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the charge
of
anti-semitism
and the
cold war

PROGRESS OF A SLANDER

by Louis Harap

DR. DU BOIS EXPOSES A MYTH

a letter

ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM

by Morris U. Schappes

ISRAEL IS IN DANGER

by Dr. Moshe Sneh

A VISIT TO EAST EUROPE

by Ivor Montagu

"DEPARTMENT OF DIRTY TRICKS"

by Gerhard Hagelberg

THE PEOPLE VS. McCARRAN-WALTER *an editorial*

THE ROSENBERGS CAN BE SAVED! *by Alice Citron*

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Jewish organizations all over the country are expressing opposition to the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law in meetings, statements and co-ordinated actions of many groups.

Appeasement notes. . . . Much criticism was aroused in the European Jewish press of the statements made by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress and chief negotiator of the "reparations" agreements of the Ben Gurion government with the Bonn regime, at the dedication of a memorial at the site of the Belsen death camp late last year. "With this memorial," said Goldmann, "we bring to a final conclusion the period of the concentration camps." This "remarkably conciliatory" attitude was seen as forgetful of the dangers in the renazification of West Germany. . . . John J. McCloy, former United States High Commissioner of West Germany under whom renazification developed rapidly, was awarded the seventh Annual Brotherhood Award on February 7 by the Men's Club of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun of New York. . . . The policy-makers for the Tercentenary of the arrival of the Jews in America, which will be opened in September 1954 and will continue for eight months, intend to prevent the celebration from being "a vehicle to combat anti-Semitism."

Racist activity. . . . The "Christian Anti-Jewish Party," led by 28-year-old Jesse B. Stoner and working out of Atlanta, Ga., has been flooding the mails with vile anti-Semitic material. Stoner began his career in 1942 as a Tennessee Klan "kleagle" and then went into the Jew-baiting racket on his own. In 1946, he announced a political "party" with a platform that would "make being a Jew punishable by death." The "Christian Anti-Jewish Party" is registered with the state of Georgia and is allowed to carry on its activities unhampered. Stoner sent out Gov. Herman Talmadge's Democratic Plan for the notorious "county unit" elections system together with his own vile material last November. The Anti-Defamation League exposed Stoner in January.

On the Jimerow front. . . . Protest by the local National Association for Advancement of Colored People in Florida forced the re-opening of schools for Negro children in three towns which had closed the Negro schools in accordance with the usual practice for the harvesting of beans.

(Continued on page 32)

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THE ROSENBERGS CAN BE SAVED!

By Alice Citron

FROM all parts of the world came a gasp of shocked outrage at the refusal of President Eisenhower on February 11, to grant executive clemency to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. In France, every leading publication editorially expressed indignation. The anti-communist Paris newspaper *Combat* bitterly contrasted "the concern which so many associations in the free United States show in preventing cruelty to animals with the fact that their sensitive fastidiousness does not extend to sparing two human lives the anguish of their imminent death. . . . Such is the decision of the new president, whose smile and kindness has been so often shown to us. But Europe will know from now on what this smile really hides."

Powerful protest resounded in the largest hall in Paris, the Velodrome, against President Eisenhower's decision. And the Belgian Committee for the Rosenbergs cabled to New York: "Dreadfully distressed by decision of President Eisenhower. Will not interrupt battle for the lives of the Rosenbergs. Greatly intensifying campaign."

The shock was significantly symbolized by the announcement from Paris that Francois Mauriac, noted Catholic poet who recently was acclaimed in the United States press on his winning of the Nobel prize for poetry, had joined his ardent plea for clemency to that of the rest of the world.

Another shock followed the rejection of clemency. Astounding is the only word for the revelation that Attorney General James P. McGranery had withheld from the press and from Truman and Eisenhower the fact that Pope Pius XII had interceded for the Rosenbergs. It was significant that the Pope, through his emissaries, reiterated publicly that he had been asked to call to the attention of the United States government the fact that many appeals for clemency had been transmitted to him.

The response to President Eisenhower's rejection of clemency was swift. The National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case organized a vigil in front of the White House that began on February 14. On February 17, Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Rosenbergs, appeared before the United States Circuit of Appeals for an extended stay of execution and for an opportunity to bring new action before the Supreme Court. The new action was based on the fact that during the course of the trial, prosecutor Irving Saypol had flamboyantly announced to the press that he would produce a certain William Perl to corroborate the testimony of the Greenglasses. (Perl was indicted for testifying before a federal grand jury that he did not know the Rosenbergs. He has not even yet been brought to trial.) Perl's name had appeared on the government's list

of witnesses in the Rosenberg case, but he was never called to the stand by Saypol.

In argument before the Court of Appeals, attorney Bloch said: "The Perl indictment was deliberately timed to prejudice the case of these appellants. Mr. Saypol said the indictment had been obtained in the regular course of the administration of justice. But the prosecutor wilfully caused the indictment to be obtained to prejudice these defendants." Upon this point Justice Learned Hand commented: "You cannot undo a death sentence . . . There are some justices on the Supreme Court on whom the conduct of the prosecuting attorney would make a strong impression. . . . We will give you a stay until March 30. If a petition is filed with the Supreme Court by March 30, the Supreme Court may then grant a further stay until the petition is disposed of. This stay until March 30 will therefore not expire automatically."

The Rosenbergs in their appeal reiterated their innocence: they charged "a conspiracy to murder us in violation of God's law and the laws of our nation. The truth will smash this conspiracy. . . . If we die, we will die with proud hearts and clear consciences."

