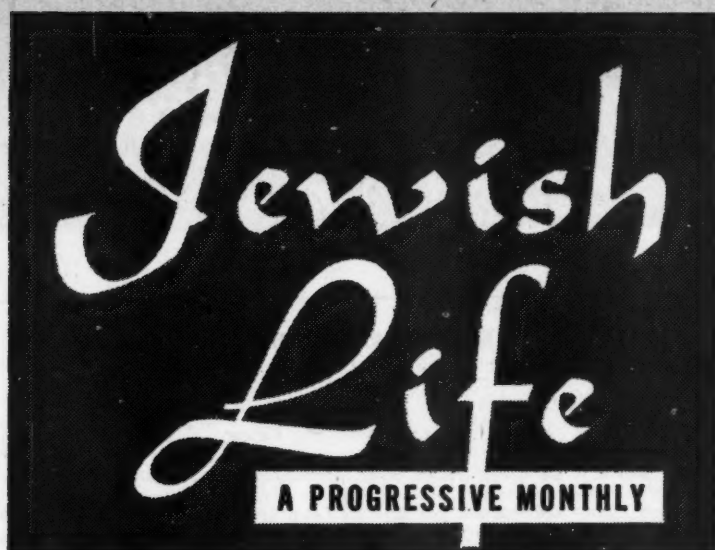


JULY 1951 • 20¢



*Testimony of S. Mikunis
at the Kol Haam Trial*



ISRAELI LIBERATION AND THE COMMUNISTS

ACTIONS FOR PEACE *by Herman Levy*

THE CASE OF DR. DuBOIS *by Dr. Harry F. Ward*

ANTI-SEMITISM AND CHRISTIANITY *by Morris U. Schappes*

THE BLUES VERSUS THE REDS *by Morris Winchevsky*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

A SENATE investigation of the resurgence of nazism in western Germany as indicated by the alarming gains of the neo-nazi Socialist Reich Party in Lower Saxony elections, was urged in mid-May by Rabbi Irving Miller, president of the American Jewish Congress, in a letter to Secretary of State Dean Acheson. Rabbi Miller called for a thorough evaluation and revision of German policy and for consideration of measures "which will more effectively . . . halt the rise to power and influence of those groups which have twice brought war and destruction on all mankind." On May 20, the 26th annual convention of the New England Division of Congress adopted a resolution demanding a full congressional investigation of American administration of western Germany and revision of policy "so as to secure the original aim of democratizing and demilitarizing Germany."

CONDEMNATION of the "three-man New York clique" and "little dictatorship" of the American Jewish Congress was voiced by J. L. Fishbein, editor of the *Chicago Sentinel*, in his May 17 editorial on the expulsion of seven officers of the Manhattan Division and dissolution of the division, expulsion of one member of the Philadelphia Division, suspension of 13 members from the two cities for two to three years and the threat of dissolution of the Southern California Division. Fishbein called attention to the real danger that the Congress will disappear if this policy continues. "Only the most serious self-examination aimed at driving the tyrannical few from the national leadership and substituting in their place genuine representatives of the Jewish people," said Fishbein, "will return the Congress to the clear pathways marked for it by Stephen Wise."

EXACTLY 39 persons attended a MacArthur rally in Carnegie Hall (capacity 2,721) on May 22, called by "The Committee to Sustain MacArthur." Among the listed speakers were Ted Kirkpatrick, editor of the red-smear newsletter *Counterattack*, and former Manhattan Alderman Lambert Fairchild.

AN APOLOGY from Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to the American people for "decrying" separation of church and state was requested on May 10 by Leo Pfeffer, associate general counsel of the American Jewish Congress. Pfeffer was referring to an address by McGrath on March 30 in Cleveland before the National Catholic Educational Association at which McGrath had said, "If anything, the state and church must not have any fence between them." McGrath refused to reverse his stand but instead stated to an American Jewish Press reporter that his opponents were "people without a cause who are just looking for an argument." The *Protestant Century* editorially demanded that McGrath resign and that President Truman should remove him if he did not resign.

VIOLENTLY ANTI-SEMITIC posters appeared all over the Harvard University Yard during the early morning hours of May 1. It is thought that this was an "inside job" and university authorities are investigating.

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JULY, 1951

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

THE EDITORS.

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AMONG 29 leading citizens of Maryland who urged repeal of the McCarran Act on May 24 in an open letter to the Maryland members of Congress were Rabbi Uri Miller, Hon. Jacob J. Edelman, Karl Metzler and Louis Shub. The letter was released to the press on June 5 by the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (2 Stone Street, New York 4, N. Y.).

"THE INTERVIEW has replaced the application form—in some schools at least—as a method of ascertaining the religion of applicants and applying discriminatory quotas" in New York medical schools, said a report of

the American Jewish Congress and the New York State Committee on Equality in Education in mid-May. Discrimination through interview is forbidden by New York's fair educational practices law. The organizations conducted a survey of admissions experience of 61 of 72 pre-medical students who received State Education Department scholarships. Only 46.5 per cent of the Jewish applicants were granted interviews, while 86 per cent of the Protestants and 59 per cent of the Catholics were interviewed. Jewish students lie, 6.1 and Protestants, 3.7. Cornell Univer-

(Continued on page 32)

FROM MONTH TO MONTH

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

AMERICAN democracy suffered the severest blow in our history on June 4, when the majority of the United States Supreme Court upheld the Smith act and the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders. This majority decision undermined the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of speech. As Justice Hugo Black wrote in his dissenting opinion, the decision "waters down the First Amendment so that it amounts to little more than an admonition to Congress." And how little the reactionary Congress would heed even this "admonition," we can guess from its passage of laws like the McCarran act.

The majority opinion by Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson displays elementary disregard of the facts of life in America today when it draws its academic distinction between "advocacy" and "discussion" of Marxism-Leninism and makes the first criminal while assuming that the second will be unimpaired. Even superficial observation of the effects of anti-communist hysteria gives conclusive evidence that the assault on Marxism-Leninism has in actuality meant an attack on *all* dissent from current administration policy. To prove this one need go no further than the report on the state of academic freedom in the colleges published in the *New York Times* on May 10 and 11. Fear of being labeled "red" has had the following effect: "A subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech," said the *Times*, "is attacking college campuses in many parts of the country, limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth. These limitations on free inquiry take a variety of forms but their net effect is a widening tendency toward passive acceptance of the status quo, conformity and a narrowing area of tolerance in which students, faculty and administrators feel free to speak, act and think independently."

Discussion is being stifled through the whole range of problems facing the American people because "advocacy" of non-conformist views is hysterically being curtailed. And the court majority has given a most dangerous impetus to this trend—so dangerous, in fact, that unless it is stopped, and that quickly, America will tread the path of Hitler's Germany. As the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* said in its blistering criticism of the decision on June 5, "the logical consequence of this decision" would be first the imprisonment of 75,000; "after that might come all those who have proposed radical change in the government. Then those who proposed any change. And so on and on." The *Dispatch* should have added—and then

fascism and war. For this is how Hitler did it—first the communists, then the socialists and then everybody else to the left of nazism.

And this is what the American people must come to understand. In actuality this decision does not make the communists alone its target. *The freedom of the entire American people is endangered.* Even bitter anti-communists have realized this and spoken out. "But now the court has given its blessing to heresy-hunting," said the violently anti-communist *New York Post* in an editorial on June 5. "Henceforth men's minds may be searched—for 'intent' and for daydreams. Never was it more vital for Americans who value their liberties to speak up against repression."

And with this blow at freedom, *the peace of the world is endangered.* The majority decision stated that a "clear and present danger" of overthrow of the government existed, as they said, "in the context of world crisis after crisis." We are indebted to the *New York Times* for spelling out the real meaning of this statement. While American youth were "thrown into battle in Korea against communist aggression," said the *Times* editorial of June 5, "we have seen this aggression applauded and encouraged by communists here as in other countries." In other words, the communists are a "clear and present danger" because they oppose the Korean slaughter and wish to bring it to the speediest end. They are working for peace while the bipartisans are trying to silence all opposition to this war drive. But the desire for peace is dear to the great majority of the American people, as is the demand to end the war in Korea. Thus, basically, the "clear and present danger" comes from the majority of the American people, insofar as they desire peace and an end to the war in Korea. The decision is therefore designed to silence all opposition from the American people to a continuation of the war and resistance to the policy of those who incite war. Thus, if the majority decision is allowed to stand, opposition to the war policy of the government will be intimidated and terrorized even more than it is now, and the peace becomes more precarious than ever.

For it is explicitly recognized in the majority decision that the 11 Communist leaders were not charged with a single overt act, but only with "intent" to "overthrow the government." For the first time in our history, "advocacy" and not an act was judged criminal. It was because of their uncompromising *advocacy* of peace that the Communist Eleven were convicted. Justices Hugo Black

and William O. Douglas in their dissenting opinions recognized the supreme danger to the American people in this ditching of the First Amendment. "Not a single seditious act is charged in the indictment," wrote Justice Douglas. "To make a lawful speech unlawful because two men conceive it, is to raise the law of conspiracy to appalling proportions. That course is to make a radical break with the past and to violate one of the cardinal principles of our constitutional scheme." And Justice Black said that the contention of the court majority that the 11 should be convicted because they advocated "overthrow" at some future date "is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press which I believe the First Amendment forbids." The majority intention of silencing the "communists," which really means silencing all dissent, was aimed primarily at gagging all opposition to the war-making policies of the Truman administration.

This situation has an ominously familiar ring to Jews. For it was in the name of anti-communism that Hitler achieved his temporary successes; it was by deluding the people into believing that the "Bolsheviks" were to blame for all evil, that Hitler was able to suppress every vestige of opposition and every semblance of progressive thinking, and thence to annihilate one-third of the Jewish people of the world. It is therefore not only as Americans but also as Jews that the Jewish people of America should

resist this menacing court decision. Must the Jews suffer another annihilation campaign before they learn with finality that anti-communism is the weapon of those who would resurrect the horrors of nazism? Have American Jews not yet learned that their security lies with the progressive forces of the country and in the striving for peace? The elementary security of the Jewish people requires that the leaders of the Jewish community awaken to this latest threat to the Jews, and that the members of Jewish organizations press upon this leadership to raise the alarm.

The American people are not today for the first time confronted by a reactionary Supreme Court decision of major proportions. In 1857, the Dred Scott decision declared that Negroes were "so far inferior that they had no rights, which the white man is bound to respect." But a court decision cannot turn back the clock of history, and the Dred Scott decision was reversed only six years later in Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The Supreme Court in 1951 can no more successfully reverse the development of history than Hitler in the 12 years of his power. The people can reverse the court majority's attempt to decree the First Amendment out of existence. The movement to resist the drift to war and fascism must grow in organizational solidity and in strength. Only an aroused people can reverse this new slavery court decision.

NO HIDING PLACE

WHEN one considers the state of public hysteria that made possible the Supreme Court decision which ditched the Bill of Rights, it is hardly surprising that the past few weeks witnessed eruptions of anti-Semitism in various parts of the country. As it happens, nearly all of these were directed against the Anti-Defamation League, Jewish defense agency, which has not at this writing voiced a murmur of protest at the majority court decision. And these incidents of anti-Semitism bear a basic lesson to the ADL and all Jews in these dangerous days.

The ADL was a target of Ku Klux Klan racism in Miami in May when about 500 people attended a Klan rally at which anti-Semitism was rampant. Anti-Semitic catcalls from the audience were the accompaniment for attacks from the platform on the Anti-Defamation League and the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. Bill Hendrix, grand master of the Florida Klan, called the ADL "a spy ring for all the communist organizations in the country," while he labeled the NAACP a "Jewish organization" with "a Jewish president and a board of 18 Jews." And before and after the meeting the Yiddish-accented version of *Tennessee Waltz* was blared out. Then, on June 6, a bomb exploded at the new Jewish center on Miami's North Side, which was scheduled to open on July 4. Center leaders are sure that the Klan is respon-

sible. Shortly before, another Miami Jewish center had received a threatening letter from the Klan.

Then, in Washington, Colonel Robert R. McCormick's *Washington Times-Herald* continued its thinly-veiled anti-Semitic campaign. When David K. Niles, presidential assistant and the only Jew on the White House staff, resigned, the *Times-Herald* ran a front page editorial (also carried in McCormick's *Chicago Tribune*) attacking Niles and insinuating that he had secret and powerful influence in the White House. About the same time the *Times-Herald* published a book-burning type of article against *Sing a Song of Friendship*, a song book published by the Anti-Defamation League and designed to instill wholesome group attitudes in children. The paper urged editorially, "Throw the book out of our schools and throw its advocates out too." The paper called the book "propaganda" against "American welfare."

What do these incidents show? They show to Jews who take the hush-hush attitude and who believe that they can gain immunity from fascism and its inevitable anti-Semitic results by persistently protesting their anti-communism, that these devices will not get them exemption. These incidents show that the only security lies in outspoken and vigilant resistance to the reactionaries and pro-fascists on every front. And it also shows that the ADL and all Jews must fight together with their fellow victim of the Klan, the Negro people. It shows that Jews must join

all men of good will in fighting against the anti-communist hysteria that is fanning racism and bringing fascism closer.

POLICE LYNCHING IN BROWNSVILLE

THE grim roster of Negroes murdered by policemen grows. The latest murder occurred in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn on May 27. The victim was Henry Fields, Jr., 27-year-old Negro laborer and father of four children from nine months to four years old. Following a street accident, Fields' car was forced into the curb by radio car Patrolman Sam Applebaum, who is known in the neighborhood as a Negro-hater and who broke the jaw of a Negro six months ago and threatened to kill another Negro two months ago. When Fields got out of the car with his hands partially raised and with his back to Applebaum, the policeman immediately shot the Negro in the back and killed him.

The whole community, especially the Negroes, are aroused to an unprecedented degree. The Negro and white residents of the community have held many spirited and crowded mass meetings, both on the streets and in halls, to protest this intolerable murder. Despite the police intimidation of the Negroes and pressure from officially-supported Uncle Toms in the community, the Negroes have remained steadfast and militantly determined that the guilty policeman be brought to justice, that the city indemnify the stricken widow and her infant children and that this savage police brutality against the Negro people be stopped. In Brownsville, a Committee of 1,000 for Justice in the Henry Fields Case has been set up, headed by two ministers and participated in by Negroes and whites, both Jewish and non-Jewish. The national office of the NAACP has pledged its aid in the case and the American Labor Party and the Civil Rights Congress are working to bring the guilty policeman to trial.

To those Jews who are trying to prevent Jewish participation in the case, one must point out that a police department that protects and whitewashes the killers of Negroes assures no safety for Jews. The real issue in the case is not only to punish this particular policeman, but to force a change in police department methods. For the same type of police brutality that kills Negroes also can practice violence against the Jews, as was demonstrated in Christian Front days. It is vitally important to the Jewish people that they join in the fight to end police brutality as a measure of self-defense. Many Jews are in fact in the thick of this fight. As one American Labor Party leader said: "The Jewish people of Brownsville will fight with the Negro people because the Jewish people know that unless police lynchings against the Negro people are stopped, pogroms against the Jews will follow." At the memorable meetings on the streets and in halls, Negroes and Jews stood side by side in this common cause against racism that is the enemy of both peoples. There is no safety for the Jewish people in silence when Negroes are attacked. On

the contrary, the only protection for the Jews lies in common, open struggle together with the militant Negro people and all progressives.

LOAN TO ISRAEL

THE signs are that the \$150,000,000 grant-in-aid to Israel will soon be considered by Congress. On May 27, a bipartisan group of 156 members of the House of Representatives, headed by the House leaders of both parties, urged granting the loan. It would be well to consider if this loan will not be a Trojan horse against the peace and independence of the people of Israel. For by this time there should be no excuse for anyone to be unaware that the Truman administration grants such loans only on condition of economic and political subservience. A granting of the loan would be the prelude to an abandonment of even any pretense of friendship for the Soviet Union which was, more than any other country, responsible for the establishment of Israel. Instead Israel would frankly embark on anti-Soviet war preparations, like all other Marshall Plan countries on Washington's leash.

