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*PREFACE*

In late June, 1946 I arrived in Warsaw by plane and saw immediately, both on the then primitively equipped "airfield" and later in the city itself, the destruction caused by the war which overwhelmed and shocked the viewer. A year had already passed since the end of the war, but the streets of Warsaw were still lined with the skeletons of burned-out buildings or were partly buried under piles of bricks from ruined houses.

I spent three months in Poland on that occasion, till the end of September, as the representative of the "Morning Freiheit." Most of this time I was in Warsaw where I participated in the meetings and the plenary sessions of the then Central Committee of Jews in Poland. I regularly attended the consultations for foreign correspondents at the press division of the Foreign Ministry. I interviewed the then Premier Osobka-Morawski and other government officials. I also followed the struggle which the leaders and supporters of the new Poland were waging against the forces allied with the pro-Western Vice-Premier Mikolajczyk and the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

On July 4, 1946 a brutal pogrom against Jews had taken place in the city of Kielce. Four days later I attended the funeral of the 42 victims. I was also present at the trial of the ringleaders of this pogrom on July 9 and 10.

This was a time when People's Poland was engaged in a sanguinary struggle with the remnants of the former, reactionary Poland. These included armed gangs operating in the forests, supporters of the exile government in London, followers of Mikolajczyk who had his own party and press and enjoyed the patronage of the Church. Shortly after my arrival in Poland a national referendum was held in which the new left-wing government polled 67% of the votes; more than 30% of the votes in this election were cast for the supporters of the old regime.

This was also a time of upheaval and agitation among the Jewish people in Poland. The Jewish Socialist activists had determined to rebuild the Jewish community in Poland, but they were at the same time forced to conduct a campaign against the Zionists who urged the Jews to leave Poland altogether, even if this meant going to the Displaced Persons camps in Germany which could then be reached with relative ease.

I addressed together with other speakers large meetings in Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow, Lublin, Szececin, Katowice, as well as Wroclaw and other points in Lower Silesia. At these meetings I polemized against the Zionist slogan of "Exodus from Poland" and advocated that the Jewish community be rebuilt in Poland again. My articles and telegrams in the "Morning Freiheit" in that period (which were reprinted in the progressive Yiddish newspapers in other countries), had as their theme the struggle against the concept of the exodus from Poland and were devoted to the defense of the new Polish People's government. (Many of these articles were included in my Yiddish book, "Europe Between War and Peace," New York, 1947, 416 pages.)

The "Morning Freiheit" has consistently supported People's Poland since its establishment in 1944 in Lublin. It can be said that the "Morning Freiheit" was literally one of the very few newspapers in the United States which conducted such a campaign in its behalf. My own contacts with Poland were continually maintained through the Yiddish newspaper in Warsaw, "Folks-Shtimme" of which I was one of the founders in the summer of 1946. I also kept in touch with the active members of the various Jewish cultural institutions. In the fall of 1958 and in the spring of 1959, as well as in January, 1965 I visited Poland as a guest of these institutions.

May it be added here that as one who was born in Brest (Brisk) I knew Poland even before the First World War. I was in Warsaw in 1907 and 1911 before my departure for the United States. I returned to Europe in 1917 and two years later, in April 1919, witnessed the horrible pogrom in Vilna against the Jews which the Polish Legionnaires of Gen Pilsudski and the soldiers under the command of Gen. Haller carried out. 56 Jews were killed and hundreds were wounded in the pogrom in Vilna in April 1919.

I also had my "experiences" with the chauvinist Polish authorities while working as the associate editor of "Der Tog" ("The Day") in Wilno. A few months later, in the summer of 1920, I served as news editor of the "Folks-Zeitung" in Warsaw. I returned to the United States in October, 1920. I visited Poland again in 1929, 1932 and 1936. In 1933 I published a pamphlet in New York on the situation of the Jewish people in Poland. I was thus well acquainted with the old, pre-war chauvinist Poland -

with its large anti-Semitic party of People's Democrats (Endeks), with the regimes of Pilsudski and the reactionary colonels.

#### THE NEW POLAND AND ITS NEW ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE JEWISH PEOPLE

In the efforts of the "Morning Freiheit" to support People's Poland and to ward off all attacks against it in the hostile press, we, the friends of People's Poland, were heartened by the exceptional solicitude which this new government demonstrated toward the small Jewish community in its country. In recent years this community numbered some 25-30 thousand people, a mere remnant of the pre-war Jewish population of about three and a half million whom the nazis destroyed. The attentiveness of the Polish People's government to the Jewish institutions in Poland was exemplary and often most touching. The Yiddish newspaper, "Folks-Shtimme," the monthly literary magazine, "Yiddishe Shriften," the book publishing house, "Yiddish Buch," the government-sponsored Jewish children's schools, the Jewish State Theatre, the Jewish Historical Institute--all these institutions benefitted from the government's generous support. The Social and Cultural Association of the Jews in Poland had active divisions in 26 cities. These were clubs with varied cultural and social functions, with youth sections, youth choruses and music ensembles. A number of cooperative enterprises operated with the help of the American aid organizations, ORT, and were connected with the Association. All of these social and cultural institutions were our pride and joy.

Many honest, principled opponents of Socialism were impressed by the concern of the new Polish government for these institutions and by these institutions themselves. When, for example, the Jewish State Theatre of Warsaw, directed by Ida Kaminska, performed in New York City in the months of October, November, December, 1967, the Jewish public, with only negligible exceptions, welcomed this Theatre with open arms. People's Poland gained considerable prestige from this Theatre's visit to the United States.

The attitude of the Polish People's government toward the Polish Jewish community and its institutions was an advantage to us, supporters of Socialism, in our defense of People's Poland and of Socialism generally. This attitude also assisted us in developing our concept of the role of the national minority in a Socialist society. We were enabled to point to Poland as one of the brightest examples of how a Socialist society can solve the Jewish question, fight anti-Semitism and assist in the building of Jewish culture. In 1946, after the abovementioned pogrom in Kielce, I saw for myself how the new People's government took up the cudgels against anti-Semitism and anti-Semites. This campaign against anti-Semitism continued for many years.

#### THE CHANGED SITUATION IN POLAND

How great is our distress now at the events which have recently transpired in Poland!

It was with anguish that I wrote these articles for the

"Morning Freiheit" offered here in a condensed form. They cover a period of about six months, beginning in April, 1968, the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the heroic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

For many years delegations from Jewish communities of many countries, including the United States, attended these ghetto commemorations in Warsaw. However, for the 25th Anniversary there were, with only insignificant exceptions, no foreign delegations present. The Jewish progressive organizations in New York City contacted the Polish Embassy in Washington, D.C. in March, 1968 in the hopes of sending such a delegation to Warsaw again. No visas for this delegation arrived from Poland.

The attitude of the Polish government towards Jews, towards the Jews in Poland and Jews abroad who wished to visit Poland, had abruptly changed since the war in the Middle East in June, 1967. It was in that month that Wladyslaw Gomulka, the First Secretary of the ruling Polish United Worker's Party, delivered a harsh address on television before millions of viewers in which he attacked an alleged "fifth column" in the country. However one may interpret his statement, it was understood by the Polish population and by the Jews themselves that he, indeed, meant the Jews. The anti-Semitic elements in Poland clearly interpreted it in this sense.

These two words - "fifth column" - were deleted from the officially published text of the Gomulka speech. Apparently, the Gomulka leadership realized that a serious mistake was committed. Unfortunately, the damage was done. Nevertheless, after this brief burst the situation, more or less, calmed down. The Social and Cultural Association of the Jews in Poland continued its activities; the Jewish State Theatre, as mentioned above, went ahead with its triumphant tour to New York in October, 1967.

However, in March, 1968, in connection with the student demonstrations, and more particularly, because of the struggle for power within the Party, a campaign against "Zionism" was launched which was from the start turned into an anti-Jewish campaign. It was later recognized as such, or, as at least containing such overtones, by prominent Party leaders at the July, 1968 session of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party.

This struggle against "Zionism," this anti-Semitism, in other words, was utilized by the then Minister of the Interior, Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, and his followers, against Wladyslaw Gomulka and his supporters. We refer later in this pamphlet to the "achievements" of Gen. Moczar and his crowd. The role of the Gomulka leadership has not been sufficiently delineated here. For the sake of accuracy it must be said that the Gomulka camp did not refuse to take advantage of methods which bordered on anti-Semitism in order, apparently, to win their struggle against the Moczar faction.

That this actually occurred is evident, among other things, in the essay written by the Party's cultural chief, Andrzej Werblan, a Gomulka man, which developed the "theory" that many of the present troubles in Poland derive from the unduly large membership of Jews which the pre-war Polish Communist Party enrolled!

In addition, Gomulka, in his extensive speech of March 19, 1968 wherein he discussed the student unrest in Poland, especially singled out Jewish students as such when listing the leaders of these demonstrations. ("On March 3, over a dozen people gathered together in Jacek Kuron's flat. They were mostly students of Jewish origin known for their revisionist actions and opinions.... Comrades, an active part in the events that have taken place was played by a part of the student youth that are of Jewish origin." Source of quotations, "Information Bulletin" of the "World Marxist Review," No. 9, 1968, pages 34 and 45.)

In this address Gomulka divided the Polish Jews, the 25 to 30 thousand of them, into three categories:

1) The Jewish "nationalists" (Zionists) who were invited to leave Poland.

2) The Cosmopolitans, a category which should "avoid fields of work where national consciousness is essential," meaning, of course, Polish national consciousness. By insisting on Polish "national consciousness" as the determining factor he publicly assumed a nationalist position, excluding thereby individuals of the minority groups from any responsible administrative posts.

3) The "most numerous group" of Jews, who, he conceded, are loyal to Poland.

This division of the Jewish population in Poland objectively came to serve as the justification for anti-Semitic discrimination on the part of some government and Party officials. Their alibi now was that such discrimination was only directed against "Jewish nationalists" and "cosmopolitans"!

Five months later, at the July plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, a number of important leaders, beginning with the most influential leader after Gomulka, Zenon Kliszko, recognized that the anti-"Zionist" and anti-"cosmopolitan" campaign had really turned into a campaign against Jews generally. Gomulka himself admitted that the drive against "Zionism" "generates among the Polish people a certain inimical attitude towards Jews in general."

