratic politicians are torn between their need to appease the oil trusts and their desire to retain a portion of what they call “the Jewish vote.” The shallowness and shabbiness of their understanding is dramatized by these references, as reported by their columnists, to “the Jewish vote.” It must be made unmistakably clear to these politicians that it is not any “Jewish vote” which is at stake—that it is the whole moral leadership of the United States; that it is not Jewish votes, but the votes of principled Americans, Christian and Jewish, Negro and white, native and foreign born, who will not tolerate further double-talk, duplicity, hypocrisy and the primacy of property rights over human rights.

If I did not carry in my mind memories of an inspiring trip to the Holy Land last fall, if I did not retain mental pictures of the heroic developmental work of the Jewish settlers, and pictures, too, of the co-operation and friendli-

ness of the Arab and Jew on the village level, if I did not detest and were hardened to the murder of innocents, I could find amusement in the so-called “dope stories” from Washington about dissension in the President's Cabinet over the Palestine crisis.

We read that Secretaries Forrestal and Harriman would like to reverse the partition decision of the UN, while other members of the Cabinet prefer a “do nothing” policy, which includes continuation of a discriminatory arms embargo and silence, while Mr. Bevin arms the Arab feudal lords so they can continue the work of Adolf Hitler.

What kind of a choice is this? Will it be a victory to stop those who would reverse partition and support those who would quietly sabotage partition? Surely it is the lesser evil, but either course spells further death and misery and undermining of the United Nations.

The papers a week ago gave highly circumstantial accounts of Jim Forrestal's threat to resign unless the United States supported the private oil interests in the Middle East by rendering the UN partition decision meaningless. I don't doubt that Jim Forrestal and Averill Harriman have taken the position as reported, but I do know—and no one knows better—that Cabinet officers don't remain in office if they oppose the dominant policy as determined by the President.

None of these so-called “battles inside the Cabinet” can obscure the basic fact that our present Palestine policy is a direct consequence of the Truman Doctrine. It is almost a year since the President made his proclamation of this bankrupt and bankrupting doctrine—since he called for aid to Greece and Turkey—called for hundreds of millions of dollars—citizens' dollars—to support and protect the interests of private American oil firms in the Middle East. He talked about fighting communism, but in the very appropriate words of Dr. Harlow Shapley: “Why did he say Greece when he meant oil; why did he say Turkey when he meant gravity?”

## Administration's Basic Policy

The Administration's failure to implement the Palestine decision, to take leadership in warning Mr. Bevin that the United States will not support British arms, is a direct result of the Truman Doctrine. It is the surest evidence that a few fine words from Secretary Marshall last June did not supplant the Truman Doctrine as the core of American foreign policy. It is the surest evidence that the Administration's basic policy is protection of Socony Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey interests in Iraq petroleum; of Standard Oil, Socony and Texas interests in Saudi Arabia; of Gulf Oil interests in Kuwait.



*It is to protect these oil interests—not from the Russians, but from any democratic movements against reactionaries, fascists and feudal lords that we have poured money, arms—and now, men—into the Mediterranean.* It is the reason for arms to Turkey, for support to a corrupt Greek regime, for rebuilt bases in the eastern Mediterranean, for American planes at a new base in Tripoli, for the British fortification of Cyprus, for our support of British arms. Our military might in the Mediterranean, under UN supervision, could become the basis for stopping slaughter in the Holy Land and maintaining peace. It is obvious that this is not the policy of the Administration.

It is tiresome to hear apologists for the Administration grow apoplectic about British perfidy in the Middle East at one moment and ecstatic about Ernest Bevin's proposals for defending democracy in western Europe the next moment. Let's face facts. This is One World, even if there are forces trying to keep it divided into small compartments. Mr. Bevin can't be a hero and a traitor to democratic principles at the same time. Let's face the fact that neither Mr. Bevin's synthetic heroism nor very real treachery would be possible without the support of our State Department and the White House.

### ***Time for People to Act***

It is time for the American people to tell the President that they will no longer contribute to the support of British arms or American arms for the support of reaction and the suppression of people anywhere in the world. It is time to insist that the power of our government be used to stop sabotage of the UN decision on Palestine; and that we stop perverting our power to support international immorality.

You here in the Bronx can speak effectively on Tuesday. You can cast your votes for the only candidate who will do more than pay lip service to principles—the only candidate who pledges that he will not pay lip service and vote for treachery. You can speak the language politicians understand—the language of votes—by casting your votes for Leo Isacson.

Mr. Isacson, as a Congressman, will not try to absolve the Administration of its obvious responsibility for our foreign policy by blaming the British and at the same time vote them funds to back up their military action. Mr. Isacson will oppose a loyalty order which purges every liberal from the State Department with a cry of "Red," but leaves Mr. Loy Henderson in the Department with 20 oil trust men to sabotage every principle the American people approve.

Leo Isacson is pledged to support of the UN machinery. He will cry out in a strong voice against attempts to bypass the UN with Truman doctrines, discriminatory arms embargoes, air bases and oil concessions. Leo Isacson will raise his voice to insist that we can lay out a joint plan—a UN plan—for the development of oil for the benefit of all people. He will call, I know, for the development of the entire

### **SELL-OUT**

**T**HE American delegation's proposal of yesterday (February 24, 1948) for "consultations" on the Palestine question is a complete sell-out of the people in Palestine and a serious blow at the UN.

Seldom in our history has an Administration so flagrantly betrayed its work, its honor, the people and the hopes of the world for peace.

The U.S. delegation, with unparalleled effrontery, says that the Security Council's job is not to enforce the UN vote for partition but to keep the peace. And if this were not bad enough, Mr. Warren Austin proposes "consultations" to determine whether there is a threat to peace, while wholesale murder continues.

Mr. Austin's statement that the U.S. will support UN action is pure hypocrisy. It is obvious that the UN cannot act without U.S. leadership.

The U.S. position is dictated by oil imperialism and oil politics. A second Munich is under way. Unless an outraged public opinion forces the Truman Administration to keep its word, that Munich can have the same consequences as the historic session of Chamberlain, Daladier and Hitler.

*Statement by Henry A. Wallace, February 25, 1948.*

Middle East using the technology and skill of America and Europe to erase medieval feudalism. No less importantly, we need Leo Isacson in Congress to fight for the principled domestic programs which cannot be realized through lip service. I know that Leo Isacson will not settle for lip service to the protection and extension of civil liberties. He will insist on more than messages from the Administration—he will demand and help lead the fight for action.

### ***Example of "Civil Rights"***

The President's recent message on Civil Rights contained some noble sentiments, but sentiments at variance with the Administration's action on such matters as the loyalty order, the use of immigration technicalities as weapons of intimidation, and such little noticed discrepancies as that between the President's statement and his actions on Puerto Rico. In his message the President paid lip service to the right of the Puerto Ricans to determine their national destiny. But there is a shocking and little known story which casts some doubt on the President's convictions on the matter.

Just about a year ago both houses of the Puerto Rican legislature unanimously passed a bill making Spanish the working language of the Puerto Rican schools. This bill authorized Puerto Rican teachers to teach their young pupils in the only language they know and understand. English was to be taught as the second language. The governor of Puerto Rico (Jesus Pinero), a Truman appointee, vetoed the

bill. Whereupon the two houses of the Puerto Rican legislature again passed it *unanimously*—over-riding his veto.

But still the bill was not law, for Puerto Rico is an American colony and its people cannot freely determine their own destiny in any respect—not even when it comes to deciding whether or not their children can speak the language of their fathers. So the bill establishing Spanish as the working language of a Spanish-speaking nation went to President Truman. Under the colonial law governing Puerto Rico, the President had 90 days in which to approve the bill, veto it, or let it become law without any action on his part. This bill—of such vital concern to the two million Puerto Rican subjects of the United States—somehow got lost in the shuffle of “bigger” questions. While it lay neglected on the President’s desk, the Administration was turning its attention to the operation of the Truman Doctrine—and busily “saving” democracy in Greece and Turkey.

The 90 days went by but the President, untroubled by the fact that the time limit for vetoing the language bill had elapsed, vetoed it anyway. A Puerto Rican Supreme Court—appointed by the government of the United States—has just upheld his veto. The President’s denial of the Puerto Rican’s right to choose their own language doesn’t jibe with his civil rights message. I am sure that Leo Isacson will not be fooled by lip service and that he will demand and fight for action on the basis of principles.

The people of the 24th District who don’t want their Congressman forced into alliance with the advocates of white supremacy and Taft-Hartley will cast their votes for Mr. Isacson on Tuesday. The people who are tired of bossism

and machine politics will record their votes for Mr. Isacson. The citizens who dislike a bi-partisanship dedicated to supporting vested interests at home and abroad have the opportunity to combat these policies effectively by voting for Leo Isacson.

I have said that we need Leo Isacson in Congress and need him there soon. I shall hope that he will be on the floor of the House in time to fight against the current bi-partisan attempts to scuttle rent controls. Progressives are sometimes inclined to look at the elections as exclusively a decision on principles, and to ignore the very imperative dollar-and-cents significance of the ballot. This election on Tuesday has a dollar-and-cents significance in the most immediate sense.

The bi-partisans must not and won’t, I am sure, derive any encouragement from Tuesday’s result. The election of Leo Isacson will be a warning to both parties that they must not kowtow to the real estate and landlord lobbies, and will strengthen the people’s fight for continued and even more effective rent controls. To remove or weaken controls at this time would amount to criminal indifference to the needs of our people, and the removal of controls would speed up evictions, force further doubling-up and gravely imperil the welfare of our people. I hope that the people of this District will recognize the dollar-and-cents value of electing Leo Isacson.

The voters will have their chance on Tuesday. They can choose between two varieties of compromise; or they can—and I trust they will—choose principles and progress, as identified with Leo Isacson.

## THE WONDER OF THE GHETTO

*Translated from the Yiddish  
of Itzik Feffer*

It has been known for years and years that every man has  
his friends and enemies,  
His days, his nights . . . his customs and his laws.  
So every man has a song  
So every man has a shadow.  
It is known even to children in their cradles  
That every man has his shadow and his song.  
The song may fade away, but the shadow follows him.

Man does not tire of the following shadow.  
Together they arise, together they bend.  
The shadow is erect when a man’s life goes well—  
The shadow bends when the back bends,  
And a shadow creases when the destiny creases  
With which the shadow is joined.

The shadow disappears when the man is gone.  
Only from a few . . . from the strong,  
From the wise who are freed of the chains of the enemy

Do the shadows remain, to accompany generations.  
The crushed remains of bodies . . . from these the shadows  
linger.  
Small Jewish towns appear before me.  
They look like frozen manikins.  
Graveyards and cemeteries.  
These are theirs, they are mine. They are our treasure.  
We are flying,  
Courage has opened the doors  
And brought us by the hard way through the lower depths  
of pain  
To another world.  
The lower depths unfold before us  
We descend . . . into the Warsaw Ghetto.

• • •

Who goes here?  
Who breathes here?

Who steps here?  
Who talks here?  
We are in the depths of the Warsaw Ghetto.

With fists that know the impact of fighting  
With hearts that know the price of loss  
With pain that has no ending  
Through the ruined streets and the horrible years they come  
Like near and dear old acquaintances that have only hidden  
from the daylight  
The Shadows of the Warsaw Ghetto.

There was a world . . . there was a city . . .  
Passover has just arrived over the thresholds—  
A balmy April has arrived.  
The birds hum their pleasure and the grass enjoys it too.  
As always, Warsaw celebrates its Passover feast.  
Families are sitting at tables and eating.  
The poor Jews, the kings of the ghetto, tell the age-old story,  
The great miracle of the liberation of the Jews from Egypt.

Will a Savior come?  
Will a Prophet come  
And, if a prophet cometh, what shall be his name?  
And if a Savior cometh, what is he waiting for?  
The dark doors are already open, but the prophet does not  
come.

A Savior does not come. God keeps quiet in the skies.  
Instead the nazis come like robbers to the Passover feast.  
To remind us we are slaves again.  
But we greeted them with thunder and lightning, with a  
rain of lead.

We threw ourselves against enormous tanks with bare  
hands, with iron anger.  
They thought they were chasing wild rabbits,  
They thought they were chasing old defeated tribes,  
But every house became a fortress . . . every window  
answered with hate.

As bitter as life, as full of slavery and bending.  
That's how holy it is to perish in battle.  
As bitter as it is to be tortured and to be sick and weak,  
That's how sweet is our power of contempt.  
The Heroes of the Warsaw ghetto are shooting.

They stand knee-deep in the blood of the holy ones.

Their wonder is alive  
Their vibration is alive . . . in our lives . . . in our hearts,  
Let these holy ones teach us to die.  
Let these shadows lead us to life.

We are again in the capitol of Poland.  
Where are the streets?  
Where are the houses?  
Crushed, ruined; by bombs, by cannon.  
The city is tossed in craters; beauty lies in ashes,  
The nude, desolated walls stand alone,  
The streets remain in soundless pride.

No one remained in the streets of Warsaw  
Not even to weep over her homeless beauty.  
Quiet are the thresholds, quiet are the stones.  
Spoken words die here.  
These are the streets of the Warsaw ghetto.  
Oh God . . . here people lived, worked, cried, sang.  
Arisel the boy of the ghetto commands  
Arisel! Let us fly to the graves of Poland.  
(Blessed are they who remember the graves  
Where our great and our poor people lie.)  
The flag will take us over mountains and oceans.  
The flag will take us. We will fly together.

We are flying into another world.  
We are flying and still we cannot reach it.  
That is how far it is from our home, from our life.  
That's how near it is to our pain and our sorrow.

We fly a day . . . already two days . . . a month . . .  
a year . . .  
An eternity has passed . . . We are flying.  
And still we cannot reach our destination.

Who flies?  
The boy with ashes in his eyes,  
It is our pain and anger flying,  
It is our courage that has ripened.  
Yet he who does not fly will still come safely through  
If it is his restless conscience that drives him on.  
I see the shadows coming from caves . . .  
They come to tell us the tragedy of the ghetto  
They come to give us their dreams  
They come to tell us the wonder of the ghetto.

*This issue of JEWISH LIFE is dedicated to*  
**ALL WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES**  
*in the*  
**STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM**



# RESISTANCE IS THE LESSON

By Morris U. Schappes

PASSOVER, 1948, will mark the fifth anniversary of the unforgettable rising of the Warsaw ghetto. The date will be the occasion for exercises of commemoration wherever Jews live and wherever heroism in the war against nazism is still lauded. We who mourn the loss of all our six million dead pay the special tribute of honor to those who died fighting. Boundless pathos and tragedy are stamped on the death of the unresisting millions who went down with no hand lifted against the enemy, but inspiration comes to us from those who took arms and killed Germans before they died. There is fearful warning but no example in the millions dead; but the spur to emulation rises like a light above the unmarked graves of the tens of thousands of Jews who actively resisted the nazi.

Emulation is still the first order of the day. To do as they did, is still the first commandment of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. Those do them little honor who praise them fashionably in words, and fail them dishonorably in deeds.

