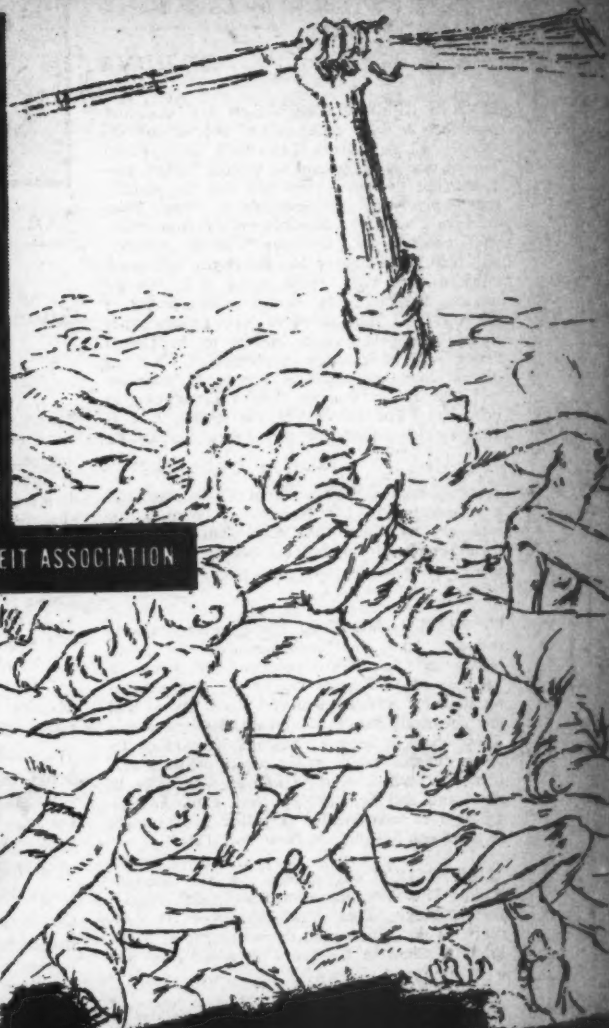


WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING 1943

# Jewish Life

MONTHLY BY THE MORNING FREIHEIT ASSOCIATION



APRIL 1950 • 20¢

GEORGE

## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

### AT HOME

BRITISH ARMS SHIPMENTS to Arab countries continues to draw criticism and protest. In February, AFL's William Green and CIO's Philip Murray and a delegation of Zionist leaders protested, but the latter were told that the position stated previously by Secretary of State Dean Acheson that it was desirable for the Arab countries to obtain arms for their "internal security," still held. On February 26, the 33-year old Israeli chief of staff, Yigal Yadin, stated in a press interview that the Arabs were feverishly preparing for war. . . . "The ability of Near Eastern states to maintain governments friendly to the United States was of strategic importance," Chief of Naval Operations Admiral Forrest P. Sherman told the House Foreign Affairs Committee in February. "The security of the Middle East is vital to the security of the United States," he said.

A FEDERAL JURY convicted three men and a corporation in Los Angeles in February for conspiring to violate the United States arms embargo on Israel by shipping planes and equipment to Israel in 1947 and 1948. They were fined \$10,000 each.\*

INCREASING MOB VIOLENCE against minorities and laxity or "encouragement" by police highlighted the joint report on civil rights in 1949 issued on February 23 by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and the American Jewish Congress. The report also shows that "at least 34 Negroes were killed by police officials while under arrest or interrogation. Twenty-five of these killings took place in the South and five in New York City. Another 33 Negroes were victims of police assaults, eight in the South and nine in New York City."

A SWASTIKA was painted on the sidewalk leading into the entrance of Los Angeles' Anglo-Jewish weekly, *B'nai Brith Messenger*, in February. In the same period the synagogue of Rabbi Franklin Cohn in the San Fernando Valley was burned down.

GERALD L. K. SMITH'S Christian Nationalist organization with headquarters in St. Louis is campaigning to sell one million copies of the *Protocols of Zion* forgery and offers "100 other items we carry on the menace of World Jewry." Smith is currently addressing audiences in Los Angeles.

AFTER A BRUTAL ATTACK upon three teenage Jewish boys in the Washington Heights and Inwood sections of New York City on December 26, the local Jewish Community Council of the area warned that gang hoodlums, professional anti-Semites and juvenile delinquents will be brought to trial, if further trouble is provoked.

REP. JOHN RANKIN twice defiled the *Congressional Record* with anti-Semitic filth in February. On February 10, he railed against "our Yiddish Solicitor General" for opposition to restrictive covenants; he called FEPC legislation part of the "communistic world program" and proclaimed the nazi lie that "communism is Yiddish." "Every member of the Politburo around Stalin is either Yiddish or married to one," he added. On February 13, Rankin called Einstein an "old faker" who had nothing to do with the development of the atom bomb and that the "bunk that he [Einstein] is now spreading is simply carrying out the communist line."

# Jewish Life

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

THE EDITORS.

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A STUDY OF PREJUDICE among college freshmen and seniors conducted by the Elmo Roper organization for the Anti-Defamation League revealed that college students are overwhelmingly opposed to quota systems and other discriminatory admission policies and that prejudice is unchanged after four years of college. While previous studies showed that anti-Semitism and minority bias were more prevalent among college graduates than among the rest of the adult population, the present study shows that the incidence of prejudice among college seniors is much less than among adults generally. Thirty-eight per cent of adults and 23 per cent of seniors thought Jews had too much economic power; 19 per cent of adults and six per cent of seniors thought

Jews had too much political power; 14 per cent of adults and five per cent of seniors preferred not to work at the side of Jews; 22 per cent of adults and 10 per cent of seniors preferred not to have Jews move into their neighborhood; 15 per cent of adults and three per cent of seniors preferred not to have Jews as guests in their homes; 48 per cent of adults and 25 per cent of seniors opposed intermarriage with Jews. Prejudice was found against the following groups in order of intensity: Negroes, Mexicans, Chinese, Filipinos, Jews and Italians.

OPPOSITION TO DISCRIMINATION in fraternities was registered in Syracuse, Columbia. (Continued on page 32)



# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## STOP THE MUNDT BILL!

**T**HE Senate Judiciary Committee on March 5 approved the Mundt Bill, whose purpose is to outlaw the Communist Party and all progressive organizations through the devious device of "registration" of membership. It is no accident that this extremely dangerous and Hitler-like measure should receive the go-ahead signal from the Truman administration when opposition to the hydrogen bomb policy is growing more vocal and assuming ever greater organized form, when the demand for peace talks with the Soviet Union is growing more widespread.

Evidence is piling up to expose the utter horror with which the administration and its Wall Street backers are struck at the very thought of peace. Hence the reporting out of the Mundt Bill now. Hence the unleashing of hysteria and intimidation each time the sentiment for peace grows more vocal.

Testimony to the viciousness of the Mundt bill is evident from the fact that some members of the Judiciary Committee, who voted for the bill, were subsequently impelled to express their uneasiness and alarm over the entire bill or portions of it. For there should be no mistake about the import of this bill. If enacted, it would be one of the longest steps toward full fledged fascism that we have yet seen even in this hysterical period. Opposition to any measure or policy not in favor with the national or local administration will be liable to the severest penalties. Only straitjacket conformity with the cold war program will be tolerated. This strikes a mortal blow at democratic rights. That blow must be fended off.

Already, opposition to the bill exists on a broad front. Besides the AFL, CIO, many newspapers and religious and civil organizations, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the American Jewish Congress, the Jewish War Veterans, the Anti-Defamation League and the National Council of Jewish Women have come out against the bill.

It is urgent that the membership of these organizations, and many more, be mobilized without a moment's delay to defeat this viciously anti-democratic measure.

## ARMS RACE IN PALESTINE

**T**HE press has reported recently that the Israeli government has requested arms from Washington and London. The request is based upon the fact that shipments of arms—including jet planes and submarines—have been coming from Britain to the Arab states. The new dangers confronting Israel are apparent. This Israeli appeal catapults that country into an arms race with the Arab states; more realistically, with Britain, which is supplying the Arab states, and with America, which is supplying Britain. All

this goes according to plan in Washington and London. Instead of peace between Israel and its neighbors—an armaments race. Jews and Arabs may renew their war—and Washington and London will supply the arms.

The State Department has announced that it is considering the Israeli request. But, reported the *New York Times* on February 27, "the State Department might ask for a report on the present armament of the Israeli army." The procedure is familiar by now. First, the demand for a full report on the size and equipment of the armed forces. Next, the demand that American military observers be permitted to verify the statement and to assure proper disposal of any arms shipped. And not long thereafter will come the demand for standardization and for the full gearing of the nation's armed forces and economy to accord with Washington's cold war plans. A procedure like this in Western Europe has caused the continuing impoverishment and loss of independence of the people of France, Italy and the Benelux countries. Will Israel fare any better?

Is this the path to security and freedom for Israel?

The present Israeli crisis is in great measure a product of Washington's policies. Israel's future cannot be secured by subordination to these policies but only through struggle against them. Israel needs peace if it is to survive. And Israel cannot secure peace unless it achieves cooperation with the *Arab masses* of the Middle East, who are themselves straining for freedom.

Unfortunately, Israel's government is not pursuing such a policy. Its foreign and domestic policies are geared to Washington's approval. Increasing attacks upon and discrimination against communists and progressives who dare to disagree with the government's orientation give all too clear evidence of where the wind is blowing. The ruthless attack on demonstrations protesting Morgenthau's call for Israeli participation in a Middle East war pact indicates the dangerous path that the Israeli government is pursuing.

The American Jewish community can best aid the vital interests of Israel and its people and of peace by joining with all Americans in a determined effort to halt all arms shipments to the Middle East and by fighting against the cold war from which the Middle East policy emanates.

## CIO COLD WAR

**T**HE executive board of the CIO is cold-bloodedly proceeding to cut the throat of that great labor organization. In February the board followed its earlier amputation of the 500,000-strong United Electrical Workers by expelling four more internationals (Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Office and Professional Workers; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers; and United Public Workers). The charge was that these unions "are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program

and purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives and policies set forth in the Constitution of the CIO." Militant trade unionism, it seems, is no longer among the "objectives and policies" of the CIO leadership. For in no case were the expelled unions charged with failure to fight for their members. On the contrary, these unions are noted for their militancy.

There is nothing unique about this Murray-Reuther-Carey program. Militant defense of the living standards and rights of workers are always forsaken when labor "leaders" become the champions of imperialist plans. "You can't work for the boss and defend the worker" still remains a basic axiom. And it doesn't matter whether it is the bosses' plan in a single shop or in Germany or Japan or in any part of the world. Nor does it matter whether the "labor leader's" name is Scheidemann, Noske, Schumacher, Blum or Murray.

The cold war CIO leadership policy is greasing the slide to fascism. It weakens labor because it splits the labor movement. Inevitably it results in raiding. And more, it not only weakens democracy in the labor movement, but in the country at large. Jimcrow and anti-Semitism are aided by this reactionary policy. The logical outcome is the acknowledged alliance with fascist forces that appeared in the representation of the CIO at the recent "All American" anti-communist conference (since weakly repudiated), at which James Carey made his infamous statement about joining with the fascists to fight communism. The anti-Semitic consequences of the cold war CIO policy also came out unmistakably in the *Stuermer*-like cartoon in the organ of Carey's piratical electrical workers union (see page 17).

The red-baiting expulsion policy of the CIO leadership is a threat to the whole American people. The time to reverse this policy is getting shorter. In the interests of the labor movement and democracy, the rank and file of the CIO must press its leadership towards such a reversal.

### FEPC FIGHT GOES ON

**P**RESIDENT TRUMAN continues to strew the path of his administration with broken promises. After the most pious affirmations on civil rights and FEPC, the administration "gave way" on February 23 and permitted a toothless FEPC bill to pass in the House. The Powell bill, which provided penalties for violation of civil rights in employment, was put aside in the last hours of debate on FEPC and the inane, "voluntary" bill was passed. The tip-off on the Truman betrayal came when Roy Wilkins of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People urged the advocates of FEPC to vote for the ineffectual McConnell substitute. "Liberals" like F. D. Roosevelt, Jr., Jacob Javits, John Lesinski and Arthur Klein capitulated and voted for the McConnell bill, which Rep. Adam Clayton Powell justly called "a fraud, a sham and hypocrisy." Vito Marcantonio continued to fight for a genuine FEPC bill with Powell.

The fight goes on. The next front will be the Senate, where an opportunity is offered to improve the McConnell

Bill. Now, as before, there is only one way to make headway in eliminating Jimcrow and all discrimination in employment. That is wider and wider mobilization of the people, greater organization of this mass movement.

### MORE ON THE QUINN CASE

**T**HE campaign to have May Quinn, New York teacher twice brought up on charges of anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism and twice whitewashed with a mild reprimand, dismissed from the school system, is gathering momentum. Thus far, parent-teacher associations in at least eight Brooklyn and six Manhattan public schools have passed resolutions demanding Miss Quinn's dismissal. Mass meetings are being held in schools to protest her continued teaching of New York school children. At P.S. 167 in Brooklyn, for instance, a protest meeting was held in the school under the sponsorship of the Jewish War Veterans, American Veterans Committee, American Jewish Congress, a parents association and other organizations at which leading representatives of these organizations spoke. And on March 9, a letter sent by the noted Negro author, Shirley Graham, and signed by over 70 leading New York rabbis, ministers, artists, writers and public figures, was sent to Mayor William O'Dwyer demanding a thorough inquiry into the Quinn case and appropriate action.

While New York School Superintendent William Jansen protects teachers like May Quinn and tolerates banning of books and magazines exposing discrimination, he persecutes other teachers for their alleged political views. On March 9, Jansen announced that Mrs. Sylvia Schneiderman, whose probationary period before tenure had ten days to run, was recommended for dismissal because she allegedly lied about her political affiliations. Mrs. Schneiderman had an excellent teaching record, but she was to be dismissed without even a trial, to which she would have been entitled ten days later when she was to have been granted tenure. A comparison of the teaching competence, professional integrity and loyalty to democratic principles of Miss Quinn and Mrs. Schneiderman would reveal whom Jansen protects and whom he persecutes.

Pressure on Jansen and the city administration to remove May Quinn must be increased, if bigotry is not to gain ground in the New York school system.

### JEWISH HISTORY WEEK

**T**HE second annual Jewish History Week will be observed from April 16 to 22. Coincidence of this week with the seventh anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, one of the greatest moments in Jewish history, is significant and points up the purpose of the week. It offers Jews—and non-Jews—the opportunity of dwelling upon the history of the Jewish people, learning the facts about it and drawing the profound lessons inherent in it. Self-knowledge is a potent weapon in working through our problems and the Jews have need of such a weapon. And this knowledge must be informed with a scientific approach to history, if we are to use it most fruitfully.



# HERITAGE OF THE WARSAW GHETTO

*An Editorial*

WITH each passing year the stature of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters grows and the glory of their heroic deeds stands forth more majestically. They knew why they took up arms. Nor did they fail to recognize that in the titanic struggle with nazism they were no isolated group but a sector of the front which freedom-loving people everywhere were building.

It is tragic that so few of these indomitable fighters remained alive to recount their deeds and to participate in building the new world which is arising today on the ruins of the old. When the uprising was finally suppressed and the ghetto itself destroyed, Poland was still under the heel of nazi occupation. The first meager knowledge of the ghetto struggle came to us in legendary, almost mystical form. Nor is this surprising. For the very fact that the people of the ghetto, cut off almost completely from the outside world and surrounded on all sides by the enemy, should have risen to such heights of resistance, led many to believe that here was some supernatural courage, some "miracle."

Some of the more reactionary and extreme nationalists and writers, who had long fed the people mysticism and irrationalism, consciously tried to envelop the ghetto story in an aura of mysticism and other-worldliness. They tried to canonize the Warsaw epic, to remove it from the realm of the knowable even as they had done with the heroic struggles of the Jewish people in other periods and historical epochs, so that people might not discover its roots and its links with the struggle of all peoples against fascism.

As time passes, the hollowness of these men and of their interpretations becomes more evident. As each new document or diary is unearthed, it reveals that human beings lived in this ghetto. Human beings with various ideological and class viewpoints. Those who had grown up in a struggle, were organizing for struggle. Those reared in mysticism called for renunciation of struggle and for submission to the enemy.