The real meaning of such a loan was recently spelled out by reactionary sources. The Hearst chain, that great friend of democracy and the Jewish people, has recently declared itself for the loan because the new state "is another potential island of defense against aggressive communist penetration." It soon appeared what Hearst meant by this: Israel would be a useful ally because "the incident in Iran in regard to nationalization of oil points up the fact that the Near East has become a global tinderbox" and Israel's "pivotal" position is useful in this situation. In other words, the Jewish state should be available for an anti-people's war begun in defense of British oil magnates' millions.

Then that great champion of Jewish and democratic rights, columnist George E. Sokolsky, favors the loan in case "we need to defend ourselves against Russian imperialism." Particularly is there need of Israel as a "friend," he says, because the "Arab-Indian alliance imperilled our position in Korea." And again the loan received the approval of Robert Considine, another Hearst columnist, because in case the "Red Army marched, . . . our military leaders would depend on both [Turkey and Israel] to serve and bleed as buffers—as they would—until mightier defenses could be wheeled into line." This is plain and honest talking, at least. The function of the new state, once it barter itself for a loan from Washington, is to "bleed" in the anti-Soviet war being planned in Washington.

Can such a loan be a "constructive" force in Israel? On the contrary, such a loan would prepare Israel as a lamb for slaughter. Israel needs economic development and peace desperately. The loan would militate against these objectives and would commit Israel to virtual suicide. As *Kol Haam* has said, Israel needs peace in order to prevent it from becoming a battlefield in the "new world massacre designed by Wall Street." A loan from Washington would endanger the security and independence of Israel.

ACTIONS FOR PEACE

By Herman Levy

MONDAY, June 25, marks the first anniversary of the opening of the Korean "police action" which has resulted in more than a million dead, mangled and diseased men, women and children, including some 150,000 American soldiers—and the reduction of the productive Korean land to charred ruins.

As that anniversary draws near, the Truman administration and its loyal Republican opposition continue their political charades in Washington. At this writing the Senate's investigation of MacArthur's dismissal goes into its second million words of testimony. It becomes increasingly clear that between the Truman and the MacArthur policies there was no significant difference but timing. From the administration corner, Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk announced the administration's commitment to the overthrow of the Chinese People's Republic. His chief, Secretary Dean Acheson, was quick to assert that this declaration of endless hostilities marked no change in State Department policy. The Washington rumor factory buzzes with news that Rusk is slated for promotion, and new shipments of American arms, money and men went on their way to bolster Chiang Kai-shek in his impatient Formosan exile.

The Johnson Resolution

Meanwhile, preparations of another sort were also being made to mark the anniversary on June 25. Senator Edwin C. Johnson, Democrat of Colorado, a legislator with a mixed, largely conservative record, gave expression, as the American Peace Crusade noted, to "the first open recognition by any Washington official of the deep desire of all Americans for an end to the killing in Korea and the establishment of a lasting peace." On May 17, Senator Johnson introduced a brief resolution (SR-140) which pointed out that:

"... the Korean war has every appearance of being a hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness and a breeder of bitter racial hatreds. . . ."

"... a limited war . . . may burst forth into a world-wide conflagration at any moment. . . ."

The war has brought "more than one million casualties, with the only tangible result, so far, the indescribable misery which has been heaped upon the Korean people. . . ."

"... it has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government over any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine

its own form of government and its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid—the little along with the great and powerful. . . ."

"... the traditional policy and desire of the people of the United States of America is now and has been a just and enduring peace. . . ."

The Johnson resolution then called for:

A cease-fire and armistice in Korea at 4 A.M., June 25, 1951, exactly a year after the beginning of the conflict;

The withdrawal of Gen. Ridgeway's forces south of the 38th parallel and North Korean forces above the parallel, before that date;

The departure from Korea of all foreign persons, military and non-military, with the exception of ordinary diplomatic representatives, by December 31, 1951.

The vital significance of this move was underlined by its treatment in the war-eager press of the nation. The resolution was studiously ignored by almost all papers on May 18, the day following its introduction. Those few papers that did carry it, sunk the story deep in the inside pages. Only after the Soviet daily *Pravda* gave front page notice on May 19 to the resolution, did a few more major American dailies see fit to pass the news along in abbreviated and obscured form to their readers.

Senator Johnson commented on this blackout to the officers of Ford Local 600, United Automobile Workers, who called on him to pledge support for his resolution. The senator attacked the press for its "premeditated, deliberate conspiracy of silence," pointing out that the Washington newspapers had failed to print a line about this sensational news story.

Support Pours In

Despite the silence of the press and major party leaders, however, the news of the resolution circulated and declarations of support began to pour in. From sections where newspapers had reported the resolution, Senator Johnson's office announced, the favorable response was overwhelming.

Senator Robert C. Hendrickson, Republican of New Jersey, announced his support for the resolution, and Senator Dennis Chavez, Democrat of New Mexico, declared before a Veterans of Foreign Wars audience in his home state—without specifically mentioning the resolution—that the United States was the "intruder" in Korea and that the fruit of United States intrusion would be "only bitter hatred and deep resentment."

In addition to the 60,000-member Ford Local 600 of UAW-CIO, which endorsed the resolution and demanded that Michigan senators support it, labor support was quickly offered by other unions. The 100,000-strong Fur and Leather Workers, United Public Workers, the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, organ of 59 AFL unions in the state, the 90,000-member Mine, Mill and Smelter Union and locals of the shoe workers, painters, the marine cooks and stewards and other internationals also announced their support.

Former Governor Elmer A. Benson of Minnesota, chairman of the Progressive Party, and C. B. Baldwin, secretary, declared: "Senator Johnson has cut through the foggy war of words on foreign policy with the only proposal that makes sense—end the war in Korea at once." In New York, Vito Marcantonio announced the support of the American Labor Party with the statement that "Senator Johnson's resolution provides a common ground for the common will of the American people for peace."

The American Peace Crusade, coordinating center for numerous state and city peace groups of all descriptions, reproduced the text of the resolution and circulated it throughout the nation, securing the support of major public figures throughout the country in a demand for immediate public Senate hearings on Senator Johnson's proposal. The New England Citizens Concerned for Peace, a regional organization headed by Boston architect E. B. Goodell, Jr., announced its formation with an invitation to Johnson to address a public meeting. Local groups of the National Committee for Peaceful Alternatives undertook action to swing their senators behind the resolution. The more than 1,000 regional, metropolitan and rural peace organizations now functioning throughout the country began to be heard in support of the Korean peace move. Interest from citizens not specifically organized for peace action was indicated by the Parent-Teachers' organization of a Brooklyn high school, which voted unanimous endorsement of the resolution and a high-school teacher in Camden, N. J., who polled his students on the Johnson plan, found 77 per cent in favor.

Where Is Organized Jewish Support?

In Cleveland, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver climaxed a series of sharp attacks on the war policy of the Truman administration and its Republican allies by declaring in his last lecture of the season to his Temple congregation that the Johnson resolution "should have been introduced 11 months ago. . . . There is no power on earth which can halt the march of the peoples of Asia for national liberation. . . . The only government which represents the Chinese people today is the Peking government." Rabbi Silver's statement, in which he pointed out that the Soviet Union needs to rebuild and could not possibly want to provoke war, served to highlight further the independent peace position which he has taken during the past months in response to the clear interests and desires of the Ameri-

can and Jewish people. At the same time, it threw into bold relief the painful absence of similar independence and courage on the part of other Jewish community and organizational leaders throughout the United States.

While Protestant churchmen have been playing a key role in the organization and activity of local, state and national peace groups, the rabbinate has not in any numbers clearly followed the Biblical injunction to "seek peace." Four Protestant Bishops, Negro and white, and some 50 clergymen are listed among the 300 leading figures who are sponsoring the American Peace Crusade. The list contains a number of Jewish individuals, but only three Jewish religious leaders: Dr. Abraham Cronbach of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg of New Haven and Rabbi Abraham Bick of New York.

The general board of the National Council of Churches, with which 29 Protestant denominations are affiliated, recently issued a statement calling on the United States government to "explore every honorable alternative to war" and to negotiate differences with the Soviet Union. The board authorized its women's body to demand of President Truman a "pledge to the world that the United States will not become an aggressor in any war." The American Friends Service Committee recently published an extremely significant report entitled *Steps to Peace—A Quaker View of Foreign Policy*, which outlines the considerations behind the Quaker's rejection of the administration line and their consistent advocacy of a reversal in American policy designed to achieve peace. Yet no similar actions have emerged from Jewish bodies, from the organized councils of the Orthodox, Conservative or Reform movement, lay or rabbinical. And the Reconstructionist movement, which prides itself on independence of thought, succumbed so far to the pressures for conformity as to publish in its official journal an apologia for assistance to Hitler's partner, Francisco Franco, on the grounds that his help is necessary in the holy war against "communism."

While many Jewish workers and intellectuals are actively participating in the peace movement, the Jewish commu-

80 CONGRESS
1st Session

S. RES. 140

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 17, 1951

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

RESOLUTION

Whereas to permit civilization to be destroyed by World War
III is utter insanity and unworthy of the men of this century;
and

nity leadership, which is dominated by the Jewish big bourgeoisie, has almost totally failed to participate in the mounting peace campaign. That leadership has largely limited its activity even on the issue of German rearmament and renazification to public statements. The weakness of the protest mounted by the major Jewish organizations against the Truman policy of coddling the revived nazis has been so glaring as to call forth sharp condemnation from some editorialists of Anglo-Jewish weeklies, which rarely challenge entrenched leadership of any kind.

Rabbi Silver pointed out four months ago that the Truman administration had "taken upon itself the leadership in remilitarization and recartelization of Western Germany with the conscious and premeditated intention of attacking the Soviet Union and inciting a third World War." The rank and file of the American Jewish community has reason to be well aware of the dangers of revived nazism, and is exerting substantial pressure for action on the leadership. But effective action against United States policy in Germany, as Rabbi Silver's analysis makes very clear, is impossible without simultaneous opposition to the entire war program of the administration. The members of American Jewish organizations who want to see German nazism liquidated once and for all will have to press upon their leaders not to be so timorous or besotted with hatred for socialism and to refuse to play along with a war program which requires German mercenaries and the profits from Herr Krupp's steel.

American Peace Crusade Acts

In sharp contrast to the inadequate response by the leaders of the million-dollar-budget Jewish organizations, has been the greater activity of the peace movement on the crucial importance of Germany. The American Peace Crusade has included the issue of German rearmament as one of the three questions in the nationwide peace poll which it has launched. This ballot, of which a million and a half have been distributed, is designed to give Americans the opportunity, denied by the press and entrenched political parties, to express their opposition to the war program. It asks three questions:

"1. Do you favor bringing our troops home now and settling the war in Korea?"

"2. Do you favor negotiations now among the Big Five leading to a long term settlement for world peace?"

"3. Do you favor keeping Germany disarmed?"

Ten million copies of this ballot will be distributed by the Crusade in churches, shops, farms, homes and organizations throughout the country. Judging from the response to the one and a half million already in circulation, the poll will register an overwhelming sentiment from all walks of American life for a prompt and long range peace settlement and a decisive disarmament of Germany.

The multiplying evidences of widespread American peace sentiment, given new impetus by Senator Johnson's resolution, are beginning to provide the answer to the central

question which faces the people of the United States and of the entire world. The question—a jackpot question which is worth not \$64 but millions of lives: will the American people organize themselves for peace in time to change the war policies of the American government? From the Gallup polls to the surveys by local peace councils, every measure of the real sentiment of the American people reveals an overwhelming desire for an end to the slaughter in Korea and for a peaceful settlement involving all the major powers of the world.

The Chicago Congress

The central problem for the past five years has been to find an organized outlet for these popular sentiments, to discover a common ground on which the people can achieve unity and direction. The latest and most all-embracing attempt to achieve this unity for peace is taking place at his writing, with more than 5,000 delegates representing all shades of opinion and all major segments of American life planning to converge on Chicago for the three-day American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, June 29 to July 1. Delegations to the Congress plan to come from all parts of the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, guaranteeing that it will be the biggest, broadest and most representative American people's conference on peace since World War II. Representatives will come from church bodies, Negro and national group organizations, labor, youth, women's and veterans' groups, as well as from local peace councils and committees all over the land. They are gathering on the basis of three elementary principles, determined to find unity on a plan, a program and an overall organization in the fight for peace.

The principles underlying the Chicago Congress are: peace is America's best defense; war is not inevitable; and there are no differences among nations which cannot be negotiated.

Following the Washington Pilgrimage for Peace called by the Crusade in March of this year, one of the 2,500 delegates, an editor of the Episcopal Church magazine, *The Witness*, wrote the following in a lead editorial: "*The Witness* has intimated several times in the recent past that one of the causes of the present shocking public hysteria was the enforced ignorance of the people in general about the facts of life—economic, political, international. In other words, if John Doe and Mary Roe were aware of the thoughts and actions of millions of their fellow Americans and the actual, objective truth about other nations and peoples, they would see to it in short order that the present provocative, stupid, war-breeding words and deeds of America's ruling class were halted and that we began to get ourselves new leaders."

John Doe and Mary Roe are beginning to learn the score. On the anniversary of the opening of the Korean "police action," the American People's Congress for Peace is making sure that they learn the lesson well.

THE BLUES VERSUS THE REDS

Being Suggestions of Laws Against the Anarchists, Drafted by a Good Citizen

By Morris Winchevsky

Although the following article was published in 1901, it reads like a satire on the Smith and McCarran acts of today. It first appeared in the monthly The Comrade, and the author was Morris Winchevsky, the famous proletarian Yiddish poet. Winchevsky was the first of the pioneer Yiddish proletarian poets to be born (1855) and the last to die (1932). He was one of the founders of the Morning Freiheit, which published his collected works in ten volumes on his seventieth birthday.—Eds.

THE Blues, that's what is the matter with us just at present.

The Reds are at the bottom of it all.

The Reds being dark red, we are troubled with Blues, which are dark blue, very dark blue, more dark; in fact, than blue.

The Blues then, it is clear, have to fight the Reds.

The situation demands the adoption of drastic measures.

I, therefore, respectfully submit a few such measures, trusting that they will be amplified, and so amended, as to fully meet the requirements in the case.

In order to facilitate the universal understanding of the following laws against the Reds, I deemed it proper to divest them in many instances of the legal phraseology. Should they, however, as I hope they will, be adopted and placed on the statute books, the learned profession will, no doubt, so rephrase and redraft them, as to make them duly obscure, and properly unintelligible to the lay mind.