Speed and timing are essential in battles. As more and more accounts of the Warsaw ghetto are published, in Yiddish, Hebrew, English, Polish and other languages, one great question keeps welling up. Why, in the Warsaw ghetto that contained all told some 600,000 to 650,000, did so few fight so late? Why was the real fight begun only after about a half million Jews had been exterminated, and there were only some forty or fifty thousand left to make the last unbending stand? Why did not more fight—sooner?

Perhaps we should first inquire: dare we even ask the question? Dare we Americans, who did not face the terror of nazi occupation at first hand, ask why Jews who lived under that terror in the frightful conditions of the ghetto were so slow to organize resistance? Is there not an impious righteousness and a moral insolence attached to putting the question? Should we not heed the caution of Marie Syrkin, that "those who were never subjected to a similar test should be wary of passing moral judgments" (*Blessed Is the Match, The Story of Jewish Resistance*, Philadelphia and New York, 1947, p. 189)?

## An Imperative Question

But the matter is not only or even now primarily one of moral judgments given from on high by those who are on the side-lines of battle. It is urgent for those who wish to fight fascism and reaction to know whether, from the

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES is a scholar of Jewish history and a member of the editorial board of JEWISH LIFE. He is the editor of *Emma Lazarus: Selections from her Poetry and Prose*.

point of view of the struggle against the nazi, it was right or wrong to be passive, to oppose resistance, to die by the hundreds of thousands with no damage to the enemy, and to leave it to a remnant at last to take up arms. If it was wrong, we do not want to repeat that mistake, and therefore we must ask why it was made and analyze the causes. Whether we shall have enough intelligence, strength, will and moral energy to avoid repeating the error, we cannot know in advance. But it is an axiom in training for combat, political as well as physical, that proper judgments on mistakes of past campaigns are an aid to victory.

Once the question is placed, the main answers emerge without too much difficulty. In general I should say that resistance in the Warsaw ghetto was so slow in developing because the bulk of the population underestimated the Germans' will and capacity for the destruction of the Jews and overestimated the ultimate strength of the Germans. Therefore those who told the truth about nazi objectives were derided as alarmists. Miss Syrkin notes that "despite the candid declarations of policy by Goebbels and Hitler, very few believed that these pronouncements [of extermination] were more than threats" (*Ibid.*, p. 153).

The nazis were cunning in spreading this suspension of belief in the obvious. They fostered every possible illusion to prevent that stage of disillusionment that might become the prelude to an attitude of resistance. They sought to make the masses feel that their fate depended upon the nazi will—good-will or caprice—rather than upon their own courage in resisting and thwarting that will.

## Ghetto as Escape

In the first place, there were many who accepted the very idea of segregation in the ghetto, and found "national" and spiritual comfort in the fact that the nazis had arranged for a Jewish "administration" (the *Judenrat*), Jewish signs and outward symbols of authority, a Jewish police. While some Jews tried painfully to organize an underground resistance, others were soothed by the fact that they could ride in Jewish-owned street horse-cars painted in blue-and-white, with the Star of David big and clear on the sides. Thus Miss Syrkin observes that "to some the ghetto even appeared as a shelter," while some who had escaped from Warsaw to Soviet territory "returned to the Warsaw ghetto of their own accord. They had heard that an autonomous Jewish community had been set up in Warsaw." (*Ibid.*, pp. 153, 157, my emphasis—M. U. S.)

Mary Berg, who escaped from the ghetto after three years because she was an American citizen, wrote the following in her diary on December 22, 1940, about five weeks

after the ghetto was officially organized: "The Jewish police is an accomplished fact. More candidates presented themselves than were needed. A special committee chose them, and 'pull' played an important part in their choice. At the very end, when only a few posts were available, money helped, too. . . . Their uniform consists of a dark blue police cap and a military belt to which a rubber club is attached. Over the visor of the cap there is a metal badge bearing the Star of David and the inscription *Juedischer Ordnungsdienst* (Jewish Order Service). . . . I experience a strange and utterly illogical feeling of satisfaction when I see a Jewish policeman at a crossing—such policemen were completely unknown in prewar Poland. . . ." (*Warsaw Ghetto, a Diary*, ed. by S. L. Shneiderman, New York, 1945, pp. 40-41.) Those who could see progress and a promise for the future in such mockeries of Jewish aspirations were of course not ready to jeopardize these advantages by resistance.

Another factor was the nazi abuse of the Jewish community's faith in education. An "official" school system was established and certain types of cultural and artistic activities were encouraged in order to dupe the people. The idea was nurtured that so long as the Jewish youth could study the history and culture of their people, learn Yiddish and Hebrew and so forth, a future of death was incredible. This idea had deep popular roots. The nazis depended on that. Shortly before the official liquidation of the ghetto began on July 22, 1942 (during the next eight weeks about 300,000 Jews were deported to death), the nazis allowed the *Judenrat* to organize several new elementary classes and kindergartens, as a blind almost to the very end. Those who preached self-education as a substitute or a foil for resistance did not serve our people well.

### **Nazis Create Palestine Illusion**

The Palestine ideal also was exploited by the nazis. Sometimes they were subtle and sometimes they were crude; too frequently they were successful. On May 20, 1941, Mary Berg noted this in her diary: "the German authorities permit a large group of volunteer farm workers to leave the ghetto every day to cultivate the fields outside the city. The work affords the young people of the ghetto the opportunity to breathe a little fresh air. Most members of these groups are young Zionists who believe that by some miracle they will succeed in getting to Palestine. For that reason they are glad to gain experience as farm workers. I look with a feeling of pride at these ranks of boys and girls who march along the ghetto streets, returning from work outside. All of them are tanned by the sun and refreshed by the free air they have breathed in the fields beyond the city. . . . Every one of them carries a loaf of fresh bread received from the peasants. Officially it is forbidden to bring bread in from the outside, but in this case the Germans let it pass because they need the labor power of these young people." (*Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.) How accommodating of the nazis, to help train pioneers for Palestine, and even to wink at infractions of their own regulations to make the Jews strong and

skillfull! It took time for the young Zionists, who later played an important role in the resistance, to turn from miracles and illusions to fight against the nazis.

Cruder but even more successful was the nazi ruse by which they beguiled many Jews who were unregistered in the ghetto to report their presence. In response to an announcement calling for registration with the ghetto authorities of all Jews who wanted to go to Palestine, more than 150,000 Jews had their names placed on a list that then made the nazi objective of extermination easier of attainment, and the warnings of those who exposed the snare were disregarded. It was not yet seen that Palestine was attainable, not by the cooperation of, but only over the dead body of nazism.

Illusions were bred on the basis of wealth and class. The ghetto was a miserable place, but there were oases, and money was useful. Mary Berg testifies: "New cafes and expensive grocery stores have appeared, where everything can be had. On Sienna and Leszno Streets women are seen in elegant coats and dresses fashioned by the best dress-makers. The ghetto even has its own styles. Most women wear long jackets without collars or lapels, so-called 'French blazers,' and full skirts. The hats are mostly small . . . high cork heels . . . stylish colors are gray and dark red . . . good dresses of French silk. . . ." (May 20, 1941, p. 60.) And then health and wealth had their correlations too. Even typhus did not affect all equally. With hospitals overcrowded, despair spread. Miss Berg records again: "Setting sick people down in front of hospitals has become a daily occurrence. Mothers, unable to stand the sight of their children suffering without medical aid, hope that by this method they will succeed in getting the patients to a hospital. The epidemic has assumed a particularly acute form in the regions of Gesia, Nalewki, Nowolipki and Nowolipie Streets. In the Little Ghetto, the situation is somewhat better, because it is inhabited by relatively well-to-do people who can afford private medical care. Recently, antityphus serum has been imported from Lwow, which fell to the Germans a month ago. . . . But only wealthy people can afford to buy it—the price runs as high as several thousand zlotys a tube." (July 29, 1941, p. 84.) And so it went, private medical care, free enterprise, silk dresses, a black market, and the masses in terrible, dying poverty.

There was always a "theory" to explain away the looming facts. Mass murders of Jews in other ghettos could be reported in Warsaw by eye-witnesses, but they could be interpreted as reasons for feeling safer in Warsaw. In October 1941 the news of mass executions in the Vilna ghetto arrived and was authenticated, but "an explanation arose," states Miss Syrkin, "that the Germans were killing Jews in former Russian-occupied territories on the charge that they had supposedly been communists and had supported the Russian regime. If this reasoning were correct, the Jews of Warsaw could consider themselves safe, particularly as large factories had been opened in Warsaw in which Jews had to work as slave laborers. . . . The slaughter should be interpreted as an anti-communist rather than as



an anti-Jewish act." (Pp. 163, 205.) How did this "explanation" arise? Were the nazis the only ones to launch it? Or were there others already habituated to the idea that it was safer and better not to be a communist so that the nazi would regard you as a "good" Jew, and "let" you live? But those who sighed that communists, even Jewish communists, might be a scapegoat for them did not fool or divert the nazi; they made it easier for him to kill Jews according to his own undisturbed schedule.

### **Motive of Self-Preservation**

Underlying these and many other phenomena that slowed up the development of the resistance movement was an intense individualism that was the product of the basic social structure of capitalism in which the Jews of the ghetto had lived. "Save yourself," "personal survival," these became not only ends in themselves, but they were ends that were considered an adequate justification of any means used. The ghetto fighters themselves have openly described the situation. Thus Marek Edelman, active in the Bund<sup>1</sup> resistance groups, reports that with the establishment of the ghetto, "only the present day really mattered. Only matters of the most personal nature, the closest circle of friends were by now the focal point of interest of the average ghetto inhabitant. *The most important thing was simply 'to be alive.'* . . . The *instinct of self-preservation* finally drove the people into a state of mind permitting them to disregard the safety of others in order to save their own necks. . . ." (*The Ghetto Fights*, Warsaw, 1945, translation into English, New York, 1946, pp. 5, 18, my emphasis—M. U. S.)

Did this "instinct of self-preservation" lead to self-preservation? On the contrary, it led to mass extermination, and must be judged as such. In practice, the "cult of self-preservation" was bankrupt and can be no model for new battles. Tactically, nothing but resistance succeeded; morally, nothing but resistance was "good."

There are those who would exculpate, or at least warn us against harshly judging, not only those who did not resist but even those who collaborated with the nazi with the best of intentions. Yet it is becoming clearer that the role of the *Judenrat*, for instance, was reprehensible. Miss Syrkin remarks that the head of the Council, Adam Czerniakow, "believed that he was tempering the fury of nazi persecution by his parleys and compromises" (p. 189), and that when he finally realized that the Council was actually administering the orders for the mass deportations to death that began on July 22, 1942, he immediately committed suicide the next day. Lest we fall for similar illusions, however, what should be instructive for us is not *what* he believed, but *that he was wrong*.

"The condemnation of the Jewish police," Miss Syrkin reports, "is more universal" among survivors of the ghetto.

<sup>1</sup> The "Bund" is a Jewish socialist organization founded in Russia in 1897. It is nationalist and petty bourgeois in ideology and leadership.—Eds.

But she asks us, "in justice to them [the Jewish police]," to believe that the nazis would have been worse had they done their own policing. Essentially, would the nazis have been worse? Evidently the nazis thought the Jewish police could do the job better, and they did so good a job for the nazis that the nazis refrained from killing the Jewish police until near the very end. On the day the death deportations began, July 22, 1942, Mary Berg wrote in her diary: "The Jewish police is charged with the sad task of preserving order during the deportation and of employing force against those who refuse to give themselves up. . . . Today the Jewish police gathered up all the beggars from the streets and emptied the refugee camps. . . . Today we received a package of food from Uncle Abie, in which he enclosed a note. Fortunately for us, he is on the police force, otherwise he would not have been admitted to Dzielna Street. His short note expressed despair. He cannot accept the idea that as a policeman he will have to help in the deportation, and is thinking of resigning from his job. But, on the other hand, his job protects him from deportation. He wants to know what we think about it. . . . The police must supply the rest [of the daily quota of deportees] by means of force. They drag their victims out of their homes or seize them in the streets." (Pp. 170-171.)<sup>2</sup>

### **Underground Organizes**

Nevertheless, despite the nazi terror and the nazi cunning, the Jewish underground began to organize itself. It was met by a propaganda preaching resistance to the idea of resistance. In the "safety" of the ghetto, resistance was denounced as "dangerous," and the resisters were branded as enemies of the Jews. As Miss Syrkin says very temperately: "there was frequently the active opposition of the Jewish councils and the Jewish police. . . . The appeals of the underground were characterized as the irresponsible propaganda of young hotheads who were prepared to bring catastrophe down upon all. Again, it should be remembered that this point of view was advanced by people who held it in good faith. . . ." (Pp. 197-198.) Need it again be asserted that if ever good faith was a bad justification for ruinous tactics it was such pre-eminently in this "active opposition" to the underground? If we have not learned that lesson, then indeed commemoration of the heroic uprising becomes a solemn mockery, serving as an opiate that dulls the sense of battle, and fathering a code that justifies passivity and "the cult of self-preservation."

What was the source, then, of the idea of resistance, which spread despite all obstacles? It rose primarily among organized groups based on class or national consciousness (or some combination of both), and dedicated to programs of

<sup>2</sup> On September 22, 1942, the nazis ordered the deportation of over 2,000 Jewish policemen and their families, leaving only about 400 of this police for work still to be done. Uncle Abie, who had decided after all not to resign, escaped from the nazi round-up, and is last noted in the diary on October 2, 1943, after the ghetto had been razed, as working in the Warsaw suburb of Praga.



struggle to achieve their ends. Such groups, before the war and the institution of the ghetto, had become accustomed, in their attitudes and conduct, to integrate the aims of the individual with those of the group and the cause. To the extent that they were dedicated to struggle, these groups understood that risks were involved, and that victories were never won without losses. They realized that they had an enemy to overcome, and that interfering with the enemy, and damaging him at all costs, was a necessary part of their program. In one degree or another, their philosophy was antithetical to that of the "cult of self-preservation."<sup>3</sup>

Therefore it was among the organized labor and Zionist forces—trade unionists, communists, socialists, labor Zionists, socialist-Zionists—that the resistance took shape. Self-sacrifice was not alien to them. Some of them had already in the past, so it seemed to the self-preservers, "courted" danger. Thus an Elia Moses, who had been in the International Brigade in Loyalist Spain in 1936, was a military instructor of Warsaw ghetto fighting squads until he was killed in the summer of 1942. But to be effective, these separate resistance movements had to be unified. Unity too came slowly, but it came. By March and April, 1942, an anti-fascist bloc had been formed consisting of the Hashomer Hatzair, the Left Labor (Poale) Zionists and the Jewish division of the (Communist) Polish Workers' Party (known as P. P. R., the initials of the name in Polish). At an all-party conference in March, "Jewish socialists . . . refused to merge their groups with those of the socialist-Zionists." (Marie Syrkin, *op. cit.*, p. 207.) But the anti-fascist bloc persevered in the campaign for unity, and from its efforts there emerged the Jewish National Committee, which added to the three parties already mentioned the Labor (Poale) Zionists, the Socialist-Zionists, and democratic militant elements among the General Zionists. By October 20, 1942, all-party unity was achieved in a fighting organization when the Socialist Bund adhered to the organization. Preparations for the active large-scale military resistance were carried out under the leadership of five commanders, headed by Mordecai Anielewicz of Hashomer Hatzair, and including Michael Rosenfeld of the Polish Workers' Party (P. P. R.). Other leaders came forward: Adam Berman, the Labor Zionist, Sonia Novograduka of the Bund, Henschel Kirschbaum, the Zionist. In the fighting itself, both on January 18, 1943, when the nazis met armed resistance for the first time, and in the weeks after April 19, 1943, when the final ghetto battle was joined, mass heroism was forged. The unity that had already been achieved was further tempered in the heat of battle and the flames of the Warsaw ghetto.