The leaders of the ghetto battle could project the vision of victory and freedom because they knew that great fronts were forming to destroy the enemy; because they knew that outside of the ghetto and beyond the encircling nazi ring, a greater and mightier ring was forming and pushing forward relentlessly to ultimate victory. The leaders of the ghetto resistance knew that any attempt to separate them from the world front of resistance meant isolation and death. But men with bankrupt formulas cannot and do not care to see this. For them, the tragic death of millions and the struggle of noble Jewish men and women is a theme for resignation and a preachment of surrender. They know nothing of and care even less for the ties which bind all peoples in common struggle and into a mighty spirit of

internationalism. How they labor to hide from the Jewish people the knowledge that Poles and Russians and Ukrainians brought arms and food to the ghetto. At the same time they ignore or make light of the sacrifices of millions upon millions of Russians, Poles, Czechs and other peoples who suffered so terribly in the struggle against fascism.

Such writers try to picture the Jew as an island in an ocean of sworn enemies. The "goyim" did this to us. Not the nazi. Not his imperialist financiers. Not the cartelists, mortal foe of a common people—Jew and non-Jew alike. No. The "goy," all "goyim"—here is the enemy.

As they wrote of the ghetto, so too do they write about Jewish experience and problems today. While the threats of war and fascism, of the hydrogen bomb and of new Maidaneks face our people again, these men, who dare to call themselves the guardians of the Jewish future, refuse to join hands with the world wide camp of peace. Those who in the years before the war helped to prepare the Jews psychologically for the ghetto, who preached separation and isolation of the Jews from the people in whose midst they lived, who tried to paralyze the fighting spirit of the Jew on the eve of the greatest struggles of his history, now seek to poison his mind with chauvinism and pessimism, decadence and defeat.

In Israel the threat of a new war looms and the hard won freedom is in danger of being lost. But Ben Gurion cries—the world is our enemy. The enemy is not Britain, which is arming feudal Arab lords and persecuting the masses of Arabs and Jews alike; not Wall Street, that enslaves peoples in order to dominate the world. To Ben Gurion all peoples, the master and the slave, the banker and the working-man alike, are the enemy. And thus Ben Gurion leads the people into a blind alley where friend and foe are placed in one category so that confusion and defeat can be the only result.

Seven years after the last shot was fired in the ghetto, the great truth of the ghetto emerges with greater beauty and clarity than ever. Jewish youth, reared in the tradition of the revolutionary struggle of the working class in Poland, Jewish youth who fought on the fields of Spain, who defended the cause of socialism, who raised the cry of resistance in Warsaw and other ghettos, fought for freedom and peace. They were not moved to mysticism or defeatism but possessed the sure knowledge that the united struggles of all peoples would bring victory for the people. They gave their lives for a world freed from exploitation and race hatred, a world without fascism and war.

They proved to the world, even as did the heroic fighters of all other peoples, that the people united are more powerful than the forces of fascism and war.

# WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

*Seventh Anniversary*

## MEMOIRS OF A GHETTO FIGHTER

*By Dorka Goldkorn*

### INTRODUCTION

COMRADE DORKA GOLDKORN, whose memoirs we here present, was one of the most heroic fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto. She participated in every phase of the uprising, from its beginnings until the last act of the tragedy at 18 Mila Street. Comrade Dorka was a product of the revolutionary student organization "Spartakus" and a pioneer of the revolutionary movement in the Warsaw Ghetto. She was one of the builders of the PPR [Polish Workers Party (communist)] and of the PPR Fighting Groups. These were the groups which together with the whole Jewish Fighting Organization, carried out the historic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

The young fighter Dorka Goldkorn was one of the few eye-witnesses of the Warsaw epic to survive. But it was not given to her long to enjoy the fruits of liberation. During the elections to the Sjem in which she participated as an active propagandist for the list of the Democratic Bloc in Lodz, she was struck and killed by a truck.

But not all that Comrade Goldkorn experienced was lost.

Some time before her sudden death, she turned her memoirs over to me. They constitute one of the most important sources for the history of the ghetto uprising in general and of the revolutionary movement in the ghetto in particular.

The revolutionary movement in the ghetto passed through two major phases. The first was from the beginning to the birth of the [communist] Polish Workers Party (PPR), that is, until early in 1942. The second phase runs from January 1942 to the time of the uprising. During the first phase various communist, communist youth and left workers' groups and circles, which were ideologically connected, existed separately and were not organizationally unified. The brave pioneers of the PPR among the Jewish masses distributed illegal periodicals, broadcast over an illegal radio transmitter, and even produced an underground daily newspaper.

From the first moment onward they raised the slogans to resist and arm, to orient themselves on the Soviet Union,

to seek contact with the anti-fascist forces of the Polish underground, to struggle mercilessly against the *Judenrat* and the ghetto police and to build a unified national fighting front.

These groups also carried on many-sided practical activities such as conspiracies against the *Judenrat*, organized by communist groups. They struggled against the sending of Jews as "volunteers" to work in the villages, a scheme used by the nazis to push the Polish peasants off the land and force them to go to East Prussia. They carried out reprisals against the German police and Jewish traitors. We know of their efforts to set up a broad mutual aid program among the starving Jewish workers, as well as their attempts to build a unified national fighting front. We also know that leftists were active in house committees. The revolutionaries organized the first cells of armed defense in the ghetto section of the general Polish Workers and Peasants Fighting Organization of 1940.

It is also well-established that the first contacts for the ghetto resistance as a whole with the "Aryan" side and with the Polish underground, were made by young Jewish communist women, led by Zosha Zatorska, daughter of a well-known Jewish communist.

At the end of the summer of 1941, at the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet war, the cornerstone for the future ghetto uprising was laid in the far-distant Soviet Union. Among the Polish revolutionaries who had emigrated or evacuated to the Soviet Union, a Jewish group volunteered to resist the German occupation in Poland. They agreed to fight in the ghetto. In this group were two Jewish veterans of the anti-fascist war in Spain, Eli Moses and Pinya Kartin; and political prisoners of the oppressive Endek-Sanator regime in Poland, Issar Kandel, Miecheslav Heyman and others. These comrades were dropped in Poland by Soviet parachute and made their way into the ghetto. Under the pseudonyms of Andzshay Shmitt and Andzshay Nyebyeskovaky, Moses and Kartin were not only the founders of the People's Guard in the ghetto, but were also the organizers of the first defense groups of the ghetto as a whole. These men were leaders of the first fighting formations of the anti-fascist bloc, which embraced the



PPR, both right and left Poale Zion groups, Hashomer Hatzair, Daror, Gordonia and the youth group of the Democratic Zionists.

The impetus for the creation of the anti-fascist bloc was given by veteran Jewish communists, who came to the Warsaw area under the leadership of Joseph Levartofsky. They were directed to go to Warsaw from Bialistok by the Central Committee of the recently established PPR to help develop a broad political and resistance movement in the Warsaw Ghetto. . . .

The memoirs of Dorka Goldkorn are not a dry-as-dust recollection of events. In these memoirs she supplies the key to many basic questions about the origins of the resistance in the ghetto. Although the communist youth of "Spartakus" were isolated and out of touch with any kind of unified political leadership, they were able, as early as 1940 and 1941, to chart a correct course for the youth of the ghetto. Even then the "Spartakus" youth recognized that the only correct tactic was the concept of the ghetto and the woods as two sectors of one common front, each strengthening and complementing the other. Young Dorka Goldkorn and her comrades were already aware of that which was so brilliantly and simply expressed by Comrade Joseph Levartofsky a year and a half later in the two slo-

gans that he gave the entire ghetto: "We are all brothers and sisters, children of one large family"; and "Let us break through the ghetto walls: thousands will fall, but hundreds will come out alive!"

From what source did the scattered revolutionary groups in the ghetto derive their ideological firmness and political inspiration? It becomes clear that their heroic strength, which is shown by Dorka Goldkorn in her memoirs, did not arise spontaneously. It represented a link in the revolutionary tradition of the Jewish working class and of the radical intelligentsia of Polish Jewry. This movement derived fundamentally from the experiences of mass heroism in demonstrations against armed mounted police, of strikes and suffering in prisons. This movement was itself an outstanding model of determination, readiness to struggle, ideological clarity and personal self-discipline and self-sacrifice.

To the memory of the "Spartakus" fighters, to the memory of the pioneers of the resistance movement in the ghetto, these moving memoirs of the modest, unforgettable fighter, Dorka Goldkorn, are dedicated.

BER MARK,

Director, Jewish Historical Institute,  
Warsaw

I SEE events and people, gone forever, as though through a heavy fog. Even now, I seem to speak to them, to meet them on the bustling streets of the old Warsaw. A moment later they fade from memory, as though they had never existed. Now I see my father, dressed in his *hasidic* garb, always busy. Here is my mother, who lingers in my memory, as the spirit of goodness itself. I see my brothers going to *heder*. I am sent, like all daughters of *hasidim*, to study in the *gymnasia*. My father, the *hasid*, doesn't even know that this *gymnasia* gives me more than an education. It is turning me into a new kind of person, it is drawing me into new ways, is bringing me in touch with new friends, with whom I dream about a new society. I can see all of them now, after these many years of agony and pain, although between them and me lies a bloody deluge.

Not one of them is alive. My father, along with thousands of other Jews, was consumed by flames in the bombed-out houses. My mother is no more. She died almost gently, like a bird, unable to look any longer upon the suffering of her children, her husband, her family. My brothers, aunts, uncles, the whole great family, gone. Gone are all those Jews who had so much strength for rejoicing on a holiday, so much strength to survive the worst troubles. Gone also are my closest friends, those with whom I sat in the schoolroom and with whom I worked in the underground organizations.

Now it seems to me that I was only a child then, a student in the sixth class in Mrs. Zisfeld's *gymnasia*. Or had I already then understood what it meant to be a member of the Socialist Student Youth Alliance? The Alliance became my second home. How unhappy I was when the deep shadow of the occupation descended upon us and I lost contact with this second home of mine.

JUST BEFORE THE WAR I WAS DRAWN INTO A NEW ORGANIZATION, "Spartakus." Several months later I lost contact with it. For six months I went about broken-hearted. I felt the drive to work, to continue the activities of our "Spartakus" group. Then one day a working class girl, Edka, came to see me. I knew her only by name. Perhaps I had even seen her once. She was a seamstress. She talked to me, listened to my opinions and finally gave me an appropriate contact with the group. How happy I was when I discovered that my "Spartakus" had never for one moment stopped working. I learned that many familiar people, old comrades, were still alive and working, that activity was going forward with greater spirit and ardor than before. New people were being recruited into the group. This day was one of the happiest of my hard life in the ghetto.

I remember our first lesson in the use of firearms. We sat there, five girls in all. How clearly I see it! And it seems so close. There is Lutka Arbetsman from Vronia



**Dorka Goldkorn, 1922-1947**

Street, youngest of all. In 1939, she had just finished the third year of *gymnasia*. What fire, what determination she had. Next to her is Renya Niemietzka, whose father, a *Sochatshever hasid*, made her suffer so much at home. And here is heroic Esia Tverska, from Vilna, and also Ruzshka Rosenfeld, leader of the group. Before us is a wooden rifle. The instructor, Comrade Lena, especially assigned to us, shows us how to use it. We stretch out on the floor, crouched under the window, practicing aiming. We are convinced that all this is nothing but a game. We are disappointed. We demand real weapons. Lutka refuses even to touch the wooden rifle. We make our instructor teach us the mechanisms of the revolver and hand grenade by means of diagrams. At the second meeting of the class she shows us a real revolver and a real grenade.

I remember another meeting very clearly in a flat on Novolipie Street. A Polish comrade, Kazshik Dembiak, has come from the other side. We had been put to work at the hectograph to turn out the first illegal publication in Polish, *Strazhaly* (The Shot). Soon afterward we got out a Yiddish publication, *Baginen* (Dawn). I hardly remember the contents. There was much information in it about the military situation on the different fronts, but it dealt mostly with the dangers threatening the ghetto. *Dawn* aroused and warned the Jews about German preparations for the physical destruction of the ghetto population. "Don't Believe the Germans! Prepare for Resistance!" This was the title of an article by the Polish comrade Kazshik Dembiak, translated into Yiddish by the young printer Ignatz Feil.

Even then, we didn't know just how the Germans planned to destroy the ghetto. We likewise had no idea

of the form resistance should take. But both the Pole Dembiak and the Jew Feil continued to repeat at all meetings and gatherings that we must be prepared for the worst. We must, they insisted, learn as soon as possible to master our weapons. We must distribute many more leaflets and newspapers among the Jews in the ghetto. This happened at the beginning of 1941.

A VERY SERIOUS DISCUSSION BEGAN IN OUR CIRCLES ON THE direction of our work. Should "Spartakus" concern itself with education and mutual aid or should we transform our circles into self defense groups? One comrade, Lola Himmelfarb, favored the first viewpoint but the majority held that we should begin the struggle immediately. What form could the struggle have taken then? We wanted to be the daily defenders of Jews in the ghetto. We wanted to punish every German and every Jewish traitor for beating, killing and kidnaping Jews. The discussion continued for a long time. Finally our position for immediate struggle won out. Every day we sent patrols and scouts through the streets of the ghetto to protect Jews from every kind of attack. We organized a staff for these patrols at 5 Karmelitzka Street. We had already heard that the Polish resistance organization, called "Organization of Fighting Workers and Peasants," had been founded. One of its sections was in the ghetto. Unfortunately, none of the communist groups in the ghetto had yet established contact with one another, nor did any have close ties with this group.

"Spartakus" had its own military unit, whose leader was our instructor Lena. Nevertheless we considered ourselves part of the "Workers and Peasants Fighting Organization." From our staff headquarters on Karmelitzka Street we used to go on patrols for important reconnaissance work. We often warned Jews on the streets—particularly the Jews on the streets which led from Bielanska to Paviak district [the area of the Paviak prison—Eds.] along which cars full of Gestapo agents were cruising and shooting up the streets. We also warned various suspicious characters of "The Thirteen" [a nazi-collaborationist extortionist gang—Eds.], not to attempt blackmail they were planning.

About this time we suffered our first losses. Gestapo agents began to trail us everywhere. One day, one of our best comrades, Esia Tverska from Karmelitzka Street, was arrested. The excitement over her arrest was terrifying. But we were sure that she would conduct herself in a manner worthy of a member of our group. We tried by every means to rescue her, but they all failed. We learned of the horrible tortures inflicted on her. Not an inch of her body was left unbruised. Yet she betrayed no one. The hangmen couldn't get a word out of her. With magnificent heroism the unforgettable Esia Tverska died at the age of 17.

DURING 1941, OUR GROUP DISCUSSED TWO QUESTIONS, WHICH proved important also in later struggle. One concerned the place to carry on our activities. One side argued that all youth should be mobilized to go to the woods. In line with



this plan, all sorts of tools for twisting rails and for other kinds of sabotage were brought to us. The argument of the comrades was that we shouldn't wait until the enemy attacked, but we ourselves should attack. But attack, they argued, was impossible from the ghetto, because this would provoke a wave of reprisals by the Germans against the entire ghetto population. It was therefore better, argued these comrades, to join the newly organized Polish partisans in the woods.

The second group argued that we dared not desert the ghetto, that we must guard the lives of the Jewish masses in the ghetto. This discussion continued for many days and sleepless nights. At the head of the group which favored going into the woods immediately was Ruzshka Rosenfeld. At the head of the second group was Comrade Tsharni Mietek, whom we nicknamed "Brain." As a result of this discussion, we worked out a line that included both viewpoints. Some comrades were sent into the woods (this work was led by Comrade Joseph Levsky, with much self-sacrifice). We also trained cadres in the ghetto and continued training in firearms, sending out patrols, distributing literature and popularizing the idea that the entire youth of the ghetto should prepare itself for resistance.

The comrades who went into the forests did not break contact with the ghetto. Ruzshka Rosenfeld, one of the bravest comrades in the whole resistance movement, many times passed back and forth between the woods and the ghetto. She kept both areas informed of developments, always stressing in her reports to the various units, that these were two sectors of the same front.

The second major discussion in 1941 concerned the creation of a united fighting front of the courageous ghetto youth. There was no sharp division on this question. All of us were not only enthusiastic supporters of the united national fighting front—we were also the active builders of this front.

As early as the end of 1940, we were in touch with Hashomer Hatzair, which was closest to us because of their outspoken pro-Soviet orientation. We exchanged illegal literature, lecturers and military instructors. Frequently one of their best marksmen, the Shomer Shimen, came to us, and we used to send Comrade Lena to them. We even held several joint meetings at which we discussed current political problems.

ONE OTHER IMPORTANT QUESTION TROUBLED US. WE KNEW that there were many communist groups and circles in the ghetto. The "Spartakus" was one of the strongest organizations in the ghetto, with a broad network of sympathizers, not only among the student youth, but also among the working youth. Once I got hold of a copy of the *Morgen Freiheit* (Morning Freedom), an illegal Yiddish ghetto newspaper, and I recognized the similarity of ideas in this paper with our own paper *Dawn*.

