Introduction

More Ships Are Coming

Your American dollars paid for the Hebrew Repatriation ship, "S.S. Ben Hecht" and for other ships we need. American crews man those ships. American food sustains the passengers. The British try to call it "illegal." But Americans say there is no such thing as an ILLEGAL Hebrew life. If it's legal for the British to live, IT'S LEGAL FOR HEBREWS TO LIVE. In dignity. In safety . . . instead of DP camps. YOUR money does it! . . . THE SHIPS ARE READY . . . THE CREWS ARE READY . . . BUT THE PASSENGERS ARE WAITING . . . WAITING! NOW IS THE TIME TO THROW ANOTHER PUNCH, THE STRONGEST ONE YOU CAN. \$250 saves a life —repatriates a Hebrew man, woman, or child on the way to Palestine. Send us \$250,—\$50—\$5 to speed the Hebrews home on an Armada of Mercy Ships. The need is now—the time is now. . . .

—American League for a Free Palestine Advertisement, March 13, 1947¹

On Saturday night, March 8, 1947, the 8:15 p.m. broadcast of Jerusalem radio broke the news to the people of British Mandatory Palestine that an "illegal" immigrant ship carrying 600 passengers had been boarded, captured, and brought into port without incident by the Royal Navy. The Mandatory Government information office announced that the immigrant ship, named *Abril*, had been seen off the coast of Jaffa at ten in the morning and that Naval Marines had boarded the ship and captured it without opposition.² London radio soon broadcast that the ship was outfitted by

^{1 &}quot;More Ships Are Coming," American League for a Free Palestine's (ALFP) Advertisement, *New York Post*, Thursday, March 13, 1947, found in Bob Levitan collection, accession number 2010.505.1, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM).

^{2 &}quot;Immigrant Ship Captured and Brought to Haifa," *Al Hamishmar*, Sunday, March 9, front page, dateline Haifa (Hebrew); "Arrest of Illegal Immigrant Ship," Sunday, *Davar*, March 9, 1947, front page (Hebrew).

American Zionists at the start of the year.³ A newspaper reported that "[i]t is thought that the captured ship that had sailed on February 28 from France under the Honduran flag was sent by Peter Bergson's group, and its name, apparently, is Ben Hecht."4

The yacht, propelled by diesel engines, had been renamed in transit as the Ben Hecht in honor of the author whose play A Flag is Born helped finance its mission,⁵ though the name on the bow still read Abril when it was captured.⁶ The 600 passengers had in their possession identification and travel papers issued in Paris on February 28, 1947 by the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation (HCNL), purporting to act on a provisional basis until the establishment of a Hebrew government in a free Land of Israel, and signed by Eri Jabotinsky, the son of the late Revisionist Zionism founder Ze'ev (Vladimir) Jabotinsky.⁷

Along the stranger-than-fiction journey of the Abril / Ben Hecht, a fantastical propaganda play depicting an armed revolt financed the purchase of a yacht and its conversion to an illegal immigrant passenger ship. The plan was to evade the British naval blockade and bring Holocaust survivor refugees to their homeland. If captured by the British, a trial of the crew would expose Britain's arguably illegal and indubitably cruel anti-Jewish immigration policy. Although the Royal Navy apprehended the Ben Hecht and took the refugees to camps on Cyprus, the refugees were released within two years and did in fact immigrate into Israel. The imprisoned American crew aided an Irgun and Lechi fighter breakout from Acre Prison that shook the British Empire and was a factor in leading Britain to abandon its rule of Palestine. Subsequently, the charmed vessel played a key role in a naval battle that secured the nascent state of Israel's access to the sea.8

[&]quot;Illegal Immigrant Ship Arrested near Haifa," Hasapha, Sunday, March 9, 1947, front page (Hebrew).

[&]quot;599 Abril Immigrants Sent to Island of Deportation," Al Hamishmar, Monday, March 4 10, 1947, 2, dateline Haifa, Sunday, March 9, 1947 (Hebrew).

I. F. Stone, "Refugees Driven on Cyprus-Bound Ships like Cattle," PM, March 10, 1947, 1, 2, 7, PM reel 53, 3/2-4/30/47, NYPL.