The valor of the Rosenbergs and the additional time granted by the Court of Appeals have given impetus to a renewed effort to gain clemency. The campaign is once again gaining momentum. On February 23, a country-wide delegation will converge on Washington to visit congressmen, senators and government departments for support for clemency. A reaffirmation of the plea for clemency by 2,300 Protestant ministers has gone to the president. They told him through Dr. Bernard M. Loomer, dean of the School of Theology at Chicago University, that "The death sentence in this instance is an indication of our national weakness rather than our national strength. It is a reflection of our growing hysteria, fear and insecurity. Looked at in this way the death sentence itself further reduces the range of our freedom to think and act. . . . It furthers the mood of suppression that becomes increasingly characteristic of our way of life."

Both to save the lives of the Rosenbergs and to save American freedoms, we urge that you allow not one more moment to pass before you send your appeal by wire or letter to President Eisenhower to reverse his rejection of clemency. Wires and letters also should be sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell urging him to agree to the granting of a new trial. Justice can yet be done. It is only necessary for the American people to make their demand vocal.

The Rosenbergs can be saved! To work!

THE PEOPLE VS. McCARRAN-WALTER

An Editorial

THE racist McCarran-Walter immigration law is hardly more than a month old before the expected evidence of its viciousness is appearing. In a letter to the *New York Times* dated January 23, Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, pointed out that the State Department is straining to manipulate the regulations of the act by hook or crook to get nazis and fascists admitted. At first, the rules were interpreted to read that nazis and fascists could be admitted because they did not advocate a "totalitarian dictatorship" "in the United States." But the protest against this rule was so heavy that another evasion was devised to make sure that nazis would be admitted: If the prospective fascist immigrant belonged to a party that was out of existence for five years and had not advocated its program since, he was admissible. It is obvious that the State Department is especially eager to bring fascists into the country, for they are useful in promoting preparations for an anti-Soviet war.

From the federal budget estimate came another ominous indication of the police state intentions of the act. Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, reported in his weekly column of January 15 that: "The [1953] budget revealed that appropriations for the Immigration and Naturalization Service were increased by \$8,300,000 to cover detention, deportation, investigation and similar expenses necessitated by the rigid provisions of the new act. Significant estimates contained in the budget indicated that the Immigration Service expects to make 85,819 more arrests in the coming fiscal year than it did in 1952. Also citizenship and naturalization investigations will jump from 17,702 in 1952 to 124,100 per year according to the published estimate. The budget speaks ominously of six 'standby' concentration camps to be prepared under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950."

It is evident that the racist immigration law is being prepared by the State Department so as to serve as a deep entering wedge to make the country into a total police state. It is this profoundly anti-democratic aim of the law that has aroused opposition throughout the breadth of the country. Literally thousands of organizations of every kind, including national labor bodies and people's organizations and countless others, have expressed their opposition to the law. There is no doubt whatever that the potential people's force that could be developed to wipe out the shame and threat of this racist law is irresistible. It is of the utmost importance for the future of American democracy that this broad sweep of opposition be effectively mobilized.

There are signs of some united action on a local basis

against the law. In Brooklyn and Queens, a number of organizations joined to hold mass meetings in opposition to the law. Joint organizational councils are being formed in other cities to fight the law. In Boston steps have been taken by the Jewish Community Council to set up a state-wide body to seek changes in the law. Six Jewish women's organizations formed a Conference Committee of National Jewish Women's Organizations, representing one million women, early in February and sent a resolution to President Eisenhower urging changes in the act.

President Eisenhower, for his part, sensed the widespread opposition and in his State of the Union message early in February called for a review of the law. But only the most unremitting pressure by organizations of the people will assure that this vague statement will be translated into decisive action. The first signs are not auspicious and show that the greatest watchfulness is necessary. For the joint congressional subcommittee that will investigate the law includes among its House members not a single one who voted against the law or in favor of upholding Truman's veto—and this goes for both the Democratic and Republican members. Even Rep. Walter, co-sponsor of the law whose anti-Semitic slur in the House in January called forth a demand by Jewish War Veterans National Commander Jesse Moss for an apology, is a member of the subcommittee. The loading of this subcommittee with proponents of the act shows the need for united, powerful, ceaseless demands by the people for repeal.

A variety of plans for repeal or changes in the act have been offered by many organizations. Support for these plans should be forthcoming from all those connected with organizations offering such programs, even if the plan does not go as far as one likes. However, it seems to us that the program of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which has fought a valiant fight for years to protect the interests of the foreign born—and this means of all Americans, for the rights of both citizens and non-citizens are indivisible—should call forth maximum support. This program includes the following basic points: citizenship should be open to anyone in residence for two years who swears the oath of allegiance to the United States; no citizen who has lived in the country for at least five years should be threatened with deportation; no naturalized citizen should be threatened with cancellation of his citizenship unless obtained by fraud; no discrimination of immigrants on the basis of national origin, race, color, creed or political belief; and non-citizens should never be deprived of any provision of the Bill of Rights.

The Charge of Anti-Semitism and the Cold War

I: PROGRESS OF A SLANDER

*An exposure of the false accusations of socialist "anti-Semitism"
in the Moscow doctors' case and the agitation about East Germany*

By Louis Harap

SINCE the Prague trial last November, a number of arrests and trials of some individuals accused of operating under direction of United States and British intelligence have occurred in the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and East Germany. The Soviet Union has broken off diplomatic relations with Israel as a result of the bombing of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv. As these events have developed, the charge that anti-Zionism is identical with "anti-Semitism" has increased in persistence and intensity. Let us examine this charge in the light of the recent events.

