

"THE ANSWER"

100486

*The Answer*

**THE ANSWER MONTHLY MAGAZINE**

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A NON-SECTARIAN APPROACH  
TO THE PROBLEMS OF  
THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN  
EUROPE AND PALESTINE

March 13th,  
1945

Brigadier General William O'Dwyer  
Director, War Refugee Board  
Treasury Building  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We are pleased to send you, with apologies for its belatedness, a copy of The ANSWER in which there appears (page 15) an article on your assumption of the directorship of the War Refugee Board.

Sincerely yours,

*He... [Signature]*  
Assistant to the Editor

hf

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# ANSWER



HERBERT CLAIBORNE PELL

100488

# The "ANSWER" and Its Cause

by THE READERS

## A CURE FOR ANTI-SEMITISM

Dears Sirs:  
Inclosed please find check for \$3.50 for which please send me Hecht's book. I'd like to loan it to a few of my friends, who wouldn't sign the petition I took around. It tells exactly what I think of them—and makes me ashamed to be a member of the human race.

You might send the "ANSWER" to—, (an anti-Semitic relative.) I'd like him to see it every month, as a reminder of what I think of him and his refusal to sign that petition. I'm so mad I can't write.

Vigorously,  
ADELINE W. NELSON  
1610 San Antonio St., Austin 21, Tex.

## MISUNDERSTANDING

Sirs:  
I, a Protestant, am a true friend of the Jews. I will not tolerate even the slightest hint of anti-Semitism in my presence. I believe this country should open wide its doors to all their refugees. I am ashamed that this has not been done. I have donated financially to the Emergency Committee as far as I am able.

I am also a subscriber to *The Protestant* magazine and was shocked to read your unwarranted attack on the magazine in the August 29 edition of *The Answer*.

MRS. VALESKA DAVIS

(If our mild criticism of the Protestant antics proved so disturbing to our correspondent, we wonder how shocked she would be were she to read—as she obviously did not—the virulent attack, in the April, 1914 issue of that journal, on the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe and if she knew, as she freely is informed, that it refused to print a reply by a member of that Committee. . . . Ed.)

## CRITICS—THEN AS NOW

"The revolution had been stirred up by a few crafty men who had played upon the ignorance and passions of the mob, by a handful of conspirators . . . and these conspirators were 'an infernal, dark, designing group of men, obscure, petty-fogging attorneys, bankrupt shopkeepers, outlawed smugglers—wretched banditti—the refuse and dregs of mankind.'"

NEW YORK GAZETTE, May 23, 1778

"Because We Know What Oppression Is . . ."

January 3, 1945

Mrs. John Gunther, Treasurer  
Emergency Committee to Save  
Jewish People of Europe  
Dear Mrs. Gunther:

Enclosed please find a small sum of five (\$5.00) dollars in check. We would like to give much more than this amount but are only a small branch trying to aid our people. We are in sympathy with any oppressed group because we know what oppression and discrimination is.

Wishing you much success in your campaign, we remain

GEORGE W. MARTIN, Pres.  
EDNA CARR, Secy.  
National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People

## A YOUNGSTER WHO COULD SERVE AS A MODEL TO HIS ELDERS

"Please send me one more petition. I will try it again. I would like a membership card for my work, and I promise to do more collecting in the future."

So reads a letter from Harvey Zaid, aged 11, to the American League for a Free Palestine, accompanying a proclamation with seven signatures and contributions amounting to \$46.

" . . . you haven't been there, you haven't sat at the Waters of Babylon, weeping. You read about these things, but that means nothing. One bad tooth in your mouth hurts more than a thousand dead in Zion. . . . Nobody who has not been through it can understand it. Terror, atrocities, oppression—that's all words. Statistics don't bleed. Do you know what counts? The detail. Only the detail counts. . . ."

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE  
By Arthur Koestler

## "OF GREAT INTEREST"

Gentlemen:

I thank you very much for the January copy of your magazine. Your writings are of great interest to me, and I certainly would not deprive myself of being informed about what is done to save the Jewish people of Europe.

I am enclosing a postal note for \$3.50 for 1 year's subscription and a copy of Ben Hecht's "Guide for the Bedevilled."

Very truly yours,  
ELEANOR HERBSTMAN  
17356—10th N.W., Seattle, Washington  
December 9, 1944

## "ENJOYS READING IT"

January 24, 1945

Dear Sirs:

This is to advise you that we have been receiving your magazine "THE ANSWER" and enjoy reading it very much. It is a very fine magazine and up to the minute.

Thanks for soliciting us as a subscriber.

Very truly yours,  
JOSEPH ZEMANSKY

## SEND MR. PELL TO LONDON, SAYS EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER (In His N.Y. Post Column)

"Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew has, at long last, announced that the State Dept. wants to see the Germans punished for all their crimes, within the Reich as well as in the victim countries. If so, the sooner the Department ships Herbert Claiborne Pell, American representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission, back to his job in London, the better for all concerned.

"For in the eyes of the entire Allied world, Mr. Pell represents those Americans who want Allied justice to do a clean job, as against those Americans who want something less.

"Failure of the State Dept. to return Mr. Pell to the position to which the President appointed him and from which nobody but the President has the right to remove him, will convince a lot of people, including this writer, that the State Dept., following an ancient habit, is double-tonguing to the American people."

## A Non-Sectarian Approach to the Problems of the Hebrew People in Europe and Palestine

COVER. Herbert C. Pell, American representative on the War Crimes Commission, who aroused the conscience of the nation by his passionate insistence on full punishment for Nazi war criminals—despite the cynics in Washington and London who tried to silence him. Men of Mr. Pell's calibre deserve our ardent support.

\* \* \*

RARELY HAVE THE HALLS OF CONGRESS reverberated to a more impassioned plea for international morality and fighting democracy than the speech of REPRESENTATIVE LANE on condign punishment for the fiends of Germany and her satellites, for their crimes against Hebrew nationals, their former citizens.

\* \* \*

THEY MUST NOT DIE. An exclusive report on the trial of two Hebrew patriots for the assassination of Lord Moyne, British Resident Minister in the Middle East—and Colonial Secretary at the time of the Struma and the Patria—demonstrating conclusively that their execution would be political murder to assuage the guilt of the Mandatory power, and to divert the attention of the world from her misrule in Palestine. Theirs was an act of despair, but their motives were pure; their death would be a miscarriage of justice.

\* \* \*

THE RIGHT OF HEBREWS to turn to their own country has been affirmed and reaffirmed in official documents, and British refusal to let them in is as illegal as it is indecent. The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation represents the rights and aspirations of the Hebrew Nation, and the sentiments of Jews and non-Jews alike, when it proclaims as its policy the intention to aid every Hebrew to enter his homeland. Enlightened public opinion the world over will not, we hope, permit the British to prevent their entry by force of arms.

\* \* \*

OSTRICH JEWS have added their share to the conspiracy of silence which for so long surrounded the butchery of Hebrews in Nazi Europe. Miss Parker points the finger of scorn at this type of racial coward.

# THE ANSWER

MAGAZINE

Vol. III No. 2



February, 1945

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## EVENTS AND COMMENTS

### Hebrews, Not Axis Nationals

In our times, we have become used to many strange happenings. Yet what occurred recently in the councils of the United Nations War Crimes Commission surpasses the most cynical imagination. The situation may be summarized as follows. Two courageous, farsighted statesmen—Sir Cecil Hurst of Britain, and Herbert C. Pell, an American—were forced to resign from the War Crimes Commission because of opposition to their demand for these three things:

1. That all Axis war criminals, regardless of rank and position, be brought to trial for the unspeakable atrocities committed against human beings;

2. That these war criminals be tried and punished even if their crimes were committed against Jews of their own countries;

3. That in order to translate the Moscow declaration on atrocities into concrete action, an international conference be convened with the purpose of setting up a United Nations War Crimes Court.

For the past year, Sir Cecil and Mr. Pell had been pressing their governments for a solution. The British Foreign Office did not even show Sir Cecil the courtesy of answering his presentations. In disgust and embitterment he resigned, making his protest universally known. Some weeks later, Mr. Herbert C. Pell found himself out as the American representative on the Commission. The official reasons for the "purge" of these two champion statesmen—Sir Cecil for "ill health" and Mr. Pell for the lack of an appropriation of \$30,000 for himself and his staff—as well as the legalistic hair-splitting brought forth against the trying of Axis criminals for having tortured and killed Jews, are senseless and inhuman.

As to the legal aspect, only two things need be said:

By virtue of the Nuremberg laws, the Jews in Axis countries have long ceased to be their nationals. They have been "de-nationalized," and transformed into stateless people—in fact, they form part of the Ethno-Political entity which has been designated by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation as "the renascent Hebrew nation."

Should International Law fail to acknowledge this fact, there is only one conclusion to be drawn: something is wrong with International Law, and it must be changed or abandoned in the interest of historic justice. The world must not permit the establishment of an axiom that Law supersedes Justice.

If legalistic excuses are to remain the basis of the United Nations' attitude towards the worst crimes witnessed in history—there is no hope for the survival of humanity and civilization. To leave crimes of this kind unpunished would mean to allow the continued existence of a lawless zone for crime. Within this zone, the philosophy of barbarism would continue to feed itself upon its own cruelty, it would make

the coming peace less than an armistice—a situation that would lead to another war just as surely as the present war followed the last because of an incomplete peace.

As a matter of fact, the United Nations have already demonstrated their determination to apply to the Axis criminals the procedure used against gangsters and murderers, by demanding of all neutral states that they do not give sanctuary to any of them who might escape from their own or conquered territory. Why, then, treat them as other than criminals for committing atrocities against former citizens within their own lands?

What makes this a very grave and very urgent problem is that most of the estimated million or more Hebrews still alive in German-occupied Europe are former Axis citizens, and now the Germans are being informed that crimes committed against Hebrews are not considered war crimes. In their criminal way of thinking, the present policy of the War Crimes Commission might seem like tacit consent to their mass murder of Hebrew men, women and children.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation has requested that the governments of the United Nations proclaim all crimes committed against Hebrews of Europe, of whatever citizenship or former citizenship, as war crimes, and that the Hebrew people be given representation on the War Crimes Commission through the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, until such time as Hebrew national sovereignty is re-established.

### Splendid

"It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and nazism and to insure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces; break up for all time the German General Staff that has repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism; remove or destroy all German military equipment; eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to just and swift punishment and exact reparation in kind for the destruction wrought by the Germans; wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people; and take in harmony such other measures in Germany as may be necessary to the future peace and safety of the world. It is not our purpose to destroy the people of Germany, but only when nazism and militarism have been extirpated will there be hope for a decent life for Germans, and a place for them in the comity of nations."

... Excerpt from the statement on Germany by the Allied leaders at their Conference at Yalta.

BUT: Who are the criminals, and what are war crimes?—these questions remain to be answered. We cannot be satisfied until the atrocities against the Hebrews in Axis countries are declared war crimes.

## EVENTS AND COMMENTS

### Two Wrongs Will Not Make One Right

A Cairo military court has sentenced to death two young Hebrews of Palestine charged with the assassination of Lord Moyne, British Minister Resident in the Middle East. The act of these youths cannot be condoned. But they must not die.

They are not ordinary criminals. They did not commit murder for any personal reason. They are misguided idealists of the highest and purest mettle, who risked their lives for the cause they serve, in protest against the regime which has had its share, be it indirectly, in the extermination of millions of the Hebrew people in Europe.

They must not die, for they belong to the martyred people who have already sacrificed so many lives, through ruthless extermination in occupied Europe, in the resistance battles of the ghettos, in the underground forces in all the lands of Europe, and on the battlefields of the Middle East and the Mediterranean, participating in saving the life-line of the British Empire, and in the defense of the very country which has now condemned them to death.

They must not die because their death would be political murder. British imperialism is out to clear its record in Palestine by besmirching the character of these two Hebrew patriots, as well as of the people and the cause they hoped to serve in their own misdirected way. The head of the British Government likened them to Nazi gangsters, and warned the whole Hebrew community of Palestine—every man, woman and child—that they will be held responsible for the deeds of any Hebrew whom the cruel policy of the Colonial Office may drive to desperate acts. And Sir Edward Grigg, the successor to Lord Moyne in the Middle East, had the cheek to threaten the entire Hebrew people with the wrath of the Christian world if they do not curb "Jewish Nazism" in their midst.

Such expressions are not used against common murderers. Here is an obvious intention to strike at the Hebrew people and Palestine through the two young men. The act of the assassins was political. British imperialism now wants to commit a political murder for its nefarious ends.

This is also evidenced by the unprecedented censorship of the trial, and the complete blackout of the defendants' statements. No ordinary criminal case is handled this way.

It is not in the interests of justice, decency and freedom to permit cold-blooded murder, even by so-called judicial process. It is not in the interests of Egypt and her own cause of independence to serve, however unwittingly, the political machinations of a colonial power.

Two wrongs can not possibly add up to one right.

### Prisoners of Zion

Within recent years, thousands of Hebrews in Palestine have been arrested, kept in concentration camps, or whisked out of the country to God-forsaken pestholes without any

formal charges, any trials, any process of law. The British Administration defies its obligations to the Hebrew people and to the world whose trustee it is supposed to be, and tramples on the principles of democracy or even decency. In the meantime, the country is robbed of the services of so many capable and energetic men and women, and families are deprived of their providers.

To bring succor to those families and aid in every possible form to the victims themselves of British terror, a committee of prominent Jewish Americans of all parties has been formed, and in a statement in the press has announced its program to be:

- 1) Legal aid and protection for the political prisoners of Palestine;
- 2) Financial assistance to the families of the imprisoned and deported; and
- 3) Return of the deportees to Palestine.

"We Jews," says the statement, "have always aided political prisoners and victims of tyranny, in Czarist Russia or other lands, and we can do no less for our own brothers and sisters who are victims of British terror in their own land, Palestine."

Protests and demonstrations have taken place in Tel Aviv for the release of the 279 whom the British had admitted having deported to Eritrea and later transferred to Anglo-Soudan. The place of their illegal detention is unsanitary, and the food is bad, according to word reaching their relatives.

### Britain's Arab Game Still On

That clever British scheme of an Arab Federation has not yet run its course. The latest, we hear, is the conference of the foreign ministers of six Arab states—the seventh, Zemen, is still reluctant and might yet send an observer—which started at Cairo on the 14th of this month, with the apparent purpose of forcing a union "to protect their interests in the Middle East"—and to fulminate once again against Palestine as a Hebrew state. Those Arab statesmen are Britain's protégés and are doing her bidding, though they may have their own ideas of which England will yet hear in no pleasant fashion. But it is quite clear to the world what British imperialism is up to. It means to control the better the Arab lands through their ruling families, it wants to drive France from the near East, and to capture Italy's colonies in North Africa by handing them over as new states to the Arab Federation which it will guide, and, of course, to retain Palestine for herself by intensifying Arab-Hebrew conflicts.

Here is a case where the old formula of *divide et impero*—divide and rule—could be changed to *vinci et impero*—unite and rule. The plot will sooner or later blow up in England's face.

# Lord Moyne's Racial Theories

by PROFESSOR A. S. YAHUDA

According to dispatches from Cairo about the Moyne trial, the two Jewish youths declared having killed Lord Moyne, not so much to defend Zionism as to fight Hitlerism, implying that Lord Moyne was inspired in his political activities against Palestine by Nazi racial theories. Now the question arises whether such an accusation against Lord Moyne is justified after he has been described by Mr. Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons of November 17 as a friend of the Jews, and presented during the trial as having been a friend of Zionism.

As a matter of fact, this is not the first time that Lord Moyne was blamed for having introduced racial motives in the dispute between Jews and Arabs about Palestine, not only with reference to the Palestine Jews, but to the whole of the Jewish people. Thus, as Colonial Secretary in 1941 and 1942, he went so far in his opposition to Jewish immigration into Palestine as to say in a speech before the House of Lords on June 9, 1942, that: "To the Arabs the Jews are not only alien in culture but also in blood." And added: "It is very often loosely said that Jews are Semites; but anthropologists tell us that, pure as they have kept their culture, the Jewish race has been much mixed with Gentiles since the beginning of the Diaspora.

"During the Babylonian captivity they have acquired a strong Hittite admixture, and it is obvious that the Armenoid features which are still found among Sephardim (Oriental Jews) have been bred out of the Ashkenazim (East European Jews) of Slav blood."

This was one of his main arguments

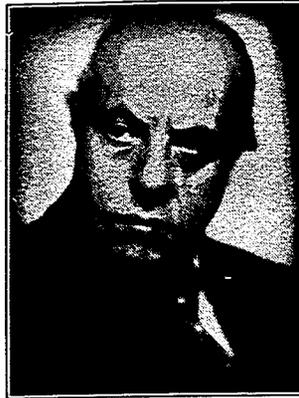
(This statement by the famous Semitic scholar, now professor at the New School for Social Research, first appeared as a letter in the Sunday Herald Tribune of January 28th, 1945.)

against the rights of the Jews on Palestine, implying that it was wrong to believe that the Arabs, who claim descent from Ishmael, considered the Jews as belonging to the same family of nations.

This implication stands, however, in gross contradiction to the views maintained by the Arabs themselves, and which have most prominently been expressed by their highest leaders, precisely in connection with the Balfour Declaration. Thus the Arab newspaper "al-Qibla," in the Holy City of Mecca, the official organ of the late Hussein, King of the Hedjaz, published on March 23, 1918, an article of welcome to the Jews on their expected return to "the sacred and beloved homeland of their ancestors" and spoke of the Arabs as being "brethren of the Jews."

Also his son, Amir Faisal, later King of Iraq, who was recognized by the British Government and the Allies as the official spokesman of all the Arabs at the peace conference, repeatedly expressed himself in similar terms. Thus, for instance, in an interview published in "The London Times" of December 12, 1918, he spoke of the "two main branches of the Semitic family, Arabs and Jews," asserting that they therefore "understood one another." Further, in his memorandum presented to the peace conference at Paris, dated January 1, 1919, he said that the great majority of the inhabitants of Palestine were Arabs but that the Jews and Arabs were racially related to each other, so that there was no contrast in the character of both people.

Also in his letter of March 1, 1919, to Professor Felix Frankfurter, now a member of the United States Supreme Court, King Faisal wrote: "We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, and we Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement . . .



and we will show the Jews a most hearty welcome."

Now considering that the two Arab kings made those utterances with the obvious intention of paving the way for a mutual understanding and co-operation between Jews and Arabs, before Arab minds were poisoned by the British and other "pro-Arabs"—which is only a misnomer for anti-Jewish—one can imagine the effect such a speech coming from the head of the Colonial Office must have on the Arabs, and that it is only bound to add fuel to the incendiary agitation of some Arab firebrands. It is most likely that Lord Moyne's speech was the first official attempt to reveal to the Arabs the views of those anthropological racemongers, whose discovery of an admixture of Armenian and Slav blood in the Jewish race Lord Moyne saw fit to make public as a member of His Majesty's Government, and thus impress upon the Arabs that they were wrong in looking upon "the Jews as 'cousins'"—just as the Nazis were telling them in their broadcasts.

This attitude is typical of the tactics of all anti-Semites who based their anti-Jewish campaigns on the view that Jews were Semites and hence had no claim to equal rights with European people. The Jews were constantly told: "Go to Palestine, whence you came and join the Arabs, to whom you belong as Semites." This the Jews were told so long as Palestine was closed to them; but now that

(Continued on page 21)

# THE CAIRO TRIAL

The most dramatic court case in these years of war undoubtedly has been the Cairo trial of the two young Palestinians who killed Lord Moyne, British Resident Minister in the Middle East. Yet censorship has prevented public opinion from knowing all the facts, and more important, the reasons behind the defendants' act.

We are reprinting an extensive report from THE JEWISH CHRONICLE, of London, the best-known newspaper of its kind in the world. For more than a century THE CHRONICLE has performed an extraordinary educational task as far as the Jewish problem is concerned. In England it is considered the highest authority of Jewish and Palestinian affairs by Jews and Christians alike. Its editor, Ivan Greenberg, is a champion without peer of the rights of the Hebrew people. We take this opportunity to salute Mr. Greenberg for his valiance and foresight.

THE EDITORS

Eliahu Bet-Tsouri and Eliahu Hakim, both members of the Stern group, were sentenced to death on Jan. 18 by the Higher Military Court in Cairo, after a trial lasting several days, for the murder last November of Lord Moyne, British Minister-Resident in the Middle East.

Bet-Tsouri, the elder of the two youths, addressed the court for two-and-a-half hours as calmly and as clearly as though developing a scientific thesis.

His statement was made in two parts. Bet-Tsouri first described the preparations they had made, and the circumstances surrounding the crime.

He then went on, in the second part of his address, to explain the political motives for his action. The President of the Court, however, banned the publication of this part of his statement, declaring that it was not within the competence of the Judges.

"There are two kinds of ideal," Bet-Tsouri said, "one wrong and the other right; if my ideal is the wrong kind, you will pronounce me guilty. But if the ideal on which I have acted is right, you will proclaim me innocent."

He spoke in English because he complained that the interpreters were unable adequately to translate Hebrew.

They had requested that the trial be held before an international court, Bet-Tsouri said, because their case could be pleaded only on grounds of absolute justice which was beyond the laws of any particular State.

The secret organization of which they were members, he went on, had given Hakim and him orders to shoot Lord Moyne, but not to hurt anybody else, and certainly no Egyptian.

"The members of our organization do not kill anybody other than those we are ordered to kill, unless they interfere with the carrying out of our orders. Nobody is more sorry than I at having been forced to kill the chauffeur who was unknown to me.

"When the constable caught up with us, it would have been an easy matter to kill him at six paces. The constable has said that we missed him because of my inability to shoot straight. The only way to test my marksmanship is for the court to allow me to fire at the clock on the wall opposite at a distance of 12 paces.

"I am telling the truth when I say that we had no wish to kill the constable. When he threatened to shoot me, I fired at the tires of his motorcycle, but only to frighten him. One of his bullets struck me after my revolver had been emptied."

After his long speech, the President of the Court entreated Bet-Tsouri to abstain from "ideological considerations which belonged

to a sphere outside the court, possibly in the newspapers or other publications."

Hakim then made a statement in English which lasted 15 minutes. He recalled that they had been educated in the spirit of the Bible which proclaims: "Thou shalt not kill." Hakim then went on to say, "but there is no other way for us to fight. In the name of justice, we ask the court to say that we are innocent."

Asked if he knew whether any other members of the organization were in Egypt, Hakim answered with a broad smile that he could not tell.

Counsel for the defense intervened with a request that three witnesses who could give evidence confirming the statements of the accused regarding the situation in Palestine be called. They were Eliahu Korp, Moshe Svonai, and the latter's wife. All three are at present political prisoners in Palestine.

After some argument, the President announced that the court would do its best to secure the attendance of the required witnesses.

Mohammed Towayar Pasha, counsel for the prosecution, demanded the death penalty for both the accused.

Counsel maintained that the murder was not only premeditated in the case of Lord Moyne, but also in the cases of all who might obstruct the plan. He was unmoved by the accused's statement that he did not wish to kill the constable because he was an Egyptian. The President intervened to recall that the accused had affirmed that they had not intended to kill the constable.

In conclusion, prosecuting counsel demanded the death penalty, mainly to serve as a drastic example.

During one of the interruptions in the proceedings, the accused instructed their lawyers not to plead for mercy. "We do not want mercy," they said, "we want justice."

Abdel Fatah el Sayed, Hakim's counsel, opened his speech for the defense by saying: "I agreed to defend the accused because his action was prompted by moral motives. We all deplore Lord Moyne's death. Accused had nothing against Lord Moyne personally. His action was taken against the Government Lord Moyne represented."

Pointing out that the proof of accused's statement that they did not wish to kill anyone else lay in the fact that they could easily have killed the two other people in the car, counsel asserted that the constable was lying when he said they intended to kill him; he could not even say what distance separated him from the accused.

After appealing to the court fully to accept accused's statements and denials, Hakim's counsel produced documentary evidence to show that Hakim's age was only 18. The court, however, refused to admit the authenticity of the certificate as the name of the father was incorrectly given.

From the penal point of view, counsel continued, there was no difference between ordinary and political murders, but international law did recognize a difference, since it permitted the extradition of ordinary murderers, but not of those committing political murder.

Crime Prompted by Passion

"Why?" he asked. "Does international law encourage political crimes? Not! But it does recognize that they are very often prompted by passion, the criminal being influenced by sentiments which cause him to behave as if he were insane. That is the difference between a man who murders for self-interest and one who murders because of conviction.

"The accused have stated that they were instructed by a secret organization; that eliminates the hypothesis of the willful murder of the chauffeur, and of any intent to murder the constable. Their organization and the accused aimed only at killing Lord Moyne, because he was the representative of the British Government. They wanted some sensational deed to attract world-wide attention.

"On the other hand, as the accused have already admitted that

Lord Moyne's murder was premeditated, it would be a matter of no difficulty for them to admit to a similar intention against other people also.

"But they deny this because the murder of the chauffeur and the constable would have been devoid of any political significance."

The defense, counsel said, was resolved not to drag in politics, but he deemed it necessary to recall the conflicting British commitments to Jews and Arabs during the last war. This problem had remained unsolved. The White Paper had been accepted by the Arabs but rejected by the Jews, who regarded it as a breach of promise made to them. These circumstances, he continued, had given terrorists an opportunity to recruit members, and the accused had succumbed to their propaganda.

"As a politician and an Arab," Doss Pasha declared, "I reject the Zionist claims. But in this court we are judges and advocates before we are Arabs."

"Perhaps the British were right in driving back the refugees for fear of spies, but it is possible that the accused think differently. I am not trying to justify the crime, but I want it to be realized to what extent the accused have been dominated by folly."

The law, Doss Pasha went on, condemned all forms of murder, but he stressed that the law provided for minimum and maximum sentences. He did not ask for an acquittal, but pleaded extenuating circumstances. The accused were the instruments of the "fighters for Israel's liberation," and were therefore victims and not culprits.

Their statement asserting that they were doing right and refusing to ask for pity was proof that even at the present stage they were inflamed by passion.

Doss Pasha concluded: "I ask you for mercy, and beg you to consider only the question of the accused's responsibility and not Lord Moyne's personality."

#### Hakim Only 18

Abdel Fattah el Sayed produced fresh documents purporting to prove that Hakim was only 18. These new documents were handed to the prosecution for examination.

Telegrams from Egypt protesting that the defense of the two Jews amounted to a sponsorship of the Zionist cause have been received by the court, the president of the court announced at the opening of Monday's sitting. Among them was one from Fuad Abaza Pasha, President of the Arab Union Association.

After referring to the tragic Jewish plight in every country, and throughout the centuries, Djeddouai, Bet-Tsouiri's counsel, turned to the present situation in Palestine and read extracts from the books, "Hell in the Sunshine," by Cedric Dover, and "Let My People Go," by Victor Gollancz.

The President asked counsel not to quote writers' personal opinions, but Djeddouai insisted that these published testimonies confirmed Bet-Tsouiri's thesis.

Djeddouai concluded his speech with this powerful emotional plea: "The accused's action was inspired by ardent patriotism. They love their country. Perhaps they were wrong to use unjustifiable means, but they were genuinely actuated by sentiments that are always noble. Patriotism is their defense against the severity of the law."

Bet-Tsouiri's counsel, Hassan Hosni, after a brief recess, delivered a two-hour speech, in the course of which he dealt most impressively with the legalistic viewpoint.

He contended that not only the spirit but the letter of the law demanded that the court pay due regard to extenuating circumstances, and cited Article 234 of the Egyptian penal code which laid it down that the penalty for premeditated murder could be either death or a sentence of hard labor for life. In Bet-Tsouiri's case, the chauffeur's murder was not premeditated, so the judges could adopt the second alternative.

The President interrupted counsel at this point to stress that Article 234 did not compel the court to impose a life sentence; what it did was to give the court latitude to choose. They must not give

the impression that the judges can overlook the material facts and pronounce for an acquittal.

Hosni resumed his argument and pointed out that there was a distinction between the type of crime which took place from motives of self-interest and the type which might lead to the choice of such a victim as Lord Moyne. The causes which prompted the accused to single out Lord Moyne were such as to place the crime in the latter category, because it was evident that the accused had nothing against him personally.

#### Not Ordinary Criminal

"My client," said Hosni, "declares, 'I am not an ordinary criminal acting against society. My aim is to destroy a political regime, after which society will be able to exist under a better regime. How, then, can I be compared with an ordinary criminal acting in his personal interests?'"

"International law and also the Egyptian Constitution admit that there is a difference. That is why the Egyptian Constitution provides for the extradition of criminal political refugees unless there are treaties to the contrary with the countries in which the crime was committed."

"Egypt signed an agreement in 1922 with Palestine by which extradition was mutually excluded, except, in the case of the murder of the head of a State or Government. If, therefore, Lord Moyne had been murdered in Palestine, and the accused had later taken refuge in this country, Egypt would not have delivered them over to justice in Palestine."

"Therein appears the distinction in favor of political criminals for whom there are extenuating circumstances."

"My colleagues and I do not appeal for mercy but for the strict application of the law."

Counsel for the prosecution rose to refute that point of view. He emphasized that Article 234 included a second paragraph which provided that in all cases where murder is preceded, accompanied or followed by another murder, the death sentence is obligatory.

"Has Hosni forgotten, or has he skillfully omitted to mention the second paragraph?" he asked.

Hosni replied: "Yes, but Article 234 speaks of 'the author of the crime,' and you are only accusing Bet-Tsouiri of one murder, that of the chauffeur, and merely as an accomplice in the murder of Lord Moyne."

Abdel Fattah el Sayed then rose to say: "The second paragraph of Article 234 is equally inapplicable to Hakim, because the prosecution only charges him as an accomplice in the murder of the chauffeur. So each of the two accused is charged with being the author of only one murder."

Hakim's counsel, Abdel Fattah el Sayed, caused a sensation at the close of the sitting by announcing that he was prepared to drop his request for five witnesses from Palestine to be brought to court to testify on behalf of the prisoners.

A most important modification of the original charges was announced by the prosecution when the Court opened on Tuesday. Hakim, the announcement said, was no longer to be dealt with as the murderer of Lord Moyne, and Bet-Tsouiri as the murderer of the chauffeur, but both were to be charged as the joint perpetrators of each murder.

The prosecution stated that since the accused had made a pact to commit a premeditated murder, that was enough to secure a conviction on the ground of joint culpability.

Egyptian law, the announcement added, does not take into consideration either political murders or extenuating circumstances, therefore there was no possibility of securing a verdict of acquittal on legalistic grounds.

The trials of the murderers of Boutros Ghali Pasha, former Prime Minister of Egypt, and Stack Pasha, British Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, were cited by the prosecution. In both these cases, it was recalled, the Egyptian culprits were hanged.

#### Prosecution Alter Pleadings

Hassan Hosni retorted that after he himself had pointed out that Article 234 was inapplicable, the President had asked, the previous day, if the prosecution wished to amend the pleadings in the trial, and the prosecution had said that they did not.

The President interrupted at this point to say: "But the prosecution has the right, at any moment, to amend the pleadings."

This point was not contested by Hosni, who, however, demanded the right to be allowed to make the necessary preparations to deal with this new charge. He had, he said, developed his case for the defense on the basis of the act of indictment. But now, he went on, the prosecution had altered the charge against his client Bet-Tsouiri from that of being an accomplice in the murder of Lord Moyne to being an actual murderer.

He therefore craved the Court to agree to an adjournment so as to give him time to deal with the fresh legal position that had arisen.

Abdel Fattah el Sayed and Doss Pasha declared that this new situation would also affect Hakim's position, and reserved their right to bring fresh arguments.

The Court then agreed to adjourn until Wednesday after having authorized a medico-legal expert to examine Hakim with a view to discovering his real age, since the prosecution had refused to accept his birth certificates as authentic.

Wednesday's hearing was devoted to the final pleas of counsel for the defense (in face of the prosecution's altered pleadings), and also of the accused.

Bet-Tsouiri's counsel, Hassan Hosni, contended that to be considered as the actual perpetrator of a crime accused must have materially taken part in the performance of the criminal act, and not merely in the preparatory measures. No crime could be committed unless such a material part had been taken. The question that arose was whether Bet-Tsouiri's part in regard to the killing of Lord Moyne was actually material to the performance of the act of murder. Hosni submitted that the material part was played by the bullets which had been fired by Hakim.

Counsel then cited eight decisions of the Court of Cassation (Appeal Court) which laid it down that whoever helped or facilitated a crime was merely an accomplice. He insisted that Bet-Tsouiri had only helped Hakim.

#### Amnesty for Political Crimes

He also reminded the Court that an Egyptian Government had twice amnesty people who had committed political crimes between 1930 and 1940. In reply to the prosecution's contention that they were special cases, he agreed, but insisted that in principle the difference between political and ordinary crimes remained.

The President then reported that the medical experts who had conducted an X-ray examination had estimated the ages of Hakim and Bet-Tsouiri to be 20 and 22 respectively.

It was not the actual age that was important said Hosni, but the person's mentality. Bet-Tsouiri had grown up in an organization which incited its members to kill. When he (counsel) had asked Bet-Tsouiri to say on whose orders Lord Moyne had been murdered, he answered: "I love life, and I love it well, but first of all, honor must be saved."

That reply, said Hosni, was given while the danger of the death-sentence was hanging over him.

Abdel Fattah el Sayed complained that the prosecution had tried to retreat from the embarrassing situation caused by Hosni's submission by altering the pleadings. They had thus frustrated counsel's legitimate efforts on behalf of the accused.

Counsel then read a brief statement by Mr. Golding, who declared that as a Briton he could assure the Court that Lord Moyne's family were not indifferent to feelings of Christian charity. British justice, the statement added, would not have condemned the accused youth by death.

After a further appeal for mercy by Hassan Djeddouai, the President asked Hakim if he had anything to say. Hakim tried to explain

why he had enlisted in and then deserted from the British Army, but the President ruled that the point was irrelevant.

Hakim insisted that the reason for his quitting the army was the same as that which prompted the murder, but the President refused to allow the introduction of "new elements." In the face of this, Hakim declined to make any further statement.

Bet-Tsouiri dealt with the prosecution's assertion that Lord Moyne's murder might have endangered Egyptian interests.

Their organization, he declared, always publicly admitted responsibility for their actions. They also stated their motives. If they had not been arrested, he went on, a proclamation giving the full facts of the murder would have been published.

In conclusion, accused emphasized that he did not approve of some of the political considerations put forward by the defense. Nevertheless, he expressed their grateful thanks to the four famous Egyptian lawyers, and also to Mr. Golding, for their magnificent efforts.

Stating that he was foreign to all politics, Abdel Fattah el Sayed described the plight of European Jewry and the culminating tragedy of last year's wholesale extermination of Jews in Germany, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and other countries.

He stressed that the Great Powers were doing nothing to rescue the victims, although their immense territories gave every opportunity for asylum. He also recalled the tragic instances of the steamships Patria and Struma loaded with refugees who were "helpless between sea and heaven. Had they been Germans or Japanese," he said, "they would have been put ashore and interned. It was easy for Jews to believe that England was responsible."

He then referred to many energetic protests that had been made on behalf of the Jews in the British Houses of Parliament. "If British people themselves rebelled," he said, "how could the Jews not do so? Even we Egyptians query whether this is not a blind policy, to drive back refugees when the most elementary feelings of humanity dictate that they should be welcomed."

Counsel expressed great admiration for the British character, and that encouraged him to say that the measures they adopted were often disastrous. Many European Jews had committed suicide because of the hopelessness of their lot. They had asked leave to call witnesses who would corroborate the facts which had driven the accused to do what they had done.

The similar cases of Schwarzbard, Frankfurter, and the Armenian patriot who had shot Talaat Pasha in Berlin were recalled.

Asked by the President if there were any examples of anti-Jewish action in England, Abdel Fattah el Sayed replied that Palestine was under British administration. The President asked if there were no means of protesting other than by murder, to which counsel said, "The Jews have tried everything; nobody has heard them. Some of them came to the conclusion that it was necessary to sacrifice themselves so as to appeal to the world to save their people."

When the court session opened on Sunday, prosecuting counsel stated that they had asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the previous day to request the Government Administration in Jerusalem to give permission to Korp and Svonat and also the latter's wife, together with Captain Rymer Jones, Inspector-General of the Palestine Police Force, and the Mayor of Ramat Hakovesh to appear before the court, as had been urged by the accused.

Tewfik Doss Pasha, one of Egypt's foremost lawyers and politicians, who has several times held Cabinet office and who is known to be pro-British, made a three-hour speech on behalf of Hakim. He begged the judges' clemency for the crime which, he said, had been brought about by a frenzy of passion which had driven the accused to the borders of insanity.

The accused, he declared, had told him that they refused to ask for mercy, but he had replied that they were the patients, and that he was their doctor who knew which was the better medicine for them.

After paying homage to the late Lord Moyne, Doss Pasha contended that the crime could not have damaged Egyptian interests, as the murderers were not Egyptians.

## THE APPEAL FOR CLEMENCY

An appeal to the King and Government of Egypt and to Prime Minister Churchill, for commutation of the death sentence of Eliahu Hakim and Eliahu Bet-Tsouri has been made by a group of outstanding public figures and organizations in the United States. The appeal to the King of Egypt, sent through his Grand Chamberlain, Ahmad Hassanein Pasha, reads:

"Two sons of Israel in desperation over unconsolable plight of their brethren in Europe committed on Egyptian soil deplorable act of assassination. Regardless our unequivocal disapproval of this act we believe that background of full gamut of agony, despair and death of millions of Hebrews in Europe and continuing suffering of survivors in that inferno constitute sufficient reason for leniency. We therefore respectfully request Your Excellency to plead with His Majesty the King to commute death sentence to imprisonment taking into consideration sufferings and youth of condemned. We believe such an act of mercy will be in tradition of great Egyptian civilization and will further goodwill and friendship of peoples of earth. Eyes compassionate people everywhere are looking for His Majesty's gesture of justice and mercy."

RABBI ELIEZER SILVER, Co-Pres. Union of Orthodox Rabbis and Pres., Agudath Israel  
 ARTURO TOSCANINI  
 JOHN W. MACCORMACK, House Majority Leader  
 SENATOR WILLIAM S. LANCER  
 ANDREW L. SOMERS, M. C.  
 SIGRED UNSET  
 LOUIS BROMFIELD  
 JUDGE WILLIAM S. BENNET, Co-Chairman, Emergency Committee to Save Jewish People of Europe  
 JUDGE OSCAR W. EHRHORN, Past President National Federation of Church Clubs  
 ARTHUR SZYK  
 KONRAD BERCOVICI  
 DEAN ALFANGE, Vice Chairman, Liberal Party  
 ALEX WILF, Executive Director, American League for a Free Palestine  
 HARRY LOUIS SELDEN, Co-Chairman, American League for a Free Palestine  
 RABBI BENJAMIN HENDLES, Co-Chairman National Council Emergency Committee  
 RABBI MORRIS M. ROSE, Co-President Union Zionist Revisionists USA  
 ISAAC ZAAR, Member Editorial Board Jewish Morning Journal  
 MORDECAI DANZIS, Chairman, Editorial Staff Jewish Day  
 M. J. NURENBERGER, Member Editorial Board Jewish Morning Journal  
 MAY LEWIS  
 KARIN MICHAELIS  
 PROFESSOR JOHAN J. SMERTENKO  
 RABBI BARUCH KORFF  
 MRS. JOHN GUNTHER  
 MRS. LOUIS UNTERMEYER  
 STELLA ADLER



ARTURO TOSCANINI



A DELEGATION OF RABBIS

representing all shades of Jewish religious belief in America called upon Egyptian Minister Mahmoud Hassan, to present him with a plea for the commutation of the death sentence passed on the two Palestinian youths for their assassination of Lord Moyne. The Minister received the delegates at the Egyptian Legation, Massachusetts Ave., in Washington, D.C. Photo shows, right to left: Egyptian Minister, Mahmoud Hassan, Mr. Samuel Rosen, Exec. Vice-Pres. Zionist-Revisionist Org. of Amer.; Rabbi J. M. Charlop, leader of Orthodox rabbinate, reading the petition asking for clemency; Rabbi Abraham Scheinberg, Rabbi Lazare Shoefeld, Rabbi Mendel Shuck, all members of Exec. Board of Union of Orthodox Rabbis, and Rabbi J. H. Rablag, Rabbinical Council of America. The delegation went on behalf of the Committee for the Asiri-Zion, 140 W. 42nd St.

## Comments on the Moyne Case

(The Jewish Daily Forward, editorial, Jan. 19)

The court at Cairo has sentenced to death Eliahu Hakim and Eliahu Bet-Tsouri, the two Hebrews who have assassinated the British diplomat, Lord Moyne, and his chauffeur.

One may be the sharpest opponent of the ideas of the two terrorists; one may be utterly against political terror, and yet consider the decision of the Cairo tribunal as downright criminal. Progressive people have always condemned capital punishment. There might be extenuating circumstances in the case of the culprit, acting under impulse or bad influence—but when a court sends someone to death, it is done in collected and cold-blooded fashion.

Similarly, progressive people have always drawn the line between criminal and political felonies.

In this case, there can be no division of opinion that the act was political. Account must also be taken of the circumstances. The Hebrew people are going through one of the most critical periods in their history of martyrdom. The wonder is that at such a time there are so few fanatics among them. . . . The vast majority in Palestine and elsewhere condemn political terror. . . .

One must be blind not to see that here is not a case of an ordinary crime, but that we are dealing with idealists ready to sacrifice their lives for the ideals they believe in. If it is criminal to punish by death common malefactors, it is a thousand times worse to use capital punishment in the case of political offenders.

by LEON KUSSMAN

(Jewish Morning Journal, January 18th)

At a time when the British Premier and Lord Moyne's successor hurled the charge that "Jewish-Nazi gangsters" are abroad in Palestine, and placed the responsibility for their deeds upon the whole Hebrew community, neutral American correspondents, who during the trial or before had familiarized themselves with the true facts, deny

the accusation. No, the defendants are not gangsters but idealists and patriots. And the community bears no responsibility because it is against terror under whatever form.

Bet-Tsouri, one of the two who committed the act, in a two-hour statement turned the accusation against himself into an indictment of a Government which has remained steadfast in its "White Paper" policy when Maidanek was smoking with the charred bodies of Hebrews.

The late Lord Wedgwood, an ardent friend of Zion, once said, in his speech of June 9, 1942, in the House of Lords: "I hope to see the day when those who sent the Struma back to the Nazis will hang as Haman did, side by side with their prototype and leader, Adolph Hitler." If I am not mistaken, Lord Moyne was Colonial Secretary in the days of the Struma.

Another positive aspect revealed by the trial was the defense of the Arab lawyers. They spoke as strong Zionists, though they are not adherents of the cause. One of them drew attention to the fact that one of the defendants was born soon after the Balfour Declaration, was brought up in an environment of hope that the 2000-year-old dream of the return to Zion was coming true—and he was so cruelly disappointed.

I recall the answer of the Russian student Bogrov, who had shot to death the Czar's Premier, Stolypin, to the query of the Court why he of such brilliant abilities threw away his life: "What is life in Russia? Just another pound of bread."

The two defendants in the Moyne case, Bet-Tsouri and Hakim, must be thinking the same way: What is life now in Palestine? With its doors closed, with the Struma and Patria before the eyes, with tens of thousands of Jews between Hitler's hell and the White Paper? What if not another pound of bread?

Yes, indeed, it becomes quite clear why an idealist may throw his life away.

by Dr. S. MARGOSHES

(Jewish Day, Jan. 22)

No one has any illusions at all as to the verdict in Cairo being the end of the whole sorry affair of which the assassination of Lord Moyne was one of the incidents. It had its origin in the British policy in Palestine and more specifically in the White Paper, and it will not find its end until the British policy in Palestine is completely changed and the White Paper is wiped out altogether. Much as the overwhelming majority of Jews in Palestine and throughout the world abhor acts of terrorism, the fight against the British colonial policy in Palestine, that would reduce the Yishuv to the level of helots in the Jewish homeland, will go on unceasingly and with weapons that neither Britons nor Jews like to use. Englishmen who know how to fight for their own country will understand this very well. Lord Wedgwood understood it when he praised Jewish resistance in Palestine and called for more. A hangman's rope in Cairo will not stop the Jewish fight for freedom anywhere, and least of all in Palestine.

The British satraps in the Middle East thought that they could silence the Jewish voice of protest by clapping down a censorship on the speeches delivered by the two Jewish defendants at the trial in Cairo . . .

### NO INNOCENTS IN GERMANY

"There are no 'innocents' in Germany," says the current issue of Das Schwarze Korps, official organ of Himmler's SS. And it explains:

"We haven't met any Germans who, for political considerations, refused marriage, children, family subsidies, preferential taxation or paid holidays because these things originated with National Socialism. They throw on the economic upsurge under National Socialism. They had no scruples against the Aryanization of Jewish enterprises and they shared in the general economic boom."

# This Is the Season — This Is the Time

by PAUL ELDRIDGE

What we hate, and how intensely, is the touchstone of our mettle. This is even more acutely true with masses of men. A movement—political, religious, artistic—cannot prosper unless it has—or it is able to conjure—an appropriate object of hate. Even if the movement proclaims universal love as its aim, it blossoms only as long as its roots are deeply planted in the rich soil of hate. Indeed the nobler the ideal, the fiercer must be the hatred, or it will wither and perish.

How profoundly the Christian world has understood this phenomenon of human psychology! How consistently it has implemented it! What good reasons the Jew has had throughout the long centuries to observe its workings!

And yet—the Jew has never learned to resort to it for his own salvation. Congenitally, he is incapable of hate. The ease with which he forgives his perennial enemies, nay the anxiety to do so, evokes only their contempt and suspicion. His generosity is interpreted as cowardice or diabolic plotting. Absolved, they transfer their guilt to him, and again malign him and rob him and torture him—as his due and deserved punishment.

Unconsciously, to compensate for this unique weakness (tantamount to being toothless in a fanged world), the Jew wages relentless war against his fellow Jew. It is not hate, for the ancient wounds in one Jew's heart throb in the hearts of all the Jews. Still, the bitterness of words, the menace of gesture, the uncompromising obduracy—all the simulacra of hate—alienate his Gentile friends and provide ever fresh ammunition to his enemies.

Fragmented thus into factions, groups, cliques, cabals, with multitudinous subdivisions, the Jew is paralyzed for any positive action to free himself from his interminable exile. Many are the ostensible causes—the all-too-human causes—vanity, ambition, greed, visionariness, fear inertia, compromise—but the core of this tempestuous and futile duelling is the maniacally recurring question—"What is a Jew? Who is he? Why is he?"

All other peoples are permitted to be many things and yet one. All are permitted to have dimensions, backgrounds, perspectives. A non-Jew may be a descendant of the Puritans or he may have a motley ancestry. He may be a Protestant, a Catholic, a Mohammedan, an agnostic. He may be a democrat, a republican, a prohibitionist. He may even be born outside the confines of the States and speak another tongue. The Jew must be unilinear, straight, eternally undeviating. One thing only. A race or a religion or a people or a nation. He must have one tradition, one ethics, one mission. Be *this*—or you do not belong!

Why can't he, too, be many things, and still one? Why can't he be mixed of race, frequenter of the synagogue or skeptic, citizen of any country, steeped in any culture—and still be a Jew?

He can be all these, because indeed he is. He is, because a two-thousand-year diaspora made it a question of life and death to acquire many colorations with many nuances. The miracle—the most astonishing in human history—is that despite all these mutations, he survived—the most remarkable chameleon in all the universe!

Why was he capable of survival? Was it his race consciousness? Was it his religion? Was it his traditions? Was it the endless persecutions? Was

it the ghetto? It was, doubtlessly, something of each, the emphasis shifting in different periods and in different places.