⁶ Oral history of Robert Levitan, accession number 2010.505.2, RG Number: RG-50.932.0001, USHMM.

[&]quot;The Immigrants Expelled from the Land of Israel," *Haaretz*, front page, March 10, 1947 (Hebrew); Chaim Lazar, Immigration Ship "Ben Hecht" (n.p.: Museum of Combatants and Partisans, 1995/1996), 5-17 (Hebrew).

Natanel Lorch, The Edge of the Sword: Israel's War of Independence 1947-1949 (New York / London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961), 329; J. Wandres, The Ablest Navigator:

My grandfather Henry Mandel (1920–2015), an American Merchant Marine sailor during World War II, a crewman aboard the *Abril / Ben Hecht*, a prisoner in Acre Fortress, and a volunteer for the Israeli Army during the 1948 Israeli War of Independence, was an Orthodox Jew whose reminiscences provide a unique illuminating perspective on the redemption of captives and the creation of a Jewish homeland in the late 1940s. Henry—called Hymie by his family, Hank by his crewmates on the MS (Motor Ship) *Abril / Ben Hecht*, and Chaim by his comrades in the Israeli Army—was a member of the Greatest Generation of Americans who struggled in the Great Depression and then triumphed in an all-consuming World War.⁹ He was born in Vienna on September 6, 1920, and came to the United States as a toddler in 1923. Mandel worked at the Brooklyn Navy Yard from January 1940 until 1945 as a civilian machinist and then served aboard United States Merchant Marine ships.

Mandel volunteered for several activities between 1946 and 1949 in the fight to establish Israel. A Mr. Green, a neighbor of his family in the Bronx whose daughters were friendly with Mandel's sisters, told Mandel about the *Ben Hecht*, and he unhesitatingly volunteered. Mandel served as second engineer and oiler in the engine room as well as an electrician and plumber aboard the undermanned ship. En route to Palestine, its engine was damaged, probably due to British sabotage. Mandel and his fellow crewmen in the engine room expeditiously and skillfully rigged a patch repair, which enabled the voyage to continue. Mandel, along with the rest of the crew of the *Ben Hecht*, spent a little less than a month as a remanded prisoner in Acre Prison in March 1947. During his imprisonment he and his crewmates smuggled in a camera and electric batteries to prisoners before they were released by the British, due to their status as American citizens.

Mandel was approached to join the *Altalena* after returning to New York, but he declined because he was engaged in assembling a secret bazooka shell plant with machinery that had been sold by the US government as surplus, and he could not leave to join the crew as his skills as a trained machinist were sorely needed at the covert operation on Greene

Lieutenant Paul N. Shulman USN, Israel's Volunteer Admiral (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2013), 1–2.

Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998), 4–5, 7–8.

¹⁰ Henry Mandel interview by Alyssa Goldschmidt Magid, December 1, 2006 (audio recording in possession of the editor); Henry Mandel interview by Esther Mandel, Aaron Mandel, and Chana Liba Mandel, circa 2012.

Street in Manhattan. Mandel was organizing the dismantling and labeling of the plant and its machinery, which he thereafter helped reassemble in Israel as a foreign volunteer in the new Israeli Defense Forces. 11

In a letter to the Israeli Defense Ministry dated February 25, 1998, Mandel described his involvement with the Ben Hecht:

Shalom Chaverim [comrades],

I must apologize for writing in English but my Ivrit [Hebrew] is not good enough for expressing myself properly. I have filled out the forms that you have forwarded to me, but I cannot fill out Paragraph Vov [6] [which asked for verification from Mandel's commander as requested. In 1946 I was in the United States Merchant Marines and my ship returned to New York where I lived. A neighbor told me that an organization was looking for seamen. He sent me to the American League for a Free Palestine. The Chairman of the League was Senator Guy Gillette, but it was actually run by an Israeli Irgunist, Peter Bergson. I was told that this was not his real name, but I do not know if this is so. The purpose of the League was to raise funds for the Irgun and to influence the American public, and particularly the American Congress. Mr. Bergson spent much of his time in Washington. Ben Hecht, the writer, was very active in the organization. He published full page advertisements, and he wrote and produced the play A Flag is Born on Broadway to raise funds.12