Case of the Moscow Doctors

On January 13, came the announcement from Moscow that nine Soviet doctors had been arrested for shortening the lives of two Soviet leaders by deliberately wrong diagnosis and treatment and for planning to shorten the lives of a number of leading Soviet military figures. The statement asserted that the crimes were proved by "documents, investigations and confession of those arrested." Three of the doctors were agents of British intelligence—Drs. V. N. Vinogradov, M. B. Kogan and P. I. Yegorov, of whom only Kogan is Jewish. The other six, Drs. M. S. Vovsi, Y. G. Etinger, B. B. Kogan, A. I. Feldman, A. M. Grinstein and G. I. Mayorov (only the last is non-Jewish) were agents of United States intelligence recruited through "Joint," that is, the American Joint Distribution Committee, named in the statement as "an international Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization." "Vovsi," said the announcement, "stated during investigation that he had received a directive 'to exterminate the leading cadres of the USSR.' This directive had come from the 'Joint' organization through

a Moscow physician Shimelovich and the well-known Jewish bourgeois nationalist Mikhoels."

What are the facts concerning the supposed "anti-Semitism" in the arrest of these doctors? First, it is a fact that the three non-Jewish doctors "were the most important of the nine," as Joseph Newman reported in the *New York Herald-Tribune* of January 16. Why should these, who were "among the most trusted doctors who practiced within the Kremlin itself," as Newman reported, be involved in an "anti-Semitic" case—unless they were guilty? Further, one non-Jewish doctor, G. I. Mayorov, was among the group operating under "Joint's" direction, while one Jewish doctor, M. B. Kogan, was in the group of three working for British intelligence.

Evidences against "anti-Semitism" have crept into the commercial press, too. From Moscow, *New York Times* correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury reported on January 16, that "The alleged connection of the arrested doctors with Zionists was not emphasized" in the Soviet press. "It has not been found necessary to say anything about the religious origin" of the Jewish defendants. And Salisbury reported on January 22 a speech by N. A. Mikhailov at the Lenin memorial meeting in Moscow in which the speaker "did not talk about any Zionist connections of the nine doctors."

The fact is that in no instance have any of the accused been referred to as Jews. There have been two articles on the case in *For a Lasting Peace* (January 16 and February 6), bulletin of the Cominform, and nowhere are the doctors there referred to as Jews. There is mention, both in these articles and in the material from the Soviet press, of the connections of the doctors with Joint as a "Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization." But the characterization and

exposure of an organization which was involved in a plot to murder Soviet leaders is quite different from designation of the fact that some of the criminals were Jewish, which the Soviet Union has nowhere done.

Press Admissions

Even the *New York Times* conceded in the "News of the World" section on January 18, that "there may actually have been some kind of conspiracy and the Kremlin may have got wind of it." The paper then cites the fact that the 1937 trial of the Red Army generals was regarded by many Westerners as a "frame-up," "but it may have had some basis in fact. Winston Churchill, in his memoirs, refers to 'pro-German' elements in the Red Army in the thirties and says the purge was 'merciless but perhaps not needless.'"

And a dash of cold water was thrown on the campaign charging "anti-Semitism" by Raymond Daniell in his report in the *New York Times* of January 24 from London. "Foreign diplomats and British sources," he wrote, "are almost unanimously convinced that the new wave of anti-Semitic persecution in the Soviet Union and the satellite states is motivated entirely by reasons of internal security. Suggestions that it may reflect a desire on Moscow's part to curry favor with the Arabs, that it indicates the beginning of a struggle for power among rivals for Stalin's post or that it can be taken as a sign of weakness and dissension within the Soviet orbit are heavily discounted here." (Italics added.)

If we look a second time at this statement, we find a curious thing: the "reasons of internal security" can only mean that the charges are believed to be true. Why then is there need to talk about a "new wave" of "anti-Semitism"? Is it not enough to explain the arrests that the Soviet Union is meeting a dangerous threat to the lives of its leaders? Does it make the Soviet government "anti-Semitic" if they state that this was a plot in which United States intelligence used Jewish organizations for its anti-Soviet purposes? By virtue of what are Jewish organizations exempt from mention if they are so involved?

The Soviet Union has a right to protect its security. Even the *New York Times* anti-Soviet "specialist," Harry Schwartz, had to admit on January 26, that there might be "kernels of truth" in the doctors' murder plot. "For

concrete evidence of Zionist activity within the Soviet Union," he wrote, "the Soviet government can point to an underground railroad operated by Zionists. During 1945 and 1946, this railroad smuggled several thousand Jews out of the Soviet Union and Soviet occupied territory so they could go to Palestine." The Jewish Labor Committee has many times boasted of its "underground" in the Soviet Union.

Charge Against "Joint"

What of the accusation that "Joint" recruited some of the doctors through Mikhoels to shorten the lives of Soviet leaders? This has been met with cries of incredulity. On January 17, for instance, the well-known Yiddish writer B. Z. Goldberg wrote in his column in the *Jewish Day* that he would not believe the charges against the Jewish doctors or Mikhoels even if Mikhoels himself were alive and admitted their truth; and he added that the idea that "Joint" was implicated was absurd because the Joint Distribution Committee had had no connection with the Soviet Union for 14 years. Mr. Goldberg is mistaken. In the *JDC Digest* for December 1943, we find an article, "Return to Russia," by Joseph C. Hyman, which notes that "Discussions . . . have just been climaxed by an agreement between the JDC and the Soviet Union for the resumption of relief activities in the USSR. . . . The discussions were initiated by James N. Rosenberg during the visit to this country last summer of the Russian good-will representatives, Dr. Solomon Mikhoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer. . . . We made clear that JDC, as in every project upon which it embarks, would advise and consult with the State Department and seek its approval." (Italics added.)