Of the 40,000 who were in the ghetto when the rising took place, most were annihilated. The nazis lost more than 1000 troops, materials, time and prestige. And it was more than individual Jews that survived. An example survived, and spurred on resistance in other ghettos, in death-camps, and in other partisan movements. Jewish unity against

<sup>3</sup> See "How the Minsk Ghetto Resisted the Nazis," by H. Smoliar, in this issue.—Eds.

fascism survived, and has been since the end of the war the basis of the all-party unity of the Central Committee of Polish Jews. The democratic unity of Jews and non-Jews survived,<sup>4</sup> and is now the basis for the fact that the Jews are an honored and in some respects, because of their great losses, a favored part of the new democratic Polish government.

For us in the United States, and for Jews and other people all over the world, there have survived lessons and examples, patterns of what to do and what not to do in the fight against reaction and fascism. Some had learned these lessons even then; many have been taught only by hindsight. But it is necessary to guarantee that the hindsight of today becomes the foresight of tomorrow.

Everywhere that there is reaction, fascism and imperialism, resistance is the only lesson. It is still easier to resist, especially in the United States, than it was in the Warsaw Ghetto. One must resist the propaganda that nourishes the "cult of self-preservation" by telling us that the attack is aimed "only" at the communists, or at "greedy" labor, or at the foreign-born, or at the Negro people, and not at "us." The road to fascism is paved with exceptions that lead nowhere except to the extermination centers. The infinite cunning of nazism was penetrated only too slowly and at too great cost in the Warsaw ghetto. The American face of reaction will have its own special features, but we must learn soon to penetrate the disguises and read the death-warrants made out for our names. It will be a deluding comfort that we shall be taking if we lull ourselves into the "belief" that the Taft-Hartley road, the Truman loyalty-decree road, the Hoover reconstruction of a powerful reactionary Germany road, the deportation road, the bi-partisan road of strengthening reaction in Europe, the Near East and the Far East, are anything but the roads to fascism, American style.

In order that it be not desecration, commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto heroes should mean resistance above all; resistance immediate, continuous and victorious.

<sup>4</sup> Much has been written of the inadequate and grudging aid given the ghetto fighters by the Polish "underground" that had its headquarters in London and that apparently had other more important objectives than to fight the nazis. Not enough is yet known in this country of the splendid aid rendered by the Polish Workers' Party, founded in January and February, 1942, with headquarters in Lublin. Thus Christina Kovolska, secretary of the Warsaw Branch of the P.P.R., was almost a daily conspiratorial visitor in the ghetto during the preparations for the uprising, supplying contact, arms, and instructors limited only by the available means.

## ANTI-SEMITE

By Lewis Allan

Malice lurks  
In a neat coil  
All compact  
Smooth as oil

Stir it once  
And turn about  
An adder's tongue  
Will slither out.

JEWISH LIFE

# MODEL LEGISLATION AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM AND DISCRIMINATION

By William Levner

It is only recently, since the introduction of the Buckley Bill in Congress, that the concept of outlawing anti-Semitism has begun to gain wide acceptance as a method of combating this evil. If this concept is to be given practical form, a whole series of legislative acts are essential. This is due primarily to the need of dealing with the various phases of anti-Semitism through established machinery of our national and local governments.

The Buckley Bill is based on the right of Congress to govern interstate and foreign commerce. It is not applicable to intra-state commerce. In other words, if the Buckley Bill were to become law anti-Semitic propaganda could still be disseminated within the confines of a state. A state civil rights bill complementing the Buckley Bill becomes necessary. In addition, city ordinances as well are required.

There are of course additional phases of anti-Semitism and racism which the outlawing of propaganda would not cover. Specific legislation dealing with discrimination in education, employment and housing is required. The table indicated here contains model legislative proposals which can readily be adapted for any state or locality. For copies of the full labor bills or for further elaboration write the American Jewish Labor Council, 22 East 17th Street, New York 3, New York.

<i>Type of Legislation</i>	<i>Where to be Introduced</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
A state civil rights bill outlawing anti-racial propaganda	State legislature	To prohibit the dissemination of false and defamatory statements calculated to arouse intergroup conflict.
Ordinance for municipalities banning race hatred	City council or other local legislative body	To prohibit in any public place any offensive, derisive or insulting remark to any other person or persons distinguishing him or them directly or indirectly by reference to his or their race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.
Licensing ordinance	City council or other local legislative body	To devise an effective means against discrimination in public places where the ordinary civil suit for damages or criminal prosecution has failed. Suspension of locally granted license is provided for.
Group relations ordinance	City council or other local legislative body	To declare and effect city policy to end prejudice, bigotry and discrimination through a city agency which would bring about mutual intergroup understanding.
State bill prohibiting restrictive covenants	State legislature	To prohibit restrictive covenants of any kind which deny or limit the right to own or occupy property on the basis of race, religion, creed, color, national origin or ancestry.
Fair employment practices bill	State legislature	To guarantee every applicant for employment and every employee the right to equal consideration by forbidding discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin on the part of employers, labor unions, employment agencies, employees and any other person or persons.

# THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE OLIGARCHY

First of a Series

By Louis Harap

IN A letter dated March 18, 1943 on stationery of the "America First Party," its director and organizer, Gerald L. K. Smith wrote: "... I have known ... Mr. Leo Butzel ever since I came to Detroit. He has contributed money to my campaigns and we have many mutual friends. I would be glad to have any judgment concerning my patriotism confirmed by Mr. Butzel."

In 1945, Leo Butzel was chairman of the Detroit chapter of the American Jewish Committee. At present he is a member of the national AJC executive committee. Butzel is also legal counsel for General Motors in Detroit. It is an interesting fact that Smith has received financial support from General Motors.

On April 17, 1944, Dr. John Slawson, executive vice-president of the AJC, visited the offices of a well-known Jewish business man to discuss AJC policy. This business man soon thereafter wrote that on this occasion Slawson had said that "while he (Slawson) was obviously in favor of attacking any Jews who were supposed to be Communists, he was definitely opposed to attacking any Jew who was either working with or was himself a Fascist."

What kind of organization is this AJC, whose representatives have such connections and policies?

By 1906, when the AJC was founded, the social composition of American Jewry had been changing radically for several decades. Millions of Jewish immigrants from Central Europe had poured into the country, most of them from the laboring classes and many who had engaged in revolutionary movements. They were building a trade union movement among the immigrants. At the same time anti-Semitism was becoming more intense in Europe. The pogroms of 1903 onward had stirred Jews deeply to the need of a defense organization. Throughout Jewish organizations and the Jewish press agitation was carried on to form one united Jewish organization. Furthermore, the general sentiment favored formation of a *democratic, delegated* body. The *American Hebrew*, then the leading Anglo-American journal, editorially favored such a democratic congress, and many prominent Jews, such as Bernard G. Richards and Dr. Judah L. Magnes, declared themselves in favor of it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Presidential Message of Rabbi Joseph Stolz to the Central Conference of American Rabbis in *Year Book* of the CCAR, vol. 16 (1906), pp. 224, 230, and the files of the *American Hebrew* for 1905 and 1906, especially the editorial in the issue of Jan. 5, 1906. This material was called to my attention by Morris U. Schappes.

LOUIS HARAP was formerly managing editor of *The Jewish Survey* and is editorial associate of *JEWISH LIFE*. He has published numerous articles and reviews in general and learned periodicals.

Several tentative, ineffectual attempts were made in Chicago and New York to set up such a body. Then Cyrus L. Sulzberger took the initiative. He gathered five friends, wealthy German Jews of whom Louis Marshall was one, to lay plans for the organization. This group was enlarged to about 50, who then designated seven of their number, with Louis Marshall as chairman and Dr. Judah L. Magnes as one member, to draw up the form of organization.

## Representational Plan Rejected

Louis Marshall presented his committee's plan to a stormy meeting on May 19, 1906, before 28 members of the organizing group. The plan provided for the election of representatives on a numerical basis from the congregations and representation from non-congregational Jews was to be worked out later. Louis Marshall fought for the adoption of the plan, but it was strongly opposed by a majority led by Oscar S. Straus. Judge Mayer Sulzberger, who chaired the meeting, quite frankly stated his objection to the representational plan. "The suggestion that mere numbers can give rise to statesmanlike advice on matters affecting the Jewish people," he said, "is unthinkable. The *know-nothing* element among the native American Jewish people ought to be crushed, and the unrestrained license of speech and the arrogant assumption of the so-called East-Siders that mere numbers give wisdom, ought to be treated as nil" (*American Hebrew*, May 25, 1906, p. 808). A motion made by Oscar S. Straus that Mayer Sulzberger should appoint a committee of 15 to draw up a non-delegated plan, was carried.

The American Jewish Committee was finally launched in November 1906 with 60 selected individuals from the 12 districts into which the country was divided. "Mere numbers" were completely ignored. A Jewish oligarchy was set up. The impression conveyed by subsequent AJC accounts was that this small AJC group alone saw the need for a defense organization. In the story of the AJC's birth given in the Ninth Annual Report for 1915, the real objection to any kind of representative organization was stated in more controlled tones than in the extemporaneous statement of Sulzberger quoted above. "It was also suggested," said the Report, "that unless such an organization consisted of the *most prudent and discreet elements* the standing of the Jews might be seriously affected for the worse." (Italics mine—L. H.) Here is the nub of AJC philosophy: fear and contempt of democracy in Jewish life, fear of the Jewish masses, self-arrogation of leadership and a hush-hush attitude toward the non-Jewish world.



Forty-one years have passed. Just who are the AJC "representatives" today?

Let us examine the composition of the controlling AJC group, its executive committee of 150 members, of whom 16 are officers. (The AJC has become larger and changed its structure several times without changing its essential nature.) The following figures of the big business connections of AJC members are far from exhaustive and cover only about one-third of its 1945 executive committee. The figures do not include the remaining members of the so-called General Committee of 1500 or the over 8,000 AJC members. Complete figures would only reinforce the conclusions concerning the composition and interests of the AJC.

Forty members of the 1945 executive committee are officers and/or directors of business corporations as follows:

<i>Number of Executive Committee Members</i>	<i>Number of corporations of which each Member is an Officer and/or Director</i>
9	1
6	2
7	3
6	4
2	5
4	6
1	7
2	9
2	11
1	15

Three AJC executive members are partners of Kuhn, Loeb and Company and three are members of the New York Stock Exchange.

Among these corporation executives are some of the biggest in their fields. Jacob Blaustein (chairman of the executive committee) is an oil tycoon; Sam Lewisohn and Roger W. Strauss are mining magnates; Henry Ittelson is a big investment executive; Harris Perlstein, of Chicago, is president of the Pabst Brewing Company. Among them also are some of the largest retail merchants in the country: Nathan M. Ohrbach, head of Ohrbach's; Fred Lazarus, Jr., of Cincinnati, with large retail holdings in several parts of the country; Lessing Rosenwald, of Sears, Roebuck; Louis Broido, of Gimbel's; F. Frank Vorenberg, president of Gilchrist's, of Boston; Jacob J. Kaplan, of Filene's. Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, a Kuhn, Loeb partner, is a member of the United States Atomic Energy Commission.

The mass of business members is leavened with a select group of professionals and rabbis. Five executive committee members are prominent Jewish social work executives, seven are university figures and five are rabbis of wealthy temples. At least 35 executive committee members are lawyers, but not ordinary ones. At least 12 of them are also officers and/or directors of from one to seven corporations. There is not a single labor leader on the committee.

These figures indicate conclusively that the AJC is an organ of Jewish Big Business in the United States.<sup>2</sup> Rabbi Milton Steinberg states this fact in another way. The AJC, he writes, is "supported by a relatively small group of wealthy and influential Jews of German origin. . . . It does not pretend to enjoy popular support or to express the will, democratically determined, of American Jews. Candidly representing the 'rich and well-born' it is studiously courteous, conservative and cautious."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, from its very beginning the AJC has tried to lord it over Jewish life as a self-appointed oligarchy and to choke off every attempt by the Jewish masses to organize themselves and to act on a democratic basis.

The bourgeoisie of all nations and peoples act in this way. In order to hang on to power, the bourgeoisie everywhere and always works to frustrate democratic developments and to impose its will and authority by demagoguery, if possible, and by force, if necessary. The Jewish bourgeoisie, of course, is not quite in the same position as the bourgeoisie of the dominant nation or people. For the big business element of a minority group cannot completely escape the fate of the minority group as a whole. Nor can it indulge in many acts in which the dominant bourgeoisie engages and yet retain its hold on its own minority people. Hence the Jewish big businessmen in the AJC must make some pretense of, or even in limited instances, participate to some extent, in movements directed toward winning equality for the Jewish people.

The stated aims of the AJC, of course, read beautifully. They are as follows: "to prevent the infringement of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for the Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting the Jews, wherever they may occur."

Has the AJC applied these fine principles? We shall try to answer this question in this series of articles by concentrating on three aspects of the AJC: 1) its anti-democratic, oligarchical nature; 2) how the AJC "fights" anti-Semitism; and 3) its relation to the labor movement and communism.

### ***No Democracy Wanted***

The AJC has consistently opposed the democratic organization of Jews both at home and on a world scale.

<sup>2</sup> A small group of AJC members have been liberals. A few of these: Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of the Hebrew University of Palestine, supported the campaign for the freedom of Eugene Debs, was a pacifist in World War I and has played a progressive role in Palestine with his advocacy of a bi-national state; former governor Herbert H. Lehman was an outstanding liberal during the Roosevelt era; the late Supreme Court Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo was one of America's great liberal jurists; Herbert B. Ehrmann, of Boston, was a lawyer for the defense in the Sacco-Vanzetti case; James Marshall, son of Louis Marshall, has performed important progressive service on the New York City Board of Education.

<sup>3</sup> *Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem*, New York, 1945. p. 209.

When the formation of a representative American Jewish Congress was proposed in 1914, the AJC fought against it. Finally in 1916 the AJC agreed to participate in a temporary united Jewish organization to look after Jewish interests at the peace conference. A final report on the peace conference was made at a meeting on July 28, 1919 and a group of organizations led by the AJC moved for adjournment *sine die*, passed the motion and then walked out of the meeting hall. A minority of delegates remained in the hall and formed a permanent American Jewish Congress. Again in 1947, when the temporary American Jewish Conference, most representative and inclusive body of the major Jewish organizations of the country to date, decided to form a permanent organization, the AJC refused to join.