I was interviewed by someone, I do not recall his name. He wanted me to speak to Avraham Stavsky who was out of the country but would be back in a few days. In the meantime, I signed off of my ship. I spoke to Mr. Stavsky who said he was looking for an American crew to man their ship the MS Abril (which was later changed to MS Ben Hecht). Up until that time the crew of Aliyah Bet ships, when captured, would mingle with the passengers and the British would not arrest any crewman. The intention with the MS Ben Hecht was that if the ship was captured the American crew would remain to be arrested by the British. Because of the publicity they could not intern Americans in Cyprus or Eritrea. There would have to be a public trial where the Americans involved would be charged with "Aiding and Abetting Illegal Immigration." The defense would be that the immigration was legal and that

Henry Mandel letter to the Israeli Defense Ministry, February 25, 1998 (in possession of the editor).

Julien Gorbach, The Notorious Ben Hecht: Iconoclastic Writer and Militant Zionist (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2019), 236-237.

the British were given the Mandate to make Palestine a homeland for the Jewish people. This would show the English in a very unfavorable light before the entire world and would hasten the exit of the British from Palestine.

The Bergson Group, known after its leader Peter Bergson (whose real identity was Hillel Kook, a nephew of Abraham Isaac Kook, the first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of British Mandatory Palestine), was a committee of members of the Irgun Tzva'i Le'umi (in Hebrew, the "National Military Organization," variously referred to herein as the "Irgun" or by its Hebrew initials "ITzL" or "Etzel") who arrived in the United States in 1939 and 1940. The Irgun was an underground military resistance organization in British Mandatory Palestine that rejected the mainstream Haganah's self-restraint policy and performed violent retaliatory operations after Arab attacks in the 1930s.13 For the Irgun, "[t]he enemy was British imperialism, not the British people."14 Many liberal intellectuals supported the Bergson Group. Bergson Group members joined the Irgun, explained the son of a member who himself eventually founded a pro-peace and pro-Israel advocacy group, "to actively pursue national independence and to organize Aliyah Bet . . . to save lives, not to advance a political agenda. Their immigration work in particular was neither rightwing nor leftwing." ¹⁵ Bergson Group member Samuel Merlin explained that the Bergson Group believed "that a military force fighting to liberate the country from colonial rule could succeed only if accompanied by a vigorous propaganda and diplomatic campaign to explain and back up the military activities." ¹⁶ The Bergson Group's underlying strategy with the illegal immigrant ship Ben Hecht, similar to its

¹³ Aaron Rakeffet-Rothkoff, The Silver Era in American Jewish Orthodoxy: Rabbi Eliezer Silver and His Generation (Jerusalem / New York: Yeshiva University Press / Feldheim, 1981), 218.

¹⁴ Yitshaq Ben-Ami, Years of Wrath, Days of Glory (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1982), 394.

¹⁵ Jeremy Ben-Ami, Afterword, in Samuel Merlin, Millions of Jews to Rescue: A Bergson Group Leader's Account of the Campaign to Save Jews from the Holocaust, ed. and annotated Rafael Medoff, Foreword Seymour D. Reich (Washington, D.C.: David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2011), 196, 206.

¹⁶ Merlin, Millions of Jews to Rescue, 15.

earlier attempts to stop the Holocaust, was to take bold public humanitarian action and publicize that action.¹⁷