In the course of our mutual aid activity we also came upon various revolutionary workers groups which were carrying on similar work. But no revolutionary body in

the ghetto had an internal organization as good as our "Spartakus." Not only did our comrades accept discipline. We also enjoyed a friendly, warm, family-like atmosphere. The death rate in the ghetto was appalling. Typhus raged. Every day starvation took a huge toll of Jewish lives. Every morning fresh corpses, covered with newspapers, appeared at the gates. Many of us were orphans, many homeless and new arrivals from the provinces, many starving. We therefore arranged that every group should live in communal fashion. Those who lived in better homes had to bring as much food, clothing and money, as possible to the group and these were shared equally. There were two reasons for this. One was simply to help each other. The other was to mobilize our comrades in preparation for the military life we would soon be leading.

We undertook the difficult job of re-educating our sympathizers. The groups of "Spartakus" created an atmosphere that left no place for hysteria or despair. There was no occasion for personal quarrels, egotism or cowardice.

INWARDLY CLEANSED AND OUTWARDLY STRENGTHENED, WE ENTERED the year 1942. Like mature revolutionaries, we swam out into the mainstream of the new, yet old movement, only recently resurrected in the shape of the Polish Workers Party, the PPR.

At the beginning of February 1942 we got news of the founding of the PPR through Comrade Leib Feil (Ignatz), one of the finest young workers, who was self-educated and had literary and oratorical leanings. As we were sitting in a secret apartment on Nowolipka Street, Ignatz suddenly burst into the room, crying, "*Mazel Tov!* Long live the Party!" We discussed the organizational problems of the new unity movement among the Jewish ghetto masses. We debated the question of relations with the Soviet Union, with the left wing PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and with the [Jewish Socialist] Bund, with which we were engaged in a sharp theoretical struggle, especially with those elements which took a negative attitude toward the Soviet Union even under ghetto conditions. But at all times we were not only ardent theoreticians, but also men and women of action.

At our second meeting we decided to transform ourselves into a fighting organization. We found an empty house at 53 Nowolipie Street. There we established the main warehouse of our group. We immediately began to collect stolen German uniforms, especially S.S. uniforms, and bits of equipment and arms. In another apartment of the same house we organized a secret PPR reading room. Here I read the organ of the PPR ghetto organization, *Einigkeit* (Unity), for the first time. Comrade Tadek, whose real name was Dovid Vloska, was the representative of the regional committee of the PPR ghetto organization to our group.

A NEW CHAPTER IN OUR LIVES BEGAN. WE THREW OURSELVES into work with redoubled energy. For a time I was taken

out of the group and made a courier for the central executive of our underground political organization. I was in touch with two people. Comrade Tadek used to turn over to me hectographed radio bulletins of the Jewish PPR, and I in turn would hand them to a second courier, Comrade Isabella Wasserman, who had a tobacco stand at the corner of Zamenhof and Gensia Streets. But I was dissatisfied with this work, because I disliked being separated from my group and from mass activity.

But I finally gave up my job, not because I wanted to, but because of a terrible accident, which came about through the terrible "*vsipa*" (failure). One of our contacts on the "Aryan" side committed a provocation. Even now I remember the day in May when this happened. Everything was gloriously in bloom. Despite the horrible conditions of ghetto life, we youth could not help being stirred by the lovely spring. For several days I had been preparing to go to the Aryan side on an assignment—they thought I made a good appearance. The day before I was to go, I went to the Povansk Catholic Cemetery and carefully investigated where I would scramble through. Next morning I was to see Tadek and get some addresses. For a long time I hung around 10 Zamenhof Street, where we were supposed to meet. With a dire premonition I left the rendezvous and went to Comrade Wasserman's tobacco stand. I found her extremely depressed. She gave me the bad news. Tadek was missing, along with the entire PPR district committee.

SOON AFTER THIS THE TRAGIC PERIOD OF THE GHETTO BEGAN—the first liquidation.

During this terrible period, when so many dear comrades



were taken from us, we in "Spartakus" proved ourselves worthy to bear the name of the great leader of the slave uprising in Rome. We did not lose our bearings. In the worst moments our 18- and 19-year-old girls gave little thought to themselves. They devoted all their strength to maintenance of broken contacts. In those stormy and troubled days Comrade Gina, an old acquaintance of mine from "Spartakus," came to us. I don't really know where we got our strength. Surrounded by despair, we managed to reweave the torn fabric of our organization. At this time Gina brought us our orders: to organize from the remnants of all the self-defense groups in the ghetto immediately into a ghetto detachment of the general Polish People's Guard.

I still remember Comrade Gina's words: "The People's Guard is not a narrow party organization; the People's Guard unites all those who honestly wish to participate in struggle against the Hitlerite occupation. Among you in the ghetto, the People's Guard must include not only PPR people, but also all friends and sympathizers from other groups who are ready for struggle." In the last days of July [1942], at the feverish peak of the liquidation, we mobilized several groups of the People's Guard under the leadership of Comrade Mikhal Biali.

We had very few weapons before January 1943. Then the leadership of the A.K. [*Armia Krajowa*, the organization of the London Polish Government-in-Exile—Eds.] issued to the underground 50 rusty old revolvers and four kilograms of dynamite, on condition that none of this equipment be given to any PPR groups in the general Jewish Fighting Organization. That was the report we heard in our group. It is to the credit of the general Jewish Fighting Organization that they nevertheless gave our groups some weapons. But the party leadership decided to be very careful and to collect weapons for our separate party arsenals. We also decided to form super-secret PPR fighting units along with the party groups which belonged to the general Jewish Fighting Organization.

I went through the battles of January 18 [1943] in the Schultz-Hoffman-Tebens district. The entire organization had a total of six revolvers and two grenades. In addition to this weakness in arms, we made the mistake of considering the bunkers a bourgeois notion. We thought it disgraceful to barricade ourselves in hidden places and launch attacks from there. We believed only in direct frontal attack. Besides this we were very poorly mobilized.

After the January struggles, we self-critically analyzed our mistakes.

Our resistance struggle in January had two aspects. We attacked German units, terrorized them with our inadequate arms and retreated. We frightened them. We also attacked them with gasoline bottles and the two grenades hurled from a garret. The PPR comrades and the *Shomrim* were most glorious in battle. Our Comrade Stakh and the *Shomer* Israel threw the grenades. Several days after the January incidents we learned of the heroic death of our comrade Mikhal Tsharni in the Central Ghetto.



THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO GREAT BATTLES FROM JANUARY to April passed in an ever-rising fever of work. It was a very hard time. The Jewish district was divided into several ghettos. Contact between the ghettos was impossible. For contact meant sure death. Certain women comrades dared to make contact anyway. Riva Shmutka, who came from a wealthy *hasidic* family, distinguished herself by the greatest valor. This courageous girl actually laughed at death. She slipped back and forth between the Central Ghetto and ours in the Schultz-Tebens district.

Her example inspired two other comrades, Eva Bonder and Itka Heiman. We made a path between the ghettos. With our own hands we made holes in the walls of garrets. The path led through Novolipie, Novolipka and part of Smotcha Streets. The girls crawled through the garrets and over the roofs of the German factories.

In addition to contact with the Central Ghetto, we made contact with the Aryan side. The main liaison with the Aryan side was through Yurek Zolotov and Uzshek Yarost. They maintained contact with Kazshik Dembyak. This was after the January demonstration. Our spirits had grown stronger. More and more young fighters distinguished themselves by their coolness, courage and determination. Among the bravest were Comrades Stakh and Salek. While they were on an errand to the "wild" ghetto district, the German Klastermeyer rode by and arrested them. They were taken to the command post in Leshno. As soon as we learned of this, we organized an attack on the command post. Comrade Bronck Yavorski led the expedition. We terrorized the policemen and freed Stakh and Salek.

A short time later Bronck himself was arrested. This time he was taken not to Leshno, but to the police station at the end of Novolipka and Smotcha Streets. A permanent German military guard was there. Our Hershl Kava and Motl Goldshtein immediately worked out a coordinated attack. A group of fighters went out in the afternoon, terrorized the guard and the police commandant, took away the keys and freed all the prisoners, including Bronck. This happened at six P.M. The police notified the Germans at the command post, who were afraid to enter the ghetto at night.

During this period our group had losses as well as victories. Heroic comrade Stakh was finally caught by the German butchers through a slip-up. Stakh had participated in the attack on the police station in Novolipka-Smotcha and had worn the cap of a Jewish policeman for security reasons. But one of the policemen had copied the number on the cap. Stakh later went out on another mission and wore the same cap with the same number. This was a tragic mistake. The police surrounded him, for they realized that this blond boy was a member of the fighting organization. Stakh didn't want to be caught alive by the Gestapo. He threw himself at one of the Germans, who shot him dead. Stakh was 25 years old.

What sort of life did we lead between the two armed uprisings? After the January uprising we decided to mobi-

lize. We broke away from parents and relatives, living together, ten in a group. We spent very little for food, but used all our money to buy arms. We went without lunch and ate bread and marmalade instead.

The Jewish Fighting Organization gained a great deal of authority. The masses believed in the organization as one believes in God.

The Jewish Fighting Organization carried on propaganda work. Mietek Shtern stole a typewriter and brought it to our secret place in the garret of 53 Novolipie Street. There we typed out our proclamations. We were helped in propaganda work by Comrades Shakhna and Shia. But Shtern was not destined to live to see the great uprising. One night, on a sabotage mission to set fire to the warehouse of the Schultz Company on Novolipka Street, Shtern fell from the garret through carelessness. His comrades heard his last words: "Where's my *Kold?*" (a type of revolver). Although he died a senseless death, he was at his post in the line of duty.

The Organization carried out death sentences against those who collaborated with the Germans. We also executed Germans who trailed us. We had our own patrol group for this. One of the best of this group was the remarkable girl Tola Blumenfeld, daughter of Rabbi Blumenfeld. Tola looked like an "Aryan" and went about the streets as a match-seller. She brought us extremely accurate reports. "So-and-so is palling around with the Germans." Then we would send a letter like this: "For your collaboration with the Germans, the Jewish Fighting Organization hereby sentences you to death." We were so greatly feared that Jewish policemen stopped wearing their blue caps with numbers. More than one of them came over to us bringing much important information.

BY THE TIME OF THE UPRISING, WE HAD MANY WEAPONS. EVERY member of the Jewish Fighting Organization was well-armed. In the Schultz-Tebens-Hoffman district alone, we had several hundred.

On the day of the uprising [April 19, 1943], I was in one of Ruzshka Rosenfeld's units on Leshno Street. I was assigned to be the liaison between the PPR groups at 74 Leshno, 61 Novolipie and 51 Novolipka Streets and several houses on Smotcha Street. I was also responsible for maintaining contact with the leading people in the Central Ghetto, Comrades Chaim and Shia. On April 19, firing continued all day on Leshno Street. There were sporadic clashes. Our people mined the street in front of 4, 8 and 10 Smotcha Street in the "wild" district. To our great disappointment, the mine didn't explode. The next day we were lucky enough to come up against the Germans. At midnight the *Shomer* Israel came into our bunker and said, "Comrades, we're going into action!" We took up our position in the garret. We were a group of PPR and Hashomer. The commander of our group was Comrade Sarah Nelkenbaum. Our weapons were for the most part incendiary bottles. We waited all night, trembling with impatience. About the middle of the next day German units appeared.

A tank rumbled ahead followed by German units in battle-dress. At the command we threw down incendiary bottles. The tank stood motionless, in flames. The crew was burned alive. When we saw the tank in flames, we danced for joy. Never before or after did we experience such a wonderful moment.

After this battle, I was once more assigned to my old job as liaison. Once again I darted over roofs, through holes in fences, through ruins, back and forth between Central Ghetto and Leshno. Once I had a job to do on the Aryan side. I went through the sewers and barely came out alive.

After that I found myself again in the Tebens districts. Despite inhuman suffering, I still felt much better there than anywhere else, because I was with my closest comrades. Once again I alternated with Tola Blumenfeld as liaison with the Aryan side.

Once Tola stayed on the Aryan side as a flower-girl selling a gigantic bouquet of flowers. She would sneak into the ghetto, and in the bouquet she would conceal some grenades. Her luck was such that she came out of the uprising alive and well. Later she joined the partisans in the woods and there died a heroic death.

Our girls distinguished themselves with their unusual heroism. One example of courageous self-sacrifice was Holianka Rokhman. She was practically idolized by the comrades. She always sacrificed herself for others. And she died sacrificing herself for others. This is how it happened. After a protracted struggle with the Germans, the group was forced to retreat to an underground bunker in Leshno.



*The Last Defender of the Warsaw Ghetto* By MAX BAND

Overhead was a curtain of fire, which made it impossible to go out by day to organize an attack. We were forced to stay inside, weapons ready for the final moment at any time. No one knows how the Germans made their way into the bunker. The group had to decide not to give up without a struggle. These heroic people hid in corners and fired on the Germans who were pouring in. Then Holianka saw a soldier aiming at the group's commander, Ruzshka Rosenfeld. Holianka understood that the fight would end if the commander was killed. So she shielded Ruzshka with her own body. They tell of her last words, as she lay soaked in blood, "I'm glad they shot me instead of Ruzshka!" This great sacrifice was in vain. For the leader Ruzshka Rosenfeld also died in that battle.

ON MAY 7TH, THE DAY BEFORE THE LEADERS OF THE UPRISING died in the staff bunker at 18 Mila Street, I saw my fighting ghetto comrades for the last time. I was bringing greetings of my comrades in Leshno to the staff. There was a great crowd of several hundred people there, the last heroic remnants of all the fighting units of all political groups, together with their commanders. They were waiting for help, which was being prepared on the Aryan side. I had my last talks with Comrade Mikhal Biali and with Shia. When it became clear that the bunker was completely surrounded, a heated discussion arose of how to meet the inevitable death facing us. The *Shomer* Yurek, one of the most heroic figures I knew, proposed collective suicide. Our comrades Mikhal Byaly and Sarah Zshagel opposed the idea and expressed themselves in favor of meeting the enemy and fighting to the last.

But this was no longer feasible. The gas shot in by the Germans had begun to take effect. Even though some comrades had already begun to suffocate, they greeted the incoming German soldiers with a volley of shots. By that time, I was no longer in the bunker, because I had been sent once more to find a way through the sewers to the Aryan side. When I returned with the other scouts, everything was finished. The last comrades were dying. Mikhal Biali was found in a half-gassed condition. It was said that these heroes died with two songs on their lips — the *Internationale* and *Hatikva*.

I was among those lucky enough to be rescued by Polish comrades of the PPR through the horrible sewers to the Aryan side. My contacts were the Polish Comrades Stanislaw Legetz and his wife. In broad daylight they transported all the rescued fighters of the ghetto uprising in a truck to the woods of Lomianka. There a new chapter in my life began: the woods, the Aryan side, Auschwitz. I am one of the few ghetto comrades who had the luck to survive everything and live on into the new period of liberation and reconstruction. But I will never forget those dear people, my closest friends, with whom I lived through that remarkable way leading from the schoolroom and "Spartakus" to the last positions of the fighting Warsaw ghetto.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Nathaniel Shapiro)



# STORY OF RESISTANCE

A Book Review  
By John Stuart

THERE are few practicing American novelists who can approach the magnificent creative power that John Hersey displays in his story of the Warsaw Ghetto.<sup>1</sup> Not only is it a superb achievement of projection into a pattern of life from which he has been far removed, but it is so tenderly humanist in its compassion for people in the stress of struggle, that we cannot lay down this work without feeling a renewed pride in the fighting traditions of the Jewish masses. In choosing his theme, Mr. Hersey has risked missing the full flavor of the conventionalities, the folkways, the cultural spirit indigenous to Polish Jewry. And the risk was increased by having to relate these things in the frame of the explosive action that marked resistance to the barbarities of nazism. But in taking the risks—reduced by hard, formal study of the Ghetto Uprising—Hersey has added to the dimensions of his craft and given us once again some perception of what the serious writer can do, when he confronts himself not with trivialities but with the meaningful phases of human life and struggle.

It is a brilliant artist that we have before us. And whatever else Hersey has left undone in this book, however we may grieve that his vision has not been more encompassing, he has at least grasped the heart of an extremely intricate phenomenon. The two words that shout out at us through *The Wall* are *unity* and *resistance*. Here was the Warsaw Ghetto's immortal deed, the precious extract of so much suffering, so much torture and loss of life. And while Hersey has not fully probed into the deep interior of these two words, they emerge from his novel with enough power to forewarn us of the disaster that overtakes all who would meet fascism with less.