HERE IS THE DRAFT AFORESAID IN ITS PRESENT CRUDE SHAPE.
Anybody or Anybody Else—

Whether high or low or a church-beadle;

Whether masculine, feminine or neuter;

Without distinction as to race, creed, color, dye, real or false teeth, hair or profession;

Whether whiskered, bald-faced (not bold-faced), long-haired or pig-tailed;

Whether in or out of his, her or its wits, senses or anything that may pass for, or be regarded as, such;

Whether in or out of office, be it sacred or profane, be it national, state, municipal, district, janitorial, mercantile, educational, journalistic (or otherwise impudent), street-cleaning, home, foreign, permanent or temporary; with or without reward, pay, compensation, emolument, reguardon, recompense or remuneration; no matter whether in the shape of salary, wages, fees, sops, perquisites, tips, bribes, hush-money, solacium, railroad passes, theater passes, grants, franchises, divorce-court-admission-tickets, votes,

name-handles, chairmanship, or compliments (as to youth and beauty), in the case of spinsters, ladies in general, and aging bachelors of no arts;

Whether they be gifted with speech or be mute, or a cross between the two, if, that is, they be diplomatically constituted persons;

Whether silver-tongued or brazen-faced, whether quiet, noisy, whistling, muttering or barrel-organically musical;

Whether they be policemen or, on the contrary, watchful people; handwriting experts or rather adverse to perjury as a trade;

Whether in or out of love, single or plural, free or encumbered either with mothers-in-law or counsellors-at-ditto, with borrowing brothers or worrying lodge-brethren, with too frequent triplets, unmarketable poems, unbusiness-like scruples; with bibliomania, dear, i.e., costly friends, and other things or beings of the same nature, character, kind or description;

Whether they believe in free love, chained love, love in anticipation of a valuable death, love on the installment plan, love salable to the highest bidder, love in exchange for a title, love for domestic use or foreign exportation, love platonic, histrionic, operatic, leg-high-up-ic, mormonic, morganatic, poetically constant, or, on the contrary, real love; love with or without regard to and for gastronomy and dyspepsia, to and for soup cooked with or without thrilling dime-novels;

Whether they be smokers, chewers and coughers, or persons who expectorate for the fun of the thing;

Whether they be afflicted with a mania for pictures or drawings representing either landscapes, nude live stock, or pure Comstock in fact, any but watered stock;

Whether they make a living, or speeches, or money to burn, or burnings for money, or fools of themselves, or

Morris Winchevsky



matches (parlor, kitchen or diamond, settlement-girt safety matches), or anything else calculated to either give light or cause a (conjugal) explosion in a house;

Whether they be store-keepers, score-keepers, game-keepers, park-keepers, book-keepers, saloon-keepers, or, in a general way keepers of all they can lay hands on:

NOW ALL THESE PERSONS, BOTH HOME-GROWN AND IMPORTED, naturalized and denaturalized, carnivorous, herbivorous, omnivorous and humble pie eaters, will henceforth come under the following laws, rules, regulations, restrictions and ordinances, to wit:

I. All Anarchists, whether they be such or not, are to be swiftly and ruthlessly exterminated.

II. Under the designation of "anarchist" come all those who are commonly called "reds," irrespective of their professions. (Harvard may remain crimson, provided the philological faculty unequivocally declare in writing that there is a distinction between crimson and red, and that there is, furthermore, no organic relation between crimson and crime.)

III. Everybody will be taken to be a red, i.e., a dangerous person in an embryonic stage, who shall be found wearing a red button, a red shawl, a red necktie, a red ribbon, or a red nose, he, she or it being unable (in the case of nasal rubicundity, that is) to prove to the satisfaction of the authorities by means of a sworn affidavit of no less than three saloon-keepers, that he, she or it, as the case may be, has acquired the red nose aforesaid in a legal way.

IV. Anybody red in the face will have to satisfy the police that he, she or it, has come by such red-facedness through nothing but excessive drinking, or the reading of some politicians' biographies, or a pugilistic slap in the face, or a perusal of the *Police News*, of certain divorce proceedings, same being low-life-triangles in high-life-circles, or from some other cause equally natural and, therefore, unobjectionable.

V. If caught, reds may be lynched as if they had been blacks, lawlessness against the lawless being lawful though technically lawless.

VI. HENCEFORTH EACH AND EVERY IMMIGRANT MUST BRING along with him, her or it, a certificate of good behavior from the old country, proving beyond any manner of doubt that he she or it had in his, her or its native place been a good and faithful subject; had never been to any political meeting of a subversive kind, had never called anybody "comrade," had never belonged to any trade union, had taken part in no strike (except by way of betraying rebellious strikers), had been a church member, had gone to a Sunday school when a youth, and had denounced to the powers that be every revolutionist within his, her or its cognizance.

VII. They would, furthermore, have to prove that they had no connection with either Polish Insurrectionists, or the Paris Communards, or English Chartist (dead or alive), or Irish Fenians, or Russian Nihilists, or Italian Carbonari,

or German Social Democrats, or Austrian Reichsrath rowdies, or Spanish Carlists, or European malicious detractors of Chicago canned beef, or any other dangerous malcontents.

VIII. They would also have to satisfy the authorities that they never read the early writings of Tennyson, and Swinburne, or the mature writings of William Morris and one G. Herwegh, or any other poetry or prose of a seditious nature, more particularly the treasonable poems of the notorious Shelley, and certain deviltry of Robert Buchanan.

IX. Any pregnant woman landing on Ellis Island or elsewhere, shall be kept in quarantine until such time as she may give birth to the foreign conception. Should the child appear to the authorities suspiciously red in the skin, or too much of a squealer, thus giving signs of a discontented disposition, or manifest an objection to swaddling clothes, thereby betraying a proneness to an inordinate degree of freedom, or rebelliously kick in the washtub, or otherwise behave in a manner incompatible with good, law abiding citizenship—in all such cases both mother and child are to be sent back to Europe, the United States government paying the return passage, and charging same to "Statue of Liberty, Maintenance Account."

X. Open air meetings to be strictly prohibited, except when called by bona fide Republicans, Gold Standard Democrats, thoroughly sterilized and disinfected Populists, the Salvation Army, Prohibitionists of the "horrible example" variety, soap-selling fakers, a genuine dead horse in the street, as well as in the case of juvenile bonfire worshippers, or of "curb" stock brokers, of a house on fire, and of an arrested youngster who may have purloined a loaf of bread, naturally causing an assemblage of indignant honest people.

XI. Poles, Italians and Peter Kropotkin are not to be allowed to land at all. Italians whose declared place of destination be Paterson, N. J., must be searched, divested of all weapons (including suspicious looking penknives, corkscrews and metal toothpicks), and sent back to Europe before their arrival in this country.

XII. NOBODY SHALL BE PERMITTED TO SELL, VEND, GIVE, BARter, present, transfer, send, forward, hand, convey, dispense or deliver any books, booklets, leaflets, pamphlets, tracts, circulars, appeals, manifestoes, handbills, programs, papers, journals, magazines, annuals, manuals, almanacs, reviews, or periodicals of any and every kind; either printed, lithographed, typewritten, handwritten, or otherwise published, made known, written out, either in longhand, shorthand, or in any other way, in English or in any other language, dead or alive, which may contain either openly or implied, insinuated, hinted, or by way of allusion, matter savoring of rebellion, disobedience or disregard for law and order, its guardians and officers, legislative, executive and detective.

XIII. In all school books the phrase in the Declaration of Independence proclaiming all men to be born equal, as well as all phrases about liberty and happiness and all the rest of it, to be expunged.

ISRAELI LIBERATION AND THE COMMUNISTS

Testimony of S. Mikunis at Kol Haam Trial

A sensational libel trial opened in Tel Aviv in February, when the editors of Kol Haam, daily organ of the Communist Party of Israel, were summoned to court on the charge of having libelled Prime Minister David Ben Gurion. The "insulting" passage in Kol Haam, commenting on a venomous anti-communist speech delivered by Ben Gurion before a conference of Hanoar Haoved, labor youth organization, read as follows: "The premier spoke without restraint or shame to the thousands of Israeli youth, using the kind of smear words which only traitors of the nation and of the working class have the effrontery to utter." A crucial witness in the trial was Colonel Yitzhak Sadeh, a founder of the Palmach and a battle commander in the Negev, who brought out that, at a point when the Egyptian army was nearly defeated, Ben Gurion ordered withdrawal of troops under pressure from the United States and Britain. Ben Gurion himself was an evasive witness on April 8. And on May 2, Samuel Mikunis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, began his sensational testimony, the greatest part of which is printed below.—Eds.

I: ARMS FROM THE NEW DEMOCRACIES

DEFENSE ATTORNEY: Where were you in October 1949?

Mikunis: I was in this country at that time.

Defense Attorney: What was the position of the Communist Party in relation to the government at that time?

Mikunis: The party was in opposition to the government.

Defense Attorney: Was the position of the newspaper (*Kol Haam*) and of the Communist Party deputies in the Knesset also one of opposition?

Mikunis: Yes, in October 1949 and since that date.

Defense Attorney: What was the position of the Communist Party in relation to the state?

Mikunis: The relationship of our party to the state is not only positive, but the party fought strongly for the independence of Israel, made its contribution both materially and politically and contributed all its strength in the Israeli army for the creation of the state.

Defense Attorney: As representative of the party, what were your personal activities in the period between December 1947 and May 14, 1949?

(The prosecutor objects, stating that this has nothing to do with the trial.)

Mikunis: I want to establish that I have never, under any circumstances represented only myself, but always the Communist Party of Israel, during the whole period of my activities abroad. My first trip abroad until May 14, 1948, was in connection with the mobilization of political and moral aid, securing of volunteers and arms for the Haganah and then for the army of Israel. I visited the countries of the people's democracies, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. I began working for this aid even before the establishment of the state, knowing that we lacked the elementary materials to defend the country. As was proven later, the Haganah at that time possessed no more than 1,300 rifles. Several months before the proclamation of the state I worked in the people's democracies to mobilize help against imperialism. I found deep concern in the Communist movements of those lands.

Defense Attorney: When did you return home to Israel after that visit?

Mikunis: I returned on May 13, 1948.

Defense Attorney: Did you participate in the provisional state council, which proclaimed the independence of the state?

Mikunis: Yes.

Defense Attorney: Did you participate in its discussions?

Mikunis: Yes.

Defense Attorney: Did you meet with the head of the provisional government and in regard to what did you meet with him?

Mikunis: It was immediately after the proclamation of the state and at the beginning of the aggression. I was concerned by the terror bombings of the aggressors, who were not intercepted by the Israeli army. One saw no Israeli planes or anti-aircraft guns in urban areas. I demanded an urgent interview with the head of the provisional government. And on about May 20 or 21, I was received by him. I wanted to know the condition of our defense facilities.

Defense Attorney: What did you say to the prime minister?

Mikunis: I asked the reason for the lack of defense in the cities, in the light of the terror bombings by the aggressors' armies. His answer was that we lacked the necessary arms and the qualified people to repulse the enemy bombers, as well as the variety of arms needed to begin an offensive against the invading armies. I proposed that he arrange for an emergency permit to enable me to visit the countries of the people's democracies so as to obtain the lacking supplies there quickly for the Israeli army, as well as to get volunteers as quickly as possible for our war of independence.

Mikunis Takes a Trip

Defense Attorney: Did you tell the prime minister of the earlier preparations that you had made?

Mikunis: I did not consider it necessary to tell him that the basis had already been laid in the people's democracies to obtain volunteers and war material for our war of independence.



**Samuel Mikunis -
General Secretary
Communist Party of Israel**

Defense Attorney: Did you meet with any difficulties in mobilizing this help?

Mikunis: I met with only one difficulty and that was in Yugoslavia, whose government manifested a hostile attitude towards mobilization of volunteers and granting military supplies to the Israeli army.

(The prosecutor objects to such questions which, in his opinion, relate to international dealings.)

Judge: I want to say that there are things which should not be revealed.

Mikunis: I can assure Your Honor that I shall not reveal anything that can harm our state in its diplomatic relations with other countries. All these matters, of which I spoke, dealt not with the connections and relationships of our state with others, but with the connections and relationships of the Communist Party of Israel with the leaders of the Communist Parties in the people's democracies.

Prosecutor: While testifying in court, Ben Gurion did not say that the Communist Party of Israel did not take a leading part in the war of independence. If the witness' aim is to demonstrate that the Communist Party of Israel did everything in its power to help win the war of independence, then it is not necessary for him to do it, because it is a known fact.

Defense Attorney: The prosecutor cannot reject all these questions. I want to prove that the Communist Parties of other countries helped in the war of independence of Israel and that has a bearing on this trial. The court should give us the opportunity of proving that that which is written in the article, which the prosecution considers libelous, is true.

Defense Attorney: In which countries did you get help during your second trip? From whom and in what form did this aid come?

Mikunis: I received aid from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Rumania. In general I had no dealings with the governments, but with the Communist Parties in those countries.

Defense Attorney: What kind of aid was this?

Mikunis: The aid consisted in the opportunity afforded me to obtain arms, volunteers and a variety of other things which were of primary importance to the success of our struggle against aggression—things to which I do not care to refer at this time.

Defense Attorney: What arms did you get? Any ammunition or airplanes, too?

Mikunis: All kinds of arms as well as planes. The arms arrived on time and every soldier recognized them and also knew from which country they came.

Defense Attorney: During your second trip did you meet leaders of the Israeli army or the Haganah organization?

Mikunis: There already were official missions there from Israel with whom I met from time to time.

Defense Attorney: Was there an understanding between

you and the representatives of the state about obtaining ammunition and volunteers?

Mikunis: I worked as the envoy of the Communist Party of Israel, basing myself on my knowledge of the needs of the Israeli army at that period.

Aid from USSR

Defense Attorney: What do you know about aid from the Soviet Union for the establishment of the State of Israel?

Mikunis: I know that the leaders of the Soviet Union carried on a consistent struggle to help in the creation of our independent state.

Mikunis: The representatives of the Soviet Union—Andrei Gromyko, Semyon Tsarapkin and Jacob Malik—fought from the tribune of the UN and were determined to give all political and moral help for the liberation of Israel. This I know from the statements of the prime minister and the government ministers.

(These statements were stricken from the record and the judge declared that matters heard by the witness need not be included.)

Defense Attorney: When did Gromyko first proclaim the Soviet Union's support for the establishment of a Jewish state?

Mikunis: In May 1947.

Judge: How does the witness know this?

Mikunis: I know this the way everyone else does. I received the official bulletin of the Tass Agency from London of that day.

Defense Attorney: When did the Soviet Union recognize the State of Israel?

Prosecutor: Is the date important?

Defense Attorney: Yes, very important, because Mr. Ben Gurion has forgotten it.

Mikunis: The Soviet Union was the first government that recognized the State of Israel *de jure* and that was immediately after the proclamation of the State of Israel, on May 18, 1948.

II: THE ROLE OF WASHINGTON

District Attorney: What does the witness know of the prime minister's speeches in the Knesset, or in government commissions regarding aid from the United States and the establishment of the government of Israel?

Mikunis: At a meeting of the state council on November 25, 1948, in which I participated, the prime minister answered statements of the opposition, as follows: "If the United States urges the Arabs to stop the aggression and to recognize Israel, it is possible that there will be peace within a month or two."

Defense Attorney: Did Mr. Truman urge the Arab governments to halt the aggression?

Mikunis: No, on the contrary.

Prosecutor: How do you know what Truman said?

Judge: Who stopped the aggression?

Mikunis: The Israeli army did that with the help of the socialist camp throughout the world.

Judge: How do you know that Mr. Truman did not halt the aggression?

Mikunis: Truman did not then command the Israeli Army.

Defense Attorney: Do you know whether Truman asked the Arabs to cease hostilities?

Mikunis: I know of no such thing.

Defense Attorney: We don't know that either. What then was the attitude of the United States towards the Jewish community after the November 29, 1947 decision?

(The prosecutor objects to this question.)

Judge: Let us say that its attitude was good or bad—what is the connection with the question under consideration?

Defense Attorney: It has a direct bearing on the case. The article (in *Kol Haam*) states: "We know—Ben Gurion is one of those who does the bidding of his American employers, etc." Mr. Ben Gurion denies this. If I can prove that the attitude of the United States to the state of Israel was hostile, then I shall be able to prove on the basis of the prime minister's actions that what was written in the above mentioned article is true.

(The judge permits the question to be left in the record.)

Mikunis: Mr. Warren Austin, United States representative at the UN Security Council, declared on March 19, 1948, that his government was withdrawing support of the plan to divide Israel into two states—one Jewish, the other Arab—and he proposed placing Palestine under international "trusteeship."

Defense Attorney: Do you or do you not know the attitude of the United States from the time the war began in Palestine in 1948 until it ended?

Mikunis: The United States government imposed an embargo on arms to Israel.

Defense Attorney: Did the embargo also affect the Arab states?

Mikunis: No. The United States government sent all kinds of arms first of all to Syria, via the port of Beirut.