Since the trial of the doctors has not yet taken place and the details of the evidence not yet divulged, how can Mr. Goldberg or anyone else be so dead sure that the defendants were not guilty? We do know at this point, however, that the defendants admitted guilt. And the facts cited above from the *JDC Digest* show that the conditions for the truth of the charges—consultation with the State Department and the establishment of contact between the JDC and the USSR through Mikhoels—were present.

Disclosure by Moscow of the doctors' plot was received here and in Israel with a renewed wave of hysteria. As in the case of the Prague trial, the charges against the doctors were dismissed as "inconceivable." There was little inclination in the press or among Jewish middle class leaders even to suspend judgment on the case until the trial itself. What did it matter that there were documents, evidence and admissions of guilt by the accused? One does not ask rational questions like this under hysteria. In Israel, particularly, the Ben Gurion government was beside itself and Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett made a speech in the Knesset on January 19, smoking with brimstone in which he threatened that any Israeli who even dared to doubt the innocence of the accused doctors would be regarded as having committed "a hostile act against the State of Israel."

TIMES, JANUARY 18, 1953.

These were the main ones:

(1) There may actually have been some kind of conspiracy and the Kremlin may have got wind of it. This has happened a number of times in the past. For example, the bloody purge of the Red Army in 1937 stemmed from the Kremlin's charge that certain officers were plotting with Germany against the Soviet Union. At the time, many Westerners regarded this charge as a frame-up, but it may have had some basis in fact. Winston Churchill, in his memoirs, refers to the "pro-German elements" in the Red Army in the thirties and says the purge was "merciless but perhaps not needless."

There is no suggestion existed in fact

JEW'S PARTICIPATE IN EAST EUROPEAN LIFE

THE facts of the participation by Jews in the life of the socialist countries refute the Big Lie of socialist "anti-Semitism." Following are some such facts of the past few months.

Soviet Union. An article by A. Goldenveiser in *Prauda*, November 30, 1952, reported that a score of a Borodin cello sonata, recently restored by violinist M. Goldshtein, had its first public performance in Moscow by cellist Yakov Slobodkin and pianist Arnold Kaplan.

The December 13, 1952, issue of the Moscow *Literary Gazette* contained articles by Albert Maltz, Arnold Zweig, B. Myelich and R. Bershadski.

The latest volume of the new *Soviet Encyclopedia* contains the fact that among the editors is P. P. Yudin and among the article writers are M. P. Baskin, L. B. Alter, I. M. Fradkin, B. P. Kushner, L. A. Syrkina, S. A. Granovsky, A. M. Rubinshtein, A. I. Eurye, A. V. Trachtenberg, A. N. Bukheim.

In the *Literary Gazette* of January 10, there are articles by D. Zaslavsky and I. Gorelick.

A new volume of the *Soviet Encyclopedia* published in Moscow early in February contains a six-page article on the Jews. The article states that Jews in the Soviet Union are fully equal with all other citizens and contains a discussion of the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidjan, which is growing stronger.

Czechoslovakia. The *Prague Newsletter* of January 15, carried the announcement that Howard Fast's novel for young readers, *Haym Salomon, Son of Freedom*, has just been published in Prague.

Rumania. On January 30, it was announced that there had been a shift in the cabinet. Remaining as vice premier

was Josif Chisinesvschi, who is also second ranking secretary of the Communist Party of Rumania—and a Jew.

Last December the chief rabbi of Rumania, Dr. Moses Rosen, made a speech before a national conference of peace fighters at which he said that the Rumanian People's Republic was the one and only "motherland of the Rumanian working people, both non-Jews and Jews. . . . In our country all are treated alike and all must work for the peace and prosperity of the people." He called the charge of "anti-Semitism" in the socialist countries an "abominable lie."

Bugaria. The December 10, 1952, issue of *Yevreiskii Vesti* (Jewish News) devoted its middle two-page spread to the pictures and biographical notes of 25 Jewish candidates for elections to city and local councils.

Poland. A conference was held in January at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw to plan the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April.

The number of subscribers to Jewish books in Stettin has grown from 11 in 1951 to 340 in 1952. Goal for 1953 is 400 subscribers.

Folks-Shtime, Polish Yiddish newspaper, contained a full page article in January, headed "There is no place in the ranks of our party for the anti-Semite Zoshitzki." The article tells in detail how the anti-Semitism of this man was discovered and investigated and how he was finally expelled from the Communist Party.

Leon Chajn was appointed late in January to be under-secretary of the Polish ministry of labor and social welfare. Chajn is secretary-general of the Polish Democratic Party.

And on January 28, the government suspended for ten days *Kol Haam*, Communist daily, because that paper dared to express belief in the guilt of the Moscow doctors. This act of suppression, significantly, was taken under the regulations of the British Mandate, which are still in force.

Hysteria and charges of "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union mounted even higher when, following the bombing on February 9 of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv, the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with Israel on February 12. On that day an Israeli foreign office spokesman declared that the bombing had been used by the Soviet Union as "a mere pretext" to break off relations with the real intention of the "utter isolation and intimidation of Soviet Jewry." But this is only another case of diversionary pleading. For one does not need to go beyond the official Israel incitement against the Soviet Union and the lack of protection of the Soviet consulate for reasons for the break.

Further, the notion that the Soviet Union wished to "intimidate" its Jewish citizens received a severe shock when, on February 14, Colonel General Lev Zakharovich

Mekhlis, former minister of state control and a top Communist who had recently been re-elected to the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party, died in Moscow. Plans were made for a state funeral with high official honors. On February 15, an Associated Press dispatch from Moscow was published in the *Boston Sunday Globe* headlined, "Moscow Mourns Jewish Official of Soviet Regime" and stated in the story that "Thousands braved below zero temperatures and snarled traffic as they lined up four abreast to wait their turn to file past the bier." This hardly sounds like the actions of a government and a people in the midst of an "anti-Semitic" campaign!