When the World Jewish Congress was formed in 1934, the AJC stayed out. The reason for the refusal, according to the AJC Annual Report for 1934, was that "a Jewish Parliament would give aid and comfort to those who promote hostility to the Jews on the ground of alleged international solidarity and super-loyalty. It would sow doubts in the minds of our fellow-citizens in all countries as to the precise status of the Jew as citizen. . . . The Committee believes that, animated by their love of country and devotion to their highest conception of patriotism, American Jews will recognize the menace to their status inherent in the proposed World Congress and will declare their opposition to it."

But the truth is that the AJC does not object to international alliances—on its own terms, as its considerable post-World War II activities have shown. In March 1947 the AJC was instrumental in forming an international Jewish body. Joining with its Big Business Jewish opposite numbers in England and France, the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Alliance Israelite, it formed the "Consultative Council of Jewish Organizations," which was granted consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council.<sup>4</sup>

The AJC has in fact embarked on an international campaign whose desired objective is control of the post-war Jewish world. From February 23 to March 2, 1946, the AJC, in conjunction with its British junior partner, the Anglo-Jewish Association, called a "London Conference of Jewish Organizations." This conference was designed to draw up plans for meeting post-war problems of Jewish recovery—the problems of DP's and war orphans, cultural revival, restitution of property stolen by the fascists and the worldwide fight against anti-Semitism. And at this conference to discuss the difficult problems of world Jewry, the AJC was the only Jewish organization in the United States represented. Not a single delegate from Russia, Poland, Hungary or Rumania, nor any from the World Jewish Congress was present.

The AJC has other long-range plans to establish its influence on world Jewry. An office has been opened in Buenos Aires by an Argentinian trained at the New York

headquarters for conquest of Latin American Jews. London and Paris offices were opened in the past year to interpret "to European Jewry our aims and orientation."

A foretaste of the kind of "leadership" offered by the AJC in Europe was concretely felt in the recent statement of the AJC representative in England, London lawyer William Frankel. While visiting in this country, Frankel spoke on British anti-Semitism that had reached pogrom proportions last August. He reassured the AJC here that these pogroms and intensified fascist agitation in Britain gave no cause for alarm and that he "was not personally worried." Instead of calling for pressure on the British government to curb the rising fascist movement, Frankel falsely reassured the AJC that there had been "strong police action." Even such a conservative English Jewish body as the Board of Deputies was protesting to the Prime Minister at the time for stronger government action against the rising threat of anti-Semitism and fascism.

### ***Betrayal of Conference***

Perhaps the most notorious instance of the AJC's arrogant, self-appointed "leadership" at home occurred in connection with the organization of the American Jewish Conference in 1943. The war emergency and the world catastrophe of the Jewish people made unification of American Jewry imperative. Despite the exclusion of progressive organizations like the Jewish People's Fraternal Order from the first meeting and other weaknesses, the Conference was the most representative assembly of Jews ever held in America up to then. Five hundred and two delegates, apportioned according to number of members, represented organizations aggregating about one million Jews in 65 national organizations in 46 states. On this democratic basis the AJC was represented by three delegates, a very uncomfortable position for the oligarchs of American Jewry. The Conference set itself three objectives: defining policy on post-war rights and status of world Jewry; dealing with the Palestine question; and achieving world Jewish cooperation. AJC chairman Judge Joseph M. Proskauer participated in the preparations for the conference.

But the AJC found democratic cooperation with the mass of American Jewry intolerable and a few months later the AJC withdrew from the conference. Its statement gave the following reasons for withdrawal: the conference threatened to become a permanent body; the conference was "unrepresentative" because it omitted philanthropic organizations (which are not membership organizations and where AJC influence was strong); the delegates were committed in advance to a Zionist program (but this problem had been ironed out by the provision that any component body was not obliged to abide by Conference decisions); and "the resolution on Palestine," said the AJC statement, "was untimely, unrealistic, and exposed the Jews of America to the charge of divided loyalties." The withdrawal was a betrayal of Jewish unity in the most critical hour of Jewish world history. The AJC, in the words of the Conference

<sup>4</sup> Not until some months later did the UN Council grant similar status to the far more representative united groups comprising the American Jewish Conference and the British Board of Jewish Deputies.



statement, "chose to isolate itself from the American Jewish community at the most perilous hours in the history of our people." The withdrawal, it went on, "would appear to have been dictated by its determination to maintain an independent course of action without public responsibility to the organized Jewish community."

As a result of the withdrawal, the AJC felt the lash of disapproval of the outraged Jewish community, and felt the need to rehabilitate itself. In order to keep a hold on Jewish life in these times of stress, the AJC had to appear militant. In 1943, the AJC underwent basic reorganization. But the changes reaffirmed in more up-to-date form the basic principles on which the AJC was founded—anti-democracy in the Jewish community and self-assumed leadership.

### *The Arch-Oligarch*

The driving force behind the reorganized AJC is Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, who became president in 1943. The strong, self-willed personality of Proskauer asserted itself throughout. Proskauer was born in Mobile, Alabama, 70 years ago. He has held many high positions in general public and Jewish communal life, such as the presidency of the New York Federation of Philanthropic Societies and of the New York YMHA. He became an executive committee member of the AJC in 1931 and president in 1943.

Proskauer has an enormous ego. His speeches are peppered with "I's" as befits an autocrat. At AJC annual meetings, which are largely a rubber stamp for ruling group policies, he lays down the law and will brook no opposition. Speaking at a public meeting of the AJC on October 21, 1947 on Palestine, Proskauer became aware of his frequent use of the first person singular. "When I say 'I,'" he explained, "I mean the American Jewish Committee."

In 1934 Proskauer was a member of the national executive committee of the anti-New Deal Liberty League, forerunner of America First, in which his colleagues were men like Sewell Avery, E. T. Weir and Irene Du Pont. Some members of the League were directly implicated in a number of anti-Semitic and pro-fascist organizations like the Crusaders, the Minute Men, the Sentinels, etc.

Proskauer's sense of responsibility to American democracy and to the Jewish people has not sharpened to this day. In 1946 he played an unenviable part in the whitewashing of George A. Timone, whom Mayor O'Dwyer had appointed to the New York Board of Education at the behest of the Catholic hierarchy. Charges of pro-fascist sympathies based on documentary evidence of pro-fascist meetings he had sponsored were made against Timone, and the Mayor appointed a committee to investigate the charges. Notwithstanding the evidence, Proskauer assured the Mayor's committee that "I have had contacts with him which lead me to believe that he (Timone) is entirely free from any form of bigotry and that on the contrary he has been active in attacking bigotry." Proskauer was referring to the fact

that Timone had publicly subscribed to the AJC four-point pledge against bigotry and had been active in distributing this pledge. The AJC had made an unsolicited acknowledgement of Timone's efforts in this campaign of which Timone reminded his investigators. That Timone's "pledge" was sheer hypocrisy is proved by his statement before the Mayor's Committee on Unity. "In February 1939," said Timone, "as between what we might call Franco, and his opponents, rightly or wrongly, I believe to this day, rightly, my sympathies were with Franco."

Two other AJC members, who were on the Mayor's Committee, signed the absolution of Timone: Justice Edward Lazansky, AJC vice-president, and David Sher, then chairman of the AJC administrative committee. This act alone speaks louder than many words on the claim of the AJC to leadership in the Jewish community.

With the energetic and able Proskauer at its head the reorganized AJC introduced the "Chapter Program" in 1944. In the ensuing three years and more, the AJC has set up 33 chapters in many parts of the country, with a membership of over 8,000. At the fortieth annual meeting Proskauer stated that "The American Jewish Committee is not and cannot be a mass organization," because a "mass organization would not result in anything but mass misunderstanding both among our own people and among our American citizens."

### *A New Look*

What then is the chapter movement? It is an attempt to gather a carefully selected group of "leaders" of the Jewish community who will fall in with established AJC practice and philosophy.

The chapter program is already bankrupt. It has met with resistance from Jewish leaders of all kinds, who have seen through this facade. It was inevitable from AJC distrust of mass organization that the chapters should be merely distributing centers and window-dressing, while the real control and activity remained in the hands of the ruling clique. The chapters have little business and few membership meetings. Yet this ineffectual window-dressing is financed by communal funds collected for "defense." A substantial portion of the AJC budget goes for the chapter program. In view of the relative inactivity and the self-confessed undemocratic character of this program, the Jewish community may well ask why it must pay for this effort to rehabilitate the AJC with the community and to further the interests of the Jewish big bourgeoisie.

Besides the chapter program, the reorganized AJC has a complex of "departments," in which the real activity of the AJC is centered. The Public Information and Education Department carries out the long-range educational program of combatting anti-Semitism and "general group hostility." This department sends out canned material to all sorts of organizations—women's, youth, labor, veterans', religious and farm groups—speeches, cartoons, editorials, radio material, films, comic books—all types of mass "edu-



cational" material especially angled for the group in question. In addition, a Library of Jewish Information is maintained, a Jewish Yearbook is published, and a monthly organization news sheet, *The Committee Reporter*, (sent free, according to my latest information, to 37,000 "people of broad community influence"). The monthly intellectual magazine *Commentary* is published by the AJC. (For a critique of this magazine see my article "X-Ray on *Commentary*" in *JEWISH LIFE*, July 1947.)

The Legal and Investigative Department, headed by lawyer George A. Mintzer with an office in Wall Street, maintains a staff of undercover investigators to gather information about fascists and anti-Semitic individuals, as well as Jewish "communists." AJC archives are bulging with material on fascists in the United States that has never been used to its full value in exposing the fascists.

The Department of Scientific Research has a staff of

trained social researchers who test the effectiveness of AJC campaigns and who engage in long-term research into problems of group prejudice and anti-Semitism. The Community Service Department provides material and advice for community groups all over the country for combatting anti-Semitism and for "improving inter-group relationships." In addition, the AJC maintains a Department of Foreign Affairs through which it maintains liaison with Jewish groups all over the world and through which its Palestine policy is carried out. This Department also keeps the AJC finger in the international pie by working with international relief agencies such as UNRRA, IRO and with the UN.

The bare recital of AJC activities is long and I have here given only the highlights. The important question is, how does the AJC "fight" anti-Semitism with this imposing apparatus? The next article will deal with this topic.

## THE STONE

*(From the city of ruined rubble that was the Warsaw ghetto William Z. Foster, Chairman of the Communist Party, picked up a stone. He brought it back to America and presented it to the Morning Freiheit Association as a sign of the tragedy of the Jewish people.—Eds.)*

It suddenly opened a mouth, and cried  
so that all who heard were horrified:

"Of my many friends I remain alone,  
a gray old solitary stone.  
I was part of a house in days gone by—  
but now a remembrance, a symbol am I.

"I am now far more than a gray old stone;  
I am a city full of groans.  
I, the charred stone, hard and cold,  
am a heart grown mute with the grief it holds.

"I'm mute with the muteness of towns that are dead,  
and I draw in their prayers that will never be said.  
I'm the loneliness of a slaughtered street:  
I've watched men rise, and fall in defeat. . . .

"And anyone with eyes can see  
the thing I used to be:  
I once was a city of bustle and play,  
a city where men built, and children were gay.

"Just as a life can be lived in one minute  
a stone can contain a whole city within it.  
I was a city of living Jews  
laboring, shopping, discussing the news.

"I used to be . . .

By Ber Green

Translation from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer

But what's become of me?  
The sunlit, singing neighborhood  
is now a soundless shriek to God.

"The town whose loveliness had shone  
like seven suns, became a stone:  
silent as children watching in dread,  
silent as fathers and mothers dead.

"I am silent with the silence of many a dead, bright Jew.  
Shall my silence, world, reach up to you?  
I am silent, but I speak of a devastating year:  
I am one great frozen Jewish tear.

"I open my heart, that is mute with a woeful cry  
for the skeletons of lives that did not want to die.  
I, the stone, was a weapon in the holy fight:  
with my sharp edge I guarded, and pointed toward the  
light.

"I helped when skulls of nazis were split in two,  
crying 'Kill them, heroes, while there is breath in you!'  
I was barricade for some, and weapon for others,  
and I cried: 'You are deathless, sisters and brothers!'

"I ask myself as I stand alone,  
a solitary stone:  
Do you really know what you are?  
A witness of nights that showed no star,  
a token of pillage and overthrow,  
a weapon of heroes against the foe,  
and a fountain of glittering Jewish tears.  
You're more than a stone—far more than appears!"

The mouth shut. Silently stands,  
and its silence horrifies the lands.

# HOW THE MINSK GHETTO RESISTED THE NAZIS

By H. Smoliar

Translated from the Yiddish by Dr. H. Lewbin

*We print below some heroic stories of resistance in the Minsk Ghetto during the nazi occupation. The Jewish slogan was, "Out of the ghetto!" The author, H. Smoliar, was secretary of the original group of three who organized the ghetto resistance. These incidents are excerpted from a book published in Moscow in 1946.—Eds.*

**A** SAYING was current during the nazi occupation among the White Russian population in Minsk: "They have stirred a stew with you Jews, but they still smack their lips on us Russians."

The common Hitlerite peril threatening the whole Soviet population frequently caused a breakdown of the ghetto walls.

The extermination of the White Russian population was systematically planned from the very first days of occupation. Along with the first nazi commands to "shoot a hundred Jew communists" there also appeared notices that "owing to diversionary acts against the German forces, a hundred men were shot to death. Every undisclosed act of sabotage in the future will be retaliated by the shooting of fifty men," and inasmuch as the guilty were never apprehended, the Minsk streets were the scene of constant manhunts. The Minsk prison was always filled to overflowing with White Russians both from the city and villages, and the road from the prison led only to the gallows and the grave.

Boundless rage surged up within the Minsk population after the execution of early October 1941. In all the city squares gallows were erected and young Soviet people hanged. Three in a row. Two men, and a woman in the center. Each bore a placard: "We fought against the German power." But despite the wild terror and extermination of the White Russian population, the vital thread of friendship between the Jews and the White Russians remained unbroken.

It was a daily occurrence for a White Russian living across the ghetto fence to run out stealthily when the police were not around and talk to a Jewish acquaintance on the other side of the fence or to toss over some food.

The ghetto border facing Shorno-Obutkavo Street was frequently visited by the White Russian Nicolai Romanovich Tschasen from Ratomka near Minsk. He brought food for the Ratomka doctor, Dora Alperovich, and his friends, the families of Pliskin, Katz and Bogdanov. In fact he brought something else too. But this time he had to climb through the ghetto fence to deliver the thing in person. It was a revolver for Dora Alperovich. On his second trip, along with a wagonload of food, he also brought a

little lad from the Ratomka nursery. In this way Nicolai Romanovich saved 60 Jewish children from the nursery. He got hold of the nursery's documents, thoroughly erased the word "Jew" wherever he found it in front of a child's name, and substituted "White Russian of unknown parentage." But the lad he brought along had to be quickly removed from the nursery because he was nicknamed "Chapayev" by young and old. The Germans got wind of it and his life was threatened.