[In the course of the trial there had been a long discussion between the attorney, Mikunis, the judge and the prosecutor about a Fred Harris from the United States. According to Mikunis, Harris “was invited to reorganize the Israeli army.” The defense attorney asked that former chief of staff of the Israeli army, General Y. Duri, now director of the Haifa Academy, and the present chief of staff, Yigal Yadin, be called as witnesses on this point. The judge stated that he would hand down a decision on this matter in a few days. The trial then continued on the role played by the United States during the war of liberation.]

Withdrawal from El-Arish

Defense Attorney: What do you know about “aid” from the United States during our war of independence and how do you know about this?

Mikunis: I heard the speech of Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett at the provisional state council on January 11, 1949. Also in the foreign affairs commission of the provisional state council Mr. Sharett spoke of the connection with the withdrawal from El-Arish [on the Egyptian border].

(Mikunis begins to quote from Sharett's speech at the provisional state council meeting: “A clash has been avoided. . . .” At this point the prosecutor jumps up and shouts that he objects to the reading of the foreign minister's statements, even though they have been made public in the official record. The prosecutor states that he has been requested not to allow questioning about the Harris affair, military matters and everything else connected with it.)

Defense Attorney: The complaints of the prosecutor bring us to the decisive point, that is—freedom of speech and press, freedom of the law and its independence of the state. We are approaching the third anniversary of Israel's independence. But if complaints have been brought and there have been traitors, there is nothing to be ashamed of. But it is impossible to say that the statements of Mr. Sharett at an open meeting of the state council which were later made public, should not be repeated here in the courtroom.

(At this point there was a recess of 20 minutes, after which the judge rendered his opinion: “The witness is being questioned about matters of state. The question is, what is permissible to disclose. The ‘law of secrecy’ also includes speeches in parliament and legislative bodies, and this was the status of the provisional state council. But since the statements of Mr. Sharett have already been made public, there is no reason why we should not hear them in the courtroom. Therefore I permit the reading of Mr. Sharett's speech.” Mikunis then reads the following excerpts from Foreign Minister Sharett's speech at the meeting of the council held on January 11, 1949: “The attack was actually stopped at all points, but the enemy has reacted sharply—urging the United States to bring pressure on us. And on a fixed date the United States government, through its representative in Tel Aviv, contacted us and told us that the British government had informed them of its great anxiety about our advances into Egypt, stating that if we did not withdraw, Britain would be forced to act in accordance with its agreement with Egypt.”

COLONEL SADEH TESTIFIES ON WITHDRAWALS

At the libel trial of Kol Haam, Colonel Yitzhok Sadeh, a founder of Palmach, Israeli shock force, and one-time commander of the Israeli militia in the Negev, testified concerning the victorious march against the Egyptians and the subsequent withdrawals on orders of Ben Gurion. Following are some excerpts from Colonel Sadeh's testimony, as reported by David Flinker in the Jewish Morning Journal of March 11.

DEFENSE Counsel: What happened then?

Colonel Sadeh: I received an order to retreat.

Q. How can you be certain that you could have captured Al-Erish?

A. We were seven kilometers from our destination so that the Egyptians would have had to bring reinforcements from far away, which was impossible.

Colonel Sadeh then related that in retreating as ordered he marched his troops in the direction of Rafyakh. He was in a position to capture the stronghold. This time once again the Egyptian army would

have been surrounded. But once more he received an order to withdraw.

Q. How can you be certain that you could have captured this position?

A. I am certain of this but I cannot speak freely because even now the answer is a military secret that would be of value to the Egyptians.

Q. Why were you ordered to stop?

A. Since I am attached to the army, I cannot answer that, even though I know the reasons.

Q. Tell us, not in your capacity as a military man, but as Witness Yitzhok Sadeh. Can you explain it?

A. There was pressure from the great powers.

Colonel Sadeh further testified that at that time British planes appeared over the battlefield and dropped parachutists. The British were captured and two captured British officers were brought before the witness.

Q. Perhaps the British wanted to help the Israeli army?

A. I saw no such help.

“... the withdrawal took place 40 hours after the U. S. made the demand . . .”

(At this point the witness cites another excerpt: “As for our decision on this matter, we have decided to withdraw our troops from there. . . . At the foreign affairs commission I told one of its members, I. Rittin, that the withdrawal took place 40 hours after the United States made the demand.”)

Defense Attorney: What do you know about the withdrawal of the Israeli army from the peninsula of Sinai and how do you know this?

Mikunis: I know of this from the appearances of the foreign and defense ministers at the government commission.

An American Ultimatum

(At this point the defense attorney hands the judge Ben Gurion's book, *When Israel Fought* (published by Mapai), in which the section on the Negev campaign, dated January 7, 1949, in the speech of Ben Gurion to the Security Council of the United Nations, was reprinted. S. Mikunis quotes the following passages from Ben Gurion's book: “The military actions executed between December 23 and January 7 achieved two purposes simultaneously. The Egyptians, who were beaten back through the actions of our army, made known their willingness to negotiate with us for peace; and the entire Negev was freed of Egyptian soldiers. We drove the invaders out of Bir Asludsh and from the border—the territory from Bar-Sheba all the way to the border of Egypt is in our hands and not one Egyptian soldier remains. Our troops have reached El-Arish and Abu-Agilah on the peninsula of Sinai.”

Still further: “On the other side of our border, facing Sinai, there was a danger that our soldiers would encounter British troops who were in that region, and our troops were ordered to withdraw from Abu-Agilah so as to reach Rafyakh in time and thus cut the Egyptian troops off in Azah.” **Still further, Ben Gurion said:** “When our soldiers had returned from the other side of the border, they gave us the impression that, if it should become necessary in connection with operations against Rafyakh again to cross the border by the Udjah-Rafyakh highway on the Egyptian side, they could do it. But the Egyptians were too strongly entrenched and too powerful on the Azah-Rafyakh line. Even though we had occupied certain points, we did not succeed in cutting off Azah and occupying Rafyakh itself.”)

Defense Attorney: Did the threats of Egyptian and British troops frighten the victorious Israeli army or was it an order from the United States?

(The prosecutor again objects to the question, The defense attorney phrases the question differently.)

Defense Attorney: What forced the Israeli army to withdraw from El-Arish and Abu-Agilah?

Mikunis: The ultimatum of the American representative at Tel Aviv.

Defense Attorney: What and how do you know about what hindered the Israeli army from liberating the Old City of Jerusalem from Abdullah's forces?

Mikunis: I know it because I was a member of the provisional state council and was informed about all these matters.

(The prosecutor objects to questions about these matters.)

Defense Attorney: The provisional state council was a small body which advised the government. Mr. Mikunis was a member of that council and therefore it is natural that he was informed about these matters.

Why Was Old City Not Taken?

Judge (to Mikunis): Did you decide about liberating the Old City?

Defense Attorney: Ben Gurion decided not to liberate the Old City.

Mikunis: I can prove that Mr. Ben Gurion did not liberate the Old City, despite the fact that all possibilities existed to do so.

Defense Attorney: Did anyone from the Israeli army apply to you regarding the necessary arms to free the Old City?

Mikunis: No.

Defense Attorney: Have you any personal information that a certain person who had the responsibility and means to liberate the Old City from Abdullah had worked against this liberation or had hindered the liberation?

(This question was ruled out.)

Defense Attorney: What do you know about the question that the Old City was not liberated as a result of pressure from a foreign power and how did this happen?

Mikunis: The Old City of Jerusalem was not liberated from the British Legion as a result of the fact that the provisional government had yielded to British pressure.

(The prosecutor objects to questions relating to the Old City.)

Judge: I do not say that there was no pressure, but I cannot ascertain whether or not there was such pressure from this evidence.

Defense Attorney: Are Mikunis' statements unacceptable as evidence simply because they were not mentioned in the government record? We all know that the Old City was not freed.

(When the court opened on May 6, the defense attorney had not yet arrived. The witness, S. Mikunis, was questioned by one of the defendants, Dr. S. Biletsky, an editor of Kol Haam.)

Dr. Biletsky: Does the witness know anything about the “illegal” emigration from the people's democracies?

“... Dimitroff told me his country would make ships available for emigrants ...”

Mikunis: I know that at the beginning of 1948, 15,000 people were ready to come from the people's democracies and through their ports. At that time the American government intervened and demanded that the emigration be stopped. The American government demanded of the governments of Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia that they stop emigration through their ports. The governments of Rumania and Bulgaria paid no attention to these demands, whereas the Yugoslav government acceded and did not allow the ships with immigrants to pass through their ports.

U.S. Stops Emigration

Judge: How did the witness get this information?

Mikunis: On March 8, 1948, while I was in Bulgaria, I visited the late Georgi Dimitroff, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He told me of the demand of the American government to halt the “illegal” emigration from Bulgarian ports. Dimitroff added that the American government had made the same demands of the governments of Rumania and Yugoslavia.

(Mikunis stated that this American demand came in the form of a letter.)

Defense Attorney: How do you know that the Bulgarian government did not accede to the American demand?

Mikunis: Dimitroff told me that his government would continue its help by making ships available for the emigrants from Bulgarian ports.

Defense Attorney: Do you know that these 15,000 emi-



British soldiers bar the way to refugee ship

grants did not arrive here? And who gave the order that prevented them from arriving here?

Mikunis: I am acquainted with the fact that an order was given by the leadership of the Jewish Agency that these illegal immigrants should not be allowed to enter.

Judge: How does the witness know this?

Mikunis: Every inhabitant of the country knows this. But, if need be, we could invite as a witness Mr. Abriel, who was at that time the representative of the Haganah in Eastern Europe. I know that when the leadership of the Jewish Agency was forced to recognize the fact of the movement of the illegal immigrants, it exerted very strong pressure to see to it that the ships carrying the immigrants should not put in at the port of Haifa, but at the concentration camps at Cyprus in order not to make the British mandatory power and Truman's government angry.

Defense Attorney: Did ships with emigrants set out to sea at that time?

Mikunis: The ships did leave, not for Haifa, but for Cyprus.

Judge: How does the witness know these things?

Mikunis: This question was discussed in the summer of 1949 in the Knesset during the debate on the American loan.

Judge: This is only hearsay and I cannot accept it. I ask the defense to introduce only facts.

Defense Attorney: Who was head of the Jewish Agency at that time?

Mikunis: Mr. Ben Gurion.

Defense Attorney: Do you know of the debate that took place in the provisional state council in relation to the issue of Jerusalem?

Mikunis: I believe that discussion took place in the month of June 1948, at the time of the first truce. I was away at the time in connection with mobilizing volunteers and obtaining munitions for the war of independence. But I know the details from the record of the sessions.

Defense Attorney: What did Ben Gurion say?

(The judge tells the defense attorney, Nachumovsky, that he can read the quotation from the record itself. The defense attorney then reads from the record of June 17, 1948: “The member of the provisional state council said: ‘Many things have been said and written about the question of Jerusalem. We want to know all the details. There is much talk of the fact that it was possible to take the city but that this was not done for political reasons.’” The prosecutor at this point intervenes and declares that this has nothing to do with the trial.)

Defense Attorney: I would ask the prosecutor not to interrupt me. I have quoted the words of Dr. Altman in order to connect them with the reply of Mr. Ben Gurion. “Mr. Ben Gurion answered in the discussion that if this were really so, the people responsible for this should be put

“... we still have medieval laws concerning women ...”

on trial. All this talk about having been able to take Jerusalem and that this was not done for political reasons, is so much empty talk.”

Judge: What does the defense attorney wish to prove?

Defense Attorney: I wish to prove that Ben Gurion is a traitor.

III: HOME POLICIES OF BEN GURION

Defense Attorney: Mr. Ben Gurion said when he was on the witness stand that *Kol Haam* spreads hatred between Israel and other countries.

Judge: Mr. Nachumovsky, do you wish to cancel out the testimony of one witness with the testimony of another witness?

Defense Attorney: Why not? I want to show that the article which appeared in *Kol Haam* under the heading, “The Subversive Speech of the Prime Minister,” does not sow hatred between Israel and other countries but that the speech of Ben Gurion, as well as other speeches which he made later, do sow hatred between Israel and other friendly countries. Furthermore, Mr. Biletsky and Mr. A. Fidl are accused of the charge that the above-mentioned article insulted the prime minister. But neither slanders nor insults the prime minister. As a matter of fact a journalistic article in a newspaper constitutes an expression of opinion about a specific question, an interpretation, and the paper had a perfect right to express its views and its criticisms of the speech of the prime minister.

Judge: Which parts of the article are the interpretations on which you wish to comment?

Defense Attorney: I want to discuss the public incitation of the prime minister against the Bolshevik Party, which is the ruling party of the Soviet Union.

(Here the prosecutor interrupts and says that he is ready to limit the case to three charges: “Betrayal of the people,” “enemy of the working class,” and the word, “shameful lie,” in connection with the statement of Ben Gurion that “The Communists of Russia were indifferent to Jewish blood.” The judge grants the request of the prosecutor.)

No Labor Laws

Defense Attorney: One of the three charges is the phrase “enemy of the working class.” Tell me, who was the prime minister of our country?

Mikunis: Ben Gurion.

Defense Attorney: Did the provisional state council and the Knesset adopt an eight-hour working day law?

Mikunis: No.

Defense Attorney: Is there any law providing for annual

vacations for workers?

Mikunis: There is no such law.

Defense Attorney: Is there any law which provides recourse for workers if they are fired?

Mikunis: No.

Defense Attorney: Is there any provision for governmental aid to the unemployed, the aged, the crippled or the sick?

Mikunis: There are no such provisions.

Defense Attorney: Do you know that Ben Gurion is a militant fighter for a law for equal rights for women?

Mikunis: I do not know of any such thing. I do know that in our country we still have medieval laws concerning women which the “religious bloc” has forced upon our community and which Mr. Ben Gurion is doing nothing about.

Defense Attorney: How many deputies from working class parties are there in the Knesset?

Mikunis: Seventy out of 120, a clear-cut majority.

Defense Attorney: Has Ben Gurion tried to form a government that would base itself on this majority?

Prosecutor: The witness has no right to talk about other parties. He can speak of those things that relate only to his own party.

Judge: Did the witness make an attempt to form a government that would base itself on the working class majority and did he meet up with difficulties?

Mikunis: The president of the state did not give me the authority to form a government. I did, however, make many attempts, as a representative of the Communist Party in the Knesset, to achieve the formation of a government in which the working class parties would be the basic force.

Defense Attorney: Did you meet with opposition?

Mikunis: I know very well that the prime minister and the Mapai fraction in the Knesset went along another path. Instead of forming a government with the left forces in the Knesset, he entered into partnership with the “religious front.” The prime minister found more in common with the Agudath Israel than with the working class parties.

Defense Attorney: What can you tell us about discrimination against the workers regarding municipal taxes and income taxes?

Mikunis: As is well known, an income tax has been levied against every income over 250 pounds a year. This means that if a person earns some 20 pounds a month, he must already pay income tax. This means robbing the worker of his piece of bread. And this has been instituted by a government of "socialism in our time."

Judge: This is really a just grievance which I too feel very keenly. But this is a private grievance. It is true that a person who earns 22 pounds has to pay income tax.

Defense Attorney: When does the worker pay his income tax?

Mikunis: It is deducted from his pay before he receives his pay. The worker doesn't even get a chance to look at this money, whereas the merchant and dealers pay their income tax at the end of the year—that is, if he pays it at all, and if he does pay it, he does so on the basis of a false accounting and he robs the government treasury.

Real Wages Go Down

Defense Attorney: What do you know about the cost of living index?