But does it matter? Does it matter at this particular juncture—when five million Jews have been butchered and two more million are either in imminent danger of a similar fate or are driven from pillar to post, gypsies of grief and hopelessness? Does it matter *now* when a great nation is rocked to its very foundation because its troops were ordered to kill some rebels in one country but is totally unconcerned that hundreds of thousands have perished because its troops were ordered to keep the gates of their home locked? Does it matter now when another great nation considers itself magnanimous for allowing 900 persons to take refuge as *lifeless* goods to be instantly shipped back to their unwilling owners as soon as convenient? *Now* when this same great nation regards this an inappropriate moment to propose to her ally and fellow signatory to lift the ban and let the tragic caravan enter?

Can the Jew indulge in academic subtleties *now*? Has he the *right* to magnify differences, to stress distinctions? Has he the *right* to allow opinions or interests or bias or technicalities to cause schisms, to divert the attention from the one urgent, clamorous purpose—the establishment of a permanent home in Palestine for those who are still stateless or who will find it impossible to return or to remain in their native countries for very obvious reasons?

"To every thing there is a season and a time for every purpose under the heaven," says the Bible. Is this the season, is this the time for the religious Jew to say—Palestine a theocracy or not at all; for the skeptic to say—Palestine free from religion or not at all; for the capitalist to say—Palestine a country of private

enterprise or not at all; for the communist to say—Palestine a proletarian nation or not at all? Is this the season, this the time for the legalist to say—let us not forget the Arab and his rights; for the assimilationist to say—let us give up Judaism and be done with it; for the "psychologist" to say—persecution is good for us—the inferiority complex creates genius? Is this the season, is this the time for the internationalist to say—enough of small nations—destroy the barriers between country and country and all our problems are solved! Strange and futile flagellation for an ideal whose seed was planted in Babel and whose flower will bloom with the advent of Messiah or thereabouts! Has any one ever heard a Greek, or a Swiss, or a Montenegrin, or a Luxembourgian, say—enough of small nations! Let us destroy our frontiers! Let us merge our land with other lands! Let us be no more—and thus solve the problems of the Earth!

Is this the season, this the time, to insult, to defame, to harass a group of men who having seen the misery of their brethren with their own eyes, came to stir us, to warn us of the terrible urgency, to whip us into tireless action? Are they to be ridiculed and despised because they speak with pride of the Land of the Hebrews, because their blood pulses with the battle rhythm of an unquenchable patriotism? Are they to be ostracized because they make a distinction between the Jew born in Palestine or homeless who will eventually become a citizen of that country and the American Jew, whose allegiance is to the American flag, whose first duty is to the American Republic? What nonsense, what calumny to consider them destroyers of the Jewish people! Is it not self-evident that making this distinction between Jew and Hebrew (whether absolutely correct or not), they are bringing all the disparate elements together again, they are making it possible for all the Jews to accept their heritage with new pride and

fresh courage? They have unraveled the thread that binds us all! And if, some day, the tragedy that has befallen other nations befalls America, and the American Jew becomes a refugee in his turn, does any one in his senses believe that these people do not belong with us—you may not enter our land—you are Jews—we are Hebrews! Is this the season, this the time to disown these faithful soldiers, these valiant fighters of the Sacred Cause?

"There is a time to love and a time to hate: a time of war and a time of peace." Ours is a time to hate and a time of war. We *must* hate and we *must* draw the sword! Nations perish by not unsheathing the sword at the right moment and they perish by willful ignorance and inertia.

Whom ought we to hate? The list, alas, is very long. We might almost say—whom ought we *not* to hate? However, remembering our inability to hate living beings, we must personify an idea—we must conjure a vision from the depths of our hearts—we must invest it with all the torments and the degradations we have suffered for century after century—and vent our hatred upon it!

We must hate "The Wandering Jew!" We must hate that conception of ourselves—that miserable, ragged, famished and forever burdened creature—that fawning being imploring admittance at every port and at every gate—mocked and beaten and hounded—that guilty tragic-comic figure expiating for some fabulous crime into all eternity. We must eliminate "The Wandering Jew"—we must destroy him once and for all!

And that profound hate for him shall unite us: all—all. We shall declare war on every stumbling block. We shall never relax. Never surrender. Never accept a pitiful compromise. We shall create together the New Jew—proud, strong, yes-sayer to life, to joy! We shall create the Young Jew, master of his ancient home—which forevermore he will defend and own!

## HERBERT C. PELL

Mr. Herbert C. Pell, an American diplomat and former Congressman was appointed American member of the United Nations War Crimes Commission in June, 1943. He had served as American Minister to Portugal from 1937 to 1941, and subsequently as Minister to Hungary until that Axis satellite broke relations with the United States.

☆ He served in the House of Representatives from 1919 to 1921 from the 17th New York District, and was chairman of the Democratic National Campaign Committee in 1936. He was born in New York, February 16, 1884; attended Promfret School and was graduated from Harvard in 1905, a year after President Roosevelt. He also attended Columbia University and New York Law School.

☆ On a number of occasions he publicly warned that Germany was planning for a third world war, and in an article published December 19, 1943 in "This Week" Sunday magazine section of the *New York Herald Tribune*, he wrote: "We must now make it clear to every German that war is the most unprofitable enterprise in the world."

☆ In a statement to the press Mr. Pell stressed the point that the persecution of minorities is an easy, and from ancient times, regularly used means of establishing tyrannical governments which inevitably become belligerent sooner or later. Every such government must canalize discontent and transmute the hostility provoked by its own methods at home into hatred of foreign countries. . . .

☆ "I am thinking of our unborn children, and I see myself damned, in the most literal and theological sense of the word, before I will leave a stone unturned that might save them from a third world war."

# Accomplices to Murder

by DOROTHY PARKER

I believe what we are doing here tonight is technically known as honoring Senator Gillette, but I think the truth of the case is that it is Senator Gillette who brings honor to the whole human race.

He realized that the day of words was over long ago, and the day of action is already at its noon.

There have been so many statesmen, and they have said so many words. They have said them beautifully, and they were lovely words that do credit to the hearts of those who have said and felt them; only their day is done. Maybe they never had a day; maybe they never were of any use. If, on your path you find a desperately wounded man, it really does very little good to turn away from him and run back home and write him a letter of sympathy, even though you get your most attractive friends to sign it.

Senator Gillette is not a member of the condolent school. He believes in saving lives while there are still lives to be saved. He introduced one resolution after another to our Congress. He dogged all the departments of the Government until a beginning was made towards the saving of human beings. One man was responsible for that beginning. It takes more than one to keep on from there. It takes all of us.

For a while, just a little way back, it looked as if we would not have to work, as if everything had been done for us. When our armies went tearing magnificently through the violated countries, liberating their people, it seemed that everything would be all right, and there would be justice and decency and life itself for everyone in the world. But it did not turn out like that. People are being liberated, I suppose, though in slow and strange ways; not all people, and certainly not the Jews.

Even in their frantic fighting, the Germans take time out to murder Jews, and in the liberated countries, the Germans

left behind them the fear and hatred of Jews that is like poison left in wells. Fascism crawls in, God knows, through many openings, but its first entrance is by the door marked "Anti-Semitism."

It seems so little, what the Jews of Europe want; only a shelter; not a charity orphanage, but a haven, which is their right; a place in which to be safe to work and to hope. And yet there are those over here—and the awful thing is that there are Jews among them—who are annoyed that they ask even that. They do not want to be reminded of horror or death. It irritates them.

I met a man the other night, a nice, comfortable man, filled with a nice, comfortable dinner, sitting in a nice, comfortable room, who was pretty badly bored with the Jews in Europe. He said, "Why don't these Jews keep quiet? Why do they want to draw attention to themselves? They have only brought it on them if they are all killed."

He was a lot bigger than I am, and besides, the room was full of pleasant people, and somebody got the subject changed almost in time; but, when I was leaving, the nice, comfortable gentleman

said to me, "Look, I feel sorry for those poor devils, too, but I don't go around getting worked up about them. I just take it easy."

I can only say this time behind his back that I hope to God I never take it easy while traitors to their race and accomplices to murders are still at large.

There are the innocent who have been driven and tortured and killed; there are the monsters who have murdered them; and then there are other people. There are the people who read and hear and know of hideous human suffering, and let it go on. Their hearts are heavy, they would say, with sorrow, but it is guilt that wears them down. Their doorsteps are shining clean. You cannot see the blood on them, but it is there.

There is no time for hopeful waiting; there is no time to stay elegantly apart. What happens to even one human being anywhere is the business of every human being everywhere.

The bell that tolls for the Jews of Europe tolls for you and me. While there are slaves, no one of us is free; while they die by murder, no one of us is truly alive.

## EXAMPLE

(For R.M.)

What is amazing is how,  
With the machines grinding, blasting,—  
The bodies torn to shreds,—  
Roses can reappear, even now,  
Rising serenely from the shaken ground  
Of their perennial beds,  
Proffering gently their heart-shaped petals.

They have found a way,  
In spite of their great delicacy, to endure,  
To survive;  
At the bedside of the wounded they allay pain,  
They cure sorrow.  
Speaking softly, in tones of perfume  
They implore the wounded to remain alive.

—MAY LEWIS

[16]



הוֹצֵא לְשׁוּמְרוֹ הָאוֹמָה  
HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

## Bulletin

Vol. I

Issued by the Information Department, 2315 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C.

No. 5

### ON HEBREW IMMIGRATION TO PALESTINE A STATEMENT OF POLICY

In view of the vital and desperate needs of our nation at this time, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation publicly declares that it maintains it to be both morally and legally right and proper for every Hebrew in Europe, who has survived the holocaust of German murder, to proceed to Palestine and live there if he so desires.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation maintains that the regulations which the British Government has enforced and which bar the immigration of Hebrews to Palestine are illegal since they have been rejected by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

It must always be remembered that Palestine is not and never has been a British territory. It is an international territory, mandated to Great Britain for the purpose of transforming it into a free and independent country and restoring it as the national territory of the Hebrews.

We are not proclaiming a rebellion against the mandatory government of Palestine. We wish to stress most emphatically, as we have done in the past, the need for complete cooperation with the Administration of Palestine in all its regulations and decisions, even those which we bitterly oppose, but in this one respect—the right of the Hebrew to live in Palestine rather than die or be oppressed and humiliated in Europe—we do mean to take practical measures in accordance with the spirit of the Mandate rather than the present British reg-

ulations based on the White Paper policy which has been repudiated by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

We do so because too many lives have been lost already due to the present policy. We do so because of our regard for the "opinion of mankind." Fifty-two nations have publicly and solemnly proclaimed that Palestine is the national home of the Hebrews. Whatever a home means it certainly means that one can seek refuge there from death. We do so because the British policy has been condemned repeatedly by an overwhelming majority of the leaders of the American people, as indeed it has been condemned by many of Britain's own leaders.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation solemnly proclaims that it will do everything within its power to assist every Hebrew in Europe who desires to go to Palestine, and will endeavor to land him there in complete disregard of the inhuman and illegal regulations which the Colonial Office enforces in Palestine.

During the years 1937-40, members of the Hebrew Committee were instrumental in originating and organizing free immigration to Palestine which resulted in the entry of some 40,000 Hebrews, most of whom would have been dead today had we bowed unconditionally to the rules of the Colonial Office. It is typical of the whole situation that several thousand of these "illegal immigrants" are fighting with the Hebrew Palestinian units of the

Copies of this Bulletin are filed with the Department of Justice where the statement of Hebrew Committee of National Liberation which is registered, as representing the interests of the Hebrew Nation is available for public inspection.

British Army in Italy and many of them lost their lives in their gallant participation in the battles of Egypt and North Africa.

On behalf of all those Hebrews, survivors of the holocaust in Europe, who are determined to leave the scenes of horror and destruction, we appeal to the governments and peoples of the United Nations and the nations associated with them, to give their full assistance to such individuals so that they may reach their destination safely and without additional sufferings.

The Hebrew in Europe today is no longer a beggar, hopelessly knocking at the gates of every nation of the world. The Hebrew in Europe today is a voyager on his way home, and as such should be given all possible aid and comfort.

We have good reason to believe that over 500,000 Hebrews are clamoring for an opportunity to go to Palestine immediately, and we shall do our best to get them there in the nearest possible future.

We are making these decisions public because in the past British Colonial officials found it possible to machine-gun transports carrying Hebrews and to force them back to sea. The understanding and support of the Governments and people of the United Nations is our only hope that Britain's Colonial administrators will refrain from such criminal brutality in the future. We wish to avoid the tragic necessity of post-mortem protests which has too long been our lot. While we are in need of help, we well realize that our chance for survival lies only in our own determination. We pray for God's grace and for the assistance of his followers the world over.

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Speech delivered at Donor Dinner of the Emergency Committee at the Commodore Hotel.

## Hebrew Committee Hails Liberation of Poland

Washington, January 18, 1945

His Excellency M. Vyacheslav Molotov, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Moscow, U.S.S.R.

On behalf of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation I wish to offer our heartiest congratulations to the Government and people of the Soviet Union on the historic achievement of its heroic Army under the leadership of Marshal Joseph Stalin in freeing the Capital and most of the territory of Poland. The liberation of Poland where so many of our fellow Hebrews found cruel death, represents to us the symbol of hope for a better future for all nations of the world, which the irresistible onslaught of the victorious Red Army is hastening to bring about.

PETER H. BERGSON  
Chairman

### HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

Washington, January 18, 1945

His Excellency  
M. Osobka-Morawski,  
Prime Minister,  
Provisional Government of Poland,  
Lublin, Poland.

On behalf of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation I wish to offer our heartiest congratulations on the freeing of the Capital and most of the territory of Poland. The liberation of Poland where so many of our fellow Hebrews found cruel death represents to us the symbol of hope for a better future for all nations of the world, which the irresistible onslaught of the victorious Red Army is hastening to bring about.

Now that Polish sovereignty has been re-established on Polish soil, we wish to appeal for your assistance to help rescue the Hebrew people who are still in the clutches of our common barbarious enemy. Being so near to them, your help can be manifold and of supreme importance. We are sure the Government of our great ally the Soviet Union will give you all necessary assistance in this endeavor. We also appeal for your aid to give succor and to restore to free and dignified human existence those of our now back in free Poland or still dwelling in the places of refuge to which the Soviet people who have escaped and who are let Government has evacuated them, thus saving them from horrible death.

PETER H. BERGSON  
Chairman

Following is the text of a statement made on January 27, 1945, by Peter H. Bergson, chairman of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, on the issue of war crimes in connection with the removal of Mr. Herbert C. Pell from the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London.

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation has learned with deep regret that Mr. Herbert C. Pell, the United States representative on the War Crimes Commission, has been withdrawn from his post. Mr. Pell has been in this country for consultation, and it was generally hoped that on his early return to London he would bring with him the backing of a definite policy of the United States Government for an intensification of the Commission's work. The statement made today by Acting Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, however, indicates that there is as yet no readiness on the part of the United Nations either to clarify the issue or to accelerate the work of the Commission.

Since it is a matter of public knowledge reported in the press, that Mr. Pell has constantly advocated a positive course of action by the Commission on crimes committed against the Hebrew

people, we feel naturally apprehensive over this development.

For several months the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation has endeavored to the best of its ability to move the governments of the United Nations, and more particularly the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain officially to clarify their stand in relation to Germany's wanton mass murder of the Hebrew people of Europe. While more than three million people have thus been murdered, the attitude of these governments amounts to maintaining that, unless the victims happen to be citizens of the United Nations, this does not constitute a war crime, and since it is certainly not considered a crime under the national laws of the Axis, the murder and extermination of the Hebrews of Europe appear to have been agreed to all around.



The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation with the King of Egypt and Prime Minister Churchill to commute the death sentence of Elijah Hakim and Eliahu Bet-Tsouri, who assassinated Lord Moyne. The Chief Rabbi of Egypt Haim Nakoum Effendi pleaded also with King Farouk of Egypt. The photograph shows the two defendants in court.

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## Crimes Against Hebrews Must Be Punished

by CONGRESSMAN THOMAS J. LANE

Text of speech delivered in the House of Representatives, February 7, 1945

Mr. Speaker: The subject of punishment of war criminals has recently come very much to the fore and I regret to say that it has disclosed a rather gloomy picture. It has often been stated, and with a great deal of logic, that the failure of the Allies in the last war to exact punishment against the war criminals paved the way to the present war.

The atrocities and horrors which Germany and her allies have committed in this war surpass, beyond all proportion, what they did before, yet it seems that they have not been gruesome enough to shake some quarters in the British Government and in our own Government.

Having plunged the whole world into a war which already has cost some twenty million casualties, if not more; the shooting of hostages; the deliberate eradication of cities; the diabolical mass murder of some four million Hebrew men, women and children in especially constructed death factories; the cannibalistic practice of using human corpses for fertilizing purposes and for the manufacture of goods; having committed all this horror which our minds are not really capable of grasping, the hesitancy shown in regard to the punishment of those guilty of it is indeed perplexing, if not shocking.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, this hesitancy exists and this hesitancy now aims to liquidate even the limited measures which have been undertaken in this line. Last week the Department of State announced that the Honorable Herbert C. Pell, our representative on the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London, will not return to the Commission.

Mr. Pell has publicly declared that he suspects he was removed because he believes that the Axis should be punished for crimes committed against Hebrew people in the same manner as they ought to be punished for crimes com-

mitted against other United Nations. In other words, all Mr. Pell advocates is that we consider Germany's murder of close to four million Hebrew people in Europe as a war crime. As I said, Mr. Speaker, it is beyond my comprehension, but it seems that some high Government officials have their doubts, they are not sure, and therefore are unwilling to state that this wanton deed is a crime, a crime against God and man in peace as in war. I can hardly think, Mr. Speaker, of a stand which is more violently in opposition to the traditions and sentiments of America as such a cruel, unjust and legally frustrated point of view. . . .

The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, a body which is naturally deeply concerned with this issue, has repeatedly pointed out not only the importance but the urgency of the matter. The Committee claims, and it seems to me perfectly, though tragically, true and logical, that our failure to date to act and to make known to the German barbarians and their satellites that we consider the mass murder of Hebrews as brutal a crime as the mass murder of Czechs or Poles or Englishmen, and that due punishment will be coming for all atrocities without any exceptions, is largely responsible for Germany's continued mass murder. Even at the present stage of the war, when she knows she is defeated and is merely fighting a delaying action.

It is sound to assume that the Germans will not continue to murder Hebrews right up to the very minute of the armistice. They will stop sometime before that. I firmly believe that if we adopt a clear and determined stand on this issue immediately the mass murder will stop now.

I wish to emphasize that I have been referring all along to "Hebrews," not to "Jews," for these two terms are not synonymous. Crimes committed against

United Nations nationals of Jewish religion are, of course, part of the crimes against the United Nations and will be punished as such. It is only those crimes committed against Hebrews—people now referred to as stateless Jews, German Jews or Hungarian Jews, which are not being considered as war crimes at all, since the Hebrew Nation is not recognized as one of the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, these people are neither stateless nor are they Germans nor Hungarians; they are Hebrews. It is as such that they have been murdered and their extermination sought, and it is only through our recognition of them as such that they can be saved. It is high time, Mr. Speaker, that something drastic be done to alleviate the continued, age-old suffering of these people. We all hope that out of the victory of this war at long last this problem too will be solved with boldness and imagination.

But meanwhile thousands of Hebrews are being daily massacred and we have no right to delay for a single day any effort that we can make to attempt to save them. Least of all have we the right to delay in making a clear statement of policy on this issue.

For long months the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation has urged upon the Governments of the United Nations, including our own, the following proposals:

1. That the governments of the United Nations concerned issue a joint declaration proclaiming that crimes committed against Hebrews in Europe, irrespective of the territory on which the crime was committed or the citizenship or lack of citizenship of the victim at the time of death, be considered a war crime and punished as such.

2. That the governments of the United Nations concerned instruct their representatives on the War

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Crimes Commission to see to it that the above mentioned declaration is put into effect.

3. That representatives of the Hebrew people be given membership on the War Crimes Commission and that temporarily, until such time as a Hebrew national sovereignty be re-established, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation be authorized to constitute the Hebrew representation on the War Crimes Commission.

Mr. Speaker, I fully support these proposals. I am sure that the great majority of the members of this House do so equally. I was pleased and heartened by the statement made by Mr. Grew, the Acting Secretary of State, in which he acknowledged and welcomed the great public interest and concern in this most important problem, but this is not enough. It only proves the justification of the above-mentioned proposals which I want to urge, as forcefully as I know how, be acted upon by the Department of State without any additional delay. What less, Mr. Speaker, can we do for a martyred people who have been so fiendishly ravaged in this war?

MR. DICKSTEIN: Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

MR. LANE: I yield to the gentleman from New York.

MR. DICKSTEIN: I am very grateful to the gentleman for that statement. I too, am a little disturbed why Mr. Pell was removed. I think he was an able statesman, and I believe that he expressed the thought that proper punishment, as laid down by the President should be meted out by the people who are responsible for these atrocities. I think one of the reasons for his removal was his unwillingness to go into that question. I think he was a capable man and should have been left where he was. I am worried why the State Department has removed him, and I hope and trust the gentleman will follow through.

MR. LANE: I thank the gentleman from New York for his contribution.

THE ANSWER WANTS FRIENDS!  
YOUR FRIENDS WILL WANT  
THE ANSWER  
HAVE THEM SUBSCRIBE—  
OR GIVE THEM A GIFT SUBSCRIPTION!

## AN APPEAL TO THE BIG THREE

*Following is the text of a communication addressed to President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Prime Minister Churchill.*

On the historic occasion of the meeting of the leaders of the principal United Nations, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, while leaving aside for the moment other concerns of the Hebrew people, however vital and urgent, considers it its solemn duty to request that the problem of the continued mass murder of Hebrews still under German control be placed on the meeting's agenda. For many months the War Crimes Commission in London, on which Great Britain and the United States are represented, refused to include such murder under the category of war crimes punishable by the United Nations. Recent American and British declarations on the subject still treat these crimes differently from the rest, leaving open the possibility that their punishment will be left to the Germans themselves.

We beg to draw your attention, however, to the fact that as far as the Hebrew people of Europe are concerned, it is not merely a question of punishing those guilty, but there is the grave and urgent task of preventing the Germans and the Hungarians from murdering the

Mr. Pell to Mr. Bergson

*(While he was still on the War Crimes Commission)*

January 22, 1945

Dear Mr. Bergson:

I have received your letter of the 15th with the very flattering enclosure, for which I am most grateful.

I need all your help.

I am

Most sincerely,  
HERBERT PELL

Mr. Pell to the American League for a Free Palestine

*(After the page ad by the League following his return from London)*

February 7, 1945

Gentlemen:

I have just seen the advertisements which you put in the Post on February 2nd and for which I am most obliged. I am certain that this will do a great deal of good.

Yours very sincerely,

HERBERT C. PELL  
2242 Clarendon Rd., Bklyn 26, N.Y.

hundreds of thousands of Hebrews still in their territories. Most of these survivors were formerly Axis citizens and as things stand today the Germans know that the two leading governments of the United Nations do not plan to punish these wanton acts as war crimes. We beg to stress that we are referring to "Hebrews" and not to "Jews," since the crimes committed against United Nations nationals of the Jewish religion are included in the crimes committed against the United Nations. It is only those crimes committed against Hebrews—people now referred to either as stateless Jews, German Jews, or Hungarian Jews, which are not being considered as war crimes since the Hebrews are not recognized as a part of the United Nations. These people are neither stateless nor Germans nor Hungarians. They are Hebrews, belonging to the renaissance Hebrew Nation. To the German criminal mind, which invented, planned and executed the mechanized murder of millions of innocent Hebrew men, women and children, such an attitude on the part of the United Nations' governments means but one thing—consent and encouragement to proceed with their planned total extermination of every Hebrew in Europe.

We, therefore, respectfully urge that Your Excellency back our request that this conference issue a declaration proclaiming that crimes committed against Hebrews in Europe, irrespective of the territory on which the crime is committed or the citizenship or lack of citizenship of the victim at the time of death, be considered as war crimes and punished as such.

We also respectfully request that representatives of the Hebrew people be given membership on the War Crimes Commission and that temporarily, until such time as a Hebrew national sovereignty be re-established, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation be authorized to constitute the Hebrew representation on the War Crimes Commission.

We pray that our desperate appeal on behalf of a nation which has been virtually decimated in this war not be ignored lest the just cause of the United Nations be stained with moral responsibility for our catastrophe.

Respectfully,

PETER H. BERGSON, Chairman  
Hebrew Committee of  
National Liberation.

## Adding Insult to Injury

R C A  
RADIOGRAM  
TURKISH GOVERNMENT WAS WILLING TO AUTHORIZE USE SHIP FOR REFUGEES BUT BRITISH SENT NOTE CANCELLING PROMISE PALESTINE VISAS JEWS ARRIVING TURKEY ALSO REQUESTED PREVENT SHIPS FROM TRANSPORTING REFUGEES STOP SIX HUNDRED RUMANIAN JEWS ARRIVING 21 SS STALINGRAD REFUSED TRANSIT ACCORDINGLY STOP FURTHER STAY UNPRODUCTIVE RECALLING KLARMAN AND DESIRE RETURN ERI JABOTINSKY

The reproduced telegram is from Eri Jabotinsky, special representative in Turkey of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. Mr. Jabotinsky's mission was to organize evacuation of as many as possible of the Hebrews of Eastern Europe who are in dire danger of death or starvation.

His trip to Turkey was made possible by our own government which provided him with the necessary travelling facilities and priorities. After months of ceaseless endeavors and disappointments, he succeeded in obtaining permission of the Turkish Government to charter the S.S. *Tari*, with a capacity of 1,500-2,000 passengers, to shuttle between Constanza and Palestine. The Rumanian and Bulgarian governments expressed their willingness to co-operate to the full extent of their abilities.

And what do you suppose is the excuse now? A Foreign Office representative had this to say when the above cable was made known:

"Jabotinsky does not know the facts. During the crisis in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, when Jews were menaced and persecuted by the Germans, those reaching Turkey were given visas for Palestine and elsewhere, but that emergency no longer exists. There is no reason for the Jews to leave those countries now."

This is adding insult to injury. The rescue work was impeded, rather than aided, by Great Britain, and fewer Hebrews therefore reached the shores of Turkey. And still fewer were permitted to go to their own homeland.

To declare that the emergency is over, and to decide for the Hebrews that they "have no reason to leave these countries" merely shows to what immoral lengths British imperialism is ready to go. The Colonial Office will do anything to keep Hebrews away from Palestine. It has increased the "emergency" (what a typically British understatement!) of

### Palestine Turning to Hebrew Committee

*In the Herald-Tribune of February the 16th, there appears a dispatch from its Istanbul correspondent on the Arab Union affair and conditions in Palestine. It states, among other things:*

*"The worst sore spots are Syria, where the French are trying to re-establish their mandate grip, and Palestine, where Jewish opposition to the British policy of severe limitation of Jewish immigration is stiffening."*

*"The British now are holding 1,600 Jews in prison or in concentration camps for illegal immigration or sympathy with the assassination of Lord Moyne. The assassination and the subsequent collaboration of the Palestine Jewish Agency with the British in the arrests that followed have weakened the Jewish Agency's position in Palestine and have strengthened the standing of the Washington-centered Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. This committee wants an autonomous Palestine Hebrew nation, and unrestricted immigration while that is being granted."*

the Hebrew people in Nazi Europe by shutting the doors of rescue to them, and now it declares that the "emergency" at an end, and is absolved from opening Palestine.

It is futile to delude ourselves any longer: the Hebrew people of Europe are no longer victims of German savagery alone. A new chapter of its martyrdom is now being written by a prominent member of the United Nations—a co-signer of the Atlantic Charter—Great Britain. Of course, not the Great Britain of the plain people who fought at Dunkirk, endured the blitz, and stoically faced up to the robot bombs; and of course it is not the Great Britain of Wedgwood, Strabolgi, Davies and Lloyd

George. It is the Great Britain of the Tories, of the Cliveden set, of the Colonial Office clique, of all those who for the sake of imperialistic interest "appealed" Hitler into trying to subjugate the world, and who now, when he has failed, proceed themselves in many respects to emulate his policy in Greece, Italy, Belgium and Palestine. These and other lands in similar condition constitute a wide front of peoples fighting for freedom and self-determination. The Palestinian sector of this front fights not for freedom alone, but first of all for mere survival.

### MOYNE'S RACIAL THEORIES

*(Continued from page 6)*

fifty-two nations have pledged themselves to open Palestine to them, and that the most authoritative spokesmen of the Arabs adhere to those pledges, the Arabs are told that the Jews are not Semites but mixed with Armenians and Slavs, and that therefore they cannot expect to be favored by the Arabs as kinsmen!

This shows how unscrupulous these race apostles are in their efforts to shut the door before the wandering Jew, whenever they can; and now the "pro-Arabs" have adopted their methods to bar the Jews even from their ancient land.

*Immediately upon receipt of word from Eri Jabotinsky, its representative in Turkey, regarding the intimidation of the Turkish Government by Great Britain, which resulted in the cancelling by the Turkish Government of transit visas for Jews escaping from the Balkan countries to Palestine, the Emergency Committee telegraphed a protest to Lord Halifax. At the same time, the Washington office communicated with the State Department regarding this matter. Subsequently, it was reported that one steamer did go through Turkish waters to Palestine without interference on the part of the Turkish authorities, and we have reason to believe that Mr. Jabotinsky's efforts and our prompt action in this country were instrumental in having thus enabled several hundred Jews to land in Palestine.*

## "Situation Makes Return of Jewish Property Difficult"

The Bulgarian Government realizes the "righteousness" of Jewish demands for restoration of property confiscated by former regimes, but the present economic situation makes immediate restoration difficult, Minister for Social Affairs Grigor Chesh-medzhiev told a meeting of the Jewish section of the Social Democratic Party called to discuss the problem.

Mr. Joseph M. Levy, *New York Times* correspondent, wired to his paper from Istanbul, Turkey, on January the 17th, the following despatch on the plight of Hebrews in Bulgaria:

Four months after Bulgaria's liberation from the Germans and the Bulgarian fascist regime, the situation of about 45,000 Jews there today is deplorable and desperate. They are clothesless, shoeless and starving. They are existing, not living, under the most insanitary conditions, three and four families sharing a dingy little room which is unheated and without windowpanes.

The writer paid several visits to the quarters Hujlunar and Dortbunar where the vast majority of the Sofia Jews are concentrated and where nothing has been done to alleviate the conditions of these unfortunate human beings.

Most of them told the writer that they envy their 14,000 Macedonian co-religionists who were deported to Poland, where they had been exterminated by the Germans.

Despite innumerable appeals for help, no relief from abroad has been forthcoming. The Bulgarian Government has done nothing to help these thousands of destitute Jews. It is not stingy with promises, however. Months ago it declared that all property that had been confiscated from the Jews by the Fascist regime would be returned to their owners, that Jewish funds blocked at different banks would be refunded and that the compulsory tax the Jews were forced to pay under the fascist government would be repaid. . . .

The excuse is that the Government's treasury is empty. The Government announced that no Bulgarian who acquired Jewish property of any description should suffer as a result of the Government's decision to restore Jewish belongings. . . .

Over the radio and in the press it condemns the former Fascist regimes for enforcing anti-Jewish laws which it describes as cruel and inhuman. It declares that all Jews now are free and enjoying equal rights with all the rest of Bulgarians. This is a farce, because

the only thing the Jews in Bulgaria are able to do with equal rights and freedom is to starve and freeze.

So desperate is the situation that it is no exaggeration to state that at least 25 per cent

of them are anxious to leave the country and to go anywhere. But the "sympathetic" government, at the instigation of the Communist Minister of the Interior, Anton Yugoff, has banned all Jewish emigration from Bulgaria.

### TWENTY CONGRESSMEN JOIN AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE



Representative Andrew L. Somers of Brooklyn, Chairman of the American League for a Free Palestine, has brought in twenty of his colleagues in Congress as members of the Sponsoring Committee of the League. The new sponsors are Congressmen H. Carl Andersen (Minn.); August H. Andresen (Minn.); Homer D. Angell (Ore.); H. Streett Baldwin (Md.); Frank A. Barrett (Wyo.); George H. Bender (Ohio); Pat Cannon (Fla.); Ralph E. Church (Ill.); John M. Coffee (Wash.); John D. Dingell (Mich.); Carl T. Durham (No. C.); Herman P. Eberharter (Pa.); Clair Engle (Cal.); Eugene J. Keogh (N.Y.); Thomas Lane (Mass.); Vito Marcantonio (N.Y.); Jennings Randolph (W. Va.); John H. Tolan (Calif.); Samuel A. Weiss (Pa.); and Roy O. Woodruff (Mich.).

In announcing the decision of his colleagues, Congressman Somers declared:

"My colleagues and I are so keenly interested in the aims and activities of the American League for a Free Palestine because the Congress of the United States is under legal, as well as moral, obligation to concern itself with the fate of the Hebrew people in Palestine and Europe. By unanimous resolution of both Houses in 1922 the Congress ratified the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine which led to the Anglo-American Convention of Palestine in 1924. By its terms the American stake in the national homeland of the Hebrew people became equal to that of Great Britain.

"But," continued the Congressman, "my colleagues and I have an even deeper reason for sponsoring the work of the American League. As Christians we feel that the Hebrew martyrdom for the past decade is a Christian responsibility, and that until a permanent solution is advanced, the Christian conscience cannot rest.

"The American League for a Free Palestine, whose membership is omnisectionarian and omni-partisan, seeks to provide that final solution by supporting the aims of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, which seeks recognition for the Hebrew people of Europe and Palestine as the renascent Hebrew nation, and the up-building of Palestine in its historic boundaries, as an independent state, within the framework of a world order based on the principles of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter."

## Lord Wedgwood Spoke for the Conscience of Great Britain

"I Failed to Save for England the Glory of Rebuilding Jerusalem—  
Now It's America's Rendezvous with Destiny"

An Appeal to America by the Late LORD WEDGWOOD

"... Let us be frank. We have nothing to conceal any longer... [For the Hebrews of Palestine] yoked for twenty-five years in double harness, the end [of a policy] has come. Twenty-five years of what should have been cooperation have been twenty-five years of jealousy, malice and uncharitableness, ending in the mass massacre of the 'Struma.'\* The British Administration has been too strong for the British Parliament and conscience. The whole Administration, from the top down are against the half-million Hebrews of Palestine. They will never let them have arms, nor land, nor free immigration, nor a refuge, nor a home—never! They don't like Jews. And there are enough Anti-Semites and crypto-Fascists still in Great Britain to back up the Hitler policy and spirit.

"Some think it will be all right at the end of the war, that the 'Struma' and the 'Patria' and the shootings and the concentration camps are all forced upon the British Government to prevent the Arabs making trouble just now. Wishful thinking! The Arabs are an excuse, not a reason. Any change now must involve the whole Administration. They have all a vested interest in proving the Balfour Declaration unworkable, in proving themselves right. There is no longer any hope for any British Administration. The bombs that blew up the 'Struma' blew too deep a gulf between."

\* A refugee ship that was sent back from the shores of Palestine and was blown up by its passengers on the high seas, to avoid falling again into the hands of the Gestapo.

to get your America to act, to press for freedom and justice... to build another free land, with open doors and open hearts... I have tried to save for my own countrymen the glory of rebuilding Jerusalem, of doing justice, of creating freedom. It is no use; they don't do it. I cannot help it. You must turn to America and must take on the job yourselves. Ask no more from Britain. You make yourselves too cheap. You weary us. We prefer King Iba Sand and King Farouk, and veils and fezzes and the Middle Ages.

"I speak to you, Senator Wagner. You are as devoted to your people as I am to mine. You are as proud of America as I am of England's past. Will you see where lies America's duty? Can you take on the job from our encumbered hands? The responsibilities of the whole world have lain on our shoulders long enough. It's your turn now. The mantle of Elijah has fallen upon Elisha—not only in Palestine. It is your rendezvous with destiny. And if it should occur to you to think poorly of the way in which we have acquitted ourselves, if you see too many black pages in our history, reflect that all nations that have ruled have such black pages, but see at the same time in our history, as in America's, that at least there have always been men to denounce the crimes of their own government, to seek to right the wrong. You and I, Senator Wagner or Senator Lodge, we may not succeed, but we can keep our country's name clean by daring to be in the right with two or three. Then some day even Jews will find justice and respect, perhaps even gratitude."

### DO YOUR PART IN THIS CRUSADE!

We think that the American people, heirs to a glorious tradition, keepers of a sacred flame of justice, must take a firm stand on this issue. We must not nullify the ideals for which our sons and brothers are dying in Germany, Italy, in the Pacific Islands and on the Seven Seas.

In the name of humanity, for which the America of Washington, Lincoln and Tom Paine stands, won't you join us in our struggle to remove this blot from the record of the United Nations? Join us by mailing this coupon NOW.

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Recognizing the solution of the age-old problem of Hebrew people in Europe as one of the objectives of Democracy and as a preliminary condition to permanent peace in the world, I am in accord with the general principles and objectives of the American League for a Free Palestine.

I enclose herewith the sum of \$..... to enable you to carry out your activities, one dollar of which please deduct as my annual membership dues.

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THE **ANSWER**

A BI-WEEKLY MAGAZINE

A NON-SECTARIAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF  
THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

ONE EAST 47th STREET  
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NEW YORK CITY  
MAY 8, 1944

NEW YORK CITY

*JH*  
*File*

May 8, 1944

Hon. John W. Pehle  
Executive Director WRB  
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am enclosing a copy of the current  
issue of THE ANSWER.

May I call your attention to the  
item on page 31 which may be of specific  
interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

*Cynthia Bernstein*  
Cynthia Bernstein  
Secy. to the Editor

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# ANSWER



# THE "ANSWER" AND ITS CAUSE

by The Readers

## As the Payment of an Obligation

Dear Sir:

In subscribing to the ANSWER it is from the conviction that here at last something is being done that other people aren't falling over themselves to do but that needs doing as much as the payment of some personal money obligation.

I am for the whole thing, unequivocally. I can't see where there is any other issue between the factions than rescue. A line from the *Bagavad Gita* occurs to me: "Inaction in a deed of mercy is action in a deadly sin."

There is something historic in the whole Jewish problem and that is why I, a non-Jew, want a share, however slight, in a direct deed, a fact amongst the haze of words, of diplomacy and thinly veiled "gimmies".

I have sent a copy of the ANSWER to my daughter-in-law in Maine. She has a Russian Jewish neighbor whom she likes very much. I thought they both might be interested.

Yours sincerely,

ANNABEL LEDLIE BERRY.

Bamberg, S. C.

(We draw the attention of our readers to Miss Berry's poem on page 9.—Ed.)

## Enjoys Every Issue

Gentlemen,

I received my third copy of the ANSWER last week. I enjoy every issue and pass it on to friends. If one life will be saved by this War Refugee Board then I'll say it's a job well done. With God's help many more will be saved.

I am sending you \$10, of which you are to take \$3 for a subscription and the rest for the cause.

Sincerely yours,

Pfc. PHIL WEINGARD,  
BND 749 AAABn U. S. Army  
No. 32086722  
APO 860 c/o Postmaster, N. Y.

## To the Emergency Committee

Destroyer, Pacific Fleet  
Memorandum

From: Enw. S. B. Sandberg.  
To: Mrs. John Gunther.

Sorry as hell that I'm not John D.

But some day the right people will have the money, and some day the world will be a place for all people to live in.

For that, my small contribution, and for that, my sincerest hope that you can complete the job you're attempting without too much frustration.

Sincerely,

S. B. SANDBERG.

## Misses the ANSWER

My Dear Friends:

I am now writing to you from somewhere in the Pacific. Everything is fine. The only thing that's missing is the ANSWER, so please continue sending it to the following address:

Pvt. Morris Levinson,  
Hq. Co. 1st Bn. 307 Inf. A.P.O. 77  
c/o Postmaster, San Francisco, Calif.

I hope that your work is progressing well and bearing rich fruit. As a Betari my interest and devotion to our common ideal will never wane, no matter where I may be.

Very sincerely yours,

MORRIS LEVINSON.

## Appreciation and Thanks

Mrs. John Gunther,  
Emergency Committee to Save the  
Jewish People of Europe.  
Dear Mrs. Gunther:

We wish to express our appreciation and extend our thanks to you and your committee for your interest and active participation in so humanitarian a cause.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH RAIDER,  
Capt. M.C.  
(and 21 fellow-officers).

## Guilt on Nazis Alone

One of our Contributing Editors, May Lewis, has received the following letter from Margery Mansfield, for many years secretary of the Poetry Society of America, editor of its Bulletin, author of "Workers in Fire" and of many poems that have appeared in the outstanding magazines. Permission to publish this letter has been obtained from Miss Mansfield.

An issue of the ANSWER came, and I write to thank you for it. Your poem brought back to me—I wonder if you saw it?—Angna Enters' dance recital at the Y.M.H.A. several years ago, in which she dramatized a Jewish scholar putting on the yellow arm band. Very memorable and an original piece of dance or pantomimic composition.

I have wanted for some time to help do something about the Jews trapped in Europe, so, according to the request of the ANSWER, am writing my Senator and Congressman to cooperate with the Emergency Committee and do whatever else may be in their power and am sending them my name and the much too tiny cheque . . . I have also written Mr. Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, to the effect that whatever the practical difficulties of saving the Jews, the effort must be made by nations predominantly Gentile, so that the guilt can rest on the Nazis alone and history not misjudge us by our silence. Our nation must put itself on record humanely—not just through the negative attitude of massacring the Germans (which none of us really wants to do either) but which seems to be imminent.

MARGERY MANSFIELD.



*The Jew*

The person who has no land that  
he can call his own,  
The one who is so all alone.  
That's right, you know who—  
It is the lonely Jew!

The person who is being kicked  
around, you see,  
The one that begs to be free . . .  
Every one knows who,  
It is the Jew.

The one who has so many sad  
stories to tell,  
But never will rebel.  
The one, who almost found his  
religion gone,  
The one it is always blamed upon.

So let us arise and have something  
to do;  
To fight together to keep the  
freedom of the Jew.

RHODA GERSTEL,  
(Age 9 years)

# THE ANSWER

MAGAZINE

## A Non-Sectarian Approach to the Problems of the Hebrew People in Europe and Palestine

Vol. II No. 6



May 1, 1944

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COVER. The man and the milestone. In "A Guide for the Bedevilled," Ben Hecht, known heretofore as one of America's foremost playwrights and authors, emerges as the preacher of a new philosophy in the problem of overcoming anti-Semitism—COUNTERATTACK. He pits Tanta Chassa's umbrella against Chamberlain's with logic as satisfying as it is devastating. "A GUIDE FOR THE BEDEVILLED." Five authors, well known wherever ritual books are read, present their opinions of Ben Hecht's work. All of them are contributors to THE ANSWER. TAYLOR CALDWELL, best known for her "DYNASTY OF DEATH," is the author of another current masterpiece, "THE FINAL HOUR." RUSSELL GORDON CARTER wields a pen which has penetrated again and again the thick skins of anti-democratic elements. Political observer and writer EMIL LENGYEL takes time from compiling his keen analyses of world events to work in behalf of Europe's Jews. MAY LEWIS displays the soul of the fine poetess that she is, and her reactions to Ben Hecht's book are worth deep study. CURT RIESS, author of "TOTAL ESPIONAGE," is in perhaps the best position to evaluate "A GUIDE FOR THE BEDEVILLED," since he was in contact with the supreme peddler of the devil's potion in its best market, Germany.

FOUNTAINHEAD OF RESISTANCE. When the story of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto broke upon a wandering world, it broke through the last barriers which for years had been obstructing the story of the fighting Jews in Europe. We now learn of thousands of Yugoslav Jews fighting under Tito; of Abraham's Guerillas in Poland, of bands of Germans in southeastern Poland, of bands in Russia, as described by OVADI SAVICH in this issue. On the battlefield and in the underground, the Jew has made himself part of the war, and the war all of his—and mankind's—future.

FEATURES. To the discussion of the problem of post-war Germany, SIGRID UNDSSET adds another contribution of thoughtful analysis in "WE SHALL DEMAND REDRESS." And through the permission of Collier's, THE ANSWER reproduces MARTHA GELLHORN'S moving article on fighting Poles and Jews of Poland's underground.

"TESTAMENT TO DEMOCRACY." History will acclaim the late Lord Wedgwood as an eminent statesman; just as humanity has already recognized the great heart of the man. The excerpt from his "Testament to Democracy" reproduced in this issue is typical of Lord Wedgwood's stand on matters of international morality.

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## EVENTS AND COMMENTS

### Anniversary for Three

For 161 years April 19th was a date reserved for the anniversary of one particular event—the midnight ride of Paul Revere in 1775. In commemoration of that event a descendant of this patriot would, on horseback, cover the same route, year after year.

In 1936, seven thousand miles away from Boston, April 19th acquired another claimant. On this day the Arab terror was unleashed against the Jews. When the first anniversary came around, in 1937, the terror was still going strong. In 1938 and 1939, owing to the efficiency of men like the late General Wingate on the one hand and the militancy of the Jews on the other, there was some reason for observing the anniversary with hope of calmer days ahead.

Then came the war, and with it strange phenomena. The same philosophy of government which strove to repress Paul Revere in 1775 and which countenanced the Arab bid for Axis lackeyism now seemed to seep into the marrow of the entire United Nations' backbone. Liberty was withheld from those who stood in greatest need of it. The Jews of Europe, deprived of the first prerequisite to liberty and the pursuit of happiness—LIFE ITSELF—were set on the road to death without an authoritative voice saying "Halt!"

And thus, on April 19, 1943, the most desperate Jewish community ever to have existed anywhere—the Warsaw Ghetto—rose to battle the impregnable Nazi, battle him with courage and valor worthy of the old Hebrew.

And thus, April 19th is marked by a third anniversary, and the story of the humane struggle for freedom goes on.

### This Too Is Dunkirk, Mr. Winston Churchill

The time has come for straight speaking, Mr. Prime Minister.

There may be those who hesitate to speak the truth lest they create disunity.

What unity exists for the 2,000,000 Jews—all anti-Nazis, who are already dead? What unity is in prospect for the 2,000,000 who are trapped in the Balkans as much by the inhuman blockade from without as by the hand of the murderer within?

The government of the United States, your ally, Mr. Churchill, has committed itself to save the Jewish remnants of Europe. The War Refugee Board is the legitimate offspring of the Four Freedoms. To aid this humane effort is allied unity. To implement the "Nuremberg Laws" of Palestine today—is to offset the efforts of your staunchest ally. That is disunity. No—this is no time for mincing words. It is not easy to forget that while Jews were being tortured to death by hundreds of thousands in Tremblinka, "Death

Forest," and Warsaw, your government's sympathy manifested itself in strange ways.

At a time when to champion the Jewish rights to survival might have given pause to the Nazi hangmen, the Palestine Colonial Administration responded with bullets and imprisonment for escaping Jews who reached the shores of the Promised Land. It is not easy to forget Mauritius, Sakarya and the Struma.

Then there is the mystery of the 39,000 unused entry permits into Palestine.

For the last few years now the Palestine Colonial Administration has dangled this arbitrary quota before the eyes of the several million dying Jews of Europe. Why were these not used for the 769 Jews who drowned when the ghost ship "Struma" was sent back from the shores of Palestine toward Hitler's Europe? Why were these not issued to the refugees who managed to escape into Palestine and whom your government exiled instead to the disease-ridden island of Mauritius?