#### THE TRAGIC REPERCUSSIONS OF THE ANTI-"ZIONIST" DRIVE

The results of this campaign were most tragic and shattering for the Jews of Poland. A great many of them relatively were excluded from government posts and from positions in the universities, in scientific and cultural institutions, in factories and in trade organizations. Many Jewish members were expelled from the Party.

For many Jews the only alternative to this situation became emigration from Poland. Others chose this alternative because of the anti-Semitic atmosphere which had been created in the country. At the end of 1968 the number of Jewish emigrants from Poland was estimated at some three thousand and the number of those who applied to emigrate was much larger.

The Jewish community and its institutions have been severely undermined. The newspaper, "Folks-Shtimme" which had appeared four times per week was reduced to a weekly last September. The literary monthly, "Yiddishe Shriften," was closed down. The Jewish children's camp (or camps) ceased to exist in the summer of 1968. The institutions which were not closed down

outright or whose functions were curbed are simply expiring or have gone under in the atmosphere poisoned by anti-Semitism, or are disappearing because of the emigration from Poland.

The government sponsored Jewish children's schools have all but ceased to exist. One no longer hears of the publishing house, "Yiddish Buch." The cooperatives have become much weaker, having lost many Jewish members. The Jewish State Theatre is still in existence at this writing, but, regrettably, its continued activity is doubtful.

The Presidium of the Social and Cultural Association of the Jews of Poland had ceased to exist; some of its members left the country, others were expelled from the Party or generally "got lost" and have not been heard from. In the now weekly "Folks-Shtimme" one no longer sees the names of almost all the former staff members of that paper. What is even more disturbing is that one hardly sees any signs of activity of the clubs of the Association.

The anti-"Zionist" campaign has thus fatally affected the already tiny Jewish community in Poland. Who knows whether we are not actually witnessing the end of the organized and active Jewish community there, even if a number of Jews, older people on pension or others, will remain in Poland?

Facing us now is the tragedy of the Jewish community in Poland, a tragedy for the Jewish people, a tragedy for People's Poland itself and the personal tragedy for each one of the thousands who had resolved to remain in Poland after all the previous wanderings and must now, at an advanced age, once again take up the wandering staff. Among these are revolutionary fighters with decades of service in the Polish Marxist movement, veterans who saw military service in the anti-fascist struggle in Spain or with the partisan forces in Poland during the Second World War, "graduates" of Auschwitz and other Nazi death camps, foreign revolutionaries who went to Poland after the war so as to help build Socialism. After more than twenty years of life and labor in People's Poland they are now forced to emigrate again.

Those who have registered, or are now applying to leave Poland must sign statements which declare that they relinquish their Polish citizenship and, thus, leave the country of their birth as stateless individuals. Exit permits are allowed for Israel only and requests to leave for countries other than Israel are denied. So it is that those who started a campaign to undercut what they assumed was "Zionism" have by their own efforts given support to the Zionist viewpoint that Jews can have a real home only in Israel.

Reports in January, 1969 announced that the Gomulka leadership began to remove individual anti-Semites who served Gen. Moczar, such as Tadeusz Walichnowski, Kazimierz Kakol and others. However, what is needed in Poland now is the public denunciation of the anti-"Zionist" (anti-Semitic) books which Walichnowski authored and which government agencies printed and distributed. A broad campaign must be undertaken in Poland against anti-Semitism. Such public campaign against anti-Semitism and anti-Semites by means of persuasion and administrative methods would have great significance for Poland, for the Socialist world, for the supporters of Socialism in the capitalist countries and for the international Marxist movement.

The problem of the Jewish community in Poland is an ex-

tremely serious one. Even if Poland should now, as it did a thousand years ago, invite the Jews to its country, urge the Jewish builders of Socialism to return, this would assuredly be a most important gesture, but even this would hardly restore again that community which drew the thread of one thousand years of life and creativity in Poland, a life and creativity which an anti-Semitic upheaval had all but snapped.

Besides the many-sided tragedy which this represents, a tragedy which undoubtedly will be recorded in Jewish history, this is also a tragedy for Socialism and for the world Socialist movement. What transpired in Poland in 1968 and continued into 1969 is certainly a problem for the Jewish advocates of Socialism who defended People's Poland all these years.

When in the Soviet Union in 1956 the evils of the Stalin-Beria period were brought to light, this was done in the best interests of the Soviet Union itself and of Socialism, so as to remove the stains which violations and crimes had forced upon them.

It is necessary to react in the same way now to the violations which have occurred in Poland in the recent period. These are already known to the general public and we have direct evidence of them from numerous persons who were forced to leave Poland, among them tried and tested revolutionaries, builders of the Jewish community in Poland who remain faithful to their Socialist convictions.

Socialism is not responsible for what happened in Poland! The blame for that is the anti-Semitic heritage of the pre-war chauvinist and capitalist Poland which reappeared in 1968 and must be eradicated. It must be persistently affirmed that Socialism and anti-Semitism do not mix. True Socialism must exclude and proscribe anti-Semitism and all forms of racism.

The supporters of Socialism among the Jewish people who fought for so many years against capitalism and its evils will not yield their belief in Socialism. Socialism, the Socialism of Lenin which decisively fought anti-Semitism, remains the solution.

Paul Novick  
New York, February, 1969

## HOW PEOPLE'S POLAND DISARMED ITS ENEMIES HERE IN THE PAST

Over the years progressive Jews have arranged memorial meetings every April to honor the heroes of the uprising of the Warsaw Ghetto against the German Nazis in April 1943.

In New York City these annual meetings were usually graced by the presence of the ambassador of People's Poland. Needless to say, the audience deeply appreciated this act of solidarity. The Polish ambassador and the members of his staff would join in saluting the memory of the Warsaw Ghetto heroes. The ambassador would then describe how the People's government of his country aided the Jewish communal and cultural institutions and their activities, while it conducted a struggle against the heritage of anti-Semitism.

His absence at the Memorial meeting of April, 1968 underscored the deep hurt which the events in Poland have caused its friends in the American Jewish community, the very ones who so gladly welcomed his message in the past.

There are elements in the American Jewish community who have always opposed the presence of representatives of People's Poland at Warsaw Ghetto Memorial meetings. These opponents of socialist Poland have not been too deeply hurt by what has recently taken place in that country, though they are by no means indifferent to the present fate of the Polish Jewish community. Among these opponents of People's Poland, opponents since the end of the war, in fact, there are undoubtedly those who are now triumphant: their opposition of many years standing has been justified in their view!

In Poland, in the unhealthy situation which has unfolded since March 1968 there is a continuing clamor in the press that the Jewish bourgeoisie and Zionism are promoting a campaign of defamation against People's Poland. This is putting the cart before the horse.

People's Poland has always had its enemies, but in the past these enemies had no opportunity to unleash any credible propaganda against the Socialist regime in Poland. On the contrary they were constantly disarmed by the news from People's Poland. Here was a regime which showed real solicitude for its Jewish population and generously assisted the Jewish communal and cultural institutions. Broad masses of the Jewish people, including even ideological opponents, welcomed this positive trend.

A good example of this attitude was provided during the visit to New York City of the Warsaw Yiddish State Theatre headed by Ida Kaminska in October-December, 1967. Certain elements among the opponents attempted a boycott of the Theatre, but they were simply overwhelmed by the waves of friendship

which this visit aroused. It was a triumph for the Jewish friends of People's Poland, and the land of Socialism gained much honor for itself with this visit.

For those who are not only the friends of People's Poland, but also supporters of Socialism, this was a dual victory. The attitude of the Polish government not only strengthened this friendship, but also demonstrated how Socialism solves the Jewish question, builds the Yiddish people's culture and struggles against anti-Semitism.

We rejoiced at the performances of the Yiddish State Theatre and at our meetings with Ida Kaminska and her troupe as we had rejoiced in April-May 1966 at the visit here of Hersh Smoliar, one of the veteran leaders and spokesmen of the Jewish community in Poland, the editor-in-chief for many years of the Yiddish newspaper in Warsaw, Die Folkshtimme. His speeches at the Ghetto commemorations and at other gatherings all over the country on the subject of People's Poland, its Socialist construction and the attitude of the People's government to the Jewish community strengthened the American friends of Poland and the supporters of Socialism.

#### DEFAMING POLAND'S JEWISH LEADERS

The news from Warsaw some months ago that Hersh Smoliar had been dismissed from his position as editor of the "Folkshtimme" stunned Jewish progressives all over the world.

Hersh Smoliar is a life-long revolutionary fighter; he was imprisoned by the pre-war Pilsudsky regime; he achieved great renown as a partisan and as a partisan commander during the war against Hitlerism and he was awarded many honors for his services. Since the establishment of People's Poland he has been a loyal fighter for and builder of Socialism in Poland.

Now he, together with many others, has been hit by the "anti-Zionist" hysteria in Poland.

Hersh Smoliar, Leopold Domb, David Sfar, Michal Mirski and the other veteran leaders of the Jewish community in Poland have all been consistent opponents of Zionist ideology. Their position was clearly reflected in the "Folkshtimme" and at the sessions of the World Jewish Congress that they attended. They opposed Israel's acceptance of financial reparations from West Germany and they were openly critical of many aspects of the foreign and domestic policies of the Israeli government.

To charge such men and others like them with "Zionism" and to persist in calling "Zionism" a deadly danger to Poland can only arouse the uneasy suspicion that Polish reactionaries are making these charges as part of their attempt to undermine the People's government.

#### ZIONISM BENEFITS FROM THE POLISH "ANTI-ZIONIST" CAMPAIGN

The fact is that Zionism has benefited enormously from the "anti-Zionist" campaign in Poland since it began in March, 1968. By the term Zionism we do not mean the sentimental attachment toward Israel of Jews throughout the world who

rightly regard their own land of birth or adopted land as home. This is certainly true of the majority of American Jews. The average Jew is loyal to the country in which he lives, loyal as a fully equal citizen. His sentimental attachment and friendship toward Israel does not create any problems of "dual allegiance" as is claimed by anti-Semites. Just as the friendship of Polish-Americans for Poland does not brand them with "dual allegiance."