Mikunis: There is an "official index." But even officials and responsible people generally call it a falsified index. The index, which is based on the year 1939, was set up on the assumption that the worker pays a tax of one-half pound a month, while at the present moment he pays from ten to 15 pounds in taxes a month. Rent, according to the index, is a pound a month. This clearly shows that the index does not represent the true facts. True, the index is based on official prices. But because many necessary and vital products are absent from the index, because there is no enforcement of price control and because of fantastic speculation



Esther Vilenska
Labor Secretary
Communist Party of Israel

in our country, the masses of people are driven into the black market and have to pay six or seven times the official prices. Quite obviously, therefore, the index has no relationship to reality. The real wages of the worker have been reduced two or three times since 1949.

Judge: Is there any relationship between this testimony and the accusation against Ben Gurion that he is an "enemy of the working class"?

Defense Attorney: The prime minister is responsible for the political and economic conditions of the country. The policies which the government pursues have led to the situation that the real wages of the workers have fallen from 200 to 300 per cent. This is a result of definite policies for which the prime minister is responsible. If I succeed in proving this, then it is clear that Mr. Ben Gurion is an "enemy of the working class."

Mikunis: I assert that in 1949, the government, on the basis of the phony argument that the cost of living had decreased, cut cost of living increases three times. However, no attempt was made to curb the profits of the employers and there was no control over prices. To this very day no one knows actually what profits have been made by manufacturers and merchants. It is true that statements have been made in the Knesset that profits have risen from 70 to 240 per cent. But there is no doubt that they have risen much more. And all this at a time when the wages of the workers were falling consistently and were based on a caricature called an "index." This proves that the government, whose main base is the Mapai fraction, had no concern for the working masses, but on the contrary constantly acted against their interests. That is why we are witnessing a wave of strikes and demonstrations of workers in all industries. The workers are constantly striking because they cannot live on these miserable wages.

Defense Attorney: Has the Knesset adopted a law on social security?

Mikunis: No.

Defense Attorney: Do you know of any demonstrations among the new immigrants demanding bread and work?

Judge: There are always dissatisfied people.

Mikunis: I know of demonstrations of unemployed and of new immigrants that have made these demands.

Defense Attorney: What do you know about the exploitation of the natural riches and resources of our country by the Israeli government?

(The judge rules the question out.)

Defense Attorney: Did the Ben Gurion government nationalize the Potash Company?

Mikunis: The government did not nationalise it. Furthermore, the government gave this American company a loan of \$2,500,000 and accepted the company as a partner in the British concession.

IV: BEN GURION'S "SHAMEFUL LIE"

Defense Attorney: What can you tell me about the statement in the article, that "the Jewish Communists in Russia were indifferent to Jewish blood"—is a "shameful lie."

(Mikunis quotes from Ben Gurion's speech made before officers of the Israeli high command and officially published in the month of Tishra (September) 1950: "In that year, in the year 1917, the Russian Revolution took power and the new regime, which had promised liberation to the entire world, delivered a mighty blow against the Jewish people. Russian Jewry, the largest and most advanced Jewish community in the world, was forcefully cut off from the Jewish people." This is what Ben Gurion said in one part of the speech. But in another part, he said the exact opposite: "The open terror that had for decades hovered over Russian Jewry disappeared with the victory of Bolshevism. Millions of Jews knew that under this power there will never be organized pogroms against the Jews. The new system wiped out every trace of the persecution of Jews. Their rights became equal with those of non-Jews.")

Defense Attorney: Are you acquainted with the fact that in the period of the 1905 revolution there pogroms organized by the counter-revolution broke out against the Jews?

Mikunis: Towards the end of the revolution pogroms were organized against the Jews by the tsar and the "Black Hundreds."

Defense Attorney: What was the attitude of the revolutionaries towards these pogroms?

Mikunis: The feats of the famous self-defense units ("Samo-Aborona"), in which both Jews and non-Jews participated, are well known. The purpose of this defense organization was to defend Jewish lives and property from the pogromists, who were organized by the tsar.

Defense Attorney: What did Lenin say about the pogroms against the Jews of Russia of that period?

Mikunis: Lenin expressed his sharp opposition to these crimes, degenerate crimes of the tsar, and called upon everyone to join in the struggle against anti-Semitism and pogroms. This is a well known fact which even the prime minister is forced to admit.

Defense Attorney: You are well versed in the literature of communist ideology. Do you know of any place in any book that states that Jewish Communists welcomed the spilling of Jewish blood—according to the words of the prime minister?

Mikunis: This never happened any place. This is a vicious slander.

Defense Attorney: Are you familiar with the speech Ben Gurion delivered before he left for the United States [May 1951]?

Mikunis: In this speech Ben Gurion attacked Stalin and said: "Somewhere there is a fortress for the liberation of mankind. Unto the ruler of this fortress—to him and him alone—was revealed the paths which lead to the liberation of the entire world. And only he decides what is science and art and justice and freedom and democracy and socialism." When Ben Gurion speaks of the "high priest" of the Kremlin, he means the head of the Soviet government. Ben Gurion allowed himself to speak in this sneering and sarcastic tone about the leader of the friendliest government that our state has. This incitation, it seems, was Mr. Ben Gurion's admission card to Truman's table.

Defense Attorney: What was the attitude of Ben Gurion to the Soviet Union and the people's democracies?

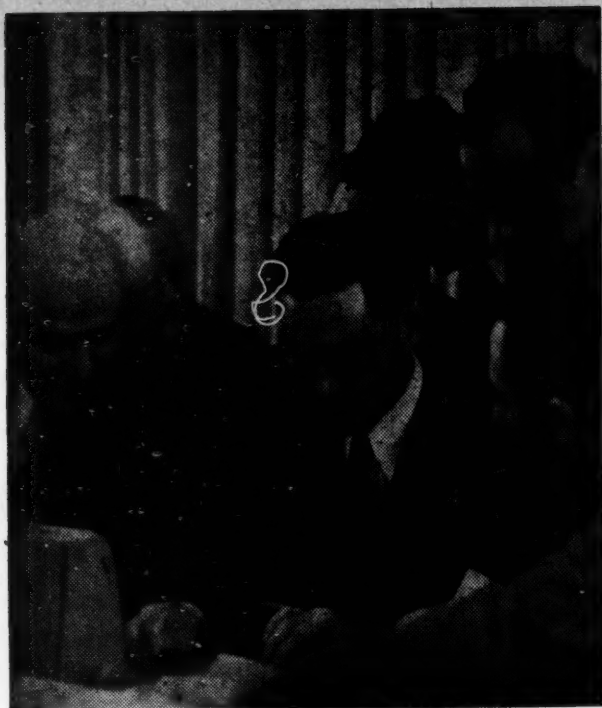
Mikunis: On March 10, 1949, Ben Gurion stated in the Knesset: "They (the Soviet Union) helped us only with talk." And in another speech. . . .

Rumania and Emigration

(The judge stops the witness and does not permit him to finish. Later Mikunis continues his testimony and quotes the words of Ben Gurion regarding the foreign minister of the Rumanian People's Republic: "There (in Rumania) we see how a daughter of a Jewish rabbi, whose family lives in this country, suppresses and forcibly chokes off every free expression of opinion, every attempt at emigration. She forbids Jewish children to rejoin their parents and parents to go to their children in Israel.")

Defense Attorney: In the light of these remarks, would you tell us what you know about emigration from Rumania in the past few years?

Mikunis: In the past few years 70,000 people came from Rumania to Israel. I know that for not a single month has emigration from Rumania to Israel stopped. Furthermore, I know that the Israeli office in Rumania in the middle of 1949 interfered with the emigration of Jews from Rumania to Israel because of the question of authority. The Israeli office demanded the right to supervise registration (in Rumania) and the right to determine the categories of the emigrants, whereas the Rumanian government declared that this is the right of the government and that registration is to be done by Jewish community councils in Rumania, in which all Jewish political parties are represented. Because of this dispute, the emigration of over 20,000 Jews was halted. Because of this dispute, the Jewish Agency refused to make ships available for this emigration. At the end of 1949, the Rumanian government gave its own ships for this purpose and thus 5,000 emigrants finally came to Israel, where they were received by the ruling circles with



Meyer Vilner, a secretary of the Communist Party of Israel and a Communist member of the provisional state council, signs the Proclamation of Independence on May 16, 1948. Premier Ben Gurion is at his right.

taunts of "Pauker people." The emigration from Rumania, as is well known, continues to this very day.

Defense Attorney: How do you know all these things?

Mikunis: I was involved in these questions on many occasions on behalf of the Communist Party in 1948, 1949 and 1950.

The Mysterious Fred Harris

Defense Attorney: What did you mean when you said before that Ben Gurion was using this speech as an "admission card to Truman's table"?

Mikunis: I meant the following: 1. that the prime minister incited against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies so that this might serve as an effective admission card to the offices of Truman; 2. that the purpose of this incitation was to prepare the ideological basis for incorporating Israel into the aggressive anti-Soviet bloc in the Middle East, which is under imperialist control; and 3. instead of showing gratitude, instead of expressing the deepest feelings of the masses of the people for the Soviet Union and the people's democracies for their firm position on our side during the war of independence and later—the prime minister took a hostile approach, spread distrust and incited hatred between Israel and the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

(At this point the defense rested. The prosecutor then announced that he would agree that the questioning of the prime minister by Knesset Deputy Ben Aharon [of Mapam]

regarding the question of Fred Harris in a document which was made public in material of Mapam, and the answer of the prime minister should be admitted as a document in the trial. The defense attorney agreed to this and thus it became unnecessary to call Ben Aharon as a witness. The document which was introduced includes the following question by Ben Aharon to the prime minister on July 18, 1949: "I have the honor to request a statement with regard to the position of the citizen of the United States who is known by the name of Fred Harris.

"1. Is it true that this is not his real name? Is it true that he is still an American citizen, that he is not officially a member of the Israeli army and that he has not taken an oath of allegiance to the State of Israel? 2. Is it true that Fred Harris is in reality the chief military advisor to the defense minister and to the head of the Israeli army? 3. Is it true that the chief of the Israeli army and the military controls have to turn over to this Mr. Harris any information that he asks for, information concerning property, industry, manpower, the strength of the various branches of the army, bases, etc., and that nothing is to be kept secret from him—all this at a time when this is forbidden to soldiers and civilians, including the defense council of the Knesset? 4. Is it true that this Mr. Harris takes part in the meetings of the general staff and in all matters brought in by the defense minister?"

"In the answer of the prime minister in regard to these questions, among many other things it is stated: 'Since you obviously will not be satisfied with a general statement, I will give a specific answer. As a comrade of David Marcus, who changed his name to Stone, so too, the name of Fred Harris is a pseudonym. F. Harris is an American citizen and therefore was not required to take the oath of allegiance. Harris helped the branch of the army responsible for execution of plans and expressed his opinion on various military questions. On a number of occasions I invited him to participate in meetings of the general staff. I am not prepared to dispense with his services. I see great value in his services.'")

Why CP Opposes Ben Gurion

(On the following day the prosecutor began his cross-examination of the witness.)

Prosecutor: An attempt was made this morning to show that Ben Gurion is an enemy of the working class of this country. You stated that there is no law regarding an eight-hour work day, no law regarding annual vacations. Do not all these things exist in the state of Israel?

Mikunis: I stated that in the course of two years the Ben Gurion government did not offer any laws regarding the rights of the working class and no laws for social security. What the prosecutor is referring to exist only for a section of the workers and to the extent that they do exist, they do only as a result of the mighty and militant struggles of the working class. It remains a fact, however, that for those measures which the workers have achieved through their struggles, there are no legal safeguards.

Prosecutor: Did the government pass laws that are against the workers?

Mikunis: The government passed a network of laws to encourage the profits of both foreign and domestic capital.

Prosecutor: Can you cite such a law?

Mikunis: According to the law of our land, foreign and domestic capitalists are exempt from any kind of taxes and enjoy special privileges in this period.

Judge: But after a few years they will have to pay.

Mikunis: After a few years they will be so swollen with profits that no taxes will be able to make them thin.

Prosecutor: Are there more such laws?

Mikunis: There is the budget law, on the basis of which 70 per cent of the budget is to be derived from indirect taxes which necessarily fall on the backs of the mass of the people. This is an anti-people's law. Also the income taxes come in greatest measure from the pockets of the workers.

Prosecutor: Is the aim of these laws to harm the workers?

Mikunis: Their purpose is to throw the greatest burden of the expenses of the government on the workers and the least part on the capitalists. In a budget of over 50,000,000 pounds, the income to be derived from property taxes amounts only to a few hundred thousands pounds.

Prosecutor: I imagine that the capitalists don't agree with your opinion.

Judge: Mr. Mikunis does not represent the capitalists, nor do I represent them.

Prosecutor: Nor do I.

Mikunis: In the letter from our government requesting a grant-in-aid from the Truman government, it is written succinctly: "We have been successful in forcing down in energetic fashion the living standard of the people and in introducing a system of severe austerity." These words speak for themselves. The aim and results of the government's policies are harmful to the working class and the common people.

Prosecutor: Is Mr. Ben Gurion responsible for all this?

Mikunis: He is responsible; he is at the head of the government.

Prosecutor: Were these laws adopted by the Knesset?

Mikunis: The laws to encourage and aid foreign and domestic capital were supported by the leaders of Mapai, by the "religious front" and by the right opposition parties.

Prosecutor: Did you propose the formation of a workers' government?

Mikunis: I proposed it to the president of the state at a personal meeting as well as in a memorandum submitted by our fraction. We proposed the formation of a government that would have as its core the working class parties. We also stated that it might be possible to draw into this government representatives from the middle class.

Prosecutor: Did you lay down certain conditions for such a government?

Mikunis: We set forth the following four conditions: independence, peace, democracy and bread. Four "minor" points which are very dear to the masses of the people.

Prosecutor: And there were no other conditions set forth?

Mikunis: No.

The Meaning of "Independence"

Prosecutor: You did not define what you mean by the concept "independence"?

Mikunis: I did define it. Independence means that the state is independent of any other power politically or economically.

Judge: Is there any such thing as an independent state?

Mikunis: Yes, there are such things as independent states. There is, for example, the Soviet Union, the people's democracies, the people's China. Even the government of India—a government of a country which is still under the rule of British imperialism—through Prime Minister Pandit Nehru showed at least a certain amount of independence when he refused to accept wheat from the United States, if this was to be given on condition of political enslavement. Incidentally, people's China and the Soviet Union send wheat and rice to India without any political conditions.

Judge: Would India be able to exist without any help from the outside?

Mikunis: India would be able not only to feed itself but all of England, provided that all of the slave chains which Britain has clamped on India, both politically and economically, were broken.

Prosecutor: Are there any foreign pressures on Israel?

Mikunis: The Americans do not concern themselves only with pressures. They constantly demand from us oil, ports, bases, or, in other words, total political and economic subordination to America.

Judge: Why, this shows how dependent the United States is upon us.

Mikunis: In order to achieve the fulfillment of their aggressive plans in the Middle East, the United States needs the agreement of the peoples here. It is clear that we will say, "Get out."

Prosecutor: But we haven't as yet said, "Come in."

Mikunis: Ben Gurion's government has already brought them in. Here, the representatives of the accusers have opposed the admission into the testimony of all questions dealing with American penetration. Were this not the case, I would be able fully to demonstrate to what degree representatives of American imperialism have been brought into and influence affairs in our state. The controversy over the Syrian border, the closing down of the oil resources in the Negev, is all the work of the Americans.

Judge: Don't you think that if the Americans were here, you would not be able to appear on the witness stand?

Mikunis: No. Even in America Communists still appear on the witness stand. For in America, there is not only Truman, but also workers and common people who are against the reactionary war policies. And in our country too, there are forces of peace and progress who are a stumbling block in the path of the imperialists and their agents in Israel.

Prosecutor: By the term Zionism I mean the building of a country before the establishing of the state. Did the Communists participate in this construction?

Mikunis: All workers and common people participated in the development of the country regardless of party, and the Communists were among them.

Prosecutor: Did the Communist Party as a party favor the development of the country?