*Why, as hope of escape fails—in this eleventh hour—are they not being used NOW, this very minute?*

These are facts, Mr. Prime Minister. No issue of politics, no questions of the post-war status of Palestine, of Zionist demands must be raised at this time to obscure the desperate situation. Jews about to die seek only refuge, not political assurances.

*Today Palestine is to Balkan Jews what the British coastline was to Dunkirk.*

The United States has pledged itself to speed the evacuation of all who are fortunate enough to reach a friendly port or a friendly border. If your government cannot actively help in the work of rescue, Mr. Prime Minister, for God's sake let it stand aside—let it cease to bar the pathway to safety.

To open the gates of Palestine in this last hour is to follow in the best traditions of England. To bar, in this last hour, all Jewish escape into Palestine is to betray these very conditions.

### Palestine and Sweden

We learn from a statement made by John W. Pehle, Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, that there are about 75,000 refugees in Sweden.

75,000. This is the exact number of Jews for whom permission to enter Palestine in the five-year period, 1939-1944—was specified in the British White Paper. There are still some 30,000 unused visas. But the Palestine Administration is not in so great a hurry as Sweden, and only small groups of Jews escaping from the Nazi hell are permitted to enter this country.

There is some difference between Sweden and Palestine. Sweden is a neutral country

and Palestine is a country under Allied control. Sweden is a small country bordering Germany, under the constant threat of invasion by the Nazis. Extending hospitality to refugees escaping Nazi persecution—particularly to Jews—is considered by the Germans as an unfriendly act. Palestine is under control of Great Britain, which has no such fears. (You cannot compare, of course, the "Arab danger" with the threat facing Sweden.)

Then, there is still another difference between Palestine and Sweden: Palestine is a Jewish National Home—and Sweden is not.

### The Polish Incident

A peculiar item, one of the "curiosities" of the present war, has lately been making modest headlines in the press. It seems that scores of Jews have been "deserting" from the Polish Army and joining the ranks of the British.

According to the accepted rules of military conduct, these soldiers have been sentenced by a court martial. But under the circumstances it is the wrong soldiers who have been tried.

In the Parliament it was pointed out that the "deserters" left the Polish army because of the wild, unrestrained, abusive and dangerous anti-Semitism which seems to have saturated the Polish soldiers. It is reported that the desire on the part of these soldiers to do away with their Jewish comrades-in-arms is no less keen than their wish to liberate their country, Poland. They seem to see nothing incongruous in this situation. They seem to regard anti-Semitism as part and parcel of their way of life; that its employment by Hitler as the spearhead of his attack is an irrelevant coincidence. Their stake in the war seems to be entirely detached from the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. In fact, their whole attitude seems to add up to one conclusion: That those Jews left alive by Hitler's henchmen in Poland will, at the hands of a "Free Poland," share the fate of their brethren.

This regrettable fact is a new and striking illustration of the baselessness of the optimistic hopes of those naive constructors of the post-war world who believe that the surviving Jews of Europe can return to their countries.

If now, on English soil, Polish officers and soldiers persecute their Jewish colleagues; if the Polish government in exile, which tries to appear as democratic as possible in order to please the great democratic powers, accuses and sentences not the anti-Semites in the Army but their victims, the Jews—it is only too easy to imagine what Jewish life will be like in liberated Poland

(Continued on Page 31)

## THE CHAMPION OF COUNTERATTACK

by S. Merlin

One of the elements that makes a man great and a writer a genius—is complete and utter frankness. Frankness about himself. We know that nearly everyone is trying to pretend to be somebody else instead of himself. Ben Hecht, in his "A Guide for the Bedevilled," is thoroughly frank throughout. That is one of the reasons why his book is so powerful and impressive.

In his frankness, he declares: "I am no historian and less theologian. I am an admirer. I admire all the Jews of whom Graetz tells."

In paraphrasing Ben Hecht, I would like to say: I am no critic. I am an admirer. I admire Ben Hecht and admire, without limit, his book. I admire his pride. He is proud of his Jewish childhood on the East Side, of his amazing, fantastic experiences, of his whims, of his uncles and aunts, and of his highly successful career as a writer. He is proud, and justifiably, of a myriad of other things that he has done and achieved.

I admire his love for the Jews and his hatred for the Germans. These two intense feelings go inseparably together. You cannot really be devoted to the Jews, or even be a well-wisher of the Jews, without hating the Germans.

I admire his intelligence, which penetrates the mysteries of human mind and soul, an intelligence which embraces complicated problems of science, psychology, history, state-manship. I admire his style—the sparkling and ringing expressions of thought and feeling; a style unique and superb in its wit and sarcasm; a style so perfect it makes every sentence of his book a quotation.

But above all, I admire his guts; the amazing, exceptional courage needed to tell the mightiest of this world that they are fools or mad, or cowards, or scoundrels. He decided to tell the truth, the whole truth, about everyone. His book is mainly an attack upon the thousand

faces of anti-semitism and its one soul of a murderer. But his mind and his forceful indignation are never concentrated on one spot or on one group. With the sight of an eagle, he sees and dissects every rotten spot. He starts his book with a frontal attack upon those who pretend to pass as liberals, but under the cover of high falutin' phrases and ideals of liberty and freedom nurse the worm of bigotry and inhumanity. It is the lady who has so many appointments with liberty and freedom whom he exposes first in his opening chapter of the "Guide."

It is the "man of authority," the "all-knowing," who enrages him most; these personages of "authority" who are responsible for the annihilation of tens of millions of human beings, and not Jews alone; and for all the disasters of all times, in all countries. When he speaks of "all-knowing authority," he has in mind the professors, the statesmen, the Prime Ministers and Presidents, leaders of time past and of today. With bitter irony, almost with despair, he states: "The world is never Semmelweiss." (Symbol of simple, common sense and decency.—S.M.) "It will stumble forward, our world, out of exhaustion, out of the proddings of disaster. It will never move forward honorably or gracefully."

### "IT WILL DO GOOD"

"A witty and devastating attack on the anti-Semites. It is full of flashing knives, drops of vitriol, deceptive ironies, and history turned inside out to show that anti-Semitism is and always has been the disease of a weak, a stupid, a frightened mass. It is going to be widely read and it will do good by its acute explanations, which will make clear to many a non-Jew what the true and despicable nature is of the malady which, like a flu germ, has made so many of his acquaintances mentally sick."—Henry Seidel Canby, *Book-of-the-Month Club News*.

Ben Hecht has the courage to tell Christianity what he thinks of it: "A thousand years of Christianity, 700 to 1700, are based almost entirely on hatred. The religion of love triumphed more swiftly when it could be used to harass and outrage the weak and the helpless."

And he comes to the conclusion: "If I am looking for the villain responsible for the murder of 3,000,000 Jews, I must, as an honest man, not single out a few anti-Semites. I must attack a world from pole to pole."

I admire his guts in telling the Jewish potentates in Hollywood what he thinks of them, and that is why I suggested the reprinting in this magazine of the entire chapter, "The Masked Heroes of Israel," with all its irony and devastating sarcasm.

I admire Ben Hecht for his keen sense of propaganda, of how to influence mass psychology. If Palestine were a free and independent state, I would suggest that Ben Hecht, though a foreigner, be invited to become Minister of Propaganda. His sense of propaganda tells him that the Jews committed two disastrous mistakes in telling the world of their distress and in advertising their virtues. His sense of propaganda inspires him to declare: "I wish only that the accusations (by the anti-Semites) of egoism were as true as they proclaim them to be. . . . I wish also that many other of the accusations were true, that the Jews are dangerous, that they are a world menace (to the Germans)."

In this wish lies the force of Ben Hecht's "A Guide for the Bedevilled." He scorns the whole system of apology, and probably has given it the coup de grace. As a champion, he has launched an attack. It is up to the millions of Americans of Jewish descent to follow him. It will be of inestimable good not only to the Jewish situation, but to the very name of humanity.

# The Masked Heroes of Israel

by Ben Hecht

It is nothing new for the Jews to have heroes who will not speak to them. Nor to have champions preoccupied elsewhere. In times of stress, the Jews usually find themselves standing behind heroes who are as silent as the tomb, and looking to champions whose backs are turned to them. The great Jews of the world are not frequently found on any Jewish barricades.

The Jewish kings of Hollywood are part of this tradition. Though they have the hearts of lions, they will not fight as Jews. As anything else, yes. For any other cause, yes. For ideals they never heard of and that mean nothing to them—yes. As Jews—no.

I can tell you this—that two-thirds of the mighty Jews of Hollywood who read these pages will blaze with anger against me. Why? Because I am writing of them as Jews. They will pass the word out that I am an anti-Semite of ugly proportions. And they will pronounce that I have done my best to ruin the cinema industry. (It is not a serious charge, and I will ignore it.) I shall also continue my admiration for the great Jews of Hollywood. And, if I pause here to criticize them for a few paragraphs, it is only to make my ultimate admiration seem that of a sane, rather than infatuated, man.

Those Jewish heroes of Hollywood put a hundred thousand bushes in their movies and carry a synagogue. They ride to the rescue of every wounded folk in their films, and glorify the valor of all afflicted peoples—except the Jews. For they have a mission. It is to convince the world that their Americanism is unimpaired by any special consideration for Jews.

It is a mission in excellent standing among most of the great Jews in positions. This high "American" attitude of Hollywood is to be found also in Washington. There we have also magnificent Jews, fully as magnificent as those of Hollywood. And have you heard a single outcry from any of those Jews high in the councils of government, a single clasp of righteousness against the murder of Europe's three million Semites? Not one. For the Jews of Washington, like those of Hollywood, are not historical people. They are a new breed for these great Jews. No crimes against their lives can hurt them to a public wince of pain or any amount of demand for justice. As for a stride from them against anti-Semitism—the age of Jewish miracle died on Mt. Sinai.

Romain Rolland once wrote: "There are people who have

These two excerpts are reproduced from "A Guide for the Backslider" with the permission of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons.

the courage to die for the cause of another who have not the temerity even to speak up for their own."

But should they speak up? Would not their speaking up lessen them? Most certainly it would—in their own eyes. It is a little inconsiderate that we ask of great men that they throw away their greatness—and participate in some potato sack race or anti-Semitic block party run by the Germans. But what kind of greatness is it that can be lost—through the exercise of a little extra courage? The answer, alas, is Jewish greatness. I am one of its admirers, and I make these points only that I may not be accused of blindness.

In Hollywood our Jewish heroes, as do our Washington ones, give alms to three hundred and ninety Jewish organizations who are all busy as beavers distributing free cribs and crutches, etc. These Knights of Charity also give for the support of rabbis and rabbinical schools. For the Kol Nidre, as Heine wrote, will remain, whatever songs they hear, always bumping in their heads: the Kol Nidre and the Memories which are the chief cement of Jewishness.

But to throw their American-won greatness into the battle against anti-Semitism—that, do not ask for. To stand up as the great of Hollywood and proclaim in their films against the German murder of their kind—that, too, do not dream about. Their position they have told me is obvious. Though they own them, the movies are not theirs to use willy-nilly for special Jewish pleading. That, they argue even in their synagogues, would be an out and out betrayal of trust. For the American people trust them to be Americans and not Jews. It is a pact understood between the movie fans and the movie makers that there is nothing Jewish about the whole thing.

Do not examine these statements too closely. And forget all the special cinematic pleadings for Chinamen, Greeks, Norwegians, Serbs, Danes, Dutch, French and Ethiopians that have been flashed on all the screens of the world. Forget, also, the neutrality of the cinema before our entrance into the war. It played with the issues of the rights of man like a monkey with a hot brick. And forget the finickiness of these Jewish heroes toward allowing any hint of the German massacre of Europe's Jews to soil the Americanism of their product.

Ignore and forget and do not argue, for it is unwise and unprofitable to examine heroes. The Jews must be extra cautious in the appraisal of their own. They must be cautious even about cheering them, for the Jewish hero is not always pleased with Jewish cheers.

Forget the many losses and look at the winnings these heroes bring. They are considerable. Twist and squirm though they will, they are actually that—Jewish heroes. And that's a winning.

So shy, so tongue-tied, so masked a hero as the great Jew of Hollywood has seldom appeared in the long history of Abraham's children. He hangs from a Gentile Christmas tree covered with candy crosses. He stands up, beaming, in a red, white and blue gauze stocking and when you squeeze his middle he sings, "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "The Wearing of the Green."

But he is hero of Israel, nonetheless. And now that I am done carping at him, let me admire him sanely and with much respect. For he has greatness, and however fantastically and un-Jewishly he uses this greatness, it remains Jewish greatness.

A great Jew—a Jew of success, of talent, of power—is the most potent Jewish propaganda that exists. Whatever tune he whistles, and even though he contort himself so he comes apart at all the seams, the great Jew is always the most powerful weapon against anti-Semitism that Jews are capable of

forging. He can turn his back all he wishes—but he points always at the enemies of Jews.

Thus let us take the silence of the great Jews of Washington and Hollywood with good cheer. It is a pity they will not speak; for they could speak so well. And in their silence, others who have the voices of nanny goats and screech owls often pre-empt the podium. It is a pity they will not act or call for action or hurl their greatness at those who hate them. Nevertheless, they are a historical riches, sort of Jewish museum pieces of incalculable value to the Jews. Silent, inactive, and with their backs turned, they exist. And their existence is a tremendous asset. It is a treasure greater than polemics. It offers, also, a strength. For even though they do not battle, these great Jews are, in themselves, victorious—to be shared by all Jews.

If I would have them a little different, it is not because I disdain them as they are. Looking on Hollywood and Washington, I know that such Jews—though they seem empty—bring to Jewishness more than they take from it. They have my applause; for it may be that in my obituary it will turn out that I was one of them.

## My Dark Prayer

The Jews who have been murdered by the Germans—a whole continent of them—are vague people to me, not as vague as the Chinese or the Greeks, but sufficiently diluted by distance and separate cultures to seem almost strangers. They never quite lived in my mind, and they never quite died. What lived and died was the beating of hearts, the warmth of faces and the rights of men.

I never mourned them as racial familiars. My heart did not weep over Europe's Jews as at a family grave. To tell the truth, it has not wept at all. It has felt only outrage. I doubt if any man has ever felt more.

My outrage is not for the innocent ones who died defenseless. It is for those who slew them. Do I live to be a hundred, I shall remember these Germans. I shall keep their name in a lime kiln of my own until I am dead. And I shall bear witness after I am dead—if there are any ears to listen then.

The Germans outraged me because they are murderers, foul and wanton, and because they are fools such as gibber at a roadside, with spittle running from their mouths. They outraged me because they raised little pig eyes to their betters and sought to grunt and claw their way to the mastery of men. They outraged me because they fouled the name even of war, fouled the hopes of men, fouled a generation that belonged to me. And they outraged me because I am a Jew.

That this most clumsy and backward of all human tribes—

this leaden-hearted German—should dare to pronounce judgment on his superiors, dare to outlaw from the world the name of Jew—a name that dwarfs him as the tree does the weed—is an outrageous thing. It is an evil thing for the world that factories can supply fools with what God has denied them—greatness. It is an evil thing for the world that there remains in it a tribe that has only one dream—to cut the wings of others.

That these little pig-eyed Germans should have condemned and executed, not only three million Jews, not only the name of Jew, but the very name of humanity—condemned and executed every dream and hope of honorable men from Moses to Socrates to Christ, to Washington, to Garibaldi, Kosciuszko, Bolivar, Pitt, Burke, and Lincoln—is an outrageous thing.

They brought nothing to their century but the cry of an evil hunger. They left nothing of their century but wreckage.

In this book I write no epitaph for the Jews in their graves. I write over each of the three million graves of those who were murdered the news—"The German is an abomination."

Wherever I go I shall carry this epitaph with me. I shall plant it on German brows and German desks. Wherever a German sits or stands, weeps or laughs—there is abomination. The years will never clean him. Nor will the whimpering and callfike silence into which he will soon fall change his name and his epitaph. The German remains in defeat as in victory, in his cringe as in his gloat—an abomination.

## A Guide for the Bedevilled

# BEST OF ALL—IT'S FULL OF FIGHT

by Taylor Caldwell

Of course, I've always been one of Mr. Hecht's more ecstatic admirers, and hardly anything—well, hardly anything—he has written has failed to transport me to those drizzling heights where worshippers dwell. His style, to me, has always been perfection, so vital, so sparkling, so wise and rollicking is it, and—almost always—what he has to say is genuinely stimulating and invariably brilliant. I may be biased. I may lack a certain critical discrimination, always a failing with admirers. However, though it sounds egotistic, I don't think so. There are too many other admirers of Mr. Hecht who are also of my opinion.

His latest book, *A Guide for the Bedevilled*, is delightful, passionate, fiery, full of gusto and vitality. Best of all, it is full of fight.

This book, an attack on the anti-Semites, is indeed full of fight. Written by a Jew, it does not apologize, does not appeal to the enemies of the Jews, does not assume that they possess any charity, decency, compassion, or reason. Rightly, it assumes that they are Goons and Loons, to use Mr. Hecht's own satisfying expressions. He does not go about slinking timidly, as do the Franz Werfels and others of the latter's ilk, trying to "explain" the Jew, trying to persuade murderers and fools and lunatics that the Jew is a human being like themselves—God save the mark! To do this, as Mr. Hecht believes, is to limit the Jew. It assures the lunatics that they have made the Jew a victim, and how they love victims, the verminous

hordes! Again, Mr. Hecht believes, and I agree with him, that the Jew has been portrayed too long by his defenders as a golden-hearted fellow, full of real



saintliness. As if golden-hearted fellows and saints have not always been the "enthusiastic target of the pious chaps and imbeciles, perhaps with good reason.

Mr. Hecht, in effect, declares: "The Jew is only another man, with perhaps a saltier dash in his flesh, a more delicious love of living, and a sense of moral responsibility." In short, he is only a human being, attacked by those who can lay no claim to this distinction. He has been victimized because he is weak and scattered, and because he is always handy to the hands of those who have secret axes to grind against all humanity. The Jew is a man of ideas. He invented God, and invented Christianity, which was perhaps a serious error. He invented virtue and justice and mercy, morality and a sense of social responsibility. In short, by nature, he is the eternal enemy of those who would reduce mankind to a docile herd, meek under the whip of its masters. He is the

champion of the individual, so the churches hate him and call him "Communist." Maybe the Jew is wrong. Maybe mankind would be happier chained and fed like a beast of burden, with no demands upon him that he rise on his hind-legs and pretend to be human. Standing upright is a cruel demand. It is so much pleasanter on all fours. The Jew has declared that the upright position is the best for humanity, and perhaps that is why he is hated with so much enthusiasm.

I doubt if even Mr. Hecht believes that his book will have any effect on the anti-Semites, except to enrage them more. And I seriously doubt, as does Mr. Hecht, that the apologists for the Jew, the "explainers" of the Jew, the appealers-for-mercy for the Jew, do anything good for him, either. But Mr. Hecht is unique in this: he comes out fighting from his corner, full of healthy invective, anger, passion, exhilaration and laudable anger. In short, he punches from the floor, an aroused and disgusted man of strength and virility. He will perhaps make the lot of the persecuted Jew no easier. But, thank God, he does not insult him with sanctimonious whines for mercy. If the Jew is to be pilloried, let him endure his torments with dignity and scorn for his sub-human oppressors, and with contemptuous anger in the face of their threats and calumnies. In this way, he may inspire them with respect and shame, at least. Even the basest amongst us loves a fighter.

Ben Hecht's *Guide for the Bedevilled* is grand autobiography, sketched with that infinite richness of style that has made Ben a memorable experience. His analysis of anti-Semitism is brilliant.

Daily Mirror, March 17.

Mr. Hecht doesn't write treatises. He wields a flame thrower . . . here it is, timely, fiery, full of tart truth for those who do read, do care, and want to see the world get back up on the plane of humanity one of these days.

Hal Borland, N. Y. Times,  
Sunday, March 26.

Mr. Hecht does not appeal to that mythical thing called "Christianity," for better treatment of the Jews. For he knows that Christianity, as a reality, does not exist in the world, and has never existed, except, perhaps, among the Jews who invented it and are the only ones who can possibly understand it. To appeal to us Gentiles in the name of Christianity is to appeal to us in the name of a philosophy unintelligible to us, and which we secretly fear and hate.

I am enchanted with an episode in *A Guide for the Bedevilled*, which every Jew should ponder. Mr. Hecht tells of the time when, as a little boy, he was taken by his exuberant Tante Chasse to a melodramatic play in which the innocent hero is accused of a crime, while the villain snickers in the background. The little boy objected loudly and tearfully, and when ushers tried to shut him up, his wonderful Tante (whom I now slavishly adore) struck the interlopers strongly over the heads with her umbrella. Later, with a radiant smile, she assured the little Ben that breaking heads is always the best way to win an argument. Yes, indeed, Jews should ponder that story, instead of forcing themselves into the role of a high-minded and noble creature full of love and compassion for his tormenters.

I have always been infuriated with Jews who apologized, who explained, who tried to induce a hateful world to treat them as human beings. The time has come for them to abandon this cowardly nonsense. Come up fighting; heap scorn and disgust upon attackers. That is the conduct of a man.

Mr. Hecht's chapter on the Germans should be reprinted by the million, laid on the coming Peace Tables, distributed to all men everywhere. To me, the German has always been a loathsome creature, and nothing Mr. Hecht says

in anger and disgust and contempt about the Teuton is strong enough. Thinking men well understand that it was the Germans who invented Hitler; he is their creature, not their leader. Their bloody souls have eternally been filled with murder and hatred. Mr. Hecht suggests that they be allowed to keep their beloved Nazism, or any similar "ism" which they will invent out of their black and primitive hearts, and that they be allowed to practise it within a stockade, in which enclosure he fervently hopes they will exterminate each other. An excellent idea, as far as it goes. However, I have better ones, ones that will take less time than Mr. Hecht's, but even Mr. Hecht might find them too ferocious, too monstrous and too inhuman. But, after all, Mr. Hecht is a Jew, and I am not.

Mr. Hecht does not believe in any goodness in humanity. There is a cry of hopeless despair through his chapters on this subject, though they are written in the sprightliest and most fascinating manner possible. He curses the inhumanity of man with grim gaiety and detestation. He is full of gallows humor. No one, except a fool who believes in the absurdity of "sweetness and light" can possibly disagree with him. Mankind is a stench in the purlieus of the universe. I have always believed so. But I found no such a champion of my belief until I encountered Mr. Hecht. But yes, there was One other in our belief in the New Testament. He understood humanity, despised it, berated it, and found little hope for it. His name was Jesus.

Some rag-tags of Christianity still cling to me. I dream, sometimes, that Jesus might return to the world again.

### Easter tide

O Christian Church, you celebrate  
A Risen Jew  
Who paid a price of blood and  
tears  
In saving you;  
Now pay the ancient debt and  
raise  
His brothers, too.

—Annabel Ledlie Berry.

"A Guide for the Bedevilled" is a provocative book. It has provoked this reviewer to a sermon. It will provoke other reviewers to quite different things. That is the measure of its punch.

John Chamberlain,  
N. Y. Times, March 14.

as He promised, and that He will walk through all the purple cathedrals of the world, through all the ways of men, crying out: "Cain, where are My people?" Mr. Hecht cries out in these words. Perhaps (though this is just a fantasy) we shall hear its greater Echo: one of these days from his nobler Brother.

No short review could possibly give an idea of the infinite variety, humor, passion, color, and genius of Mr. Hecht's book. It is like a handful of glittering bright gems flung into a keg of the junk-jewelry of modern books. These gems have countless facets, constantly changing hues, constant brilliance. I can only say that if you miss reading this book you have missed a banquet with a hundred different courses, and will be less nourished in consequence.

Mr. Hecht discounts the superiority of the Jews. He denies any miracles, any loving intention of God towards them. He declares only that they are human beings, and he demands that they so be treated.

Nevertheless, he has one passage which ought to lift the heart of any Jew and fill his eyes with proud tears:

—But I will not go into more of their troubles. Suffice that they are endless, bloody, and fantastic. Yet, surrounded by a demented Europe, by the hate and contempt of a perpetual lynching mob, the Jews perform neither as victims nor pariahs. They fill the lands with universities. They invent new sciences. They widen the fields of medicine and law. They open trade routes. They write great books. They are busy as beavers attacking each other as if there were no enemies at all: baying at their heels. They are as industrious, sprightly, and inquisitive as if a sun were shining and not even a rain falling. They remain part of a world toiling to disgorge them. They remain its friend."

## A Guide for the Bedevilled

# MURDER BY MILLIONS

by Russell Gordon Carter

Yes, gentlemen, it is murder! There is a distinction, you know, between war and murder. Yes, murder is the word. It is an ugly word, a shocking word. You must be very careful how you use it.

Ben Hecht uses it with great care in his new book, *A Guide for the Bedevilled*. As a former Chicago newspaper man, he knows something about murder. He has seen corpses. He has fingered blood-stained clothing. He has visited jails and talked with men and women sentenced to life or to the chair. He not only knows something about murder, he also knows something about murderers.

He knows the Germans. As Berlin correspondent for his paper, he had many opportunities for studying their habits, their actions, their strange minds. Just as he had visited Cook County jails and talked to murderers, so he visited Germany and talked to Germans.

He did more than talk: he listened. He listened, for example, to the weeping boche lieutenant who, after the Alexanderplatz *putsch* had manned a machine gun in the courtyard of Moabit Prison, in Berlin, and assisted at the execution of nine hundred men, women and boys, all of them workers—all Germans. Then, "I left the lieutenant in my bed and hurried to Moabit Prison, armed with binoculars. From the branches of a tree some distance off I watched the last of the two thousand prisoners tied together and driven with bayonets into the courtyard and shot down by the lieutenant's successors at the machine guns."

Yes, gentlemen, in the careful considered opinion of Ben Hecht, the Germans are a nation of murderers. "Oh, but surely, not all! Please, Mr. Hecht, there must be many good Germans!" . . . Yes, the author can see that argument, but he can't understand it. He

writes, "It is like arguing: who commits the murder—the man who fires the gun or the gun that shoots? The man who fires is obviously a murderer, but obviously too the the gun that shoots



is no feather duster. In fact, without his weapon obligingly at hand, the murderer is harmless." And we might add, the German gun is always loaded.

Where draw the line between the weapon and the man who presses the trigger? That is to say, between the German people and their leaders whom they follow so blindly, so willingly? "Please, please, dear Mr. Hecht, won't you admit there are at least a few good Germans?"

Ben Hecht readily admits the fact: "There are Germans who have fled their nation as virgins might flee a debauch. And there are Germans who have not fled and have no voice, but who give high testimony by their deaths in concentration camps. And there are the usual cunuchs of virtue—the 'good' Germans who toss a little at night. Their decencies are not strong enough to override their urge for conformity. In a land of brutes they are unable to bear

the anti-social stigma of asserting themselves as human beings." Yet even these last are suspect. "I do not ask them to be heroes," he continues, "but I suspect these possum-playing human beings of Germany. I suspect that if you examine any one of them carefully you will find he is no soul in torment, but a coin with two sides. He can offer either side as coin of the realm."

Here, however, are a few facts that require no admission. The Germans murdered a million Jews in Poland and another million in Germany, France, Holland, Hungary, Austria and Roumania. They murdered a third million in Russia, Serbia and the other Slav countries. Who precisely are the murderers? Let Ben Hecht answer the question:

"The Germans sat at desks and held conferences, discussing the most economical way to murder Jews. The Germans at these desks were not fantastic Germans. They were usual Germans. They were German professors, officers, city planners, business men, German writers, German heroes, German musicians, German scientists . . . In conning the reports of this extermination of Europe's Jews, my mind has remained never long on the screaming lime pits nor the crackling synagogues filled with burning Jews. Nor on any of the piles on piles of dead Jews in the rivers and ditches. My mind moves always to the Germans at the desks inventing new ways of murder, giving orders for murder to be done and receiving the reports from the lime kilns, the gas chambers, the machine-gun and arson squads."

Something of course is fundamentally wrong with the German character. Many of us have suspected it for a long time. Do you doubt it, gentlemen? In that case let us summon a witness, a German—revered by Germans—who has made

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## A Guide for the Bedevilled

# AN AMAZING BOOK

by Emil Lengyel

This is an amazing book of the amazing Ben Hecht, known to America and a large slice of the world beyond it through his tense plays, such as "The Front Page" (with Charles MacArthur), and scenarios, such as the unforgettable "Wuthering Heights," a series of brilliant novels, such as "A Jew in Love," his epigrammatic "Book of Miracles," whimsical magazine articles and the magnificent cavalcade of tragedy and hope, "We Will Never Die."

This book is amazing because it reveals the incredible range of Ben Hecht's gifts. His central theme is anti-Semitism. He discourses also on Nazis and human beings, on hatreds and haters, on "hatees," such as Jews and people who hate to be taken for Jews. Mr. Hecht also reminisces about his past, about Hollywood and human futility. He presents a full-dress scenario of Dr. Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis, who was hounded into the lunatic asylum because he proved that puerperal fever is contagious and because he wanted to force maternity-ward physicians to wash their hands before they approached their patients. All of this is woven into a philosophy which startles with its depth and fascinates with its brilliance.

While this is not for the first time that Ben Hecht makes a bow as a profound thinker, this may be the book that establishes his reputation as a philosopher of human foibles. If it is not sacrilege to suggest that George Gershwin was the Beethoven of symphonic jazz, it may be no sacrilege to suggest that in this book Hecht appears as the Goethe of our bedevilled age, showing how the devil of the destructive side of human nature is corrupting the Faust of his better intentions.

Of course, Ben Hecht is most unlike Weimar's Olympian sage. He cracks paradoxes, as others crack jokes.

Hecht is whimsical, rhapsodic, sometimes even "irresponsible," but he always leaves the reader breathless. This great jester has seen very deep into human nature and probably has seen



too much for his own good.

All of this is expressed with an overpowering force and a remarkably fine style, which shows how rich modern English may become in competent hands, without being pedantic or bombastic.

Such a storehouse of wisdom defies attempts to itemize its contents. Ben Hecht analyzes hatred as the motive power of anti-Semitism. "The scoundrel—prince or priest or adventurer—has known always that it is easier to win followers through his deep talent for hate than his (biologically) recent capacity for love. He has known that hatred is the magic for victory, if you can control it. Hatred strengthens people and solidifies them—behind you, if you are lucky. When we hate someone, we feel the courage necessary for his slaying. If we happen to hate someone weak and unarmed against us, this does not lessen our courage. In fact, it in-

creases it. Not only the Germans, but scores of nations have shouted themselves to battle by first 'triumphing' over the Jews."

It is this battle against reason that is the real show, and not the pogrom itself. This is so because poison and folly are the chief ingredients of human thought, the author holds.

It is with deep conviction that Ben Hecht sets forth his belief that it is most unwise to proclaim your distress to the world. An occasional Samaritan will be ready to help you, but he will be accompanied by three sadistic hooligans intent on the sport of increasing your torment. Hence, it was a grave mistake for the Jews to advertise themselves as innocent victims in a world fawning on success.

No less a mistake is the Jewish "virtue-apologist" propaganda, in Ben Hecht's view, because all have to do is to look over the shoulder of the man parading his virtues and promptly you will see his follies and evils.

The reader will note that Hecht does not believe that anti-Semites are as yet very dangerous in the United States. But he pays close attention to them, classifying them in pat English jargon. The "goon" wants to kill all Jews and therefore he is a wise man because he has the solution for all human woes. Then there is "the man with a nowhere ticket," and he can distinguish a newspaper from a tomato can label. A born coward, he pools his own meager "spiritual" resources with those of the other "little casinos," and is then happy because he can feel superior. Then there is the "loon" of the lunatic fringe, the mad troubadour of anti-Semitism, full of inhibitions, complexes and pathologic frustrations. Finally, there are "the fellow-travellers of anti-Semitism—a nymbus of sly killers, bird-brained dowagers, crippled libidos and cockeyed

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professors," in other words, the gutter-Napoleons.

Not all readers will agree with Hecht's appraisal of the Germans as a predestined genus rather than a vast collection of over-organized sheep tearing into the poultry yard and acting like lions. But even in these passages he is good reading because he has the Prophets' capacity for wrath.

The temptation is great to quote some of the soaring epigrams of one chapter after another, but the task is impossible, since the book is full of them.

Ben Hecht's picture of this bedevilled generation is gloomy. It would appear perhaps even more so if it were not streaked by the dazzling light of his own exaltation. On the last pages he quotes a conversation between himself and his conscience, pointing out to him the Land Without a Hope. "Without hope?" the author asks, and then continues: "Have you also misunderstood my violence and pessimism? They are the finest kind



"THAT THESE LITTLE PIG-EYED GERMANS should have condemned and executed . . . the very name of humanity . . ." A scene in the Warsaw Ghetto during a search.

of hope. They arm me against a thousand tomorrows. The future is an enemy, marching. But I go out to meet it—with a cutlass in my hand. Adieu!" Is it possible that this gallant warrior

against Hollywood's celluloid verities should be so contaminated by movie influence as to contradict his wrathful prophecies with a happy ending curtain?

## MURDER BY MILLIONS

(Continued from Page 10)

a careful study of his fellow countrymen.

"Herr Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, will you kindly step forward and tell us what you think of Germans?"

"What do I think? *Gott!* Do you not recall that I wrote that there was no hope for Germans because they had brutalized themselves beyond cultural repair by their conduct in the war against the French in 1871?"

"That is most interesting. I had forgotten the exact phrasing. Now tell us, did you not describe the spirit of Germany as 'soft, swamp, slippery soil?'"

"Yes, of course. I also wrote that the Germans love all that is crepuscular, damp and shrouded, and that they have not the faintest idea of how vulgar they are. The Germans, I pointed out, are the most backward among the civilized peoples of Europe."

"Civilized? The Germans?"

"Ach, we all make mistakes! I regret that one."

"It was a serious one, Herr Nietzsche!"

"Yes, but I rectified it when I wrote, 'The Germans are barbarians—and worse.' Also I wrote, 'The tendency to be un-German has always been a mark of efficient members of our nation.' Do you wish to hear more?"

"Thank you, we've heard enough about Germans. But the Jews, didn't you also say something interesting about the Jews?"

"Naturally. I wrote, 'It was the Jewish free thinkers, scholars and physicians who upheld the banner of enlightenment and of intellectual independence under the severest personal sufferings and defended Europe against Asia.' I added, 'They are the health of Europe.'"

"Thank you. I appreciate, of course, that your remarks about the Germans, which you have been good enough to repeat, were made originally in the latter part of the 19th Century. I want to be fair, for you see, Ben Hecht quotes your remarks in his book, *A Guide for the Bedevilled*, which I am reviewing. Perhaps you no longer hold such harsh views of your fellow Germans—"

"My dear naive American! *Gott in Himmel!* If I held those views before the two world wars, do you suppose the conduct of the Germans since then could possibly have caused me to change?"

"Thank you again, Herr Nietzsche. That is all."

Gentlemen, let us get on with the subject. I think we all understand by now that it is with a nation of murderers and their accomplices that we shall have to deal when we have finally won the war. Remember there are two sides to the coin. After the first world war we turned the unpleasant side down. This time we must turn it up! . . .

The foregoing thoughts reveal only one facet of a remarkable book that it would benefit Christians as well as Jews to read. There will be those who will call it a defense of the Jew. It is not that; rather, it is an attack on the enemies of the Jew—a withering, blasting, devastating attack that will encourage other attacks. And by attacking the enemies of the Jew, Ben Hecht, of course, is also attacking the enemies of civilization.

Thank you, Ben Hecht!

## A Guide for the Bedevilled

# A DISTURBING BOOK

by May Lewis

In spite of the stupendous disorder of the world there are still many people who need to be disturbed—in their complacency, in their apathy, in their conscience—to be disturbed and perhaps awakened.

Very clearly apparent is the fact that from now on we must be prepared to find the world smaller, more crowded, more mixed in its populations, its areas of exclusiveness reduced to the vanishing point. If we wish to maintain human life on the globe we must learn, willy nilly, and rapidly at that, to live peaceably and at far closer quarters than heretofore with the various types of our fellow men.

*Know thyself* is the preliminary and most important step towards knowing others, but until recently man has not had the proper tools for this difficult exploration. Now, psychology, the youngest of the sciences, is teaching us that for health and sanity the secret sores of civilization must be uncovered and exposed to the healing light. The most recent discovery in the restoration of our shell-shocked men is the insistence on making them talk of their fear and horror, even, if necessary, under hypnosis, even under the influence of drugs.

Therefore, Ben Hecht's "Guide for the Bedevilled," with its brilliant and outspoken analysis of anti-Semitism is a valuable contribution towards the cure of one of the oldest and most evil of the problems of civilization.

Although, alas, it has taken the horrible destruction of at least three million helpless beings and the loss, with them, of what can never be computed in possible gains to science, to art, to

humanity—although it has taken this horrible destruction to bring anti-Semitism to the surface as a subject for serious consideration, it has at last come out into the open, to the benefit of all concerned.



The New York Times of March 16th reports that: "A nation-wide campaign to teach tolerance in the schools and colleges of this country in an effort to stamp out prejudices and antagonisms is being undertaken by the National Education Association's commission for the defense of democracy through education, representing 200,000 American school teachers." On March 23rd there was a further account of the "Expansion of the Bureau for Intercultural Education on a national scale, with the establishment of three summer workshops in colleges and introduction of experimental projects in various parts of the country to find ways of eliminating intolerance . . . Dr. William H. Kilpatrick, Professor Emeritus at Teachers' College, is chairman of the board of directors. In expanding to a nation-wide basis,

Dr. Stewart G. Cole, executive director, said, the bureau has voted a minimum budget of \$100,000 for the coming year."

It might be suggested in all serious-

ness that Ben Hecht's "Guide for the Bedevilled" be required reading for the members of these boards; they will find it neither difficult nor dull. The fact that an old, conservative and non-sensational firm of publishers such as Charles Scribner's Sons has put its imprint on this book, says much for its value and timeliness.

Anti-Semitism as a topic of conversation is, also, finally to the fore, even in drawing-rooms where formerly prohibition and later, communism entertained the mentally idle. And it is in a witty account of one of these conversations in the opening chapter that we find the book had its origin and inspiration.

The world is undoubtedly faced, geographically, politically and ethically with an impasse: What shall be done with the Jewish problem? For the world's own selfish sake, if for no other reason, some solution must be reached. Either that, or Hitler's method: at which civilization undoubtedly balks.

I think that Ben Hecht underestimates the value of his book when he says towards the close: "Such investigations as this are as powerless as the wind blowing at a mountain base. The absurdity and monstrosity of the human mind have survived books of this sort by the thousands and hundreds of thousands." But he also knows that "not to write them would be to deny tomorrow. They are the prayers of sanity." The wind, I believe, does more than blow against the mountain. It sweeps into men's minds, disturbing the dust which may settle but not quite in the same places.

These investigations are important

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His book is brilliant, passionate, witty, arrogant . . . bristling with delightful epigrams . . . a cry of defiance to the wolf pack.

Chicago Tribune.

It is one of the most ferocious attacks on anti-Semitism ever written—and the first to be written by a Jew of Ben Hecht's literary conspicuousness.

Time, April 10.

because they indirectly uncover two great fundamental ideas that are at the basis of what is America: *All men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.* Likewise, that other great utterance that had its root in the wide soil of the prairie: *With malice toward none.*

Ben Hecht, let us say at the beginning, must not be mistaken for a *Jewish* champion. He forgot that he was a Jew from the time when, at the age of eight, he left the New York ghetto for the West, until the present hour. He has mis-ed, perhaps through no fault of his own, the great spiritual heritage of his people. While he does justice, in an original and convincing manner, to the ego in man he remains totally unaware of that mysterious element which is the soul. He cannot rise to the conception of a power greater than human although he sees dimly the grandeur of Abraham, paying lyrical and reverent tribute to his unworship and acclaiming him the father of Democracy.

It is this chapter which he designates, "On Tiptoe Through the Bible" and it begins: "I am no historian and less theologian. I am an admirer." Later he flounders into a long discourse on Ahab and Elijah which seems somewhat beyond his depth. But even though he is a Jew deficient in, or deprived of his background, he is none the less a champion, outspoken, honest and vigorous. "I know I have shouted," he winfully admits, and there is an unquenchable, small boy, dare-devil—a gamin quality in all that he says. And yet he is in the deadliest earnest and knows his subject, indeed, to be a somber one. His people, who are not overwhelmed with too numerous champions, must be grateful for his courageous shout. If it detracts from the quality of his tone it perhaps adds to the force of his message. "I have a mission to write about the Jews. I have a mission also to write about anti-Semites." And, in addition, he has straight and blasting things to say of the Germans in whose country he has lived as a newspaper correspondent. He knows his Teuton well. He knows also,

prophetically, that in a world where too much moral fibre has atrophied beyond the aid of vitamins, their crimes will not only be forgiven and forgotten but transferred and attributed to their victims. How easily it will be said: "This has all been the fault of the Jews." As a journalist he has moved with gusto in the underworld of America as well as in its upper strata, and knows the many sides of mankind.

Realizing that he has undertaken the writing of a very difficult book, he is a bit staggered when he faces the possible breadth of its scope. Owning freely to his limitations, he decides to "peer only where it pleases me and hit only where I see a fetching target." His score amounts to many bull's-eyes—keen insights, like neat shots from a well aimed rifle.

Under the heading, "The Miracle of Jewish Gayety" he takes note, as follows: "But this tale of Jew-killing that runs through the centuries and is apparently still running through them is a little misleading . . . I was fascinated by other matters than the lists of dead and foully-done-by Israelites. I was fascinated by the curious animation of the living Jews.

"Here is something that when I met it had the odor of miracle. During the eighteen centuries in which hate, humiliation and massacre boiled constantly around them, my kinsmen the Jews reveal a single, unwavering characteristic. They are not impressed."

It is an easy book to read with its crisp, short chapters, each wearing a jaunty title, like a hat tip-tilted, but it is a difficult book to write about. He disarms the critics, those "fishermen with their haul of minnows" by frank admissions. "There were flaws larger than elephants in my logic," he cries

For here is no reasoned dissection of the great hatred—but a scintillating attack on anti-Semitism and its practitioners, chiefly the Germans, delivered with all the wicked, practised skill of which Hecht is a master . . . (few writers have analyzed anti-Semites and their sickness with such devastating scorn, with such blistering contempt).  
N. Y. Post, March 21.

gaily. He disclaims scholarship and yet, with what eagerness, what avidity he drinks in erudition when, as a newspaper correspondent in Chicago, he encounters in person Brandeis and Levin, and gives proof thereby of that racial characteristic, the unquenchable hunger for learning. He can lay an apt finger, too, far and wide on the great books of the world. His title is a paraphrase of Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed" (although that guidance was drawn from the Bible). He knows, with the enthusiasm of a connoisseur, that Klausner of Palestine is a magnificent scholar; he refers with ease to Montaigne, quotes Nietzsche to the confusion of the Germans and Plato against Hollywood, and in his sharp and penetrating psychoanalysis of anti-Semitism, Freud is at his right hand. He lays no claim to good taste and demonstrates this at more than one point. It might be wished that in a book so vital, a judicious pruning knife had been applied to what is over-exuberant, as well as to what is merely vulgar. But let it be remembered that Rabelais was none too careful with his epithets and has survived as a classic, and in the book's indictment of the indifferent Nice People, the case against the other side, is well taken: "It is in the world of these indifferent ones that anti-Semitism flourishes. Anti-Semitism and everything foul. It is these Nice People who make all horror and wretchedness possible—by their unfunctioning Niceness. By their fierce pride in the little they know. By their abominable laziness. They are the neutrals—the myriad of neutrals—in the war between reason and unreason. To me these sleepy, dopey, primping and evasive on-lookers are the true scoundrels. They are the stillborn of the world. They are the vast army of social focusses that clog the highways, the theatres, the street cars and the halls of lawmaking. If I am looking for the villain responsible for the murder of three million Jews, I must, as an honest man, not single out a few anti-Semites. I must attack a world from pole to pole."

Ben Hecht's loyalty to his birthplace in a crowded slum is a gauge of char-

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## A Guide for the Bedevilled

# THE SHAME OF ANTI-SEMITISM

by Curt Riess

If a man runs amuck, he is taken forcibly to a hospital. If a man complains that he is being persecuted by men with red hair, it is called "persecution mania," and he is sent to an asylum. If a man breaks into another's house to kill and plunder, he is put on trial for murder.

But if the victim of the man who runs amuck, or who feels himself persecuted, or who kills and robs is a Jew—if the victim is a Jew—then the crime is called "anti-Semitism"; and no one dreams of sending anybody to an asylum or to the electric chair for an act of anti-Semitism! At best, long arguments result, the whole purpose of these discussions being to decide to what degree the man is guilty—not the man who made the attack, but the man who was attacked!

This is what nine out of ten discussions of anti-Semitism are about. There is only one way to act in situations of this kind. Ben Hecht's Aunt Chassa knew it. When she was thrown out of a theatre because little Ben protested at certain dramatic but unjust activities on the stage, and was then asked by the manager to apologize, she began to belt him over the head with her umbrella. "That's the right way to apologize," she informed little Ben.

At any rate, that is right way for a Jew to apologize for anti-Semitism. We should know it by now. We should have learned long ago that neither scientific explanations nor utter silence can stop the Jew-baiters.

We saw it in Germany, where most of the Jews thought that they might outlast Hitler simply by pretending they didn't see what he planned to do. They even told the world for years that the Nazis weren't so bad, that most crimes against the Jews were only individual acts of terror. They did this until the Nazi regime began methodically to kill them, and to attack other countries and liquidate the Jews there.

By now American Jews should know that there is no use in looking the other way and pretending that things aren't so bad. Because they most certainly



are. But most American Jews, particularly the so-called influential ones, still adhere to the modus operandi of the ostrich. The few Jews who occupy positions of importance in Washington do everything to avoid speaking up as Jews. Hollywood producers prefer to forego good business rather than make a picture which presents the "controversial" issue of the Jews and anti-Semitism. Yet is there anything controversial about a situation where a man wants to kill me, and gives as an excuse that his race is superior to mine?

Ben Hecht found out, to his great astonishment, that people with whom he had lived his whole life on what he considered equal terms regarded him as something extra special—not necessarily bad but, well, different: a Jew. He found out he regarded himself as that, too, and there was nothing wrong with it. But still, people evidently felt that there was something wrong with being a Jew.

Hecht decided to look into the matter and write a book about anti-Semites.

He didn't do exactly that. What he wrote became a book about anti-Semites, an even more important theme, because there are so many more of them around than there are Jews and because they are dangerous and should be studied, and perhaps because they are more interesting (the murderer usually makes better reading than the victim). Anyhow, there is little to be done about people who get shot, but a great deal about those who shoot. There is, for instance, the excellent use of an umbrella introduced by Mr. Hecht's aunt. In a way, his book is nothing but the employment of this method on a literary basis. And that is good.

There was no sense in writing another learned treatise about Jews and anti-Semitism. Too many learned books have been written on the subject, and anti-Semites don't read them, anyhow. If they did they would not understand them, because if they did they would not be anti-Semites. Which is why it has always seemed to me superfluous to fight for the Jews by telling the world how many prominent Jews there are, and what great things they have accomplished. That sort of thing does not prove anything; it is nothing but the old "my father can lick your father any time." This hiding behind other people's records is childish, particularly so because the real anti-Semites know nothing about the Theory of Relativity or the importance of the invention of Dr. Ehrlich, or the beauty of a symphony by Gustav Mahler. They know nothing; nothing at all. All they can understand is the crash of an umbrella against their skulls.