The Zionist beneficiary that we have in mind here is political Zionism which propagates the "ingathering" of all Jews in Israel. It is this Zionism which is jubilant now. See, its adherents now taunt, there really is no place for Jews in any country, including the Socialist countries! Jews must therefore emigrate to Israel, they proclaim now with greater insistence.

The "anti-Zionist" hysteria in Poland thus renders the greatest assistance to political Zionism. The Zionist movement, which is now undergoing a deep crisis, could hardly acquire such effective propagandists of its point of view through its own efforts as it now has suddenly found in Gen. Mieczyslaw Moczar, in Andrzej Werblan and their followers who have been promoting the senseless hysteria against the non-existent threat of "Zionism" in Poland.

No one should be fooled by this hysteria. What is involved here is anti-Semitism and it is being utilized as a weapon by those who are the real threat to Socialism in Poland.

#### THE HISTORY OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLAND

Poland, as is known, was before the Second World War a "classic" country of anti-Semitism. A raging campaign of anti-Semitism was promoted by nationalist forces such as the huge party of "National Democrats," (the Endeks) even prior to the First World War. After that war the followers of the right-wing Gen. Haller, together with the Pilsudsky-led Legionaires perpetrated bloody pogroms in Pinsk, Vilna and other cities; they would forcibly cut the beards of Jews and torment the Jewish population in various ways. Later came the pogroms in Brzesc, Prszytyk and many other centers. The "cold" pogrom to deprive the Jews of their employment and livelihood went on continually. In the universities the few Jewish students were forced to sit on "ghetto benches" and they were frequently assaulted.

During the Second World War the Polish government-in-exile in London was heavily infected with anti-Semitism. This was particularly true of the underground army in nazi-occupied Poland, the Home Army, that was directed from London and which refused, with some exceptions, to provide arms to the Ghetto fighters and the Jewish partisans (this will be described later on in this pamphlet). In the intrigues of Gen. Moczar, who until recently occupied the position of Minister of the Interior, the veterans of the Home Army are definitely involved.

Moczar is also the head of the Veteran's organization, Zbovid, and the former service men of the Home Army have been admitted to its membership on the grounds that they are loyal Polish citizens, "loyal" even to Socialism! This blind nationalist attitude of sanctioning all the Home Army veterans poses a serious danger. This is especially true when there now appears among the principal detractors of the Jews none other

than Boleslaw Piasecki who before the war was the leader of the fanatically anti-Semitic, fascistic Falanga organization.

Anti-Semitism was a danger to People's Poland from the very beginning. In the early years, 1945-47, People's Poland had to contend with the reactionary, anti-Semitic armed gangs who operated in the forests. These gangs were responsible for the bloody pogrom in the city of Kielce on July 4, 1946. As it happened, I was visiting in Poland at the time and attended the funeral of the victims of this pogrom on July 8 and the following day I witnessed the trial of these pogromists in that city. In my Yiddish book, "Europe Between War and Peace", published in 1947, I gave a detailed description of the Kielce pogrom, the trial of the pogromists, the role of the right-wing, vice-premier of Poland, Mikolajczyk, a protege of the U.S. State Department, and the anti-Semitic followers of the Polish nationalist, Gen. Anders.

Anti-Semitism is the enemy of Socialism everywhere. Remnants of anti-Semitism, as well as other survivals of capitalism will long continue to be a problem in all the Socialist countries. In Poland this is a special problem. This is why the government of People's Poland from its very inception undertook an unyielding struggle against anti-Semitism. Thousands of anti-Jewish bandits were routed from their forest bases and in this effort the new regime lost many of its forces, including the hero of the Spanish Civil War, Gen. Swierczewski (Walter).

However, a few years ago openings were made for the anti-Semites by the gradual sanctioning of all Home Army veterans. Gen. Moczar built a fortress for himself with their aid in the huge veteran's organization, Zbovid, and in the Ministry of the Interior which he headed until recently when he became one of the secretaries of the Party.

All the assurances by the Moczars that they are supposedly against anti-Semitism are worth little when the axe has fallen so heavily on Jews who have been ousted from most government positions, from the universities and the Polish United Worker's Party.

It is in the vital interests of People's Poland and of Socialism that this unjustified incitement be ended immediately. Wladyslaw Gomulka was correct when he stated in his address of March 19, 1968:

"It would be a mistake to see in Zionism a danger to Socialism in Poland, to her socio-economic system. This danger, should it ever appear, which is very unlikely, can spring from various reactionary sources in the country, sources supported from the outside by centers of international anti-Communist reaction."

Regrettably, it must be noted that the danger from "various reactionary sources in the country" is a fact. Many of the former Home Army men and the anti-Semitic Piaseckis undoubtedly have their connections abroad with the followers of such reactionaries as Gen. Bor-Komorowski, and the late Mikolajczyk and Gen. Anders.

An obvious conclusion must be that Socialist Poland should now place on its agenda a vigorous struggle against anti-Semitism whether this anti-Semitism parades in the guise of struggle

against "Zionism", "Stalinism" or "Revisionism".

#### THE RECORD OF ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLAND IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

May, 1968 marked the 25th anniversary of the suicide of Shmuel Zigelboim (Arthur), a leader of the Bund, the Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party in pre-war Poland. He ended his life in London on the night of May 11-12, 1943.

Shmuel Zigelboim had, prior to his death, served as a member of the Polish National Council, the advisory body to the Polish government-in-exile which functioned in London during the Second World War. Zigelboim represented the underground Bundist organization of nazi-occupied Poland within this Council. After he learned that the nazis had smashed the resistance in the Warsaw Ghetto and that the entire headquarter's staff, headed by Mordecai Anielewicz, committed suicide on May 8th when their bunker was discovered, Zigelboim in London ended his own life. In his last letter and testament he wrote:

"I cannot remain silent. I cannot live when the remnants of the Jewish people in Poland whom I represent are being exterminated. My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto died bearing arms in the final heroic battle. It was not given to me to die like them and together with them. But I am one of them and belong in their mass graves.

"Through my death I wish to give expression to the strongest protest against the passivity with which the world observes and permits the extermination of the Jewish people." (Translation taken from the magazine "Poland," May 1967).

The suicide of Shmuel Zigelboim was a heroic act of martyrdom, and particularly in the martyrdom of the Jewish people in the Second World War.

The progressive Jewish movement should emphasize this fact now, especially since it had almost completely ignored the suicide of Zigelboim when it occurred. This virtual indifference to his death at the time stemmed from an attitude of justified hostility to the Polish government-in-exile in which Zigelboim served as a Bundist representative and also because of a previous opposition in principle to many policies of the Bund itself.

The 25th anniversary of the death of Shmuel Zigelboim should also be noted in connection with a question that has a direct bearing on the current anti-Jewish course of a section of the leadership of the Polish United Worker's Party headed by Gen. Moczar. This is the question of the attitude of the Poles during the Second World War to the nazi annihilation of three million Polish Jews.

Is the claim of the followers of Gen. Moczar correct that the entire Polish people aided the Jews and that only a very small minority of Polish gangsters and blackmailers, the "schmalzovniks", did not? Or is there any truth to the opposite assertion heard in a number of Jewish circles that the Polish



people not only did not help the Jews, but actually participated in the destruction of the Polish Jews?

The nationalist-chauvinist followers of Gen. Moczar seek to rehabilitate every Pole, including those who refused to help the Jews during the nazi occupation or who actually had a hand in destroying Jewish lives. By rehabilitating them and palming them off in recent years as having been reliable anti-fascists and friends of the Jews, Moczar's followers are now able with their aid to persecute Jews again under cover of the hysterical drive against "Zionism" -- that awesome danger to Poland! Thanks to this rehabilitation process of turning fascists or neo-fascists into anti-fascists the Moczar faction has enormously increased its power.

Among the promoters of the current "anti-Zionist" drive in Poland one finds elements who had a vicious record toward the Jewish people during the war. Their frenzied activity today cannot but arouse the most serious anxiety for the fate of People's Poland and for the future of Socialism in Poland.

### THE NAZI DESTRUCTION OF POLISH PEOPLE

In certain right-wing Jewish circles one hears a "simplistic" explanation of the Polish attitudes to the Jewish people during the Second World War which runs somewhat as follows: Poland was prior to the war the land of "classical" anti-Semitism, of cold (economic) pogroms and hot (bloody) pogroms, the country in which anti-Semitic ideology was the stock in trade of the right-wing parties, (the National Democrats or Endeks, the National Radicals or Naras and the openly fascist Falanga); anti-Semitism prevailed among the followers of the nationalist Marshal Pilsudsky and even infected sections of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). It therefore stands to reason that when the nazis occupied Poland anti-Semitism became even more openly accepted and destructive. So goes this "simplistic" explanation.

Is this a correct explanation? An answer is provided in the literature of the Holocaust, in the recorded testimony of the Ghetto fighters and survivors and above all in the authoritative "Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto" by Emmanuel Ringelblum.

I had occasion to write on this subject 14 years ago in the magazine "Yiddishe Kultur" of New York (April, 1954 issue). My article was based on such sources as Ringelblum, Isaac Zuckerman (Antek), Tuviah Bozhikowski and others. It is my contention that the "simplistic" explanation cited above is not borne out by the facts.

It must be remembered that the nazis began to destroy Poles as well as Jews; that the Poles, odd as it may seem, were among the first victims of the nazis.

When we turn to the pages of Emmanuel Ringelblum's "Notes From the Warsaw Ghetto", we note that he made the following entry as early as March, 1941:

"During the last three days, since the 7th of March and the killing of the artist Igo Sym by the Polish underground for collaborating with the nazis, Warsaw has been going through hard times. 220 Poles have been put in prison; the greatest Polish

artists - Stempowski, Jaracz, Malicka, Prszibilko-Potocka, Prof. Michalowicz, Prof. Radlinski, Gebetner, Spiss, Pakolski - judges, lawyers, etc. They are threatened with death, if Sym's assassin doesn't give himself up. Yesterday 44 Polish women were said to have given themselves up - among them, the artist Brzezinska, who was said to have surrendered in a letter and then to have taken poison. There's a story about a similar incident in Lowicz, where the whole Polish intelligentsia was put in prison."