Besides the hysteria around the Moscow doctors' plot, a frantic press campaign has been carried on in the past weeks concerning East Germany. A riot of rumors and speculation was set off by the arrest on espionage charges of former foreign minister George Dertinger, leader of the East German Christian Democratic Party. All sorts of "reports" of flight of Jews and others from East Germany appeared. That there were some East Germans, including

Jews, whose guilty consciences about anti-state activity were awakened by the effort to rout out all criminal activities against the state, and who did flee into West Berlin, is probably true enough. But the figures cited in the press may be taken with a healthy dose of salt.

The East German Affair

On January 20, the *New York Herald-Tribune* carried a story from Berlin headlined, "Jewish Leader Sceptical About German Raids." The story went on: "Heinz Galinski, leader of the Jewish community [in West Berlin], said the reports circulating over the week-end in some quarters so far appear to be without foundation. 'We have lost a certain amount of contact,' he said, but added that there has been no evidence that the Communist police have actually swung into action. . . . The reports that the police have raided Jewish homes, seized identity cards and placed the Jews under house arrest were regarded by Mr. Galinski and his committee as conjecture. Jewish homes in the East sector of Berlin, where 2,000 Jews live, have so far been free from molestation by the secret police."

It is important to note that this note of scepticism was sounded by the West German Jewish leader a few days after four Jewish East German communal leaders (Julius Meyer, head of the Federation of Jewish Communities in East Germany; community leaders Helmuth Losher, of Leipzig, Leo Loewenkopf, of Dresden, and Guenther Singer, of Erfurt) had fled to West Berlin. No word came from these escapees until about three weeks later. On February 7 and 8, the *New York Times* carried an interview by correspondent Walter Sullivan with Julius Meyer. The story tried to make it appear that the Jews had fled because "officials tried to make them issue a statement supporting the trial of Rudolf Slansky and others in Czechoslovakia and denouncing Zionism." But later in the same story it turned out that the Jewish leaders "had determined to leave some weeks before" and had in fact made plans to flee. In the story on February 8, another revealing observation was made—that these "Jewish leaders do not believe the Communist objective is the revival of traditional anti-Semitism."

In the story of February 7, it was revealed that Herr Meyer was confronted at his visit to the headquarters of the Socialist Unity Party in East Berlin with the fact that, on his application for membership in that party in 1946, he "had given his pre-war party affiliation as a Communist whereas he was a Social Democrat. Likewise he had said that two of his children were killed by the nazis whereas one had actually been adopted." Why should he have lied his way into the Communist Party and thence into a post as a deputy in parliament?

One does not have to go far to understand what is happening in the socialist countries. The Soviet Union and people's democracies have discovered plots against their countries in which Masons, Trotskyites, Slovak nationalists, Vatican agents and Zionists and Zionist organizations—

Jewish Leader Skeptical About German Raids

In West Berlin, He Views Reports of Arrests in East Zone as Conjecture

BERLIN, Jan. 19 (AP). — Jewish leaders in West Berlin said today they are trying to track down reports that the Russian zone secret police have started a new action against the 800 Jews remaining in East Germany, outside East Berlin. Heinz Galinski, leader of the

Jewish community, said the reports circulating over the week end in some quarters so far appear to be without foundation.

"We have lost a certain amount of contact," he said, but added that there has been no evidence that the Communist police have actually swung into action.

Ten leading East German Jews who fled here last week said they thought an anti-Semitic purge was in the offing. The reports that the police have raided Jewish homes, seized identity cards and placed the Jews under house arrest were regarded by Mr. Galinski and his committee as conjecture.

Jewish homes in the East sector of Berlin, where 2,000 Jews live, have so far been free from molestation by the secret police.

among others—have been used by United States intelligence. They are trying to root out such plots in the interest of peace, of self-preservation and of socialism. At the same time, the attitude of the socialist countries and of East Germany toward anti-Semitism itself is clear and has been reiterated in theory and practice in past weeks. What more eloquent proof of this can there be than the arrest and imprisonment in January of three men for "anti-Semitic instigation and slander," as the government ADN reported? In Gera, a man was sentenced to a year in prison "because in a restaurant he slandered a citizen's Jewish faith"; in Magdeburg another received a two-year sentence "because he publicly approved the fascist terror against the Jews and cynically said not all of them have been killed." And in Frankfurt-on-Oder still another was sentenced to a year in prison because "he slandered a citizen of the Republic in the most hateful way because of his faith." And this in a country that is said to be conducting an "anti-Semitic" campaign, while in our own country a Representative Walter can make an anti-Semitic remark in Congress and get no more punishment than a round of applause and a few ineffectual protests from Jewish congressmen.

Other Cases

The fact that anti-Semitism has nothing to do with the discovery of plots against the various socialist countries is enforced by the fact that a number of such plots have been exposed in which Jews do not figure at all. On January 20, ten Bulgarians—all non-Jews—were convicted of a plot to overthrow the Bulgarian people's republic under the direction of a United States intelligence center in Turkey. On December 29, 1952, it was announced in Warsaw that a spy ring led by J. Kowalski and S. Sienko and set up in 1950 by former United States Ambassador to Poland Arthur Bliss Lane had been exposed by the surrender of these two men to the Polish authorities. The ring had \$1,000,000 at its disposal for the recruiting of thousands of agents in Poland and failed because the conspirators couldn't find

more than "a mangy 100 knaves" for their anti-Polish purposes. On January 1, the Polish government announced that two Poles who had been parachuted on November 4, 1952, into Poland by United States intelligence from Munich, had been arrested and had confessed. On January 27, it was reported that a Catholic priest and two laymen had been sentenced to death in Cracow for espionage for Washington and black market currency deals and that two other priests and one layman had been sentenced to prison in the same plot. All had confessed. And in February in Rumania a trial was going on against 24 persons for wrecking activities against the oil industry at Ploesti under orders from "American and British imperialist trusts" and for transmitting their sabotage reports to the United States Military Mission in Rumania. Because none of these were Jewish, this story got only a few inches in the press.