Nor have they logic. They cannot see what is going on when one man murders another. They learned once upon a time that the Germans are nice people. So

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## A DISTURBING BOOK

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acter, as well as the whole-hearted sincerity of his admiration for his country. And at whose doorstep if not that of those same Nice People shall the blame for the slum be laid? If it sends forth its brilliant children a little dusty and uncombed, how greatly it is to their credit that they are able to develop their genius at all and attain to their many high achievements. There is a sonnet to New York that says:

"City, you are the thoughts of these your throngs—

These tiny men—desire and will of each;

A squalid street is builded out of wrongs;

A happy brain has dreamed a park's extent" . . .

It is a difficult book to talk about because its contents are so extraordinarily varied. It includes the author's not too proud but frank and racy autobiography, and in a world where we must undoubtedly learn to live and let live, no self-revealing document can be negli-

## THE SHAME OF ANTI-SEMITISM

(Continued from Page 15)

when the Germans go out and kill other people, it must be the fault of the other people. So they arrive at the curious conclusion that it is not the murderer but his victim who is guilty. And that is why they will say after this war is over, that it was the Jews who started it; that they preferred having millions of soldiers killed on the battlefields to living peacefully with Hitler.

What's an anti-Semite? Hecht calls them "fools, pipsqueaks, social imposters, spiritual harelips, tormented homosexuals, lonely sadists, intellectual bankrupts" and many more such names. Not nice language, but there is no sense—and the importance of Hecht's book is that he recognizes it—in dignifying anti-Semites by talking about them in a dignified way. It is much more useful to shove them into the limelight where everybody can see just how low human beings can sink.

gible. It contains an essay on one aspect of Voltaire and another on Belloc; a portrait of Senor Pinto of Portugal, as an XVIII Century oil painting; surprisingly, it introduces a complete scenario of absorbing interest and an account of Hollywood, shot through with humor but as graphic as an etching, with a genealogical account of its producers, descendants of those "Jewish peddlers with a touch of genius in their pack," that is fascinating in its originality and astuteness.

The amazing thing is that with all this, and much more, anecdote, argument, and epigram on epigram—

"For people who suffer from littleness, there is an ancient relief—intolerance."

" . . . it is as impossible to change the prejudices of the living as it is to alter those of the dead."

"There are many explanations of the unpopularity of the Jew. Much less attention has been given to the psychology of his ill-wishers."

—the truly amazing thing is that it all holds together and actually never strays from its thesis.

Attack is the best defense—in this case the only one. Because there is no real defense for being a Jew. Why should there be? Are we guilty because we are born? Some Jews seem to feel so. "The fear of being Jews is about the only thing that distinguishes Jews adversely," writes Hecht. And such Jews are guilty. Not because they are born as Jews, but because they have become "fools, pipsqueaks, social imposters, spiritual harelips . . ."—in short: anti-Semites.

But that is another story . . .

No, perhaps it is not. Because the enormous problem of anti-Semitism is something which goes far beyond the Jews. It is a threat to humanity, to the very principles of society itself. The man who runs amuck is not only a danger to his first victim. Tomorrow he may find others. We Jews happen to be the first victims of something which, if it is not stopped, will destroy what is even more valuable than indivi-

He himself says on an early page that in spite of "all this darting about . . . the continuity, movement and sapience will all be there" and this promise he makes good, holding true to what he describes as "an inner liveliness, a most fantastic aliveness that bubbles away like a Jewish sap—in civilization. It is against this aliveness that twenty-eight hundred years of enemies have launched themselves—and lost."

The gladness that he tells us that he feels in this missionary work puts vigor and sparkle, wit and poetry into his desperately serious subject, of which he has been impelled to write from a sense of deep outrage—"I doubt if any man has ever felt more."

It has all been done with a light touch, but with no levity of meaning. Into the making of this live coal of a book has gone all of the head and all of the heart. It is "moral thunder" but delivered in the form of thunder's precursor, the flickered lightning over the dark landscape, and derives from that passion that has almost faded out of the modern world, the moral flame called Righteous Indignation.

dual human lives: the very things for which and through which the world lives. This is not something that may happen in a distant future. It is happening. The world is on its way back to the Middle Ages. The decline in ethics is bewildering and frightening. The public conscience, only fifty years ago one of the great forces which ruled the world, is all but extinct. Only fifty, even twenty years ago, a single man sentenced innocently could arouse the whole civilized world. Today, the same world has become accustomed to the wrong which is done hourly. Instead of being indignant, we shrug it off.

Anti-Semitism is but one symptom of the disease of a world that has lost its conscience. By showing it up for what it is, maybe we can bring back to society the quality of indignation without which it must collapse. By fighting anti-Semitism we fight and destroy a much greater danger. It isn't impossible. All we need are logic and courage—and, of course, an umbrella!

# THERE IS NO OTHER WAY

From "Testament to Democracy"

by Lord Wedgwood

The dying effort of Lloyd-Georgian liberalism in the last war allocated to the Jews a homeland in Palestine; and Great Britain graciously accepted the mandate in order to carry out the "Balfour Declaration". Those of us who had worked for and secured this settlement did so not only as an act of justice and to provide a home for the homeless, but also to provide a bridgehead whence civilization and Western culture might permeate the East. The British are bad mixers; the Jews should be the carriers of Occidental life and thought into the sleepy Orient. The new colony should be a credit to British statesmanship, and Palestine our firm fortress in time of trouble.

## One Jewish Success

The Jews of all the world have done their part nobly in Palestine. Five hundred thousand of the best intelligence and morality have converted a wilderness into a garden. For the first time in history, colonists from a higher civilization have neither robbed nor exploited the wilder native race. The Aztecs and Incas of Mexico and Peru, the Redskins on the Great Lakes of North America, the aborigines of Australia and Tasmania, the Hottentots and Kafirs of South Africa—all have been enslaved,

or exploited and gradually exterminated. Wherever settlers have come, they have taken the land by force or fraud under the plea of necessity and expediency. Only the Jews of Palestine have paid for barren lands at a blackmail price and labored to make such lands productive. Tel Aviv, a hive of industry with 200,000 Jewish inhabitants, stands today where there were but barren sandunes twenty-five years ago. Haifa rivals Alexandria and the Piraeus; Jerusalem has conquered nature and become a model and beautiful city. The collective farms are as fine in spirit and in economic example as any in Russia. Above all, a despised race from Polish ghettos has become a self-respecting people; former middlemen, beating down and under-cutting their neighbors in a fight for a bare living, have become proud and successful colonists, conquering nature instead of their fellow man. They have performed this miracle in the teeth of the bitterest opposition from the British administration, both in London and in Palestine.

We might have had two million such colonists, spread from Baghdad to the frontiers of Egypt, a living fortress to defend the Suez Canal and the oil-wells of Persia and Mesopotamia. They might

now be robustly hitting back at their enemy and ours. Their factories might have been pouring out munitions; their ships might have been making the Mediterranean dangerous to our enemies; 200,000 with the spirit of the Maccabees might have conveyed that spirit to comrades of the United Nations in arms. Instead, they have been hampered at every turn, disarmed and left almost unprotected from the armed Arab footers among whom they dwell. Their immigration has been stopped, their land purchases prohibited, the little money they have saved from Hitler taken from them in taxation, to supply Arabs who murder and a British administration which denies them justice.

## Palestine Administration

This Administration and their abettors in Whitehall claim that all this wrecking is done "in the interests of the natives"! I have proved a dozen times, and the House of Commons knows, that this is false. "In the interests of the natives"! Let the natives of Kenya and Rhodesia explain how our modern Colonial Office looks after their interests, how their land is taken without payment, how they are taxed to work, how they are educated, how their leaders are banished, how they are given a vote or a voice in their government! God forbid that we, or the Jews, should ever look after the interests of Palestine natives as the British Colonial Office looks after the interests of African natives!

Had these settlers in Palestine been British (Note: In the "Seventh Dominion" Col. Wedgwood expounds this theory at length—M. S.), how proud we should have been of them! How the Administration would have helped them, with loans, advice and arms! How safe they would now be, both from natives and from Hitler! How safe we should now be in the Eastern Mediterranean!

## CHURCHILL ON WEDGWOOD

Were I asked for the best evidence of the virtues of our democracy I would cite the whole political life of my old and gallant friend Josiah Wedgwood. Had he achieved nothing more than the example he has set us of unselfish courage and constancy in the support of what he deemed the honour and interest of his fellow-countrymen, it would be enough.

But the distressed of the whole world have learnt to look to him and through him to Parliament, for a patient hearing and the redress of wrong.

There have been occasions when he and I have differed; but I have never doubted his single-minded pursuit of truth and justice.

Winston Churchill.

But they were not British, they were Jews.

However much the Colonial Office Administration may dislike Jews, they might at least have spared the House of Commons the hypocrisy of the last 22 years. All this sabotage of Jewish freedom and of British interests has taken place because crypto-fascism rules in the Near East and lurks in Whitehall. They don't like Jews; won't use Jews; do not accept the Balfour Declaration, and are determined to break it. Twenty-five years of ceaseless struggle against Jews in Palestine has produced in the officials a state of mind which prefers Hitler and Mussolini to that cause for which we fight. They would sooner the Jews drowned in the *Struma* than landed in Palestine; that is the measure of their hate.

#### Arab Reactions

The effect on the Arab natives is obvious. The mob of plunderers and murderers use as their slogan: "The Government is with us." They think it: they have reason to think it. They think the Administration hates the settlers as much as they do and for the same reason—that they are Jews. But they do not love or respect us any more for that reason. Jews or English are all the same to the followers of the Mufti. The years of propaganda from Rome and Berlin have seen to that. The dictator countries have amply supplied both the arms and the arguments of hate. *Mein Kampf* can (or could) be bought in Palestine while the Government censor saw to it that criticism of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco should be properly restrained!

The Oriental mind does not understand. It takes appeasement for fear, assent for consent, the desire-to-please for weakness. The last Arab rising against the Jews (which could have been put down in three weeks and lasted 18 months) failed to make us popular while destroying the prestige of our arms. We know now that nothing will induce either the Arab or the Egyptian to fight for us. We know that the first appearance of the Storm Troopers in Palestine will be the signal for an Arab rising—in Palestine as in Mesopotamia. Twenty-

five years of abject appeasement and encouragement of Arab intransigence has ended in complete failure.

Post-War Settlement of Palestine  
If the United Nations win, and if the Jews of Palestine have not been exterminated by Hitler, I know quite well what the Palestine Administration wants. They want an Arab Federation—the two Arabias, Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and "Irak"—in the fond hope that, if not part of a greater British Federation, it will be pro-British—a sort of Federated Malay States, which can be out-

lined red on the map and provide employment for British advisers. The Jews, or what is left of them, will be "tolerated" in the way they have been up to now.

Somehow, I do not think that will come off! America would not like it. The Atlantic Charter hardly envisages such pleasant imperialism. The Conservatives, even, are becoming disillusioned about Arabs and Egyptians. The Army officers are becoming less cocksure. Mr. Churchill may still be in

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### HENRY GEORGE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

Chartered by the University of the State of New York  
30 EAST 29TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY  
TELEPHONE: MURRAY HILL 4-6270

March 20, 1944

MR. S. MERLIN, Editor  
The Answer  
1 East 44th Street  
New York.

Dear Mr. Merlin:

Those of us who knew Josiah C. Wedgwood in his home setting, saw that his democracy was not a political garment donned merely for public appearances; it was of the very being of the man himself.

The death of one possessed of his fundamental liberalism has seemed, in these times, to be a world calamity. His wisdom and his dedication to the causes of freedom-seeking minorities are so poignantly needed in unravelling today's confusions. His deep culture; his sense of humor; his wide experiences in world, as well as in British affairs; his personal friendships with leaders, in many countries; his warm understanding of the varying needs of different nations—all these would so help in post-war adjustments!

Lord Wedgwood had served his country as Commander in the Royal Navy, and Colonel in the Army; on special missions in Siberia, South Africa and Palestine; for thirty-odd years in the House of Commons and for almost two years in the House of Lords, "but" (to quote his own words in "Forever Freedom") in the main desire of his life, to get England to adopt the philosophy and taxation of Henry George, he has failed. Has he?—some of us who share "Joe" Wedgwood's "main desire" ask. Time will answer this question.

Every lover of Liberty must feel a particular gratitude for his contribution to the real understanding of the Brotherhood of Man and for the wise guidance for its accomplishment he has left us, on the printed page.

Fitting it is that his last book, "Testament to Democracy", should be the means of equipping a canteen to give comfort and help to members of the Allied Services, in London. For Lovingkindness and Tolerance are two words forever to be linked with the memory of this good man.

Sincerely,

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE,

ANNA GEORGE DE MILLE, a personal friend of the late Lord Wedgwood, is the daughter of the famous advocate of the single tax, HENRY GEORGE, whose economic philosophy Wedgwood sought to implant in England.

## WE SHALL DEMAND REDRESS

by Sigrid Undset

The tragedy of the Jews of Europe is different in kind from the sufferings inflicted on the people of the occupied countries; not only because the number of murdered Jews is greater than the number of victims from any other single nation, but the crazed sadism that had been the hallmark of Germanism during this war has culminated in ways chosen to exterminate the Jewish population of Europe. The victims of the occupied countries were murdered because they expressed the will of their nations to fight against the oppressors—from the very first day of this orgy of bloodshed they were the enemies of their enemies. They died for their country.

The murdered Jews were torn from the bodies of the nationalities they belonged to. German Jews who had fought for Germany in the first World War, who had honorably served German science, German economic life, German administration, were cut off from the Fatherland they had always believed in and loved as their own. Faithful Frenchmen, as well as faithless ones, have been murdered, not because they were patriots, but because they were of Jewish ancestry. Norwegians and Danes, because they were of Jewish stock, were kidnapped or driven into exile from their homelands which were theirs as much as ours—their non-Jewish countrymen's. Well, we shall demand redress for the blood of our compatriots, and restoration of the property robbed from our Jewish countrymen on the day of reckoning. But many places, in the countries of Eastern Europe, the Jewish citizens were regarded as an element alien to the rest of the people. Now this was mostly in states with no homogenous national stock—but the Jews were citizens, they had rights, they had spokesmen among their countrymen who tried to unite their nations, combat fear or suspicion or envy among the different groups that inhabited their lands. The Germans have indiscrimi-

nately murdered German merchants, French scholars, Dutch artists, Polish peddlars, Czech teachers, Austrian Rabbis, Russian workers and soldiers, as Jews. Among the infamies and the crimes of the Germans, vast and revolting as they are, the crime against the Jews of Europe stands out, not only as to scope but as to kind.

To save the remnants that still may be saved of European Jewry is a task that must be hurried, in spite of any kind of difficulties and obstacles. So horribly little still can be done—so terribly few who still may be saved. But according to the principles we, the Allied nations, have confessed as ours, every single human being is a unit of immeasurable value. Each individual Jew or Jewess or Jewish child, regardless of their social status or national affiliation, is more valuable than we are able to measure. No consideration should be permitted to stand in the way of this urgent need for ports of refuge for the doomed and of the creation of ways and means to help them escape. The unlocking of the doors of Palestine

at least as a temporary asylum and the scrapping of obstacles in their way to this haven of refuge, must not be delayed.

For the sake of the future I think that the creation of a Jewish national home is imperative. For after this war the plight of the Jews will certainly not be less than before. A defeated German people will try to foment anti-Semitism, Jew-baiting and suspicion of the Jews in every nation they will have dealings with. To justify the blackest of their crimes they will try to befoul the memory of their victims—they will indiscriminately slander the British and the French and the Americans and the Russians and the Danes. But they cannot slander, for instance, the Norwegian patriots they have murdered without rousing the whole of our nation to renewed hatred for the henchmen and even greater love and veneration for our dead. But at least in some European countries they will be able to vilify their Jewish victims in the eyes of the countrymen of the martyrs; make com-

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MME. UNDET, Nobel Prize Winner and Co-Chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, is shown at the organizational meeting of the Women's Division of the Committee. At her right is Mrs. Abraham H. Kavovitz, who presided at the meeting.

# THREE POLES

by Martha Gellhorn

"In my village," the man said, "the people stood in front of the church and cried 'Is there a God? If there is, He would not allow these things to be.'"

That was when the Germans came for the men and boys to send them away as slave labor. They took also what women they wanted. It was known that from these they would pick the girls to use in brothels on the Eastern front. The other women would become work animals.

In a near-by village, when the Germans made the Jews dig their own graves and afterward shot them, the peasants ran away because they were too frightened to watch. Then the Germans confiscated all the farms and gave them to German colonists; some Poles were allowed to remain as servants in their own houses, as serfs on their own land.

The man went on speaking of these things slowly, in an ordinary voice. He had a good face with a wide, sensible mouth and gray eyes that before must have been laughing and kind. He could have been thirty-eight or forty-eight or more or less. His hair was brownish gray and he wore a new, badly fitting suit. He had just come to London and he was ill, with his skin very yellow about the eyes. He had been four months en route from Poland, which is quick for these days.

Before the German occupation he had been a farmer owning some few acres in Silesia and he had stayed to slave for the Germans in his own fields. He became the chief of the underground in

his district and now, after four years, he had been sent as a representative to the Polish National Committee in London.

The Germans are very kind to animals, the man went on. They sent commissions to Poland to verify that the dogs and horses were living under good conditions. These same committees then arranged to send our old people to concentration camps to die, since the old are useless. The Germans, of course, took all the young. There were 300,000 people deported from this part of Silesia. The land is not especially good, he said, though the coal mines are very valuable. The Germans sent their own colonists because they intended this part of Poland to remain German forever.

It is very interesting, the man said in his quiet, unchanging voice, to see that the exploitation of our coal mines under German rule is greater than before the war; in the same way the forests are four times more productive. The Germans conserve nothing; they cut down all the trees, mine all the veins. It is not their own property they are destroying.

Then it is so easy with labor, he added, if workers are slaves, and all you have to do is give them barely enough food to keep them alive. If a farm laborer is late for work, if a miner is sick for a few days, his German boss can always report him to the Gestapo as a saboteur, and the penalty for sabotage is death. The Germans do not tolerate labor problems.

In the morning we began work on the farms at four o'clock in the frozen dark and we finished when the Germans decided we had worked enough. They gave us whatever food we had; each Pole depended entirely on the German colonist who owned him. There was not much food. For breakfast, we had potatoes and salt; for lunch, vegetable soup, potatoes and vegetables; for supper, potatoes. The Germans gave us

three slices of bread a day and sometimes currant jam. We had no fats, of course, and no meat. The tuberculosis is bad now, especially among the children.

If you were lucky enough to live near forests or coal mines, you could steal a little wood or coal, but if not, then you would live in a house without heat. The Germans gave us some work clothes. We wore ersatz non-wool suits, wooden shoes, and had no underwear or socks. But people still owned some clothing of their own from the time of peace.

We did not complain, the man said. We were happy to stay and work as serfs on our own farms. We would be there then when the day came and we would catch the necessary Germans. We could also prevent the Germans from destroying our mines or burning our villages before they left. We have seen everything, the man said simply, the cattle trains where they kill the Jews, the execution of Jews in the village squares.

The Germans never hid any of this; they wanted to terrorize us with their murders. They have killed millions of Jews, he said, and thousands of Polish families have been shot for trying to help Jews.

They published an order that any Pole who gave a piece of bread to a Jew would be killed. We used to leave bread, or whatever we had, in the forests where the Jews were hiding. We could do nothing for our own people because they had been sent into Germany, and we never knew where the Germans had our girls or our old people. One's parents, you understand, he said; one's daughters.

## Not So Confident Any More

Just before I left, the man said, the Germans were changing. In the beginning, they were so sure of winning the war that they did not even bother to

work; the colonists were lazy and incompetent, but lately, they tried to bribe with food and to make friends. The German colonists began to cry on us, saying, "Look at our side of it. If we lose the war we will have no farms to go back to." We said nothing and we smiled to ourselves and we are all waiting and ready, and the Germans know it and they are afraid.

For an instant, the man's face looked less stony and tired. The fear of the Germans who had done nothing but torment others with fear was a patiently awaited reward. Now the man did not wish to talk any more. He was not going to talk of himself, since clearly he did not care about himself. In a way, too, it made him uneasy to speak so freely of these things which had been spoken of only in secret.

The younger man had been in London longer and he was used to talking by now. He was tall and dark, twenty-eight probably, good looking, too thin.

Before the war he had been a student; he was writing his thesis in Paris when the war started. Like the Silesian farmer, nothing about his own life seemed to surprise the student, nothing of his own life seemed important. He spoke of the Germans in Poland as if he were describing a deadly disease which must be controlled and eradicated. Obviously it was hard, dangerous work. The Poles had not invented the disease; they simply fought.

It did not seem amazing to this younger man that 85,000 to 100,000 children in the Warsaw district alone were going to secret schools. The Polish underground state paid the teachers and printed the textbooks and carried education through from primary training to the final examinations and awarding of diplomas.

The teachers were shot if the Germans caught them; the parents of the students were sent to concentration camps, and the children who studied were deported for forced labor. But naturally the schools continued; the Germans could not be allowed to destroy all education in Poland. There were also technical schools in the country where young

boys and girls learned to make grenades to derail trains, to ruin motor transport—as a side line.

There were four branches of the government: the civil administration, the army, the parliament, the judiciary. The Polish ex-student himself acted as a liaison officer between the army and the other three branches of the government. It sounded so orderly and normal that you could make no picture of it.

Then he said, "Of course, the official of the government must always seem to be something else: a shop owner and advertiser, a bank clerk, a milkman—working for a few hours at these ordinary jobs and equipped with the necessary German identity cards and ration books. We often had meetings inside the German factories," he said.

He himself had jumped from a train when the Germans deported him for forced labor to East Prussia. He returned to Warsaw, changed his appearance, his name and his papers, and the man who jumped from the train was officially dead. He was a bookkeeper in a German barrel factory during these years. The underground government sent him on missions around Poland to make reports on the German New Order for Poles.

Not many civil servants are called upon to report the functioning of German breeding farms, where selected Polish girls are kept so as to augment the great Aryan race. Not many civil servants in their normal course of duty make eyewitness reports on the German policy of extermination for the Jews. This was perhaps the worst, the young man said, for he had nightmares for weeks after that. There were Jewish women and children and old people as well as men; they were packed 130 to a cattle car. There were 46 carloads of them, and the train was run 12 kilometers outside a town, and it took the Jews seven or eight hours to die.

"The whole train was moving with their cries," he said.

He spoke of what the Germans were doing to his country, very calmly relating facts, and he spoke without hate. It is possible that disgust can be greater

than hate—that disgust can be the strongest emotion of all. The Germans were a disease that had spread over Europe.

If one was healthy in spirit, one could only feel disgust for this sickness.

In their quiet, factual voices the two Poles had been telling of horrors which to them were the very climate of life. But when the Jew, speaking in the same way, began to talk of the ghetto in Warsaw, even the Poles were appalled.

This man wore British battle dress and is now a private in the army here. Before the war, he was an official of the League of Nations, a lawyer, a traveler, cultivated man. He left all this freely and went back to the ghetto until the last desperate battle. The Poles helped him to escape to France because his knowledge could serve those of his people who were still alive in Europe. He worked in France as long as he could and then came to England to join the army. He was thirty-six and he had seen too much and it showed in his eyes.

The Jews fled from other parts of Poland to Warsaw. The Germans rounded up all the Jews in Warsaw and drove them into the ghetto; then they built a wall ten feet high and sealed off this corner of the city. Inside the wall, 555,000 people were herded together, then were denied the right to go outside the wall and work. They were kept alive by the rations the Germans allowed them. So there was hunger tightening around them every day.

Hunger is a slow torment and can be used to destroy the dignity of man. You can throw bread into a street and watch starved people scrambling for it. That is a funny sight, and young, uninformed Germans always had it to laugh about. If there is hunger and people living crowded into unheated houses and no way to maintain the sanitation system of a city, there comes disease. Typhus spread through the ghetto. The Germans did not allow doctors or medicines to the Jews. In the mornings, the Jew said, people went out and covered the corpses in the street with newspapers. It was all they could do for the dead. Later the German trucks would drive through and collect the bodies.

(Continued next Page)

## Jewish Guerillas Fight Germans

by Ovadi Savich

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, a certain Jewish youth, whose name must remain unknown until his guerrilla detachment joins the Red Army, was in his last semester at the Medical School of Minsk University. The young man's parents were ill and it was impossible for the family to leave Minsk. When the Germans entered the city they set up a ghetto for Jewish citizens and threw the youth and his family into it. Soon afterward his mother died, and a few weeks later his father was arrested and shot. Within a short time the Hitlerites had massacred most of the Jews in Minsk, and the ghetto was closed.

As a medical student, the Jewish youth had been classified as a "specialist" by the Germans and assigned to a veterinary surgeon, who put him to work as a stableman. He was now transferred to the ghetto at Vilnius. Knowing that sooner or later he would be killed, he fled with seven young friends, also "specialists." The young Jews escaped into the forests near Vil-

nius. Here they met a guerrilla, who gave them food. He said there were many Jews hiding in the forests.

The boys offered to join the guerrilla detachment but the commander reminded them that they had no guns. "Get yourselves some arms the way we did," he told them, "and you will be welcome."

The eight young men took his advice. Unarmed, they attacked two German soldiers on a highway and thus got their first tommy gun and rifle. Next they had to learn how to use the arms, for these "specialists" had been students and not soldiers. A guerrilla was assigned to instruct them and in 10 days the boys had learned to shoot and hurl grenades. It was the young medical student's idea that they should form a detachment of Jewish guerrillas. They were soon joined by 11 more refugees from the ghetto.

Within a month all the young men were armed. They began to carry out dangerous operations and their fame spread. Many Jews who had taken refuge in the forests sought them out and

them and they realized exactly what it meant. Then they decided to fight with what few smuggled arms they could get. It was obvious from the beginning that the battle of the ghetto was a mass suicide; but it was a beautiful gesture and the last one the Jews could make. The people in the ghetto never doubted that the Allies would win the war, the Jew said, but they knew it would be too late for them. It is a hard thing to die, knowing that help is coming.

He spoke now for the dead—for the two and a half million Jews who were killed in Poland alone. He had watched the greatest organized destruction the world had known and he refused to believe in it. His people could not be destroyed. The Jews are a nation, he said; they must have a country. They must never be driven over the earth again.

### "FULL OF JEWS"

In his new book, "The Curtain Rises", Quentin Reynolds, the famous war correspondent, describes a skirmish in which he engaged after returning to this country from abroad.

He (Reynolds) went off to a quiet resort for a week to get accustomed to the fact that when he was awakened at night by the sound of an airplane engine he didn't have to freeze with terror or look for a slit trench. The elderly grouchers who dressed for dinner each night annoyed him.

"Where did you live?" one of them asked him, and when he said "New York," remarked, "How awful! All you see there are Jews."

"I'm used to Jews," said Mr. Reynolds. "Where I've been lately the place was full of them."

"Where have you been?" the old man asked.

"I've been with the 1st Division in Sicily," Mr. Reynolds answered. "Full of Jews." Perhaps it will please you to know that a half of a lot of them were killed."

joined their ranks. To the usual guerrilla's oath, the commander had added these words: *As a son of the Jewish people, I vow always to remember all the sufferings which the Germans have inflicted on my people.*

They must have a home. This colossal suffering could not be wasted. He was thinking of the future; he was thinking of a world that would be safe and honorable and free. It was amazing that he never commented on the Germans at all.

Poland seemed dreadfully far away, dark and silent, and the Germans had tried to make it into a cemetery. But here were these men and in Poland there are tens of thousands of others like them. In four and a half years of organized repression, the Germans have never been able to stop them. It is almost impossible for us to imagine life in Poland, but these men without names can testify to that life and speak for the silenced millions of their own people. It is not impossible to imagine that the Germans who have ruled Poland and never conquered it must now be afraid.

## THE JEWISH CONFERENCE AT MOSCOW

The third meeting of representatives of the Jewish people was held in Moscow on April 2, under the auspices of the Jewish Anti-fascist Committee of the USSR. Solomon Mikhoels, Chairman of the Committee, presided. Following are excerpts from speeches delivered at the meeting:

### Prof. Mikhoels:

Sons and daughters of the Jewish nation, brothers and sisters! This third meeting of representatives of the Jewish people is being held at a moment of supreme historical significance. We are gathered here at a time of glory and grandeur for our motherland, the Soviet land, at a time of brilliant victories of the heroic Red Army, at a time of triumph for Stalin's strategy. . . .



The hour of final and just victory is nearing. We are aware of the misery, the tragic fate of our Soviet brothers carried off into slavery, languishing in concentration camps or living in ghettos, those cemeteries of the living dead. But today we do not bewail our dead, for tears are an inadequate tribute to those who have tragically fallen. The victims cry out for vengeance. Old men done to death, strangled women, and children buried alive demand vengeance. We are proud that shoulder to shoulder with the great Russian people, hand in hand with the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians and Uzbeks, the finest sons of the Jewish people are fighting for the Soviet motherland, for Leninist-Stalinist truth and friendship, for Soviet liberty.

We are able to declare with pride that Jews hold fourth place among the nationalities of the Soviet Union for the number of men decorated for distinguished service on the fronts of the Patriotic War. We are proud to know that side by side with the unfading names of Safonov and Molodtchey, Gastello and Zaitsev, Kuehkar, Turdiyev and Pokryshkin, are the names of Lazar Papernik, Chaim Diskin, Solomon Gorelik and Lieutenant General Kreiser, as well as Heroes of the Soviet Union Raphael Milner and Leonid Buber, who are present at this meeting today.

In a recent speech Comrade Khrushchev gave figures on the number of heroes of the First Ukrainian Front, and there also Jewish heroes hold a place of honor. Among men on this front who have been given the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, the Jews have fifth place.

We are proud to know that our brothers and sisters refused to be meek and dumb victims of the German butchers. They went

off to join guerrilla detachments, they organized a revolt in their ghetto, which is an act of incredible heroism and courage. Among us here today are guerrilla Commander Blakhman, 70-year-old Arya Leib Hazanov, and the guerrilla poet Sutzkever, who has come here from the forests of Lithuania.

We are fighting arms in hand. Our Soviet country has given us this right, has accorded us this honor. We appeal to the Jews all over the world to follow the example of the Soviet peoples, to follow the example of Soviet Jews.

### Ilya Ehrenburg:

At night the shades of the dead surround us. Woe to him who forgets! Woe to him who forgives!

It was a bright summer day. Along a steep street in Mogyz strode a young German. The year-old infant impaled on his bayonet was still writhing and shrieking. The German sang as he walked. In the tractor works at Kharokv a woman gave birth just before her execution. The Germans killed the child, who lived on this earth only four hours. In Propoisk 97-year-old Moissey Isaakovich Entinson went to his death; he was followed by his great-grandchildren. The Germans burned children, tore them to pieces, killed them without bullets by dashing their heads against trees; they asphyxiated them in murder vans.

Let the fascists not try to plead the rules of war. They slaughter helpless suckling infants and old folk. Two years ago, in days of sorest trial, we said, "The child murderers must not live!" At that time the invaders laughed.

The Red Army is marching westward. The judges are on their way. Not so long ago the German butchers were in the Caucasus. Now the Red Army is in the Carpathians. Now Germany is shivering at the thought of inevitable retribution.

The Germans thought that in a time of calamity the nations of the Soviet Union would fall apart, but the nations of the Soviet Union have become closer-welded. There are no more Jews in Kiev or Warsaw, Prague or Amsterdam. But in the village of Blagodatnoye, 30 Jews found salvation. They were saved by a collective farm bookkeeper, Pavel Sergeyevich Zinchenko, at the risk of his life. The vow of friendship is not written in ink, but in the blood of the best. In a fraternal grave I saw the bodies of two children slain by the Germans—a Jewish girl and a Russian

boy. These children went to their death hand in hand—little children, but with hearts as big as our land.

The Germans looked upon the Jews as a target. But the target began to shoot back. Many a dead German could tell how the Jews fight. But figures aside! Blood is not to be weighed. We children of Russia, citizens of the Soviet Republic, march in battle hand-in-hand—Russians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Jews, Armenians and Tatars. On our lips is one password: motherland.

I have seen the cities of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. There are no Jews left in them. The people point silently to corpses, ditches and ravines. But Jews are coming—coming with the Red Army—men and commanders. They are winning back their native towns. Private Isaac Shpeyer, of the Guards, fought his way into Berdichev. He came to Shervenchenko street, where he was born and brought up. He learned that his father had been crucified and his mother and sister killed on Lyssya hill. An hour later his company again went into action. Shpeyer was killed while storming Lyssya hill—he died fighting for his mother's grave.

The town where you were born, the house in which you were brought up—you will return to it, soldier! You will return to it after victory and after Berlin. And you, too, will return, unhappy refugee. You are not a rolling stone, a bird of passage. There is no force on earth that can keep a man from his home. It may be devastated. It may be associated with the sufferings of his dear ones. But he will not change it for the tabernacles of Paradise.

Kiev, Kharkov, Gomel, Minsk, Vinnitsa, Lutsk, Rovno, Balta, Berdichev, Chernigov, Odessa—here perished your mother and your children. But here you will live, here you will help to build anew—and you will not forget anything, to the end of your days.

This is not a war between countries. It is a duel between reason and darkness, between good and villainy. Why does the whole world gaze upon the Red Army with hope? Because it brings life and liberty. The fascists hate Jews. But do they hate Jews alone?—The fascists hate mankind. They have taken up arms against reason and beauty. We may say with pride that the fascists' bestial hatred of us exalts us. It indicates that the Jews

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### THREE POLES

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#### Amusement for the Germans

The Germans also organized shooting parties, the Jew said. He spoke of this wryly, as if he were ashamed to repeat it. Young German soldiers would prow through the ghetto shooting at anyone they saw, and the Jews fled from them like hunted animals. The Germans never killed many that way, the Jew said, but it amused them. All the time, the Jews waited in the ghetto never knowing what was going to happen to them. Always they hoped. They could not believe that every Jew in Warsaw was meant to die.

But they did know this finally, having watched hunger and disease and the execution of hostages and murder in the streets. They looked at the wall around

were not the last to take the path of thought and struggle.

The Hitlerites have fished anti-Semitism from the garbage heap of history. They have resurrected forgotten prejudices and discredited superstitions. You cannot reform fascists. They have to be destroyed. The Soviet people will extirpate fascism with fire. Nor will they tolerate the existence of an ersatz fascism on earth. . . .

The Red Army is the bringer of life, justice and equality. It is a purifying tempest, a storm of the outraged conscience. The day accursed fascism falls, the rats, spiders and -bugs, followers of the foolish and cruel heresy known as anti-Semitism, will disappear. It will vanish into the night. The fate of the Jews is organically bound up with liberty and progress. Anti-Semitism breeds in darkness. But the sun is rising in the east. And who, when he hears of the Red Army's victories, can refrain from crying, "Long live the light!"

We are winning not only because we now have more tanks and guns. We are winning because justice is on our side. It helped our country to live through the year of 1941. For years Hitler trampled upon Europe. Who stopped him? Who is pushing him into the abyss? The Red Army. Therein lies profound justice—for it is the State of Lenin and Stalin, it is Russia, her ideals, her culture, her soul, which have won. There is in Russia a lofty humanism. It was not an accident that the new era was ushered in by Russia. Brotherhood was a dream of Radischev, of the Decembrists, of Herzen and Chernyshevsky and the Bolsheviks. It was not the laws of the Tsars but the soul of the Russian people which cemented Russian Jews with Russia. In defense of the persecuted were raised the immortal voices of Tolstoy and Shehedrin, Gorky and Lenin.

To the great grief of all of us, the shadow of the hangman has fallen upon our home. We reply not by rending our clothes and covering our heads with ashes, but with fire—the fire of guns, the fire of furnaces, the fire of the heart. I am not issuing a call; the time for words has long past. Whoever has a conscience will know what he has to do. The Soviet people will have paid with their blood for the triumph of justice, and nothing can eradicate that from the minds of men. History will say that more than ourselves we loved our country and justice.

Live, then, Soviet Union, live—thy peoples, thy gardens, thy children, thy Stalin!

#### Shakhno Epstein:

Executive Secretary, Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in USSR, and Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper EINIGKEIT.

The fascist robber inflicted untold pains and sufferings on our country, untold misfortunes on all freedom-loving nations. . . . In

Soviet districts in which the enemy temporarily held sway, he annihilated the Jewish population that remained, but he has not succeeded in annihilating the majority of the Jewish population, for our Government evacuated them far into the interior of the country. The Soviet Union is, in fact, the sole country in Europe where the Jewish people has been preserved, is leading a full-blooded life in the family of brother nations, and is setting an example for the Jews of other continents, showing them how to defend their honor, freedom and national dignity.

From the first day of Hitler's robber attack on our country, not a single Soviet Jew has given way to despair in the face of the fascist outrages. Even when things were at their worst, he knew there was a force on which he could rely, that he was not defenseless or helpless, for he enjoyed all the rights of a citizen of the Soviet Union. . . .

The guerrillas who have spoken here are men of three generations and of different levels of culture. But with all the difference in age and outlook, they are the personification of the Soviet Jew, imbued with the Soviet spirit, with a sense of the Soviet friendship of peoples and of national freedom. . . . He will not give his life cheaply. Still more representative of the new type of Jew produced by the Soviet system are the glorious Red Army soldiers and commanders, some of whom have spoken at this meeting. They are a new kind of men, such as the history of the Jewish people has not known before.

To the sounds of the new national anthem of the Soviet Union, the anthem of struggle and freedom, we are ending our meeting with the call: Everything for victory over fascism!

#### A. Sutzkever:

I have come to you from a different world. For almost three years I have not set foot on a sidewalk. My mother was beaten to death in Vilnius by storm troopers, for no other reason than that she forgot Jews must keep to the middle of the street. She inadvertently put one foot on the sidewalk.

I would be glad if I could obliterate from my memory the nightmarish pictures still feverishly burning in my brain. In September, 1941, when a large section of the Jewish male population had already been rounded up, ostensibly to be sent to work but actually to be shot, about 60,000 Jews were herded into the streets of Vilnius and a cordon of storm troopers thrown about them. They were not permitted to take anything from their homes. The unfortunate were formed into columns and driven in the direction of the Jewish ghetto. Actually, however, only part of them were locked in ghettos; the rest were taken to the Lukishki prison, from whence no one returned.

In the Vilnius Gestapo there was a special room where German professors were busy devising methods of prolonging and intensifying the sufferings and tortures of victims. In 1941 a "big execution" was carried out in the second ghetto under the supervision of executioner Schweineberg. Soon that ghetto was cleared. The gates were pulled down, the blood washed off the stones. Nothing remains of the 20,000 Jews who had inhabited it. . . .

In the streets of Vilnius fenced off with barbed wire entanglements, two children's homes, three kindergartens and four schools were opened—conducted by teachers who put their whole soul into this work. All this was done illegally, because the Jews were forbidden to attend school. But that was not the only manifestation of the ghetto's resistance. There was an armed organization, founded in 1941 after the wholesale massacres of Jews in Vilnius and in the provinces. Its founder and commander was an ordinary Vilnius worker, Itzik Wittenberg.

The idea of resistance united all. In a short time funds were collected in the ghetto for obtaining arms. Members of the organization employed in German war factories stole pistols and at the risk of their lives brought them to the ghetto. There were special groups of blasters, grenade throwers, machine gunners, etc. The organization managed to get hold of printshop equipment, which enabled us to publish an illegal newspaper. We fixed up a receiving set in a cave and began to publish radio bulletins regularly. Three comrades, equipped with explosive charges produced in the Vilnius ghetto, derailed a German munitions train on the way to the front.

The whole world should know that in the forests of Lithuania and Byelorussia, from whence I have just come by plane to Moscow, there are hundreds of Jewish guerrillas, brave avengers of the blood of their brothers. . . .

#### Itzik Feffer:

Dear brothers and sisters! During the journey I made with Solomon Mikhoels, we met hundreds of thousands of people. On behalf of Soviet Jews we conveyed to them



Soviet greetings—*Shalom aleichem!* Everywhere—in New York, London, Montreal, San Francisco, Mexico City and Chicago—we were requested upon our return home to convey warm greetings to you on behalf of American, Canadian, Mexican and English Jews, and through you to all Jews living and fighting in our great Soviet Union.

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## The Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto

*The smell of smoke and ruin still hovers above the area once known as the Warsaw Ghetto, where Jews by the hundreds of thousands, decreed to die, perished with weapons smoking in their hands and, like Samson, took many of their enemies with them.*

*On the first anniversary of the Battle of the Warsaw Ghetto, the ANSWER brings to its readers excerpts from statements made by noted Americans in tribute to the undying spirit of the Ghetto heroes.*

#### HAROLD L. ICKES

Secretary of the Interior

"I salute the memory of those intrepid men and women of all ages who, notwithstanding the horrors to which they have been subjected, yet retained the spirit of the will to liberty and on April 19 a year ago rose up against their oppressors. The fragmentary reports of the bestial quality of Nazi overlords in the ghetto-hells of Europe caused right-minded people to shudder with horror and rage, but the heroic and desperate effort of these maligned, tormented, tortured persons to break through the Nazi steel is one of the beacons which gives hope that freedom will be regained.

"Jews through the centuries have fought for the democratic way of life, and the magnificent gesture in the ghetto of Warsaw a year ago is but a token of the fight that must be carried on until every vestige of Hitlerism has been eradicated and man is assured a sane and civilized state."

#### WENDELL L. WILLKIE

"The heroism which marked the uprising of the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis will long be remembered.

"A milestone in the age-old history of the Jewish people, the tragic period of the Polish massacre has a significance which will not be forgotten."

#### THOMAS E. DEWEY

Governor of New York

"I am glad to have the opportunity of joining in commemorating the first anniversary of the uprising of the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto against the Nazis.

"On April 19, 1943, the spirit of the Maccabees came to life again in the Ghetto of Warsaw. Again, with everything against them, the Jews put forth their ancient valor and revolted. It was a noble and seemingly a losing cause but the heroism and idealism of these persecuted people was an example and a beacon of encouragement to enslaved people the world over. It inspired the forces of freedom. It was one of the signs by which we know that all men can and will again be free.

"I am confident that this will mean before long a repetition of the success of the rebellion of the Maccabees."

#### BISHOP WILLIAM T. MANNING

"The uprising of the Jews of Warsaw in the face of the diabolic power of Nazism was an act of heroism which has had few equals in history. In the Great Common Cause of Justice, Liberty and Human Brotherhood, Christians and Jews stand together. May God hasten the day of Victory and of a Just and Righteous Peace which shall open the way for this to be a world of Justice, Peace and Brotherhood for all mankind."

#### JACQUES MARITAIN

Catholic Author and Philosopher

"Not merely have the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto proved to the world and to those who would be anti-Semites that they were capable of the highest bravery and spirit of union of which history has shown man capable, but they have made clear—in a manner made spectacular by the very completeness, the unutterable tragicness of their sacrifice—with what single-minded zeal we must combat the modern Anti-Christ. For it is no figure of speech to say that the Nazis are anti-Christians; they have said so themselves. In venting their diabolical wickedness on those Jews, in slaughtering them and their brothers all over Europe, they have made Christ suffer His Passion anew—in the person of His people."

#### FATHER ROBERT I. GANNON

President, Fordham University

"On April 19 I shall think prayerfully of my Jewish brethren and of their incredible sufferings. The picture in my mind will not be that of Ruzias casting his entrails on the murderous crowd, though the Warsaw Ghetto must have seen many such ghastly episodes. I shall think instead of the mother who was to be admired above measure and worthy to be remembered by good men, who beheld her seven sons slain in the space of one day and bore it with a good courage for the hope that she had in God. Then believing like Judas Maccabees that 'it is a holy and a wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from sin,' I shall include the thousands of just and upright Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis in Poland when I pray, as I do every day, for the Holy Souls."

#### DR. GEORGE N. SHUSTER

President, Hunter College

"The Book of Maccabees declares that the thought which remembers the dead is holy and wholesome. And when could greater sacredness attach to it than when our recollection is of heroes who despite all the odds against them struck one glorious final blow for freedom and for the ideal of man?"

### Extension

This lawn  
Where you lie happily in the autumn sun,  
Is earth—the great rounded surface thereof.  
You, nature's creature, so minutely small,  
Cannot see from where you are  
That farther on, on the same revolving ball,  
People have been shoveled under—  
Under this earth you touch.  
They did not lie down of their free will;  
They would have liked to be alive  
As you are;  
They would have liked it very much—  
To be able to walk about; to see the leaves;  
To love.  
There is a great difference between  
Being below the surface, or above.

May Lewis.

## The Full Story of the Battle

At the headquarters of the Polish Government in exile, a courier from the Polish underground forces gave the first detailed, connected account of those six weeks of desperate fighting in the ghetto of Warsaw.

Some 3,000 to 5,000 Jews battled several times their number of German police and elaborately armed Elite Guard troops on roofs, through alleys and in cellars. Holding out here and there in little groups of men, women and youths, the Jews were put down at last after having cost the Germans several hundred killed and wounded. Those Jews who remained alive were herded out to execution, concentration camps or slavery.

### Only One Building Whole

The ghetto itself was in utter ruin. The only building intact when the courier left Warsaw at the end of January was the Pawlaczek political prison for Poles, just inside the ghetto walls. Polish prisoners were still being brought to it to stay briefly before being taken into a schoolyard and shot. Their bodies were soaked with kerosene and burned in heaps.

Fearing that Jews still survived in the cellars, the Germans were blowing up even the ruins. Outside the walls, Poles heard daily blasts of dynamite and machine guns killing prisoners nine months after the battle of the ghetto had begun.

The courier who brought this story, and who goes here by the false name of Lieut. Jerzy Jur, arrived from Poland by a devious route early this month. He had reached Warsaw from London on a secret mission just before the ghetto uprising began on April 19.

### Armed by Underground

There were arms for only about 3,000 Jews, and about that number had had military training. They had been armed by the Polish underground with weapons bought from German, Italian and Hungarian soldiers on their way to and from the Russian front.

"When the Jews did not assemble," Lieutenant Jur said, "the German police started to enter the ghetto in force. The Jews resisted. It was a bright spring day and I was just outside the ghetto walls when the noise of shots and bombs began.

"The Jews won the admiration of the whole city by their fight. They lay with rifles, machine guns and grenades on rooftops, in windows and on balconies. I remember one small dark Jewish girl about 25 who manned a machine gun by herself on a balcony. She wore a dark blue dress. Afterward, I saw her body stretched out there.

### Flew Three Flags

"The defenders hoisted the white-and-blue Jewish nationalist flag, the Socialists' red flag

and the Polish flag over their buildings, and fought back every German attack. On the second or third day 200 Germans were killed and wounded. The Jews set fire to shops and stores serving the Germans and smoke rolled over the walls.

"Finally the Germans had to call out their Warsaw regiment," Lieutenant Jur said. "They were ashamed—they, the master race, had to send their best troops against 'sub-humans.' We Poles looked hard into the eyes of the German soldiers whom we passed on the street

and they looked down.

"It was nine days before the Germans finally broke into the ghetto. They began a systematic mopping-up from roofs through every floor and down to the cellars. That took them into June.

"They are waiting for the time to strike," Lieutenant Jur concluded. "They have only one fear—that the story of the horrors that they have been through will not be believed in the outside world. They are too terrible to be believed. But they are true."