(Quoted from "Notes From the Ghetto," page 137, edited and translated by Jacob Sloan, New York, 1958).

### JEWES SAVED BY POLES

The nazi occupation of Poland thus had an opposite effect on large sections of the Polish society, contrary to the "simplistic" explanation noted above. Millions of Polish people came to recognize in the nazi their foremost enemy. Thus the enemy of the Jews was also their enemy!

It was for this reason that Emmanuel Ringelblum wrote in the concluding pages of his "Notes" in early 1943, on the eve of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising:

"The opinion is widespread among us that anti-Semitism has significantly increased during the war, that the majority of the Poles are pleased with the misfortunes suffered by the Jews in the cities and towns of Poland, etc. The attentive reader of our materials will find hundreds of documents which prove something of the opposite. In more than one report from a town he will read how cordially the Polish population treated the Jewish refugees. You will learn of hundreds of cases of peasants who for months hid and fed well Jewish refugees from the surrounding towns."

(Yiddish edition, page 234).

Thus we have the testimony of Emmanuel Ringelblum who was himself hidden by a Pole on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw after the Ghetto was destroyed. When Ringelblum's hideout was discovered by the nazis this Pole, Wolski, was also shot.

In October, 1967 while in Jerusalem I visited the Yad Vashem (the Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority), and I observed the honor and respect which the visitors accorded the exhibit of the "Chasidei Umoth Haolam" (the Hebrew phrase meaning "the righteous among the nations of the world"), the non-Jews who at great risk to themselves saved the lives of Jews during the holocaust. Among them were the names of many Poles.

### WHICH POLES AIDED THE NAZIS?

However, it cannot be said that there were no significant sections of the Polish people who were not pleased with the

nazi annihilation of the Jews or who did not assist the nazis. These did not, as Ringelblum himself testified, constitute a majority of the Polish people, nor were they as tiny and insignificant a minority as Gen. Moczar would have the world believe now.

In his book, "Documents and Materials," published in 1953 in Warsaw, the late Polish-Jewish historian, Prof. Ber Mark quotes from a newspaper, "Szaniec," the organ of the Polish fascist Falanga organization, which declared during the nazi occupation of Poland:

"The Jews were, are and always will be against us, always and everywhere, and if now the question arises, 'How shall Poles act toward the Jews' ... we have but one answer: 'As enemies!'"

The leader of the fascist Falanga before and during the war was Boleslaw Piasecki, the very same Piasecki who today heads a powerful Catholic laymen's organization, PAX, and who also publishes a newspaper in Warsaw, "Slowo Powszechnie" which supports Gen. Moczar's "anti-Zionist" drive to the hilt. In April, 1968 Piasecki's newspaper harshly attacked the Cultural and Social Association of the Jews of Poland, the main organization of the Polish Jewish community and the Jewish Historical Institute, both of which were headed by lifelong Communists, Anti-Zionists, for their alleged "Zionism" and lack of "Polish patriotism."

Piasecki's venom against these two organizations is quite understandable. The Jewish Historical Institute was responsible for the publication of Ber Mark's book which documented Piasecki's wartime fascist statements and activities. It is this man who now poses as a defender of Socialist Poland against a "Zionist" danger.

We have seen something of Piasecki's wartime record. What was the record of the underground which the "exile" government in London maintained throughout Poland during the war? What was the record of this government's guerrilla army, the Home Army, which appears to have been politically rehabilitated in its entirety and its former members taken into the powerful veteran's organization, Zbovid, which Gen. Moczar heads.

#### THE HOME ARMY FAILED TO HELP THE JEWISH ANTI-NAZI UNDERGROUND

Let us consider the record of the Polish government-in-exile in London during the second World War. This emigre government was, in the main, administered by the same reactionary and anti-Semitic elements who ruled Poland between the two world wars. Due to its wartime location in London it had to officially adopt a more publicly acceptable attitude to the Polish Jews. Nevertheless, the Polish government-in-exile in London and its authorized representative in Poland known as the Delegatura, both dragged their feet whenever aid to Jewish partisan fighters was requested; they never exerted themselves even when the Warsaw ghetto fighters pleaded for help and they never made any meaningful efforts to save Jewish survivors of the nazi terror. It was this

unbending policy of organized indifference to the fate of the Polish Jewish population which drove a despairing Zigelboim to suicide and later, after the war, prompted the mass migration of most Jewish survivors from Poland.

#### HOME ARMY DENIES ARMS TO GHETTO FIGHTERS

Let us cite a typical example of the manner in which the Delegatura rendered aid to the Jewish ghetto fighters just prior to the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in April, 1943.

One surviving ghetto partisan, Vladka, recorded a significant example of such "aid" and of Home Army attitudes to the Jews in her book, "On Both Sides of the Ghetto Wall", which was published in Yiddish by the Workmen's Circle in 1948 in New York.

Vladka reports that the Home Army delivered "50 revolvers and 50 grenades" and nothing more to the Warsaw Ghetto. (page 154, *ibid*)

She notes further: "In the illegal publications Jewish courage was praised and they bowed their heads to Jewish heroism. But all this was only on paper. No aid was offered in these last harrowing hours of the final Jewish struggle" in Warsaw. (page 219).

Vladka relates that in the subsequent struggles of the partisans in the forests, Jews "for the most part enlisted in the fighting formations of the PPS (Socialists) and the Communists, not only because of their Socialist or Communist convictions, but also because the units of the Home Army were infested with rabid anti-Semites. In those units Jewish freedom fighters were often persecuted by their Polish colleagues who sent them into the most dangerous areas, gave them the most difficult assignments and sometimes did away with them completely - simply shot them." (page 345).

#### THE OLD ATTITUDE OF "JEW-COMMUNIST"

Gen. Stefan Rowecki was the commander of the Home Army in this period. In the Documentary Section of Ber Mark's book, "The Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto," (Warsaw, 1963) we come across this telegram which Rowecki sent to his superiors in London:

"After all this Jews of the different Communist groups appeal to us for arms as if we possessed loaded arsenals. For the sake of experiment I gave them a few pistols. I have no certainty they will use these weapons. I will not give them any more weapons, because as you know, we don't have them ourselves. I am waiting for more to be delivered. Indicate what connection our Jews have with London." (page 200, *ibid*).

One detects in this telegram the odor of anti-Semitism and its lies are transparent. The Jewish Fighting Organization which was headed by Mordecai Anielewicz and which included all the political parties in the Warsaw ghetto is simply dismissed as "the different Communist groups", in accord with the familiar Polish anti-Semitic epithet, "Jew-Communist".

This reference to "the different Communist groups" was obviously made in order to secure the agreement of those "great friends" of the Jewish people in the London exile government to refuse arms to the ghetto fighters and partisans. Yet, the Home Army did have a considerable supply of weapons at its disposal.

Ber Mark's book shows that Mordecai Anielewicz, the youthful commander of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters, in a letter he wrote on March 13, 1943 acknowledged receipt of 49 weapons which were delivered without ammunition. Anielewicz wrote:

"The fact that we were given weapons without ammunition creates the impression of a cynical contempt for our fate and confirms our guess that the poison of anti-Semitism gnaws further into Poland's governing circles despite the cruel and tragic experiences of the last three years." (page 216, *ibid*).

#### BER MARK'S BOOK EXPOSES HOME ARMY ANTI-SEMITISM

It is most significant that in 1959 the People's government of Poland published in the Polish language Ber Mark's book on the Warsaw ghetto. To be precise, his book, "The Struggle and Death of the Warsaw Ghetto", was published by the Ministry of Defense for use in the Polish Army.

This volume which, incidentally, is another example of how the People's government once combatted anti-Semitism, sought to acquaint the population, and especially the Army personnel, with the true condition of the Jewish people during the Nazi occupation.

Other instances of anti-Semitism in the leadership of the Home Army are cited in Ber Mark's book. Here is an example of particular significance:

"In October, 1942 the Council to Aid the Jews, *Zhagota*, was organized. The situation of the Jews was very difficult because of the growing venality of the criminal elements. The units of the NSZ, (the military groups of the anti-Semitic National Democrats or *Endeks*), mercilessly killed refugees from the ghetto who escaped into the provinces... The actions of persecuting and killing Jews were supported by Polish police who served the Germans. There were many cases in which even firemen took part in ferreting out Jewish hiding places. On the streets of Warsaw various criminal types loitered about, especially in the vicinity of the ghetto, the so-called *schmalzovniks* (blackmailers), informers and bandits who robbed their Jewish victims and then turned them over to the police or the Gestapo.

"The behavior of a segment of Polish society did not coincide with the noble and humane position of the Council to Aid the Jews." (pages 165-166, *ibid*).

Ber Mark further describes the persecution of Jews during the general Warsaw Uprising against the Nazis in August, 1944. Many Jews left their hiding places to take part in the revolt. Ber Mark writes:

"The NSZ and certain security sections of the Home Army behaved in the worst manner to the Jews. In the Old City at *Długa 25*, a unit of the NSZ killed a group of 30 who had been hiding out there ... The so-called PKB (police division of the Home Army) liquidated Jews on *Zholibozh* and in the center of the city." (page 468, *ibid*).

So states a book which, we repeat, was published by the People's government of Poland in 1959!

To be sure, the entire Home Army did not consist of anti-Semites and murderers of Jews, but, there can be no doubt, a depraved minority did great damage! Ber Mark's book is evidence of that.

Why then does the Moczar faction now approve everyone who was in the Home Army? Suddenly all the negative forces of the past have disappeared and only an insignificant tiny group of *schmalzovniks*, the blackmailers, helped destroy the Jews in Poland! Suddenly the tale is trotted out that the reactionary Home Army had lavished arms on the ghetto fighters! Why is history being rewritten and falsehood presented as truth? ??

#### THE DEFAMATION OF THE RECORD OF THE GHETTO FIGHTERS

Perhaps the most shameful act of the promoters of the "anti-Zionist" campaign in Poland has been their effort to belittle the record and the achievement of the doomed Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of April, 1943.