There is no essential difference between the exposure of these cases and those involving Jews or Jewish organizations. All such exposures are motivated quite simply by the elementary fact that these plots, under the direction of United States intelligence, threaten the life of the socialist countries. Zionist and Jewish bourgeois nationalist organizations are among those used by United States intelligence for this purpose; hence these organizations are denounced for allowing themselves to be so used. "Anti-Semitism" has nothing to do with the case; in fact, simultaneous with the attack on Zionism there has been continuous reiteration that anti-Semitism is barbarous and totally opposed to the interest of the working class. The attempt of certain Jewish "leaders" and publicists, therefore, to make not only the Jewish people, but also the people of the world believe that anti-Zionism is indistinguishable from anti-Semitism is a lying slander and a grave disservice to the Jewish people.

New "Defenders" of the Jews

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Jews have acquired some strange "defenders" against "Soviet anti-Semitism." The American Jewish Committee at its annual meeting at the end of January gave a platform to John J. McCloy, former high commissioner in West Germany under whom renazification grew apace, to come out against "Russia's anti-Semitic campaign." And messages were sent to the same meeting by President Eisenhower, author of the renazification slogan, "Let bygones be bygones," and that knight of peoples' equality, John Foster Dulles, erstwhile lawyer for nazi trusts, to express their disapproval of Soviet "anti-Semitism." And that great friend of democracy, Rafael Trujillo, fascist dictator of the Dominican Republic, let it be known that he would bring the matter before the UN. And then there was that staunch friend of the Jews, Anthony Eden, whose government has just dispatched jet planes to the Arab rulers, who also expressed his sense of shock. When one gets a line-up like this, one can be sure that all is not well for the Jewish people and

that alarm for Jewish welfare demands some real thinking about the matter.

The leaders of middle class Jewish organizations and the Yiddish and English-Jewish press are beside themselves with wild accusations. Fund raising organizations are accentuating and exploiting the hysteria to the hilt by highly charged emotional appeals to the Jewish people for money to "rescue" two and a half million Jews from "behind the Iron Curtain." They are deliberately using this false issue as a "gimmick," to use the vulgar advertising term, while there is not the slightest sign that the masses of the Jews of socialist countries have any intention or desire to leave those countries.

Hysteria as Cold War Weapon

In the Jewish press and among Jewish leaders one finds a continuous repetition of the scandalous equation of anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. Dr. Arieh Kubovy, former Israeli ambassador to Czechoslovakia and Poland who was recently declared *persona non grata* because he was charged at the Prague trial by Mordecai Oren, arrested Mapam leader and British agent, with playing a significant part in the espionage apparatus (see JEWISH LIFE, February, p. 8), has been touring in the United States for fund-raising purposes with the charge that "Zionism" is now being used in the socialist countries as "non-Aryan" was by the nazis. This is a staggering piece of effrontery: a criminal calls his victim a thief.

For this is the man who formulated his tasks as Israeli ambassador to Prague thus: "Maintain connections with the Jews of the country, stimulate emigration to Israel and the return of Jewish fortunes." (The Yiddish daily, *Canadian Eagle*, December 21, 1952.) In other words, promote emigration by undermining love of country among the Jews; try to get fortunes of Jewish industrialists and bankers out of the socialist countries and into Israel, in opposition to the right of these countries to nationalize non-personal Jewish property as well as non-Jewish. These are functions not of an ambassador but of an agent. And it is because the socialist countries oppose this kind of relation with Zionist Israeli representatives that they are called "anti-Semitic"!

The basic danger of the wild hysteria is that it is being used as a weapon in the cold war, particularly among the Jewish people. It is another incitement to war preparations against the Soviet Union and to soften the demand for peace among the people. It is being used to immerse the people in an emotional frenzy to weaken resistance to a police state at home and an atomic war. Calm in the face of the hysteria and mobilization of the people against the rapid development of an Eisenhower police state and extension of war in the Far East are the only answers that the Jewish people and the American people can make to the fantastic and ill-omened charges of "anti-Semitism" in the socialist countries.

II: DR. DU BOIS EXPOSES A MYTH

The great Negro leader responds to an inquiry from a liberal who asks for "an honest, direct answer" on socialist "anti-Semitism"

The following exchange of letters was forwarded to us by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, great leader of the American and Negro peoples and outstanding American scholar, in the belief that it would interest our readers.—Eds.

Chicago, Ill.

January 26, 1953

DEAR Mr. Du Bois:

I do not know exactly how to begin this letter or even why I am writing to you. I hope to find an answer to something which is now bothering me. I have just finished your *In Battle for Peace*, and also your book about the world and Africa. On the basis of these readings I feel you are the man most qualified to answer me.

Up until now, I have felt that Russia sincerely meant most of what she said regarding racial and religious prejudice. There actually is no "Negro problem" in Russia simply because there are not that many Negroes. However, there are many Jews and for a long, long time there has been a Jewish problem in Russia. I was pleased to learn that the government was trying to abolish anti-Semitism by the passing of laws forbidding it.