The Hitlerites imprisoned the former teacher of the collective farm "Red Army" in order to do away with his influence among the White Russian people. He was held in the concentration camp on Shiroki St. This happened at the time when the turncoat Goradetski roamed the streets of the ghetto and rounded up scores of Jews to be tortured to death in the dungeons of Shiroki.

The former teacher became a chauffeur in the camp. Once, when he was sent on an errand he managed to get into the ghetto by devious routes. He told Mushkin that Jews were being murdered at the Shiroki camp daily. People perished under the fiendish torture of Goradetski from exhaustion and hunger. "Do something," the teacher pleaded.

When the White Russian teacher saw the impotence of the Jewish Board (*Judenrat*), he decided to act on his own. He would take Jews out of the camp in "his" machine and once outside say to them: "Run for your lives, I assume responsibility."

THE HOUSE OF THE WOMAN MARIA ADAMOVNA JOSINSKAYA ON Kherson Street, not far from the Gestapo, was named "Headquarters of the Ghetto" by the Jews. Day and night Jews were there. Israel Holland, who was condemned to death as the "Jewish commissar," succeeded in escaping from the Shiroki camp, and found asylum in the house of Maria Adamovna. When Clara Zeleznisk, go-between of the ghetto and the outside, had to register her passport, she used the address of Maria Adamovna. And when Michael Geveliev had to remain in the city overnight, he found shelter at Maria Adamovna's. There were many such people as M. Adamovna, who later joined the partisan ranks. Many Russian and White Russian women even lived in the ghetto, wore the yellow patch and endured indignities in order to stay with their Jewish relatives.

On the night of the 21st to 22nd of December 1941 many half-clad prisoners were brought to Minsk in open gondolas. Upon alighting they were immediately ordered by the Huns to proceed through an open field and ruined streets, where a biting wind sucked the last bit of warmth out of their

bodies. When the half frozen men didn't move swiftly enough, the savage fascist guards opened fire on them and kept it up all night. In the morning their bodies were laid out for a distance of six kilometers on Moscow, Soviet and Pushkin Streets.

The next day the residents shut themselves up in their homes so they would not have to look at the frozen river of blood or the mountains of frozen bodies of their own Soviet people. Fists were clenched and rage mounted against the murderers.

M. GEVELIEV ESTABLISHED CONTACT WITH A TRUSTED PERSON employed in the educational department of the vocational city council. Through him we arranged to place Jewish children in White Russian nurseries. A password and counter sign were arranged. An "abandoned" child brought into room number 20 between 9-11 A.M. was a Jewish child to be placed in a municipal nursery. Two groups of women were assigned to this work. One was composed of Jewish women in the ghetto who smuggled the children across the fence and the other group was outside the ghetto to pick up the children and take them to the assigned place.

The workers of the "October" factory lived in Obutkov Street, which was near the border of the ghetto. After Minsk was occupied, the factory was converted into a Nazi air force depot and several hundred Jews were employed in its workshops.

Every morning, as the labor columns departed for work, Rivka Norman, Genia Pasternak, Gisha Sukenik, etc., were ready and waiting for a signal from the other side of the ghetto. A White Russian family named Voronov lived there. The father of the family worked in the illegal printing shop, the son helped to send men and arms to the partisan bands, the daughter-in-law carried food to arrested comrades and concealed those threatened with arrest. Every morning the latter would take up her post to give the "all clear" signal to the Jewish comrades on the other side who were smuggling the children. Waiting in her house were Maria Ivanovskaya, Gerosimenko and Lolya Revinskaya.

By this procedure several children were rescued each time. Many women participated in the project.

THE JEWISH BOARD OF THE MINSK GHETTO WAS FORCED UPON the Jewish population even though loyal Soviet citizens were Board members. Nevertheless, the Board was objectively the instrument for the execution of all sorts of repressive measures against the ghetto population. We decided to organize the loyal Soviet element within the Board to use it to weaken the German methods of terror and to give warning in case of danger. One important task was to see to it that the greatest part of all "levies" and German contracts (orders came daily for leather, textiles, furs, soap, etc.) in the ghetto was diverted to the City Committee for partisan use.

OUR COMMITTEE DECIDED TO TAKE DIRECT CHARGE OF THE trusted group within the Board. We had grounds to view

those on the periphery of the Board with suspicion. People of shady character often circulated around the Board, people who made the blood and tears of our people a source of their income. Some of these were even in close touch with the Gestapo and the police.

E. Mishkin, head of the Board and a member of our organizational group within the Board, was already actively giving significant help to the various partisan groups as well as to those who were leaving to join them. For security reasons we arranged to meet with him only in cases of extreme urgency. We had daily contact with him only through our go-between.

Other members of the trusted group were Hirsch Ruditzer, superintendent of the welfare department within the Board; Zlama Serebriansky, militia chief in the ghetto; M. Tulskey, the chief of the militia of the 2nd District; and Goldin, superintendent of the ghetto workshops.

At a conference we agreed that each one would be responsible for definite tasks to help the partisan movement and the ghetto population.

H. Ruditzer and Goldin were charged with supplying shoes and clothing for the partisans. Frequently a detachment order could not be filled. White Russian comrades would immediately be sent into the open market to sell a supply of soap manufactured in the ghetto. The money was used to purchase salt, shoes, underwear, etc. Ruditzer was also assigned to make contact with prison officials in order to snatch some of our men from the enemy's clutches through bribes of valuables. This tactic succeeded until the prison administration got into the hands of the Gestapo.

Z. Serebriansky transferred a number of underground workers into the militia to give them greater possibilities of movement. He made a special effort to hand over ghetto confiscations to the partisans instead of to the Germans. He was also assigned to render the collaborationist, treacherous elements harmless. Through his efforts, the shady and corrupt Rischelevsky, who caused great harm to the various worker brigades, was removed from the workers exchange.

Tulskey was charged with the duty of providing the guard needed in carrying supplies from the ghetto to the partisan detachments. Dolsky supplied the group with illegal quarters and ghetto passports. Above all, their duty was to keep us informed daily of all they could learn through their personal contact with the Germans. On the basis of such information we often succeeded in tipping off people under suspicion to go into hiding. We also got advance information of decrees to be issued to the population and were thus able to take steps beforehand to work out counter measures.

These people of the Board carried out our directives, some more resolutely and others less so.

Our go-between in the Jewish Board, Chosin Bindler, reported that our trusted people on the Board were insisting on meeting with us: trouble was evidently brewing.

The Gestapo ordered the Board to deliver 5,000 Jews at 10 A.M. on March 2 ostensibly to be shipped to labor camps. The Gestapo also warned that those at forced labor in German enterprises must be excluded. Dolsky asked if



children and older people might be included. The Gestapo replied, "it is quite legal to do so."

Some on the Board proposed to compile a list of invalids and old people in order to wrest the young and able from the hands of Moloch. But our decision was, "No trafficking with Jewish souls!"

We ordered Z. Serebriansky to select the most trustworthy ghetto militia men and instruct them to warn the people beforehand to go into hiding. Urging the greatest possible discretion so that the enemy would not suspect that we knew his plans, we advised that whoever could escape from the ghetto on March 2 either by working or fleeing to some friendly White Russian should do so. A *malina* (hiding place) which could hold several hundred men and with an exit into the city was prepared in the workshops of the Jewish Board. Hiding places in the ruins of Miasnitski Street (formerly a part of the ghetto) were also made available. The whole ghetto population was warned of the impending danger; they remained silent and hidden so that the enemy should not sense their anticipation and attack unexpectedly.

On that bloody March 2 everything came off with German punctuality and precision. Unusually large labor battalions departed for work. Soon after their departure Gestapo officials arrived with the order for the 5,000 people, urging haste, "because the train was ready and waiting." The Germans fell upon officials of the Board and dispatched the militia to bring the people in but without any results. In raging anger the Gestapo bandits invaded the ghetto, firing volleys from their automatics and pistols. But they didn't succeed in rounding up many.

They surrounded a nursery, murdered some children and beat the others and forced them into a column headed by the supervisor Fleischer and Doctor Cheinis, who carried the youngest in their arms. Not far from Radomski #35 the Germans began throwing the children into a sand pit for live burial. The people in hiding shuddered at the horrible shrieks that rent the ghetto from one end to another. Soon Kube, chief executioner of White Russia, arrived on the scene and threw candy to the children being buried alive.

The blood-thirsty Gestapo men on the loose threatened the Board members with hanging. Kube ordered an attack on the labor brigades. The latter were not permitted to enter the ghetto. At the gates of Shorno Street the laborers were ordered to stretch out in the snow and frightful execution with knouts began. Whoever attempted to get into the ghetto to hide was shot on the spot. Streams of blood flowed through the two nearby streets.

#### THE DAY OF LIBERATION IS AT HAND!

The large space of the Minsk Hippodrome was the assembly point of the partisan detachments and brigades for the final report on their struggle against the enemy in the rear.

Row after row, detachment after detachment marched up to the representatives of the Soviet government to report their contribution to the patriotic struggle against the Nazi

usurpers and the readiness to continue the fight to ultimate victory.

Among the marchers were also those who had broken the ghetto fences to join the mighty ranks of avengers.

The combat report also bore witness that under the most terrible circumstances of an extermination camp called the ghetto, loyal sons of "our" people raised the banner of struggle, inscribed with the slogans:

"Do not lose hope in the victory of our just cause! Do not lose the fighting spirit necessary to avenge in full our suffering and losses. To break the bonds and strengthen the friendship among the Soviet peoples in the enemy rear.

"To unite in all of the peoples' struggles to wipe out the fascist enemy."

Tens of thousands answered the call but only thousands reached the partisan ranks.

The people of the Minsk ghetto were the organizers of seven partisan detachments.

We, the survivors, in the manner of our ancestors, have taken the oath:

"If ever we forget our fallen victims, may the memory of us be forever effaced."

## BORDER ILLUSTRATION FOR "HAGGADAH"

By Ben Shahn



# RACISM IN THE ADMINISTRATION

By Cyrus McCrackin

LIKE many another New Deal liberal, Judge Nathan Ross Margold believed wholeheartedly in Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic and social program to lift up the standards of the whole people. He practiced and fought for his beliefs as too few will do today. Serving ably and honestly in the people's interest in Washington's municipal court, Judge Margold won the attention of FDR for his earnestness and admittedly high legal ability. In January 1945, Margold's nomination to the U.S. District Court bench was submitted to the Senate by FDR.

And then the ugly, hydra-headed monster of anti-Semitism rose up and took charge under the guiding hand of silver-haired Sen. Pat McCarran (D., Nev.), spokesman for the silver interests, if not the silver shirts. McCarran managed to appoint himself chairman of a judiciary subcommittee that inquired into Margold's qualifications. And he did a job on the jurist, stalling the hearings for months.

Judge Margold had been brought to Washington by Harold L. Ickes, then Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior. Ickes said that Margold "to date has been the outstanding solicitor of that department. He had qualities of mind and character that fitted him for the Supreme Court itself."

But McCarran permitted, nay encouraged, utterly false charges to be brought against Judge Margold. Supporters of the Jewish jurist were given short shrift. Crafty old McCarran brought in the judge's friends first, instead of allowing them to testify in answer to the libelous charges made later. Former Senator Albert B. (Happy) Chandler (D., Ky.), who is now baseball's czar and no great shakes as a New Dealer, went to Harvard Law School with Margold and respected his ability and had his friendship. As a member of the full judiciary committee, Chandler had polled the group and found a majority in favor of the confirmation of the municipal court judge to the federal district bench. But Chandler was unable to bring the nomination up because the McCarran subcommittee was "still holding hearings." It was, as McCarran said, "investigating the candidate's qualifications."

Then the District of Columbia Bar Association struck the most unfair blow of all. In a secret referendum, which marked a *totally unprecedented* proceeding on a presidential nomination, the Washington bar voted 804 to 200 against the Margold nomination. Although there is no public proof, friends of the judge insist that a heated campaign of anti-Semitism was conducted among the lawyers.

Despite the support of Roosevelt, Ickes, Atty. Gen. Francis Biddle and countless others, McCarran stalled until the Senate adjourned Aug. 1, 1945. No action was ever taken, and in the meantime Roosevelt had died. President Truman, who has devoted himself to eliminating liberals

CYRUS MCCRACKIN is a Washington journalist.

from high office, did not re-submit Margold's name to the new Senate and the nomination fell. Judge Margold kept on working in the Municipal Court here, but died, broken-hearted, on Dec. 17, 1947. He was 48 years old.

That is our first example of how anti-Semitism operates in the nation's capitol. Roosevelt tried to reward and honor a man who came to America with his parents at the age of 2 from Jassy, Rumania, who was educated in the New York public schools and then showed his stuff to graduate at the head of his class from Harvard Law School in 1923.

Margold's case is no exception in jittery, insecure and fearful Washington.

## Death of a Union Local

About a year ago the United Public Workers (CIO) had a full blown local, No. 250, operating at the Aberdeen (Md.) proving grounds. Today that local union is dead—and its death was caused by anti-Semitism in government.

The UPW had a fully organized unit—grievance machinery actually operating within the War Department's agency, although of course, there was no contract. But the union was functioning and it was protecting workers.

They changed commanders at Aberdeen—and immediately the situation went sour. The new boss knocked off by dismissal all Jewish officers of Local 250. There was President Harry Spector, an ordnance engineer with five years' service there. He was so vital to Aberdeen that the previous commandant had him kept out of military service as "vital." Secretary Rehabel Mendelsohn, serving three years as a statistician; Trustee Phil Weiss, chairman of the organizing committee, with six years at the grounds as a physicist. Weiss had developed a device to measure explosive blast, an invention that the government is using today in its atomic tests. Another was Irving Spector, an engineering aide and chairman of the local's grievance committee. He had 10 years of federal service, and had been awarded a monetary prize and an award of merit. But they chopped 'em all off and when complaints poured in, Secretary of War Robert Patterson declined to act. The firings stood and the local quickly went to pot.

In this case, as in others, there was no appeal, no hearing. And every blessed victim was a union member and a Jew.

Reds? They charged that, but gave no proof, offered no testimony. And there was a real abundance of testimony as to the loyalty, skill and patriotism of these union leaders. Only none of it was heard in any effective manner.

The "witch-hunt" was well under way, but even yet we hadn't seen the real business. It was later that Truman gave the green light, and swung open the doors of prejudice with his loosely worded, dangerous "Loyalty Order."

On June 23, 1947 the State Department dismissed 10 employees as "potential security risks." As of mid-January,



none of these has obtained reinstatement and as far as the United Public Workers (CIO) can ascertain, none has yet found another job.