The novel's form is dictated by the need to shape a single structure out of a seemingly random pile of episodes and characters. Hersey has chosen a device hinged on one personality who serves as his eye and ear and his voice as well. The technique is a diary kept by Noach Levinson, the key to the fictional lock. It is Noach who records the mood and look of the ghetto, the terror and the heroism, from the moment of German occupation to those Spring days when the ghetto is reduced to a plateau of rubble. The victims of the walled trap tell Noach their innermost feelings, they recount the behavior and reactions of others and from his hasty jottings a record evolves, later buried in the ghetto earth until it is dug up and given order and design by an "editor."

The illusion of actual documentation is almost perfect. The ghetto's topography, the chronology of events ending

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in its extinction, the communications within the trap and without, the step-by-step preparation for the inevitable clash with the Germans—all these are caught with almost astonishing fidelity. Even Noach, who in lesser hands might have become a little wooden archivist, becomes a character of flesh and feeling, rises above his early self-imposed and almost cynical isolation. At times he appears incredibly omniscient, ubiquitous, too inhumanly detached. But Noach changes as he enters into his own community of fighters, as he pursues for his diary the shifts among his friends, their perception of what the Germans plan for them, the turning points when they begin either to decay or lift themselves out of passivity into the swirl of struggle. Through his literary comradeship with Hersey, Noach bears witness to the ghetto upheaval for the rest of the world.

## Ghetto Picture

The ghetto reeked of death. Those killed by typhus lay in the gutters; those killed by hunger lay alongside them. And each day as the nazis narrowed the vise, there were the roundups of Jews hauled off to the slaughterhouse of Treblinka. In scenes terrible and terrifying, some almost unbearable, we are faced with the children being marched off to death in the belief that they are going on a picnic; the Jew who hides his infant in a suitcase; the nazi killer racing through the ghetto streets, stopping only to put into a notebook the score of his murders. And juxtaposed to these are scenes tender and lyrical—the tokens of the search for normal living, for pause from the constant attrition of ghetto life. There is the tree under which the ghetto victims sit for a few minutes in the Spring sunshine; the evening gathering where poetry is read or Bach played on a concertina; the circumcision of a baby born in a bunker; the festive dinner of horsemeat. Everything that has in the past been considered routine living now becomes exaggeratedly precious.

The nazis knew what they were doing. They knew that their own depravity would infect some in the ghetto and work against the noble and the innocent. And it did. There were those who thought of nothing but saving their own skins. They became the supporters of the *Judenrat*, the Jewish community administration whose leaders for long sustained the illusion that the well-behaved, cooperative Jew would find merciful treatment. The fight against collaboration, in the many forms it took, was the first stage

<sup>1</sup> *The Wall*, by John Hersey. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. \$4.00.

of the struggle to forge underground resistance. Individual Jews learned in their own ways, slowly and hesitantly, the truth that the only human privilege left them was to fight back. When they learned this truth they gravitated towards the groups preparing for a reckoning.

### *The Passive and the Resisting*

For every pitiful figure there are a hundred others who take the road of struggle. Even these must first loosen themselves from the idea of self-preservation by a greater consciousness of the ghetto as a collectivity in which the greatest safety is in cohesion and joint responsibility. Menkes, the baker, insists at first on being left alone but later learns better and meets death as a fighter. Mandeltort, the educated middle-class Jew who lives only for his family, finds it wiped out and conquers his education in the uprising. The pretty, pleasure-seeking Halinka Apt almost succumbs to the blandishments of the spies and profiteers but rises above herself to become an underground courier outside the ghetto wall. Then there are those who fight in their own way such as Fischel Schpunt, the grotesque little creature; or Froi Mazur, too old to do what the young can, but a tower of strength to her family. Linked to these are the Jews with a background of political struggle, each more or less aware of the need for organization and counterattack. There is Rapaport, the pompous old Bundist, jealous of his authority, relying too much on

the past to meet the crisis of the present, tied down from acting by the Socialist leadership, but happy finally in the unity the resistance groups attain.

Thus one sees different levels of consciousness, the growth or deterioration of individuals, the limitless resources of men or women made free by recognizing the necessity of a critical hour. And the most discerning portraits of these shifts and transformations are those of Rachel Apt and Dolek Berson. Rachel, sweet Rochele, a young woman with a not very pretty face but with the warmest of hearts, grows under the pressure of events, becomes the head of a fighter group. She evolves into a luminous mother figure, bestowing love, looking after her heterogeneous "family," setting its pace, keeping it alert, steady and companionable. That she and Berson towards the end of the ghetto fall in love becomes almost symbolic of the triumph of their parallel development. Dolek begins as a drifter, a genial aesthete without anger, until he is inflamed by the need to help those who are helping him. Even as he moves through the filth of the sewers, maps bunkers and avenues of escape for the underground, even as he becomes a man with a gun, he remains the complete intellectual but with newly defined loyalties that wrench him loose from dilettantism.

### *Where Are the Workers?*

These, then, are the types that to Hersey exemplify the ghetto's resistance movement. Yet what we must notice





about these characters, especially the major ones, is that they are predominantly of the middle class. As such they do not reflect the full human reality of the ghetto even though they appear before us with a large measure of life. The book loses indispensable elements of power and perception by its failure to include one worker (Fein, the bricklayer, is more a rowdy than he is a worker) or working class family to serve as contrast to the declassed intellectuals, petty traders and former businessmen, whose very sameness of outlook makes for a certain monotony in characterization. There are no basic differences between a Berson and a Levinson, between a Rachel Apt and a Froi Mazur, a Reb Yechiel or a Rabbi Goldflamm.

A large part of the ghetto was populated with Jewish workers who long before they were imprisoned behind the wall had experienced on their own skins the exploitation and misery which reached their highest pitch within the ghetto. The incredible conditions of life that shook the Jews who came into the ghetto from another area and from another social stratum was an old story to the workers just as the Mauritz Apts and the Taubers were their old enemies. These workers had different values. They were the least infected by the idea of an exclusive ghetto culture or the mystical Jewishness which Noach preaches. Hersey has, therefore, missed the class character of the ghetto and thus missed a key ingredient of the ghetto struggle.

For the ghetto, even in the supreme moment when it attacked the Germans, was but an extension of a larger struggle, not alone against the invader but against pre-war Poland's leeches and anti-Semites—the gilded rulers who opened the country to catastrophe and war. The Polish Colonels had been outraging Jews long before Hitler introduced the epoch of furnaces to systematize what the Colonels had done in the epoch of pogroms. And in each epoch it was the Jewish working class, aligned with non-Jewish workers, who showed the most heroic spirit in battling their oppressors.

### *Ghetto As Isolate*

There is no such historical context to Hersey's book. The ghetto becomes an isolate—full of trees but no woods. There is no real perspective of what the battle is for, nor the sense that it is part of a larger battle. Stalingrad is mentioned ever so casually; Pearl Harbor is a cipher. And because the book has no historical anchorage, Hersey's humanism becomes a cloud from which the rains of mercy fall, but which hides the full meaning of the ghetto revolt. Noach's involvement in history is an involvement with abstractions, with a vague yearning for Palestine, with the bourgeois nationalist aspect of Peretz, or the homilies of Mosaic Law. Without a class historical context to frame the ghetto as a remarkable episode in a world-wide anti-fascist war and in the stream of Polish history, Hersey's characters by and large have no greater motivation than their individual desires. They are not depicted as representatives of classes or tendencies but as a bundle of twigs, as subjective reactors to each other. Not one figure in the



book bears a full consciousness of the future or past. And at no point, for example, is there clear motivation for Berson or Rachel Apt joining the Hashomer Hatzair or why Hashomer emerges as the dominant fighting group in the book.

The key to this latter may be in Hersey's diffident attitude towards the communists. He was confronted with the necessity of portraying a militant group, a group struggling for the unity of the ghetto against the Germans. No other group in terms of the actual facts and the drama better fitted this requirement than the Jewish and non-Jewish communists of the Polish Workers Party (PPR). But to have chosen them would have made for a clash with current prejudices (perhaps even with Hersey's private misconceptions). Instead Hersey selected a group which undeniably played its part in the Ghetto Uprising but in the totality of the battle, in its preparation, and in the sacrifice it exacted, did not and could not measure up to the role played by the members of the PPR. The communists appear, then, as shadows, not with the substance and feeling Hersey generously bestows on others. And because they are shadows, the achievement of unity, which was the singular contribution of the communists, also appears obscure. Thus, we have a flouting of fact which inevitably leads to artistic falsification and misses the key to the course of development out of which unity grew and was crowned by the April revolt.

What a pity this is. If the book were from a lesser writer, from a writer without Hersey's power and human sympathy, we could lay it aside with a shrug. But Hersey has made great demands on himself, and he has given us a work with so many wonderful qualities that we can only grieve at its startling failures. Had he ventured beyond the limits of Zionist influence, had he harnessed his extraordinary skill to a greater objectivity, this book might well have been the literary monument the Ghetto Uprising deserves.

# NO SAFETY IN APPEASEMENT

By Lawrence Emery

**F**ASCISM in the U.S. lacks one essential ingredient. It does not possess popular support.

Late in January, in New York City's flashy Hotel Astor, ambitious, young, small-town Indiana lawyer George N. Craig, current national commander of the American Legion, called together a conference which was to provide American reaction with 50,000,000 organized backers.

He didn't get the 50,000,000. But he did bring together a startling collection of people from some 58 national organizations with a combined membership of many millions. National representatives of both the AFL and the CIO sat together with spokesmen for the National Association of Manufacturers, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, an assortment of flag-waving "patriotic" societies, and delegates from groups that thrive on hate.

In between these were some independent railroad brotherhoods, church groups (both Catholic and Protestant), organizations of professional people and fraternal orders.

A call for a "united front against communism" had brought them together. They sat and listened to Sen. Karl Mundt, whose repressive legislation is now being fought by the memberships of many of the organizations represented there, to Jack Tenney, whose career as California's top witch-hunter ended in near-scandal and defeat, and to James Carey of the Marshall Plan wing of the CIO who fired a shot since heard round the world: "In another war we will join with the fascists to defeat the communists."

Listening to this, with all the others, were representatives of three large Jewish organizations, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith and the Jewish War Veterans. In the room with them were avowed anti-Semites. From the speakers' platform came direct anti-Semitic threats. But they stayed through.

What brought them there? For in that room on that day, had their memories served them, they would have known that they were hearing the first faint distant premonition of a death knell for Jews in America—if James Carey's slogan and the "crusade against communism" were to succeed.

The American Jewish Congress took some honor to itself for not having been invited to the conference. For those in attendance Congress had an explanation: they "seem unable to resist any invitation to appear in what is generally regarded as 'respectable' company."

There is a shorter way to say it: appeasement.

And if one lesson has ever been burned and bludgeoned into the flesh and the mind, it is this: fascism burgeons on appeasement. Once in power, it rends and destroys its appeasers. The tragedy of the Jews of Germany was that

their organizations felt impelled to keep "respectable" company; to the everlasting horror of the world most of them now keep eternal company with the dead.

## Severe Criticism

The three organizations in attendance at the Legion's conference got some roundly indignant criticism from many a section of the American Jewish community.

Said the California *Jewish Voice*: "When these Jewish organizations found themselves in the company of the very ones who seek the destruction of the Jewish people, their cue was to get up and get out of such company. . . . Walking out of such company is an integrity whose luxury our Jewish organizations *could* afford. After all, the bill is being paid by the Jewish people."

The Chicago Anglo-Jewish weekly, the *Sentinel*, listed the rising record of anti-Semitic outbursts in America and, addressing itself directly to B'nai B'rith, asked: "Are not these evidences . . . more worth the effort and concern of an organization to which some 350,000 Jewish men, women and young people belong? What is the real, immediate menace?"

The Detroit Council of B'nai B'rith adopted a resolution: "The reported statement by the chairman of the meeting that the proposed organization was ready 'to join fascism to defeat communism' stamped the character of the meeting and should have at once impelled any true follower of democracy to withdraw. The participation of Merwin K. Hart should have been conclusive indication that the activity was of a nature which B'nai B'rith should shun. The hysterical desire to prove that we are not communists should not be permitted to draw us into the camp of those who espouse a philosophy which was responsible for the most heinous crimes in history and still constitutes a mortal enemy of democratic civilization. The effort to organize permanent and professional anti-communist organizations is painfully reminiscent of the action leading to seizure of power by the political groups headed by Mussolini, Hitler and Franco."

Leonard Boasberg in the *Jewish Press* said: "That B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish War Veterans . . . were so innocent, or cynical, as to participate in such a hoax, reflects no credit upon them. One suspects that they, like some of the other respectable groups who somehow got mixed up in the proceedings, were afraid that if they turned down the invitation, they'd be accused of subversive leanings themselves. But that's a risk you have to run in these fantastic times."

Later Mr. Boasberg was caused by his publisher to apolo-

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gize to B'nai B'rith and its president for "offensive wording" in his criticism, but he repeated that "I strongly believe that no organization—Jewish was justified in sending representatives to the conference. . . ."

The *National Jewish Ledger* of Washington, D.C., editorialized: "The record of the participants . . . is one of reaction and anti-liberal tendencies and denial of civil liberties. Their concern over communism is only a common front of reaction. . . . The pattern is very familiar and merely duplicates the 'movements' which cropped up before the war in which the common denominator was reaction, plus anti-Semitism."

The American Jewish Labor Council said it was amazed that "any Jewish organization could consciously reconcile itself to sitting at a conference with open and avowed anti-Semites and fascists" and could listen without protest to a proposal "to join forces with those who were responsible for the destruction of 6,000,000 Jews."

### **Resistance, not Appeasement**

To this criticism and much more, Frank Goldman, president of B'nai B'rith, eventually responded. His organization, he said, sent two representatives to the conference "because it is opposed to communism even as it is opposed to fascism." He failed to comment on James Carey's call to "join with fascists." He justified his organization's presence on the ground that he had caused revocation of Merwin K. Hart's invitation. But others insist that Hart was present.

The Jewish War Veterans did less dodging. National Commander Jackson J. Holtz said the organization "felt very proud to be numbered among . . . the leading patriotic organizations in the country . . . and happy to serve on the continuing committee which has on its agenda the fighting of communism."

The American Jewish Committee said nothing at all.

Protests from the labor movement have already caused the CIO to weasel out of its open association with this fascist front. But three of the nation's largest and most influential Jewish organizations are still there, one puzzled, one defensively, one defiantly. The spectacle is a disturbing and frightening one: it is the deadly parallel to the Germany of the thirties.

The fatal failure there was the inability of Jews to unite first among themselves and next with others to resist fascism. That fatal failure is being repeated here.

Appeasement can serve no cause but to promote the growth of fascism. Those who first desire is to be "respectable" had best study their history again. A close reading will show even the flaw in the American Jewish Congress' thinking: it, too, wants at least a degree of respectability. While thoroughly criticizing the Legion's "All-American Conference" and the national crusade against communism, it steadfastly insists on its right to keep pure by doing its own red-baiting.

There is no cure for fascism but the united resistance of a majority of the people. The Jews, of all minorities, should be in the forefront of that resistance.

This cartoon appeared in the organ of James Carey's raiding "imitation" electrical union at about the same time that Carey was advocating "joining with the fascists to fight communism." The common source of anti-communism and anti-Semitism is graphically demonstrated here.



"SURE, I'M NEUTRAL"

IUE

The IUE-CIO News, January 23, 1950

# FOR THE BROTHERHOOD PEOPLES!

By Joseph Stalin

*On January 9, 1905, the tsarist troops and police had ambushed peaceful workers' processions at St. Petersburg and shot them down, killing 1,000 and wounding 2,000. The reply was an unprecedented wave of giant protest strikes all over Russia. The multi-national oil center of Baku, where Stalin had just led the workers in a victorious strike (December 1904), was not behind the others. The tsarist police retaliated, through picked agents, by provoking massacres of the Armenians. The following is from the text of a leaflet written by Stalin and signed and issued by the Tiflis Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Party on February 13, 1904.*

**CITIZENS!** The movement of the revolutionary proletariat is growing—and national barriers are crumbling! The proletarians of the nationalities of Russia are uniting into one international army, individual streams of the proletarian movement are running together into one common revolutionary torrent. Higher and higher rise the waves of this torrent, more and more strongly they crash against the throne of the tsar—and the senile tsarist government is tottering. Neither prisons, nor penal servitude, nor the gallows—nothing halts the proletarian movement: it grows more and more!

And so, to strengthen its throne, the tsarist government has invented a "new" remedy. It is sowing enmity among the nationalities of Russia, it is inciting one against the other, it is striving to smash the common movement of the proletariat into petty movements and to set them *one against the other*, it is organ-izing pogroms of Jews, Armenians, etc. And all this in order, through fratricidal war, to divide the nationalities of Russia from one another and, having weakened them, to conquer each of them separately without trouble!