Now I read in our press of anti-Semitic purges and I am puzzled. Allowing for the distortion and exaggeration of these Jewish purges in the American press, I have read several accounts less exaggerated in the liberal Jewish press. I am beginning to feel that there is some basis for these accusations. If there is any basis—Russia is doomed—not by our H-bomb, but by the degeneration of her own internal foundation.

As I said before, I hope you can understand why I am writing to you.

I also want peace in the world and even if these charges are true I do not think the problem will be solved by war or force of arms.

However, as a Jew I will certainly regard Russia in a much different light than I have up to now. I am sure you can understand this.

Although I am sure you have much to keep you busy, I shall feel not only honored but greatly relieved in my mind to hear what you think about the subject. For surrounded by half-truths as most of us are today, I would like an honest, direct answer from a free, clear thinker which seems to be very rare in our world in our time.

Thank you,

(signed).....

February 9, 1953.

Dear Miss

Answering your letter of January 26th, let me say that

the best answer to the charge of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union will be found in Louis Harap's pamphlet, *The Truth About the Prague Trial*, which can be obtained from JEWISH LIFE, 22 East 17 Street, New York, N. Y.

Meantime, let me call these matters to your attention:

1. The Soviet Union would have no reason to incur the enmity of the Jewish world. Not even the alleged desire for friendship of the Arabs would be sufficient.

2. It is the policy of those who are now in control of the United States to spread every charge possible against the Soviet Union, whether it is true or not.

3. In accordance with this policy, the United States has had on hand for spending during the last year nearly \$200,000,000 to be used for subversion, bribery and revolt in the countries beyond the "iron curtain."

4. Without doubt Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have discovered efforts to sabotage their economy and embarrass their government, incited by outside influences. It is fair to assume that money from the United States has been, certainly in part, the cause of this.

5. In a socialist country there is a crime not recognized in capitalist countries, which deserves the highest punishment; and that is the attempt to disrupt the economy so that the whole organization of the socialist state would fail. It has been charged that persons have been discovered trying to do this in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia; that they have had a fair trial and have been severely punished.

6. Some of those punished were Jews, but there is no reason to assume that they were punished *because* they were Jews. They were punished because they were traitors. The Soviet Union has had a splendid record of opposition to racism for 35 years. Jews have from the first stood foremost in its leadership and still do. Even in its treatment of religion, after the political and economic power of the church had been broken, Russians were free to worship.

7. There is no doubt but that in the state of Israel rival forces are now in deadly conflict. The power of the organized Jewish church and the power of American capitalism have been so great that the attempt to build a modern socialism in Israel has been made difficult. There is no reason to doubt but that persons favoring reaction in Israel and in America may have easily been induced to try to overthrow socialism in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, and given money to accomplish this.

I think you might consider these statements which I am sure are true.

Very sincerely yours,
W. E. B. Du Bois

III: ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM

A documented historical account of the collaboration of the Zionist movement with imperialist powers from the beginning to World War I

First of a Series

By Morris U. Schappes

WE have tried to cut through to the truth about the criminal activities charged against certain Zionists and Zionist organizations at the Prague and other trials and arrests in the socialist countries. We have ever kept in mind that such activities have been carried on without the knowledge of the masses of members of Zionist organizations. This membership certainly should be given the facts about such activities and judge for themselves whether they agree that their organizations should be used as a cover for such acts. Further, are the many thousands of Jews who believe themselves to be Zionists aware of the real history of the movement to which they adhere and of the significance of this history? And the many thousands of Jews who are not Zionists should be acquainted with the history of this movement so that they may have a basis for their judgment of it. In the article below, Morris U. Schappes reviews the history of the collaboration of Zionism with oppressive imperialist regimes. We believe that ordinary Jews everywhere must consider if this record signifies activity in the welfare of the Jewish people and common people of the world.—Eds.

THE facts about the Zionist movement and the government of Israel that were revealed in the testimony at the Prague Trial undoubtedly surprised many well-intentioned members and followers of Zionist organizations in the United States. In Prague it was testified that not only were the Zionist organizations and the Ben Gurion government allies of imperialism, but that they had actually been used as channels for the operation of United States intelligence, which directed the criminal conspiracy organized by Slansky and his co-defendants against the Czechoslovakian socialist state.

Most Americans, including American Jews, know very little about the Zionist movement except that it has something to do with Palestine and Israel. Even members of Zionist organizations are generally unaware of the principles and tactics of Zionism. Most American Jews who consider themselves Zionist supporters or followers or even members do so because they want to help the struggling people in Israel. They believe, in our opinion mistakenly, that supporting the Zionist movement is one way, or the best way, to do so. Therefore, when the commercial American press, exploiting their deep feelings about Israel, de-

nounced the Prague Trial's exposure of the role of Zionism in this situation, and even falsely labeled this exposure as "anti-Semitic," these American Jews were ready to accept the charge.

Yet it is a known fact that many Jews, including those who have given active support to the people of Israel, have been and are opposed to Zionism. Particularly is this true of large numbers of progressive Jews. There is good reason for this.

Progressives, even if they are not themselves members of the working class, regard the working class as the class to which the future belongs, as the class that can lead the whole world forward. Such progressives have always regarded the Zionist movement and Zionist theories as reactionary, as hostile to the interests not only of the Jewish workers but of the Jewish people as a whole. Why?

From its beginning in the last decade of the 19th century, the Zionist movement was a movement of, and in the interest of, a section of the Jewish bourgeoisie, of the wealthy Jews, the substantial merchants, manufacturers, bankers. While one section of the Jewish plutocracy originally opposed Zionism, the Jewish-nationalistic section fostered it. The operating leadership of the Zionist movement was in the hands of Jewish intellectuals closely connected with the interests of this nationalistic Jewish bourgeoisie, lawyers, journalists and other middle-class professionals.