## A Non-Jew Speaks

Who does not know the saga of that ancient race of God  
Whose immemorial feet the grapes of wrath have trod  
Thru centuries? The immensity of anguish and despair  
Inflicted by Jehova's chastening and zealous care,  
Banished to exile-wilderness for forty fearful years,  
By waters strange in Babylon weeping their bitter tears.  
Oppressed thru long captivity, emerging unsubdued,  
With courage still unconquered and living faith renewed.  
Commanding the dead past to bury all its dead and gone,  
Closing their broken remnant ranks and pressing on.  
When has there ever been, when will there be again,  
An epic having equal power to stir the souls of men?  
A persecuted pilgrim band thru generations long  
Beset by countless enemies, in whom the power of song  
Failed not, and where mid mad'ning days and nights distraught  
Prophets and poets were born and mighty proverbs taught.  
Who has not heard the tale of lad in many-colored coat  
Into a deep pit cast and left in region far remote  
From his loved home, rescued and as a captive sold  
To Nomad merchants, priced for paltry sum of gold?  
From slave to ruling statesman in Pharaoh's alien land,  
No pride of favored place nor private ease restrained the hand  
Stretched forth to those afar whose sorely stricken state  
Appealed for refuge from their dark foreboding fate.  
What Christian generation has not revered the old  
Testament, begotten of the Now, whose pages hold  
The treasured story of the man of Galilee whose words and way  
Of life created Christendom, that holds the legacy today  
The Good Samaritan bequeathed as parable supreme,  
Rejecting which, no nation can retain mankind's esteem?  
What means that legacy to you, ye Christian officers of state?  
The world awaits your word in deeds—and the hour is late,  
Too late for present power-wielding Pilatos to excuse  
Self-righteous guile anointed with the blood of murdered Jews.

—Richard W. Hogue.

## THE FIGHTING COHEN

PRIEST AND WARRIOR

The following article on the achievements of the Cohens in this war first appeared in the London *Jewish Chronicle*, which compiled this data on the most popular patronymic of the Jewish people.

The priest has turned warrior.—"Cohen" is a man of battle—and Wing-Commander Lionel Cohen, D.S.O., M.C. air-gunner, who at the age of 28 can now add the coveted initials D.F.C. to his already imposing list of war honors, is only the latest representative of the clan to "hit the headlines." It is, indeed, remarkable how often in this war "Cohen" has distinguished himself, in many uniforms, on every front, in the air, on land, and on the sea. From the Arctic to the Antipodes, "Cohen" is in the thick of the fight. The sons of Mattathias the priest are once more battling for justice and for the survival of their people's integrity.

"Cohen" has fought the Germans, the Italians, and the Japs. He has bombed them over Europe and the Pacific, helped to chase them out of North Africa, and to blow them out of the seas. And when important and dangerous missions have been afoot, "Cohen" has been among the first to be called upon to fulfill them.

When General Lord Gort, V.C. and Mr. Duff Cooper, M.P., then Minister of Information, had to be flown quickly and secretly to North Africa, on the fall of France, to meet the French statesmen who had gone to Morocco, it was Squadron Leader Julius Allen Cohen, R.A.A.F., who piloted them there in his Sunderland flying-boat from Southampton, to make a perfect landing on the river at Rabat. Squadron Leader Cohen's coolness in the face of armed threats enabled the mission to be completed. For his work he was awarded the D.F.C.

And when the Japs struck their first treacherous blow, it was Wing Commander "Dick" Cohen who led Australian Catalina planes on the first bombing mission, within 24 hours, against the little yellow men at Kapinga, Maringi Island. "Tall, dark, and handsome" Dick Cohen, states a Sydney newspaper, is "one of the most popular all-round blokes in the Australian Air Force," and the crews he led over

\* Cohen in Hebrew means priest.

thousands of miles of ocean in the Pacific area idolise him.

### "Cohen of Lampedusa"

Who now will forget the "King of Lampedusa"? It was "Cohen"—Sergeant Pilot Sydney Cohen, R.A.F., of London—who landed on that famous little Mediterranean island in his Swordfish plane during the assault on the outposts of Italy, and received the "capitalisation" document from the Italian officer in charge. Sergeant Cohen's exploit (involuntarily, it is true!) thrilled and amused the whole world, and it was his comrades who gave him the now famous "title."

As a flying man, "Cohen" appears in the honors awarded in many countries. England: Wing Commander Lionel Cohen, already mentioned (who is of South Africa also); Pilot Officer Edward Laurence Cohn, D.F.C., for gallantry as navigator against major enemy targets; Flight Lieutenant G. Cohen, mentioned in dispatches. Scotland: Squadron Leader Mark Cohen and Flight Lieutenant Gerald Cohen, Glasgow brothers, Scottish Flying Club enthusiasts, both mentioned in dispatches for distinguished services. New Zealand: Squadron Leader Ronald Joseph Cohen, Air Force Cross for distinguished services. Palestine: Sergeant Kon, R.A.F., "mentioned" for gallantry in the Middle East. And the U. S. A.: The "most decorated" American Jewish Serviceman up to that time, Sergeant Schiller Cohen, of New York, Flying Fortress airman, awarded the D.F.C., the Air Medal, and ten Oak Leaf Clusters to the Air Medal for gallantry over Europe and Tunisia.

Nor can we omit the heroic Flight Lieutenant Richard Nigel Cullen, D.F.C., reported missing, believed killed, for his family name was Cohen (he was a grandson of Neville D. Cohen, a former Warden of the New West End Synagogue, London). Cullen destroyed 11 enemy aircraft, five of them in one day.

"Cohen"—Sergeant Gunner Joseph Cohen, Maritime Regiment, R.A.—has fought the enemy gallantly at sea. Sergeant Cowen of Cardiff, was awarded the D.S.M. for "fortitude, seamanship, and endurance" when Royal Fleet auxiliaries on the way to Russia encountered heavy seas and met many enemy attacks by aircraft and submarines. Two brothers are with the Royal Navy, one in the Home Guard and two sisters in A.R.P.

Bravery of the highest order is not the preserve of "Cohen" the flyer or the seaman—"Cohen" in the Army has an honorable record, too. The George Medal went to Captain Vernon Henry Cohen, of the Pioneers, Australian born but London citizen, who is now

49 and fought in the last war also—he took, said the citation, the danger side when fire, which he successfully fought, threatened a dump of beach-mines, Bangalore torpedoes, and 25 lb. "ammo." And there are the Military Medallists—Sgt. Leonard Cohen, 3rd King's Own Hussars, and Private H. Cohen, of the Port Services (Palestinian), R. E. Sergeant Cohen—divisional champion boxer—in the Middle East, contemptuously ignored heavy enemy shellfire and "passed the ammunition"—twice he refilled his tanks with ammunition under fire, although his truck was twice hit. Of his three brothers in the Services, one has died of wounds; their father served in the Royal Flying Corps. Private Cohen, one of the famous Tel-Aviv steredores whose history rangers over Libya, Tobruk, Greece, Crete, and Cyprus, was in the gallant company who, taken prisoner by the Germans, escaped one by one from Greece to fight again.

"Cohen" was present, of course, at El Alamein—Gunner Victor Cohen, of London, sheltering in a sangar, met Chaplain Rabinowitz, who recently fulfilled the promise made under enemy shellfire to officiate at the gunner's wedding. And then at the triumphant entry into Tunis: Driver M. Cohen, of Edgeware, of the Eighth Army, and of the 4th Indian Division, has recorded how, because he wore a "Mazel" charm, he was "kissed from head to foot" by the almost hysterical liberated Jews when the "Eighth" marched in.

### Brother "Aussies"

The name of Cullen crops up again, the name adopted by the two sons of Sir Samuel Cohen, of Sydney, Australia. Lieut.-Colonel Paul Cullen has been awarded the D.S.O. for heroism in New Guinea. He had a remarkable escape from the enemy earlier in the war, when he led comrades to safety, on foot over hundreds of miles of wild country and by sea in tiny boats. For gallantry, too, his brother, Captain George Cullen, has gained the O.B.E.

"Cohen" is literally among the giants—Mr. John E. Cohen, of London, a Volunteer in the Middlesex Artillery in 1890 and Boer War veteran, and his three sons in the Services (two Warrant Officers and one late of the Grenadier Guards) range in height from 6 ft. 1 in. to 6 ft. 5½ in.

Among the soldier "Cohens" mentioned in dispatches for gallant services occur the names of Major L. B. Cohen (Johannesburg); 2nd Lieut. R. T. H. Cowen, Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment; Staff Sergeant Josef Her-

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## A. Ben-Eliezer Detained In Palestine

A wire has been received from Palestine with the information that Arieh Ben-Eliezer, member of the Executive Board of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, has been "detained in Tel-Aviv under the emergency regulations of the Palestine Government."



At the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, Mr. Ben-Eliezer key-noted the sentiments of Palestine Jewry.

Mr. Ben-Eliezer had been delegated by the Emergency Committee to Palestine in September, 1943 for the purpose of arranging the rescue from the Balkans of as many Jews as possible, and transferring them to Palestine.

He was bearing credentials and messages from Mayor La Guardia, leading Senators and Congressmen, as well as from men of letters and the arts.

Upon his arrival, he was received by the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, and discussed with him the difficult problems of rescue. He also was in contact with the American consulate and representatives of some of the Governments-in-Exile.

The delegates of the Emergency Committee in Turkey worked under his direction.

He also was instrumental in influencing Palestine public opinion in favor of the resolution which was introduced

# PALESTINE

(From our correspondents)

## The Attitude of Soviet Russia

Beyond the veil of the official (and uninformative) releases about the last meeting of the Zionist Council, there is gradually leaking authoritative information as to the facts revealed by the Chairman of the Jewish Agency. He disclosed, among other things, that the attitude of Soviet Russia to the Jewish Commonwealth was not at all negative, and that well informed circles in London were convinced that not only America but Russia as well, "far from opposing, would actually support a British initiative for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth." It is also known that M. Maisky, the late Russian Ambassador to London who, during his passage through Palestine on his way to his new appointment as Assistant Foreign Commissar in Moscow, had several lengthy conversations with Zionist leaders here, has now made himself champion of that policy at the Kremlin, and has indeed submitted a memorandum to Marshal Stalin along these lines, and has communicated a copy of such memorandum to his friend, Professor Harold Laski.

A seemingly insignificant fact on recent Middle Eastern developments can hardly be assumed to have been without relevance in this connection, namely the

into Congress, demanding the establishment of a Governmental Agency to save the Jewish people. It was owing to his efforts that Chief Rabbis Herzog and Uziel, and the eminent historian, Professor Klausner, sent wires in support of the resolution.

Mr. Ben-Eliezer was about to leave for Turkey in order to help in the work of rescuing Jews from the Balkans.

The regulations under which Mr. Ben-Eliezer was detained give the Palestine Government the right to arrest any person, without the necessity of accusing him of anything.

statement by the Lebanese Communist Party that they were definitely opposed to the "Arab Federation," as well as to the "Greater Syria" scheme. For all the dissolution of the Comintern and the complete political independence of communist parties in their respective countries, it is difficult to believe that such an attitude does not conform to Kremlin intentions towards the Middle East.

## Oil In Palestine

Mr. Harold Ickes' project of pipe lines from Behrein and Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean Coast has made a deep impression in Palestine, inasmuch as it foreshadows a joint discussion between Governments of the United Nations of major Middle Eastern problems. But many ask, why lay new pipes stretching hundreds of miles—when there are untapped oil resources in Palestine itself? This is emphasized by the Tel Aviv monthly, *Palestine and the Middle East*. It refers to a statement made by Major Balkenya in *Reynold's Weekly*, which said *inter alia*:

"There is no doubt that there are considerable oil resources in the vicinity of the Dead-Sea. Private interests should not be allowed to interfere with the proper development of these resources . . ."

It is daily becoming apparent that the whole of the Middle East constitutes one vast Oil Area. There must be good grounds of strategy which have impelled the U. S. to concentrate on the exploitation of the Saudi oil. But geologically, at any rate, the Sinai and part of Syria as well form part of the tremendous "Oil Belt." An Egyptian paper disclosed the fact that an Egyptian Ministry of Mines engineer has submitted to his Government a detailed report on the rich oil resources in the Sinai Peninsula.

"But," adds the same paper, "we have not, to our regret, the funds necessary

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# VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE

What American Journalists Think About It

There is violence going on in Palestine. A new phenomenon in history—violence on the part of the Hebrews. Some leaders and institutions condemn the acts of violence committed by the underground military organization, Irgun. These leaders and organizations declare that the whole Hebrew community, almost, is against these acts of violence. On the other hand, the leaders of the Government and the police in Palestine contest these statements of the Hebrew institutions, asserting that if the masses of the Hebrew people in Palestine actually were against this policy of violence it would have no chance to be pursued and carried out.

We give here two excerpts from articles by American journalists, with an appraisal of what is going on in Palestine. The ANSWER will go on with the discussion in forthcoming issues.

## I. F. STONE in PM

On April 5th, *PM* published the following article, entitled "Why the Terrorism?" by I. F. Stone:

"When outbreaks of terrorism are rewarded, outbreaks of terrorism are encouraged. The current outbreaks in Palestine differ from those of the past in only one respect. This time the terrorism is by Jewish extremists, not Arab.

"I do not approve of what these extremists have done. I condemn it. I deplore it. I lament it. But I understand it. Ever since the last war every outbreak of Arab terrorism in Palestine has been rewarded by new concessions to the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. Is it strange that some misguided Jewish youths have said to themselves, 'Maybe we'd have better luck if we tried those tactics, too?'"

"These youths are the victims of bad examples. Who was Haj Amin al Husseini when Sir Herbert Samuel named him Grand Mufti of Jerusalem for life? A fugitive from a 15-year sentence in a British court which had condemned him as a dangerous gang leader and agitator. How did the Grand Mufti repay the honors paid him? By conspiring with the Nazis and Fascists against the British. Where is he now? In Berlin, with Der Fuehrer.

"What is appeasement? Appeasement is the rewarding of one's enemies at the expense of one's friends, as Hitler was rewarded at Munich at the expense of the Czechs, as the pro-Axis extremists were rewarded that same year with the White Paper at the expense of the anti-Axis Jews. The White Paper, Philip Noel-Baker told the House of Commons in May, 1939, was 'the government's response . . . to Arab violence.' So these Jewish youths have asked themselves, 'If violence is rewarded . . .'"

"Every outbreak of Arab extremism in Palestine since the last war has borne fruit in new measures of appeasement. In 1921, Trans-

Jordan was taken from Palestine. In 1922, free immigration was changed to immigration 'on the basis of economic absorptive capacity.' In 1933, land sales to Jews were restricted. In 1937, partition of Palestine was proposed at the expense of the Jewish National Home. In 1939, came the White Paper and all Jewish immigration was ordered cut off after March 31, 1944.

"If the Jews of Palestine had proven enemies of the Allies in the last war and in this one that policy would be understandable. But the Palestinian Jews have played an heroic if poorly acknowledged part in both. What did the Arabs do in the last war? 'For the most part,' Churchill once said, 'the Palestinian Arabs were against us.' What did they do in this war? Every Arab government from Egypt to Iraq has been riddled with Axis corruption and treachery.

"The Jews of Palestine are a proud people. The newer immigration which began in the 1880's has already seen its third generation. They are self-reliant. They protected their colonies against Arab marauders under the Turkish regime. They can protect themselves today. They are not going back to the ghettos. They are fed up with the hypocrisy which issues tearful statements about the slaughter of the Jews in central and eastern Europe, and then denies the remnants of those same Jews a haven in Palestine.

"What rankles in the heart of Palestine Jewry, as of Jews elsewhere, what incites desperate youth to violence, is that the bars imposed by the White Paper were imposed in response to pressure directed from Berlin, that this is Hitler's triumph in defeat. 'We are now asked to submit—and this is what rankles most with me—to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and occasionally inflamed by Nazi and Fascist propaganda.' The reference was to the White Paper; the time, 1939; the place, the House of Commons; the speaker, Winston Churchill. 'Must we still submit today?'"

## RICHARD MOWLER in the Chicago DAILY SUN

In a long cable to his paper from Jerusalem, Richard Mowler of the *Chicago Daily Sun*, writes:

"... The present situation (in Palestine) is a consequence of the recent outbreak of bombings of official buildings and shootings of policemen by two desperate groups. These are the Sternist group, who are engaged in a blood feud with the police, and the Irgun Zvai Leumi, who believe that a campaign of violence is the only way in which Britain can be forced to reconsider its negative attitude toward the plight of the Jews in Europe.

"The original idea behind the Stern group was that the Jews of Palestine ought to be armed. Money needed for arms had to be obtained. The Sternist group embarked on a campaign of extortion and bank robbery. This led to a clash with the police, and bloodshed. Their leader, Abraham Stern, was captured and shot while trying to escape."

"Later, 24 members of the gang were captured and put in an internment camp at Latrun, but these contrived, a few months ago, to escape. Survivors of the group have pledged themselves to fight to the death a war of revenge against the police.

"The terrorist activities of the Irgun Zvai Leumi group, on the other hand, have only a political motive. The Irgun is an offshoot of the revisionist party in Palestine, which insists on the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and Trans-Jordania, and is impatient at a policy of moderation in striving for this end.

"Early this year Irgun made a declaration of war against the administration. This decision, Irgun made it clear, was to express by a show of violence, since other means were useless, its despair at immigration limitations in Palestine and at what they considered to be the indifferent attitude of the British Government to-

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## Conference of Hungarian Jews

### WRB Pledges Rescue Campaign for Balkan Jewry

A pledge to use all the resources at its command and to use every available instrumentality to prevent the killing of Jews now caught in Hitler's path, and to effect the rescue of as many as possible was made by the War Refugee Board through its executive director, John W. Pehle, in a message sent to a meeting of nearly 1000 Americans of Hungarian Jewish descent who gathered at the Hotel Astor in New York City.

The meeting, one of the most unusual and largest gatherings of its kind, was held under the auspices of the National Jewish Council of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe to provide a forum where prominent Hungarians could discuss the critical situation now being faced by the Jews in Hungary.

Dean Alfange, former American Labor Party candidate for Governor of New York State and a co-chairman of the Emergency Committee, presented a four-point program to save the 900,000 Jews who are still trapped in Hungary:

1—A stern warning to the quislings of Hungary and the Balkans that they will be held strictly accountable and mercilessly punished for the loss of every Jewish life;

2—A barrage of radio appeals through OWI to the underground movements in Hungary and the Balkans urging them, in the name of the U. S. Government to protect Jewish lives and to cooperate with all Jews seeking to escape;

3—An immediate appeal by the President of the United States to all allied and neutral Governments to cooperate with the War Refugee Board in evacuating Jews and providing for their temporary care and shelter;

4—Since Palestine is the ultimate refuge of the Jews, and no rescue program can be successfully carried out so long as the doors to Palestine are bolted; our State Department should address an immediate note to the British Government requesting its compliance with the Kelllogg-Chamberlain Pact of Dec. 3, 1924, which provided that "no person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief."

A call was issued at the meeting by the American Hungarians to their

brothers in the Hungarian underground urging: "Help the Jews of Hungary—help them to escape—hide them—share your food. The armies of liberation are not far off."

Resolutions were passed unanimously that the Conference "make known to the Prime Minister of Great Britain its opposition to the closing of the doors of Palestine" because "Palestine is the nearest, most logical and legal place of

refuge for those who can escape the Nazi executioner; the population of Palestine is waiting with open arms to rescue their brothers; and the doors of Palestine have been officially closed to the Jews in violation of the Mandate of the League of Nations and of the United States-Great Britain convention." It was also resolved to make this resolution known to the President and Secretary Hull.

#### Address by Mr. Dean Alfange

Hitler's occupation of Hungary is an imminent threat to nine hundred thousand Jewish lives.

Nine hundred thousand Jews are now harbored in Hungary, of whom an estimated two hundred and fifty thousand are refugees from Nazi-occupied territories. These two hundred and fifty thousand refugees escaped to Hungary from Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia because Hungary was the only Axis state where Jews were not murdered solely because they were Jews. Hence a quarter of a million doomed Jews fled to Hungary from the Hitler-occupied territories in the hope of saving their lives.

The rank and file of the Christian people of Hungary opposed racial persecution. Nor did they approve of the action of Regent Horthy in conscripting Jewish labor battalions for slave labor in Russia. I recall the recent noble stand of the Bishop of Budapest when he courageously declared that he would excommunicate any member of the Church who aided and abetted racial persecution.

It was courageous action of this kind which reflected the sentiments of the overwhelming majority of the Christians of Hungary, that brought these thousands of Jewish refugees to Hungary.

I do not say that the Jews of Hungary were free from persecution, but it can be truthfully said that since the war Hungary was the only Axis state where the Jews had a chance to

live their lives tolerably and free from the fear of sudden death.

This condition no longer exists. The fate of the Jews of Poland awaits the Jews of Hungary. This is a dark and crucial moment for this entrapped segment of European Jewry. They are about twenty-five percent of the surviving Jews of Europe. Immediate and aggressive steps must be taken to rescue them or they will perish before many months have passed.

Now that Hungary has lost its sovereignty and Hitler is the undisputed master, these innocent men, women and children are face to face with death.

We must take immediate action to save not only these refugees, who are marked for immediate slaughter, but to protect, as well, the permanent Jewish population of Hungary, which totals near seven hundred thousand.

President Roosevelt in his recent statement on atrocities clearly portrayed this danger when on March 24th he declared that the "hundreds of thousands of Jews who, while living under persecution, have at least found a haven from death in Hungary and the Balkans, are now threatened with annihilation as Hitler's forces descend more heavily upon these lands. That these innocent people, who have already survived a decade of Hitler's fury, should perish on the very eve of triumph over barbarism which their persecution symbolizes, would be a major tragedy.

Further resolutions called upon the American people to place their full support behind the War Refugee Board and asked that "this Conference call upon the governments of the United Nations to form similar boards of rescue to the end that the Jewish people of Europe may face the future with hope and share in the peace and freedom to come."

A resolution was also passed expressing "appreciation of the work of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe . . . through whose efforts a rescue resolution was entered into the Congress of the United States," after which "the President appointed a War Refugee Board closely following the provisions of this resolution."

Congressman Samuel Dickstein, head of the House Committee on Immigration, who also spoke, decried "the closed doors of Palestine," and "the world-wide silence which encourages such barbarism."

He urged that the United States and the nations of Latin America open their doors to refugees, saying that "the doors of Palestine are closed and there is no telling when they will be open again. We have the food and the resources to take care of them. We can put them in the state of Texas and no one would know the difference. We can certainly use the extra manpower which they would bring us."

Emil Lengyel, prominent Hungarian author, who presided at the meeting,

## EVENTS AND COMMENTS

### The War Refugee Board of Work

(Continued from page 4)

"The creation of the War Refugee Board by President Roosevelt is considered as a most praiseworthy act by all those here interested in the humanitarian work, but they deplore that the establishment of this board was not thought of years, or even six months earlier, when the chances were far greater than today to save large numbers of refugees."

This appraisal of the War Refugee Board is given by the Ankara correspondent of the New York Times.

It is owing to the fact that a certain part of American public opinion and of the American press (the New York Times included) failed to show in time sufficient support for the campaign of the Emergency Committee, that the Board did not come into existence

earlier, when rescue work could have been carried on to a much larger scale than now. Indeed, the War Refugee Board was set up, to use Mr. Hirschmann's expression, at "five minutes to twelve." The Board, however, tries its best to accomplish whatever possible in the remaining "five minutes."

It has already to its credit the rescue of several groups of Jews from the Balkan countries (each of these groups unfortunately consisted not of tens of thousands, but of hundreds). It has appointed representatives in most of the neutral countries, where some rescue work is still possible. The Board succeeded in transferring to Rumania 48,000 Jews from Transnistria. Now Rumania is, of course, not a very safe place for these unfortunates; nobody knows what is still to happen in this country, before it is completely liberated from the Nazis. There still remains, however, a possibility of transferring these Jews to Palestine (provided the British Administration will let them enter the country), while they would most certainly have perished had they remained in Transnistria during the retreat of the Nazis.

The plan of establishing free ports of temporary residence in the U. S. for refugees from Nazi Europe (advanced by Samuel Grafton in an article in the New York Post), was taken up by the War Refugee Board and, according to a statement made by Mr. Pehle, there are some chances of its materialization.

Under the influence of the Board, the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees is being wakened from its lethargy. Sir Herbert Emerson, director of the Committee, arrived in Washington, and after a week of discussions with Mr. Pehle, it was announced that the Directors of the two organizations had reached "complete agreement on organizational relations."

Their discussions were climaxed by a meeting with the War Refugee Board proper. Present were: Cordell Hull, Secretary of State; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury; and Harvey Bundy, representing Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War. Myron Taylor, American delegate to the Intergovernmental Committee, also was present.

The entire refugee problem will, according to the decisions taken at this meeting, be divided into three phases. The chief concern of the War Refugee Board will be "an emergency life-saving job"—aiding people to get out of the Nazi-dominated countries. The Intergovernmental Committee will look after the refugees when they reach neutral territory. The third phase—that of repatriating the refugees after the war, will be handled by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

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### A Colorado Farmer to the WRB

A Colorado farmer sent the War Refugee Board a donation of \$100 "to help finance your program" and an offer to take in five Jewish refugee families "when the opportunity arrives."

In a letter to John W. Pehle, the Board's Executive Director, Harry C. Rogers of Dove Creek, Colorado, expressed his own and his neighbors' gratification over the establishment of the Board and its "humane undertaking" of rescuing the Jews and other victims of Nazi persecution.

"I have been talking to some of my neighbors about the rehabilitation of the Jews as a personal responsibility and am finding fast response," he wrote. "Our Bible teaches us 'We are our brother's keeper,' and this call from the persecuted Jews of Europe is the clearest and most appealing to Christianity that has been heard in 2,000 years."

"Enclosed is my check for \$100 to help finance your program. I want to offer you my personal assistance when the opportunity arrives and homes are sought for these people. I will take five families on my own farm and will see that they are sheltered under the principles of the Four Freedoms and tutored to love our constitutional government."

## "This Cruel Trick"

(Editorial in the New York Post, April 7, 1944)

In an editorial on April 7, the New York Post says, "There is a mystery about Palestine, the mystery of 30,000 still unused entry permits for Jews.

"Why," the editorial continues, "have they not been used? What right does anyone have to complain about the White Paper's stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine so long as there are 30,000 blank immigration permits still lying around?"

"The British Government knows the answers. But since it has not chosen to tell the story, we will.

"The British Government has dangled those permits before the eyes of the tormented Jews of Europe—dangled them—always out of arms' reach. They were always there, but always inaccessible.

"The Jews who needed the permits most were obviously the Jews of Hitler Europe—Poland, Germany, France, Greece, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc. They were the Jews who could never get them. They could never get them because to get a permit the applicant had to apply to a British Consular officer. Now where was a Jew in Poland or Rumania or Greece to find a British Consular officer?"

"But suppose this Jew had a lot of fight left in him and tried to smuggle himself out of Hitler's grasp. Some of those Jews succeeded. A comparative handful made their way into Spain or to the borders of Turkey. What then?"

"To get to the haven in Palestine, the refugee had to have an entry permit from

the British. But the Turks (fearful that the Jew might become a public charge) wouldn't let him into Turkey unless he already had his entry permit into Palestine.

"To get the permit he had to get into Turkey, but to get into Turkey, but to get into Turkey he already had to have the permit. You figure it out. The Jews of Europe couldn't—and many died. And that is why the British Government still has some 30,000 unused permits.

"Still, some of the more courageous Jews tried to steal into Palestine, permit or no permit. In the Fall of 1940, about 1,900 Jews landed in Palestine from small boats that had come from Greece and Rumania. They were caught. They were not given the unused permits. Instead they were loaded on the steamer Patira and consigned to the desolate island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

"Provisionally the Patira exploded. The survivors, less 150 dead Jews, were finally permitted to stay in Palestine.

"In Nov. 1940, some 2,000 more Jews were caught making 'illegal' entries (without permits) into Palestine. They were herded into a concentration camp, and then in the dead of night forced to board a steamer. Those who protested and asked for entry permits were beaten. These Jews ended up on God-forsaken Mauritius. No one has been able to get in touch with them. They are held incommunicado.

"In February 1942, the ship Struma with 769 Jews fleeing from Hitler Europe asked for permission to unload its despairing cargo in Palestine. Permission was

refused. The Jews had failed to secure permits. (Where were they to get them—from Hitler?)

"The Struma started its wanderings with a cargo that no one but the Gestapo wanted. In the Black Sea it struck a mine. Seven hundred and sixty-eight Jews were killed, but the 30,000 'idle' permits were still untouched.

"And now the British Government has just been asked to place 10,000 of these permits in the hands of their consular officials in Turkey and Spain so that whenever Jewish refugees showed up at the borders, the British could go to the reluctant authorities and show them the permits for Palestine. This would get the Jews in and start them off to safety. The British reply to this request is a complete evasion of the proposal. There is no mention whatsoever of the 10,000 permits but much expression of anxiety for refugees in general, and much talk about 'agendas' for committees.

"The British government 'regrets'; the U. S. Government, bound by the Treaty of 1925 to protest, says nothing; and the doors of Palestine, the 'Jewish homeland', are closed tight to Jews and Jews alone. And the Jews die."

### Senator Guy M. Gillette

"The recent acts of terrorism in Palestine are an inevitable consequence of Britain's deliberate and consistent policy of refusing to honor its pledge to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish Homeland."—Senator Guy M. Gillette.

(From a speech at a dinner of the Order of Sons of Zion, in New York, April 2, 1944).

### PALESTINE

(Continued from Page 28)

for a comprehensive survey." Close upon this report comes the report that in the "El Tezira" district, in Syria, substantial oil reserves have been tapped. Palestine will soon be something like a "dry" island immersed in a sea of oil.

### The Arab Press on the Palestine Resolution

The Arab press professes to have scored an important victory in the mass protest telegrams with which they have inundated the American Embassy in Cairo. Their readers are asked to believe that the victory they have now scored is comparable to their first victory on the Lebanese issue.

The Egyptian magazine *Al Insein Wal Dounia*, published in Cairo, writes that the united outcry of Arab Nations resembles the Lion's roar, and has proved the power of the Arabs for good as well as evil. The Arabs were victorious in the Lebanese issue, and they are now victorious in the Palestinian issue. They are still to achieve their Arab union.

*Al Moustawar*, another Egyptian weekly, endeavors to placate its readers over what it called "that American Parliamentary noise," which the paper asks its readers to believe has nothing to do with the American Government. There follows the usual distorted "history" of Zionism.

A rather more informed article appears in the literary Egyptian weekly, *Al Thaqafa*, in which the hope is expressed that the Arab Nations' attitude towards their sister Palestine will prove to be as successful as their attitude towards the Lebanon problem.

### Training Officials for Arab Countries

The Palestine Hebrew press reports that a special school for the training of British officials for service in Arabic-speaking countries is shortly to be established in Palestine. Candidates for admission will be recruited mainly from the fighting services and the principal will be the well known explorer, Mr. Bertram Thomas. Arabic and Arab history will be important subjects in its curriculum.

### THERE IS NO OTHER WAY

(Continued from Page 18)

power, and has a way of frightening men of little minds. What I should like would be a larger Palestine (embracing the Hauran, Transjordan and Sinai) as a self-governing State of the Democratic Federal Union; such a State to be pledged to open frontiers for immigration; and Jewish police to keep order. Then the Jews would soon be in a majority, and with votes for all and single member constituencies on a general franchise, the State would develop as peacefully and justly as the State of New York. As for the rest, being something of a Turcophile I should gladly see the rest of Syria and Iraq reoccupied by the new Turkey—that would at least remove those hideous veils and turbushes with which we seek to perpetuate in Palestine the obfuscated mysteries of the Middle Ages.

Such a solution would provide a land of refuge for all Jews and solve the Jew-

ish problem. There is no other way of doing so. But that, of course, is no guarantee that it will be done. Even when Hitler is hanged and dead, his spirit will live on in quite a number of people. I commend this solution, however, to America; otherwise America will have to take our place as Mandatory for Palestine—for as Mandatory we have utterly failed, even if we have failed through treachery.

### MISS ELEANOR RATHBONE, M.P.

(From Address in the House of Commons)

"If it had not been for the restrictions placed on immigration to Palestine in pre-war years, even before the Palestinian White Paper, . . . tens of thousands of men, women and children who now lie in bloody graves would long ago have been among their kindred in Palestine."

### Moscow Jewish Conference

(Continued from Page 24)

We met Jews, Russians, Negroes, Englishmen, Ukrainians, Czechs, Spaniards and Poles—and all asked us to greet the sacred Soviet land on their behalf and to kiss the land along which our gallant Red Army is marching from victory to victory, the land on which great Russian people, the Soviet land where Jews together with all brother peoples have become the creators of a new world, where national dissension has been outlawed and in whose code are inscribed Joseph Stalin's words—that anti-Semitism is a crime against the State. . . .

The globe is too small to hold both mankind and fascism. From the fires, from the ruins, from beneath the grounds, the blood of martyred victims calls to us. Like Cain, the Hitlerite murderer tries to escape justice. Before retreating from Kiev the Nazis dug up and burned the remains of our fathers and mothers, our brothers and sisters, in Babi Yar. They scattered their ashes, hoping that the wind would cover up the mystery of their crimes. But the ashes of Babi Yar are searing our hearts, the flames are blazing in our eyes, the ashes have settled on our burning wounds and are giving us no rest. And we will not be worthy of treading the earth if we do not destroy these cannibals with the bayonets of our hate, if we do not burn them in the fires of our revenge, if we do not turn our tears into crushing shells.

The fascists are not only to exterminate our people. They wanted us to disappear from the face of the earth, with the stigma of cowards. But we have confounded them. They will never forget Israel Fisanovich's torpedoes, Jacob Kreiser's shells, Lazar Papernik's grenades, Solomon Gorelik's tank, the music of the propeller of Michael Plotkin's airplane, or Raphael Milner's bayonet.

The great American-Jewish writer, Shalom Asch, said: "Several years ago we laughed when we read about the Five-Year Plans. We wondered who was going to carry out those Five-Year Plans. The people there had not enough bread and wore patched trousers. Now we say, blessed be the Russian people who didn't over-eat as we, who didn't over-dress as we, but who have therefore saved mankind from extinction and disgrace." . . .

Our people, like our brother peoples, has sustained great casualties in this war. We have lost much blood, but we have gained in courage. We are confident of our strength. We respect our past, are proud of our present, and are confident of our future. . . .



TWO INTERESTING PHOTOGRAPHS of Palestinian Jewish soldiers, repatriated from a German prison camp. They are of the same group as Private Langer, whose wife, Rose, was allowed to re-enter Palestine after a dose of Mauritius (see ANSWER of February 15).

## WE SHALL DEMAND REDRESS

(Continued from page 19)

patriots of murdered Jews, condone crimes towards their own brethren. I hope the elements here in America, who would listen to slander or disparagement of American soldiers, fliers, army doctors and nurses with Jewish names, many of whom have been mentioned for special heroism, without getting furious are few. I believe the great mass of Americans will take care of the honor of their brave compatriots of Hebrew origin. But the defence of the honor and the rights of the Jewry as a whole should be in the hands of a nation of Jewish Jews, citizens of a Jewish homeland.

There is a Jewish people, in spite of the great and valuable contribution Jews have made to other nations where they have been assimilated,—and this people should not be without a country of their own any more.

By special arrangement with UNIVERSAL LECTURES BUREAU, The ANSWER will provide groups, societies and organizations with eminent lecturers in the field of inter-human relations, freedom movements and current events. For special rates and other information write directly to The ANSWER, Dept. D, 25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.



CHICAGO LEADERS LAYING THE GROUND FOR A "SHOW OF SHOWS." Following the successful presentation of this outstanding galaxy of stars in New York's Madison Square Garden, the country's second largest city prepares to repeat the event in order to raise funds for the rescue of Jews from Hitler's Europe.

## VIOLENCE IN PALESTINE

(Continued from page 29)

human life is involved in their operations. "Irgun makes it a point to warn people in the places they have mined to get out, that there will be an explosion. The outbreak of bombings was largely an outbreak of hysteria and impatience over the plight of the Jews in Europe.

"We are fighting for the opening of the doors of our native country, for our nation, which is almost perishing. The betraying government has erected with the help of its constables, detectives and bayonets, a wall which separates our kin from safe shores of their native country," says the Irgun pamphlet.

"Members of the Irgun are said to be Jews who have or had relatives in Nazi-occupied Europe and who are frantic and desperate at their plight." ward the plight of the Jews of Europe. The Irgun line is roughly this:

"By their campaign of violence in 1936 to 1939 the Arabs got their White Paper. Violence is the only thing that appears to work. Now it is our turn. We want a Jewish state pronto; we want immigration bars against Jews to be lifted; we are tired of the pussy-footing attitude and effete negotiations of the present recognized Jewish leaders in Palestine."

"So Irgun embarked upon a campaign of bombings of administrative buildings in Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv. It started out by the setting off of mines in the immigration offices. The Irgun insists that its members were not out to kill and in its leaflets, while indignantly claiming credit for blowing up administration buildings—acts attributed to the Sternist group—express regret if loss of

## THE FIGHTING COHEN

Priest and Warrior

(Continued from page 27)

bert Kahn (Transvaal); Sergeant A. P. Cohen (Australia); and Lance-Sergeant M. B. Cohen, R.A.

China has also brought honor to a Cohen—Manchester-born picturesque General Morris Cohen, whose adventures have made him almost a legendary figure. From England to Canada, where he became a friend of the Chinese and from that the intimate of Sun Yat-sen; to France with his own recruited company in the last war; and so on to China; lately a prisoner of war of the Japs, and now repatriated to Canada—such, in brief, is his career.

The home front cannot be left out in the recital of the Cohens; they have suffered their casualties on duty in the blitz—David Cohen, N.F.S., of London, killed by a sneak raider when he was transferred to the Isle of Wight; Sylvia Cohen, A.F.S., who was injured by falling 30 feet through a skylight while fire-fighting during the blitz on Manchester. Even the centenarians have their representative: Morris Cohen, of the East End, former soldier in the Russian Army, now 105 years old, and has defied the blitz, refusing to leave his home for the Huns!

Finally, the "Cohen" saga would not be complete without mentioning that Cohen, soldier who lost both his legs in the last war, who devotes his life to the welfare of the ex-Serviceman, and who has recently been honored with a Knighthood by the King—Major Sir J. B. Brunel Cohen.

In the first year of its existence, The ANSWER acquired many readers and friends. Their letters and comments of appreciation indicate that The ANSWER is rendering valuable service in clarifying the Jewish problem and discussing its possible solution.

There are hundreds in your own community who will thank you for introducing them to The ANSWER. In so doing you will also earn the regular commission paid to accredited agents.

Write to Mr. Matthias Radin, Circulation Manager, The ANSWER Publishing Company, 25 West 45th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

## "A decent respect to the opinions of mankind"\*

An urgent message to the Government of Great Britain . . . in this last hour when 2,000,000 Jews trapped in the Balkans face total destruction

This advertisement is addressed to the government of Great Britain. It is a message from the people of America. It is written as the messages of the people are always written in a great democracy, by the duly elected representatives of the people and by the governors of great states.

It has been endorsed by a great President . . . who, with decent regard for the opinion of mankind and a prayer for an anguished people, acted swiftly to rescue what few could be rescued of the surviving Jews of Europe.

This message says plainly to a great ally . . . You shall not in this darkest hour unwittingly share in the destruction of a whole people.

It says plainly . . . in the name of Hu-

manity and the Freedoms for which we commonly shed our blood . . . Open the Gates of Palestine . . . Open the one near and practical sanctuary to the handful of bleeding refugees who clamor at its gates.

It says with swelling insistence . . . With the force of a mandate from 130,000,000 aroused people . . . Stand back from the door of salvation, lest in the eyes of mankind and history you make a sham and a mockery of the exalted purpose to which we are together pledged and for which our sons together fight and die on the field of battle.

This is the message of the people of America . . . and we know it is echoed . . . echoed as a great and fervent prayer by the plain and heroic people of Britain . . .

Open the Gates . . . Open the Gates of Palestine NOW While Some Still Live Who Can Find Shelter There.

Here are a few messages by leaders of America, from among the hundreds which poured into the offices of the Emergency Committee on March 31st, the day when the discriminatory laws, known as the White Paper, officially went into effect.

" . . . It is to be fervently hoped that the British White Paper banning the migration of victims of Nazi persecution to Palestine will be abandoned TODAY, before it is too late. The helpless refugees who are still fortunate enough to escape Hitler's mass executioners must have a place of refuge. Palestine's doors must be kept open."

THOMAS E. DEWEY,  
Governor of New York.

"Knowing the plight of the Jewish people of Europe, I join with you in urging the free entry of the Jews into Palestine. I sincerely hope that there will be established in Palestine a home where the wandering, disinherited and harassed Jews who have no permanent haven may find peace and freedom in their ancestral home. It is an American ideal to support all freedom-loving peoples in their

EDWARD MARTIN,  
Governor of Pennsylvania.

striving toward self-realization."

"In these hours every race and creed share a common feeling of deep sympathy. They rejoice when an oppressed people finds a place of refuge in its escape from barbarous persecution. The Jews of Palestine have reclaimed the desert and made the land bloom once more. Their rebuilding of their ancient land is truly considered one of the greatest achievements of modern times. It is but elementary justice that the doors of Palestine be reopened to the fullest extent consistent with military considerations for the Jews of Europe against whom Hitler has so savagely expended his fury."

LEVERET SALTONSTALL,  
Governor of Massachusetts.

"I strongly endorse movement for free entry of Jews into Palestine."

RAYMOND E. BALDWIN,  
Governor of Connecticut.

"The White Paper should be abrogated and the principles of the Balfour Declaration re-established. Our Government should protest to the Government of Great Britain against the change in policy which violates the League of Nations mandate and the convention between our countries."

ROBERT A. TAFT,  
U. S. Senator, Ohio.

"The problem of the European Jew is the problem of all humanity. The principle laid down in the Convention of 1925 between the United States and Great Britain, 'No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief,' should be continued."

ALEXANDER WILEY,  
U. S. Senator, Wisconsin.

" . . . The overwhelming majority of American citizens are appalled at the premeditated extermination of the Jewish people. They want justice accorded the Jew. They know that a just settlement of this problem is a Christian problem. They know that in the inhospitable world of today the only place where the Jew of Europe can go is Palestine. I wish it were otherwise, but unfortunately it is not."

EDWIN C. JOHNSON,  
U. S. Senator, Colorado.

" . . . The closing of the doors of Palestine to the Jews is one of the greatest tragedies of the war. It shocks the conscience of every fair minded American. It is appeasement, not justice."

WALTER A. LYNCH,  
U. S. Representative, N. Y.

## WHERE DO YOU STAND?

In this hourly fight against extermination the enemies fight with poison gas and torture and with every brutality. The weapons of humanity are more limited. They are your determination and your good will—and every small contribution of time and money that you can possibly spare.

We operate solely through voluntary contributions. By your support will be determined the speed, scope and effectiveness of our fight to save the Jewish people of Europe.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE  
25 West 45th Street,  
New York (19), N. Y.

I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out your tremendous task in the sun

of \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
(By a ruling of the Treasury Department, contributions to this Committee are tax exempt)  
Please make checks payable to Frances Gensler,  
Treasurer.

MAR 13 1944

In reply please  
refer to: 293

Dear Mr. Merlin:

This is to acknowledge and thank you  
for your letter of March 9, 1944, and the enclosed  
copy of "The Answer" which has been noted with  
interest.

Your offer of assistance and your good  
wishes for the success of the Board are indeed ap-  
preciated.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. S. Merlin,  
Editor,  
"The Answer",  
One East 44th Street,  
New York, New York.

EBT

JW  
EBTowler:agr 3-13-44

# ANSWER

A BI-WEEKLY MAGAZINE

A NON-SECTARIAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF THE  
THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

ONE EAST 44th STREET

Murray Hill 2-7237

293  
W. R. B. 718  
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Ans. \_\_\_\_\_  
NEW YORK CITY  
Initial \_\_\_\_\_  
Date \_\_\_\_\_

9th of March  
1944

Mr. John W. Pehle  
Director, War Refugee Board  
Treasury Building  
Washington, D.C.

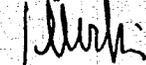
Dear Mr. Pehle:

I am taking the liberty of  
enclosing the latest issue of our magazine  
which I think may be of interest.

I would like to take this  
opportunity to thank you personally for  
your kind cooperation which made this issue  
on the work of the War Refugee Board possible.

Do not hesitate to call upon  
us if we can ever be of assistance to you and  
sincere wishes for success in your great work.

Respectfully yours,

  
S. Merlin  
Editor

S. MERLIN  
Editor

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FEB 25 1944

In reply please  
refer to: 195

Dear Mr. Merlin:

Your letter of February 15, 1944, to Secretary  
Morgenthau, enclosing a copy of the February 12 issue of  
"The Answer", has been referred to me.

The comments regarding the establishment of the  
Board have been noted with interest.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. W. Pehle

J. W. Pehle  
Acting Executive Director

Mr. S. Merlin,  
Editor,  
"The Answer",  
One East 44th Street,  
New York, New York.

RRButchisen:agr 2-24-44 JWA

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# THE ANSWER

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A NON-SECTARIAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF  
THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

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February 15, 1944

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.  
Secretary of the Treasury  
Treasury Department  
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I take the liberty to enclose, herewith,  
the latest issue of our bi-weekly publication,  
the Answer.

I think you may find this issue of special  
interest to you since your most noteworthy acti-  
vities on behalf of the Jewish victims in Nazi-  
occupied Europe are commented upon.

Cordially yours,

S. Merlin  
Editor

S. MERLIN  
Editor

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SM:cc  
enc.

# ANSWER



**PETER H. BERGSON**

**Serving the martyred Hebrew people of Europe, he is relentless in his efforts to secure action for their rescue**

# THE "ANSWER" AND ITS CAUSE

By the Readers

## The Veteran Speaks

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed please find check of \$3.75 for a year's subscription to the ANSWER and *The Forgotten Ally*.

This subscription is from a Spanish-American War veteran, Past Commander of Bronx Post No. 64, Jewish War Veterans of the United States.

Since July 1, 1898, when I crawled up San Juan Hill to the top to hoist up "Old Glory" on the block-house on the summit of that Hill, I have always believed in Blitzkrieg, not in Sitzkrieg. Now I am an old man, quite above the Biblical allotment, so it is up to you youngsters, to carry on the Blitz. I am proud of my brothers-in-arms, who carry on the tradition of our poetic warriors: Joshua—*The sun stand still in Gibeon, the moon move not from the valley of Ajalon; Deborah—The stars in their courses will fight your enemy's forces.*

May God guide them and guard them.

Very truly yours,

PHILIP E. BASSON.

Lakewood, N. J.

## Commends Presentation

Gentlemen,

I was very pleased to receive the ANSWER through the courtesy of Mr. Samuel Solomon of Union City, and I have already written him, thanking him for his thoughtfulness.

I believe that the issues raised by the ANSWER are timely and pertinent. The subjects therein discussed should be presented to the public in just this intelligent and not over-emotionalized manner, so that all may know just what is occurring, and that all may be prepared to make their opinions felt after the war, if not now. May God give you strength and courage to carry out the program you have set for yourselves.

Sincerely yours,

MEYER J. GOLDMAN,  
Chaplain.

Boca Raton Field,  
Florida.

## Well-Worth Reading

Dear Sir,

I wish to let you know that I find your magazine a most interesting and informative one, and indeed well-worth reading.

Sincerely yours,

S/Sgt. MITCHELL FRIED, 12194840,  
420th Service Squadron (trng)  
Tinker Field, Oklahoma.

## From a Soldier

Dear Sir,

I am very sorry to be so late in expressing my appreciation for your kindness in sending me the ANSWER. Also please forward my thanks to the person who has made it possible for me to receive the magazine.

I am also sorry that I can't do anything for you personally, here in the European theatre of war. I shall repay your kindness at the first opportunity I get. The ANSWER is a typical American magazine, with interest for every race, creed and color which takes an interest in human beings.

Please let me express my appreciation to Mr. van Paassen and to Congressman Will Rogers, Jr., and to Mr. Ostermann-Avneri for his article in the November 1 issue.