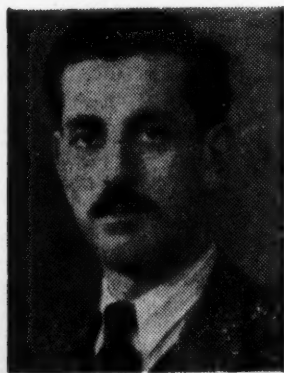
Mikunis: Every Communist party, including our own Communist Party, favors the development of its country. The most important contribution we made to build this country was our struggle for independence, for the liberation of the country from the yoke of imperialism. For this we were persecuted. In this very house our comrade Seyome Miranyaski, the secretary of our party in Tel Aviv, was murdered by British and Jewish secret police on July 7, 1941. For this "sin" (the struggle for independence) more than 3,000 Communists were driven from the land in the period 1929-1939.

Prosecutor: Was the development of the Yishuv before the establishment of the state in harmony with your struggle against imperialism?

Mikunis: Every useful act helped in the struggle against imperialism but the main thing which we did that scared the wits out of the British power was the struggle against its rule over the country.

Prosecutor: If a kibbutz was established in the Negev, was this in contradiction to imperialism?

Mikunis: There was no Negev at the time and therefore the question is out of order.



Tewfiq Toubi
*Arab leader and
Communist member of Knesset*

Prosecutor: What were your reactions to the pogroms against the Jews?

Mikunis: There were no pogroms that were not organized by the British high commissioner. To the extent that imperialism and Arab reaction were successful at one moment or another in diverting the struggle of the Arabs for their independence into a struggle against the Jews, the Communist Party stood on the side of those who were attacked. The secretary of the Communist Party of Jerusalem, Comrade David Shulman, was killed in action while defending the Old City in 1934.

CP and Arab National Movement

Prosecutor: What was the situation in 1936? Did the struggle against imperialism then oblige the Communist Party to help those who were attacked?

Mikunis: In 1936, there was a general strike, which lasted a few months. The attacks against the British and partly against the Jews began in the main in 1937. I could cite the *Kol Haam* of that period, which was a weekly at the time, and prove that we called for the creation of Jewish-Arab defense units and common action in the struggle against the common enemy, British imperialism. We called for Jewish-Arab struggle against the invaders and against his Arab and Jewish agents.

Prosecutor: Is it true that you felt that it was a good thing that a colonial uprising was taking place?

Mikunis: To the extent that it was a colonial uprising against the British, we supported it. And to the extent that it was not such an uprising, we opposed it. In 1936, there was a general strike against imperialism and its agents. From 1937 on, German and Italian agents infiltrated into the leadership of the Arab national movement and sought to use it for their own purposes.

Prosecutor: Were you opposed to it?

Mikunis: We were opposed to it.

Prosecutor: Weren't there attacks against the Jews in this general strike?

Mikunis: It is possible that there were and to the extent that there were such attacks, we expressed our unqualified opposition to such terror.

Prosecutor: What was your reaction when there were people killed?

Mikunis: Our reaction to acts of terrorism was and remains one of absolute opposition and hostility. The Communist Party, a party of the working class, is totally opposed to individual acts of terror as a means of struggle for national or social liberation. We believe in one method of struggle and that is to organize the workers and masses of people for mass struggle.

THE CASE OF DR. DuBOIS

By Dr. Harry F. Ward

CAN the Department of Justice make the spreading of information about peace a crime? That is what it is trying to do through the prosecution of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, chairman of the now disbanded Peace Information Center, and four of his fellow workers. The indictment, secured on government evidence only, is for failing to register as an agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration act. The bill of particulars, provided at the direction of the courts, describes the material disseminated by the center as "information about peace, war, instruments of war, and the consequences of peace and of war, and other matters related thereto." It specifies "the 'Stockholm Peace Appeal' and related information pertaining primarily to prohibition of the use of atomic weapons as instruments of war."

This attempt to bring the spreading of information about peace and war within the scope of a law designed for other purposes is part of a general government pattern. It was preceded by an effort of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to make peace activities subversive by issuing new lists of alleged "communist front" affiliations by persons now active in the growing demand that negotiation be substituted for mass murder in Korea. This was followed by a ruling of the general counsel of the National Labor Relations Board that a man could be expelled from his union and discharged by his employer, thus depriving him of his right to work and to live, for signing the Stockholm Appeal. The decision states that the underlying reason for discharge was "suspected communist activity that caused considerable unrest among the employees."

Preceding these actions was the denunciation of the Stockholm Appeal by Secretary of State Dean Acheson as a communist propaganda conspiracy to deprive us of our best weapon and leave us open to attack. This was quoted by the prosecutor in the Center case as justification for invoking a law with a penalty of \$10,000 fine and five years imprisonment. Whether these are spontaneous reactions to a situation or parts of a concerted plan, it is clear that the mobilization for total war involves the attempt at total suppression of discussion about peace. The provision in the McCarran act giving the Department of Justice the power to intern persons it considers dangerous makes this certain beyond dispute.

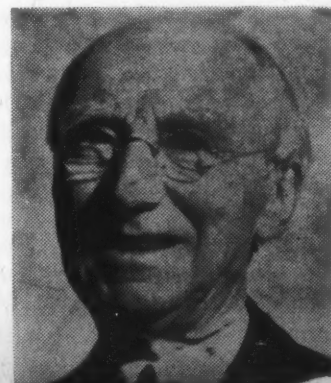
DR. HARRY F. WARD is Emeritus Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary. His books include *In Place of Profit, Democracy and Social Change* and *The Soviet Spirit*.

The Peace Information Center case gains significance because Dr. DuBois, now in his 83rd year, is known the world over as a leader of the Negro people, an eminent writer, historian and anthropologist. He has a record of contributions for more than 60 years to the struggle for the equal rights of the Negro people and for racial and international understanding. He is a co-founder of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People; member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters; life member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; member of the London World Races Congress; consultant with leaders at the founding of the League of Nations in 1919; consultant at the United Nations in 1945; organizer of the Pan-African Conference in the 20's; special minister from the United States to Liberia; and author of a dozen books on the Negro and colonial peoples.

A Leader of the Negro People

This man, whose record brings honor to his native land as well as to his people, was brought to the dock of a criminal court for arraignment just after a white man accused of manslaughter, two more accused of gambling and another of not supporting his child. As though he were a dangerous criminal, this aged scholar was handcuffed, fingerprinted, made to empty all his pockets and "frisked" for concealed weapons. To these useless indignities other distinguished citizens—the Hollywood defendants, the officers of the Anti-Fascist Refuge Committee, the Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Civil Rights Congress—had also been compelled to submit before him.

To the officers, the prosecutor and the court, this was just routine. To an astonished world it was a revelation of



Dr. Harry F. Ward

the barbarism of United States justice. To an incredulous Europe, which had heard the heads of both our civil and military government call the Russians and the Chinese "barbarian hordes," which remembers that even the tsars never treated political rebels in prison as ordinary criminals, it is an exposure of the callous ignorance of the leadership of a nation which has never had enough dissent to learn how to treat political prisoners. Let progressive Americans ponder the fact that Congress, in the McCarran act, now takes its first lesson in this subject not from the humanitarian spirit that compelled European absolutism to become partially decent, but from the nazis, from whom also it is now taking its strategy for militarized political control in wartime and the approach to war by way of the plan of the nazi General Heinz Guderian.

By millions of Negroes all over the world the Peace Center prosecution is being taken not only as an indignity to a great man, but also to a people. By millions at home it is seen as an attempt to prevent them from taking a militant part in the forming peace movement. If white supremacist racism did not consciously enter into this attempt to use a law beyond its intent for political purposes, then the Department of Justice was unbelievably dense concerning the effect. It was not intended that Congressman Lanham should call William L. Patterson, executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, a "black s—o—b" and have to be restrained from physically assaulting Patterson in a congressional committee room. But was it an accident that a white supremacist congressman was in the chair that day?

The Racist Element

That racism is a factor in the Peace Information Center prosecution is indicated by the lawlessness of that prosecution. Whether it be the Klan or Hitler, those who reject the goal of equal rights for all have to smash the democratic process created for the realization of that principle. This prosecution is warning all unpopular minorities that the day has come when they have to stand up and live together or crawl on their knees and die together in concentration camps. The Klan now includes anti-Semitism and anti-communism in its ravings and violence against the Negro. The Christian Fronters, whose name is blasphemy against the carpenter from Nazareth, yelled their obscenities and hurled their violence at Peekskill against Jews, Negroes and communists alike, as their offshoot, the Black Legion, had done some years before in Detroit.

The Foreign Agents Registration act under which Dr. DuBois and his fellow workers were indicted is a little known and little used law designed to identify agents of foreign principals who seek to spread foreign propaganda here by requiring them to register. Consequently the questions of fact involved in the Center case are: is peace information "foreign propaganda"; was the Center a "foreign agent"; if so, who was the "foreign principal"? The officers of the Center were indicted for refusing to register as for-

eign agents. They deny that their work came within the provision of the registration law.

The officers of the Center deny that peace is a foreign idea. Peace belongs in the history of the United States as much as in any other nation. They admit they spread information about peace from many countries and encouraged persons to attend peace conferences whether in France, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union or the United States. But never did any persons attend any international conference as delegates of the Center, whose sole activity was giving information. This it did with the same purpose for which other organizations, specifically exempt from the Registration act, spread information about medical advance, scientific discoveries, housing plans, suppression of crime and education of youth.

"Foreign Principal" Fraud

As for the charge of being a foreign agent: at the time of his arraignment, Dr. DuBois stated: "I can categorically state that we were an entirely American organization whose sole objective was to secure peace and prevent a third world war. . . . At no time nor in any way did the Center receive orders of directives or money from foreign sources." The brief submitted to the Department of Justice affirmed that "No agency relationship existed at any time between the Peace Information Center and any person who could be a foreign principal."

The indictment did not mention any foreign principal but the bill of particulars, required by the court, did. The government named "The Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace and its successor the World Peace Council." The Committee was named because it called the Stockholm meeting that drafted and issued the Stockholm Appeal which the Center distributed here. But the Committee did not originate the idea of the Appeal. A Ban-the-Bomb petition was first circulated in Canada and taken to Stockholm by the Canadian delegation. Six persons from the United States were present at this meeting and took part in drafting and issuing the Stockholm Appeal. How could an international gathering in which Americans democratically participated become a "foreign principal" giving orders to an American organization?

The Center was not even a member in an international organization—it only printed and distributed the Stockholm Appeal. Also, the Center circulated the petition of the Committee on Peaceful Alternatives; the statement of 469 Protestant clergymen published by *The Witness*; the statement of an annual conference of the Methodist Church calling for an immediate halt to the production of atomic bombs and a ceiling on present stockpiles; *Some Quaker Proposals for Peace*, published by Yale University Press; Senator Brien McMahon's call for a peace crusade; and the statement of the International Committee of the Red Cross on outlawing atomic weapons. If the logic of the prosecution is sound, then the International Red Cross is a foreign principal for which not only the Center, but the American

Red Cross are foreign agents. A clear reduction to absurdity.

The procedures used by the Department of Justice against the Center prevent the department from pleading its duty to enforce the law even against the officers of an organization no longer operating. Among those indicted was a clerical worker. When did such an employee ever perform the functions of an officer or director as required for liability under the registration law? To understand this disregard of the law one must know that the chief of the section charged with enforcing the Foreign Agents Registration act is William E. Foley, who was for years in the FBI, an organization that has a long record of mishandling the law.

Persecution of Workers for Peace

The Peace Information Center had formally disbanded almost four months before its officers were indicted. Certain aspects of its work had been undertaken by the American Peace Crusade, in whose plans some former Center officers were participating. These plans included a demonstration at Washington, a national ballot on ending the war in Korea and a national congress in June to organize the growing grass roots demand for peace into an effective movement. That the Justice Department heads would recognize the possibility of putting a break on this movement by tying up some of its leaders in a long and expensive legal fight, was forecast by their repeated refusals to discuss with Dr. DuBois the consequences of the prosecution of the former Center officers.

The inescapable conclusion is that this affair is a political prosecution designed to check the growth of opposition to the war program of the administration. As the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions says, this action, if sustained, "would give a precedent for branding all efforts for peace by any individual or organization as acts of a 'foreign agent.'" This precedent would also seriously

limit the freedom of the press. Recently national gatherings of book publishers and newspaper magnates have been warned of increasing limitation on their freedom by government pressures.

There is a further consequence involved in this prosecution. Dr. DuBois and his colleagues base their refusal to register on moral as well as legal grounds. They contend that to register would have been to register a lie. Also "that the filling of such a registration statement would have made the Peace Information Center a 'government informer' against the leaders of the peace movement in the United States and would have subjected them to the possible prosecution and persecution that is vented against all people in the United States today whose thinking on important political issues of the day differs from that of the administration in power." What the FBI mentality of Mr. Foley offered Dr. DuBois, was a choice between what at his age might well be a death sentence and joining those moral degenerates who have recently exhibited themselves before the Un-American Committee and in the courts.

When legality seeks to compel immorality, when administrators of the law use it for political purposes, then the stream of justice is poisoned at its source and the foundations of democracy are eaten away by corruption. That the people can prevent this disaster, made incalculable by the new weapons of mass slaughter, is indicated by the partial victory already won in the Peace Center case by initial protests from aroused citizens and forceful action. When the trial opened May 14, the court, over government objection, granted postponement to October 2 to get depositions from World Peace Council officers to show that the Peace Center was not its agent. This gives time to secure public opinion for the withdrawal of the prosecution. To act thus becomes the immediate bounden duty of all persons and organizations who do not want discussion of peace outlawed, justice corrupted and democracy destroyed.

A Reader Writes: Apply the Golden Rule

EEDITORS, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is my \$2.00 for renewal of subscription to JEWISH LIFE.

I am not a Communist and I have no hate or animosity for any person who professes to be one. I am one who professes to believe he is his brother's keeper and not in an aloof, spiritual sense only. I believe that the world must unite or perish through an endless series of wars of one group against another, one political division against another. The Golden Rule that one love his neighbor as himself was enunciated as a guide for living in this world. Innumerable times daily by press and radio we are inundated with hate propaganda against a people whom I possibly would not recognize if I were to meet face to face. They have done nothing to me or to my country, yet endlessly we hear them called aggressors and that they are preparing to A-bomb us. Any suggestion that we discuss peace is howled down with cries of "Commie,"

"Red," "traitor." The situation is terrible for those Americans who are for America first and last. I am against the Korean adventure which is, apparently, an unpopular view. Yet had this viewpoint been accepted 60,000 American young men would have been spared death and wounds. Immemorably the war party has always succeeded in getting itself accepted as the patriotic group, while the real patriots were silenced by them as being against the country's good. At first, I was reluctant to renew my subscription to JEWISH LIFE, fearing repercussion through snoopers and squealers infesting the country. I asked myself, what kind of an American are you who fears to keep an open, inquiring mind to find out what the other side has to say? You see, I originally subscribed to your magazine on the supposition I was to hear about Jewish life in Palestine and elsewhere which the local newspapers neglected.

Miami Beach, Florida

M. N.

ANTI-SEMITISM AND CHRISTIANITY

By Morris U. Schappes

TO LOOK in the wrong place for the *cause* of anti-Semitism is to make sure not to find it. Of course many bourgeois institutions, sociologists, psychologists, historians and other intellectuals are busily engaged, looking hard, but in the wrong places, for the cause of anti-Semitism. No longer able to prevent such study and research, the big bourgeoisie does the next best thing: it directs the study into fruitless channels. Thus the harder you look, the surer you are not to find the cause in these areas.

Furthermore, the enterprise of looking in the wrong places has its compensations for the ruling class. Looking in the wrong places diverts attention from the right place in which the cause of anti-Semitism will be found: in the kind of class relations in which a minority ruling class exploits and oppresses a majority of the population of a country. Attention is therefore also diverted from the class forces and alliances that can change these class relations and thus abolish anti-Semitism. At the same time, many who are concerned about the evil of anti-Semitism, seeing such active looking under way, are lulled into feeling that the situation is well in hand, while those who busily do the looking feel virtuous because they are *so* busy in *such* a good cause.