In State Department parlance, "officer" is an employee above the rating of clerk—and some "clerks" have pretty important jobs and handle lots of top secret material. When Secretary George Marshall's administrators moved in last June they fired every Jewish "officer" in the Division of Research for American Republics, plus the wife of one "officer" who worked in another division. Originally the dismissal order called for three of the ten to be allowed to resign "without prejudice," which would have enabled them in theory, at least, to obtain other governmental employment. All of the others, the order said, were to be fired. In belatedly recounting this action Nov. 6, Marshall quoted the original order as recommending that "the discharges of all of the others (except the three) be allowed to stand and that none of these former employees be allowed to resign without prejudice."

Each of the ten had come to the State Department from the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and all had been cleared for top-secret work by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, the War Department's trained investigative staff in G-2, the Civil Service investigators, and OSS. These ten were not union leaders or militants—in fact only two had even a remote connection with the union of federal workers. Four had academic backgrounds and wrote for professional journals. Five of them were researchers, two were war veterans. One of these had received a War Department ribbon in commendation of his work in counter-intelligence! Seven of the ten were willing to permit the UPW to assist in their defense. Of these six were Jewish and the seventh was married to a Jewish woman.

After months of fighting, in which the daily press tardily got into the struggle under the leadership of the *New York Herald Tribune*, the State Department eased its order sufficiently to permit all ten to submit resignations "without prejudice." But it was a hollow victory and none of the ten need ever expect another government job despite their "without prejudice" stamps.

There are seven million government workers—and most of them are now frightened into a state of political, intellectual and social celibacy. Unfortunately, that is just the state in which the Truman administration wants to keep them.

Consider the case of a State Department stenographer, who shall go nameless for reasons of security and the possible need of another job some place—perhaps out of Washington. This girl is a Jewish graduate of Hunter College. Although both she and her immediate superiors were closely questioned by State Department investigators in August, she was summoned early in November to appear before two sleuths and a stenographer of the security division.

The new quiz opened with: "Would you be willing to sign a statement about your loyalty?" She answered she would. Then she quickly denied a charge she had once said "America stinks," or that she had ever belonged to the Communist Party. She admitted membership in the United

Public Workers (CIO) and the National Negro Congress, although never attending meetings of the latter. Later she admitted membership in the Progressive Citizens of America, and revealed that at Hunter College she joined the American Students' Union, though never very active.

### *Close-Up of an Inquisition*

Let's pick up the abstract of the text as we received it:

Q.—Did you ever discuss the relative merits of the United States and Russia's economic systems, placing the U.S. in an unfavorable position?

A.—About 1½ years ago a memo was distributed in the agency stating that no such discussions should be held.

Q.—Specifically, what did you say in these discussions prior to that time?

A.—I said that the U.S. and Russia should work together for peace.

Q.—Are you in favor of appeasement?

A.—No. I believe that both countries should get together and compromise their differences and cooperate with each other.

Q.—Do you think we should share the atomic bomb?

A.—We should, under supervision.

Q.—What do you think of the loyalty check?

A.—I am a member of the union and agree with the union's position. We agree that we shouldn't have disloyal persons, but we disagree with the methods.

Q.—What do you think of the Fair Employment Practices Commission?

A.—I favor it.

After conceding an interest in "the Negro problem" and to being against segregation, Miss— was asked:

Q.—In 1943 we have information that you attended a meeting at Madison Square Garden while you were on the night shift during your lunch period and that you came back late from this meeting.

A.—This is not true. I didn't attend any meeting, but if I had, I would have signed a leave slip. (Later her supervisor said he knew of no such incident.)

Miss— was grilled about other meetings and said she had heard Henry A. Wallace speak, "others I can't recall."

Q.—Surely such a bright and alert person as yourself must remember these things.

A.—No, I can't remember others.

Q.—What did Wallace speak about?

A.—I can't remember.

Q.—He spoke about Russia!

A.—I remember he spoke about the question of a third party. He said we should support liberals in the Democratic Party. (Last summer.)

Q.—Do you know the officers of the United Public Workers?

A.—I don't know who they are.

Q.—How come you didn't find out who the officers were. It seems to me that before one joins an organization one would find out the people at the head of it, to find out if they are communists.



A.—I didn't take time to find out—never thought of it.

Q.—What sort of mail do you receive?

A.—I receive mail from PCA, UPW, NNC. I also receive mail from the Civil Rights Congress, but I am not a member.

Q.—How do you feel about what Russia is doing in the UN?

A.—I feel she has been too strong in her attitude.

Q.—What does your father do?

A.—He is a salesman for ladies' garments.

Q.—How come he doesn't belong to the union. The ILGWU organizes salesmen.

A.—I don't know. I know only he doesn't belong.

Q.—Do you have any statement to make?

A.—No. I am a loyal American and I hope this matter is cleared up quickly. I am frankly upset by all of this.

Q.—Well, this is it. There are people above us who will make the final decision. We hope you feel you haven't been coerced into saying anything you didn't care to say

and that we have conducted this in a gentlemanly way.

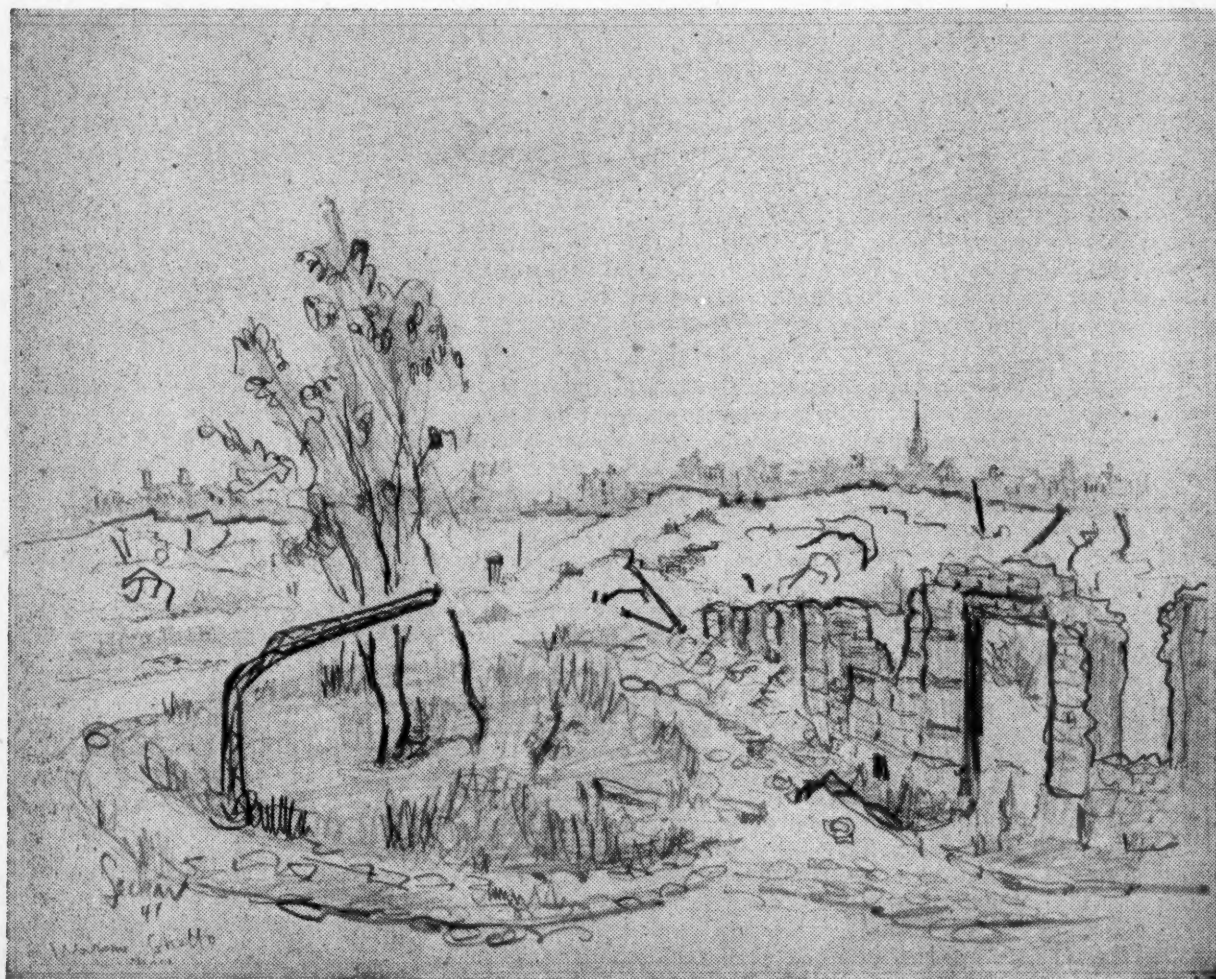
Miss — went back to her job, discussed resigning at once with her supervisor because she "couldn't stand working here anymore." The supervisor argued her out of it.

While I was gathering material for this article, a responsible official of B'nai B'rith warned me against permitting too much emphasis on the question—that anti-Semitism, etc., is not causing mass purges—yet. It's quite true. There is not a mass purge of Jews in Washington. There is a fear that emphasis on the issue will lead reactionaries and anti-Semites to argue that "all Jews are disloyal."

Admitting a certain danger exists that anti-Semitic organs may use this article for that purpose, however, warnings of this type are needed to alert the forces of democracy. The whole Truman concept today is pointed in the direction of anti-communism and that quickly becomes anti-Semitism. The loyalty order is actually a weapon now being freely used by anti-Semites on loyal, hard-working, capable people in government.

## WARSAW GHETTO

By Alvena V. Seckar



# DOCUMENT

## PLATFORM OF UNITED LEFT ZIONIST PARTIES

*The following program of the new United Workers Party of Palestine was published in the party organ Hamishmar on January 25, 1948. We regard this as an important and interesting document which reveals significant trends in the Yishuv. A critique of the new left-wing party program will appear in a future issue of JEWISH LIFE.—Editors.*

**T**HE Achduth Avodah-Poale Zion Party and the Hashomer Hatzair Worker's Party in Palestine announce their unification and the organization of the *United Workers Party of Eretz Yisroel*. By decision of the Unification Conference, the following platform constitutes the basis of the united party.

### Basic Principles

The party is united upon the principles of the theory and practice flowing from a recognition of the historic function of the working class nationally and internationally.

1. The party is united upon the recognition of Zionism as a solution of the Jewish problem by means of the assembly of the Jewish Diaspora and its territorial centralization; by means of its national revival, social renewal, and political, social and cultural independence in *Eretz Yisroel*.

The central goal in the life of the Jewish people is an immediate realization of the goals of Zionism by means of mass immigration which will be broad and inclusive enough to meet the demands of the present period. This calls for the creation of varied sources of recruitment and settlement; the development of a program lead-

ing to the creation of a Jewish nation of workers, active in all branches of economic life, reviving its language and creating its culture, its own master, forging its socialist future through its unity with the working Arab masses in the country.

The Jewish working class—the forger of socialist Zionism and the prime mover in the construction of the country—will create the emerging polity in the image of social progress. It identifies itself with the aims of all those engaged in the struggle for national and international social freedom and sees itself as their comrade-in-arms. It sees itself as an aid and helper of all indications of revival among the neighboring countries.

2. The party is agreed upon the historic function of the revolutionary class struggle; the establishment of a workers-state for the eradication of capitalism and of all forms of national and social oppression and upon the creation of a classless socialist society and a world of international brotherhood.

The party sees itself as an inseparable part of the revolutionary workers' movement in the war against capitalist-imperialist reaction which endangers world peace and for the uprooting of fascism, racism and anti-Semitism. It is committed to the insuring of the political and social hegemony of the working masses; to the capture of key positions in the economy and government for the working class; to the defense of the new popular democratic states; and to the forging of a treaty of amity among all freedom and peace-loving peoples.

The party will seek to develop relations with the revolutionary working class of the world and will join it in its militant working-class internationalism which defends the national independence of the workers. It supports the bonds of friendship between the workers of the world and the Soviet Union, the first workers' state, which is achieving the great task of socialist construction in our generation and is fulfilling the historic promise of the October Revolution—the promise of the international working class.

The party combines the values of Jewish culture and those of humanity and draws upon the revolutionary teachings and the heroic traditions of socialism. It will base its educational activity on the theory, the world-view and strategy of Marxism. The party will devote itself to the development of a Jewish workers' culture and the construction of a socialist pioneer life.

3. The party is united in its acceptance of its proletarian and pioneer roots; and in its recognition of the role of the class struggle and socialist creativity in city and country in the fulfillment of the task of collective and working class settlement and in the development of an emigration movement among the Jewish youth and working class throughout the Diaspora and as an organizing and educational force in education, preparation and emigration.

The party is unified in its recognition of the mission of the Jewish working class in the country, of the national liberating function of the class struggle, and of the leadership of labor in Zionism and the *Yishuv*. The party fights for the independent class action of the workers' movement in all areas of life and in the strengthening of the unity within the *Histadruth*. It will strive for a fighting economic and political unity of all the workers of *Eretz Yisroel*.

### On the Political Front

On the political front, the following principles will guide the party in the achievement of Zionism and in the solution of the problems of *Eretz Yisroel*.

1. Open doors for a large Jewish immigration; extensive and intensive popular settlement and the exploitation of all the country's economic potentialities.

2. The political independence of the Jewish nation; guarantees as to its control of immigration, settlement and construction.

3. The achievement of the country's political self-sufficiency; its freedom from imperialist control and actual independence.

4. An ongoing effort to win the support of the forces of social progress, democracy, and the international workers' movement for Zionism; international responsibility, with the participation of the Soviet Union, for the fulfillment of the world's responsibilities with respect to the Jewish people and in the organization of the Jewish state.

5. Popular mobilization on the political front; unshakable courage and readiness for defense and struggle—with violence, if necessary—of immigration and settlement as well as against all attacks upon human freedom.

6. Striving for Jewish-Arab agreement and the development of a united front of Jewish and Arab workers for the keeping of the peace and the achievement of socialism within the framework of the joint fatherland.

7. The establishment of a political structure which will provide for:

a) the freedom of immigration and settlement; the development of the country for the benefit of Zionist construction and all citizens; Jewish political independence.

b) cooperative activity, mutual aid and equality of national political rights—with-

SUBSCRIBE TODAY

to

*Jewish Life*  
Read Monthly by the Working Jewish Revolutionist

TO GUARANTEE YOUR  
COPY MONTHLY

☆

Subscription Rates: \$1.50 a year  
in the United States & Possessions;  
\$2.00 a year elsewhere.



out any implications of superiority or inferiority—between the returning Jewish people and the already settled masses of the Arab people.

c) international action and support on behalf of the uninterrupted progress of Zionist activity and the actualization of the rights of both peoples.

### **The Resolution of the United Nations**

In the new political situation created by the resolution of the UN, the party will give full support—despite its opposition in principle to partition—to the construction and defense of the Jewish state.

1. The party will demand the fulfillment of the pioneer character of the state in the achievement of Zionism and in the fulfillment of its obligations to the Jewish people; an immediate and free Jewish immigration and its absorption into the country and the constant development of settlement activity; the strengthening of the defensive resources and the involvement of world Jewry in the cause of Zionism.