Respectfully yours,

PVT. CHAIM BEN ARIE,  
ASN 32021252  
Co. "C", 2nd Md. Bn.  
APO No. 2,  
c/o Postmaster, N.Y.C., N. Y.

North Ireland.

## Continue Sending It

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for sending us ("Men of 3rd and 4th Floor") your magazine, the ANSWER. If you will be kind enough to continue sending it to us, please send it to the Librarian of this college, Rev. Fanning, O.P., where it will be assured of circulation, or to me.

Very truly yours,

PVT. SIMON WINCELBURG,  
Co. B. ASTU, Rn. 411  
Providence College  
Providence, R. I.

## One "Swallow" Makes a Reader

Gentlemen,

I have received the first copy of ANSWER, "swallowing" its contents at one sitting. It is very good, and ought to interest anyone who is not indifferent to the cause of Jewish salvation. For my part, I shall pass the word around, and do the utmost in order to make the ANSWER the answer.

Also please send me Ziff's *The Rape of Palestine*, for which a check of \$3.30 is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

ANSEL GOLDBERG,  
Los Angeles, Cal.

## Interesting and Worthwhile

May I commend you for your latest issue of the ANSWER. I would have been particularly sorry to have missed the admirable review of May Lewis, my nephew's poem and many other articles. I think you are getting out a most interesting and worthwhile journal.

Sincerely,

ANNIE NATHAN MEYER.

New York, N. Y.

## Fine and Necessary

Gentlemen,

I am enclosing \$3.00 for a subscription to the ANSWER.

I have received two issues, and am passing them on to friends who are misinformed on the Palestine problem or who are hostile to Jews as such.

You are doing a fine and necessary work, one in which I wish I could help with more than money. Although I am "old stock" American (North European mongrel) the "Jewish question", which is also the question of civilization, has preoccupied me. I am interested not only because of an abstract sense of justice, but because I have Jewish friends for whom I am afraid. I am reading Mr. van Paassen's book now.

Very sincerely yours,

ELFREIDA HART.

Slingerlands, N. Y.

## For Official Notice

Dear Editor,

With the enclosed order I wish to send a brief but heartfelt word of appreciation of the copy of the ANSWER recently mailed to me in the rather isolated country spot where, at the age of sixty-seven, I have become a producer of food. I am profoundly grateful to the person, unknown to me, thru whom I received a copy of the magazine.

I wish that a copy of the December 5th issue might be sent to at least half of the members of the U. S. Senate. I am confident that some of those Senators whom I know best would gladly place a number of the articles in the Congressional Record.

May the new year widely increase your influence!

Sincerely,

RICHARD W. HOGUE,  
Remington, Va.

# THE ANSWER

COVER. Peter H. Bergson, alias the "nuisance diplomat". As head of the Free Palestine Committee, he made himself a nuisance in some quarters in Warsaw, Paris and London before the war, and for the past two years in Washington. For the price of this sacrifice, the desperate voice of the martyred Jewish people has begun to be heard.

VOL. II, No. 3



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## EVENTS AND COMMENTS

### Escape from the Truth

London movie theaters have refused a picture dealing with the atrocities committed by the Germans in Europe.

The reason is obvious. The public goes to the movies for relaxation. Londoners have seen enough of war horrors at home. If they happen to have a few hours for rest, they certainly do not desire to employ them in looking at sadistic Nazi views. The theater proprietors know their business.

But this unwillingness to give attention to the plight of the population under Nazi control goes much farther.

The reader will find elsewhere in this issue a dramatic report on the Treblinka Concentration Camp by a man who escaped from this notorious charnel house. Few papers and magazines carried this terrible story for reasons which may be gathered from the following:

In an open letter to the Independent Jewish Press Service, the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle* (Indiana) writes, "As one of the subscribers of your syndicate, I beg of you to stop sending us such releases as the Jew who escaped and lived to tell the story of Treblinka." The very name of this notorious charnel camp strikes terror in the hearts of those who have often read of the sadistic orgies of the Nazis there as well as many other places. . . . Our readers complain that they get the jitters after reading such articles. . . . Send us the items that arouse a spark of hope. . . ."

Thus, not only London movie exhibitors, but even some Jewish magazine editors try to spare their public, to conceal from it the horrors of the butchery of the Jews.

Concern for his own calm and peace of mind makes the individual turn back from the sufferings of others. Not everybody has the courage nor the honesty to admit that he is simply "too sensitizing" to listen to the cries of the tortured. Some even try to persuade themselves and others that since they—having shut their ears—do not hear the cries, and—having closed their eyes—do not see the blood of the victims, there are no cries and no blood. . . .!

Time and again we come across reports to the effect that people still do not believe stories of the persecution of the Jews by the Nazis, of their mass extermination. This despite numerous eye-witness reports of the atrocities, despite even the fact that Nazi leaders and Hitler himself go on boasting that they will destroy all the Jews in Europe.

It is hardly possible to persuade a man to believe a thing which he refuses to believe, although he knows it to be a fact.

It seems to us, however, that the majority do not practice self-deception to such an ex-

tent. They believe—but they shut their eyes to the Jewish tragedy simply because they are "too sensitive."

And is to a great extent this "over-sensitiveness,"—this unwillingness to contemplate stark tragedy, this escape from the truth—which is responsible for years of inaction. For, the tragedy having been self-dismissed from so many "sensitive" minds, there have been few to fight it.

### Horror and Impunity

That an angry wave of rage swept over America at the report of the Japanese atrocities is understandable. What is rather perplexing is the "discovery" that the Japanese are capable of inflicting such horrors and cruelties upon human beings.

We dare say that, had the American public been given the facts concerning the nature of Hitler's treatment of the European Jew, the Japanese methods would have come as no surprise. Ruthlessness grows with practice, and the ideology of atrocities become first nature with the perpetrator. The war "aims" of the Axis are built on the premise of depraved human nature.

More than ever, therefore, we helplessly deplore the apathy of the democratic world a decade ago, when Hitler first began to build up his organization of wholesale butchers. Had Hitler been put in his place—for all time—when he first came into power, we would have been spared not only this climax of cruelty but the usual horrors of war as well.

### A Ransom Deal

Since the semi-official offer made by the Rumanian Government to "sell" the surviving 70,000 Jews in Transnistria (part of the Ukraine occupied by Rumania) was not accepted, the Bucharest authorities are trying to make money out of these unfortunate Jews in another way.

The Rumanian Jews were told that in the event the Axis is forced to retreat from Transnistria, the German and Rumanian armies will exterminate all the Jews there. If the Rumanian Jews wish to save their brethren in Transnistria from certain death, they must pay a certain ransom, and the Rumanian Government will transfer those Jews to Rumania proper.

According to the Swedish press, an agreement has already been reached between the government and the Jewish Central Office on the following terms:

1. The Rumanian Government puts at the disposal of the Jewish Central Office ten trucks for transportation of

Jews from Transnistria, but the Jewish organization is to pay for each person the cost of a third-class railway ticket.

2. Each Jew permitted to return from exile in Transnistria must apply for an identification card within three days after his return. A sum up to 800,000 lei must be paid in for each such card in advance by the Jewish Central Office.

3. The Jewish Central Office is to supply clothes for every returning Jewish deportee prior to his leaving Transnistria for his home town.

4. The Rumanian Government guarantees to each returning Jew personal security. This apparently includes also a guarantee that he will not be molested by Gestapo officials in Rumania.

5. The Jewish Central Office undertakes to pay immediately the arrears of the special tax imposed upon Jews in 1943 in addition to 4,500,000 lei which are to go on the account of the same tax for 1944.

For a lesser ransom, these unfortunate Jews could have been transferred a year ago from Transnistria to a safer haven than Rumania. . . .

### "Show of Shows"

"Show of Shows" the greatest galaxy of stars from stage, screen, and radio ever assembled for a single presentation, will be staged at Madison Square Garden, Monday evening, March 13th, under the sponsorship of the Emergency Committee.

"Show of Shows" is planned both as a celebration of the President's Order creating the War Refugee Board, and as a means to obtain additional funds to carry on the work of the Committee. It is being organized also in such a way as to provide a treat for a large number of men and women in uniform, by distribution of tickets through the USO.

According to Al Rosen of Loew's State, Alan Corelli of Theater Authority, Chairman and Advisory Chairman of the Show Committee, and George Woolf, director of special events for the Emergency Committee, not a single big name will be absent from the Garden stage that evening. In planning this great celebration the Committee has had the wholehearted help and support of leaders in the garment industry, trade organizations, unions and allied theatrical groups.

### Palestine Perspectives

Dr. Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency, has made in London an optimistic statement with regard to the Palestine problem: The White Paper will not survive the war; important developments concerning Palestine are imminent; the political situation is reminiscent of the situation on the eve of the Balfour Declaration.

"I am unable to indulge in speculation," he said, "but I think something is growing and may happen sooner or later."

Something certainly is growing. The question is, however, whether this something will justify Dr. Weizmann's optimism. Even if the shameful White Paper, condemned by every decent man, should collapse along with the Axis, there will be no special reason to rejoice. Before the White Paper of 1939 there were other White Papers, which practically liquidated the policy of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

It should be pointed out that Palestine was practically closed to the Jews long before the 1939 White Paper appeared. If the "something" which is growing limits itself to the cancellation of the White Paper, very little will be changed.

Several developments lead us, unfortunately, to doubt that we are justified in expecting greater achievements, or in corroborating Dr. Weizmann's opinion that something of the caliber of Balfour's declaration is to be awaited.

First—the appointment of Lord Moyne as British Resident Minister in the Middle East. Lord Moyne is one of the bitterest opponents of the policy of the Balfour Declaration. His hostile attitude toward Jewish aspirations in Palestine was made sufficiently clear when he occupied the post of Colonial Secretary in 1941-42.

It is quite natural that the organ of the Arab extremists in Palestine, the *Palastin*, enthusiastically welcomes Lord Moyne's appointment.

Another fact characterizes the present policy of the British government not less eloquently. We had occasion to speak about the statement of Mr. Oliver Stanley—Lord Moyne's successor at the Colonial Office—that, because of the war, the quota of 75,000 Jewish immigrants allowed by the White Paper up to March 31, 1944, could not be filled. Out of fairness, he declared, 31,000 Jews who could not avail themselves of the quota will be admitted after March 31.

It is common knowledge that hundreds of thousands of Jews dream of escaping from the Balkans to Palestine. They could escape, the Turks would let them pass through their territory, if the Jews were to be admitted to Palestine. Now we learn that the Palestine government has benevolently agreed to grant—900 immigration certificates to Jews. . . .

Nor does hypocrisy encourage any special optimistic expectations.

## THE NEW STATESMANSHIP

The story behind the historic act of the President in creating a War Refugee Board should be learned by every student of political science, indeed, by every man who believes in Democracy. America, together with the rest of the world, had been witnessing in silence the horror of Jewish extermination.

For many years there were in this country a multitude of Jewish groups, congresses and conventions which strove on behalf of the persecuted Jewish people of Europe. All were ineffective.

Then, above their clamor, came the call of a group of European and Palestinian Jews who arrived at these shores to plead for our help. They told of

*Following are excerpts from letters written by noted men of the press to Mr. Peter H. Bergson, head of the Free Palestine Committee and Co-chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe:*

### TED O. THACKREY

(Editor, *New York Post*)

"I think your activities in this country for the past two years have resulted in the only effective steps taken thus far to break through the dyke of indifference, intolerance, suspicion and opposition, and I confidently believe that if your supporters, among whom we are numbered, do not weaken but rather intensify their efforts, we should be able to look forward to the abrogation of the White Paper as a minimum accomplishment."

### EUGENE MEYER

(Editor and Publisher, the *Washington Post*)

" . . . I hope that we may not be disappointed in the progress which the appointment of the Board encourages us to have at this time."

### ROY S. HOWARD

(Publisher, *Scripps-Howard Newspapers*)

Please be assured that it was a very real pleasure for us to be of assistance in this situation, and that it will be our aim and purpose to continue to support your organization in its splendid efforts, not only because of the admitted worthiness of your cause, but because of our belief that the methods you are apparently determined to employ are the most apt to be productive of the results we all desire.

their plight; at the same time they taught us that their tragedy was OUR problem—more than theirs. America listened to their voice. Leading men of our country came together in special conferences, and formed committees, and wrote and spoke on behalf of the cause which they represented. In the august halls of Congress, in the great American press, men demanded action.

This group, now known as the Free Palestine Committee, came here unheralded, without friends, supporters, or money. Yet it made itself heard, for these men were a part of the suffering Jew, imbued with his feelings, with his psychology; it was this fact that gave birth to a new, dynamic Jewish policy.

To pierce the conspiracy of silence surrounding the Jewish tragedy was no easy task. The Free Palestine Committee realized that success could be attained only by the use of heroic methods commensurate with the scale of the task undertaken. Through its initiative several organizations were created in the United States, among them the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. The methods of these organizations have sometimes been criticized as "vociferous." Some even thought them dangerous, for they went against the age-old hush-hush policy of appeasement. Today these methods have to their credit a first and great success.

This was not the success of a new method alone. It was the vindication of a creed. These men believed that, fundamentally, the world was just, that if your cause was just, all you had to do was to acquaint others with it. They believed that in a democracy it was public opinion that ruled. In a democracy the most lowly stood the same chance of being heard as the most high. They believed in the democracy that is America. And they knew that belief alone was not enough; you also had to act upon your beliefs.

In these beliefs they were vindicated—vindicated by the President of the United States who, heeding the voice of his country, answered their appeal for help. The creation of the War Refugee Board is the first encouraging milestone on the road of achievement of a new Jewish statesmanship.

# AMERICA ACTS: THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

The White House Statement. As Released by Stephen Early, Secretary to the President.

The President today by Executive Order, set up a War Refugee Board consisting of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War, to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe—racial, religious or political—all civilian victims of enemy savagery.

The Executive Order declares that "it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims, all possible relief and

assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war".

The Board is charged with direct responsibility to the President in seeing that the announced policy is carried out. The President indicated that while he would look directly to the Board for the successful execution of this policy, the Board, of course, would cooperate fully with the Intergovernmental Committee, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and other interested international organizations.

The President stated that he expected to obtain the cooperation of all members of

the United Nations and other foreign governments in carrying out this difficult but important task. He stated that the existing facilities of the State, Treasury and War Departments would be employed to aid Axis victims to the fullest extent possible. He stressed that it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe.

It will be the duty of a full-time Executive Director of the Board to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board.

visions of this Order. The State Department shall appoint special attaches with diplomatic status, on the recommendation of the Board, to be stationed abroad in places where it is likely that assistance can be rendered to war refugees, the duties and responsibilities of such attaches to be defined by the Board in consultation with the State Department.

4. The Board and the State, Treasury and War Departments are authorized to accept the services or contributions of any private persons, private organizations, State agencies, or agencies of foreign governments in carrying out the purposes of this Order. The Board shall cooperate with all existing and future international organizations concerned with the problems of refugee rescue, maintenance, transportation, relief, rehabilitation, and resettlement.

5. To the extent possible the Board shall utilize the personnel, supplies, facilities and services of the State, Treasury and War Departments. In addition the Board, within the limits of funds which may be made available, may employ necessary personnel without regard for the Civil Service laws and regulations and the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and make provisions for supplies, facilities and services necessary to discharge its responsibilities. The Board shall appoint an Executive Director who shall serve as its principal executive officer. It shall be the duty of the Executive Director to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the Board, to supervise the activities of the special attaches and to submit frequent reports to the Board on the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees.

6. The Board shall be directly responsible to the President in carrying out the policy of this Government, as stated in the Preamble, and the Board shall report to him at frequent intervals concerning the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees and shall make such recommendations as the Board may deem appropriate for further action to overcome any difficulties encountered in the rescue and relief of war refugees.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
January 22, 1944.

# THE BATTLE AGAINST MASSACRE STARTED

An Editorial

With the appointment of the President's War Refugee Board, we are entitled to state with gratification that our past endeavors and arduous struggles have been crowned with spectacular success. It is gratifying also that leading men and newspapers of America acknowledge this fact and pay tribute to the Emergency Committee.

Taking into consideration the vital historic importance of this achievement, we think it advisable to analyze the

significance and implications of the Executive order as well as the future position of the Emergency Committee.

1. This Committee, from its very initiation six months ago, has been mobilizing public opinion and negotiating with government officials to create a special agency because we considered that two basic premises had to be acknowledged as the starting point for any real rescue of the Jews of Europe.

First: That the government of the United States and other governments of the United Nations must acknowledge in unequivocal terms their concern with the specific problem of the Jewish disaster in Europe.

Second: That for the tremendous task of rescuing the Jews, a special agency must be created, exactly as special agencies and special machineries are created

## THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

(Editorial)

"The President's move is the outcome of pressure brought to bear by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, a group made up of both Jews and non-Jews that has been active in the Capital in recent months."

(From an article in the same paper)

This is the board of Cabinet officers, you recall, that has just been set up at the request of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

for any other major or minor war task.

The President's order answered these two basic premises of this Committee. In defining the task of this Board, the President stated:

(Continued on page 8)

## THE WASHINGTON POST

"... the industrious spadework done by the Emergency Committee to save the Jewish People of Europe had contributed to this prospect, and the Committee is likewise entitled to credit for the President's forehanded move..."



NDF25 132 COLLECT-ID WASHINGTON DC 26 112P

PETER BERGSON

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54 JUN 26 PM 2 08

PLEASE EXTEND MY COMPLIMENTS TO MR DEAN ALFANE FOR HIS COURAGIOUS EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE. I THINK ALL OF THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE SHOULD FEEL GRATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENTIAL ORDER CREATING AN AGENCY WITH AUTHORITY TO INAUGURATE PROGRAM OF ACTION TO RESCUE THE VICTIMS OF NAZI BARBARISM. THE COMMITTEE HAS KEPT ITSELF FREE FROM COLLATERAL ENTANGLEMENTS AND HAS CONCENTRATED ON THE CREATION OF AN OFFICIAL AGENCY TO DO THIS JOB. NOW THAT THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD IS IN EXISTANCE THE COMMITTEE WILL DOUBTLESS DIRECT ITS EFFORTS TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THIS TASK AND TO KEEP ALIVE THE HOPE OF RESCUE IN THE HEARTS OF JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE.

H L ICKES SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Eminent Americans look ahead with the Emergency Committee to greater effort in the work of rescue.

On July 22 in a message to the Emergency Conference to Save the Jews of Europe, I urged the creation of a United Nations Agency in order to provide tangible evidence of hope and aid to the embattled victims of Hitler's ruthlessness. The justice and merit of the cause which your committee is seeking to accomplish has resulted in the formation of such a commission. The first step has been taken. We must now exert our energies to implement the findings of this commission. No mere lip-service will satisfy the awakened conscience of the world.

Good luck to you.

January 25, 1944

"It was urgent that the action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews and other minorities of Europe." Not only was a special board appointed for this purpose, but a full-time Executive Director is going to be appointed with the necessary staff in order "to arrange for the prompt execution of the plans and programs developed and the measures inaugurated by the board."

2. One of the first main practical steps that this Committee suggested could be undertaken was the creation of asylums and places of temporary refuge for those Jewish people who might succeed in escaping from German-occupied territory.

The President's order accepted fully this suggestion when he defined among other tasks of the Board

"the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for victims of enemy oppression."

3. It is also gratifying that the recommendation of the Emergency Conference, that such a board be organized at the initiative of the United States, but cooperative with other governments in carrying out its task, received full consideration. The President, in his order, states:

"... The board, through appropriate channels, shall take the necessary steps to enlist the cooperation of foreign governments and obtain their participation in the execution of . . . plans and programs."

There is no doubt that this initiative taken by the United States Government will greatly influence other governments of the United Nations, and will spur them to action and cooperation.

4. This Committee also urged that government activities in the field of rescuing the Jews of Europe must be done as close as possible to the zone of operations. That is why the Committee sent its representatives to Turkey and to Palestine, and why we asked our representative be allowed to go to North Africa and Spain. Again it is gratifying that the President announced in his order that

"the State Department shall appoint special attaches with diplomatic status, on the recommendation of the board, to be stationed abroad in places where it is likely that assistance can be rendered to war refugees."

5. In some respects the President went further than any of our most optimistic expectations. When the Gillette-Taft-Baldwin-Rogers resolution was introduced, at our initiative, calling upon the President

"to create a commission of diplomatic, economic, and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action, designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany . . ."



A STATEMENT TO THE PRESS on the Executive Order is issued by the Congressmen sponsoring the original rescue resolution and members of the Emergency Committee. Left to right Sen. Guy M. Gillette, Rep. Will Rogers, Jr., Peter H. Bergson and Eri Jabotinsky.

we didn't dream that this commission would comprise such diplomatic, economic and military experts as the Secretaries Hull, Morgenthau and Stimson.

6. We refuse to share the view of some skeptics that this board will prove sterile like similar previous attempts as the Bermuda Conference on Refugees. We, on the contrary, believe that this board will live up to all expectations, not only because of the reasons we mention above but also because of the extreme importance that the President himself attaches to this board. This is witnessed not only by its composition, but also by the following facts:

A. "The board shall be directly responsible to the President . . . and shall report to him at frequent intervals concerning the steps taken for the rescue and relief of war refugees, and shall make such recommendations as the board may deem proper for further action to overcome any difficulties encountered . . ."

B. "The existing facilities of the State, Treasury and War Departments" will be at the disposal of the board. (This provision is reiterated four times in the accompanying statement.)

C. That the board's special attaches abroad will be given diplomatic status.

D. That the element of urgency is expressed and stressed in the President's order indicated the desire and determination not to lose time in inaugurating "effective measures" and "prompt execution."

What is still more important is that the board itself wasted no time in starting to translate its sense of urgency into practical and "effective measures." A few days after the board was established it announced that:

"all United States diplomatic and consular offices throughout the world have been instructed to do everything possible to effectuate the Government's new war refugee policy as announced by the President, bearing in mind the urgency of the problem." (from an official statement issued by the Board on Jan. 27.)

The Board also announced that "foreign governments are being approached to ascertain the extent to which they are prepared to cooperate." Immediate reports have been requested by the Board from American officials abroad, including information as to the permission granted to war refugees to enter each country, the encouragement and cooperation given to such entry, and the extent to which each country does not cooperate in permitting entry.

"Where refugees are refused entry at frontiers, the facts and reasons for such action have been requested," the Board disclosed. "Recommendations as to possible line of action have been asked, with notation of special obstacles."

The instructions were dispatched following the first meeting of the War Refugee Board which took place on

(Continued on opposite page)

January 26, attended by Secretaries Hull, Stimson, and Morgenthau. "All missions were advised that instructions have been issued by the President to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of War to endeavor to effect immediately the rescue and relief of Jews in Europe and of other victims of Nazi terror," the announcement of the Board stated.

The instructions to U. S. diplomats abroad for details concerning countries which hinder rescue of refugees may indicate a new policy of "tough talk" to neutrals that seek excuses to exclude refugees.

In the light of these facts, we don't think it fair or advisable to be skeptical or dispirited.

7. Although the Board is a result of our endeavors, it would not be fair to ourselves to say that it is exactly what we wanted. The name of the new board is not adequate and does not do justice to the broad scope of its assignment. It is called the War Refugee Board, while its objective, as already clearly defined in the President's order, is to save the doomed people of Europe by changing their status to refugees.

It is also to be regretted, as Senator Gillette explained in a press conference in Washington,

"that the name of the Board does not include the mention of the specific Jewish problem, for although there are other peoples persecuted in Europe, yet none but the Jews have been officially and specifically marked for total extermination."

Not only that, the Jews are the only people whom Hitler is determined to exterminate as a people, regardless of whether he wins or loses, and especially in the event that he does lose. This is his intention of "slamming the door of history." There is no doubt about it now that he is approaching doom and utter defeat. That is why we would prefer that, in the very name of the board, the task of saving the Jews should be made explicit.

Again we quote Senator Gillette:

"Yet we realize that it is the function and not the name of the board that is important and it is for this reason that we welcome it without any reservations."

Senator Gillette therefore removed his resolution from the calendar of the Senate because "the President's action attained the goal we were seeking."

8. The creation of the War Refugee Board does not mean that the race against death is over. Right now, every day and every hour, the Nazis are killing countless human beings only because they are Jews. Therefore, the appointment of the War Refugee Board must immediately be implemented by concrete action.

## IN THE NAME OF THE OPPRESSED

Mr. Peter H. Bergson sent the following telegram to President Roosevelt:

"In setting up the War Refugee Board you have created an instrument commensurate to the magnitude of the disaster which has befallen the Jewish people. As a representative and servant of the Jewish people of Europe and Palestine, I beg to present, Mr. President, our boundless appreciation for your noble and courageous action.

"We feel confident that under the leadership of your Board the United Nations will win the battle against massacre even as the irresistible onslaught of their armies is crushing the enemy's military might. For the Axis is the essence of evil, which can never hope to withstand a just cause.

"We are a nation more ancient than many but never have we forgotten an enemy, nor have we ever forgotten a friend. Our children's children will tell their sons how your helping hand was stretched out to us over the ocean in the moment of our direct needs.

"Three years ago, I came to these shores with my colleagues of the Free Palestine Committee to beg for the help of your nation. We raised the cry of our tortured and forgotten people. It may be that in our anguish, Mr. President, we sometimes raised our voice out of tune. Yet that too was understood and gave us renewed strength. These three years have taught us the meaning of democracy, for the American people have heeded our cry, and yesterday you, Mr. President, heeded it.

"By your action you have become to us a living symbol of Democracy. Amidst the battle thunder of a world made callous by cataclysmic horror, you have given back the dignity of man to my ancient and honorable people who have been robbed of it by insane persecution.

"By undertaking this initiative for the salvation of the Jewish people, the United States has made an essential step towards the establishment of human decency, which is the only guarantee of lasting world peace."

To Secretaries Hull, Stimson, and Morgenthau, appointed members of the War Refugee Board, Mr. Bergson wired as follows:

"The creation by the President of the War Refugee Board brings hope and life to millions of my people threatened with horrible and ruthless German death. As a representative and servant of the Jewish people of Europe and Palestine, I welcome with deep satisfaction your appointment on that board. Your eminent names and great records indicate a scale upon which this grave problem shall be tackled, and the swiftness with which Hitler's challenge to exterminate the entire Jewish people of Europe shall be made. Under your leadership, the United Nations will win the battle against massacre even as the irresistible onslaught of their armies is crushing the enemy's military might. For the Axis is the essence of evil, which can never hope to withstand a just cause. Wherever the word of your new task reaches—from the death camps of Poland to the holy hills of Judea, Jews shall be praying for you."

It took this committee six months to organize public opinion in order to obtain the appointment of such a special war board. Now, not a single day should be lost in undertaking practical steps of rescue.

The Emergency Committee has already evolved a complete program of rescue, elaborated by diplomatic, military, economic and transportation experts who made up the Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe last July. This program has been submitted to the Government and should be of material assistance to the War Refugee Board in fulfilling its mission.

9. It is in keeping with the President's order authorizing

"the board and the State, Treasury and War Departments . . . to accept the services and contributions of any private persons, private organizations, state agencies or agencies of foreign governments in carrying out the purpose of this order."

that the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe should be kept alive in order to supply the War Refugee Board not only with the necessary plans, but also with its assistance in many fields.

Now the Emergency Committee sees for itself a new, tremendous and decisive task on the road to rescue of the Jewish people of Europe. Just because we believe that the President's War Refugee Board is inspired and determined to inaugurate bold and imaginative plans of action to save the Jewish people of Europe, it is imperative that this board be backed by a tremendous movement of public opinion. It has been proved time and again in this country that in order to enable the President to

## The Rescue Board Begins Its Work

On Wednesday, January 27th, the first meeting of the War Refugee Board took place, attended by Secretary of State Hull, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau, and Secretary of War Stimson. The announcement made after the meeting covered the following points:

Negotiations are under way with foreign governments to determine the extent to which they are willing to cooperate in rescuing Jews and other victims of Nazi aggression.

All U. S. diplomats and consular officers throughout the world have been instructed "to do everything possible to effectuate this Government's war-refugee policy as announced by the President, bearing in mind the urgency of the problem."

Diplomatic and consular officers have been directed to cooperate

"with all public agencies and established private organizations in the rescue areas."

Diplomatic and consular officers have been requested to make "immediate reports" concerning conditions existing in each country with regard to whether refugees would be permitted to enter, and where refugees are refused entry at frontiers, explanations why they are refused.

The board "is responsible to the President, and to it is assigned the responsibility of carrying out the policy (of endeavoring to effect the immediate rescue and relief of Jews in Europe and other victims of Nazi terror). While the board is responsible directly for giving effect to the policy, it is directed to work with UNRRA, the Intergovernmental Committee, and other appropriate international organizations."

carry out concrete plans for meeting the world's and humanity's emergencies, public opinion must be mobilized behind him.

Because of the far-reaching plans of the Board, we believe that new problems may arise, perhaps affecting relations with foreign governments, which an atmosphere of an alert and informed public opinion would immeasurably help to carry out successfully. This is the main task in the near future for the Emergency Committee.

10. Apart from that, we have to envisage that some steps connected with the rescue work will have to be taken by private organizations because they may be of a rather underground character. It is clear that the government body will prefer not to do this directly, but through intermediary bodies. The Emergency Committee must make preparations to be ready and fit for this task too.

In the light of all these facts, we hail, and most heartily welcome, the President's order. This is the beginning of action which Americans of every creed and all walks of life have long been urging. This official governmental agency, created for a specific approach to one of modern civilization's gravest prob-

lems, has within it the seed of magnificent accomplishment. At long last, we have begun the battle against barbarism. It is with a sense of deepest pride that we hail this leadership of the United States, the world's greatest democracy.

Upon this solemn occasion, we must also express gratitude to the twelve legislators in the Senate, headed by Senators Gillette and Taft and Congressman Will Rogers, Jr. and Joseph Clark Baldwin, for their staunch stand and the unflinching spirit they manifested in the cause of rescuing the Jews of Europe, and for introducing the rescue resolution in both Houses of Congress. We have also to keep in mind, with gratitude, the courageous and splendid cooperation of the members of the Emergency Committee, outstanding leaders from all walks of American life.

Surely, we should not overlook the fact that this tremendous movement in America for the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe is the answer of America to the plea of those sons and servants of the Jewish people of Europe and Palestine, represented in this country by the Free Palestine Committee, under the courageous and far-sighted leadership of Peter H. Bergson.

Although, as stated above, this victory is for the time being only a moral one, its significance cannot be overestimated.

## Statement by the Sponsors of the Rescue Resolution

In a statement on the President's Executive Order establishing a War Refugee Board, Senators Gillette and Ferguson, the Representative Rogers and Baldwin, said:

"We are happy to welcome without reservation the President's Executive Order of January 22, establishing the War Refugee Board. We feel that the President has heeded the resolution introduced by us on November 9, 1943, in both Houses of Congress 'urging the creation by the President of a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany.'"

"The constitution of the Refugee Board follows a pattern suggested by our resolutions. The President has nominated Mr. Hull, Mr. Morgenthau, and Mr. Stimson as the three specialists to head this Board. The eminence of these three men is indeed an assurance of the importance given to the problem, and of the scale on which it is going to be tackled. It may be that the name 'War Refugee Board' does not do justice to the broad functions as defined in the Presidential order, and in the White House statement which accompanied it. It is clear from this order and this statement that the purpose of the Board is to save from destruction doomed people now awaiting death in Germany and German-occupied territory. These people are not refugees. Indeed, the aim of the Board seems to be to save these people by making them refugees—by giving them a refuge to flee to."

"The White House statement says that 'the President stressed that it was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe.'"

"In the light of this clear and definite statement it is to be regretted that the name of the Board does not include a mention of the specific Jewish problem, for although there are other peoples persecuted in Europe, yet none but the Jews have been officially and specifically marked for total extermination. Yet we realize that it is the function and not the name of the Board which is important, and it is for this reason that we welcome it without any reservations."

"The resolutions introduced by us in the Senate and House were referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations."

"In the House the resolution is still pending before the Committee. The Senate Committee unanimously approved the resolution, and it is now pending for final vote before the Senate. By his swift and resolute action, the President has certainly carried out the wish of the great majority not only of Congress, but also of the people of this country. Indeed, rarely has a resolution been given such unanimous nation-wide support by the press as has been the case with this resolution. The arousing of public opinion was brought about by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe . . ."

Quoting the plan of action elaborated by the Emergency Conference, the statement adds:

"It may be noted that the Presidential order creating the War Refugee Board has followed the recommendations of the Emergency Conference."

"The Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe has issued a statement placing itself at the disposal of the President and of the War Refugee Board, for cooperation in carrying out the hard and complicated task undertaken by the Board."

"Among the members of the Emergency Committee there is a group of men who are not Americans. They have come to us from Europe and Palestine as the spokesmen and the representatives of the people to be saved. It was their appeal that has called us to the rescue. They have initiated this humane action resulting in the creation by the President of the War Refugee Board. They have announced that they will volunteer the services of their organization in this country, and elsewhere to work for the War Refugee Board. We fervently hope that the Board will accept this generous offer, made by men who have made the task of saving the remnants of their brothers the main purpose of their lives—by men, moreover, who have had vast experience in the real and determined action on behalf of refugees. Their energy and knowledge of the problem will certainly be a valuable addition to the forces of the Board."

"We believe that the creation of the War Refugee Board has been a step of historic importance, surpassing by far its immediate aims. It is a realistic and long-overdue endeavor to implement the basic principles of human decency, democracy, and the ideals embodied in the Four Freedoms. Unless these principles become realized, the world can expect no lasting peace."

## JOHN W. PEHLE APPOINTED WRB EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The appointment of John W. Pehle as Executive Director of the War Refugee Board has been announced. The 34-year-old law graduate of Yale University, later a teacher of law there, is on leave of absence from his post as assistant to Secretary Morgenthau, and Director of Foreign Funds Control of the Treasury.

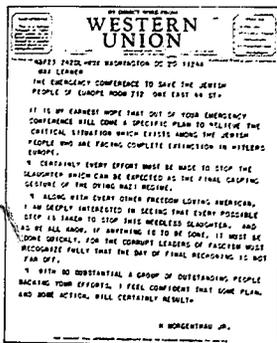
Mr. Pehle's appointment is welcomed in all those circles which are interested in swift, practical help to the Jews of Europe, not only because of his wide experience in negotiating with members of foreign governments, and his familiarity with the problem before the board, but also because of his known sincere intention of doing everything possible towards this end.

At his first press conference Mr. Pehle said that the rescue job "must be done within months, or there may be no job at all." Already, he said, the board is "acting overseas", and faces two immediate major tasks: The board is to strengthen the underground forces in continuing their clandestine aid to refugees escaping from Nazi-occupied countries. It will help also to facilitate the removal of those refugees who have succeeded in escaping to bordering neutral territory, into other, less crowded neutral territory.

Except for administrative funds from the Government, it will be financed through private funds. The board will have representatives in the field,

as attaches to American embassies in neutral countries, thus taking the burden off regular State Department diplomats.

Pehle would not estimate the number of refugees now escaping through the underground. It will be one of the Board's tasks, he added, to remove refugees as soon as possible to places of temporary shelter like camps already established in North Africa and Mexico, in order to make room for newcomers. Asked whether there would be any attempt to move 3,000,000 Jews into Palestine, he replied that there are not 3,000,000 who can be rescued from Hitler's clutches.



Secretary Morgenthau's Telegram to the Emergency Conference in July

## THE PRESS:

### Call of Humanity

(Editorial in the Washington Post, January 25, 1944)

The President has forestalled certain action in Congress in behalf of the threatened Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe. He has set up a War Refugee Board to attempt the rescue of "the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death." This decision follows the initiative of Senator Gillette, whose resolution to the same effect had already been reported out by the Foreign Relations Committee, and was on the calendar for Senate debate this week. A similar resolution introduced by Representatives Will Rogers and Joseph C. Baldwin was on its way through the House. Passage by an overwhelming majority had been indicated. *The industrious spade-work done by the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe had contributed to this prospect, and the Committee is likewise entitled to credit for the President's forehanded move. The proponents of the legislative resolutions, who are drawn impartially from both parties in Congress, will no doubt welcome presidential action without reservation. Perhaps they would have rephrased the title to exclude the word refugees, for, after all, the congressional aim was that steps should be taken before the Jews become refugees. But the purpose in establishing the new boards embraces the object of the resolutions, and that is the main thing.*

The new board will be composed of Secretaries Hull, Morgenthau and Stimson. An executive director will be appointed, and this, of course, will be the key post, to be filled, presumably, by a person of both distinction and energy. He is assured in advance of maximum cooperation by the State Department. The department already has been directed on recommendation of the board to appoint special attaches with diplomatic status, to be stationed in places where aid could be given to war refugees pending the development of permanent plans. Little can be done, of course, to stop the mass killing, which, according to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is going on at the rate of 10,000 Jews a day. But as Senator Gillette has said, the murderer's hand might be stayed if the Big Three were to indicate that their

recent statement on atrocities applied equally to the Jew-extermination program. It should have been done immediately after Hitler's New Year declaration that "our whole life, our efforts and our existence must be directed to only one end: the complete extermination of the Jew all over Europe." The new measure is the other step the Iowan had in mind in that it contemplates rescue and hospitality in special reservation camps in neutral and other territory. When the new agency sets up the centers to which the Jews can escape, there will be that much more encouragement to the Jews to escape Hitler's toils.

We hope the President will also be forehanded in the matter of feeding the starving people of occupied Europe. A resolution calling upon the administration to facilitate this humanitarian measure is going through Congress. It should be speeded up, if the President will not cut short its career by adopting its purpose. There is not the slightest reason any more to bar mercy ships to Europe. The war will be won by military, not economic, means, and when this was realized, the major reason for opposition to this act of charity completely disappeared. We won't say it was wicked to hold out against action. It was simply stupid, because many are still in the satellite countries. Thus when Sweden offered a temporary haven, 6000 Danish Jews promptly got out. This week about 850 are being taken by ship from Portugal and Spain to Palestine, thus making room for others to come into those countries.

But only an active official agency, backed by money and power, can arrange the intricate international facilities to rescue several hundred thousands instead of the few hundreds now escaping. Many can be taken out of France, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria to temporary havens, which the board can set up in Portugal, Spain, North Africa, Turkey, Switzerland and Sweden. Palestine probably could care for half a million for the duration of the war if the British government would permit it.

This new board must not be allowed to limp along without effective action, like so many earlier efforts, including those of the Bermuda conference and the Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee. Time is short. The need is desperate.

### Rescue the Refugees

(Editorial in the Washington News and the New York World-Telegram)

Rarely has the President made a more desirable and popular move than his appointment of the Secretaries of War, State and Treasury as a War Refugee Board to rescue as many as possible of Hitler's victims.

The fact that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved unanimously the Gillette-Taft-Baldwin-Rogers proposal for a similar board indicates how far this issue transcends partisan political or racial considerations. The object is purely humanitarian: to save the persecuted minorities who have escaped death but are in peril.

Though all minorities properly are covered by the President's order—political, as well as racial and religious—the largest number are the Jews. They have been singled out by the Nazis for mass extermination. An estimated two million European Jews already have been wiped out. Perhaps four million remain. They are homeless. Those who are not murdered outright, and who escape destruction by torture, face death by starvation and neglect.

The rescue job is difficult but by no means impossible, because many are still in the satellite countries. Thus when Sweden offered a temporary haven, 6000 Danish Jews promptly got out. This week about 850 are being taken by ship from Portugal and Spain to Palestine, thus making room for others to come into those countries.

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## THE PRESS: Refugee Board's Aid Mainly Moral

By Mary Hornaday  
(in the Christian Science Monitor)

Just what can President Roosevelt's new War Refugee Board be expected to accomplish?

This is the board of Cabinet officers, you recall, that has just been set up at the request of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, which has among its members as many Gentiles as Jews, if not more of the former.

President Roosevelt snatched the initiative away from Congress after the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had unanimously approved such a board and the House had tabled it on advice from Breckinridge Long, Assistant Secretary of State, who said that the Department of State is already doing everything legal to promote the rescue of these people.

The committee, which the President has now obliged by an executive order, does not agree with Mr. Long. They have a program. They hope the new board can get moving before the Jews in occupied countries are, either murdered by the Nazis or at long last are liberated by in-marching United Nations forces.

It should be pointed out right from the start that the committee does not contemplate bringing the rescued Jews to the United States, or even to the Western Hemisphere. It merely wants to have arrangements made in neutral and Allied countries, such as Turkey, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, and Algeria, for special reservation camps into which escaping Jews can be brought and temporarily sheltered and cared for and eventually transferred into Palestine, where it is estimated some 600,000 could be accommodated.

This is the meat of the program, though the committee is hopeful that the board will make some strong statements regarding atrocities that have been committed against the Jews—along the lines of the Moscow statement of November, 1943. Even though hanging by the Russians of four Nazi ring-leaders at that time brought threats of reprisals against American and British pilots—prisoners of war in Germany—Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, one of the members of the new refugee board, recently gave his approval to the Soviet action.

However, Gen. Marcel de Baer, Belgian jurist and chairman of the United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, has raised a question whether the Soviet trials had a sound legal basis, inasmuch as the Nazi High Command records were not available to the court.

"Do you really think this new board can accomplish anything that the State Department, UNRRA, and the Intergovernmental

Committee on Refugees aren't already doing?" I asked representatives of the Emergency Committee yesterday.

They all professed great hope that the board can do something concrete, but at the same time, made it clear that the mere news of the board's creation will sound well to the ears of the European Underground. Then there's the moral side of the question, they argued. The United States, they said, should do the humane thing, even if the action never bears fruit.

Recent reports from the Underground indicate that in some cases, special treatment has been given Dutch Jews with Palestinian immigration certificates or with visas for South American countries. They were not sent to Poland, but to concentration camps in central Germany, and have been told that eventually they will be permitted to leave the country. Those in touch with the Underground do not interpret this as any letting up in Germany's determination to exterminate the Jews, but a desire to embarrass the United Nations if they bar Jews from Palestine or the Western Hemisphere.

Most immediate propaganda effect of the news of the Board's creation may, it is hoped be in the satellite countries, such as Hungary, where Jewish persecution is already said to be lessening due to the imminence of invasion.

The board, of course, cannot promise any visas to Palestine since that is British business, but it can, if there is time, talk things over with the British.

Many of us, as observers, would probably take little stock in a board whose way to effective action seems this nebulous, but then most of us have never been in the desperate mental state of some of the Jews of Europe.

### THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

(Editorial in the N. Y. World-Telegram, February 1, 1944)

By his appointment of a War Refugee Board "to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe," the President silences once and for all enemy propaganda to the effect that the United Nations are not concerned with their fate—not, in particular, with the fate of the Jewish people. For the President expressed the expectation that the Board would have the co-operation of all members of the United Nations and other foreign governments. To insure the board adequate powers he appointed to it the Secretaries of the State Treasury and War Departments and directed that the facilities of those departments be put at its disposal.

It is a difficult task entailing rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief. How many victims can be saved from Germany itself no one knows; but organizations in touch with underground groups in occupied Europe are hopeful that many can be rescued from, and perhaps through, the Balkan satellite nations. Once temporary camps have been set up to receive the refugees in neutral or Allied nations, the board will co-operate with the Inter-Governmental Refugee Committee and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Committee.

The President urged immediate concrete action, an urgency dictated "to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other persecuted minorities in Europe." The American lead in setting up powerful machinery to obtain such action will have wide approval. For growing realization of the frightful lengths to which the Hitler regime will carry its philosophy of brutality has made a do-nothing policy more and more untenable.

### A War Refugee Board

(Editorial from the New York Post, January 24, 1944)

The President's directive setting up the War Refugee Board, comprised of Sec. Hull, Sec. Morgenthau and Sec. Stimson, is clear and to the point—"to take action for the immediate rescue from the Nazis of as many as possible of the persecuted minorities of Europe, racial, religious or political, all civilian victims of enemy savagery."

The job now is to translate these good words into effective action.

We would have preferred an independent board, as contemplated in the Baldwin-Rogers bill, free to call upon the government departments for facilities and aid but free also of old State Department habits of thinking.

We have had too much experience with those habits of thought to applaud the suggestion that the best available man for the post of full time executive director of the new board is R. Borden Reams, of the State Department, and one of the American representatives to the Anglo-American Conference on Refugee Problems at Bermuda last spring.

We want to see results. And among the first steps is the appointment of an executive director possessed of the character, drive and force to take the President's fine words literally and give them body and substance.

# TESTIMONIAL TO THE FIGHTING LIBERALISM

On the evening of January 26th, twelve hundred men and women gathered in New York's Hotel Commodore to pay tribute to Dean Alfange, former American Labor Party candidate for governor of New York and a co-chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

Originally planned as a testimonial to Mr. Alfange's untiring efforts on behalf of the doomed Jews of Europe, the gathering at the same time turned into a demonstration of gratitude to the President of the United States for his creation of the War Refugee Board. Indeed, in the numerous messages greeting Mr. Alfange on this occasion, much

stress was placed on the Emergency Committee's role in effectuating the establishment of this Board. Secretary of the Interior Ickes, who is the Honorary Chairman of the Washington division of the Emergency Committee, went on to say, "Now that the War Refugee Board is in existence, the Committee will doubtless direct its efforts to assist the Government in every way possible in the accomplishment of this task and to keep alive the hope of rescue in the hearts of the Jewish people of Europe." Mr. Wendell L. Willkie likewise warned that "we must now exert our energies to implement the findings of this Commission." Similar greetings came from

Governors Howard McGrath of Rhode Island and Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, Mayor LaGuardia, Senator Joseph E. Guffey of Pennsylvania, Rep. Will Rogers Jr., Rep. Samuel Dickstein, Dean George W. Matheson, and others.

The testimonial to Mr. Alfange, as presented through the speakers of the evening, was a tribute to all the fighters for the rescue of the heretofore neglected Jews of Europe, to the many persons of all creeds and political beliefs who have been dedicating themselves to the upholding of America's traditions of democratic freedom—applicable to all who stand in need of them.

The non-sectarian nature of the rescue work was described by Rabbi Philip David Bookstaber, of Harrisburg: "The old distinctions in philosophy, religion and way of life are blended in the American way of life, labor and thinking. There is no resemblance of the age-old, outworn and outmoded contrast and conflict epitomized in the term 'Hellenism versus Hebraism.' Here both Rabbi and Greek Archbishop unite on the higher levels and paths that reach for the stars of human effort. . . ."

A review of the political situation, as affecting the work of rescue, was made by Peter H. Bergson, head of the Palestine Delegation, and Congressman Emanuel Celler. The veteran statesman, whose indomitable fighting spirit has been giving good account of itself on the floor of the House, called to the War Refugee Board to demand the opening of Palestine to Jewish immigration "not only temporarily but permanently. It must insist that the nefarious White Paper of 1939 be abrogated. Palestine, frankly, is the only country where Jews are not unwanted."

Mr. Bergson, for whom the creation of the War Refugee Board represented a supreme moment in his thirty-four years, expressed personal gratitude to America. "Three years ago," he told

the audience, "I came to these shores with my colleagues of the Free Palestine Committee to beg for your nation's help. We raised the cry of our tortured and forgotten people. These three years have taught us the meaning of democracy, for the American people have heeded our cry, and the President has heeded it, too."

"By undertaking the initiative for the salvation of the Jewish people, the United States has taken an essential step toward the establishment of human decency, which is the only guarantee of lasting world peace."

It is of the greatest significance, Mr. Bergson pointed out, that the misunderstanding of the Hebrew people on the

part of the American government has finally been dissipated. It will serve, he said, as a turning point in the relationship of the Jews toward the other peoples of the world. After the war, he concluded, we shall want to devote our energies to the building up of a free and prosperous land on those shores of the Mediterranean.