*Divide and rule*—such is the policy of the tsarist government. Thus it is acting in the towns of Russia (recall the pogroms at Gomel, Kishinev and other towns), and the same thing is being repeated in the Caucasus. Foul! With blood and the corpses of citizens it is trying to strengthen its contemptible throne! The groans of dying Armenians and Tatars at Baku; the tears of mothers, wives and children; the blood, the innocent blood of honest but misled citizens; the terrified faces of fleeing, defenseless people escaping from death; the devastated homes, the looted shops and the terrible, never-ceasing whistling of bullets—it is with these that the tsar murderer of honest citizens fortifies his throne!

Yes, citizens! It is they, agents of the tsarist government, who have set misguided Tatars against peaceful Armenians. It is they, the lackeys of the tsarist government, who distributed among them arms and cartridges, dressed police and Cossacks in Tatar uniform, and let them loose against Armenians! For two months they—the tsar's minions—prepared this fratricidal war and now, at last, have achieved their barbarous aim. Curses and death to the tsarist government!

Now these miserable slaves of a miserable tsar are trying to arouse fratricidal warfare among us, in Tiflis! They are demanding your blood, they want to divide you and rule over you! But be vigilant! You, Armenians, Tatars, Georgians and Russians! Hold out your hands to one another, rally closer together and reply unanimously to the attempts of the government to divide you: Down with the tsarist government—long live the brotherhood of the peoples!

Hold out your hands to one another and, united, rally round the proletariat, the true grave-diggers of the tsarist government—which is alone guilty of the Baku murders. Let your cry be:

*Down with national strife!*

*Down with the tsarist government!*

*Long live the brotherhood of the peoples!*

*Long live the democratic republic!*



# SONG HEARD ROUND THE WORLD

By Yuri Suhl

MANY songs came out of the ghettos and concentration camps of Europe during the last war. Most of these songs are of unknown authorship. They have about them the anonymity of the *pashaik*—the striped prisoner's garb—and the numbers tattooed on the victim's arm. Singly, each depicts, both in concrete imagery and in general terms, either a particular phase of ghetto life, or the predominant mood of the ghetto dwellers at a given time. Together, they are the collective outcry of people subjected to an inhuman persecution. They form a record of martyrology and courage seldom met in human history.

These songs, though saturated with the pain and anguish that marked the life of the inhabitants of the ghetto, were nevertheless songs of hope and not of despair. The mood of resignation is absent from these songs. Their underlying theme is a deep yearning for a brighter day and an unswerving conviction that such a day will finally come and bring with it the destruction of Hitlerism and the liberation of Hitler's victims.

With these songs on their lips the prisoners of the ghettos helped lighten the burden of their daily miseries, to face the gallows, firing squads and the torture chambers and the walk on the last path to the gas chambers. And with these songs on their lips, hushed by the rules of security, muted by the laws of secrecy, the underground met in dark bunkers to plot the strategy of the ghetto uprisings.

Some of these songs are still sung by ghetto survivors in various parts of the world; some form a part of artists' repertoires and are sung from the stage; others have become part of memories too painful to be stirred into consciousness. But one song, written in the ghetto of Vilna by a young poet named Hirsh Glick, has in the short space of a few years achieved a unique popularity. From being the official battle song of the Jewish partisans of the Vilna ghetto during the war, it has become, after the war, a hymn of Jewish people all over the world. Nachman Meisel, well-known Yiddish literary critic, writes in his booklet *Hirsh Glick And His Song "Zog nisht kaynmol"* [Never say]: "It is a significant and amazing phenomenon that without the sanction of any authoritative publication *Zog nisht kaynmol* was taken up spontaneously by all the sectors of the Jewish people as the highest and fullest expression of the sorrow and suffering, the protest and courage, that filled our hearts in the recent years of annihilation and rebirth."

During my trip to Europe in 1948, I was able to observe at first hand the extent of the popularity of this song and its power to move the Jews. My experience fully corrob-

YURI SUHL'S first novel in English has been accepted for publication.

orates Mr. Meisel's statement. I recall a spring morning in the town of Lignitz in Lower Silesia. As in every other town on my tour through Poland, several members of the local Jewish committee took me on a round of visits to Jewish institutions. We began our day with the Jewish children's school, a large renovated building with spacious class rooms and modern facilities. The teachers had been informed beforehand of my scheduled visit. Upon my arrival, all classes were suspended and the students were assembled in a large auditorium. I greeted the several hundred pupils in behalf of the Jewish children of America and then read a story to them. In response they sang for me songs of the ghetto and of the new life in Poland. When the director announced that the visit with the American guest had come to a close, the children rose spontaneously to their feet and began to sing *Zog nisht kaynmol*.

I watched the expression on their faces, the look in their eyes. It was as though these young children had suddenly become mature and serious adults. They began singing slowly in a low but unfaltering tone. Gradually their voices rose, swelled to a high note and dropped again. It was not the music that controlled the volume of their voices, the even-measured cadence of their tones. It was the meaning of the words that determined their tonal emphasis. For it was not just a song that they were singing. They were making a vow. They had sung this very song in the ghetto or had heard it from their fathers and mothers, who were no longer alive. Some remembered that it was with this song on their lips that partisan Jews had died fighting the nazis. For the children the song was a firm resolve never again to be children of the ghetto. It was a song to honor the dead and to inspire courage in the living.

Wherein lies the strength of this song? What single feature of its composition is the source of its popularity? Do its thoughts and sentiments express the essence of its vigor, or does its form give this song its special quality? Is it the melody—strong, confident, hope-giving and uplifting, yet permeated with an undertone of deep sorrow—that makes this song reach out to millions? Or do the circumstances out of which it was born endow the song with the touch of immortality?

## Hirsh Glick, Resistance Poet

Though each of these elements is worthy of separate treatment and serious consideration, it would be a grave error to ascribe the song's vital message and overwhelming popularity to one single factor. Rather is it the aggregate of all these elements, combined to form one unified whole, that gives this song its quality. Any proper evaluation of

it must begin with its origin and its author, Hirsh Glick.

Hirshke, as he was affectionately called, was born in Vilna in 1920. His father was a poor tradesman who eked out a precarious living. To supplement his father's earnings, Hirshke was forced to seek a job at the age of 15. He worked as a clerk, first in a paper business and later in a hardware store. The sensitive youth was often seen going home from work late in the evening, his tired face showing the strain of long hours and hard work.

The urge to write manifested itself early in Glick's life, and his first literary products already revealed a vigor and freshness characteristic of a genuine poetic talent. He was a leading member of a young literary group of Vilna called "*Yungvald*", which had published, under the editorship of the poet Leizer Wolf, several issues of a literary magazine bearing the name of the group.

When the Germans occupied Vilna, and herded the Jews into a ghetto, Hirsh Glick, together with several hundred other Jews, was sent to *Veisse Vake*, a work camp 12 miles from Vilna. There they were set to digging peat. The working hours were long and living conditions in the camp extremely difficult. Although hard labor and inhuman treatment at the hands of the nazis robbed Glick of his physical energies, they failed to break his spirit. More than ever he was now possessed of a burning desire to record the miserable life of the work camp. Late at night, when his fellow prisoners lay exhausted on the floor of their hovels, Glick cried out both for them and himself the anguish of their souls in poetry. Many of these poems he had managed to transmit to the ghetto. Twice he was awarded literary prizes for his poetry by the Jewish Writers and Artists Association of the Vilna ghetto. On several occasions he even managed to come to the ghetto himself. He would then spend most of his time in the Youth Club, reading his poetry to enthralled audiences.

In the early part of 1943, the Germans liquidated the work camp *Veisse Vake* and transferred all the Jews to the ghetto of Vilna. Those were not "ordinary" ghetto days. At dawn of April 5th, 4000 Jews were put to death at Ponar. Those in the ghetto who had harbored the illusion that life in the ghetto had been "stabilized," were suddenly shaken out of their complacency. A frantic search for weapons ensued. Then came a piece of news that electrified the ghetto. The underground radio operator picked up a brief bulletin: "The remainder of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto have begun an armed uprising against the murderers of the Jewish people. The ghetto is in flames!"

### *Sparks from the Warsaw Ghetto*

Those flames, though geographically distant, set off sparks of revolt in other ghettos and filled the Jews with a deep sense of pride in their Warsaw brethren. They gave the call to arms. The search for weapons was more feverish than before. It was in those turbulent days under the direct impact of the uprising of the Warsaw ghetto, that Hirsh Glick wrote his immortal *Zog nisht kaynmol*. And when

the staff of the underground met to work out strategy and assign battle stations, the song was adopted as the official battle hymn of the partisans. But the people had preceded the underground staff in this choice. Long before the staff had accorded the song this singular honor, *Zog nisht kaynmol* was tremendously popular in the entire ghetto.

On the first of September 1943, when the Gestapo began the liquidation of the Vilna ghetto, the partisans barricaded themselves in various parts of the ghetto to battle the Germans. Hirsh Glick and his group were surrounded by the Gestapo before they could get to their weapons. They were taken prisoner and sent to the labor camp at Goldfield, in Estonia, where conditions were even worse than in previous camps. Even the privilege of possessing pencil and paper was denied to Glick. This, however, did not prevent him from continuing his creative work. He composed and recited by heart to his fellow prisoners.

One year later, in August 1944, the rapidly advancing Red Army forced the Germans out of their positions. The nazis began to liquidate the concentration camp in an effort to erase the traces of their fiendish work. Glick realized that liquidation of the labor camp spelled death for the Jews. Together with a group of fellow prisoners he escaped to the nearby woods. There he ran into a detachment of retreating Germans and was killed in the brief encounter. He died in the true spirit of his song—fighting the enemy of his people.

*Zog nisht kaynmol* has attributes of a folksong—simplicity of form, an easy, natural rhyme scheme, clarity of expression and unity of mood. Not a single word or line in it is incomprehensible to the least sophisticated person. It is unaffected to the point of artlessness. Yet it has a lyrical quality, and is permeated with a richness of imagery that places it in the category of a poem of high artistic caliber. It is indeed a rare combination of simplicity and art, blending harmoniously into a unified and heightened expression.

But all these elements, however fine, would not suffice to give this poem the stature it has achieved. It is the mood of the song, so clearly and forcefully expressed, which is the core of this poem's strength, vigor and durability. In this *Zog nisht kaynmol* Hirsh Glick has succeeded in articulating the prevailing mood and feelings of the Jews of the ghetto of Vilna and of resistance in all other ghettos and concentration camps. He had forged a fighting weapon. The poet had adapted his words to an appropriate melody. The music was originally a Cossack Cavalry song composed by the Pokras brothers, two Jewish Soviet composers, for a poem written by the Soviet poet A. Surkov.

Although words of the Cossack song are not related to the content of Glick's poem, the music seems to blend harmoniously with the words of *Zog nisht kaynmol*. Without straining for symbolism one cannot help but reflect on this association—a Soviet Cavalry song wedded musically to a Jewish partisans' battle poem. It is known that in areas liberated by the Red Army the Jewish partisans changed the fourth line of Glick's song from "*Svet a poyk*



*zun undser trot; Mir zeinen duhl*" (Our marching steps will thunder: we are here) to: "*Die Stalinshe chavayrim zeinen duhl*" (The comrades of Stalin are here).

*Zog nisht kaynmol* has been translated into many languages. We know about versions in Rumanian, Dutch, Polish (three versions), Spanish, Hebrew and English (five versions). Of the five English versions, that of the young Jewish American poet Aaron Kramer seems to me the most successful. "*Niederland Film*", a Dutch film company, produced a documentary based on Glick's song in 1947. And the famous Soviet Jewish poet, Peretz Markish, created an heroic character based on his conception of Hirsh Glick in his monumental Yiddish poetic work, *War*.

Thus a Yiddish song, inspired by the heroic uprising of the Warsaw ghetto, written by a young Jewish partisan in

the Vilna ghetto and adopted by the partisans of this ghetto as its official battle hymn, has reached out to the far corners of the globe to become a battle song for peace for millions of people. For the message of this song, the warning it sounds, is as timely and vital for us today, when nazism is being restored in Western Germany and anti-Semitism is being preached boldly from the floor of our own Congress, as it was to the embattled Jews of the ghettos and the fighting Jews in the woods.

In these days, when the architects of war pacts and the cold war use every device to sow gloom and despair in the hearts of the people, every expression of strength, courage and reaffirmation of faith in democracy is a rallying force. Hirsh Glick's *Zog nisht kaynmol* is, in this sense, a weapon in the arsenal of democracy.

## "ZOG NISHT KAYNMOL" (NEVER SAY)

Words by Hirsh Glick

Music by Pokras brothers



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

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

We'll have the morning sun to set our day aglow,  
And all our yesterdays shall vanish with the foe,  
And if the time is long before the sun appears,  
Then let this song go like a signal through the years.

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

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

(Translated from the Yiddish by Aaron Kramer.)

Zog nisht kaynmol, az du gayst dem letztn veg,  
Ven himlen bleiyeneh farshteln bloyeh teg;  
Kumen vet nokh unzer oysgebenkteh shuh,  
S'vet a poyk ton unzer trot: Mir zeinen duhl!

Fun grinem palmen-land biz veitn land fun shnay  
Mir zeinen do—mit unzer pein mit unzer vay;  
Un vu gefaln iz a shpritz fun unzer blut,  
Shprotzn vet dort unzer gvureh, unzer mut.

S'vet di morgn-zun bagildn unz dem heint,  
Unzer nekhtn vet farshvindn mitn feint;  
Un oyb farzamen vet di zun un der kayor,  
Vi a parol zol gayn dos lid fun dor tzu dor.

Geshribn iz dos lid mit blut un nit mit blei,  
S'iz nisht kein lid fun a foygl oyf der frei,  
Nor s'hot a folk tzevishn falndikeh vent  
Dos lid gezungen mit naganes in di hent.

To zog nit kaynmol, az du gayst dem letztn veg,  
Ven himlen bleiyeneh farshteln bloyeh teg;  
Kumen vet nokh unzer oysgebenkteh shuh,  
S'vet a poyk ton unzer trot: Mir zeinen duhl!

(Diphthongs: ay as in gay, oy as in boy, ei as i in rice.)

## THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

The main feature of the general election was the hatred of the working class of Britain for the Tories. The fear of a Tory victory swung every working class vote against the Tories to the Labor Party. Working class areas remained Labor despite the appeal made by Winston Churchill at the last minute for "talks with Stalin." That wily old fox Churchill had obviously noted the votes gained by Truman in 1948 following the proposal that Vinson have a talk with Stalin in Moscow.

This lining up of every anti-Tory vote behind the Labor Party was one of the reasons for the disappointing vote received by Communist candidates. In a statement on the results of the election, Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party, wrote that the workers in their anxiety to defeat the Tories, "have not understood that they have handed over their representation to those who, in fact, stand united with the Tories for policies which can only lead to slump and war."

An analysis of the new Labor M.P.'s shows that only 57 out of 305 are workers, and three are housewives. Fifty-four are trade union officials and 30 are Labor and Cooperative officials. Business men number 16 and the largest group are 145 professional men. This is the working class "leadership" provided by "democratic socialism."

Despite attempts by many Zionists to make sympathy with Zionism the criterion of how Jews should vote, the results show that in the main Jews cast their votes according to class interests. It therefore is necessary to correct the widely held, but erroneous, belief that our Jewish community is mainly middle class in composition. Only between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of British Jews who are gainfully occupied are in business for themselves. There is a considerable Jewish working class and approximately 10 per cent of the total Jewish community work in the clothing industry alone.

Jewish workers voted as workers. As in the working class as a whole, any dissatisfaction with the Labor government was swallowed and Jewish workers voted overwhelmingly for Labor. The records of Ernest Bevin and Chuter Ede were blotted out by fear of a Tory return. The Jewish working class and large sections of the middle class voted solidly for Labor.

Communist election workers constantly reported sympathetic hearings, sales of literature and cash donations, but were told that the voter who was doing all this was going to vote Labor to make sure the Tory did not get in. This experience was not confined to Jewish areas: it conformed to the general experience wherever the Communist Party fought. Two days after the election, while Phil Piratin was speaking to dockers, one told him, "You are the man but we *had* to vote Labor." In Stepney, the constituency fought by Piratin, the result was Labor, 33,478; Tory, 6,238; Communist, 5,991; Liberal, 2,105. This election was not free of anti-Semitism on the part of the Labor Party. At some polling stations Labor loudspeakers were broadcasting, "Vote for the Catholic Edwards, against the Jew Piratin."

In the main Jewish areas in Britain Labor was returned with large majorities. These constituencies are Stoke Newington and Hackney North, Hackney South, Willesden East, Manchester



Phil Piratin

(Cheetham), Leeds (N.E.) and in Stepney.