The uprising in the Warsaw ghetto began on April 19, 1943 on the first night of the holiday *Passover*. The uprising itself was planned by the United Jewish Fighting Organization which represented a united front of all the political movements in the Warsaw ghetto. There were only about forty thousand Jews left in the ghetto then, all in an advanced state of exhaustion and hunger, and the amount of military weapons at their disposal was negligible at best. Nevertheless, the German Nazis, stunned at first by the stubbornness and resourcefulness of the Jewish resisters, were forced to divert sizeable military forces into Warsaw to smash the uprising and in the course of two months they completely reduced the entire ghetto area to rubble.

The Warsaw ghetto uprising was the first uprising against the Nazis which took place in any city whatsoever in the then Nazi-occupied Europe. It acted as a spur to the other occupied European peoples who were less persecuted and massacred than were the Polish Jews and much of the Polish population was moved by the appeal of the ghetto fighters who proclaimed that their battle was "For our and your freedom!"

The uprising in the Warsaw ghetto had an immediate impact on the ghettos of *Vilna*, *Bialostok* and other cities and in such death camps as *Treblinka* and *Sobibor*. The partisans of the various movements who were operating in the forests had been encouraged, as were the ghetto fighters themselves, by the recent decisive defeat of the German Nazis at *Stalingrad* and

they gained new inspiration from the example of the Warsaw ghetto fighters.

#### HOW PEOPLE'S POLAND ONCE HONORED THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Every year prior to 1968 the press and the leaders of the People's government and of the Polish United Worker's Party used to cite the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising as the noble cause of the entire Polish nation and the achievement of the outnumbered and doomed Jewish fighters was restated with pride and reverence. Every April, in the square in Warsaw which bears the name Ghetto Fighters and in which an imposing monument had been erected, the representatives of the People's government, the Polish army and various organizations and school children would assemble and in behalf of the Polish nation pay their respects to the heroes of the Ghetto uprising.

The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising is a glorious chapter in the history of the Jewish people and the treatment accorded it by the government of People's Poland prior to 1968 had been most gratifying, as was its assistance in rebuilding the life of the small surviving Jewish community in Poland and its cultural and communal organizations. All this expressed the finest traditions of the Polish people and the very spirit of Socialism itself.

This past attitude of the Polish government may explain why the Jewish friends of People's Poland and supporters of Socialism are so dismayed at the anti-Jewish manifestations which have become evident since March, 1968 and at the anti-Jewish course of a section of the Polish leadership which is disguised behind the euphemism of "struggle against Zionism".

An attempt was made to minimize the significance of the Ghetto uprising in the Polish press in April, 1968. Over and over again the Polish press asserted that "only a thousand" fighters were involved in the ghetto revolt. It created a false picture of the amount of weapons which the "passive" ghetto population received from the Home Army and sought to give the impression that the Polish underground forces lavished veritable arsenals upon the Jewish fighters.

As for the role of the major underground force at that time, the right-wing Home Army, we have already seen how "generous" was its contribution to the ghetto fighters and Mordecai Anielewicz's letter cited earlier is the most telling evidence of that. It is true that along with the left-wing People's Guard, some sections of the Home Army did offer a limited amount of aid. However, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising occurred inside the Jewish ghetto and under the direct leadership of the United Jewish Fighting Organization. This was an uprising of Jewish desperation and Jewish courage and so it was commemorated in People's Poland before 1968.

Even if, as claimed, "only a thousand" were directly engaged in fighting the nazis, this, too, was no trifling number when considered in relation to a depleted population remnant of less than forty thousand people. It may properly be asked: in the uprising which the Home Army forces led in the "Aryan" Warsaw in August, 1944, how great was the proportion of actual fighters in the Warsaw population of a million which though re-

pressed by the nazis was not enclosed in a ghetto wall, had at its disposal a larger supply of arms and was led by experienced military officers?

But the persons who sought to desecrate the memory of the Jewish ghetto fighters with their maliciously flippant remark of "only a thousand" know well that they are not stating the truth. In Ber Mark's historic account of "The Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto", which was published in Warsaw in 1963, it is clearly stated that though the United Jewish Fighting Organization numbered about a thousand members, the remainder of the ghetto population joined in the uprising as well. Ber Mark writes:

"The number of participants in this Uprising was, however, much greater. Thousands of Jews, as if instinctively, united into bunker groups, professional groups and miscellaneous groups, bought weapons and put up an active resistance. Thousands of others engaged in a passive resistance sabotaging the orders of the Germans and their lackeys to quit the bunkers and make themselves available for departure." (ibid, page 31)

Literally every single child joined in this uprising. The truth of the Warsaw ghetto uprising is too great for anyone to tamper with now. These petty attempts to diminish its significance will only reflect adversely on those who are now sounding off in the Polish press as a result of the artificially created hysteria against "Zionism", a hysteria which has more and more become an openly anti-Jewish campaign.

#### ALL PEOPLES HAD THEIR QUISLINGS

The Polish Press Agency statement of May 18, 1968 dealt in some detail with the Jewish Councils or Judenrats which the nazis organized in the ghettos and the Jewish ghetto police who worked for the nazis. According to that statement both Poles and Jews viewed these Jewish Councils and the Jewish ghetto police with the utmost contempt; the members of the Jewish Councils and the ghetto police constituted but a small segment of the ghetto population. All this, of course, is correct. One is forced to wonder, however, why this particular subject had to be dredged up at the height of the "anti-Zionist" hysteria when everything connected with Jews was treated with suspicion.

Is it really such startling news that the nazis organized these Judenrats or had Jewish police who worked for them? Weren't many books written on this subject in past years, including books and bulletins published in Polish by the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw?

The truth of the matter is that during the Hitler occupation of Europe every people had its collaborators with the nazis, its Quislings. (The very term Quisling originated in Norway.) There were also Russians who fought for the nazis, the Vlassovtsi, and there were supporters and collaborators of the nazis among the Ukrainians, the Latvians, the Lithuanians and the other occupied peoples.

So far as Poland itself was concerned, the followers of Gen. Moczar themselves admit that there were many Polish "Schmalzovniks" (Blackmailers) who squeezed money out of Jews on various pretenses and then turned them over to the nazis. There were other reactionary Poles who welcomed the fact that the nazis were making Poland "Judenrein" thus saving them the task at a later time. Who if not reactionary Poles made the pogroms in Kielce and elsewhere in 1946, that is, after the war?

In the Soviet Union trials of wartime nazi collaborators are continually taking place. The "schmalzovniks" and the Polish police who persecuted Jews under the nazis likewise should now be searched out and brought to justice.

#### NAZIS KILLED ALL THE JUDENRAT MEMBERS

Trials should be conducted against surviving former members of the Judenrats and the Jewish ghetto police - they cannot be absolved of their guilt - though it may be said there was a vast difference between such collaborators and the non-Jewish collaborators. The non-Jews who collaborated with the nazis did so voluntarily in order to enrich themselves by robbing Jewish property and destroying Jews. The members of the Judenrats were forced into their positions by the nazis. Jews who refused to cooperate with the nazis were killed outright and others were put into their place. In the end the nazis killed all of them, whereas most non-Jews who served the nazis were able to escape into Germany and many eventually found a haven in the United States.

Unfortunately, the press in Poland dealt irresponsibly with the subject of the Judenrats and the Jewish ghetto police. It avoided analyzing this situation because it was intent on casting doubt on the anti-nazi resistance of the Jewish people in Poland.

#### GEN. MOCZAR EXPOUNDS ON THE WORLD JEWISH CONSPIRACY

The "anti-Zionist" line which permeates so much of the Polish press appears to be an odd blend of Marxist-sounding phraseology and of the "traditional" anti-Semitic notions which are easily recognizable to anyone who was exposed to the anti-Semitism of the pre-war Poland. The old hobgoblin of the wily and powerful International Jew always taking advantage of the decent and well-meaning non-Jews is slightly altered; instead of "Jew" we now have "Zionist", instead of the "world Jewish conspiracy" we now have the "international Zionist conspiracy".

A particularly reprehensible example of how this approach is brought to bear on important political questions is provided in a speech that Gen. Moczar delivered at a rally of his veteran's organization, Zbovid, and which was reprinted in the Warsaw newspaper, "Zycie Warszawy" of May 5 and 6, 1968. In this address Gen. Moczar said in part:

"Israel's attack on the Arab nations, which the aggressors themselves likened to Hitler's attack on

Poland in 1939, created a new danger to world peace.

"For us, members of Zbovid, this conflict contains a number of concepts and associations which arouse our profound anger. Citizens of many European nations who themselves suffered from Hitler Germany are silent now when it is the State of Israel which applies the same inhuman (nazi) methods to the Arab peoples.

"...The Israeli aggression against the Arab countries goes hand in hand with the anti-Polish campaign which international Zionism conducts throughout the world. This campaign is promoted through the modern means of communication such as the press, the film, television and literature, all of which are overwhelmingly controlled by the Zionists. On our part this campaign will meet with protest and condemnation. International Zionism attempts to white-wash the Germans of the crimes they committed against the Jews and in a perfidious manner it seeks to make the Poles equally guilty."

How is it possible that a minister of a Socialist country can speak in such terms?

#### CAN ISRAEL BE COMPARED TO NAZI GERMANY?

First, in regard to Israel. Did Israel itself liken its "aggression" to Hitler's attack on Poland? Where did this occur? When was this said? Yet this fabrication is a mere trifle compared to the charge that the Arabs receive the same treatment from Israel which the nazis meted out to the peoples they had subjugated during the Second World War. Has Israel also set up an Auschwitz, a Maidanek, with gas chambers and crematoria for the Arabs? Has Israel also buried thousands of Arabs in a Babi Yar? Has Israel forced Arabs into ghettos where the streets are littered with corpses of those who died of hunger and disease?

We are not now concerned with defending the record of the Israeli occupation forces in the occupied Arab areas, though Israel's occupation is incomparably milder than the American occupation of Vietnam -- to which the term "nazi" is not applied.

We have never hesitated to criticize the actions of the Israeli militarists. But to attribute to the Jews of the Israeli Army the same crimes which the nazis committed -- and committed against Jews -- is simply monstrous! Indirectly this type of argument serves to absolve the nazis of their crimes against the Jews if it can be proved that the Jews themselves can now turn about and do the same to another people.

One can oppose Israel's position in the war of June, 1967, but no one ought to descend to such libels, particularly an official of a Socialist country.