Other speakers were Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Pecora, who also acted as toastmaster; Rabbi Louis I. Newman of Temple Rodef Shalom; Miss Lisa Sergio, the noted news commentator; H. J. Nurenberger of the National Jewish Council, an affiliate of the Emergency Committee; Dr. Bernard Bergmann and Mr. Isaac Zaar.



MISS SERGIO ADDRESSES THE GATHERING

## MEET DEAN ALFANGE

### A Soldier in Muffi

By Gabriel A. Wechsler

If there ever was a time in history when man had to declare himself and show his colors, it is today. In this global battle for democracy, there are no neutrals, and lack of opinion is a confession of guilt. On the home front, even more than on the war front, battles that will decide the future of the world are being fought. The democratic forces must win this war and the peace, or the river of blood will have been shed in vain.

One of the proudest warriors carrying aloft the banner of democracy is Dean Alfange. Since the first vague threat of Fascism appeared on a complacent horizon, this soldier of democracy has been in the forefront, first to awaken public opinion to the danger and then to combat it at every turn.



Mr. Alfange entered the fray well qualified for the task. He graduated from Hamilton College and Columbia University Law School. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Pi Delta Epsilon, an honorary

journalistic fraternity, and Delta Sigma Rho, an honorary forensic fraternity. He knows at first hand of the terrors of war, having served with the American forces in the last world conflict. In his attempt to awaken the American public to the dangers of the conflict for dominance launched by the power-mad fascists, Mr. Alfange became national vice-chairman for the Legion of American Unity and directed the Institute for American Democracy. After Pearl Harbor, he continued his activities as director of the United Nations Association and of the Better Understanding Foundation.

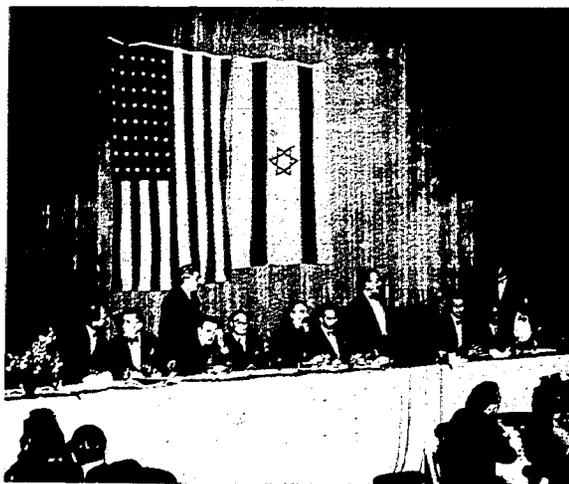
His book, "The Supreme Court and the National Will", was awarded the first Theodore Roosevelt award as the best non-fiction book of the year 1937. Always interested in the affairs of the people from whom he sprang, Mr. Alfange is a former national president of the Order of Ahepha and director of the Greek War Relief Association.

A lawyer of note, this great American has not forgotten that complacency at the polls is a weak point of democracy. Standing four square on the principles for which he stands, he was twice candidate for public office. With the blessings of President Roosevelt, Governor Lehman and other national leaders, Mr. Alfange became a candidate for Congress in

the special election held in New York State in March, 1941. The next year he again lowered his visor and entered the lists as candidate of the American Labor Party for Governor of the State of New York. Given no chance for election by the political sages, he made one of the most surprisingly strong runs in the political history of that State.

Believing that there is a job for every man on the home front, Mr. Alfange has not let his varied activities deter him from the war jobs that have to be done. He is chairman of the New York Appeal Board No. 6 under the Selective Service Act, a member of the New York State Salvage Commission, and a member of the Enemy Alien Hearing Board of the Southern District in New York.

With such a background, it is not surprising that Mr. Alfange rallied to the cause of the doomed and persecuted Jews of Europe. From the inception of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe he has taken the lead in the fight to secure action to save these unfortunate people. Before Congress and the forums of the country, he has been fearless and outspoken. As co-chairman of the Emergency Committee, he will not rest until the forces of democracy remove this blot on their escutcheon.



TRULY "OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE," these distinguished Americans are gathered here to honor Dean Alfange and his "fighting liberalism", as well as to salute the creation of the President's War Refugee Board. On the dais are, left to right, Alex Rose, State Secretary of the American Labor Party; Rabbi Philip D. Bookstaber; Robert M. Welles; Gabriel A. Wechsler (standing), Secretary of the Emergency Committee; Luigi Antonini, of The ILGU; Conq. Celler; Archbishop Athenagoras; Mr. Alfange; Judge Ferdinand Pecora; Rabbi Louis I. Newman; Mr. Theodore Benthum and Mr. William Jay Schofflin.

# THE ESSENCE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

By Dean Alfange

The establishment of a Board charged with rescue of the European Jews and other minorities moves me to pay tribute to my colleagues on the Emergency Committee and to the brave young men of the Palestinian Delegation who, with nothing but sincerity, vision and guts, have done more than anyone else for their stricken people in Europe. Leadership is not a vested right. It is not the property of the pontiffs or the rich. It belongs to the plucky and the unafraid, to those who dare to blaze new paths through the wilderness of tradition and fear. Yes, leadership belongs to those who act.

I am proud to be co-chairman of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe. While others, like Hamlet, were losing the power of action in the energy of resolve, this Committee got things done. It created a public awareness of the crucifixion of the Jews of Europe, proved by expert testimony that many can be saved and persuaded Congress to take official action to effectuate their rescue. We have gauged our direction. We are now on the way. In the name of Heaven, I appeal to our great Jewish organizations to stop sniping at each other and at us and to pool their energies and resources

in the common cause of saving human lives. The issue is not *who* shall save the Jews of Europe; the issue is *how* to save them.

The savage slaughter of the Jewish people of Europe is not a Jewish question. It is a Christian question because it flouts the precepts of morality, charity, brotherhood and mercy. The murder, in cold blood, of two million innocent men, women and children, and the threat to root out the lives of four million more, is the mightiest challenge ever hurled at Christendom. What have we done about it?

I speak as a Christian who believes in the tenets of Christianity. I want to see them practiced as well as hear them preached. The virus of anti-Semitism which is spreading through our social system has warped our judgment, blinded our vision and stultified our purposes. Anti-Semitism is a menace to America and a blight on its traditions. By pretending to ignore it, we are unwittingly promoting the spread of it and concealing from ourselves its real dangers. The churches, the schools and the press owe democracy the duty to stamp out this evil by affirmative action. Christian clergymen should mount their pulpits and denounce anti-Semitism as a sin. We cannot desecrate democracy at home without betraying the men who defend it on the field of battle.

There is a tendency on the part of some of our newspapers to pursue a hush-hush policy toward this evil just as they used to do on the subject of social diseases. The press can render a distinguished public service by creating a public understanding of anti-Semitism, the syphilis of democracy—its causes, its consequences, its symptoms, its communicability by contamination, the means for its prevention and the methods of its cure. We must realize that anti-Semitism is as great a menace

to the character of our nation as social diseases are to the state of its health, and treat it in the same manner.

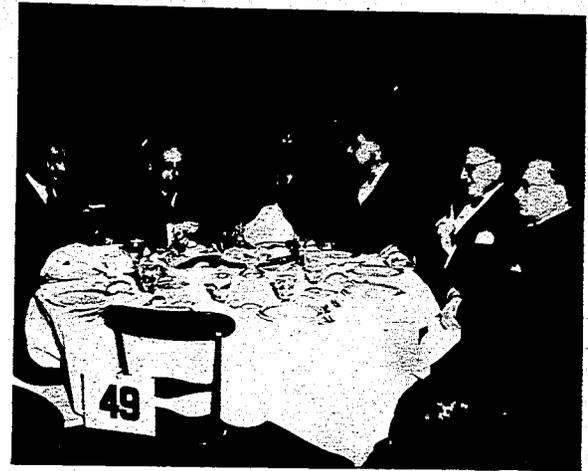
When Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence that there are certain "inalienable human rights", he did not restrict those rights to white or Christian human beings, but wrote of them as belonging to every human being of every sort, each and every man being "endowed" with them "by his Creator". Similarly, when the American Constitution was written, it opened with the phrase "We, the people of the United States", not "We, the Christian people", but "We, the people", all the people.

These inclusive phrases were not the careless words of men striving for rhetorical effects, but the expressions of the deepest convictions of men who had wrestled with the whole concept of liberty until it became the profoundest motive and passion of their lives. They knew that no man can enjoy security in his liberty unless liberty be accepted as the right of all men and all groups. They knew that the fight for liberty is one fight—one and indivisible—and that the loss of a battle for liberty on any one front is a threat against our losing the war for liberty on all fronts.

So when we battle for the rights of the Jews, we are battling for the rights of every Catholic, because every restriction of the rights of the Jew is a threat against the rights of every person in this country of which we are all citizens and equals under the laws.

The recurrent waves of anti-Semitism and the tragic apathy of the United Nations to the plight of the defenseless Jews of Europe are by no means the sole concern of the Jewish people. They are the vital concern of every decent man and woman, of every liberal-minded person throughout the world, for they indicate—and all too clearly—that the war has lost its idealism and has degenerated into a struggle for power and self-preservation.

This fact projects a question that cannot go unanswered: to what end, the



NOTED MEN OF LETTERS AND SPIRIT at the Alfange Testimonial Dinner. They are (from left to right) Rabbi Ephraim Frisch, Dr. Jacob Klatzkin, Professor Abraham S. Yahuda, Rabbi Dr. Theodore N. Lewis, Rabbi Arthur Meyerowitz, and Rabbi Leo Reichel.

blood, the sweat and the tears? What are we fighting for?

The battle of ideas and ideals, which rages beneath the surface of the clash of arms, shall be the real decisive battle of the war. Military victory, as an end in itself, is meaningless. So what will the victory mean? If it will mean the end of terror, fear and anxiety, the end of exploitation, imperialism and slavery; if it will mean the sunlit home for every family, the decent job for every worker, the quart of milk for every baby, the open school for every child, the free church for every believer; if it will mean universal justice and universal peace and brotherhood and good will between men, then the war will have been won. But if, after victory, there shall remain in the soil of the earth those seeds and those roots which grow and blossom into bigotry and hatred and oppression of man by man and nation by nation, the war then will have been lost. The victory will be a tragic mockery of all the death and sacrifice that precedes it.

At this stage of the decisive battle, the war is lost, because the ideals for which it should be fought are lost. While victory on the military front is assured, defeat on the ideological front looms imminent. We are now faced with a post-war reaction of such magnitude and intensity that we may have to fight another war, possibly within our own borders, before those elemental precepts of the Declaration of Independence shall become the property and enjoyment of all men.

The battles that have been fought and are to be fought, the lives that have been lost and will be lost, the sacrifices that have been made and must be made by uncomplaining millions are only one side of the war. That side is not and must not be an issue.

But whether these dead shall have died in vain is an issue—the greatest of all political issues ever to confront the American people. The principles which lie beneath the surface of the battle are the issue. The goals for which we fight

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KEYNOTING THE NEED for "our great Jewish organizations to stop sniping . . . and to pool their energies and resources in the common cause of saving human lives". Mr. Alfange is shown addressing the multitude that came to honor him and his work. At his side are Archbishop Athenagoras, head of the Greek Orthodox Church of the Americas, and Judge Pecora.



THE "NUISANCE DIPLOMAT" discusses the recent developments in the rescue work with veteran Cong. Emanuel Celler, whose frequent addresses to the House in behalf of the persecuted Jews have aroused the admiration of liberal America.

## THE ESSENCE OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page 17)

are the issues. The aims of the peace are the issue. And this issue cannot be decided by generals on the military front. It must be decided by you and by me, by our joint exertions, on the political front.

At this moment in our country there is manifest a dangerous and growing tendency away from the idealism of the Atlantic Charter—in fact, away from the war aims of the United Nations as they must be felt and sensed and uttered by thinking and honest people throughout the world. As the military fortunes of the United Nations began to ascend, there was clearly discernible a departure in thinking and in speech from the original idealism of the war. As each day passes, the leaders of the United Nations are showing a greater reticence on the question of war aims. But, we the people want to know what the war is all about. Now, in the midst of war, is the time to draw the blueprint of the future. If it is not done now, believe me, it never will be done. For it is only

in times of storm, of agony and pain, that great and enduring principles can be asserted and established.

## From Sponsors of the Rescue Resolution

The following wires have been received by the National Secretary of the Emergency Committee, Gabriel M. Wechsler:

"PLEASE ACCEPT FELICITATIONS FOR CHAIRMAN ALFANGE AND ALL CO WORKERS FOR THE SUCCESSFUL RESULTS OF THEIR EFFORTS AS EVIDENCED BY PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S RECENT ACTION. LET US CONTINUE TO WORK TOWARD THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN GOAL.

GUY M. GILLETTE, U. S. SENATOR, IOWA



"REGRET EXCEEDINGLY THAT A PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT WILL PREVENT MY ACCEPTING YOUR KIND INVITATION TO ATTEND THE TESTIMONIAL DINNER AT THE COMMODORE HOTEL WEDNESDAY JANUARY 26 IN HONOR OF YOUR CO CHAIRMAN DEAN ALFANGE AND THE INTRODUCERS OF RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS WHICH RESULTED IN THE PRESIDENT APPOINTING A SPECIAL WAR BOARD TO DEAL WITH SAVING THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE. AS YOU KNOW I AM IN COMPLETE SYMPATHY WITH THE WORK YOU ARE DOING.

JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, U. S. SENATOR, PENNSYLVANIA

We are drifting aimlessly to where we were before we started. We have surrendered to reaction. Twenty-five years ago we also surrendered when, through our blindness and cynicism, we permitted a small group of willful politicians to scuttle Wilson's plan for world security. We are now paying the price in blood, but what is worse, we refuse to heed the lesson that was learned at such terrific cost in human lives and devastation.

In this most crucial time in world history we cannot permit a renewal of reactionary government, of business anarchy, of imperialism, of international barriers, of class and racial antagonisms and inequalities. We cannot allow the revival of that way of life in which the seeds of war take root to bloom with evil regularity every twenty-five years.

We are at the crossroads of the past and the future. We have a chance—a historic chance—to avert the awful calamity of the first world war and lay the foundation of a bright new day. It is a challenge that ought to stir the hearts and souls of men to action. Will we accept that challenge?

# UNDER THE MASK OF "AUTHORITY"

By S. Merlin

The statement of the American Jewish Conference against the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe is one of the most amazing documents of our confused and contemporary modern times. It is amazing to us because we have not been aware that in Jewish life a personal group and bureaucratic interests are playing such an important role in public affairs; because this statement, in its tones and overtones, bears such striking similarity to those uttered and publicized by defeatists of other peoples in the course of national disaster.

These claims and pretensions of "established" authority and authorized leadership" remind us too grimly of similar claims by a Petain or a Laval, though we do not intend to draw any parallel.

But, let us examine the statement and analyze it according to its merits:

1. First of all, the Emergency Committee is accused of being a "front"; but it is not specified just whom it is fronting for. It is, however, remarkable that such an accusation comes from the American Jewish Conference which is generally recognized as a twelfth-hour front for the entrenched

Zionist clique. The various Jewish groups who participated in the Conference at the outset, hoping that the Zionist bureaucratic machine, finally comprehending the desperate need for a concerted effort by all the Jews in this country, would do something concrete about the rescue of the Jews in Europe, were compelled to withdraw. These respectable organizations did not participate in the Interim Committee of the Conference. They withdrew because the Zionist bureaucratic machine was not interested in any consolidation of Jewish forces. On the contrary, its sole purpose was to add one other "front" to those already in existence. It is, of course, general knowledge that quite a few influential organizations, with mass constituencies, refused *a priori* to participate in this conference, forecasting its dubious character.

It is amusing to view Rabbi Stephen Wise in the light of the fact that the various organizations created for the purpose of solving the problems confronting the Jewish people are somehow interwoven and that "... there is in the main a continuity of leadership, method, purpose and results." Couldn't the same thing have well been

said about Rabbi Wise in person, who is the Chairman or Co-Chairman of the Zionist Organization of America, of the American Jewish Congress, of the World Jewish Congress, of the United Jewish War Effort, of the American Jewish Conference, of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, etc.?

2. As far as the connection between the American Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews, the American League for a Free Palestine and the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, the following should be stated: All these institutions were initiated not by any organization or party in this country but by a delegation of the Freedom Movement of the Hebrew People of Europe and Palestine. They were created for quite definite but distinct purposes. They differ fundamentally in their purposes as well as their leadership. The Emergency Committee has nothing to do with the demand for a Free Palestine or for a Jewish Army. The members of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe are united in the conviction that the rescue program is so pressing that it has to be taken out of any political or controversial entanglements. They are convinced that the rescue of the Jews is a general responsibility and as such it is non-sectarian. They are against involving and confusing the definite problems of a Jewish Army or a Free Palestine with the demand for immediate rescue of European Jewry.

3. The leaders of the Emergency Committee are accused of "constantly assuming to speak for the Jewish people in this country without having or endeavoring to secure a mandate from any constituency." This is not only untrue; it is pure nonsense. The Emergency Committee is non-sectarian, therefore it cannot assume to speak for the Jews or for any other specific eth-

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## THE PRESS

The first American daily to react to the American Jewish Conference attack was the great liberal newspaper, the New York POST in an editorial dated January 3, 1944

"We want to rescue as many as possible of the three million Jews still alive in Hitlerian Europe. Moreover, we believe most people in this country would like to do that—or help do it.

"And so we hate to see such displays of factional spleen as the American Jewish Conference's attack on the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe.

"The Conference is an important body, but it contributes nothing but dissension when it takes the attitude that it alone can speak with authority for all those who want to get on with the great task at hand.

"Those of us who think the imminent destruction of three million innocent and helpless human beings was a

subject worthy of mention in the Moscow or Teheran Declarations do not propose to keep quiet because the State Department and the American Jewish Conference tell us to hush up.

"The Baldwin-Rogers resolution which the Emergency Committee sponsors in Congress is a concrete and specific measure designed to get results now before it is too late. If it is not all that the Conference would like it to be we think the Conference should help perfect it—and not damn it lock, stock and barrel because somebody else put it forward.

"We suggest to the Conference that it keep the main objective in mind—the succor of Hitler's victims."

## THE PRESS

### THE RECONSTRUCTIONIST

(Editorial)

"Nature abhors a vacuum; and Jewish life is not exempt from this principle. Undoubtedly a vacuum existed into which the Emergency Committee rushed. It was a vacuum created by many years of ineffective activity on the part of Zionist bodies and philanthropic organizations. Particularly, during these last five years, American Jews have experienced a peculiar urge to arise and do something. That urge of theirs could have been set at rest by the mere knowledge that vigorous and forthright action was being taken in their name.

"But no such satisfaction was forthcoming. American Jews were not asked to do anything, except to make the same round of contributions to the same number of organizations. And what is more serious, they never had the feeling that vigorous action was being taken in their name . . .

"The result was that a small group of men and women, who understood the psychology of the masses, was able to reach out to them, arouse them, win their support, and change the august authority of the American Jewish Conference. They filled the vacuum left by the respectable, official and established organizations."

nical or religious group in this country. The Emergency Committee speaks in the name of the desperate cry of agony which comes from the ghastly regions of Europe where millions of people have perished and millions of others are doomed. They speak to all Americans of all the extractions and denominations. They speak to the human soul and to the human conscience. They appeal to the American nation as a whole—135,000,000 people—but above all they appeal to the Christian world because they are convinced that the Jewish disaster in Europe is mainly a Christian responsibility.

The Emergency Committee is not a party; it is not even an organization and therefore cannot speak in the name of an established constituency. Institutions which are a spontaneous expression of public opinion for a certain

### THE JEWISH DAY

(B. Rivkin)

"The year 1943 has left us a sad heritage . . . a spectacle of Jewish disunity demonstrated around the resolution introduced in Congress thanks to the efforts of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe . . .

"Can any Jew be against this resolution . . . ? (It) has been a test of Jewish unity, about which so much has been spoken during 1943. And what have we witnessed? Just those circles which were to concentrate on the problem of creating a united Jewish front . . . have devoted themselves instead to the work of killing the resolution which might have achieved this unity.

"This systematic attack in the name of Jewish unity on this resolution—which could and should become the incorporation of Jewish unity—this spectacle would be ridiculous if the whole matter were not so tragic. This spectacle is a gigantic play, involving millions of Jewish lives. The attempt to kill the resolution—if it succeeds—will destroy the hope that 1944 may become a year of salvation for the millions of Jews under the Nazis, instead of—may God forbid it—a year of increased persecution."

concrete demand are seldom established political parties or organizations. The Committee to Help the Allies, initiated by the late William Allen White, or the Fight for Freedom Committee were, in the established sense of the word, neither parties nor organizations. They had a job to do; when this job was finished, these organizations considered their mandate—the mandate of their consciences—fulfilled as well.

4. The Emergency Committee was formed at an Emergency Conference to Save the Jewish People of Europe, held in New York City at the Hotel Commodore on July 20th to the 26th. Here experts in diplomatic, military, transportation, economic and religious problems—influential and authoritative representatives from all walks of American life—met together and elaborated a program of rescue for European Jewry.

(Incidentally, in its basic principles, the program later became the platform of rescue for all Jewish organizations.) The final session of this Emergency Conference decided to transform itself into an Emergency Committee, and then only in the realization that it became the general responsibility to see to it that its aims were pursued, its conclusions pushed until the task was accomplished.

Though the Emergency Committee does not pretend to represent any definite and static constituency, it has succeeded in winning the sympathy and enthusiasm of large sections of the democratic and liberal masses, Jews and non-Jews alike, in this country. It is particularly gratifying that the leaders of all Orthodox Jewry, which constitutes the majority of Jews in this country, stand firmly and devotedly behind the efforts of this Committee. So do many journalists of the Yiddish press who are the shapers and exponents of Jewish public opinion in this country. So, too, are the tens of thousands of voluntary contributors to this Committee and hundreds upon thousands of Jews who have signed a petition to their government asking its intercession in behalf of their doomed people along the lines laid down by the Emergency Conference.

5. One accusation is more absurd than the other. One particular beauty is the assertion that the Emergency Committee is seeking to undermine any Jewish organization. From the first day of its existence not one word of public criticism was uttered by the Emergency Committee, whether in mass meetings, or in the press, or in its literature. The Emergency Committee sought to persuade existing Jewish organizations to take up on their agenda the rescue of the Jewish people in Europe as the first and main point of their work.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Jewish organizations is interested more in its specific political problems—keeping its constituencies alive, maintaining its particular spheres of influence—which divide them in the supreme task which should have united them. In the

specific job of rescuing Jews, it must be seen there is not and can never be any competition. There cannot be any competition against a vacuum, against a non-existing thing. The fact is that the Emergency Committee is the only institution which has had as its sole task the rescue of the Jewish people of Europe. The various other organizations which were created have primarily other political tasks and therefore have neglected, often to a criminal extent, this urgent and imperative task.

6. As for the allegation that money was raised to rescue Rumanian Jews and that the public is waiting to hear "how many Jews were ransomed with that money," this is pure libel, a matter for the courts to pronounce their sentence against unscrupulous attacks for petty partisan interests.

Neither the Emergency Committee nor, as far as it knows, any other committee, has ever collected funds to save the Rumanian Jews or for any particular direct relief work. It has always appealed for funds—and will now appeal more vigorously than ever before to help along large-scale diplomatic and educational activities to further governmental action to save the Jewish people of Europe.

Its financial reports are public property and anyone can procure these financial reports upon request. These reports will certainly be quite surprising to all people of good-will who will take the time to examine them. These reports will reveal very interesting and almost unbelievable features of a new unprejudiced moral approach to the management of public funds. It will reveal that the highest executive, a married man, receives \$55.00 a week. It will reveal that the top executives, despite such modest salaries, have no expense accounts. It will reveal the astonishing contrast to management of public funds by the "established organizations" whose executives receive double the salaries of members of the U. S. Cabinet, and whose lavishness in the use of benevolence are morally revolting.

7. It is with profound regret and reluctance that we make this statement. But, we have come to the conclusion

that Christians and Jews alike have the moral duty to consider and treat the Jewish problem with normal criteria exactly as they treat the French or the Spanish problem. We think that it is very prejudicial and detrimental to the Jews, to their rescue and to their freedom, to close our eyes and to be frightened lest their standing be examined.

8. We cannot, *we should not*, espouse the anti-Semitic approach that the Jews are a mysterious occult society which no rational human mind may understand and therefore interfere with. This is an offense against the Jews. They have the right to be treated as a normal, human and social phenomenon. Of course, there are differences of opinion among the Jews. Certainly, their problems are often subject to controversy among themselves. But, so are the problems of the French. Yet we took a stand—at least many of us took a stand—for DeGaulle against Laval and Petain, though they speak and continue to speak in the name of "established French authority". Also controversial was the problem of Spain during and after the civil war, but many of us took a stand for the Loyalists against the Falangists. There is no reason why we should not use our common sense also in analyzing the Jewish problem and decide who is right. It was by using our common sense that we came to the conclusion that unfortunately the old leadership of some Jewish organizations in this country is primarily interested in preserving its bureaucratic machine and only secondarily in the urgency of rescuing the Jewish people in Europe. The proof is in the newspapers, in the record of concrete efforts made and in the date lines. The leaders of the Emergency Committee, Jews and Gentiles alike, examining these records, came to the conclusion that the Delegation of the Freedom Movement of the Jewish People of Europe and Palestine in this country represents the sound ideals of a people who want to survive and achieve its freedom. Therefore, they did not hesitate to join hands with them and to initiate this movement of rescue, whose record is the most impressive and the most adequate proof of the imperative justification of its existence.

## THE PRESS THE JEWISH REVIEW

(Editorial)

"Say what you like about the Emergency Committee—suggest ulterior motives without producing proof—but no group of people has so dramatized the issue and aroused as much interest.

"What has the Conference accomplished that it asserts a right to oppose another group actually doing something? The whole trend of the Conference was to appease and placate the American Jewish Committee—lest they walk out. Resolution after resolution was shelved—lest the AJC walk out—the result—an abortive attempt to carry through a program—and in the end the AJC did walk out."

### JEWISH EXAMINER

(Editorial)

"Undoubtedly the Emergency Committee was brought into being because of an understandable impatience with the impressive halting actions of the constituted and recognized Jewish leadership. As a protest against the closed-corporation aspect of that leadership, the Emergency Committee's efforts are justified. There is something bitterly wrong with the structure of Jewish life when it encourages a system of frozen leadership. Not a new personality with the possible exception of Henry Minsky has come to the fore in the past decade.

"When Hitler's legions took over Germany our spokesmen were Wise, Silver, Untermeyer, Goldstein, Adler, (Alfred M.) Cohen, Lipsky, and several others. The names today are the same; there are no new ones. If one hears less of Untermeyer and Adler, it is, possibly, because they are dead, although in the rare atmosphere of Jewish leadership one's function does not necessarily depart with one's life; witness the appeals to the memory of Louis Marshall . . . 'Oh, how we need a Marshall today!' If we do, it is because leadership is apparently impossible to achieve in Jewish life. There are leaders today who in the past have not been entirely innocent of the misdeeds which they charge to the Emergency Committee."

"If there is in this drab mess any solution it would appear to lie in the realm of self-examination with a view to de-emphasizing individual ambitions and welcoming personalities with brain and devotion and that white-robed quality of spirit that shines from the true leader of men."

# DEATH IN THE INTERIM

By Nathan George Horwitt

The years 1942-1943 will go down in Jewish history as the period when our people went through their greatest crisis. It will go down as the time in which the Nazi plan to slaughter the remaining Jews caught within their borders gained its greatest momentum. It will be recorded in history that within these two years a Christian world-force, dedicated to the preservation of the basic human freedoms, turned its back upon the massacre of a helpless people. This critical period will go down as a time when the cries of Jewish victims brought from friendly nations not swift help but vicious immigration barriers—when the doors of nearby Palestine were shut alike upon those who sought to escape the Nazi butcher from without and the anguished relatives who awaited them inside the Holy Land.

And while all this went on and while the decent people of the world, Jews and Christians alike, protested against this inhumanity and cast about for a means to overthrow the barriers that were everywhere raised against saving the Jews—what did this frightful period mean to Rabbi Stephen Wise? What will be memorable about 1942-1943 to him and to the entrenched hierarchy that sits with him astride American Zionism?

For the American-Jewish Conference, for its High Priest and his sycophants, it will go down as a time when few energies were spared for any cause apart from the main task of relentless and implacable war against what they like to present as "an upstart Jewish movement". And what was the crime of this movement? Its sole apparent guilt was that its virility, its very success on behalf of the world's Jews constituted a threat to the entrenched leadership of American Zionism. Every move made by the self-styled "responsible" Zionist leadership on behalf of Europe's Jews was a defensive afterthought, a frantic effort to meet a competitor's initiative.

This initiative, however, was never lacking for a whispering campaign

against the Emergency Committee; for the veiled innuendo; for libelous suggestion of malappropriation of funds; for smearing the members of the Emergency Committee as "irresponsible"—a term reinvented by Dr. Wise, who seems lately to have developed a "Hervolk" concept of his own and which means, of course, "not authorized by His Holiness".

No initiative was lacking for continuous back-stage pressure upon non-Jews to boycott any rescue mission not bearing the "only and original" label. No initiative was lacking for obstructionist tactics against the Congressional reso-

lution to save the Jews of Europe. In short, regardless of the divisive effect upon Jews and the adverse effect upon non-Jews in America, this cartel of Jewish-American affairs has made these critical days in Jewish history memorable for the most incredibly vicious and underhand campaign in the history of internecine warfare. Against whom? Against a handful of energetic Jewish youths come here from Palestine, without funds or friends, for the terribly urgent purpose of awakening American Jews and American Christians, if you will, to the dreadful peril of their trapped brothers.

## THE PRESS

### THE JEWISH POST (Editorial)

"Did the Emergency Committee arouse the U. S. public to the need for action to save the Jews of Europe? The answer is a strong 'yes!' Before the Committee had gotten under way, most of the speeches of the U. S. Jewish leadership were to berate the cold indifference of the U. S. to the terrible plight of Europe's Jews. As soon as the Committee got under way and there was indication that its demands were receiving a friendly welcome from the U. S. citizenry, the Conference, which only a few months before had failed to include in the rescue of the Jews of Europe in its agenda, took over this part of the program of the Committee and stuck it into the Conference schedule at the very last minute.

"The statement released this week excoriated the Emergency Committee for not having consulted with the established leadership in the resolution it presented to both Senate and House, calling for immediate action to save the Jews of Europe, but here too it should be pointed out that the Emergency Committee performed again in the one department for which it must get the highest credit—and that is 'action.'"

"In this respect, all the Jews of the U. S. are responsible, and especially the leadership which until a full ten years after Hitler was unable to get together (the American Jewish Committee is still on the outside) on any concerted program. Now that the Emer-

gency Committee has shown how it should be done, and that it can be done, it is getting the axe."

### ST. LOUIS JEWISH TRIBUNE (Editorial)

"Unity in Israel will never be attained if organizations established to attain that end develop merely into mud-throwing committees. The American Jewish Conference was specifically organized for the purpose of attaining unity in Israel. It made a most auspicious start. It had every Jew in the country behind it. It was believed that it would accomplish its purpose. What happened? Our entrenched leadership so organized the Conference that it stifled free speech. And, in addition, attempted force Zionism on Non-Zionists. The result is no unity, and the disintegration of the Conference itself. And what have we left? An Interim Committee fixing a budget. And then comes the mud-throwing.

"A statement is issued to the effect that the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe has caused 'discord.' The American Jewish Conference has failed in its purpose. The Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe has actually put this question before the Congress of the U. S. and before the people of all America. It is time that our so-called leaders began to think more of how to save the Jewish people of Europe and less of themselves."

Make no mistake about the carefully briefed attack upon the Emergency Committee launched by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference. It is no accident that it reached the desks of all important editors of American and Jewish press, even though prominent members of its own Board confessed that it had been represented to them for circulation only within its family of organizations.

This attack upon the Emergency Committee and upon the Palestinian Delegation is a carefully integrated conspiracy to accomplish the following results:

1. To confuse and embarrass the Rogers-Baldwin Resolution. This resolution was the direct work of the Emergency Committee (attacked) and was deliberately opposed in Congress, although not always openly, by Rabbi Wise (attacker).

2. To frighten away Christian support—presenting the issue as an internal Jewish problem and the Emergency Committee as a secessionist and obstructionist body subject to excommunication by Dr. Wise, and therefore likely to catch non-Jews in the uncomfortable role of "dupes"—(does it matter that thousands of Jews are dying in Nazi slaughterhouses in the interim?).

3. To meet the challenge of a new and virile Jewish leadership and to stifle it before it becomes a serious threat to the vested Board of Directors of American Zionism—before it threatens to loosen their stranglehold upon the gold-lined empire which is American philanthropy and upon the powerful but stumbling American-Jewish community.

With this point in mind the reason for the panic of the Interim Committee becomes amply clear. For the Emergency Committee, which has brought

the Jewish question upon the agenda of the United States Congress, has accomplished this miracle with the expenditure of only a few thousand dollars, contributed mostly in ones and twos by the man in the street. Back of the vertical Trust more recently known as the American Jewish Conference, and its affiliates, there are millions of dollars. To retain this "responsible" (read *proprieted*) position, they will naturally fight with every weapon at their command, fair or foul.

That the printed attack upon the Emergency Committee is a full-scale, twenty-four hour a day declaration of war may be seen by the simultaneous and wide-spread nature of the campaign. Every Christian of prominence connected with the Emergency Committee, every Congressman and Senator on the Resolutions Committee has been approached by one or another of this "annointed" but not-above-whispering Jewish leadership.

English and Yiddish advertisements, virtual carbon copies of those earlier ads by the Emergency Committee which the Interim Committee discredited, now signal a drive to wean away a membership which has come to the support of the Emergency Committee and its challenging program.

A Churchill could say—speaking of this Zionist leadership in 1942-43, "Never before have a people owed so little to so many". To the despairing Jews in Europe's hell, the recent record of the American Zionists' organizations can mean only one thing, that this once powerful world force which has accomplished so little in their behalf in the past two years—will be even more pre-occupied in 1944, fighting a political battle. The anguished cries from abroad, muffled as they are by the ocean's width and by censorship, will be drowned out completely by the shriller crying of a local Jewish leadership in mortal terror that its spiritual bankruptcy has already been discovered and that soon, perhaps, it may find itself wholly discredited.

\*As it happens, this little scheme was nipped in the bud by the President's appointment of the War Refugee Board.

## THE PRESS

### THE JEWISH STANDARD (Editorial)

"The Emergency Committee was in existence prior to the deliberations of the Jewish Conference. They had been dramatizing the plight of Jews in Europe in the 'We Will Never Die' pageants in several large cities throughout the country, several months before the meetings of the Jewish Conference. The effect of these dramatizations and the organizational activities of the Emergency Committee had amazing results. Hundreds of Jewish and non-Jewish sponsors arose. They had a march on Washington by several hundred Orthodox Rabbis. They crystallized opinion and action on the plight of Jews as no other organization had done. They enlisted the enthusiastic support of several Congressmen and held public hearings in Washington which resulted in a Senatorial resolution calling for a Presidential Committee on the Jewish refugee problem in Europe. All in all, the efforts of the Emergency Committee were fruitful and effective.

"The American Jewish Conference criticizes the duplication of effort, the competition and the methods of the publicity and approach of the Emergency Committee. Some of the methods might or might not be questionable. That is a matter of opinion. The American Jewish Committee has always questioned the methods and ap-

proach of the American Jewish Congress in its fight on Hitlerism and anti-semitism. Jewish leadership cannot, it should therefore be obvious, lay down a uniformity of method and program of action. Each leadership thinks and acts according to its light. The basic thing is an agreement and unity in purpose, aim and goal or in other words, unity is the end desired, not in the means."

### THE JEWISH REVIEW AND OBSERVER (Editorial)

"The American Jewish Congress has made a specialty out of collecting such data (on atrocities)—probably for a gigantic post-war 'kaddish,' since statistics will not produce resurrection. And the question is therefore asked: Why are the American Jewish Congress and other affiliates of the American Jewish Conference making such strenuous efforts to hamper the passage of the Rogers-Baldwin resolution, the only measure to date which would have the U. S. take official action to stop this mass murder? What right does the Conference have to attack the resolution and its sponsors, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, for making 'rash and exaggerated claims as to what this resolution will accomplish,' when the Conference itself has been doing nothing to halt the massacre?"

# FAIR PLAY

By May Lewis

The following letter was written by May Lewis, a supporter of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, to a Zionist friend in reply to the attack made by the American Jewish Conference on the Emergency Committee, and is the point of view of one whose ancestors have been in America and well-known for nearly three centuries.

My attitude in the whole matter is that of an outsider—"the public" perhaps, not even the Jewish public. (except in deep loyalties).

I know nothing about the Emergency Committee except in my recent contacts and what I have read.

I know nothing about the American Jewish Conference except what I have read. So I stand outside and judge what I see with detachment.

I see: Jews being exterminated (I have too much imagination to endure this calmly).

I see: The White Paper wickedly imposed on Palestine.

I see: (with stunned amazement), the governments of the world mildly protesting the Jewish slaughter. (Scandinavia excepted.)

I see: Ditto, the Christian world-public and, almost ditto, the Jewish world-public.

I then see: A group—fearless, determined, dedicated—leaving no stone unturned—no effort untried.

Their methods are new, imaginative, dynamic and, I would be willing to vouch for it, sincere. Everything new is always suspect—new poetry—new music—new art. It's an old story about the new!

I am naturally cautious and conservative; I joined this group "cautiously" and with what was, for me, a reckless plunge. By that I mean, I waited and watched their efforts for months before I made up my mind. I have had no cause to regret this step.

I find them all that I have said, as

well as courteous, always—even in the midst of the pressure of their tremendous effort. There is no outward sign of extravagance in their offices and their personnel shows a fine esprit de corps.

Now, what I want to say is this—and I have been saying this from the beginning. If there is any real foundation for these slimy aspersions, why doesn't Dr. Wise make a dignified investigation (their books are open to any responsible citizens and their accounts audited) and then make a real accusation?

## REPLY TO SLANDER

Dean Alfange, Fletcher Pratt and Herbert S. Moore, vice chairmen of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, issued the following declaration in answer to the statement by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference.

"We speak in our capacity as officers of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe and as non-Jews whom the statement issued by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference characterizes as "having been misled." We consider the statement a tragic error on the part of whoever took upon themselves the responsibility of such vindictive action.

"Our Committee is non-sectarian and non-partisan. Consequently it could never have, as the statement said, consistently assumed to speak for the Jewish people in this country." Since its inception, it has been a united manifestation of the deep feeling of Americans of all creeds regarding the horrible plight of the Jews of Europe and an expression of the will of all Americans to see large scale governmental action to alleviate their plight.

"We wish to emphasize that our Emergency Committee is the only non-sectarian group dealing with this prob-

As things stand now, and as I view them with impartial detachment, I think this attack of the American Jewish Conference is revoltingly slanderous and weak, and I think it places the American Jewish community in a most unfavorable light in the eyes of the world.

Anyone is open to slander—that is why it is, to my mind, one of the vilest of sins.

What can the world think of this Jewish behavior! Better let Hitler have his way with the Jews. . .

lem. To make, at this time, a vicious attack upon this Committee and an insolent, though sugar-coated reference to its non-Jewish members, is an act of irresponsibility. We earnestly hope that this has been issued against the wishes and the will of the vast majority of delegates to the American Jewish Conference.

"What seems to be worrying the authors of the statement is the challenge which our activities present to the leadership of some Jewish-American organizations. In the statement's own words, 'Instead of operating with established and recognized national Jewish agencies, they have entered into competition and sought to undermine them.' Were it not so tragic, it would have been grotesque for people with elementary common sense to term as 'competition' activities calling for the salvation of Jews in Hitler's death trap.

"As good Americans and good Christians, we wish to tell the misguided gentlemen of the Interim Committee to do a little hard thinking and afterwards a little searching of their own conscience. A little hard thinking will tell them that the magnitude of the disaster which has befallen the Jews of Europe

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# WE MUST NOT FAIL OURSELVES

By Arthur Garfield Hays

Society is so geared as to make suffering remote. No one would fail to feed a starving man on his doorstep. When the victim is far away, it is our imagination and not our immediate sensory reaction that arouses sympathy. We in America are perhaps fortunate that we do not come closer to the actual scene. But it is only through lack of imagination that we fail to extend the help that the situation calls for.

We have become accustomed to the thought of the plight of the homeless, of terror-stricken refugees who arrive at frontiers where guards hold them back, of the slaughter of defenseless men, women and children, of the gruesome attempt to exterminate a race. The Germans began by killing the Jews. Ponder over these simple words—killing all Jews. They tortured men before they killed them. They killed young women. They took infants and bashed them against the walls. They started with the Jews and then they began the blood bath over all Europe. We have talked about the crime against a race and shed tears over it, but what have we done?

A fraction of these people have been given help by the so-called humanitarian and civilized races. We condemn Hitler for throwing the Jews out and then we leave it to the other fellow to let the Jews in. We are sorry for our poor relations but we avoid the responsibility by suggesting that others take them over. Mark Twain's remark is applicable. "Everybody talks about the weather but not one does anything about it."

Admittedly there are some controversial and difficult problems involved, but the main question is a simple one. There are those who turn to Palestine as the only haven of refuge. In answer to this others point out that the demand for Palestine as the haven leads to criticism of our allies, the British, and that such

a solution would lead to trouble with the Arabs. The argument then runs to the controversial question of whether or not there should be a Jewish army or a Jewish state. Before long the plight of the refugee is forgotten. There are those who see the problem from the point of view of immigration into the United States, who say that it would arouse anti-Semitism to let the bars down for a persecuted race and who feel that this country, with a population of 135 million, might be flooded if we permitted more than a trickle of immigrants. These arguments becloud the issue. They are the excuse for inaction.

The crucial question of saving the Jews of Europe does not depend upon agreement on either of these propositions and need not await their solution. That proposition is a narrow one, and the American answer is traditional. We have never been deaf to the demands of suffering, to the pleadings of the persecuted. We have always been ready to help and to help generously. This war itself is a fight for human decency.

There are countries where temporary refuge can be found. There are vast spaces on the earth where permanent refuge can be established. The present emergency cannot wait upon final conclusions. The real question is as to what can be done at the present time and immediately. It is too much to expect that any country will accept a large number of refugees unless the cost of their upkeep is guaranteed in advance and unless some agreement is made for the eventual resettlement of those who are taken in. For instance, if arrangements were made with Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Turkey and other countries so that they might know that the complete burden would not fall upon them, and that they were not expected to maintain a disproportionate number of refugees after the war, we would then have some place to which

these desperate people could go; they would not escape the Gestapo only to face the bars of freedom. If Palestine were open not necessarily as a permanent home but as a place of temporary refuge, then thousands could be taken care of. If Jewish refugees in Spain were concentrated in some point in North Africa, if then Spain were provided with food for additional refugees, if camps for rescued Jews could be organized in North Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Turkey, Portugal and Morocco, then hundreds of thousands could be saved.

Besides all of this, the allied nations might agree to accept many more refugees. The facts have shown that such people are an aid rather than a burden. If whatever burdens there were, were generally assumed, then none of the United Nations would feel that it was bearing more than its share.

More than two million European Jews have been slaughtered by the Nazis; there has been no success, no interim. The living remnants are still drawn and quartered in unabated ferocity. If we remain feeble and complacent; if we shut our eyes to the emergency then death alone will have its way and Hitler's will will be done. It is about time that this country proved that the slaughter of a whole people is no longer ignored by the United Nations.

We must realize that there is no great moral difference between the beast that drives the Jews to destruction and the supine, complacent attitude that will not let down the bars to safety. We must realize that the situation is so crucial and horrifying that efforts will be useless unless action is immediate. What we have done heretofore has been too little and too late. We owe it not only to the Jews of Europe, not only to suffering humanity, but to ourselves that we do not fail now.

# BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

By Eleanor Rathbone, M. P.

A year ago there was a memorable scene in the House when the Foreign Secretary disclosed the horrible truths about the cruelties being perpetrated on innumerable Jewish victims on no other ground than that of their Jewish race. Spontaneously Members of the House rose to their feet and for a moment stood in silent tribute of pity and horror for the victims. Ever since then, the atrocities have continued, and they are continuing day by day. The number of victims has risen from hundreds of thousands to millions, and they are not confined to the Jewish race.

With its usual keen sense of the practical, British public opinion fastened, immediately after the statement of a year ago, upon the question "What can be done for rescue before it is too late?" Now a press statement was issued by the Foreign Secretary, and simultaneously in the United States. It told us that the whole subject, both of the immediate rescue and of the post-war settlement of refugees, had been referred to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees which was originally set up at Evian.

There is one point to which I would like to call attention because it seems extremely important. It concerns the help which might be given or promised to neutral States, in order to encourage them to take in more refugees. The importance of that is that until we have successfully invaded the occupied territories where all those persecutions are taking place, the one chance of large-scale rescue depends upon the action of the neutral States. I shall be told that some neutrals have tried to approach the enemy on this subject, and that their offers have been refused. But is that not ignoring the changing war situation? Can we doubt that as our victory draws near, the Nazis, and still more the satellite nations, are becoming increasingly aware of the danger of further outrageous world opinion, and may yield to

pressure where formerly they had hardened their hearts?

Two things we can do to influence the result. We can convince the enemy that this is a matter about which we care passionately, so much so that if they continue with their massacres and cruelties it may affect their future position and our treatment after victory of their peoples. Secondly, we must make it possible for neutral States to offer large-scale hospitality. Are we doing that? There appears in the published statement a point which arouses some anxiety. It foreshadows the help which is to be given or promised to neutral States for maintaining their refugees until they could be repatriated. But it says nothing about those who can never be repatriated. There must be large numbers to whom repatriation will be practically an impossibility, who can never be asked or forced to return to countries where all their nearest relatives were murdered, where their homes are in ruins, or have been expropriated, where anti-Semitism is so deeply rooted that it will take a generation to root it out, or where political difficulties are such as to make return an impossibility. What is to be done about those people?

The two countries who can do something are we, with the help of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and the United States. Can not we promise to take responsibility for a proportion of refugees accepted by the neutral States, possibly after some given date, and so make it possible for the neutral States to offer to take in further large numbers? Some have been very generous already. What is the difficulty?

As for the United States, the press statement said that since 1933 they had taken in 195,000 foreign immigrants, most of them refugees. That number is less than one-third of the number whom the United States might have admitted in those five years under their

existing yearly immigration quotas. Surely, therefore, they can afford to promise a fairly substantial measure of post-war generosity.

As to ourselves, the same statement said that we have taken since May 1940, some 600,000 refugees and that we are still admitting them at the rate of about 800 a month. Let us be honest about that. The recent admissions were made on a strictly utilitarian basis. Nearly all were admitted because they were wanted for the Armed Forces or the Merchant Navy of ourselves or our Allies. Nearly all of them are people who will be repatriated after the war. So we, like the United States, can afford to take more responsibility for those in neutral States who can be repatriated.

We can find room for some of them in this country; for larger numbers in Palestine, because even under the meagre White Paper quotas arranged before the war, there are still certificates for 34,000 more Jews. We can also find room in our Colonies, and try and persuade the Dominions to take their share. We have already got a special responsibility in this matter of refugees because of our relation to Palestine. If it had not been for the restrictions placed on immigration to Palestine in pre-war years, even before the Palestine White Paper, imposed partly for economic reasons and partly to appease the Arabs, tens of thousands of men, women, and children who now lie in bloody graves would long ago have been among their kindred in Palestine. That is something I will never forget and I hope the House will never forget it either.