The Liberals, who make claims to be the historical party supported by Jews, failed miserably and forfeited their deposits. An election result awaited with interest by many Jews was that of Dudley where Major Roy Farran [who was implicated in murder of Jews in Palestine during the Israel-Arab war—*Eds.*], standing as a Tory, received a sound drubbing from Labor. An example of Tory anti-Semitism occurred after the poll was declared closed at Holborn and St. Pancras. Dr. Jeger, who is a Jew, had just been declared victor and began to make the customary speech of thanks. He was interrupted by Tories who screamed, "Speak Yiddish."

For the first time in its history the Communist Party had 100 candidates in the field. Their intervention transformed the election by bringing the real issues before the people. Despite earnest attention to our case, our vote was disappointingly low. The loss of our two seats is not only a blow to our party, it is a serious set-back to the working class. It will be particularly felt in this parliament in which Labor has disposed of every militant left winger in its ranks.

There can be no doubt that the constant anti-communist and anti-Soviet barrage in press and on radio has made inroads. But despite this we met actual hostility nowhere in our campaign. The almost 100,000 votes for communist candidates was not the only gain in the election. Millions read our literature and listened to us. Harry Pollitt's broadcast was discussed in thousands of factories and workshops. In the constituencies contested, 30,000 pounds were raised. In Stepney, where Piratin was defeated, 102 recruits were made for the party and 24 for the Young Communist League. In St. Pancras, an important railway center, 107 recruits were made, mostly railway workers.

The election shows that the class lineup has become more pronounced. There are heavy battles approaching which will be decided not in the "best club in the world" at Westminster but in the workshops and factories.

S. ALEXANDER

JEWISH LIFE



# CHICAGO'S UN-HOODED KLAN

By Carl Hirsch

ON a broiling evening last July, a group of realtors, merchants and community figures held a meeting in the Southeast Side of Chicago. They were the heads of the Park Manor Improvement Association—one of the dozens of such organizations which exist in the city's middle class home-owning communities. The topic under discussion was Negroes—Negro families trickling into erstwhile lily-white Park Manor across the "border" of the adjacent Negro ghetto.

A man nearing 50, suave, articulate, was the guest speaker. "Gentlemen," he said, "the only weapon left to the white man is violence!" This was Joseph Beauharnais, soon to become the kleagle of a flourishing organization known as the White Circle League of America, Inc.

And the violence of which he spoke was not long in coming. It hailed in rocks on a Negro couple who had bought a home in Park Manor. It flared in incendiary torches set to the homes of other Negro families. It spilled over into the Englewood community where two Jewish families became the victims. And it rampaged through the streets of Englewood where men were mercilessly bludgeoned for the sin of "looking Jewish."

Mob violence became the pattern through the "border" areas south and west of the Negro ghetto. From July through the autumn and winter, no week passed without assault, bombing, arson, without a stoning of a Negro family. It was guerrilla warfare, savage and stealthy. It was organized terror, striking day or night, leaving the scars of vengeance on those who were brave or desperate enough to have escaped the ghetto. And through it all were the tell-tale marks of the White Circle League, left like a burning cross at the site of a Southern lynching.

It was outside the home of Roscoe Johnson and his wife that some 2,000 hysteria-ridden people gathered in late July to shower rocks and flaming rags at the modest two-flat building that the Negro couple had bought. Was this a spontaneous gathering of a mob? Beauharnais admits that he was there—"mingling with the throngs of shocked, unhappy, infuriated and bewildered white people." With him were two white neighbors of the Johnsons, Martin Pederson and James T. Kyker, who were to become co-incorporators of the racist organization.

"On that night," says Beauharnais, "the White Circle League was born." Through a series of leaflets, screeching the doctrine of nazism and klanism, the White Circle League soon began to build an organization patterned on storm troop lines.

"I am now engaged in the formation of an all-white organization which I hope will be the voice and protection of all white people in America," Beauharnais announced. "I believe it is high time that the white people awake and unite in the formation of one powerful organization to protect white rights!"

## A Budding Fuehrer

Who is Beauharnais and where did he come from? He is the Hitler prototype in the sense that he was a frustrated nonentity finding "fame" and power at last through the medium of fascism. Beauharnais, of French Catholic origin, is a native Chicagoan of modest means. He has been involved in dozens of abortive business ventures. His latest is a small leather and plastic binding concern, dealing in religious goods and novelties. He is also known to dabble in real estate in a small way. There is no record of any prior anti-Negro and anti-Semitic activities.

Beauharnais is something of an orator. And he has a gift for propaganda writing—although many of the anti-Negro harangues in his literature were discovered to be lifted bodily from the speeches of Dixiecrats published in the *Congressional Record*. He does have a sinister talent for organization. And the White Circle was developed as part of a master plan with certain clearly-defined stages.

*Stage 1—Initial Organization.* The League was spawned in the course of racist outbreaks, where Beauharnais found a sympathetic response among those who participated in the rioting, and signed them up on the spot. Each new recruit was commissioned to sign up new members at one dollar a head among his own friends, neighbors, shop-mates.

*Stage 2—Securing Important Backers.* Beauharnais next big problem was to "sell" his organization to those who could throw in substantial sums of money. He solicited the support of real estate operators, mortgage and investment bankers and business men with a financial stake in Jimcrow. He proved to them that his organization "could do a job" for them and won their backing.

On December 17, he called his first large meeting behind locked doors at the Woodlawn Boys' Club. Some 400 people showed up, including many "men of standing" in the far South Side communities. Present were the heads of a half-dozen neighborhood "improvement" associations—from areas where racist violence had broken out over the past years around public housing projects where Negro families attempted to move in. Beauharnais announced that he had offered to Police Commissioner John C. Prendergast the

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**A White Circle "stalwart" gathers signatures to an anti-Negro petition on Chicago's streets.**

use of a selected corps of "2,000 able-bodied white men" to serve as storm troops in case a "race riot" sweeps Chicago. A reply from Prendergast was read to the meeting, thanking the organization for its offer to help. It was also disclosed that 400 city policemen had joined the organization. In fact, there were uniformed policemen present at this secret meeting.

The representatives of the real estate interests were pleased. They pledged their full support to the organization and urged that it plunge ahead full speed with the following announced program:

- "1. No police protection for Negroes moving into white neighborhoods.
- "2. No Negroes should be employed in any white man's business.
- "3. Negroes should get out of Chicago and build themselves a 'black metropolis'."

### ***Building a Fascist Movement***

Beauharnais now had the backing and the cash he needed. He was ready for

**Stage 3—Establishing Open, Legal Status.** The White Circle League Fuehrer decided on the strategy of bringing his organization openly into the streets of Chicago. On Saturday, January 7, he placed his cohorts on strategic street corners throughout the city, ostensibly to gather

signatures on a petition. They appeared on busy Loop corners, wearing placards emblazoned with the name of the organization and the slogan, "Preserve and Protect White Neighborhoods!"

It was a bold move. But Beauharnais already had many assurances that he would have no trouble with the authorities. The state had given the organization a charter, incorporated it under the laws of Illinois—which, incidentally, forbid hate incitement of this kind. The city authorities—the mayor and the police department—had already given the nod to racist housing restrictions and mob violence by their failure to prosecute a single person in the long series of bombings and arson which had been carried out against Negroes. The police had been obvious accomplices in the Peoria Street outbreaks in the Englewood community just eight weeks before.

And so the White Circle Leaguers appeared on the streets, unmolested by the police. They canvassed for signatures on petitions directed to Mayor Martin H. Kennelly demanding that he "halt the further encroachment, harassment and invasion of white people, their property, neighborhoods and persons, by the Negro!"

Beauharnais quickened the tempo of his activities. More leaflets, more hate incitements, more recruiting activity.

**Stage 4—Mass Organization.** At one dollar each, yearly memberships were solicited on a mass basis. Canvassers went house-to-house in the "tension" areas of the far South Side. They visited merchants in these business sections. And, most sinister of all, they began large-scale organizing activity in industrial plants. Concentrated efforts were made in three steel mills, including the big Carnegie-Illinois mill in South Chicago, where one White Circle Leaguer solicited recruits under the very eyes of management.

### ***Real Estate Racket***

The organization's main appeal was now demagogically beamed at workers, shrewdly disparaging businessmen as "weak, vacillating, white sissies." "They are scared," Beauharnais wrote. "They place selfish considerations to make a dollar above the great principle of white dignity and white self-preservation. We must show them the way! The soul and mind of the White Circle are the every-day Joes and Janes who toil in the shops and offices the hard way and tear a living out of the hide of the world with their bare hands."

But if the appeal was to the "Joes and Janes," it was someone else who stood to cash in on the activities of the White Circle League.

There are few cities in the world where the real estate business is so lucrative as in Chicago. And one of the big reasons is the Negro ghetto—eight square miles of walled-in misery where a quarter of a million Negro people live. This is the billion-dollar gravy bowl for the landlords who draw out the most fantastic rents for the most incredible dwellings. Here the typical family unit is the tiny one-room "kitchenette," subdivided and partitioned from for-



mer apartments to the point where each is a potential death cell, a health-killer and a firetrap. These bring rentals equivalent to that of a six-room apartment in the "white" section of the city.

The main strategy of the real estate interests is to maintain this ghetto and to keep the Negro people locked in it. Until two years ago, the chief means for accomplishing this was the restrictive covenant. Some 80 per cent of Chicago's residential areas were covered by such covenants, which were legal agreements not to rent or sell to Negroes. But the April 1948, decision of the United States Supreme Court held these covenants unenforceable in the courts—and the ghetto walls began to crumble.

It is in the light of these facts that the words of Beauharnais before the Park Manor Improvement Association can be more clearly understood—that "the only weapon left to the white man is violence!"

The purpose of the White Circle League is to replace the restrictive covenants with covenants of violence. For legal barriers, it intends to substitute mob terror! The parallel here can be made with the southern states in which the poll tax was formally erased from the statute books. The bullwhip and the rope were substituted as the method of keeping Negroes from voting.

The White Circle League has fertile soil for its program in Chicago, which has long been a center of fascist activity. And its natural manure is the "hush-hush" policy of the city administration, the newspapers, and such organizations as the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, the Chicago Committee Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. However, the White Circle League has been forced to alter its time-table for racist rioting in Chicago. It has been pushed into a defensive position by the mass pressure which has been organized against it and by the initiative of the Left.

### "The Worker" Exposure

On November 27, the Illinois edition of *The Worker* opened the fight against this organization with a full front page spread. It was the first time any newspaper had even mentioned the White Circle League or its activities. In subsequent weeks, the Illinois *Worker* kept hammering, exposing, organizing opposition, demanding prosecution. The Illinois *Worker* revealed that Beauharnais shared offices with the real estate firm of Hipple & Clarke, that this firm had extensive and profitable real estate holdings in the South Side Negro community. Hipple & Clarke found that this exposure "embarrassed" them with their Negro tenants—and Beauharnais was soon forced to find new quarters. The communist paper also disclosed that the outfit was holding its meetings at a community branch of the Chicago Boys' Club. This was stopped by the Illinois *Worker's* hitting the Boys' Clubs organization at a sensitive spot—the fact that it is Community Fund-subsidized.

The paper carried eye-witness reports of Beauharnais'

secret meetings. It exposed the link with real estate firms, with "improvement" organizations, with outbreaks of racist violence. When it was learned that the White Circle League was concentrating in the steel mills, Illinois Communist Party Executive Secretary Claude Lightfoot demanded of the United Steelworkers Union leadership that steps be taken to halt its activities. Soon many groups and movements picked up the cry, "Outlaw the White Circle League." The broad Committee to End Mob Violence and many similar community organizations came into being and moved against the racist outfit. The Negro press began to publish expose material. The Civil Rights Congress came into the fight. And some of the trade unions joined in the demand for prosecution.

By the end of February, city and state authorities were beginning to take the first reluctant steps toward revoking the organization's state charter. But the White Circle League is far from finished. It remains a potent threat to Chicago even while its legality is being debated in the courts. Beauharnais has become more arrogant than ever, reflecting the attitude of a man who has powerful backers in high places. His defiant reply to the lawsuit filed against him by the State of Illinois was given in a press conference which he called in his own plushy offices.

"We have thousands of members," he told reporters, "and we're going like a house on fire."

After Beauharnais was brought before Municipal Judge Oscar Caplan, the judge commented: "From what I know of this outfit, it sounds as though it is a racket for financial gain." But the judge was putting it mildly. Beauharnais is a man who realizes that he has struck "pay dirt" in the hate racket. In the field of segregated housing, there are big stakes and Beauharnais recognizes that he will be paid off handsomely if he can buttress the color line with organized terrorism.

However, Beauharnais has already explored many other facets of the hate racket. Typical of the fascist breed, Beauharnais is an anti-Semite whose hatred for Jews is second only to his hatred for Negroes. In an interview with the Illinois *Worker*, he expressed his "contempt" for Jews in these words: "Jews don't seem to mind living near Negroes, but white people won't do it." In the Peoria Street violence last November, the White Circle cohorts ran amuck on the streets, beating down anyone they could identify as a Jew.

Some 35 of these hoodlums were arrested on charges of "disorderly conduct." When they and Beauharnais were brought before Judge Caplan for trial in separate cases, a change of venue was asked in each. Beauharnais explained that he refused to be tried by a Jewish judge.

Beauharnais' attorney is Maximilian St. George, who once represented such anti-Semites as Lawrence Dennis, one-time head of the American Fascist Party and Joe McWilliams, former leader of the American Destiny Party.

However, Beauharnais has indicated that he is not yet ready to launch any open anti-Semitic campaigns. In fact, he resists being tagged an anti-Semite and protested to that effect in a letter to the Illinois *Worker* in these words:

"I am happy and proud to relate that we have many fine Jewish men and women in our organization and we firmly believe that the majority of Jewish people are our friends and feel that there is no place for the Negro in the white man's social sphere."

Jews in the White Circle League? Yes, that is very probable. Jewish realtors and Jewish businessmen have in the past been among those who supported restrictive covenants in Chicago. And in at least one case, in 1947, Jewish businessmen gave large sums of money to a movement aimed at the wholesale eviction of all Negro families from the Englewood district.

### **Jewish Resistance**

But the Jewish community of Chicago as a whole has reacted vigorously against the White Circle League. Yet there remains that section of Jewish leadership which feels that it can "hush-hush" such movements out of existence. And there are also those who feel they can do business with fascism and buy their own immunity.

The White Circle League is a symptom and a product of growing American reaction, of the cold war repression of civil rights and encouragement of race hatreds. Mob violence against the Negro and Jewish people masquerades as "an-

ti-communism." And the White Circle Leaguers make shrewd use of this touchstone of "respectability."

The judge who released the Peoria Street terrorists charged that it was the two embattled Jewish families and the friends who came to help them who were the real "instigators" of the violence. Why? Because these victims were charged with being trade unionists and communists.

The Chicago *Daily News*, in an editorial (Nov. 16, 1949), told this story of the Peoria Street mob attacks: "A policeman explained to one of our reporters that one batch were properly beaten because they were communists. 'How do you know they were Communists?' the reporter inquired. 'Because they were Jews,' the policeman explained."

Mayor Kennelly followed a similar line of thinking when he explained: "Wherever there are disturbances of any kind, there will be found the influence of subversive groups and individuals who thrive upon disorder."

Operating under this kind of ideological and practical protection, the White Circle League may yet thrive and flourish as the organized base of fascism in our nation's second largest city. Unless stopped by the united action of anti-fascists, Beauharnais may yet realize the goal which he has set for himself:

"One million white people in Chicago to unite under the banner of the White Circle League!"

## **WHITE CIRCLE TIGHTENS BELT FOR ACTION!**

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### **WHITE CIRCLE VALIANTS -- GET INTO THIS FIGHT and let us show**

all these forces that work for the degradation of the white race, that the heritage entrusted to us by our forefathers, who now sleep eternally under green tents, is safe in our strong hands and will be safeguarded--COME WHAT MAY.

Joseph Beauharnais, Founder

THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.  
82 W. Washington Street, Suite 808  
Chicago 2, Illinois FR-2-8533

Excerpts from a two-page circular urging White Circle League members to gather signatures on the streets of Chicago to drive the Negroes into a ghetto.



## Berlin Interview:

# EISLER ON ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY

Gerhart Eisler, head of the information service of the German Democratic Republic, answered a series of questions about anti-Semitism put to him by the Berlin correspondent of the Parisian anti-racist weekly, *Droit et Liberte*. We publish below a translation from the French of this interview from the November 25-December 1, 1949 issue of that journal.—Eds.

*What is happening to the Jewish problem in Eastern Germany?*

The Jewish problem does not exist in the Democratic German Republic. We do have the task of raising the standard of living, of increasing the output of labor. But how can you have a Jewish problem in a truly democratic state, in which equality is more than just guaranteed on paper? Our constitution provides that all citizens are equal before the law regardless of sex, race, opinion or religion. That's perfectly clear. We don't ask people whether they are Jews or Catholics. But we do ask them if they want to help us rebuild a democratic Germany. Each person works where he is useful, each is treated according to his merit. You see, there's no occasion for a Jewish problem.

*Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that in a country where anti-Semitism took on such monstrous forms, one could abolish the problem by a stroke of the pen, even if this stroke of the pen is an article of the constitution.*

It is highly probable that after two decades of frantic racial propaganda, anti-Semites are still among us. But allow me to tell you a little story that I heard recently. I think it just hits the nail on the head. A Jew from Western Germany met a Jew from Eastern Germany. "Well, do you still have anti-Semites in Western Germany?" asked the latter. "Of course, nothing has changed. And are there anti-Semites in Eastern Germany?" "Yes." "That's what I thought. There, too, nothing has changed." "Ah, but no," replied the other, "something has changed. Before, when I met an anti-Semite, it was I who was afraid. Today, when I meet an anti-Semite, it is he who is afraid!"

The constitution makes anti-Semitism a crime against the state, whereas in other countries anti-Semitism is simply a public insult. This means that, if an individual calls you "Dirty Jew!" the state considers this high treason through your person. This principle has been carried out to the letter and will continue thus until anti-Semitism is completely wiped out in Germany.

The highest officials of our new demo-

cratic state have in their speeches emphasized the importance they attach to the fight against this relic of the past. We are determined to abolish racist ideas. May I recall to you what Otto Grotewohl, president of the Council of the Republic, stated in an official declaration: "The government . . . considers that its duty is to bring to bear the full extent of the law against the recrudescence of both the ideas and the overt activities of fascism, militarism and anti-Semitism. We have no desire to return to barbarism!"

Believe me, anti-Semitism cannot flourish in such an atmosphere. I am firmly convinced that there is actually less anti-Semitism in Eastern Germany than in England or in France, not to mention the United States, where the Ku Klux Klan mentality is making such progress.

*How do you explain the renewed anti-Semitism in Western Germany?*

Anti-Semitism is reviving in Western Germany because it is being encouraged there. It is dying in Eastern Germany because it is being discouraged. The answer is no more complicated than that.

Anti-Semitism is never "spontaneous." It always has a very precise goal. Do you think that the "infamous sheet," the *Stuermar* of Julius Streicher, would be revived "spontaneously"? If it reappears, the reason is not, as Mr. Bevin has declared, that the occupying authorities "can't do anything about it," but because they wish it well. What would happen if the *Stuermar* should dare to appear "spontaneously" among us? The next day its editors would find themselves "spontaneously" in prison, which is the proper place for people of that sort.

*One more question. Do Jews continue to play the brilliant role in public life as they have in the past?*

I'm not accustomed to consider the matter in this way. Now that I think of it, I have found them in the president's office

and in various ministries. I know some Jewish writers, artists and dramatists whose works are actually read and performed or who speak and appear in public in Eastern Germany with success. It doesn't occur to anyone to reproach them for their origin and none of their appearances has been marked by such scandalous incidents as occur daily in Western Germany. The participation of Jews in the public life of our republic has added significance in a case like that of Madame Witkowsky, who played a decisive part in the development of the two-year plan, in which we are all so completely absorbed. For this fact demonstrates quite well — it seems to me — that the provision of the constitution, equality without regard to race or sex, is actually becoming part of our life.

LYDIA LAMBERT.

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# Letters from Abroad

## WHO OWNS THE SALT SEA?

Tel Aviv

The state of Israel is not at all as poor in basic and important minerals as foreign agents have tried to picture it. The Salt Sea alone contains about 30 million tons of magnesium salts, over 10 million tons of nitrochloride and millions of tons of potassium chloride and magnesium bromide. It is estimated that there are some six billion tons of magnesium in the waters of the Salt Sea—one of the highest concentrations in the world. Such a quantity of magnesium is adequate for the needs of all our people for hundreds of years.

How is the Salt Sea being exploited? And for whose profit?

Up to the end of World War II this gigantic treasure was owned by a British firm, Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), one of those giant companies that possess the key to the world treasures of minerals. The assistant director of this company is well known in our country: streets and agricultural units are named after him. He is Lord Melchett, a Jew in origin.

There are those among us who try to cover up the manipulations of this company under the mask of a local company. *Hador* commented on December 18, 1949, that "In any case we must give concessions to foreigners. But can we not choose the owner? We award the concession in line with our judgment and the needs of the market. We could, for instance, hand over the concessions to Jewish firms from abroad." In the above instance, the talk was about oil, but it also applies to potassium. Let us therefore see who are these "Jews from abroad" and particularly what is the nature of their business.

*Mishmar* of January 7, 1944, reported: "The attorney general of the United States, Frances Biddle, announced today that he has filed charges against . . . Lord Melchett, representative of the Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), of the American du Pont Company and of the Remington Arms Company for having set up an international cartel to restrict the production of chemical products, arms and weapons (remember—this refers to the period of war and of the destruction of our people!) in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Reliable sources state that the charges against these companies will be sensational and will include conspiracy to defraud and divide the profits with representatives of Germany in Argentina and other Latin American countries both before and after the outbreak of war." Note: the case was

dismissed before it ever came to trial.

There are also "Jewish" partners in Salt Sea business in the Palestine Electric Corporation, a branch of the British General Electric Company. One of these partners is Lord Reading, also known in our land. An electric station in the port of Haifa bears his name. *Hamashkif* wrote of him on November 19, 1948: "Lord Reading, the good advocate of nazi war criminals, . . . Lord Reading, the 'Jew' who argued in person before the British House of Lords that the trial was not being conducted with due attention to the length of time that has passed since the generals were captured."

Another partner in this business is Sir Herbert Samuel, after whom is named the street on which the parliament building in Tel Aviv stands. He is chairman of the Palestine Electric Corporation. On December 8, 1938, he said in the British Parliament of the infamous Mufti, "When I look back at the past, I do not doubt that the appointment (of the Mufti) was appropriate. He is an active partner in maintaining 'law and order.'" Ten years later we read: "Lord Samuel met with Abdullah today. They will discuss the peace conference between Israel and Transjordan" (*Yedioth Achronoth*, April 19, 1949).

During the war for independence, we were unable to use the treasures of the Salt Sea. But over the streets of Jerusalem shells exploded which bore the inscription, "ICI." Yet the government of Israel did not seize its opportunity during the period of the establishment of the state to confiscate this undertaking in the interests of the people.

With the increase in the penetration of American capital and its influence in the Middle East came also their penetration into the potassium companies. For this the American monopolists used their "Jewish branch," that is, the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York, a very modest title behind which hides a very strong financial power. According to the *Palestine Economist* of June 1949, this company already controls a significant number of key industries in our country. One is the Loan Corporation supervised by the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York, which controls Ata Textile Company, Assis Palestine Fruit Products Company and plastics and optical instrument companies. In addition, the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York holds investments in the Palhouse Construction Company, Palestine Electric Company and the American-Israel Shipping Line. The com-

pany also controls the Sharon Water Company and the Palestine Water Company, which own the water sources strategically located in relation to the settlements in the Eastern Negev and lower Galilee, a construction company in the port of Haifa, the Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions. All these undertakings have key positions in construction, industry, water, electricity.

In the list of directors we find, among others, such world famous personalities as Mr. M. M. Warburg. In *New Times* of May 11, 1949, we read: "The Kalkner group (a nazi trust) is represented in the leadership of the Ruhr industries. This company has direct connections with American financial circles and especially with the gigantic New York bank, Kuhn, Loeb and Company. These connections were established through its intermediary representative in Hamburg, the banker Max M. Warburg. One of the founders of the New York Bank is Paul M. Warburg, a brother of Max Warburg." As if by coincidence, articles praising the Warburgs and their accomplishments have appeared in various Israeli newspapers recently. They are preparing the Israeli people psychologically for the handing over of our resources to "foreign" hands, even though "Jewish."

Another "Jew" who is a director of the above mentioned companies and who also a short time ago met with the head of the government, is the oil king, Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee. Henry Morgenthau, who recently made inciting statements against the communists in Israel, is another leader of the Palestine Economic Corporation.

The democratic world has long known international monopolists as chiefly responsible for the rise of Hitler to power and for the attempt to rebuild nazism in Germany and even to bring fascism to America. Will the people of Israel allow its resources to fall into such hands?

Aba Hushi wrote in the *Histadrut* organ in July 1949, that "there are no minerals in our land. In my opinion, there is only one treasure, that is, the brain and hands of the worker, the engineer and the administrator. That is our main mineral treasure and perhaps the only one."

Of course there are oil, potassium, aluminum and many other important minerals in our land. And the friends of Aba Hushi, who previously denied the existence of such minerals, are now selling these materials secretly behind the back of the people to the enemies of Israel. The concession to the Salt Sea was recently sold by the government for the token sum of \$8,000,000.

Every true patriot of our land should learn the lesson of these facts.

TSIBAR

(Translated from the Hebrew.)



## **Philadelphia Letter:**

### **FIGHT FOR FEPC**

*The following is a letter concerning Jewish participation in Philadelphia in the activities of the recent great Washington crusade for FEPC, sent by Sol Rotenberg, executive director of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order in Philadelphia, to the Jewish Times, local Anglo-Jewish weekly.*  
—Eds.

Philadelphia, Pa.  
January 31, 1950

Editor  
*Jewish Times*  
1928 Spruce St.  
Phila. 3, Pa.  
Gentlemen:

Your coverage of the National Civil Rights mobilization and Philadelphia activities around the mobilization fell far short of a complete picture.

From your issues of December 30th and January 13th, no one would know that the NAACP was the national and local initiator of the Civil Rights Mobilization. In fact, the major activities which took place in Philadelphia under the leadership of the Philadelphia Branch NAACP, whose President, Rev. Lewis, and Good Government Committee Chairman, Mrs. Goldie Watson—sparkplugged the actions as follows:

1. A city-wide conference on December 21st (several hundred delegates were present);

2. An interracial mass meeting at Tindley Temple on January 8th had 3000 people in attendance;

3. Weekly Wednesday night mobilizations — city-wide committee representing churches, trade unions, Negro and Jewish fraternal, civic and social organizations;

4. Thousands of leaflets distributed, thousands of buttons sold, thousands of petitions, with signatures;

5. Sound trucks in many areas of the city, telling the story of the fight for civil rights;

6. About 200 delegates who attended Washington conference for three days;

7. An additional 300 people on a special train which went to Washington for the Monday night mass rally.

All of these activities were of an interracial character, broadly representative of the community—in sharp contrast to the “lily white” train, which you publicized, of the Philadelphia Council on Equal Job Opportunities and the Philadelphia Jewish Community Relations Council which included only 11 Negroes out of 500 people!

The CEJO-JCRC group tried to restrict and control the mobilization by applying the “loyalty” test technique of John Rankin and the Un-American Committee. They refused to cooperate with the NAACP branch and participate in the local conference and other mass activities. They tried to prevent other organizations from participating. They red-baited and smeared the NAACP local leadership and belittled their efforts to mobilize the community. They even organized a special train in competition with the NAACP special. They hoped to break up the NAACP effort and drive away the broad support of the community. In this they failed. The unity of the local delegations and organizations supporting the NAACP

mobilization became stronger, despite the attacks.

This disruptive activity of CEJO and JCRC is not new. It happened before, in the 1947 and 1949 state legislative campaigns for state FEPC. The CEJO-JCRC group even refused to organize a mass delegation to Harrisburg in 1949, placing all their hopes in the “back door maneuvering” of the State Council for FEPC.

We did not get FEPC in 1949 because there was no mass movement organized to press for it, and because the CEJO-JCRC group spent more time “fighting the reds” than in fighting the enemies of FEPC.

The Jewish community cannot be mobilized for joint action and unity of program with the Negro people by red-baiting or any of its insidious variations. This is the Hitler game, now used so cleverly to destroy movements for progressive and liberal causes, trade unions and many organizations themselves.

Victory for civil rights for minority groups will only be achieved when Negro and Jewish organizations, together with the trade unions, churches and synagogues, unite in a common fight for these basic rights, without regard for differences on other questions, political or otherwise.

To this end, the *Jewish Times* can make a signal contribution, by exposing the situation in which the Jewish community finds itself today. Decisions are being made by a handful of self-perpetuated men and women in CEJO and JCRC, which establishes policy for many organizations, whose thousands of members have no democratic voice in determining that policy. The full democratization of the Jewish community is long overdue.

SOL ROTENBERG

## *Book Reviews*

### **MODERN JEWISH MIGRATION**

**By Morris U. Schappes**

*To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration Since 1800*, by Mark Wischnitzer. Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia. 1949. \$4.

Migration having played so important a role in Jewish life in the past century and a half, the first book in English on the subject is decidedly welcome, whatever its limitations and serious shortcomings. From 1800 to 1930, some 4,000,000

Jews left their homes in Europe, 90 per cent of them to go overseas, chiefly to the United States, but also to other parts of the Western Hemisphere, Australia, Africa and Palestine. When it is told adequately and scientifically, this story will be tremendously illuminating; even this first attempt is informative and sometimes instructive.

Dr. Mark Wischnitzer, himself an emigré from post-revolutionary Russia, brings a varied equipment to his task, having been a historian, sociologist, encyclopedia editor and teacher on the one hand, and a practical organizer of aid to emigrants from 1921 to 1937, when he was secretary-general of the *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*. He prepared this work

originally for the use of the American Jewish Committee.

There is a fund of useful information on the trans-oceanic migrations from eastern and central Europe, on attempts at regulation and assistance by private agencies, on settlement schemes and colonization projects in Palestine, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, the United States, Africa and Australia, on the migrant aid programs worked out by numerous European and American organizations, on immigration restrictions imposed in the United States and imitated by other countries, on the Nazi pressure for Jewish emigration, on rescue work during the last war and on post-war struggles for immigration into Palestine and the United States.

Dr. Wischnitzer tells us flatly that “the book is not concerned with the manifold problems of adjustment and resettlement which the immigrants faced in their new homes.” Nor is he seriously concerned

with the causes of migration, although in his Foreword he generalizes that the Jews moved first for reasons of political persecution, then because of "economic want," and finally because of an ideological urge "to return to the soil" which latterly became focused on Palestine. What one sadly misses is an attempt to analyze *who* emigrates and under what conditions, since the overwhelming majority of the Jews of Europe in the past 150 years did not emigrate. Connected with this omission is his failure to seek to compare, except in one brief footnote, the migrations of Jews with the simultaneous migration of about sixty million non-Jews out of Europe and across the oceans.

What Dr. Wischnitzer does concentrate on, then, is the *process* of migration, and especially the functioning of the many organizations (all of them listed in an appendix) that tried variously to control, check, divert, and assist the emigration. Basing himself chiefly on office files and official reports, Dr. Wischnitzer gives us valuable summaries of the programs, methods, expenditures, achievements and failures of innumerable conferences and groups that busied themselves with the migrant Jews.

**Crowded with fact** though it is, and proceeding chronologically, the treatment is unsystematic and random. Curiosities and trivialities worth a footnote (or presented in an unrelated way so that they seem valueless) are given paragraphs and pages, while a chapter entitled "The First Jewish Exodus from Russia: 1881-1890" covers the years 1881 and 1882, and then stops short, while the next chapter leaps the gap to 1890.

The best chapter is the one in which he was directly involved as an organizer of emigrant aid, "Jewish Migration under Nazi Pressure, 1933-1939." We learn how American consuls in Berlin, Hamburg and Stuttgart hampered the emigration of German Jews and prevented tens of thousands from leaving, but why American officials followed such a policy Dr. Wischnitzer does not even attempt to ascertain. Likewise he is sharply critical of "the complacency of the German Jews themselves," but he shies away from an explanation of it on a class basis which would really be instructive to his readers.

We learn with horror that "all through 1934" German Jews who had left the country *returned* to it, not for the justifiable purpose of fighting Hitlerism, but because they, like "wide sections of the German Jews entertained the hope that the Nazi government would permit them to operate within a limited field of economic activity. This belief made headway among the outstanding Jewish social agencies," which looked forward to "the major-

ity of the Jews remaining in Germany and readjusting themselves to the new state of affairs brought about by the Nazi 'revolution'."

With the doors of the United States closed or barely ajar, most of the Jews who left Germany went to Palestine, legally or illegally. Dr. Wischnitzer testifies that "to a great extent" the illegal emigration to Palestine "was organized by Gestapo agents bent on making central Europe *Judenrein* (free of Jews) at the earliest possible moment."

**Dr. Wischnitzer's** central weakness is his utter lack of interest, as a bourgeois sociologist, perhaps of the social-democratic persuasion, in class forces and class relations, both in general life as well as among the Jewish people. Thus his picture lacks depth, continuity, and the illuminating focus.