The MV Ben Hecht was the only Jewish ship to transport illegal immigrants to Palestine, from the end of World War II until the establishment of the State of Israel, which was not sponsored by the Mossad L'Aliyah Bet ("Organization for Plan B Immigration"). The Mossad L'Aliyah Bet was associated with the Haganah, the establishment Jewish Agency's pre-state secret army. Mossad L'Aliyah Bet almost totally dominated illegal immigration after the war, though the Zionist Revisionist movement, inspired by Vladimir Jabotinsky, had been very active in organizing illegal immigration to Palestine before World War II and during the war's early years. In 1946, the Mossad L'Aliyah Bet purchased the *Josiah Wedgewood* and the *Haganah*, two former Canadian corvettes manned by American volunteer crews. This was the beginning of an expansion of the scope of Jewish illegal immigration to Palestine through the use of larger vessels and American crews. Though each of these larger vessels hardly stood a chance of sneaking through the British naval blockade, the Mossad L'Aliyah Bet's large-scale operations and the ever increasing numbers of interned illegal immigrants who refused to be returned to Europe increased political pressure that contributed to the British decision to abandon its Palestine Mandate. Ultimately, as one scholar observed, "[i]t was the quantity that produced the quality." 18 Illegal immigration, as another scholar has surmised, "served the purpose of founding a Jewish state by political means"; the Haganah's Aliyah Bet operation "was meant to keep the headlines and world public opinion busy with the problem of the Jewish DPs who were rotting away in Europe many months after the war was over" and to "exploit the moral advantage of the Zionist cause" over England's barring "the way of Holocaust survivors to their homeland."19

Scholars of the struggle for a Jewish state have studied the Ben Hecht because it was unique as the only post-war Jewish illegal immigration ship not organized by the Haganah. It was the policy of the Aliyah Bet organization to facilitate unauthorized immigration covertly, up to the point ships

Adina Hoffman, Ben Hecht: Fighting Words, Moving Pictures (New Haven, CT / London: Yale University Press, 2019), 173.

Mordechai Naor, Haapala: Clandestine Immigration 1931-1948 (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense Publishing House and IDF Museum, 1987), 51, 32.

Aviva Halamish, The Exodus Affair: Holocaust Survivors and the Struggle for Palestine, trans. Ora Cummings, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998), 267, 265.

were intercepted by the Royal Navy. The voyage of immigration refugee ship Ben Hecht to Palestine, sponsored by the Bergson Group entity, the American League for a Free Palestine (AFLP)—a lobbying and public relations organization which supported the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation (HCNL)—was very different.²⁰ The Ben Hecht received a great deal of contemporary press, mostly courted by AFLP itself, during several events, including its semi-secret outfitting during the winter of 1946 on the Brooklyn waterfront, its journey to the French harbor of Port-de-Bouc to embark Jewish displaced persons, its capture by the Royal Navy on March 8, 1947, the detention of its passengers in Cyprus, the short imprisonment of the crew in Acre Prison, and the subsequent exile of the crew to America from Palestine on March 30, 1947. In recent decades its story has received significant scholarly attention.²¹ The ship's voyage remains controversial and subject to aspersions in statements of British officers that participated in the vessel's arrest, criticism by non-Revisionist Zionists, and jaundiced published accounts by some disaffected crewmembers. However, Henry Mandel's eyewitness narrative, buttressed by the weight of the evidence, paints a very different picture, in which the American crew and refugee passengers of the Ben Hecht, with common sense and uncommon daring, struck a significant blow against the British Empire and its imperialist policy of denying the Holocaust survivors of Europe a permanent home and national self-determination.

²⁰ The David S. Wyman Institute for Holocaust Studies, "The Bergson Group, Voyage of the Ben Hecht," part of "The Bergson Group, A History in Photographs," http://new. wymaninstitute.org/2017/01/the-bergson-group-voyage-of-the-ben-hecht/; Tzvi Ben-Tzur, "The Voyage of the 'Ben Hecht," http://www.palyam.org/English/Hahapala/hf/hf_Ben-Hecht; "Voyage of the S.S. Abril, alias the Ben Hecht," http://cosmos.ucc.ie/cs1064/jabowen/IPSC/php/event.php?eid=855.

²¹ Rafael Medoff, "Special Feature: Ben Hecht's a 'Flag is Born': A Play that Changed History," April 2004, http://new.wymaninstitute.org/2004/04/special-feature-ben-hechts-a-flag-is-born-a-play-that-changed-history/; Wandres, *Ablest Navigator*, 119–123; Judith Rice, "Ben Hecht, An Obscured Tale of Zionist Heroism—The S.S. Ben Hecht, 'The Mandate of Conscience," *Jewish Magazine* (June 2010), http://www.jewishmag.com/144mag/ben_hecht/ben_hecht.htm; Alan Swarc, "Illegal Immigration to Palestine 1945–1948: The French Connection" (PhD diss., University College London, 2006), 159, https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1445118/1/U592432.pdf; Jeffrey Weiss and Craig Weiss, *I Am My Brother's Keeper: American Volunteers in Israel's War of Independence 1947–1949*, Foreword Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu (Algen, PA: Schiffer Military History, 1998), 24–37; Lazar, *Immigration Ship "Ben Hecht*," 9.