Now those who look diligently do find something, even if it is not the cause of anti-Semitism; they find and extensively report the manifestations, acts, expressions, utterances, arguments, rationalizations and results of anti-Semitism. These findings may be interesting, and, *if properly related to the cause*, may even be useful in combating anti-Semitism. But without this relationship to the cause, these findings will be misleading.

Christianity as "Cause" of Anti-Semitism

Some bourgeois Jewish ideologists have led many Jews to the conclusion that Christianity, Christian theology, and Christian institutions are the *cause* of anti-Semitism. Most Jews who believe this tend to be hopeless about the abolition of anti-Semitism, for they know how vastly the Christians outnumber the Jews and they have no idea where proper allies can be found.

Occasionally, liberal Christian clergymen of good intentions will themselves affirm their own guilt; and many Jews regard such admission as proof positive that Christianity *is* the cause of anti-Semitism. Thus two weeks before this past Christmas, 11 such clergymen and religious teachers, including a couple of Episcopal and Methodist bishops, issued an appeal to all ministers, priests and religious pub-

lications, declaring: "Before God, we, the Christians, are the guilty ones; we are the source, if not the sole cause of anti-Semitism; we alone can bring the evil to an end."

A very elaborate documentation of this thesis was provided at about the same time in a book by Malcolm Hay, a Scottish Catholic, entitled *The Foot of Pride: The Pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 Years*.¹

In his introduction to the volume, Thomas Sugrue, an American Catholic journalist, describes it as "a book admitting, exposing, analyzing, and condemning 'the chain of error' in Christian theology and Christian ethics which is called anti-Semitism." Since Hay vividly and acidly reports the frequently gruesome story of anti-Semitism in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Austria, Poland and England but omits the United States, Sugrue is impelled to warn that "Americans are as anti-Semitic as the Gentiles of other nations . . . as *Christians* they are *naturally* infected with the notions that the Jews bear a holy guilt and are living in a state of penance, doomed to a miserable 'difference' and deservedly burdened with discrimination and segregation." (Italics mine—M.U.S.) After his third reading of the book and all its evidence, Sugrue concludes: "Nothing can be done about anti-Semitism until something is done about Christianity." What or by whom it should be done, he does not clearly say.

The "Mystery" of Anti-Semitism

Bourgeois liberal clergymen and sections of the Jewish bourgeoisie have hailed and recommended the book, being especially impressed by the fact that the author and introducer are both Catholics. For Catholics have been less conspicuous than Protestants in defining Christianity as the cause of anti-Semitism. Zionists are particularly pleased by the fact that both Hay in this volume and Sugrue in a book on Israel regard Israel as the refuge of Jews from anti-Semitism.

It is noteworthy that Hay, after years of amassing evidence about the relation of Christianity to anti-Semitism, finally confesses his inability to comprehend what he has been studying. "What is the meaning, the real motive, behind this persecution . . .?" he asks, and then declares he has found no "conclusive answer." Why, "even Freud," Hay reports Stefan Zweig as saying, "was baffled" by anti-Semitism, so who is Hay to penetrate the mystery? Hay

¹ The Beacon Press, Boston, \$3.75.

adds that "There may be no better answer than the one proposed by [Rabbi] Solomon Goldman: 'The causes of anti-Semitism have no basis except in the bedeviled nature of man.'" But then Hay advances what he calls a "convincing explanation" from the pages of "that relentless mystic, Léon Bloy," who explains as follows:

"The conscience of Christians, burdened with a terrible debt . . . [feels] coming towards them the Prodigal Son. . . . Something warns them that this return is infinitely fearful for them; and such is the real, although deeply hidden origin of their aversion for the Jewish people."

Relentless, perhaps; unilluminating, certainly!

What, then, does the evidence presented by Hay show? It reveals, in a good deal of its goriness, the fact that in many places, at many times, under certain conditions, Christian churches and hierarchical and other spokesmen have been propagandists of anti-Semitism and the organizers of anti-Semitic acts. The historical record is unmistakable. To know this record can serve a useful purpose, if one does not jump to the false conclusion that therefore Christianity as a religion or theology or body of doctrine, is *the cause* of anti-Semitism.

Illuminating Comparison

It is known, for example, that in Brooklyn the hierarchy is a disseminator of anti-Semitic propaganda and therefore stimulates anti-Semitic activities. But would anyone say that the Catholic Church in Moscow spreads anti-Semitism? Since the theology, the dogmas of the two Catholic churches are the same, why is it that one spreads anti-Semitism and the other does not? The answer is to be found not in the theology, but in the social conditions, the class relations in which the two churches operate. What is encouraged in Brooklyn is outlawed in Moscow.

Or consider the role of the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia before 1917 and in the Soviet Union today. It is a notorious fact that before 1917 the Greek Orthodox Church, the official church of Russia, was a teacher of anti-Semitism and an organizer of anti-Semitic pogroms. Today, the Greek Orthodox Church no longer propagates anti-Semitism and under the spur of Soviet rule teaches the equality of man. Again, the theology and dogmas of the Church have not changed; but the ruling class in Russia and the other nations of the Soviet Union certainly have.

Take as a final example the Catholic Church of Poland, which for centuries was a large-scale disseminator of anti-Semitic falsehoods, ideas, and attitudes, and an organizer of pogroms. The methods were sometimes crude, sometimes subtle, usually effective. Take for example the Catholic Church of Letchitsa (near Lodz). There for centuries, over the altar, there hung a vivid 16th Century painting of Jews in their prayer-shawls murdering a Christian child to use its blood, allegedly, for Passover ritual purposes. Near the altar there was a casket reportedly containing the skeleton of a Christian child supposedly murdered in 1639 by Jews for the same alleged purpose. For centuries, there-

fore, Catholics worshipping in that Church according to Catholic theology and dogmas absorbed prayerfully and trustingly this vicious anti-Semitic libel. Since November 1, 1946, however, the Catholics worshipping in that same Church in accordance with the same theology and dogmas no longer imbibe this anti-Semitic falsehood. Why? Well, apparently behind the dread "Iron Curtain" there appeared a force, a new ruling class, the working class, which, in utter disregard of the aesthetic qualities of the painting or the casket, ordered the Security Police to remove both these objects because they promoted anti-Semitism.

The central point therefore is this: religious ideologies, like other ideologies, are not primary causes. An ideology is an interpretation of reality. To find a basic cause, you have to go beyond the ideology to the material relations that produce the ideology. Of course ideologies, once they arise and especially if they become embodied in institutions, can themselves become active forces affecting the relations of production. In that way the superstructure of ideology exerts some influence on the rate of motion of the basic structure of society. Thus during the Middle Ages, the Catholic Church, the institution embodying Christian ideology, became a great secular power because of its economic strength as a vast landowner and financier. As such, the Church was a part of the ruling class under feudalism. Because of its *secular* interests, the hierarchy used theology and dogma to protect itself and the ruling class as a whole from new ideologies of progress reflecting the changes in the relations of production that emerging capitalism was causing. Anti-Semitism thus became an instrument of a part of the ruling class, which was wielding it in its own interest and presumably in the interest of the entire class.

A Ruling Class Weapon

What Hay and the liberal clergymen and so many Jews fail to see is that, so long as there is a ruling class that needs to use anti-Semitism to protect itself from being exposed as the basic enemy of the people, the churches, as more or less direct and conscious supporters of that ruling class, will be agencies of anti-Semitism. To fail to see the connection between any anti-Semitic agency and the needs of the ruling class is to miss the main point. Those who deny the connection thereby protect the ruling class and weaken and mislead the struggle against anti-Semitism. To conclude with Sugrue that "nothing can be done about anti-Semitism until something is done about Christianity" is to turn Jews and others who suffer from anti-Semitism away from the attack that ought to be directed against the ruling class that uses the church to save itself from the people.

At the same time, when churches, past or present, in the service of the ruling classes, spread anti-Semitism, it is of course necessary to expose and resist this propaganda. Hay produces overwhelming evidence to show that since the fourth century the falsehood that the Jews killed Jesus has played a big role as an argument and justification for anti-Semitism; in the twelfth century there was added to this

the ritual-murder libel, and in the thirteenth century the slander that Jews steal consecrated bread from the churches in order to work magic upon this symbol of the "Body of Christ." To the extent that these lies are still being spread, and certainly the first one is still included in many church teachings and church texts, one welcomes the statement of the clergymen and religious teachers of December 9, 1950, with its appeal that "we must examine and correct our teaching and our literature."²

Occasionally Hay makes casual observations suggesting that he senses the relationship between anti-Semitism and the needs of the ruling classes. Thus, speaking of "Jew-baiting" as "a sport that paid," he adds: "The Spaniards who burnt Jews at the stake, the princes who drove them into exile and the priests who framed ritual murder charges against them and then tortured them to death, were all animated by the same profit making motive. The excuse varied, but whether it was religious, political, or economic, the result was always the same: Jewish money went into the pockets of the hunters."

Writing of modern times, which he never defines as capitalist, Hay notes that the French anti-Semitic propagandist-in-chief, Edouard Drumont, appealed to "competitors in business and in finance, who were glad to divert the watchful indignation of the proletariat from Christian to Jewish monopolists." And later, of Arab landowners in Palestine after the Balfour Declaration, Hay remarks that "The policy of the Arab landowners, like that of French anti-Semites at the end of the nineteenth century, was to divert from themselves, and direct against the Jews, the threatening revolt of the oppressed proletariat." But such comments are few, random, and not a part of the analysis of anti-Semitism, which flounders inextricably in the morass of the exposure of Christianity as the cause. Sugrue's inference as to the meaning of Hay's volume as an indictment of Christianity is quite logical, although quite wrong.

Anti-Semitism and Class Relations

Lest one should seek to build any theory of the cause of anti-Semitism on the basis of Hay's occasional comments on the ruling class, he in fact makes his opposition to such a theory explicit. "The establishment of communism," he pronounces, "could not possibly bring any special benefit to Jewry, either inside or outside Russia." As for the ruling class tactic of using anti-Semitism as a diversion, Hay is ready to assume that "this habit of selecting as scapegoats people who are not in a position to defend themselves is a universal human failing, not confined to any particular cultural level or area." Therefore he rejects outright the contrary experience of the Soviet Union, in which there was a ruling class that not only did not need anti-Semitism, but *needed* to stamp it out, together with all other forms

² The best current refutation of the "Christ-killer" lie is to be found in Solomon Zeitlin, *Who Crucified Jesus?*, Harper's, New York, 2d ed., 1947. Prof. Zeitlin not only exposes the falsehood, but explains why it was invented: "Since the policy of the early Christians was not to antagonize the Romans [the ruling class], they tried to put the blame for the crucifixion upon the Jews."

of national, racial or religious chauvinism and hatred—and did stamp it out.

Hay's failure to relate anti-Semitism to class relations and the class struggle also compels him to see anti-Semitism in isolation from ruling class persecution of *other groups* with the same end in view, of diverting mass attention from itself onto others. Thus there is no hint in this volume that during the period covered by Hay there was persecution of Negroes (100,000,000 Africans died in the slave trade), of Quakers, Waldensians, Gypsies, old women (40,000 "witches" were burned in Europe in the Middle Ages), Catholics, Huguenots, Lombards, and others. Similarly, Sugrue, in his comments on the United States, omits reference to the system of national oppression of the Negro people and to the discrimination against Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Italian-Americans and other national groups. Likewise, he of course avoids the fact that monopoly capital, the source of this oppression and discrimination, is also the exploiter of the entire working class and the small farmers, and uses anti-Semitism and theories of racial and national superiority in order to protect itself from the discontented workers and masses. Therefore, he hides the need, the basis, and the possibility of a coalition of all these forces against Wall Street.

For the purpose of anti-Semitism is to prevent the workers and the people as a whole from learning that the basic cause of their problems is the small ruling class of monopoly capital. Anti-Semitism is thus aimed at keeping the workers from solving their problems. To make the non-Jewish workers and masses blame the Jews for the evils that afflict them, is to help perpetuate these evils. No working class and no people has ever solved its problems by attacking the Jews.

It is important to learn that while Jews are the direct targets and suffer most immediately from anti-Semitism, the main aim of the use of anti-Semitism by the reactionary ruling classes is to keep the non-Jewish masses, including the Catholic workers, from uniting against the ruling class. Such is the basis for the alliance between the Jewish people and the working class, which must rid its ranks of the influence of anti-Semitic propaganda if it is to unite against monopoly capital. The needs of the working class, therefore, and the needs of the Jewish people coincide in this respect. Similarly, the working class must rid itself of false ideas of white superiority and other forms of national superiority, all of which also are used by the ruling class to divert attention from itself. Therefore, the Jewish people have a direct stake in the struggle against racist and other chauvinist theories, for the strength of the working class, its best ally in the fight against anti-Semitism, depends upon the extent to which such ideas are driven from the ranks of the workers. In those countries in which the working classes are in power and building socialism, their experience confirms the fact that in their own deepest interests they must wage a struggle to abolish anti-Semitism. Certainly the experience of the Soviet Union proves that anti-Semitism can be rooted out and abolished.

Letters from Abroad

MORE ON SOVIET JEWRY

London

The polemical remarks on the "normalization" of Jewish life in the Soviet Union, "Straight Thinking on Soviet Jewry," published in our May issue (and also in the London Jewish Clarion), evoked a rejoinder in the May issue of Labour Israel, Mapam organ in Britain. Below is a reply to this latest phase of the discussion.—Eds.

The Labour Israel writer still disagrees ("Thinking Aloud," May 1951) with our position that "an economic and occupational redistribution of Jewry" has taken place in the Soviet Union, although we both agree that this is a criterion for the solution of the Jewish problem.

The writer in *Labour Israel* ignores the figures I cited to show that the percentage of Soviet Jews in industry is very close to that of the total Soviet population (30 per cent of the Jews, 32.2 per cent of the total population). That there has been a genuine redistribution of Jews in the Soviet Union can be shown from figures cited by L. Singer, the Soviet writer, in his *The Reborn People (Dos Benaite Folk)* (in Yiddish), Moscow, 1941; English translation published in *JEWISH LIFE*, November 1948-March 1949). A few of these figures: 28.3 per cent of Jewish workers in the Ukraine and 12.9 per cent in White Russia were metal workers, including workers in machine tool industry; 64.2 per cent of the Jews in the Ukraine and 78.8 per cent in White Russia were workers.

However, what is supposed to be the main reply to my discussion is an article by Dr. N. Barou in the May *Labour Israel*, because, as the editorial note states, we had "used the researches" of Dr. Barou in our discussion. I referred to statistics in Barou's book because this was most easily accessible. But I certainly never attributed these figures to Barou, since, as Dr. Barou and *Labour Israel* must be aware, Barou is indebted to the Soviet Jewish statistician L. Singer, referred to above. It is interesting to note that there is no reference to Soviet writers in Barou's bibliographies.

In his reply Barou does not deal with the economic structure of Soviet Jewry, nor does he comment on the only passage from his book which I quoted, dealing with the full advantage taken by Soviet Jews of the opportunities offered by the

Soviet state. Instead Barou indulges in a patronizing and insulting anti-communist tirade on Birobidjan. Many readers of *Labour Israel* will no doubt share my surprise that this Mapam journal offers a platform for Barou, who is not a supporter of Mapam, from which to hurl anti-communist abuse as a contribution to serious and comradely discussions.

Labour Israel itself attributed the "failure" of Birobidjan to the fact that it was a "non-Zionist territorialist solution" to the Jewish question and therefore bound to fail. But Dr. Barou has an even more sensational explanation. According to Dr. Barou, there must be two Communist Parties in the Soviet Union: the CPSU, which Barou can tolerate; and, pursuing a different policy, a Jewish Communist Party. For Dr. Barou describes Birobidjan as an "historic opportunity" which would presumably have been successful, if not for the wicked Jewish Communists. And Barou's addition of Kalinin and Smidovitch to his approved list of Marxists reminds me of a statement he made a few years ago that he "was a Marxist up to Lenin." For Barou, it seems that to be a good Marxist, you must be a dead one.