2. The party will fight for the popular-democratic and secular character of the state; for the leadership of the workers movement in government; for the development of the land and agrarian reforms; for the raising of the living standards of all citizens; for progressive social legislation; for safeguarding the independence and freedom of organization of the working class and its political, economic, social, cultural and educational activities and organizations. The party will fight against the forces of reaction and militant clericalism, for the eradication of fascism in all its manifestations—for the realization of socialism.

3. The party will fight for equality of rights for all citizens—Jew and Arab alike—and for the development of cooperative and fraternal relations between the two peoples in the state. It will encourage all manifestations of social emancipation in the Arab people and the creation of a united socialist front between the working masses, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia in its midst.

4. The party will fight for the real independence of the state and its freedom from any political, military or economic dependence on the forces of imperialism. It will fight against attempts to use the state as a seat of interventionist intrigues. It will fight for a statehood of peace and democracy and for a firm alliance with the progressive elements within the UN and for relations of mutual understanding and cooperation with the Arab nations.

5. The party will strive for the intensification of economic cooperation and unity between the Jewish and Arab states. It will fight all manifestations of chauvinistic superiority, domination and aggres-

sion and will strive for the unification of Palestine on the basis of agreement between the two nations and international decision.

### **The Yishuv**

1. The party sees in the Jewish Community (*Knesset Israel*) a framework for the independent organization of the total Jewish population.

2. The party will devote itself to the maintenance of democracy in the *Yishuv*. It will fight for true representation of all sections of the Jewish *Yishuv* in the Representative Assembly (*Asefat Ha-Nivharim*), in the *Vaad Leumi* and all its agencies, and in local and municipal government. It will fight any attempts to undermine popular elections or to limit the rights of electoral franchise.

3. The party will fight for the true participation of all sections of the community in cultural and educational activity and will oppose any special privileges for any segment or section of the population whatsoever.

4. The party will fight to maintain the secular nature of the Jewish community and its freedom from any religious supervision. It will fight for the building of the Jewish community on the foundations of freedom of thought and liberty as integral elements of the way of life.

5. The party will fight for an equitable distribution of public debt, mobilization, public service and taxes. It will oppose the laying of heavy burdens on the masses of toilers and underprivileged.

### **The Histadruth**

The party sees the *Histadruth* as a general class organ organizing the working class in all aspects of life and settlement: in city and country, in cooperative workers' enterprise and in private enterprise.

1. The party regards the independent class-position of the *Histadruth* as a basic principle in its activities and struggles. The principle of class independence will guide the work of the party with respect to class-relations; industrial activities and in the defense of labor's rights, in the organization of the *Yishuv* and labor settlement, in the independent socialist and pioneer activity of the workers' community and in the field of education and culture. The party will fight for the freedom of thought and the independent way of life of the worker. It will protect the independence and right of self-administration of all economic, settlement, social and political organs of the workers.

2. The party will strive for the renewal of the *Histadruth* as a living and developing movement supported by the working masses which provides for organizational democracy in its operation. It will strive for the responsible involvement of the

community of labor in matters of class concern through their participation in all decisions and through the fair representation of all sections of the working population in the administration of the *Histadruth* in all its organs and agencies.

3. The party will protect the rights of labor (freedom to strike and opposition to compulsory arbitration) in the activities of the *Histadruth* directed toward the improvement of working conditions.

4. The party will guard the social character of the *Histadruth* through the strengthening of cooperative and welfare activities and of solidarity in all the activities of the working population.

5. The party will strive to involve the various levels, groups and streams of the immigration in the *Histadruth*. It will strive for the complete participation of women in public life and for the development of fresh and young forces from amongst the pioneer immigration, the youth movement and the native younger generation.

6. The party will strive for economic democracy and for the development of a cooperative movement and the maintenance of class control in the economic and welfare activities of the *Histadruth*. It will demand accountability to the membership for the economic organs of the workers; for the setting up of personnel practices and for the participation of the workers in their administration.

7. The party sees the *Histadruth* as directed by the community of labor to lead in the independent, economic, social and creative activities of the working population. It is the duty of the community of labor to guard the social class foundations of the *Histadruth* and to direct them toward the tasks of settlement and absorption and to see that they coincide with the interests of the workers and the needs of their struggle.

8. The party sees in the Palestinian institutions devoted to settlement and in their economic, social and educational activities, a prime-mover in the development of labor and a workers' economy; a force which deepens the cooperation and solidarity between settlements, and organizes and prepares pioneer immigration. It sees these institutions as the organized expression of the settlement movement which is under the leadership, control and authority of the *Histadruth*.

9. The party will fight for the renewal and establishment of the activity of the *Histadruth* in the organization of Arab workers; for the activation and extension of joint organizational forms between the General *Histadruth* of Jewish workers and the industrial-class organizations of the Arab workers—within the framework of an international organization of workers in Palestine.



# REVIEWS

## ONE HUNDRED JEWISH ARTISTS

By Marion Summers

WITH the liberation of the Jew from a ghetto environment it was natural that he should find his place in the larger social complex of the nation in which he lived. He became a business man or a worker, a doctor or a lawyer, a writer or an artist, little, if at all, differentiated from non-Jewish members of that society. He assumed the cultural attitudes of his neighbors, though in most cases retaining some remnants of his Jewishness. Although he became a citizen of a nation, he remained still a member of a minority group within that nation. Throughout most of the world the Jew still remains a hyphenated personality. The Jewish artist, like every Jew, is faced with the problem of identification. Fascism, in its brutal assault upon the Jews as a people, has made its survivors more conscious of their Jewishness, which in more favorable times they were rather too prone to forget.

It is only natural today as an aftermath of fascist terror and with the prospective emergence of a Jewish state in Palestine, that Jews throughout the world should re-examine their relationship to their own people and to those among whom they live. The growth of national feeling naturally leads to a comparable growth of cultural nationalism. Some artists, who previously thought of themselves as French, German or American, have been forced to accept the fact that they are also Jews. During the war against fascism many of them sought a personal identity with the tragedy of their people by expressing their reaction to events in their art. And today many are concerned with the problem of a so-called Jewish art.

An interesting example and perhaps a landmark of this development in the United States is the volume by the Ikuf.<sup>1</sup> The book contains an essay by Louis Lozowick entitled "The Jew in American Plastic Art,"<sup>2</sup> a historical review and partial catalogue of the Jewish artists who have worked in America. Each of the hundred painters and sculptors is represented by a characteristic work and a statement of his own artistic principles. As a cross-section

of Jewish artists in this country, the book offers an opportunity to study many aspects of the whole problem of Jewish art. Is there any such thing as Jewish art? Is there a Jewish style? Or is there only Jewish content? And what is that? Can one really separate Jewish content from Jewish style?

These are basic questions which require extended discussion. But what emerges as most revealing in the book is the attitude of the artists to these puzzling questions. The contributing artists apparently were not asked to discuss their attitudes to the problem of Jewish art, but to express their attitudes to art in general. However, it is curious, to say the least, that among 100 artists, who were certainly proud enough to be included among this distinguished roster, only five even touched upon the subject directly or indirectly; and of these only two—David Bekker and Saul Raskin—seem to think of themselves as "Jewish" artists. Only a small fraction of the artists included concern themselves in their work with Jewish themes, and since the only immediately recognizable symbols of Jewishness are religious objects or ritual—the *yarmelke*, the *talis*, the *shofar*, the Purim supper—or subjects like the Hassidic dance, they form the body of subject matter.

The rest are more concerned with life and art in general than with the specific problem of the Jewish artist or Jewish art. The opinions expressed have as wide a range and diversity as one might find in any cross-section of American artists, just as the art represented itself encompasses almost everything from abstract to the academic. There seems to be in most of the statements a general approval of humanity, democracy and freedom for the artist. But in the particular connection which interests us here, a statistical count would probably show that an overwhelming majority explicitly or implicitly consider art as international rather than national in character. Stated generally, they see themselves as products of their environment; they would probably admit (if they thought of it) that their being Jews might have affected their art in minor ways; but any consciousness of a specific Jewishness in their art is certainly not recognized. The only conclusion one can draw from the evidence of this publication is that the Jewish artist in America is not averse to proclaiming his origins and, in fact, is quite willing to establish some bond of solidarity

with his fellow Jewish artists and to act in concert with them for the alleviation of the plight of his people. This is perhaps the first step in a growing national consciousness, but to see in it the emergence of a Jewish art would be premature.

In the light of these facts, the actual value of the book might be questioned. The essay by Lozowick, though an adequate review of the Jews in American art, is not much more than a citing of names, and it studiously avoids the basic problems of a Jewish art. The haphazard selection of artists is perhaps the most serious criticism which can be levelled against the book. The short note of regret that not all Jewish artists could be included and that another volume may rectify this shortcoming is not entirely satisfactory. In the first place there seems to have been no standard of judgment. Some patently bad artists are represented while a host of better and more important artists—Chagall, Shahn, Eugene Berman, Rattner, Ben Zion, Epstein, Lipchitz, to name only a few—for some reason are overlooked. The unfortunate result is a general lowering of the level of quality, giving the whole a rather parochial air.

In the second place, the editors seem to have weighted the selection in favor of the more academic artists; and in a work of this sort such prejudice is certainly out of place. All the more radical artistic tendencies are slighted. Peter Blume is the only surrealist and Louis Schanker the only abstract painter included. Such limitations tend to distort the range and the quality of art being produced in the U.S. by Jews, and lessen the value of the book as an index of American Jewish artists.

These faults are stressed not because the project is an unworthy one, but because they weaken what might have been an extremely important contribution to Jewish

### NOW PLAYING "SPRING"

A New Soviet Musical Comedy

Starring:

NIKOLAI CHERKASSOV  
LUBOV ORLOVA

An Artkino Release

STANLEY 42nd St. & 7th Ave.  
THEATRE New York City  
Wisconsin 7-9686

### Russian SKAZKA RESTAURANT

MOTYA and LEO 227 West 46th St.  
NEMIROFF Circle 6-7957

<sup>1</sup> *One Hundred Contemporary American Painters and Sculptors*, with an essay by Louis Lozowick. Publication of The Art Section, Ikuf, New York, \$10.00.

<sup>2</sup> This essay was published in *JEWISH LIFE*, Sept. and Oct., 1947.—Eds.

culture in the United States. We need repeated evidence of the contribution of Jews to our national culture. And on the other hand, we need discussion of the entire field of Jewish culture as a separate entity. As the first publication of its kind, this book serves at least to draw attention to the

wealth of creative activity in art that the Jewish people have contributed and continue to contribute to American life. Correction of weaknesses in future volumes would serve these ends better and increase the prestige of Ykuf as a central organization of Jewish cultural life.

vantage of the illiteracy of the workers in order not to pay even that which is due them.

The article says nothing about working and living conditions at Aramco enterprises. The phrase about "kidglove treatment" merely conceals a highly unsavory state of affairs. Aramco management ill-treats the workers, and occasionally even physical violence is used. The slightest manifestation of dissatisfaction on the part of an employee is sufficient for him to be fired. The workers have no means to defend themselves. Trade unions are forbidden and any workers' movement is brutally persecuted.

What sort of "friendship" is Gaskill talking about? With whom are the American oil operators friendly in Saudi Arabia? Standard Oil of California and Texas Oil Co. moguls have indeed found friends in that country—local feudal chieftains headed by King Ibn Saud. Suppressing popular resistance to the incursion of the American oil interests "with great effort, sometimes even resorting to force," as he says himself, the king became a "sincere friend" of the Aramco and granted the latter a concession until the year 2005.

"Relations between the King and top-ranking Aramco officials, which began in business, have ended in sincere friendship," writes Gaskill admiringly.

Having bought the king's "friendship" at 21 cents per barrel of oil extracted, the Americans are now the undisputed masters not only of all the oil wealth of Saudi Arabia but of the country itself. Saudi Arabia is ruled, in the name of the king, by Aramco and the American legation.

The company is now extracting oil at the rate of 2,500,000 tons annually, and it plans to double the figure in a year or two. It is building a pipe line from the Persian Gulf to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. Dahrn, where Aramco's headquarters are located, has become a large "American city," where the Arabs are not only not allowed to live but which they may not even visit. The company has its own police force, airfield, postal service and schools.

Gaskill himself blurts out the truth about "American-Arabian friendship." Announcing that the total investments Aramco has put into Saudi Arabian oil reach 1,300 million dollars, he exclaims: "This is too big an investment to jeopardize by stupid, shortsighted, and selfish treatment of the Arabs."

That is why the two thousand American employees of Aramco observe Friday as their day of rest. And for the very same reason the potentates of the Aramco hired Gaskill to describe their "kidglove treatment" of the Arabs.

(Reprinted from *New Times*, January 7, 1948.)

## AMERICAN PARADISE IN SAUDI ARABIA

By H. Shmelev

THE American imperialists are encountering serious resistance in their drive to gain possession of the Near Eastern oil fields. They are overcoming the dissatisfaction of their British competitors with the aid of the dollar vise and diplomatic intrigue. And in order to weaken the resistance offered by the Arab peoples, the American oil interests are endeavoring to win their confidence by deceiving them with cunning propaganda tricks and demagogic gestures. They are trying to make the Arabs believe that Uncle Sam is not only richer and stronger but also kinder and more humane than their old acquaintance John Bull.

The activities of the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco) may serve as an example of American methods in colonial policy. This company, which is a sub-

sidiary of Standard Oil of California and Texas Oil Company, has laid its hands on rich oil areas in Saudi Arabia.

In the October 1947 issue of the *American Magazine* we find a feature story boosting the "benefits" Aramco is showering on the Arabs. In order to bring out the virtues of the modern American oil operators in the most favorable light, the author of the article, Gordon Gaskill, first reminds the reader of the brigandage of their forerunners. He writes:

"Too many of the old-timers were arrogant pirates who invaded a country (Mexico, for example), bribing, bullying, buying revolutions. They wanted oil, and nothing but oil, and they got it, and the hell with the natives."

Then Gaskill indulges in a eulogy of the men who stand at the head of Aramco. They, he says, are not "acting tough"; Aramco "behaves like a well-mannered house guest," "with tact and consideration." "To play ball with the Arabs, Aramco has done everything but turn Moslem. . . ."

"I've sometimes wondered," writes Gaskill rapturously, "whether it is a working oil company or an American-Arabian Friendship Society."

Gaskill does his best to prove his point. But the "facts" he cites are nothing but typical instances of hypocritical American charity from which he weaves a crazy-quilt camouflage robe for Saudi Arabia's American oil "friends."

"All of Aramco's 2,000 American employees here observe Friday . . . as the day of rest; Sunday is just another workday."

He probably gives this instance of American "tact" in order to conceal the fact that the 22,000 workers of the Arabian-American Oil, 12,000 of whom are Arabs and 6,500 Sudanese, have no days of rest at all, neither on Friday or Sunday.

"Work stops three times a day while Arab workers pray and bow toward Mecca," Gaskill tells us.