As to more recent policy, I am going to speak plainly. I claim to know as much on this subject as anyone in England. But there are many others, who, like myself, think of this terrible question day and night. It is on their consciences all the time. They are not satisfied that the utmost has been done for

(Continued on opposite page)

# RABBI WISE SUED BEFORE RABBINICAL TRIBUNAL

Mr. Peter H. Bergson, in the name of his colleagues of the Free Palestine Committee, has sued Rabbi Wise before the Rabbinical Tribunal of the U. S. (Beth Din).

The charges against Rabbi Wise as an individual, as well as president of the American Jewish Conference and leader of the American Zionist organization, are the following:

1. Inauguration of a slander campaign against Mr. Bergson and his colleagues of the Free Palestine Committee with the purpose of undermining confidence in the Emergency Committee, in the hope that this will affect the cessation of activities of this Committee for the rescue of European Jews.
2. A campaign to influence American statesmen, by the most unscrupulous means, to stop giving support to the rescue movement.
3. An attempt to kill the rescue resolution which was introduced in both Houses of Congress.

In all these endeavors, the vilest methods, inherited from the dark phenomenon in Jewish life—use of "informers"—have been employed.

Mr. Bergson took this action in order to avoid bringing up the matter in open court, and thus to spare the shame of airing it before the general public.

It is also hoped that this will clear the atmosphere so that it will not interfere with the devotion of all energies to the fight for rescuing the Jews in Europe.

In an article in the Chicago Jewish Courier on the suit brought by Mr. Bergson against Rabbi Wise before the Rabbinical Tribunal, Dr. M. Katz writes:

"...there is much for which Dr. Wise, as leader of the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference, must be reproached. What had Dr. Wise and all other Jewish leaders in America done for the rescue of the European Jews before the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe started its activities? Why did they neglect this sacred and most urgent work? Why were they satisfied with

lip-service, not moving a finger to do anything tangible in this respect?"

"WHO has broken Jewish unity and Jewish authority in America, if not the leaders of the Jewish Congress and those of the Zionist Emergency Council? Who is mainly responsible for separate actions of different bodies, if not Dr. Wise and all other Jewish leaders who insisted upon holding onto the 'altar' of their existing organizations, despite the fact that there had been created a general Jewish-American body to speak in the name of American Jewry?"

"Because of all this, Dr. Wise and all the other recognized Jewish-American leaders should be sued before a Jewish tribunal..."

## BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE

(Continued from page 26)

rescue. They do not belittle the difficulties, which have been enormous. But more might have been saved if more courage, resource, and imagination had been put into the task. Shipping has been grudging, though it has been found often for less vital services. Visas are most grudgingly and sparingly given. They are always given on utilitarian grounds. The test is not "is this man or woman in danger?" but "do we want them for our own purposes?" Neither we nor the United States has shown a shining example to the world in this matter.

At first reading the published statement sounded all right. It promised some action, but it failed to deal with the crucial question of what is to happen to the refugees who cannot be repatriated, and what we are going to do to make it easier for the neutral States to offer them hospitality. I beseech Mr. Eden, and through him the Cabinet, to give all their thought to this matter. Let them say plainly what we are prepared to do. If the Government does that, it will have the support of every section of opinion in the country worth consideration. Do not let them be deterred by the mean jealousies and selfish fears of a mere handful of people who have been influenced by anti-Semitic, or by "anti-foreigner" propaganda.

## REPLY TO SLANDER

(Continued from page 24)

is of concern to all decent Americans and should not be made to be a matter of exclusive concern of Jewish-Americans only. There are no property rights in humanity and humanitarian efforts. "The Emergency Committee as well as some of the other activities mentioned in the statement was initiated in response to a call by a delegation of Palestine and European Jews who believe that their agonized people in Europe are desperately in need of the help of the entire American people and not only of the Jewish-American organizations. They also believe that the appeal to the American people should be made by Americans of all faiths and should be made frankly and openly in the best traditions of American democracy. It is presumptuous to assert that activities for the rescue of the Jews of Europe are the exclusive concern of Americans of Jewish faith only, and that before an American wishes to call on his government to act in this respect, he must con-

sult and obtain the permission from certain Jewish leaders in this country. This attitude is not only wrong, it is highly detrimental to the desperate plight of the millions of European Jews and responsible for the fact that at this late hour much that can be done by our government is still left undone.

"We feel that the Palestine delegation has succeeded in pointing out this misconception and has thus rendered a singular service not only to their own people but to America as well. For the plight of the Jews of Europe is a grave humanitarian and moral problem and thus becomes the inescapable responsibility of all conscientious Americans—a responsibility which they must discharge for themselves.

"We ask the American public not to be discouraged by this partisan attack on our activities and we pledge ourselves to a continuation of our fight to secure action to save the Jewish people of Europe."

# I LIVED TO TELL THE HORRORS OF TREBLINKA

By Anonymous

I left Warsaw on July 27, 1942, and wandered through many towns to escape deportation. We did not know then what "deportation" implied, but we had a foreboding that it was synonymous with death. Thousands had already been deported and nothing had been heard from them.

In the town of —, I was detained by Polish police and kept in a cell for four weeks.

I failed to convince my fellow-prisoners that we should attempt to escape. They thought it was impossible. Our guards forewarned us that ten hostages would be shot for each Jew who escaped. We were 110 Jews, guarded by 48 gendarmes. One day we were led to the railroad station where the tracks were blocked by cars packed with Jews. A sixth car was awaiting our arrival. I was one of 84 people, men and women, crowded into this car, which had a single window near the roof. When my comrade Z and I attempted to use the window for escape, we were prevented forcibly by the others, who feared they would be shot if we succeeded.

## Arrival at Treblinka

At 7 in the morning, the train arrived at Malkina, where it was divided into six sections, each containing ten cars. My car was shunted with nine others to a branch line. Some 15 minutes later, we arrived at the Treblinka station; the train continued for another five minutes, entered a forest and passed through a big gate. The doors opened suddenly. At each side stood guards armed with sticks and whips, shouting in Polish, Ukrainian and German: "Quick, get out!" To evade the beatings, we desperately scrambled to get ahead of one another. Twelve Ukrainians, with rifles aimed at us, reinforced the guards who, in turn, were reinforced by other men, guns in hand, holding ferocious dogs by their leashes.

We were ordered to stand in formation. An S.S. official, watch in hand,

shouted an order: "I give you one minute to take your shoes and stockings off, tie them together and hold them in your hands. One minute—or you'll be shot."

We were ordered to run between the and to return through the "corridor." The guards lashed us furiously. Some of us crumbled and died. We were barefooted and as the ground was rubble-spattered, our soles bled. We were ordered to throw our shoes onto a pile of clothes, some three stories high, and to return through the "corridor."

## Whippers and Whipped

Finally we were ordered to halt and the women were marched off to a square covered by a thatched roof. Later we saw them marched past, nude, toward a fenced-off area. They vanished behind a gate.

We were ordered to undress and run back and forth between the clothing pile and the spot where we had undressed—all the time through the "corridor" of madly yelling guards.

From the direction of the high fence there came a horrible moaning which lasted for only a minute or two. I observed that the men with whips and sticks forming the outer wall of the "corridor" were Jews themselves—derelict, half-mad individuals, prodded by Ukrainians who pressed guns into their backs.

When we again reached the clothes-pile, I jumped onto it, grabbed a pair of pants and a jacket, picked up a cane and forced my way among the guards forming the "corridor."

With all the others, I shouted hysterically and waved my cane. S.S. men, standing to the side, watching the sadistic orgy with satisfaction, pulled out all well-built Jews.

## "Hospital"—Nazi Style

At the sound of a sharp whistle, we were rushed to the train, where we formed two rows at the doors of each car. Ten more cars had arrived from one of which an old Jew tumbled. An S.S. man ordered one of the guards to take him to "the hospital." Then I, too,

was ordered to take an old man to "the hospital." I did not know what was meant by "the hospital," but I followed the first guard. We walked toward an area from which thick smoke rose, and stopped at a pit ten meters in width and ten meters in depth. I could see smoldering human bodies at the bottom. I followed the motions of the "veterans." We undressed the old Jews and seated them at the edge of the pit, their feet dangling. Some more were brought here. When ten of them were thus seated with their feet dangling, Ukrainian guards whipped them once and immediately they dropped into the smoldering pit.

I learned that the veterans had been here for some three weeks, others for no more than three or four days. Every morning, one or two of the beaters' group were led away, never to be seen again.

The fenced-off enclosure from which came the frequent horrifying moans, followed by a dreadful silence, was known as "the court of death." Two Jewish youths, employed as gravediggers, escaped from there and sought to lose themselves among us. They told us that there were eight barracks with room for 7,000.

All who arrived on the trains, excepting those who were assigned as "beaters," were led into the barracks and told they would receive baths and showers. The barracks were sealed and gas let in. Those outside waiting their turn soon grasped what was happening and sought to stampede. But then S. S. men and Ukrainians with ferocious dogs appeared and kept them back. The doors were sealed for 15 minutes at a time, and when they were opened, all who had been locked in were dead.

Five hundred men were assigned to the one task of removing the corpses and throwing them into the burning pit. Five hundred Jews—mental derelicts, servants of death, half-dead themselves. There were at least ten suicides daily among them. All bore the stench

of carrion, because of their work. The two youths who escaped to us were immediately spotted by the Gestapo beaters, were led into the barracks and told cause of their stench.

In the far corner of our yard there was a hut in which lived the essential laborers—carpenters, locksmiths, electricians, tailors—and 12 musicians. Brought here from Warsaw some months before the official deportations began, they had constructed the camp and were still employed at such labors. They wore yellow patches on their clothing and were kept separate from us. The musicians were assigned to play for the Nazis at their orgies.

I was at Treblinka for four days, during which Jews arrived from Holland, France, Vienna and all parts of Poland, only to disappear behind the fence of "the court of death."

## Blueprint for Escape

Escape during the day was impossible, for we were under constant guard from the moment we were marched out at 6 a. m. until 7 p. m., when we were locked in again.

We decided that we must find some way to remain outside the barracks at night. One evening, at 6 p. m., I tied my comrades into a bundle of clothing and placed them on the pile. One who had refused to escape himself tied me into a bundle, as I had done with my comrades, and placed me on the hill. After 6 p. m., silence settled on the camp. We disentangled ourselves and, with the pressure of our bodies, we dug a big pit in the clothes-pile in order to be able to see without being seen. Every half hour the guard passed the clothing hill, and frequently the spotlight was turned on it. We were able to tell the time by the change of the watch.

Evading the spotlight, we crept slowly toward the pit, using its vapors, rising thicker at night than during the day, as a smoke-screen. We faced the first barbed-wire fence. The soil was soft under it and we dug with our hands and knives and finally passed through. We found ourselves in a forest, walked straight ahead and soon faced another barbed-wire fence. As the soil here was

hard, we could not dig, and were compelled to climb the barbed wire. Bruised and cut, we got across. Soon we faced a third barbed-wire barrier. We climbed this one, too.

We reached Warsaw on the morning after Sucoth. I obtained the necessary "aryan" documents and struck out for the border of a neighboring country. I

made two attempts to cross the border. The first attempt failed. After obtaining from me 20,000 zlotas, approximately \$400, the first group of smugglers left me stranded in a forest. But I tried again. In February, 1943, I was finally taken across to — (name of a neighboring country).

—Independent Jewish Press Service.

## 100 CONCENTRATION CAMPS . . .

As the day of victory approaches and with the day of judgment for the German perpetrators of crimes against the population of the occupied countries, the Polish Government in London is gathering more and more evidence of German guilt.

The latest information collected concerns 100 concentration camps organized in and outside Poland.

There are nine concentration camps for Jews. These are Belzec, Starograd II, Potulice II, Sobibor and Treblinka I, II, III, Trawniki, Pomiechowek, and a camp between Chelm and Wlodawa. Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka are all slaughter camps.

A prisoner who escaped from Oswiecim where thousands of Polish Jews were imprisoned and many of them slaughtered described conditions there as being "hell on earth."

"When we arrived in the railway trucks from the segregation camps, we were all driven from the station to the camp by the prison guards who fired shots into the air as to make it more terrifying. We were kicked out of the trucks and beaten, dazzling searchlights were flashed into our eyes.

"We were ordered to run towards the camp, the old and weak prisoners who could not run fast, fell from exhaustion and were shot on the spot."

For several weeks after arriving at Oswiecim, prisoners are quarantined in separate quarters. This period is the worst of all because the guards force prisoners to do strenuous exercises for hours on end as a kind of preparation for the further hardships which await them. The clothing issued to them consists of old Austrian and German uniforms, little more than rags. At Oswiecim prisoners were fed on potato peelings cooked in water used for washing up dishes. A kilogram of bread was issued three times a week to those doing heavy work, other prisoners a half kilo. Many prisoners could be seen all the time searching rubbish bins.

Discipline in many camps is the means of torture. Routine forms of punishment, pillory, flogging, dark cells, deprivation of foods, standing to attention for hours. S.S. guards and prison commandants invent their own methods such as making prisoners stay out in zero weather without shirt, coat or earcaps, kicking them in the vital organs, making them crawl and leap with hands raised for hours, spraying with water at close range which may stop the heart beating or spraying the face which may destroy the eye balls.

Prisoners such as Jews, priests and those who have tried to escape, are marked out for death by one means or another and put into "penal gangs". The numbers on the men's blouses are ringed around in black. They must do the heaviest manual work and do it on the run. Life in such gangs is very short. Of 120 Jews in a "penal gang" in Dachau, 118 died in six months.

# HOW THEY CAPTURED THE JORDAN FORD

By Col. J. H. Patterson

*The epic of heroism forged on the anvils of this war by the Hebrew soldiers of Palestine has a tradition behind it, as well as the purpose ahead. A quarter of a century ago the descendants of Joshua followed his course to wrest the land from the grip of the foe. In this article Col. Patterson, commander of the Jewish Legionnaires, tells the story of this memorable campaign.*

As the date fixed for the great advance of the Army in Palestine drew near, certain parts of the Jordan Valley began to look very comical. Here and there would be seen a battery of artillery parked, or a cavalry regiment, with its horses tethered in neat and orderly array, in the most approved army style, but on close inspection both horses and guns were found to be merely dummies! Great camps were pitched, but there was not a soldier in them; fires were lighted all over the place at dusk, as if a mighty army were bivouacked round about, and every conceivable kind of bluff was put up in order to deceive the Turks, and make them think that the long expected attack was to be made through Gilead, to effect a junction with the Arab Army of the Hedjaz. The Jewish Battalion was even ordered to march and counter-march from Jericho to the Dead Sea by some wight at G.H.Q. who still remembered us, but General Chaytor scotched this stunt, for of course he knew it was quite impossible for us to guard our front throughout the night and march some forty miles by day as well, in that terrific heat. There were really very few troops in the Jordan Valley, if one considers the enemy force that could have been concentrated against us. According to General Allenby's despatch there were some six thousand rifles, two thousand sabres, and seventy-four guns facing us in the Jordan Valley.

General Allenby in his despatch of October 31, 1918, writes:

"By reducing the strength of the troops in the Jordan Valley to a minimum," etc., and "To prevent the decrease in strength in the Jordan Valley being discovered by the enemy I ordered Major General Sir Edward Chaytor

K.C.M.G., C.B., A.D.C., to carry out with the Australian and New Zealand Mounted Division the 20th Indian (Imperial Service) Infantry Brigade, the 38th and 39th Battalions of the Royal Fusiliers, and the 1st and 2nd Battalions British West Indies Regiment, a series of demonstrations with the object of inducing the enemy to believe that an attack East of the Jordan was intended, either in the direction of Dadeba or Amman.

"The enemy was thought to be anticipating an attack in these directions and every possible step was taken to strengthen his suspicions."



COL. PATTERSON

As a keen observer on the spot, I can certify that General Chaytor carried out the task allotted to him in the best spirit of camouflage, and thoroughly deceived and outwitted the enemy at all points.

On September 15th, the 39th Battalion Royal Fusiliers, under the command of Colonel Margolin, D.S.O., arrived in the Jordan Valley, and took up its position on the Auja in support of the 38th Battalion in the line.

A couple of days before the big offensive, which began on September 18th, General Allenby visited my Headquarters, where I presented all the officers not on duty to him. He took me a little apart and asked me if I were sure I could trust the men to fight, and I assured him that he need have no anxiety

on that score, for the men were all right and would respond to any call when it was made. He then asked me if there was any other point I should like to bring to his notice: I told him that malaria was daily becoming more prevalent and I was losing two hundred men a week from this cause alone. I also pointed out that I did not think that the medical arrangements for the evacuation and care of the men were all that they should be. The General made a note of this in his book.

The only result was that I got an irate letter from the Deputy-Adjutant General asking me for a full report as to why I had misinformed the Commander-in-Chief about my sick, and about medical matters generally, so that on the morning of September 23rd, the day we were ordered to pursue the enemy, when I should have been solely devoted to the leading of my men, and all the problems pertaining thereto, I had to sit down and smooth the ruffled feathers of the Deputy-Adjutant General. I not only proved my case to the hilt, but emphasized it by giving further evidence which I had not troubled the C-in-C. by recounting.

General Chaytor specially warned us that, during the offensive on our left, we were to increase our patrols and harry the enemy as much as possible, to keep him in his lines, and to prevent if possible any large force of Turks crossing from the east of the Jordan to reinforce their armies holding the line from the Jordan to the sea. This is how the official report runs:

"Chaytor's force in the Jordan Valley had so far confined itself to vigorous patrolling to insure that the enemy could make no move without their knowledge. The role of this composite force was to secure the right flank of the army and the Jordan crossings, to keep in close touch with the enemy and take advantage of any withdrawal on their part, but to run no risk of being involved with a more powerful foe too early in the battle. This difficult task was admirably carried out."

(Continued on next page)



BY THE HEADWATERS OF THE JORDAN in Palestine, where the progressive spirit and science of the new Hebrew Nation has not yet been allowed to make itself felt, the Arabs are still passive victims of the swamp.

During the nights of September 18th, 19th, 20th and 21st, we made demonstrations against the Turkish positions along our front. Parties would crawl out into favorable positions, such as a fold in the ground, and open fire all down the line. This always made the Turks nervous, and their trenches would be manned, and every individual would blaze away for all he was worth. On the 19th and 20th they got so "windy" that they called on their artillery to put down a barrage to prevent us from making an assault. Each time the barrage was put down our men were well clear, and lay snug and safe until the enemy had uselessly expended hundreds of rounds, and then they quietly returned to camp, not a whit the worse for all the cannonading. There was very little sleep on these nights for anyone, and the Jewish Battalion certainly did all that in the way to further the intentions of the Commander-in-Chief by holding every Turk in the neighborhood of the Jordan closely to his lines. On the 20th we pushed well up against the Turkish trenches, found all manned and again drew heavy rifle, machine-gun and artillery fire. We had a few men wounded

in this affair. Why we had not a heavy casualty list on these occasions is a mystery to me, for the men had to advance in the open over a stretch of ground as level as a billiard table.

Number 6 Trench Mortar Battery R.A. was under my command in the Mellahah and I ordered this Battery to open fire on the Turkish position round Umm esh Shert, if we should find difficulty in ousting the enemy from this important place.

I had arranged to attack this position on the 22nd September, but at midnight on the 21st my Intelligence Officer sent me news that the enemy's resistance in the trenches opposite Umm esh Shert Ford was weakening. I immediately ordered out my reserve, and sent them under Lieut. Cross to reinforce Major Neill, whose duty it was to push in the Turks, and take the Ford at the earliest possible moment. I got favorable news by telephone of the steady advance of the men; trench after trench was occupied, and when I left my Headquarters at 4 a.m. for the scene of the fight, I was able to report to General Chaytor's Staff Officer that we were almost in possession of the crossing.

I galloped off as dawn was breaking, scrambled up the cliffs and across the ground from which the Turks had fled, and arrived in time to go down with Major Neill, Captain Julian, and Lieutenants Jabotinsky and Cross, to take possession of this coveted passage over the Jordan. I may mention here that Jabotinsky had been attached to G.H.Q. for special work, but as soon as the Battalion went into the line, he requested to be returned to duty in order to share in all our dangers and hardships.

The moment we had secured the Umm esh Shert Ford I signalled the news to General Chaytor, who immediately took advantage of our capture by pushing mounted troops across the Jordan, thus outflanking the Turks, who held the foothills of Shumat Nimrin which barred the way to Es Salt. The 1st Australian Light Horse Brigade crossed while we covered the Ford with our rifles and machine-guns, and they never drew rein until Es Salt was reached that evening, where a large force of the enemy with guns, etc., was captured by the Anzac Mounted Division. That same afternoon, two companies of the 39th Battalion Royal Fusiliers moved up to our support, and took up position in the posts which we had vacated in the Mellahah. It is a curious fact that the whole movement of the British Army in Palestine, which swept the Turks out of the country, was actually pivoted on the sons of Israel, who were once again fighting the enemy, not far from the spot where their forefathers had crossed the Jordan under Joshua.

## "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES"

According to a report from Palestine, a certain Mrs. Rose Lang, an "illegal" immigrant into Palestine who had been exiled to Mauritius Island in the Indian Ocean, has been allowed to re-enter Palestine in view of "special circumstances." The circumstances: Mrs. Lang's husband is one of the twenty-five repatriates from a German prison camp (see ANSWER of January). The wounds he sustained have earned the "reprieve."

# THE PASSING OF AN ALCHEMIST

By Israel I. Taslitt

Major Rudolf Schlacht raised his eyes from the document in his hand, and looked through the window at the dark forms moving along the street below. Above the sound of shuffling feet came the well-measured tread of military boots. Major Schlacht, glancing at his watch, smiled. The deportation was being carried out on schedule and the Major liked efficiency.

Lieutenant Eckhardt came in. His features, under the fresh dust-streaks, seemed strained in the fading twilight. "The Colonel wants to know whether you are ready to accompany him to the station, sir."

"Yes, of course." Major Schlacht folded the document and laid it on the desk. Then, turning again toward the window, he beckoned to Eckhardt to join him. "It's poetic justice, Lieutenant, such as none but the Fuehrer could have conceived."

"What do you mean, sir?"

The Major nodded toward the plodding mass below. "Those filthy Jews! Dirt-encrusted from head to toe—but on their way to become the cause of cleanliness in others."

Lieutenant Eckhardt bit his lip. "Then this is the group going to Belsetz?"

"Yes, to the soap factories." Major Schlacht chuckled. "I hope our chemists won't be disappointed with the material we are sending them. Personally, I shall be surprised if any soap at all will be produced." He threw a sharp glance toward the younger man at his side. "Is something troubling you, Lieutenant?"

"Nothing at all," was the quick reply. "I was merely wondering how we shall be able to distinguish between the soap that we are getting from other sources and what we shall get from Belsetz."

The Major laughed again. "That shouldn't worry you. Besides, the Belsetz product will probably be shipped back to the Reich. Come, let us go."

Night had already fallen when the German staff car drew up at the station. Beyond the old stone building soldiers, with bayonets fixed, were herding Jews into the black openings of the box-cars. The Jews stumbled up the gangplank like blind men, with vacant, staring eyes. In the deathly silence Lieutenant Eckhardt found the cursing of the soldiers very welcome.

As they were passing one of the cars Major Schlacht stopped abruptly. From the interior came a strange sound, like the intonation of a dirge. Without waiting for a command from his superior, the Lieutenant played his flashlight on the huddled mass inside. A bearded face lifted upward to the roof of the box-car, lips moving, blazed in the white glow of the beam.

*Father of mercy, who dwells on high . . . in his deep compassion may He review with mercy . . . the holy congregations who gave up their lives for the sanctification of God's name . . .*

"You, there, keep quiet!" Lieutenant Eckhardt cried.

*May God remember them for good, with all the righteous in the world, and may He avenge the blood of his servants that has been shed . . . As is written in the law of Moses, man of God . . .*

"Bring that old swine out here!" the Major commanded, reaching for his revolver. "I'll teach him how to hold his tongue."

*Sing loud, O nations, of His people, for He avenges the blood of his servants, and wreaks vengeance on his foes . . . For He who avenges blood remembers them. He has not forgotten the cry of—*

*A shot scared the night— . . . the humble. Hear, O Israel, the Lord of—*

Major Schlacht holstered the revolver. "Throw him back into the car. Now the factories will have to electrocute one Jew less for soap."

One Saturday evening, several weeks later, Lieutenant Eckhardt was poring over a map in the study of Major Rudolf Schlacht. The latter was in the bathroom, preparing for a night's visit at a house on the other side of Lwow. The Lieutenant was so absorbed that he failed to hear the command until it was repeated.

"Yes, sir, I shall get it for you." Eckhardt went into the supply room. After some search he came upon a neatly-tied brown parcel. He snapped the string, and returned to the study.

With his hand raised to tap on the bathroom door, Lieutenant Eckhardt paused. He stared at the small package in his hand, and his face blanched. "Jewish Soap." Hurriedly he removed the wrapper, knocked at the door and waited.

"Thanks." Major Schlacht reached for the white bar. "Now, please, go down and order Wilhelm to have the car ready in fifteen minutes."

He flicked open the shower and stepped under it, soaping himself profusely. As he was rubbing the lather into his face, he paused and sniffed. Quickly he rinsed his eyes to take a look at the soap, but as he opened them a stinging sensation burned into his eyeballs in a lightning-like flash. And suddenly through the cascade of the shower, Major Schlacht saw the apparition of a bearded face turned up toward the roof of a box-car lips moving.

The soap slipped from his hand and bounced about in mockery on the bathroom floor. Madly he groped for it, in vain. As he took a step forward, his foot pressed itself squarely upon it. There was a crash as the Major lunged backward. The back of his head struck a corner of the iron grate which he had been using as a magazine rack.

When Lieutenant Eckhardt returned, he saw, in a pool of blood beside the lifeless body of Major Schlacht, the bar of soap, lying white and serene.

# SAN PIETRO

By Itzchak Ben Ami

It is early afternoon, and the hospital ward is quiet. The three other soldiers who share my room are asleep. They are taking their afternoon nap, a luxury they haven't enjoyed for a long time. They are youngsters, none over 21. Two of them probably were inducted on their 18th birthdays. Already they have embarkation orders in their pockets. Now they are asleep and at peace. Where will they be a few months from now?

I was thinking of these young boys and their P. O. E. orders because I had been reading an account of the battle of San Pietro. I had to push the paper aside when the correspondent described the twisted bodies of the American soldiers in the blood-covered "death valley" of San Pietro. . . .

It was a beautiful winter's day in Central Italy. Now and then the sun appeared to warm the soil and the trees. The water was gushing into small channels and nearby creeks. And all along the valley, strewn between the shell crates and foxholes, lay the bodies of American boys, quiet as the countryside itself, in the peace of death. . . .

The battle had been won, one of the bloodiest of the war, in the past 48 hours. The boys out in the valley would never know about it—but they had never doubted its outcome.

A few moments before Nazi bullets struck them, those boys, crawling through the mud of a strange, faraway country, probably were thinking of the things every American soldier the world over thinks of 24 hours a day: home and those he loves. A few moments before the German machine gun got him, Private Tom Smith from Texas or Missouri, or California, probably rolled over on his side during a lull in the firing, and pulled out a crumpled letter he had read a hundred times, and scanned it once again. For a few seconds, he forgot everything else . . . back home, the house, Mother . . . and Her-

"You don't realize how much I miss you . . ." Oh yes, he knew. Because he missed her even more . . . but all that was quickly over. There was a signal from the sergeant. Quickly he tugged the letter back, pushed himself off the ground, and leaped forward . . .



When, a few hours later, the small group of newspapermen trudged toward the now silent, occupied ruins that had been San Pietro, they came across Tom Smith and the piece of paper that was sticking out of his pocket. They could still read the last lines . . . "I'll be glad when you are home, dear . . ."

Tom Smith and hundreds of thousands like him will never come home. San Pietro, Salerno, Guadalcanal, Tarawa, there they have fallen. And they will die all over the globe, in places they had never heard of before, where the natives had never suspected their existence.

But from among the ruins of the San Pietro's will emerge the ragged women and children, starving and terror-stricken, but alive. They will live. Years from now young men and women will walk about, and march and play on the soil where Tom Smith once lay as if asleep, with the little pool of red blood drying near him. . . .

These people will emerge to a freer new life, through the sacrifice of strangers, from faraway countries. In this fact lies the secret of the war, its

reasons, and the possibility that it will not happen again.

This is the answer to it all. The interdependence of man's fate, the world over. Until this truth dawns upon America's millions and England's, and the rest of the civilized world, men will always be cruelly torn away from their homes and their dear ones.

This world is one world, the fate of its people interbound. No one can enjoy security and happiness in our time without sharing it with his neighbors, not only those next door, but on the next continent as well. By the same token, there are no frontiers that can stop misery and war once they are permitted to exist. Like dangerous infections, they spread. The earth today has become one sole human organism. It cannot stand infection in one part of the body without the rest of it's being affected—and infected. As long as there are nations, people and races that suffer, that hunger, that are discriminated against—the world organism as a whole will suffer, sooner or late.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia may have felt like a pin-prick to the world organism, and the massacre of Jews in prewar Germany like a mere headache. But at last the entire world has had to pay for it. This process of the unification of the world is proceeding rapidly. More rapidly, it would seem, than the average human mind can grasp. There is still a disturbing distance between the facts about the world, its fate and future, and the average man's concepts of it.

It is not enough that a few Americans understand. It is not enough that Henry Wallace and Wendell Willkie have proclaimed it; nor that a few among millions are beginning to realize it. It must become the common property and knowledge of all the great masses of people throughout the civilized world.

(Continued on page 34)

## BOOK REVIEW

**THE HIDDEN ENEMY.** The German Threat to Post War Peace, by Heinz Pol; Julian Messner Inc. \$3.00

"Revolution," says Heinz Pol is the only answer to what must be done with Germany after the war.

To prepare this purge (of the Pan Germans) to stir the German masses in this direction, to foster a revolutionary movement within Germany, and to see to it that it is not a phony revolution—this is the only realistic policy. . . . Never in history has such a process been as necessary as it is today in Germany—the country that has never undergone a real revolution."

And while this solution may sound somewhat drastic, especially with the ring of such words as Darlan, Badoglio and "expedition" still loud in our ears, the theory (practically a thesis—on which Mr. Pol builds his case and bases his solution) is most unquestionably sound and sober.

What Mr. Pol has turned out here, on the basis of a tremendous lot of research as well as personal knowledge is the history of Germany—roughly from 1900 until 1938—history, of course, not as it is taught in high schools or colleges, but the history of what really happened behind the facade of Germany's governments, movements, and Fuehrers.

Mr. Pol maintains that the history of Germany during that period is the history of Pan Germanism and its increasing power and success. And he traces the history of Pan Germanism, from its birth, in Zurich, on June 24, 1890 to its survival, through the Wilhelmian period, through the war, through the revolution, through the Weimer Republic, through the Hitler regime, through the second World War and, unless we watch out—through tomorrow.

To prevent the Pan Germans from repeating their game of the past once again and tearing the peoples of the world into another war, Heinz Pol suggests what we must not do. What we must do, has been made clear already. We must foment a purge, a revolution, by the German people, for the German people.

What we must not do is to make a deal with representatives of anyone of the following groups: Heavy industry, Big Banks and Insurance Companies, the Army, The Junkers and the Aristocracy, the Judiciary, the Universities and Schools, and any Cultural Institutions founded since 1933—because all of these are germ carriers of Pan Germanism.

We must foment revolution. To do this, we cannot, of course, get on soap boxes in Germany and make revolutionary speeches. What we must do is make clear to the German people who the men are who are re-

sponsible for their disaster, have been responsible for all their disasters in two generations. We must do so within the punitive capacities which are ours by right of morality and conquest. Mr. Pol has summarized this task of ours into five points: 1. We must dissolve the officers' corps and all of its police troops. Those guilty of war crimes against the German people or other peoples are to be punished; the others are to be put under restrictions and surveillance. 2. Junkers and big landowners must be expropriated throughout Germany. 3. Key industries (iron, steel, coal, chemicals) must be nationalized. 4. All public institutions (universities, schools, law courts) must be reorganized completely. Many of the people who were public servants under the Nazis must be punished because of their crimes or their complacency toward crimes. 5 All intellectuals who, 'Nazi' or merely 'nationalist', paved the way for Hitler, and as propagandists supported the Third Reich, must be eliminated."

This, in essence is Heinz Pol's case and its answer.

There are some interesting observations in his statement of the case. A truly amazing comparison of Hitler and Wilhelm II. The citation of a program the Pan Germans worked out for the treatment of the Jews—which is not an iota better than Hitler's own. And we have found out only painfully how correct a yardstick the treatment of Jews is in the political philosophies of our day—or any day for that matter.

Or a statement by a man called Morgan who was adjutant general in the Inter Allied Military Commission of Control after the last war and who said: "You cannot hope by anything short of a military occupation of the whole country, to limit the effectiveness of the armed forces of a great nation, unless you can carry the opinion of the nation with you. . . . Material disarmament will never be certain or complete until moral disarmament has made it unnecessary." A warning worth heeding again.

When one is through with Heinz Pol's book one wonders why his cool reasonableness leaves one so unconvinced. His material is unquestionable, his case flawless, his solution sound, and yet—there is something quite impossible about the dispassionate way in which he advocates revolution. Surely, Mr. Pol must know that no revolution has ever been made by reason alone? That revolution is in essence emotional and idealistic and only in its after effects possibly reasonable. But emotions and ideas and psychological effects, these are factors which Mr. Pol has carefully shunned in his book. And therefore his cure is, on the body of a nation, a physical one only, and not a psychological one.

To put it unmistakably harshly: In his treatment of the schizophrenic leper of mankind, Mr. Pol has traced the causes of the leprosy and devised a cure. But what makes him think that this will cure the schizophrenia?

Ruth Karpf.

## SAN PIETRO

(Continued from page 33)

The American soldier wants to get his job of fighting over with, so that he can return home. That's as far as his thoughts go. He is either too tired, or too absorbed in his own problem "to think about politics." "Politics" is everything that isn't manifestly connected with his own life. He wants to get back and secure a spot for himself and his family. This is the most important war-and-peace aim of the American soldier. It is a desire that is normal and right and human. But what will happen after war? Will he realize then how it all started? Will he think about it at all? Will he conclude, perhaps, that something was wrong with the way things were handled, not only in his town but all over the world?

Will he be able to see that in the oppressed millions of India is another source for world conflict? Can he discern the seeds for a future clash in discrimination towards the Chinese? Can he feel the tom-toms of a new war in the mistreatment of natives in Africa or Asia? Will the American doughboy realize that all this DOES concern him, his future, and his family's future?

When he finally understands, will he be ready to DO something about it? Has he the confidence in his ability to change the current of world affairs? On the answer to these questions depend the chances that Tom Smith's kid brother or nephew or child will end his life, too, on foreign soil, far from home and those who "miss him so much" . . . with only a crumpled piece of paper to serve as a last, comforting goodbye from home.

# The First Great Realistic Step Has Been Taken

## To Forestall the Plan of the Nazis to Exterminate all the Jews and Other Persecuted Minorities in Europe

President Roosevelt has answered the call of millions of defenseless men, women and children. The voice of an aroused public has been heard. The long and arduous campaign of the Emergency Committee to stimulate specific governmental action to save the Jewish people of Europe has received full justification.

The President has appointed a special War Refugee Board to deal with, we quote, "this difficult and important task." The members of his Cabinet who deal with diplomatic, economic and military matters—Secretaries Hull, Morgenthau and Stimson—have been appointed to this Board. The composition of the Board emphasizes the extreme importance that the President attaches to its work. A special, full-time administrator will be appointed for the tremendous job. This job is defined by the President in unequivocal terms:

"To create a commission of diplomatic, economic and military experts to formulate and effectuate a plan of immediate action, designed to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe from extinction at the hands of Nazi Germany."

This is the beginning of action which Americans of every creed and in all walks of life have long urged. This official governmental agency, created for a specific approach to one of modern civilization's gravest problems, has within it the seed of magnificent accomplishment. At long last, we have begun the battle against massacre. It is with a sense of deepest pride that we hail

this leadership of the United States, the world's greatest democracy.

While we rejoice in this forward step which our President has taken, we hope that the Board will not lose sight of the specific problem at hand, and will employ every necessary measure to make it clear to the godless Nazis and their satellites that this government is determined, as the President pointed out, "to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate the Jews."

We believe that the name of the new Board does not do justice to the broad scope of its assignment. The object of the Board as already clearly defined in the President's order is to save the doomed people of Europe by changing their status to refugees.

However, since the task and jurisdiction has been clearly defined its name becomes a matter of secondary importance.

"It was urgent that action be taken at once to forestall the plan of the Nazis to exterminate all the Jews and other minorities of Europe."

The appointment of the Secretaries of State, Treasury and War to membership on the War Refugee Board, cor-

## It Is Still a Race Against Death—No Time Must Be Lost

Right now, every day and every hour, the Nazis are killing countless human beings only because they are Jews. Now the time for action is here. There is no time to lose.

A complete plan of rescue, evolved by the Emergency Conference last July, is in the hands of the responsible officials of our government. This plan is a product of experts who have extensively devoted their time and their experience to it. If it helps to save a month, a week, a day—it will have served a great purpose.

Here are only a few steps that are vital and can be put into effect without delay:

## Our Program for Immediate Action!

- To seek guarantees from the Axis-satellite countries through the International Red Cross, neutral countries, or the Vatican, to insure Jews the same treatment given to other nationals.
- To relieve the starvation and disease which are decimating the Jewish people in Axis-held territory.
- To insist that the Axis-satellite countries, which seek to gain the good will of the victorious Allies, withhold their Jews from Hitler's slaughter-houses and permit them to leave their borders.
- To urge neutral countries—Sweden, Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey—to grant the Jewish people temporary asylum.
- To request neutral countries to grant transit facilities to all Jewish people passing from Axis-controlled lands to any United Nations territory, regardless of whether the persons involved be refugees, immigrants, or repatriates.
- To obtain from the Governments of the United Nations temporary asylum for these refugees will be removed from their territories if they are not wanted.
- To insist that Great Britain, pending this tragic emergency, open the doors of Palestine, where 600,000 Jews have expressed their desire to share their homes and food with their suffering brothers, thus putting an end to the discriminatory immigration laws that exclude only Jews from their own country.

## WON'T YOU HELP?

We operate solely through voluntary contributions. By your support will be determined the speed, scope and effectiveness of our fight to save the Jewish people of Europe.

(By a ruling of the Treasury Department, contributions to this Committee are tax exempt!)

Please make checks payable to Mrs. JOHN GUNTHER, Treasurer

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE TO SAVE THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF EUROPE  
1 East 44th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

I enclose my contribution to enable you to carry out your tremendous task in the sum of .....

Name .....

Address .....

## Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe

ONE EAST FORTY-FOURTH STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 2-7257

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All accounts of this Committee are audited by the firm of Louis J. Yampolsky, C. P. A.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER-OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE  
February 21, 1944

TO Mr. DuBois  
FROM J. W. Pehle

May I have your views on this promptly. It seems to me we are not in a position to make any of the statements made therein and that the statement could be shortened considerably.

JWP

100540

STATEMENT OF JOHN W. PENHE FOR "THE ANSWER"

714  
Jan 1944

As Acting Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, I am aware that we face perhaps the greatest humanitarian task of all time. I am aware of the urgency of that task. We must thwart the Nazi program swiftly and decisively.

The problems before us are complex and difficult. Facilities must be arranged for evacuation. Means of transportation must be found. Havens of refuge must be opened up. Help must somehow be given to those who cannot escape.

We have no blueprints to guide us. We have no precedents to show us the way. There are no panaceas, no pat formulas to meet these problems. But we are meeting them and I am confident that the results will be inspiring, when they can be told.

We are encouraging the movement of Jews from German-occupied and satellite countries. We are negotiating with neutral countries to absorb refugees on either a temporary or permanent basis. We are working to establish havens of refuge in territories under United Nations control. We are waging psychological warfare to influence the governments of satellite countries to stop the persecution of Jews and to stop their deportation to Germany. And we are bringing home to the honchos of the Axis our country's firm determination to punish the guilty when the day of reckoning comes. To implement the Board's program of action special attaches with diplomatic status are now being stationed in places where aid can be given to those who have thus far escaped with their lives. We are cooperating and we will cooperate with any private agency which can help us in carrying out our gargantuan task.

- 2 -

Ours is a life-saving expedition. There is no time to spare.  
We must succeed.

100542

DRAFT L.S. Lesser 2/21/44

PROPOSED PERSONAL STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

The job of the War Refugee Board, to use the words of the Executive Order creating it, is to carry out the policy of the United States "to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." More specifically, the Board is charged with "the development of plans and programs and the inauguration of effective measures for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims." The task ~~is~~ bristles with problems many of which, I am sure, are familiar to any reader of The Answer.

There is, at the outset, the problem of opening wider -- and keeping wide open -- the principal means of exit from Hitler's Europe, the borders of the contiguous neutral countries. This problem is itself a composite of a number of other problems, both economic and political. Thus, it cannot be expected that the contiguous neutrals will keep their borders open and, what is equally important, advertise the fact, unless this Government can be persuasive enough to offset counter-pressures of the enemy. Nor can the contiguous neutrals be expected to encourage a large-scale influx of refugees by announcing the fact that their borders are open, if to do so will mean that they will have to bear alone the burden of feeding, clothing and housing such refugees from their own meagre supplies.

Thus are raised two basic problems confronting the Board: the maintenance of refugees and the creation of havens of temporary refuge. Maintenance in the European neutral countries is often more than a question of remitting funds. Food, clothing and housing are scarce in countries whose economies have been put askew by war and blockade: they have hardly enough to meet their own ordinary needs. Consequently, the solution of this problem may involve supplying the contiguous neutrals with additional commodities to meet the needs of those to whom they give refuge. With our own resources strained to the utmost to meet our own war needs and those of our embattled allies, the problem of maintenance may become acute. But, even before the problem of securing supplies becomes acute, the problem of securing shipping space will arise and, perhaps, even before that, problems created by our own blockade policy may come into play.

Perhaps the best way of solving these problems would be to create havens of temporary refuge on United Nations soil to which all refugees reaching free territory would be taken pending their return to their homelands or resettlement elsewhere. This would relieve the contiguous neutrals of any real burden and avoid, for the most part, any conflict with our blockade policy. On the other hand, any such program would itself raise many problems.

In the first place, there would be the problem of transportation. Any haven of refuge on United Nations territory would, of course, have to be either across the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. Thus, immediately

the problem of securing the needed shipping would arise. Secondly, any such program, if it is to be effective, might involve the use of coercion in removing refugees from the contiguous neutrals to the havens provided. To adopt such a course would, it goes without saying, involve overcoming many psychological hurdles -- and some problems, such as who would do the coercing in, let us say, such countries as Spain and Turkey, that would be rather delicate politically. In any event, as things now stand, no such program would help in the case of Switzerland, from which there is no egress except through territories held by the enemy.

I have not, of course, dealt fully with the problems confronting the Board, nor, indeed, with the problems I have mentioned. Thus, I have not even touched on one of the most important problems before the Board, that is, the determination of what action can best be taken to secure the cooperation within Hitler's Europe that is necessarily incident to the success of any program of rescue. Nor have I mentioned the obstacles in the way of bringing relief to those who cannot escape or to whom escape is not yet feasible.

I have attempted, however, to outline those problems of the Board which may not at first blush be apparent. If I have made these problems sound insuperable, I did not intend to do so. I do not believe they are insuperable and I have every hope that they will soon be solved, if not in theory, certainly for the practical purposes of the Board.

DRAFT L.S. Lesser 2/21/44

PROPOSED PERSONAL STATEMENT ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE WAR REFUGEE BOARD

The job of the War Refugee Board, to use the words of the Executive Order creating it, is to carry out the policy of the United States "to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." More specifically, the Board is charged with "the development of plans and programs and the inauguration of effective measures for (a) the rescue, transportation, maintenance and relief of the victims of enemy oppression and (b) the establishment of havens of temporary refuge for such victims." The task just bristles with problems many of which, I am sure, are familiar to any reader of The Answer.

There is, at the outset, the problem of opening wider — and keeping wide open — the principal means of exit from Hitler's Europe, the borders of the contiguous neutral countries. This problem is itself a composite of a number of other problems, both economic and political. Thus, it cannot be expected that the contiguous neutrals will keep their borders open and, what is equally important, advertise the fact, unless this Government can be persuasive enough to offset counter-pressures of the enemy. Nor can the contiguous neutrals be expected to encourage a large-scale influx of refugees by announcing the fact that their borders are open, if to do so will mean that they will have to bear alone the burden of feeding, clothing and housing such refugees from their own meagre supplies.

Thus are raised two basic problems confronting the Board: the maintenance of refugees and the creation of havens of temporary refuge. Maintenance in the European neutral countries is often more than a question of remitting funds. Food, clothing and housing are scarce in countries whose economies have been put askew by war and blockade; they have hardly enough to meet their own ordinary needs. Consequently, the solution of this problem may involve supplying the contiguous neutrals with additional commodities to meet the needs of those to whom they give refuge. With our own resources strained to the utmost to meet our own war needs and those of our embattled allies, the problem of maintenance may become acute. But, even before the problem of securing supplies becomes acute, the problem of securing shipping space will arise and, perhaps, even before that, problems created by our own blockade policy may come into play.

Perhaps the best way of solving these problems would be to create havens of temporary refuge on United Nations soil to which all refugees reaching free territory would be taken pending their return to their homelands or resettlement elsewhere. This would relieve the contiguous neutrals of any real burden and avoid, for the most part, any conflict with our blockade policy. On the other hand, any such program would itself raise many problems.

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CC: Messrs. Pehle, Luxford, DuBois and Friedman and Miss Hodel  
LSLesser:als 2/21/44

February 16, 1944

Mr. S. Merlin, Editor,  
THE ANSWER,  
1 East 44th Street,  
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Merlin:

Your letter of February 15, addressed to Mr. Pehle, Executive Director of the War Refugee Board, has been referred to my office for reply.

In response thereto please know I shall be happy to furnish you with the information you requested. Photographs of Mr. Pehle, as well as his biographical sketch, are available immediately, but a list of other personnel with biographies, together with a statement on the problems facing the Board, might take a short time to assemble.

Please know that Mr. Pehle appreciates deeply your interest in the Board, and is grateful for your expressed willingness to cooperate in putting the job across.

Yours very truly,

Chas. P. Shaeffer,  
Director of Public Relations.

CPS:mb

# THE ANSWER

A NON-SECTARIAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF  
THE HEBREW PEOPLE IN EUROPE AND PALESTINE

A BI-WEEKLY MAGAZINE

ONE EAST 44th STREET

MURRAY HILL 2-7237

NEW YORK CITY

15th of February  
1944

Mr. John W. Pehle, Executive Director  
War Refugee Board  
Treasury Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Pehle:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Answer magazine will dedicate its next issue to the War Refugee Board; its members, its activities and plans and particularly its Executive Director. I am, therefore, taking the liberty of requesting the following information and material.

1. As many photographs of yourself as possible. (One of these will be used for the magazine cover.)
2. As much biographical material of yourself that you can let us have.
3. A list of your present personnel with short biographic material.
4. A personal statement to the Answer magazine on the problems of the War Refugee Board.

The Answer magazine, a bi-weekly, is dedicated mainly to the problems of rescuing the Jews of Europe. It is a non-sectarian and non-partisan magazine in its approach and has many well-known writers as its contributors.

I am sure that if it is at all possible we will have your cooperation in carrying out our plan to devote the next issue of the Answer to the War Refugee Board and its Executive Director.

Cordially yours,

*S. Merlin*  
S. Merlin  
Editor

S. MERLIN  
Editor

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