#### DO JEWS CONTROL THE PRESS OF THE WORLD?

As bad as this is, the tale that "international Zionism" controls the press of the world is infinitely worse. This charge is taken bodily from the infamous anti-Semitic forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion"!

↑  
ZIONIST  
↓

Even if it were true that the press in America or elsewhere is "controlled" by individuals who are Jews, this would still not prove any kind of "conspiracy", but may rather be the result of the ability or the initiative of the Jewish newspapermen concerned. For example, until the recent purge in Poland, the Atomic Commission and the film industry of that country have to a great extent been led by Jews. Was this also a "Zionist conspiracy"?

Actually the American press is neither owned nor controlled by Jews or "Zionists". Only one major American newspaper, "The New York Times", is owned by Jews. Almost all the other large newspapers in the major cities of the country belong to trusts of the families of Hearst, Chandler, Knight, Marshall Field, Patterson-McCormick.

It is also incorrect to assert that the American press began a campaign against Poland because of Poland's pro-Arab stand during the Israel-Arab war of June, 1967. Such criticism was voiced in some places, but it soon subsided. It was only after the Moczar faction in Poland seized on the Warsaw student demonstrations of March, 1968 as a pretext to launch its "anti-Zionist" drive which then turned into an incitement against Jews, did the press abroad take notice and this included the progressive and Communist press as well!

Moczar's claim that "Zionist circles" in Poland were suddenly "activated" is hardly credible. It is most unlikely that there were any really committed Zionists left in Poland since most of them had been allowed to emigrate to Israel years before.

### THE REVIVAL OF POLISH NATIONALISM

It is obvious from the speeches of Gen. Moczar and his associates and from the intensified activity of such former reactionaries as Piasecki and Hrabik that Poland is experiencing a serious revival of nationalism.

Lenin made a sharp distinction between the nationalism of an oppressed people and the nationalism of an oppressing people. In the long historic period when Poland itself was an oppressed nation and its territory was divided among czarist Russia, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire, Polish nationalism was a revolutionary factor in the struggle against czarism and for the liberation of Poland. Such prominent Polish patriots as Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski volunteered their services to the American revolution and later Dombrowski became a leader of the armed Parisian workers in the Paris Commune of 1871.

This same Polish nationalism became a reactionary factor after Poland gained its independence in 1918. Poland then became the oppressor of its national minorities -- the Jews, the Ukrainians, the Byelo-Russians and the Lithuanians. Polish nationalism quickly passed over to rabid anti-Semitism, to cold and hot pogroms against the Polish Jews. It assumed anti-Ukrainian, anti-Byelo-Russian, etc. attitudes and became synonymous with fierce national oppression.

Polish nationalism still contains definitely negative features even though Poland has freed itself of the rule of the gentry and the capitalists.

Polish nationalism enjoyed a revival during the "Polish October" of 1956 when Gomulka was brought back to power. Concessions were granted to the Catholic Church which is still powerful and reactionary. Anti-Socialist emigres were invited to return from abroad, including many who had worked for the London exile government or were members of the right-wing, anti-Semitic parties. The doors were also opened for the Home Army veterans, including anti-Communist and anti-Semitic elements amongst them.

It was at this time that a brand new slogan appeared, that of creating "national cadres". This was a nationalist inspired effort to set up cadres of "genuine Poles" and to remove officials of other national origins. In an indirect way this drive for "national cadres" caused the removal of many veteran revolutionaries, both Jews and non-Jews, from various leading positions.

Prior to the Second World War the Polish Communist Party included a considerable Jewish membership. It was the only party in Poland which was free of anti-Semitism and which actively fought anti-Semitism. Many of the surviving Jewish members entered the service of the People's government after the nazis were driven out of Poland and it was against this group that the policy of "national cadres" was mainly aimed.

It was not easy to fully realize this "national cadres" policy in 1956 though attempts to do so were made and in places succeeded. However, when the Israel-Arab war of June, 1967 broke out, Polish nationalism saw a new opportunity to step up its anti-Jewish course. The excuse now was that the national interests of Poland were in danger and that these interests were allegedly not being upheld by the Jewish members of the Polish United Worker's Party.

The anti-Semites saw that the time had come to realize their old ambition of a Poland completely "free" of Jews, even though the tiny Jewish population of 25 or 30 thousand people constituted less than one tenth of one percent of the total population of Poland!

It was in this tense, sickly and suspicious atmosphere that a new exodus of Jews from Poland began and is still underway.

### "TOO MANY JEWS" IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

Ever since the appearance of Marxist political movements in the last century reactionaries in most countries sought to lessen the attractiveness of these movements for the working people by circulating the tale that Marxism and Communism are "Jewish", and that the Jews operate through these Marxist movements to ensure their own control to the detriment of non-Jews.

This slander against Marxism had to be continually refuted in country after country and in time it became a stock in trade argument of the fascists. It is one of the sad and alarming results of the "anti-Zionist" campaign which engulfed Poland that this irrational and anti-Marxist charge has been raised for the first time within a Communist movement and by a person who occupies the position of cultural chief of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Andrzej Werblan is the head of the Division for Culture and Science of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers'

Party. It is astounding and shocking to learn that he issued a lengthy dissertation last June which contended that the pre-war Communist Party of Poland contained a too high proportion of Jewish members and that this fact, in his view, is one of the main reasons for the difficulties which have plagued the Polish Communist movement before the war and even unto the present day.

Andrzej Werblan was not a Communist before the war as were some of the Jewish Marxists of Poland whom he now defames. Werblan was a member of the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.), a right-wing social democratic organization which, unlike the Polish Communist Party, enjoyed a legal status in the pre-war, semi-fascist Poland. His dissertation, "The Genesis of the Conflict", was published in the June, 1968 issue of the important Warsaw magazine, "Miesiecznik Literacki", ("Literary Monthly") a journal that is aligned with the Gomulka leadership.

Andrzej Werblan begins his dissertation, which seeks to explain the background of the student outburst in Warsaw in March, 1968, with a critique of the now famous session of the Warsaw Section of the Polish Writers' Union held in February, 1968. It was at this meeting that speeches were made which were critical of the government's policy in the universities and in the cultural field. At this meeting the writers also adopted a resolution which opposed the government's ban on the production of the play, "Dziady" ("The Forefathers") by the classicist Adam Mickiewicz, for its supposedly anti-Soviet overtones.

Werblan points an accusing finger at the leaders of the majority at this Writer's Union session, at Prof. Leszek Kolakowski, Antoni Slonimski and others and charges them with Revisionism.

Finally, after much verbiage, he poses the following question: Why did Revisionism insinuate itself "among certain groups of the intelligentsia of our country?"

A possible answer to this question might be that the heritage of the former, pre-war Poland may be largely responsible for this or that there are many intellectuals who have simply not been won over to Socialism. Perhaps the cause for this problem of Revisionism lies here, if there really is such a problem. It was Wladyslaw Gomulka himself who spoke at length of the heritage of the pre-war bourgeois Poland in his address before the Central Committee early in July. However, Werblan slants his question to receive a different answer. According to him the blame for this situation can be found in the heritage of the pre-war Communist Party of Poland which contained a too high proportion of Jewish members!

#### "TOO MANY JEWS"

Werblan asks this sort of question:

"Why are there so many persons of Jewish origin among certain groups of the intellectuals in our country, among the scientists, particularly in the field of the social sciences and among those who occupy responsible positions in certain central institutions? There are not as many as some suppose, but many more proportionately than the number of

Jews in the country. Why in recent years has a particular leaning towards revisionism and also a growth of Jewish nationalism in general and of Zionism especially become so noticeable in certain Jewish circles or among people of Jewish origin?"

In order to seek the answers to these questions Werblan suggests that one must go back "not only to the years 1956-59, but even further into the past."

He recalls that according to the census of 1931, Poland then contained 32 million inhabitants, among them 10 million persons who comprised the national minorities - the Jews, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians and Lithuanians. The latter three minority groups were concentrated in the former border areas, (Western Ukraine, Western Byelo-Russia, and the Vilno region), whereas in Poland proper, or Congress Poland, in which the Communist Party was active -

"...on these territories which were ethnic Polish the largest minority was the Jews. According to the census of 1931 the Jewish population constituted 9% of the whole population."

Werblan emphasizes that the Party played a positive role in this situation:

"This was the only party which in the years between the two world wars (1918-1939) fought for a correct program not only on the question of the social liberation of the working class, but also on the question of Poland's foreign policy."

However, the party's national composition was not proper:

"Proportionately the Communist Party of Poland exercised a greater political influence within the Jewish national minority than within the Polish population. According to the figures of the Communist Party of Poland in the period between the two world wars Jews constituted between 22% and 26% of the party's membership."

Thus Jews composed but 9% of the population, but up to 26% of the Party membership! Horrors!

#### WHY DID JEWS BECOME COMMUNISTS?

Werblan cites the reasons which attracted Jews to the Party. The Jewish population consisted mainly of the poor -

"...handicraftsmen, petty traders, workers in small enterprises who lived in deep poverty. It is understandable that such groups gravitated to the Left."

In addition to this Werblan notes that the Communist Party of Poland struggled against the national discrimination from which the Jews suffered:

"The Party even attracted a certain section of the youth of the rich Jewish bourgeoisie, a youth which from the standpoint of social class was distant from the Left movement."

Werblan then explains that whereas Poles, workers and intellectuals, linked themselves to the Left movement, "mainly, if not primarily, because of their social outlook," the case was different among the Jews, especially of the "non-proletarian sector," for whom "a great, and in many cases, a decisive factor was the desire to protest against the national discrimination which the Sanacja\* regime of that time practiced against the Jews."

When the entrance of such people into the party assumes a mass character, this can lead to "a weak political stance and a strong inclination to left and right extremism," Werblan states.

Thus, in either case, one must look for the blame among the Jewish members!

This state of affairs was a natural one under the circumstances, Werblan grants, even though it had "partially distorted the national composition of the Party," because pre-war Poland did contain large national minorities. However, this "distortion" also reflected itself in "questions of an ideological character."