Barou makes a great play with the late Soviet President Mikhail Kalinin's speech of May 28, 1934, concerning Birobidjan, in order to refute my contention that Birobidjan was never envisaged as a territorial solution of the Jewish question. The history of Birobidjan, says Barou, hardly confirms this.

In his *Labour Israel* article, Barou quotes from Kalinin's speech but omits a passage (marked by four dots). The omitted passage covers about two and a half pages of the Kalinin text and includes the sentence: "If we succeed in the course of a

long time in adding to the region approximately 4,000 Jews annually, it will not be bad." A little further on Kalinin expresses the opinion that, of the 40,000 Jewish workers in Moscow, "perhaps 40 will go" to Birobidjan. In a part of the speech following the passage quoted by Barou, Kalinin says: "In 10 to 15 years we shall have 100,000 there." Even a child in kindergarten would find it hard to view as a territorial concentration of the Jews of the Soviet Union this projected annual migration of 4,000 out of 3,000,000 Soviet Jews, which might culminate in, say 15 years, in a Jewish population of 100,000, or only three per cent of Soviet Jewry.

Thus, when Barou cites Kalinin, he is citing damning evidence against his own view that Birobidjan was intended as a territorial solution of the Jewish question in the Soviet Union. For the record, let us note that the annual figures for migration to Birobidjan which Kalinin thought would be "not bad," were realized until the outbreak of World War II.

SAM ALEXANDER

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Book Reviews

THE VICTORY AT PEEKSKILL

By Jay Verty

Peekskill, USA: a personal experience, by Howard Fast. Civil Rights Congress, 23 West 26 St., N. Y. Popular edition, \$1.00.

I remember, some years before the outbreak of World War II, sitting at a waterfront bar in Hamburg, drinking beer with a German longshoreman.

"They are teaching the children to kill and to enjoy killing," my German friend said.

They were the nazis. On the Hamburg waterfront they were ably represented by pimps, pickpockets and petty thieves, strutting about in brown and black uniforms with silvered swastikas in their coat lapels. The German children were being moulded in their image. Everywhere, groups of boys marched in step and stride, sheathed daggers dangling at their belts.

"Hitler has organized a campaign to collect all stray cats," my friend continued. "The fur is needed for the army, they tell us. But do you know what these youngsters are taught to do with the cats they bring in? They kill them! Those daggers the boys wear at their

sides—they're not toys. It's got so now the kids like to stab the helpless animals . . . to enjoy the feel of cutting into living flesh and seeing the blood flow! They have been taught to think it's a lot of fun!"

Bitterly he asked, "Can you understand that? Can you understand what fascism is?"

It was hard to understand. Harder still to make people believe it. But the incident comes to mind now in true and terrible perspective, as I read Howard Fast's masterpiece of reportage, *Peekskill, USA*.

Aptly sub-titled "a personal experience," the book records in sharp, vivid language the experience of a gifted, sensitive and fine American. He had looked upon the face of fascism—directly, closely, intimately—and found it the same abomination of filth and degeneracy that fascism is the world over.

And yet, personal as it is, the account transcends the individual. It shows, in concentrated form, the nature of the struggle that humanity has been carrying on for many years, in many parts of the world.

Howard Fast neither sought nor expected the role he played on August 27, 1949. He had been asked to act as chairman at the annual Paul Robeson concert and picnic near Peekskill. For a number of years these concerts resulted in nothing more exciting than some wonderful music and a good time for the men, women and children who came.

On this day, however, a plot to lynch Paul Robeson and murder those who would try to prevent the lynching was put into operation. It was a full and premeditated unleashing of fascist terror, not only against Robeson and those present at the concert, but against all Americans. Peekskill was to set the pattern for the illegal hooliganism on which fascism relies.

With the full foreknowledge and connivance of state, county and local officials, mob hysteria was whipped up by the local press and radio. The attack itself was organized by veterans' organizations: the Catholic War Veterans, the American Legion, and—lest the infamy be forgotten—by the Jewish War Veterans. The veterans shouted, "Kill the Jews!"; "What Hitler started, we'll finish!"

The roads to the picnic grounds were blocked. The state police were ordered to stay away and give the hoodlums a free hand. And the attack began.

Inside the concert grounds, some 200 women and children and 42 men and teenage boys were trapped. Led by Fast, the 42 men and boys linked arms and placed themselves on the narrow roadway leading to the concert platform where the women and children huddled in terror.

And these few men and boys held back a howling, drunken, frenzied mob of degenerates bent on murder!

The concert was stopped. The right of free men to meet in peace was denied. This much fascism—Peekskill brand—accomplished.

But the 42 men and boys—Negro and white—set an example of heroism that will never be forgotten. Their faces torn and bleeding, their clothes in shreds, sickened by the dull thud of rocks against human flesh, they held on hour after hour.

Throughout the hours of the attack, the state police were nowhere to be seen. Only when a report came through that one of the hoodlums had been accidentally stabbed by his drunken associates, did the police arrive . . . and then, to attempt to frame up the defenders on a murder charge if this hoodlum died. The thug suffered only a minor wound, and too obviously at the hands of his criminal associates—and the frame-up fell through.

Through the week that followed, the fascists began a campaign to spread the example of Peekskill to the rest of the country. Stickers, posters, signs, leaflets bearing the call for terror against decent Americans were spread far and wide.

But the fascists—and the brains behind them—miscalculated. The 42 defenders of August 27, became the thousands who came to the second concert held the following Sunday, September 4, determined that fascism shall not triumph . . . that Americans have the right to meet freely and to hear the voice of Paul Robeson.

The second concert saw a great outpouring of thousands of American war veterans who came to defend the rights of the people at the picnic grounds, as they had defended the same rights in the fox-holes of World War II.

The fascists, too, called for reinforcements. The press, radio, Legion posts throughout the state were called on to support fascism at Peekskill.

The September 4 concert showed where the people stood. About 25,000 came to hear Paul Robeson sing. About a thousand showed up for the fascist counter-demonstration. There were some 1,200 local and state police in the area.

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

AMERICA'S LEADING CULTURAL MONTHLY

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From a safe distance, sheltered by the police, the hoodlums threw rocks. People coming to the concert were attacked and clubbed by the state and local police. Two assassins with high-powered rifles and telescopic sights sneaked to the wooded rear area of the picnic grounds to kill Paul Robeson.

But at every turn, the people defeated the organized terror. Calmly, peacefully, the concert went off as scheduled and the police and fascist provocations resulted in failure.

But when the concert was over, and the whole world knew that the attempt to spring fascist terror on the American people was defeated at Peekskill, the police and groups of thugs took frenzied vengeance for their defeat. As the cars left the grounds, they were waylaid and stoned. Occupants of some cars were beaten. Some cars were overturned.

This hooliganism could have been easily stopped and the road cleared. Here the police stepped in—not to protect the victims of the outrage, but to protect the criminals and to take part themselves in smashing windows, beating people.

This last act of the Peekskill Affair was the crowning touch of vileness, born of the frustration and fear of the hoodlums—in police uniforms and out—who knew that the American people were not on their side but on the side of the Paul Robesons of our land.

Today, the men governing the United States—from the petty local official, through the state and national office—base their rule on force, fraud and deceit.

Howard Fast's book illuminates the picture dramatically and ruthlessly. It is a book that *must* be read by every American who loves his country.

What is happening here—what happened in Peekskill—happened in Germany under Hitler. It happened in Italy and Spain. It *can* happen here.

Examine the photographs in this book. Study well the expressions on the faces of the teenagers participating in the attack on the concert. They have been taught and poisoned to the point where they *enjoy* throwing rocks at defenseless people!

Look at the group of adolescents proudly posing beside a shattered and overturned automobile! *It was a hell of a lot of fun!* Did they know there were women and children in that car when they sent rocks crashing through the windshield?

They knew! And they thought it was fun!

This is a book to make you think, to rouse you to action. The terror of fascism was smashed at Peekskill for the time

being. The men who want and need fascism to enslave our nation are not going to stop. If one method to bring fascism about was foiled, they try another. If lynching and violence do not work, they will pass laws. They are determined to turn America into a Hitler state.

The people must be no less determined.

Peekskill, USA is a weapon against the evil men who would destroy our land. Use it. Get copies for your friends, your neighbors, your acquaintances.

It is one good way to make sure that the "personal experience" Howard Fast describes, shall not become your personal experience, too.



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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

filed an averaged of 8.1 applications, Catholicism was named the worst offender.

WITHDRAWAL from New York school libraries of a vicious anti-Jewish and anti-Negro play by Herbert Bates was ordered late in May by the Board of Education after violently bigoted lines in the play were exposed in the press by Norman London, Teachers Union leader who was recently transferred to another school because he had refused to participate in the MacArthur Day parade.

DISCRIMINATION FRONT . . . A Negro-white tennis match scheduled to be played in Baltimore's Druid Hill Park was stopped by police, who asserted it was against the park board's "policy" to permit white-Negro matches. . . . The California State Senate voted 25 to 8 to keep on the statute books a law prohibiting marriage of a "white person with a Negro, Mulatto, Mongolian or member of the Malay race," despite the fact that the State Supreme Court had declared the law unconstitutional in 1948. . . . The Los Angeles Negro paper *California Eagle* in mid-May charged that Universal-International was planning to make a film about the "Red Ball" trucking outfits in the past war, which were predominantly Negro, in which "the studio is deliberately trying to build a plot structure with Italians instead of Negroes as heroes."

CONVICTION of Georgia Sheriff John Lynch and Deputy William Hartline of Dade County and sentence to one year's imprisonment and \$1,000 fine for releasing Negroes to the Ku Klux Klan for flogging in 1948, was upheld by the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans late in May.

"RABBI" BENJAMIN SCHULTZ, discredited red-baiting executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism, has been feuding with Rabbi S. Andhil Fineberg, Community Service Director of the American Jewish Committee, as to which of the two organizations is more effectively "anti-communist." Joseph Woolfson of the American Jewish Committee was recently elected in place of Schultz to the executive council of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism. The exchange appeared in the *National Jewish Post* during May and June. Schultz charges Fineberg's organization with being a late-comer in the red-baiting game and with having "plagiarized" the League's program, but that the Committee's "aping" of the League hasn't gone far enough yet. Fineberg had said that the League was a dead duck because it can no longer steal the headlines.

EUROPE

JEWISH FRENCH WAR VETERANS of two world wars, organized into the Union of Jewish Veteran Front Fighters and Volunteers, passed a resolution in May expressing their alarm at the increasing danger of war and their conviction that understanding among the great powers is necessary to solve outstanding questions. They urged negotiations among the big powers in order to achieve an enduring peace.

AN INTERNATIONAL FASCIST congress was held in Malmoe, Sweden, May 11-15, at which about 30 fascist leaders from eight countries (Sweden, Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark and Norway) attempted to form an international fascist organization. *New York Times* correspondent George Axelsson reported from Malmoe on May 14 that "one of the main objectives of the movement is to penetrate United States and British democratic organizations by taking advantage of the rising tide of anti-communism." According to reports, the leaders and about 70 additional delegates failed to reach agreement on program or even a name. A Communist member in the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) charged that the foreign delegates to this convention had been granted visas while visa applications of delegates to a peace meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth had been refused.

OSWALD MOSLEY, British fascist number one, has left England in discouragement to direct his activities from Eire, according to reports. Reports also note that anti-Semitism has declined in Britain in the past year.

MARCH OF NEO-NAZISM . . . Execution on June 7 of the seven major war criminals responsible for the death of millions called forth bitter denunciation in western Germany while the crimes of the men were ignored. Vice Chancellor Dr. Franz Bluecher said that the executions "could harm faith in justice" and Chancellor Karl Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union expressed dissatisfaction with the executions. Dr. Franz Richter, Bundestag deputy from the fascist German Reich Party, declared that the executions violated "the laws of humanity." The West German government had financed the legal fight of the seven criminals to escape execution. . . . About 1,000 members of the former Nazi army met in Kassel on June 3 to help build the fascist Socialist Reich Party in a manner reminiscent of Hitler's meetings of veterans in the 1920's. The SRP has organized "action squads" that remind one of storm troopers. While the United States-controlled Bonn regime permits such meetings, it has banned meetings of peace groups. . . . The Stuttgart grand jury late in May dismissed proceedings against five leading Gestapo officials charged with maltreatment and deportation to death camps of 2,463 Jews of Wuertemberg. . . . High Commissioner John J. McCloy on June 1 freed the last imprisoned top Krupp industries director, Adolf Leser, who was sentenced to seven years in prison as a war criminal in 1948.

ARTURO TOSCANINI and Bruno Walter cancelled their scheduled conducting at the Salzburg Festival this summer. It is reported that the reason was the pogrom-like outbreak against Jewish demonstrators protesting the showing of Nazi Veit Harlan's new film in Salzburg a few months ago.

CELEBRATION in the spring of 1951 of the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish theater in Rumania by Abraham Goldfaden were projected by the central committee of the Jewish Democratic Committee in May.

THE CONFERENCE of Rumanian Rabbis in mid-May criticized the Israeli government for its anti-peace position. "The leaders of Israel," said the rabbis' statement, "serve a policy which is opposed to peace, opposed to the vital interests of the state of Israel and of the Jewish masses of the whole world and is against our religious principles." The statement also called upon Rumanian Jews to sign an appeal to the Big Five powers to reach a peace agreement.

"LIQUIDATION" of Birobidjan as charged by anti-Soviet American sources "does not at present correspond with the facts," wrote Bernard Singer, London *Jewish Chronicle* writer, in the issue of May 4. Andrew Rothstein noted in the London *Daily Worker* of May 29 that a Jew from Birobidjan sits in the Supreme Soviet and that like all such units, Birobidjan was listed in Soviet newspapers of February 22 as an autonomous region within the Khabarovsk Territory.

ISRAEL

BEN GURION'S VISIT to the United States in May evoked criticism in the Israeli left press. *Kol Haam*, Communist daily, stated on May 6 that the visit has the same sort of objectives as the premier's visits last year to Greece and Britain—to bring about a military alliance between Israel and the United States. *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam daily, said on the same day that the main purpose of Ben Gurion's visit was not to encourage the Jewish masses there to help in the development of Israel, but to bind Israel politically, economically and militarily to the American imperialists.

"AMERICAN GENERALS" were held responsible for the tension in Israel and the Arab states and fomenting bloodshed in order to justify expenditures of huge sums of money on the construction of United States bases on their territories, said *Kol Haam* on May 4. The paper called for dissolution of the UN observer corps, which it accuses of operating according to the technique of "divide and rule," and for direct peace talks between Israel and the Arab states.

SPLIT IN THE KIBBUTZ movement seems to be coming in view of the sharp ideological conflicts between the Mapai and Mapam members of the United Kibbutz Movement, the largest federation of kibbutzim in Israel. Separate schools for children of each party group are being established and in some kibbutzim a formal split has been voted that may lead either to division of property or perhaps exchange of kibbutz populations.

A 47-HOUR WEEK law was passed by the Knesset in mid-May. The law provides for eight-hour working days from Sunday through Thursday, a seven-hour day on Friday and a compulsory rest day on Saturday. Minority communities may observe their own rest days. Exceptions to the Saturday rest day may be granted by the minister of labor.

NEWLY DISCOVERED OILFIELDS in the Dead Sea region at Brigindes, Djebel and Zdom and at Wadi Hatira, Hulaikata and other regions were ordered sealed by the Ben Gurion government under an agreement with Britain, reported Telepress on May 31.

THE WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS, many times postponed, will open on August 14 in Jerusalem.