Another handicap is his unfamiliarity with American Jewish history and the literature about it. As a result there are startling errors in fact (such as his locating a Polish Jewish congregation in Cincinnati "as far back as 1819" when actually the first Cincinnati congregation was established in 1824 and consisted not of Polish but of English-born Jews), omissions and misinterpretations.

His most serious mistake is his gross exaggeration, based on long discredited sources, of the number of Jews that came into the United States from 1881 to 1898. Dr. Wischnitzer gives the figure as about 1,000,000, which is more than double the actual figure of some 488,000. The basis of this error lies in the false figures published many years ago in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and since repeated by many European scholars, although they were proved to be false as far back as 1914 by Samuel Joseph in a book that Dr. Wischnitzer has neglected to use, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910*, pages 91-92. This error, compounded by the inaccurate transcription of most of the other figures in the Table on p. 289, renders the whole Table on immigration from 1881 to 1948 worthless and misleading. As a corrective also to Dr. Wischnitzer's exaggerated implication that most of the European Jews were on the move, it should here be noted that Professor Joseph shows that during such a period of peak emigration from Russia as 1899 to 1910, which included the panic after the Kishinev pogrom, the *rate* of Jewish emigration from Russia was only one out of 79 persons.

**With reference** to the Soviet Union, Dr. Wischnitzer is hostile, and sometimes comic in his shortsightedness. The Russian Revolution was certainly as great a single factor influencing Jewish life as any

since the American and French Revolutions. Certainly Jewish migration was affected by the Russian Revolution. But how does Dr. Wischnitzer introduce the subject? It seems that some Russian Jews were crossing Siberia to get to Japan to get to San Francisco or Seattle. "As this work went forward, word was received of a terrible blow that had befallen emigrants on their passage through Siberia and Japan. The Russian Revolution of 1917 caused, among other things, a drastic depreciation of the Russian ruble," thus stranding some of these migrant Jews without funds. But HIAS and the banker Jacob Schiff "rose to the occasion" and provided the money.

More serious is Dr. Wischnitzer's failure to describe the largest single, rapid migration of Jews in the last five centuries, that by which about 500,000 Polish Jews fled into the Soviet Union on the approach of Hitler's armies. This figure, the estimate of the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress, was published in 1943 in *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews*, p. 300, and widely reprinted in the conservative daily press. These Jews were received as refugees, given the chance to become citizens, and evacuated into the interior, literally "to dwell in safety," during the war. But this contrast to American and British imperialist policy is virtually ignored. Dr. Wischnitzer makes passing mention that "hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews had fled to the Soviet Union" only when he has to inform us that after the war 150,000 were repatriated to Poland.

**One final reflection** on the theme of migration as a "solution" to Jewish problems: many a Jew, or the children of Jews, who fled, let us say, from the Kishinev pogrom to the United States, now live in the land of Peekskill and Chicago anti-Semitic riots, while their relatives who did not migrate live in the security of socialism. Perhaps when the revolutionary Jewish workers of Russia pronounced against emigration as a solution, they realized that the law of the uneven development of capitalism and of social systems would work in such a way that those who stayed to face the class struggle in tsarist Russia would reap the fruits of victory in that struggle.

As Jewish migration nears its end, it becomes clearer that Jews, like other peoples, must depend not on flight but on fight, for equality in the United States, for independence in Israel, for further progress in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The enemy is still capitalism and imperialism, and nazism, "the final crushing" of which Dr. Wischnitzer had already gaily "recorded" in his Foreword dated May 14, 1948, when it was in fact rising.



## WHAT IS A JEWISH ARTIST?

By William Thor Burger

*Jewish Artists of the 19th and 20th Centuries*, by Karl Schwartz. Philosophical Library, New York. 1949. \$4.75.

To a most difficult and controversial field Karl Schwartz has added his bit of confusion. Curator, in other times, of the Jewish Museum in Berlin and later of the museum in Tel Aviv, his difficulty is not lack of knowledge in his chosen field. It is rather his inability to decide what his field is. With disarming innocence, and an intense desire to antagonize no one, he professes the most contradictory opinions side by side. On the one hand, as his title tells us, he has set out to present a certain amount of information about Jewish artists of the 19th and 20th centuries. He is at great pains to tell us that he is doing nothing more than to record the accomplishments of a number of artists who were Jews, and on the side he lists collectors who were Jewish. If his aim is merely to select the names of Jews from some general "Who's Who" of Art, it can only be interpreted as a form of bourgeois nationalism which takes undifferentiated pride in counting the number of Jews who became well-known.

But, on the other hand, Mr. Schwartz writes just as often of some intrinsic Jewish soul, spirit or essence which is revealed through multiform variations of works by individual Jewish artists. This Jewish "inner self," as revealed to the world through art, frequently appears to be the real subject of the book. To prove its existence and demonstrate its nature would be a considerable achievement. At very least it would provide a reasonable excuse for grouping together these artists. But Mr. Schwartz does not attempt to prove or demonstrate; he simply assumes for a fact on some pages what he denies as a mistake on others.

Considered as a biographical collection Mr. Schwartz's book is deficient; considered as an attempt at a theoretical generalization of "Jewish art" it is non-existent. Failure to give dates of birth and death, omission of precise biographical data as to place of birth, schooling, exhibitions and awards, omission of bibliography for further reference take away from the usefulness of many of his biographies. "Eulogy" is perhaps a more accurate word, since the author writes with flushed adoration about most of his subjects. Lightweights like Eugene Zak or Moise Kisling are treated on the same level as a tormented genius like Chaim Soutine, or a serious master like Josef Israels.

The system of inclusion and exclusion often seems whimsical. A. Raymond Katz, decorator of the Loop synagogue in Chicago is given a paragraph, while Jack Levine, Eugene Berman, and Leon Kroll are not mentioned. The part-Jew, Camille Pissarro, receives a chapter as a pillar of Jewish art, despite his profound disinterest in Jewish themes or Jewish culture, but the partly Jewish Pablo Picasso and Diego Rivera are mentioned frequently but never as Jews. If the latter classification is correct, as it would appear, then the former is incorrect. A number of Russian Jews who worked before the Revolution of 1917 or who fled to Western Europe are treated. But there is no mention of any contemporary Jew working in the Soviet Union, even though communists outside the Soviet Union are handsomely treated.

When one surveys the whole scheme of the book, it becomes apparent that Schwartz is a Jewish nationalist with a somewhat limited view of art because he was first a German nationalist with a precise conception of "Kunst." This is revealed in the extended treatment and overestimation given to such German artists as Arnold Zadikow, Hermann Struck or Leser Ury, while Italian, French and American artists of equal stature are ignored.

Schwartz reveals an inconsistent blend of opinions and beliefs on the theoretical side of this work. It is a bitter irony that Mr. Schwartz, whose hatred of the nazis is as deep as human hatred goes, should make use, all unconsciously, of formulations with which he, himself, disagrees. The book often seems to be arguing with itself in a low mumble. It is not only that he speaks of "an influential Jewish capitalism of occasional international importance" or that he is content to quote, as possibly true, a Napoleonic phrase about "the Jewish blood's specific essence." It is when he speaks of art that it is most disturbing. "The Jew lacked the sense of the artistic," he tells us on one page, but a little later he writes of "the fallacy of the frequently heard assertion that the Jew is actually untalented in art." "The Semite never did have a cubic sense nor a feeling for tectonics" he writes about Jewish sculptors; and about architects that it was for this reason that "the Jew is of no significance as an architect until architecture becomes utilitarian construction" or "esthetic engineering." And yet he is capable of writing panegyrics about second rate sculptors of the school of Berlin which would appear somewhat too effusive for Michaelangelo.

Concerning the basic theme of the book the confusion is most apparent. We are told that "It is not, or at least only in a negligible degree, Jewish art but the art

of a Jew." Yet the book abounds in phrases like "his Jewish individuality" or "his Jewish character and talent." For example, in comparing the work of Van Gogh and Soutine he tells us that the violent brushwork in the paintings of the former is merely the result of a mal-adjusted nervous system but that of the latter shows more genius in that it is the outcry of the Jewish soul, martyred, despairing and tortured. The unique quality of the Jewish soul, as analyzed by Mr. Schwartz, is that it has all the qualities that any human soul has, only more so. It is variously agonized and gay, intellectual and emotional, rational and instinctive, sensual and calculating, libertarian and traditional, so that whatever is good about an artist becomes one of the attributes of his alleged Jewish soul. It is an argument calculated to delight rather than to convince.

It would be unfair to end this review without pointing out some specific merits that the book does have for American readers. Accustomed as we are to thinking of art as exclusively French, it may be a healthy jolt to read of such neglected artists as the Russians Mark Antokolsky and Isaac Lewithan, the German Max Liebermann or the Dutch Josef Israels. Perhaps the chief service the book renders is to call attention again to Liebermann and Israels, two socialists of the last century, who exercised a profound influence on the art of Northern Europe in their day. Their paintings of the working class at home, in the factory, shop or field may have been somewhat over sentimental, but theirs was a direction infinitely healthier than the prevailing formalism which has damned their reputations to obscurity. Of these artists, whom the author knew personally, the writing has an authority and genuine warmth of feeling.

With this exception the book does nothing to clarify a field badly in need of serious consideration.

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## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

## ISRAEL

(Continued from page 2)

and New York Universities and Dartmouth College in February. On February 20, delegates from 17 Northeastern colleges met at Cornell University to make plans for the organization of a nation-wide body to promote interfaith and inter-racial activities, especially with regard to group living units. The national organizing convention will be held this spring.

**REMOVAL OF RACIAL** classifications from membership application blanks to the American Bar Association was urged in a resolution unanimously adopted by the New York County Lawyers' Association on February 15.

**MORE THAN** 800 workers at the United Service for New Americans and New York Association for New Americans won a seven-month battle for a new contract, the Social Service Employees Union announced on February 21. The militant union campaign included picket lines, work stoppages and sit-ins. . . . More than 1000 pickets of the SSEU surrounded the Textile Union in New York on March 2 to protest a rump meeting of CIO company union elements.

**ELEVEN RABBIS** joined 42 prominent New Jersey clergymen in February in an appeal to President Truman to "pursue every available means of stopping the maniacal march towards world destruction" by the H-Bomb. They called for top level conferences between the U.S. and USSR.

## EUROPE

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL** in early February banned the showing of *Sword in the Desert*, American-made film of British-Jewish fighting in Palestine a few years ago. The movie will not be shown anywhere in England and Australia has also banned the film. Banning followed threats by Oswald Mosley's Union Movement to picket the film anywhere in England. At the premiere in London a smoke bomb was thrown and live rats were released in the theater. The *London Evening Standard* said that the ban "represents a great victory for the dark and totalitarian forces."

**MOSLEY PUBLICATIONS** announced in February that Oswald Mosley's *The Alternative* (British version of *Mein Kampf*) has become a best-seller in Germany. The book had been banned in Germany in 1948.

**JOSEPH SAMUELS**, a member of the British Board of Jewish Deputies, was hospitalized in February after a beating by four men believed to be anti-Semites.

"**LABOUR ISRAEL**," Mapam organ in Britain, editorialized in its February 10 issue in favor of voting for left-wing Labor and Communist Party candidates. "By giving support to these elements in this most vital election," said the editorial, "the Jewish voter—notwithstanding his differences with certain of these forces on specific Zionist issues—could make an important contribution to secure the healthy advancement of socialism at home and a socialist foreign policy

abroad, which can be an important factor in securing world peace. Without this, there is no hope for a lasting settlement in the Middle East—the pre-condition for the development and progress in Israel."

**LOUIS FERDINAND CELINE**, anti-Semitic French writer, was sentenced in absentia to one year in prison and a 50,000 franc fine and loss of civil rights on charges of having aided the nazis by anti-Semitic propaganda. Celine is now in Denmark.\*

**A RUMANIAN LAW** passed in 1938, which made thousands of Jews stateless, was rescinded in February. The new law requires the issuance of new "certificates of citizenship" to Jews who had been disfranchised under the 1938 law.\*

**THE ISRAEL DELEGATION** in Bucharest is negotiating to increase trade between Rumania and Israel, with good chance of success. Trade relations between the two nations are cordial.\*

**A SALZBURG court** ruled in February that an "Aryan" purchaser of a former Jewish home, whose owner had been sent to concentration camp, had uncontested right to the property. Basis of the ruling was that the purchaser was right in assuming that the Jewish owner would never return alive. The Jewish owner of the Salzburg home was therefore denied return of his property.

**RENZIFICATION NEWS.** . . . Last November, Wolfgang Hedler, West German parliament member, delivered himself of the following: "Everyone makes much ado about Hitler's barbarism against the Jewish people. One may have a different opinion on whether the gas extermination of the Jews was the right way. But certainly there would have been other ways and means to get rid of them." This raised a storm of protest, and in February, Hedler was tried before three judges, two of whom had been nazis, for this statement. Hedler was acquitted. This has aroused severe criticism by Jewish organizations and the press. In Kiel and Neu Muenster, 15,000 workers demonstrated against the court decision. The coalition West German cabinet unanimously decided that the trial was fair and correct. . . . Police in the Bavarian town of Groebenzell in late February seized 50 posters reading, "Too few Jews have been killed." . . . The war crimes sentence of Field Marshal Fritz-Erich von Mannstein has been reduced from 18 to 12 years by the British zone commander. . . . U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy has ordered his staff to refrain from criticism of the West German government without first getting clearance from him. . . . The West German government admitted in March after months of denial that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer had been in contact with General Kurt Von Monteuffel, a leader of the *Bruderschaft* (Brotherhood) organization of German generals, on plans for formation of a new German army. . . . Drew Middleton reported in the *New-York Times* of March 5 that an official United States report on Germany affirmed that basic educational reforms in the American zone "have been only partially put into effect, or remain largely paper."

**A NATIONAL PEACE** conference was scheduled to open in Tel Aviv on March 10. The Israel Peace Committee, which called the conference, declared, "We oppose the joining of Israel to any aggressive bloc, and the use of the country for war bases against the Soviet Union."

**A MAJORITY OF MAPAM'S** political committee oppose joining the Israel government. After months of negotiations it became clear to them that no compromise with Mapai (Labor Party) policy was possible. The left-oriented Mapam could not get Mapai to agree to a boycott of any plans for a Middle Eastern Pact on the lines of the Atlantic Pact, to oppose any treaty recognizing Abdullah's sovereignty in Arab Palestine, and other issues.

**BLACK FALASHA JEWS** from Ethiopia several months ago applied for help in emigrating to Israel. After the Joint Distribution Committee began discussions with the Israel government on the matter, the government sent a medical commission to Ethiopia. The commission reported that the bulk of these Jews were suffering from infectious disease, and on this ground the Israel government refused them admission.

**ISRAEL POLICE** used guns and clubs against several communist-led demonstrations in February. In late February police fired warning shots to disperse an Arab unemployed demonstration in Nazareth. When Tewfiq Tewbi, Arab Communist Knesset member, on February 27 demanded an investigation of police gunfire at the Nazareth demonstration, Pinhas Lubianiker, Mapai leader and secretary general of the Histadrut, had passed in the Knesset by a 55 to 19 vote a resolution to investigate communist activities, which he described as a "systematic plot." Mapam and Communist members, who voted against the resolution, said it was reminiscent of the Washington Un-American Activities Committee.

**PRIME MINISTER David Ben Gurion** opposed adoption of a written constitution for Israel in a speech on February 20. In the course of the speech he particularly criticized the new democracies, whose type of government "we do not want here." Ben Gurion also revealed for the first time during this speech that emergency regulations, including censorship and other restrictions, had been designed to curb communists and sympathizers.

**UNITED STATES** private capital to the amount of \$25,000,000 was invested in Israel in 1949.

**HUNGARY AND ISRAEL** signed a \$4,000,000 commercial agreement in February. Hungary will send Israel raw materials and foodstuffs, while Israel will send citrus products, industrial diamonds, artificial dentures and wood products in return.\*

**COMPARISON OF FIGURES** for strikes and lockouts and workdays lost, respectively, from 1945 to 1949, follow: 1945: 119—106,793; 1946: 109—390,528; 1947: 56—108,022; 1948: 52—9,095; 1949: 54—65,587.

**OF THE 264,372** immigrants absorbed into Israel between May 15, 1948 and January 1, 1950, 165,083 settled in towns; 34,792 in settlements; 11,507 in immigrants' *moshavim* (individual farms); existing *moshavim*, 2,665; *kibbutzim* (communal farms), 13,023; youth aliya settlements, 15,621; army, 16,477; work settlements, 661; immigrant camps converted into work camps, 4,543.

(Items marked with an asterisk (\*) were drawn from Jewish Telegraphic News agency reports.)