Here Werblan refers to the "errors of Luxembourism,"\*\* which had, "for a long time created difficulties on the question of Poland's independence... A sectarian attitude prevailed in regard to the Left elements of the Polish Socialist Party and the Peasant Party." The Party suffered from this failing because, as Werblan asserts, "the leadership fell into the hands of the so-called minority," that is, the Jewish members. This fact interfered with the aim of gaining influence among the Polish intelligentsia.

Werblan continues: "In the ideological leadership of the Communist Party of Poland an important position had to be occupied by activists of Jewish origin." This created difficulties in "overcoming the errors in the national question because the milieu of a national minority is inherently less attuned to the problems of Polish patriotism and the attributes of sovereignty and national independence." Due to this state of affairs there developed "a vulgarized cosmopolitan conception of internationalism."

\*Sanacja regime — the term given to the regime of the extreme right-wing "colonel's clique," the fascistic followers of Marshal Pilsudski who ruled Poland for most of the inter-war period.

\*\*Luxembourism — after Rosa Luxemburg (1870-1919). A Polish-Jewish woman, one of the most remarkable figures in Marxism at the turn of the century. In the 1890's she was a founder and leading theoretician of a major Polish Marxist party, the Social Democracy of Poland and Lithuania. In her views on the nationalities question she tended to underplay the importance of the national factor in favor of the class factor. Lenin disputed her on this and other questions, though he esteemed her highly. She was murdered by German officers after the failure of the attempt to establish a German Soviet Republic in November, 1918.

Werblan then passes on to the war period (1939-45) and the birth of People's Poland and to all the subsequent developments in which the old heritage of a too large proportion of Jews in the Communist Party of Poland (which was dissolved by the Comintern in 1938) continually made itself felt even to the present day.

#### WHERE DID WE HEAR ALL THIS BEFORE?

Let us pause briefly to consider what Werblan has been getting at so far.

To begin with, it must be sharply stated that through all this welter of "theoretical" and supposedly "Marxist" terms which Werblan employs, one pressing, really urgent question rises to the fore:

For many years we had heard the clamor about "too many Jews," or "Jew-Communist" from the anti-Semites and the professional anti-Communists. In the pre-war, pro-fascist Poland of Pilsudski, of the reactionary colonel's clique and the rabidly anti-Semitic Endeks one always heard the expression "Zydo-Komuna," (Kike-Commune) and that is how the reactionaries in Poland referred to the Communist movement.

One also heard this noise of "too many Jews" directed at the Bolshevik Party in old Russia and later at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. One hears this noise today from reactionary sources in their denunciations of the Socialist and Communist movements in the capitalist countries. As for "too many Jews" in government positions of Socialist countries, this complaint was made by the Russian white guardists and anti-Soviet elements in their propaganda against the Soviet government.

How is it possible that we now hear this same complaint from a person who occupies an important position in the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party?

This is a most serious and painful question.

It would seem, according to Andrzej Werblan, that a percentage quota for Jews should have been instituted in the Communist Party of Poland before the war. We venture to assure him that as far as that period was concerned, that is before Hitler came along with his "final solution," such a percentage quota would have been of little value.

Jews were (and still are) an urban people and the Communist Party of Poland was almost exclusively concentrated in the cities where the Jews formed more, much more than 9% of the urban population. In Warsaw Jews accounted for more than 30% of the population and in the other large cities they accounted for 25% of the city dwellers. (We are relying on memory for these figures, without referring to exact statistics.)

Thus, if a percentage quota to regulate the admission of Jews into the Communist Party according to their proportion in the urban population had been in force in this period when Jews were still alive, Werblan would have lost out anyway.

Nevertheless, we are quite ready to concede the most "dreadful". Yes, Mr. Werblan, Jews did form a greater percentage in the membership of the pre-war Communist Party of Poland (and in the prison cells of Polish jails and in the penal camp



Kartuz-Bereza) than was their percentage in the general population. This was also true of their "percentage" in the Bolshevik Party of old Russia and this is apparently still true of their "percentage" in the Socialist and Communist movements in many capitalist countries today. We are therefore forced to ask, what made the Jewish members of the Communist Party of Poland so unfit?

Andrzej Werblan lays down a, so help us, "Marxist" theory: whereas "genuine" Poles joined the Party "mainly, if not primarily, because of their social outlook," with Jews, on the other hand, the principal factor, or "a decisive factor was the desire to protest against national discrimination."

Let us then take a look at how this "national discrimination" operated against the Jews in pre-war, pro-fascist Poland.

#### THE ANTI-JEWISH ORIENTATION OF THE PRE-WAR POLISH REGIMES

Leading people in Poland today, including even some Communists, have for reasons of Polish patriotism, as they claim, sought for some time to whitewash the records of the pre-war, reactionary and anti-Semitic leaders of that country. Though this effort has been criticized by some veteran Polish Communists who are not associated with Moczar's faction, it may be worthwhile, if only to set the record straight, to recall the actual situation of the Jewish people in Poland before the war.

May this be clearly stated — and the Werblans ought to make a special note of this — in pre-war Poland, as far as the Jews were concerned, a policy of extermination was conducted against them by cold (economic) pogroms and hot (bloody) pogroms and massacres.

I personally witnessed one of these pogroms in Vilno, in April 1919 when Pilsudski's Legionnaires murdered 56 Jews, among them the Yiddish writer and dramatist, A. Vaiter. Hundreds of Jews were wounded in this pogrom. The period of terror and looting, in which the soldiers of the reactionary nationalist Gen. Haller "excelled", lasted for many months. (We continually reported these events in the Vilno newspaper, "Vilner Tog" which I edited together with Zalman Reisin, the noted bibliographer). This was a period in which an entire wave of pogroms swept through Pinsk, Lvov and many other cities.

Actually the pogroms against Jews in Poland never ceased. It may be well to pointedly remind the Werblans and those others who seek to whitewash the record of pre-war bourgeois Poland of these unending pogroms against Jews and the bloody repressions which the Polish government carried out against the Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian and Lithuanian peasants of the border regions. Let the Werblans look into the writings of Wanda Wasilewska and of the other advanced Polish writers of that time and learn what they had to say of these repressions.

Now let us return to Werblan's argument. Jews, he claims, joined the outlawed Communist Party of Poland primarily because of the "discrimination" they resented.

Werblan speaks "of a section of the youth of the rich Jewish bourgeoisie" who entered the Party, though he concedes that the

Jewish masses "lived in deep poverty."

The overwhelming majority of the Jewish Communists in old Poland came from poverty-stricken homes, from the working people. And if some youths of the homes of the wealthy did link themselves to the underground movement, made sacrifices for it, received jail sentences or were banished to the Kartuz-Bereza penal camp, were tortured by the Polish security police or were even sent to the gallows, as was Naftoli Botvin, they ought to be honored for this as the heroes of the Revolution! And the same applies to those "genuine" Poles who also came from wealthy homes. Should this be held against them? On the contrary, they merit praise.

#### LENIN'S HIGH REGARD FOR THE JEWS IN THE MOVEMENT

It is a matter of history that the Werblan-type of argument was refuted by such outstanding figures of the Russian Marxist movement as Lenin, Kalinin and Lunacharsky many years ago.

For example, Anatoli Lunacharsky, a prominent old Bolshevik intellectual and the first Soviet Commissar of Education, rejected the argument of the Werblans of his day in his now almost forgotten essay, "On Anti-Semitism". (This essay was serialized in the New York Yiddish literary quarterly, "Zamlungen", in the Winter, 1967 and Spring, 1968 issues).

Lunacharsky wrote:

"In our revolutionary movement the Jews played such a prominent role that when the Revolution triumphed and the Soviet power was organized a considerable number of Jews entered the various organs of the government. They had achieved this right by their faithful, self-sacrificing service to the Revolution. Yet this fact is pointed to by the anti-Semites as a minus both for the Jews and for the Revolution."

Let the Werblans take note of these remarks which are really addressed to them. Let honest people, real communists, heed these remarks. Let them heed the remarks which Vladimir Lenin made at a lecture on the 1905 Revolution in Zurich:

"...The hatred of tsarism was directed particularly against the Jews. On the one hand, the Jews provided a particularly high percentage (compared with the total of the Jewish population) of leaders of the revolutionary movement. In passing, it should be said to their credit that to-day the Jews provide a relatively high percentage of representatives of internationalism compared with other nations. On the other hand, tsarism knew perfectly well how to play up to the most despicable prejudices of the most ignorant strata of the population against the Jews, in order to organize, if not to lead directly, the pogroms — those atrocious massacres of peaceful

Jews, their wives and children, which have roused such disgust throughout the whole civilized world."

Lenin and Lunacharsky here pillory the Werblans of Poland. They, the Werblans, only copy the sorry complaints of reaction, of the anti-Semites of past periods and offer up the moth-eaten anti-Semitic arguments in a new disguise. In doing so they desecrate the memory of Lenin and his militant associates.

#### "TOO MANY JEWS" IN POST-WAR POLAND

In his lengthy "theoretical" work, after he finished with his description of the "misfortune" of too many Jews in the pre-war Communist Party of Poland, Werblan mentions, as if in passing, that in 1938, "the Communist International dissolved the Communist Party of Poland on the basis of provocative charges." Now this dissolution was, in fact, one of the major crimes of the Stalin era which Khrushchev disclosed in 1956. One wonders why Werblan skipped over this matter so lightly. Perhaps he is pleased that it was the Stalin cult which destroyed the Party that contained too many Jews.

With the founding, during the war, of the new Polish Worker's Party there came about, Werblan says with obvious relief, "a break in the history of Polish Socialist political thought." The new Polish Worker's Party became a "national party," that is, with few Jewish Communists because during the Hitler occupation of Poland, he indicates, most Jewish Communist activists could not remain in the country and fled to the Soviet Union.

Something does not jibe here, as is the case with many of Werblan's assertions. We know that after enemy agents murdered the first chairman of the Polish Worker's Party, Marcello Nowotko, this position was assumed by Pawel Finder, a Jew. There's no getting rid of the Jews, it seems, even under the nazis.

The real "misfortune," however, came, according to Werblan again, when the First Polish Army and the Union of Polish Patriots, which were both organized on Soviet soil entered liberated Poland in 1944. Here again there were too many Jews. To be sure, they fought in these military units as soldiers and commanders, they shed their blood, but still there were too many of them - too many survivors....