But while he waxes eloquent about the touching concern shown by Aramco for Arab religious customs, Gaskill says nothing about the fact that the Arab's working day is 12 hours and the workers' wages do not exceed 6-10 piastres per day, or that the management frequently takes ad-

IN MEMORY  
of the  
JEWISH HEROES  
of the  
WARSAW  
GHETTO

JOINT BOARD,  
FUR DRESSERS  
AND DYERS

International Fur &  
Leather Workers  
Union, CIO

245 SEVENTH AVE.  
NEW YORK, N. Y.



# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

stamped on it, the "Jewish Check," and "Performing Coons." Letters of protest to the firm were suggested by New York novelty dealers.

Since mid-December five victories have been won over the Justice Department's drive to deprive the foreign born of their rights. The petition of the Justice Department to revoke the citizenship of Anton Jay, Lithuanian-American member of the UAW-CIO, was dismissed by a U.S. District Court judge. Humberto Silex, Mexican-American labor leader of El Paso, Texas, was granted citizenship by a judge over the objections of the Justice Department. The Board of Immigration Appeals overruled the Justice Department attempt to deport Steve Tandoric, Yugoslav-American International Brigade veteran of Hammond, Ind. And the deportation proceedings against Sayed Hasan, of India, and Nicolas Kyriazades, of Greece, both journalists accredited to the UN, were dropped. These victories were announced by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which fought all these cases and is presently combatting the Justice Department drive. Abner Greene, executive secretary of the Committee, points out that both public protest and proper legal defense are together responsible for the victories.

Attorney General Tom Clark has recommended legislation for the establishment of concentration camps in the United States for non-citizens ordered deported but who are refused visas by the country of their birth. This legislation is similar to the Hobbs concentration camp bill, which was overwhelmingly defeated by Congress in 1941. Abner Green has characterized this proposed bill as "clearly unconstitutional and a violation of American democratic principles."

## • New Paris Imports • SILK SCREEN PICTURES

by  
UTRILLO, VLAMINCK  
LAURENCE, ROUSSEAU  
LAURENCE, CHIRICO  
Beautifully framed

\$2.25

Limited Offer!

Mail, Phone, Come!

## TRIBUNE SUBWAY Gallery

100 W. 42d St. (Sub. Arcade Downstairs)  
ASK FOR CATALOG

232 pp., 59 color and 658 other reproductions  
Wisconsin 7-4893

## 44th Street Gallery

133 WEST 44th STREET  
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.  
C H e l s e a 3-6410

## Jewish Music Alliance

Invites you to join the

JEWISH PEOPLE'S PHILHARMONIC  
CHORUS MANDOLIN ORCHESTRA  
Jewish Music Alliance, 1 Union Square

A proposed course in "History of the Jews and Jewish Communities" was rejected on February 20 by Brooklyn College's Faculty Council on the ground of its highly specialized character. A similar course is offered in City College of New York.

The University of California is offering two courses in language and literature surveys of Yiddish. Dr. Max Weinrich, scientific director of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (YIVO) of New York will serve as instructor.

The Jewish Welfare Board has become the sponsor of the American Jewish Historical Society in an arrangement which guarantees the continued autonomous functioning of the 56-year-old Society. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, world-famous bibliophile, retired from the presidency of the Society and was succeeded by Lee M. Friedman, author, Jewish historian and community leader, of Boston.

Jacques Berlinski, French Jewish composer who fought in the French resistance in Lyon, was announced early in February as the winner of a \$1,000 prize for his symphonic work, "Kanaan," submitted in the international contest for Jewish music "reflective of the spirit of the Jewish people" conducted by the National Jewish Welfare Board. A prize for a chamber orchestral work was given to Jacob Avshalomoff, music instructor at Columbia University, for his composition "Evocations." Among the judges were composers Marc Blitzstein and Randall Thompson, conductors Erich Leinsdorf and Bernard Hermann, scholar Curt Sachs and music administrators Alexander Dushkin and Joseph Yasser.

## EUROPE

March of fascism in Britain. . . . On February 6 British fascist chief Oswald Mosley held the first open meeting of his new united fascist party, the Union Movement, attended by 200 members of 51 fascist and pro-fascist organizations. It was learned that Mosley recently held a dinner for a sizable group of British big businessmen. Many of Mosley's prewar financial backers, who included auto and aircraft manufacturers and big landowners, are watching the movement sympathetically. Mosley has announced that he will run for Parliament and he has defended Hitler's role in the war and demanded an all-out fight against the Soviet Union. Mosley has been granted paper for publishing a new weekly journal although strict paper control is still necessary in Britain. . . . The British Legion, counterpart of our own American Legion, at a regional meeting condemned the anti-Semitic activities of the pro-fascist British League of Ex-Servicemen and asked the public not to confuse its members with those of the fascist organization. . . . The British Labor government has persistently rebuffed demands to enact effective legislation against mounting fascist and anti-Semitic activities. . . . The fascists are attacking Jews as "communists" following a ruling by a British judge that only an attack on Jews as Jews is liable to punishment. . . . Two British Jewish veterans, Gerald Flamberg and John Wimbourn, who were charged with attempt to murder a fascist and who were defended by Sir David Maxwell-Fyfe, former Nuremberg prosecutor, were freed when the case was thrown out of court after the presiding judge discounted the credibility of the fascist presumed "victim" of the alleged attack.

Jewish leaders in Poland have been informed that no Jew holding Polish citizenship will be permitted to emigrate from the country after March 31. Exception is made for Jews holding

visas to Palestine, who will be allowed to go there. Authorities emphasized that this policy was in no way aimed at the Jews, but was part and parcel of the decision taken by the government with regard to emigration in general.

About 6,000 Jews live in Warsaw at present. Twenty-five hundred of them are employed in office work and as artisans in cooperative shops.

Twenty-one Germans who served as guards in the notorious Oswiecim concentration camp have been executed. Polish authorities state that officials in the British zone have rescinded an order under which 87 Polish war criminals were to have been repatriated to Poland. Among these are M. Bartech, assistant chief of police in Poland during the occupation who was responsible for the death of thousands of Polish Jews in Cracow; H. von Malotky, who was responsible for the murder of Jews in Tarnow; and a Prof. Thoering, who was involved in the looting of Poland's art treasures.

The Polish government has banned the circulation in Poland of a number of Jewish papers published abroad, among which are the Jewish daily *Forward* of New York, *Unser Stimmme* of Paris, and *Zionistische Stimmme*, a Jewish DP newspaper published in Munich.

The meeting of the World Jewish Congress that was scheduled to have taken place in Switzerland in February, has been postponed to May 18 in order to allow more time for the designation of full and representative delegations from Latin America, the United States and Palestine. New affiliations to the World Jewish Congress recently announced are: the Central Committee of Polish Jews; the Central Committee of Liberated Jews of the French Zone of Germany; and the Council of Jewish Communities in Bohemia and Moravia.

It was recently learned that the United States military authorities in Germany have appointed General Heinz Guderian, Hitler's crack tank expert, as head of a rebuilt German *Abwehr* (secret intelligence corps). Program is to cooperate with fascist underground organizations in Europe; to infiltrate into the working-class movement; and to reorganize former *Abwehr* channels. Second to Guderian is Count Fabian von Schlabendorff, former German general staff officer.

In a pastoral letter read from all pulpits in the Hesse-Nassau synod of the German Lutheran Church, Pastor Martin Niemöller ordered all Lutheran ministers to take no further part in the American de-nazification program because this is "sowing new seeds of hatred." Niemöller charges that the system has collapsed as an attempt to

(Continued on page 32)

## CARL BRODSKY

Every Kind of Insurance  
799 BROADWAY—ROOM 308  
(corner 11th Street)  
amercy 5-3826

Ball Rooms Banquet Rooms  
Meeting Rooms

## Webster Hall

119, 25 E. 11 St., GRamercy 7-7070  
New York City H. Reiner, Pres.

Greetings  
from  
J. Gross



## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 31)

purge nazism and has become an instrument of revenge.

☆  
A Jewish DP has died of bayonet wounds received from an American soldier allegedly while resisting arrest at a U.S. army raid on Heidenheim DP camp at which 40 other DP's were arrested. An AMG officer in Stuttgart admitted that the printing equipment seized in the raid could not have been used for printing counterfeit money, which was the reason for the raid. The presses found were probably used to print leaflets.

☆  
The World Jewish Congress has called on the UN to adopt a convention providing for the elimination of statelessness and for the international protection of stateless persons during the transition period.

☆  
More than five million pounds of Passover matzohs and matzoh flour will be supplied to the Jewish communities of Europe by the Joint Distribution Committee. An average of five-and-a-half pounds of Passover products has been made for each of the 900,000 Jews in Europe helped by the JDC. Close to 20,000 cases of holiday wine have already been shipped to Europe.

### PALESTINE

The Jewish Agency has submitted to the Security Council and the UN Palestine Commission a 12,000-word formal indictment of British policy in Palestine, specifically charging the British with strengthening the Arabs in their "war" on the Jews of Palestine and in opposing the UN partition decision, with weakening the defenses of the

Jewish community and seriously threatening peace and security in the Middle East. This is the first time since the decision that the Agency has made such a charge against the British government.

☆  
Political parties of Palestine have been discussing the composition of the temporary Jewish government. First proposal submitted to the Agency was that a 30-man Provisional Council of Government should consist of ten Agency members living in Palestine, 16 members of the Jewish National Council and one each from the Revisionists, Citizens Bloc, Communists and Sephardic community. Ten ministers with portfolio were proposed. The opposition parties, however, proposed that the Government Council be elected according to the strength of parties in the last Zionist Congress and in the Jewish National Assembly.

☆  
The Haganah has charged that the British were the guilty parties in two recent large-scale bombings, those of the destruction of the *Palestine Post* and Jewish Telegraphic Agency building and the destructive explosions in the heart of Jerusalem's business district. Completed investigation of the first event shows that British police officers, who are said to be members of a fascist gang, did the job. Their names and license numbers of vehicles used in the operation are known to the Haganah. The Jewish Agency asserts it has the facts of the second event, in which 53 persons died, to show that British personnel participated in it.

☆  
United States Consul Robert Macatee in Jerusalem recently announced that he had been instructed to recall the passports of all Americans

serving in a military capacity in Palestine. This act is in accordance with the "view of the United States Government that American passports are not granted to American citizens for the purpose of proceeding abroad to enter foreign military service," said the Consul.

☆  
The weekly *Al-Ittihad*, organ of the progressive Arab National Liberation League and the Arab Workers Party, was suspended in mid-January "until further notice." Palestine Hebrew papers *Davar*, *Mishmar* and *Kol Haam* have come out against the ban. Said S. Mikunis, secretary of the Palestine Communist Party: "The official reasons given for the suspension of *Al-Ittihad* will convince nobody; not on account of failing to submit this or that article for censorship was the paper suspended. The government, interested in obstructing the decisions of the UN, wants to silence the Arab voice that calls for founding the future of the country on the principles of the UN decision."

☆  
Correspondent Meyer Levin reports information he received from a Haganah chief that the Arabs are training the "Black International," an army of 30,000 veterans of fascist military forces. "Some," wrote Levin, "are in action already in attacks against Jewish settlements, others are undergoing rapid special training in Syria. The army is composed of former Nazi soldiers, remnants of Gen. Vlassov's renegade Soviet battalion, remnants of Gen. Anders' Polish army, as well as pro-Nazi Poles, Yugoslavs and Moslems whom the Mufti originally organized into a Moslem brigade to fight alongside the Germans."

☆  
During a debate in the House of Commons it was disclosed that 17 ships carrying visaless Jewish immigrants got through to Palestine since V-E Day and landed their passengers. A total of 57 ships tried to break the blockade but of these 40 were intercepted by the British, the authority revealed.

## BIROBIDJAN IS TWENTY YEARS OLD

This month is the twentieth anniversary of the founding of Birobidjan. On March 28, 1928 the Soviet government announced that the Birobidjan territory was allocated for settlement by Jews with the prospect of becoming an autonomously governed Jewish unit.

Since the end of the war the movement of Soviet Jews to the Birobidjan Autonomous Region has accelerated. During 1947 about 2,000 Jewish families from the war-ravaged parts of the Soviet Union migrated to Birobidjan. This figure does not include the substantial number of new settlers who came individually or in small groups. After a long trip through the centers of Jewish population in the Ukraine, White Russia and the Crimea, Abraham Yarmitsky, vice chairman of the executive committee of the Region, said: "In every Jewish community I visited, I found the Jews to be extremely interested in the Jewish Autonomous Region. Numerous collective farmers, workers, employees and intellectuals have expressed their deep aspiration to take a personal part in the upbuilding of this Jewish state within the USSR."

The last few months of 1947 saw several large contingents leave for Birobidjan. The third migration of Jewish families from the Ukraine arrived there on November 7. On December 6 the first large organized group of

Jews from Crimea, 255 families strong, left the city of Yevpatoria. At a farewell meeting at the railroad station the city's mayor gave the pioneers best wishes and a representative of the Region welcomed the prospective settlers. Three representatives of the settlers expressed gratitude for the great care taken by the government in arranging for the 66 railroad-car caravan and for the food supply for the month's journey. The migrants include farmers, factory and mill workers, carpenters, textile workers, electricians, grinders, smiths, tinsmiths, auto mechanics, teachers, medical workers and economists. Of the 130 settlers from the County of Azov, the great majority are of the younger generation.

From Kherson a contingent of 248 families of Jewish settlers left on December 14 after several farewell parties. Among these settlers are well-known Stakhanovites. At the same time 114 Jewish families from Nikolaiev left that city for Birobidjan.

Each contingent takes along many Jewish war orphans, children whose parents perished in the ghettos and concentration camps.

Only a part of those desiring to go to Birobidjan can be sent out because the Region is not yet able to assimilate them. In the cities of Kherson and Nikolaiev alone, for instance, 3,000 Jewish families have registered for mi-

gration, but only 700 can be accommodated, despite the special efforts of the workers of the Region to prepare the necessary facilities for the new settlers. Birobidjan people have volunteered to work overtime to prepare a maximum of houses, warm clothing, blankets and similar supplies for the new arrivals. There is an acute shortage of articles like shoes, overshoes, sheepskin coats, some medical supplies and special food for the war orphans.

Last December was election time in the Region. In the City of Birobidjan, which has a total population of 50,000, 73 deputies to the City Soviet were elected, of whom 45 were Jews and 28 non-Jews. Twenty-nine of the deputies were women. All ballots in the Region are printed in Yiddish, except in those cases of voters of other nationalities who do not know Yiddish.

The Region has an active cultural life. Birobidjan composer S. Rabunsky has completed two music dramas for the Jewish State Theater of Birobidjan City. Poet I. Emiot and novelist Luba Wasserman are producing work currently. The Jewish poets Hyam Maltinsky and Joseph Kerler, now permanent residents, are preparing an anthology of poems on Birobidjan. A committee has been formed to arrange for the thirtieth anniversary celebration of Mendele Mokher Sforim, the great Yiddish writer.