The Jewish immigrants who attempted to enter into Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s, despite British prohibitions, in the Aliyah Bet unauthorized immigration movement, were called ma'apilim, a reference to the biblical Israelites who attempted to force their entry into the Land of Canaan.²² These original illegal immigrants are described in Numbers 14:44 as "Yet defiantly [vaya'apliu] they ascended to the top of the mountain." Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki-Yarchi (Rashi, 1040-1105),23 the most influential medieval Jewish biblical commentator, glosses the verse thusly: "Vaya'apliu—language denoting 'strength.' And similarly, 'Behold, presumptuous' (Hab. 2:4). Engres in Old French, denoting 'impudence.' . . . And the Midrash Tanchuma interprets it as denoting 'darkness'—they walked darkly, [that is,] without permission."²⁴ According to Rabbi Naftali Zvi Yehuda Berlin (1816-1893), who, as Mandel liked to note, was the father of both Chaim Berlin, for whom the ultra-Orthodox Brooklyn yeshiva was named, and Meir Bar-Ilan, whose namesake is the Religious Zionist Israeli university, the intent of that medieval gloss is that there "were many of those who went up who believed and knew they would not succeed and would fall in war, but nevertheless they considered it worthwhile to be killed in the Land of Israel and be buried there and not in the desert."25 However, that is not the end of the story. According to one Talmudic opinion, decades later the daughters of Zelophehad, one of the defiant failed ascenders to the Land, successively petitioned that they inherit their deceased father's portion of the Land.²⁶ Rabbi Tzadok ha-Kohen Rabinowitz of Lublin (1823–1900) hypothesized that the impudence chutzpah—of the ma'apilim did change the divine decree, though they were premature, and that they would ultimately ascend to the Land when messianic times approach.²⁷

The crew and passengers of the *Ben Hecht* were participants in a great Exodus from Europe. Like their biblical forerunners, the passengers of the Ben Hecht did not initially succeed in entering into the Land. Their bold

Numbers 14:39-45. See Rabbi Julian Sinclair, "Ma'apilim," December 4, 2008, https:// www.thejc.com/judaism/jewish-words/ma-apilim-1.6533.

Aryeh Kaplan, Meditation and Kabbalah (York Beach, ME: Samuel Weiser, 1982), 24.

²⁴ Numbers 14:44, Ben Isaiah & Sharfman, Pentateuch and Rashi's Commentary: Numbers, 149 (with minor alterations).

Haamek HaDavar on Numbers 14:44, Sefaria.org (English translation). 25

Numbers 36:1-12; Talmud Bavli Shabbat 96b.

Tzidkat HaTzadik 46:1. Rabbi Daniel Eisenbach brought this idea to my family's attention.

semi-secret attempt to enter the Promised Land initially appeared to be self-defeating and to have failed. But shortly thereafter the State of Israel was born and they were able to immigrate to Israel.

Previous accounts of the Ben Hecht have not explored certain heretofore inaccessible documents and reminiscences that explain the motivations of key participants in the ship's story scattered in archives in both the United States and Israel. These are now much easier to access than in the past. The sources reveal that neither the ship's crew nor the members of the Betar Revisionist youth group who escorted the passengers attempted to violently resist the British—who anticipated a firefight upon boarding the ship—because of the risk of bloodshed. The crew, under the direction of their Bergson Group American League for a Free Palestine recruiters, did not evade arrest. Instead, they sought to present a test case in which American citizens, in an open trial, would challenge the legality of the British prohibition of Jewish immigration to Palestine outside of the miserly constraints of the 1939 White Paper quotas. The relationship between the Bergson Group and the Irgun after World War II was fraught. The Bergson Group's AFLP had undertaken the venture on its own initiative; if they had been consulted, Irgun leaders would have directed the funds raised by the League's successful campaign to finance their underground armed revolt against British rule in Palestine. By restudying the familiar small-scale story of the Ben Hecht with fresh eyes, we can better appreciate how the determination of working-class sailors and Holocaust refugees in situation-specific and complicated circumstances contributed to the establishment of the State of Israel.²⁸ Throughout the text, the ship is referred to as both *Abril* and Ben Hecht, which reflects the varying preferences and rhetorical orientations of its crew and chroniclers.