So it came about, Werblan laments, that after the liberation of Poland too many Jews came to occupy positions in the government. Here Werblan elaborates on the "theory," the Moczar "theory," that those who returned to Poland from their exile in the Soviet Union, "evidenced a leaning to abstract and theoretical constructions." It is not from the reactionary London emigres that Werblan discerns any danger: was it not from London that the "genuine" Poles came, even though it was common knowledge that many of these returning emigres remained as reactionary as they were before the war?

Werblan proceeds to point his accusing finger at three principal enemies, all Jews: Jacob Berman, Roman Zambrowski and Hilary Minc, who, he alleges, "initiated a struggle against

that section of the leadership which formed the Polish Workers' Party during the occupation and formulated its political line." In 1948 these three removed Gomulka from his position as the general-secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party.

#### A NEW PERCENTAGE QUOTA

Once again, something does not jibe here. Were these three Jewish officials guilty of everything bad? Whatever became of the other leaders, of the late President Boleslaw Bierut, of Edward Ochab and many others? What was the role of the Stalin cult in this situation? Werblan does mention in passing that "Stalin's authority was an international phenomenon and influenced the situation in all the Communist Parties." However, he dwells on the Jews again.

"The cosmopolitans," Werblan claims, "advanced the false accusation of anti-Semitism against those comrades who realized that no society will be tolerant if persons of a national minority are represented in too large numbers in the government administration especially in such agencies as the Defense Ministry, in security, propaganda and foreign policy."

With the removal of Gomulka the situation in this regard became "worse," Werblan continues; "more people of Jewish origin" were advanced to high office and the "national composition of our society" was ignored.

These advancements of Jews, Werblan asserts, also harmed the reputation of the Jewish survivors in Poland since they "aided in creating an opinion that a privileged ethnic group exists in our midst, and every society will regard this with disfavor."

It appears that Werblan who measured the percentage of Jews in the Communist movement before the war when the Jewish population of Poland numbered more than 3 million would like to devise a new percentage quota now that they number less than 30 thousand.

Yet, all this occurred 20 years ago, in 1948. In 1956 Gomulka again returned as first secretary of the Polish United Worker's Party (and with the aid of the Jewish leader Zambrowski!) It was at this time, 12 years ago, that the slogan of "national cadres" was put forward and consequently many Jews lost their positions (and this was one of the reasons for the sizeable Jewish emigration from Poland in 1956 and 1957). Now, what's wrong again?

#### WERBLAN DEMANDS "EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT TO POLONISM"!

Werblan grants that since 1956 the situation changed for the better from his viewpoint. Nevertheless, a new generation appeared, older men had to step aside and since there were still "many people of Jewish origin," these changes "hit many of them." Werblan says that these older Jewish office-holders did not, unfortunately, master "the art of departing from the political arena"; instead, they retaliated with the charge of "anti-Semitism" and in order to find favor with the intellectuals they changed over from being dogmatic Stalinists to revisionists. Imagine the tricks of which Jews are capable!

Here, towards the conclusion of his treatise, Werblan catches up with the student demonstrations in the universities last March in which, again, Jews were guilty. All the troubles originate with the mere handful of Jews in Poland! Werblan refers to Gomulka's address of March 19th in which the Polish leader called for the removal, on the one hand, "of revisionists, Zionists and cosmopolitans," while on the other he defended from false accusations all those (as reformulated by Werblan) "who during the March events evidenced their loyalty to Poland's *raison d'être* and demonstrated their emotional attachment to Polonism."

Here Werblan "improves" Gomulka's harmful speech for the worse. Gomulka, regrettably, did speak of "cosmopolitans," but he also added that it was not Zionism which posed a danger to Poland, but rather Polish right-wing reaction. Werblan's formula of "emotional attachment to Polonism" is most significant! Here is the familiar language of rank Polish chauvinism.

Werblan's opus appeared in the June issue of the "Miesiecznik Literacki" and was possibly written in May at the height of the anti-"Zionist" campaign. But in July, at the session of the Central Committee, a number of prominent leaders, beginning with Zenon Kliszko, frankly acknowledged that this campaign had become transformed into an anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic campaign. If proof of this fact is needed, the treatise of such a member of the Central Committee as Werblan is an example!

From beginning to end, from his tale that the old Communist Party of Poland contained a too high proportion of Jews to his theory that "no society will be tolerant if persons of a national minority are represented in too large numbers in the government administration" - and this after Hitler had destroyed more than 3 million Polish Jews - to his fable about "emotional attachment to Polonism," everything Werblan says reeks of Polish chauvinism, of anti-Semitism!

#### THE NEW "EXODUS FROM POLAND"

There can no longer be any doubt that the "anti-Zionist" campaign which was conducted by Gen. Moczar, by Werblan, by Piasecki and a host of other leading personalities in People's Poland has actually reinforced the views of those Zionists who as long ago as 1945 advocated a general Jewish exodus from Poland.

We fought against this concept. Those Jews who remained in Poland demonstrated by this very act and by their labor their own loyalty as Polish citizens and as builders of Socialism. Now along comes Andrzej Werblan with his elaborate theory which reaches back 50 years and even further to Rosa Luxembourg. Even she, supposedly, was not suitable; she was of Jewish origin and thus not a genuine "Pole".

The Polish chauvinist Werblan now props up the theories of those Zionists who maintain that Jews can build Socialism only in a Jewish state. If his grossly anti-Semitic views will not be rejected and condemned, first of all in Poland itself, the question will surely arise elsewhere: What can a Jewish revolutionary, a fighter for Socialism do in his own country, the country in which he lives? To follow Werblan he must not "push" himself too much,

even in an outlawed Communist Party for which the authorities can send him to jail or to a penal camp or even to the gallows. Years later this will be held against him: he and other Jewish comrades will be reproached for providing a too high percentage in the movement! After the Revolution triumphs even greater care is paid to the Jewish "percentage" and every Jewish revolutionary will be scrutinized to ascertain whether he has sufficient "emotional attachment" to "Polonism," or to "Frenchness" or to "Americanism," etc.

Even with its "Socialist" disguise this is a reactionary theory and it accords with the view propounded by the Father of Political Zionism, Dr. Theodore Herzl and others that "anti-Semitism is eternal" everywhere but in a Jewish country.

Politically advanced Jews as well as all advanced people, and most particularly the adherents of Socialism, maintain that anti-Semitism, like every other form of racism, must be combated and will eventually be eradicated. As far as Jews are concerned they should be fully equal citizens of the countries in which they were born or in which they live. The interest of Jews of any country in Israel in no way contradicts their right to fully equal citizenship in their native countries. Nor does the interest of Polish Americans in Poland, or in Polish culture or customs, contradict their fully equal status as American citizens.

#### THE WERBLANS UNDERCUT PEOPLE'S POLAND

The Moczars and the Werblans made a shambles of everything which People's Poland stood for since 1944. They wrecked the entire nationalities' program under which a progressive, Socialist Jewish culture and splendid Jewish cultural institutions were created. Everything which had prompted so much praise is now being ruined.

The guiding spirits of the Yiddish State Theatre of Warsaw, the actress Ida Kaminska and her husband, Meir Melman, have already left Poland. The Yiddish newspaper of Warsaw, "Di Folkshtimme" has been made into a weekly paper and is merely a shadow of what it was. The monthly Yiddish cultural magazine, "Yiddishe Shriften" has been closed down. It is difficult to imagine how the other Jewish institutions will be able to survive in the prevailing atmosphere of Polish chauvinism.

The wholesale dismissals of Jews from their positions and the continued exhortations that the "cosmopolitans", that is Jews, leave Poland has already caused many hundreds of Jews to leave the country and thousands more have applied for exit visas. All departing Jews are required to state that they are leaving for Israel whether or not this is their actual intention. Thus the government charge that only "Zionists" are quitting Poland can be publicly sustained. Among the Jews leaving Poland now are veterans of the pre-war Communist Party, veterans of the Spanish Civil War, partisans of the war against Hitler, and Jews who returned to Poland from abroad after the war in order to help build a Socialist Poland.

Our concern here is not only with the ruination of a Jewish community which is a great tragedy for this community itself, for the Jewish people generally and especially for the friends

of People's Poland. What is also involved here is a setback for People's Poland as a consequence of the revival of Polish nationalism and chauvinism.

At the July, 1968 meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party Wladyslaw Gomulka himself pointed out that the Socialist regime in Poland is endangered by the reactionary heritage of the Polish gentry and of the "tradition of our people and of certain specific features in the history of the Polish people." The ambition to rid Poland of Jews altogether is one of these "specific features."

Dmowski's movement of National Democracy, (the Endeks), the largest bourgeois party in pre-war Poland, was based on the concept of "evacuating" the Jews from Poland. One could easily produce numerous citations from the Polish press of the 1930's as well as from speeches of the most prominent of the Pilsudski followers, all claiming that there is no place for Jews in Poland. No one ought to forget that the aim of the unending cold and hot pogroms against Jews in bourgeois Poland was to drive the Jews out of the country altogether.

It is this heritage, these "specific features" that one must guard against, particularly when reactionaries and the London emigres abound who, as Gomulka conceded "remained on the old positions until the present day."

#### POLAND'S PROGRESSIVE TRADITIONS

Poland also boasts of other traditions, positive traditions, the great freedom traditions of Tadeusz Kosciuszko, the traditions of the socially conscious writers such as Adam Mickiewicz, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Maria Konopnicka and Wanda Wasilewska - a minority tradition in comparison to the other, but a most valuable one for builders of Socialism. Also, the tradition of the Communist Party of Poland which was fighting anti-Semitism during the regime of Pilsudski and the colonels.

A new outlook has been created in Poland during the years since the war, the years of People's Poland, of the building of Socialism, of the truly Socialist attitude to the nationalities' question and to the Jewish people. It is these new traditions and new concepts which must be revived as quickly as possible - in the very interests of People's Poland and of Socialism.

Socialism and anti-Semitism do not go together. To practice anti-Semitism, to engage in anti-Jewish propaganda and discrimination is to desecrate Socialism. It can only undermine the struggle for a Socialist society.

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