The first part of this book will present edited transcripts of interviews given by Mandel. The second part contains materials that provide historical context, other recollections by Mandel, and the viewpoints of other participants of the *Ben Hecht*'s journey. The third part presents significant letters and speeches by Mandel about his life after that adventure, which

²⁸ See Eliana Hadjisavvas, "Journey through the 'Gate of Zion': British policy, Jewish refugees and the La Spezia Affair, 1946," *Social History* 44, no. 4 (2019): 469–493.

was committed to religion, public service, and unionism. Mandel did not record his underground activities in contemporaneous letters, nor did he write a comprehensive memoir. However, this book preserves his unique eyewitness accounts and fair-minded perspective of critical episodes in the founding of Israel. His story focuses on the often overlooked question of how the victims of the Holocaust rebuilt their lives in the post-World War II period, a subject that has great relevance to present debates on unauthorized immigration and refugee migration.

This volume is organized around interviews conducted with Henry Mandel, his letters, and the stories, anecdotes, and sayings he often told his family, so that his voice can be heard as clearly as possible without intermediary summarizing. Those materials were admittedly edited and annotated by a grandchild of the subject, not a disinterested neutral party, which comes with inherent disadvantages from a scholarly perspective. However, my passion for discovering the truth about my grandfather's story, and sympathetic understanding of his viewpoint, hopefully have advantages too. Mandel's interviews are presented verbatim with only minor adaptations to improve readability. Like Boswell, "for this almost superstitious reverence" for preserving seemingly casual conversation, and preservation of Mandel's pattern of speech and thought despite some repetition and rough patches inherent in informal verbal remarks, we can rely on the authority of medieval Rabbi David Kimchi, who in his commentary on the first chapter of Psalms, wrote that "even the idle talk . . . of a good man ought to be regarded."29

Grandson Benjamin Leinwand has observed that many of the experiences that Mandel related in oral history interviews, such as his father's ill health, deprivation during the Great Depression, and imprisonment for aiding illegal immigration to British Mandatory Palestine, could have been experienced as traumas. However, Mandel had both the disposition and the wisdom to believe and narrate his life as a series of challenges overcome for a higher purpose. He believed in telling stories that were factually true as well as embodying his own subjective narrative truth that the historic events he participated in served a great purpose. Stories that perceive the subjective meaning of the events of a person's life can inherently

James Boswell, Life of Johnson, Complete and Unabridged in One Volume (New York: Modern Library, 1955), 12; see Solomon Schechter, Studies in Judaism (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1905 [1896]), 145.

be positively transformative.³⁰ All can learn from Henry Mandel's honest, humble, bemused, and optimistic self-reckoning of how one person's self-sacrifice and courage helped defeat the Nazis, bring Holocaust refugees to their homeland, and win Israel's War of Independence.

We are fortunate to have a video of an interview of Henry Mandel (denoted by HM in interview excerpts) by Florence Shuster (FS), which was conducted on June 5, 2000 at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York under the auspices of its project to interview American Jewish veterans of World War II. Alyssa Goldschmidt Magid (AGM) conducted a telephone interview of Mandel on December 1, 2006, which is recorded on audio tape. Additionally, Esther Mandel, Aaron Mandel, and Chana Liba Mandel took detailed notes while conducting an interview with Henry Mandel in 2012 for a school project. Memories of discussions with Henry Mandel held by other members of his family are a less exact resource, but nonetheless preserve many of the stories that he felt were important and are of continuing significance. The following accounts are drawn in large part from these interviews and conversations. Hopefully, they convey his character, which was as inspiring as his deeds.

³⁰ Eugenio M. Rothe, "A Psychotherapy Model for Treating Refugee Children Caught in the Midst of Catastrophic Situations," *The Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry* 36, no. 4 (Winter 2008): 625–642.