Whom Does Zionism Serve?

The fact that the Zionist movement represented the interests of a section of the Jewish bourgeoisie does not, of course, mean that every member, follower and supporter of the Zionist organization was a well-to-do merchant, banker, landlord or manufacturer. In fact, you may know many Zionists who are not at all well-to-do, who are struggling small businessmen, low-paid professionals or even workers. But does the fact that large numbers of the membership and supporters of the Zionist movement are not themselves part of the Jewish plutocracy mean that the movement itself is a working class or lower middle class movement? Not at all.

For it is the function of the bourgeoisie of any country or people to try to spread its ideas outside of its class and

specifically among the ranks of workers and the petty bourgeoisie. Except under fascism, when rule is mainly by terror, a plutocracy maintains its rule over the other classes by spreading among them the ideas that are useful not to the masses but to that plutocracy. Take the American plutocracy, the ruling class. How does it rule? Was Eisenhower elected solely by the votes of people in the same class as Charlie Wilson? Obviously millions of workers and lower middle class people were persuaded, *against their interests*, to vote for Eisenhower. Does that make the Republican Party a party of the working class and the masses? Likewise, the Democratic Party drew the vast majority of its votes from the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, but no progressive would define the Democrats as a working class political movement.

Whom Are the Zionist Members Following?

In fact, so long as there are elections, these two parties have to appeal to the electorate, which in its majority is an electorate of working people. Therefore the American plutocracy is compelled to *persuade* the working masses to follow the leadership of the plutocracy by spreading among them the ideology, the pattern of ideas, of the big bourgeoisie. Thus the fact that a bourgeois ideology is accepted and followed by workers and other classes outside the bourgeoisie does not change the character of the ideology. It is a historic weakness of the American workers that their class consciousness is still elementary and that they have not yet developed a mass party of their own class. Bourgeois ideology still dominates the mass of American workers, but that does not mean that this bourgeois ideology is in the interest of the working class.

The same thing is true of the ideology of the Jewish-nationalist section of the bourgeoisie, Zionism. *Whoever* accepts and follows Zionist theories and practices is accepting and following a bourgeois ideology, even if he is a worker, and even if he is a worker who thinks he is class conscious and believes in socialism.

But how can you tell that Zionism is an ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie? After all, Zionism *claims* to be the ideology of the Jewish people as a whole and in the interests of all classes of Jews. But so does the American, or the French or any other, ruling class assert that its ideas and its ideology are good for the whole country. The bourgeoisie always professes to represent the *national* interest. The Trumans and Eisenhowers maintain that they act in the interests of the nation, of national defense even, when in fact they are acting in the interests of the class of Charlie Wilson only. The claims of the Zionist Jewish bourgeoisie are just as false as the claims of the American nationalist bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois class character of Zionist ideology can be seen in all of its principal theories, and in all of its history. Perhaps the simplest road to understanding the bourgeois character of this Jewish nationalism is to examine its 60

year old, unswerving strategy of *alliance* with oppressive and imperialist ruling classes.

At the beginning of its career, the Zionist movement proclaimed the theory that the Jewish question was to be solved only by the establishment of a Jewish State, into which would be gathered all the Jews from all over the world, who were living presumably "in exile." That being the declared aim, how were the Zionists to go about achieving it? Even if the inconceivable had happened and every single Jew in the world had agreed to this Zionist principle, the Jews by themselves could not have attained this end simply because the Jewish people is a small people and therefore did not have the forces, *alone*, to create this Jewish State in a world in which all habitable territory is already part of existing states. Thus the Zionists needed allies with the necessary power to aid the Zionist movement to attain its end. Where did the Zionist leadership look for allies?

In the real world of political relations, allies for any movement could be sought for (1) in the working classes, (2) in national liberation and colonial anti-imperialist movements, and (3) in the oppressive ruling and imperialist classes of the time. Any legitimate national liberation movement, as distinguished from a bourgeois nationalist movement, would try to find its allies among those classes and forces which are also oppressed by imperialism, that is, the working classes and colonial and oppressed nations. But the Zionist leadership, because of their *class* character and ideology, turned not to the working class and to the colonial and national liberation forces, but to the only other classes in the field of political life, to the oppressive and imperialist ruling classes.

Before examining the historic record, another consideration must be taken into account: every alliance must be based on the self-interest of both parties to the agreement. In the language of diplomacy, this is called a *quid pro quo*, or loosely paraphrased, what do I get for what? Both parties to an alliance must believe that they are going to get something *for themselves* out of the alliance. Each side is willing to help the other achieve *its* objective, provided each side in return is aided in getting something it needs for itself. Now what the Zionists wanted was to get an ally or allies who would help the Zionists establish a Jewish State. But in return for this aid, the Zionists would have to be able to render some service to its allies. What service could the Zionists give to the ruling classes to whom they went with proposals for an alliance?

Herzl Looks for Sponsors

To whom the Zionist leadership went for alliances, and what they offered, is made abundantly and shockingly clear by the historic record.

Surveying the scene for possible allies, Theodore Herzl, founder, theoretician and leader of the Zionist international organization, decided to go first to the Sultan of Turkey, representative of the feudal absolutism that weighed op-

pressively upon the Turkish masses. Palestine was at that time a part of the Turkish empire, and since the Zionists wanted a Jewish State in Palestine, they would first try to strike a bargain with the Turkish ruling class for its consent.

But what could Herzl and the Zionists offer the Sultan in return? In sum, the Zionists could offer the Sultan the attraction of converting Palestine as a province of Turkey into a modern capitalist area that would serve both the Jews and the Turkish ruling class. But the nature of this offer and the ideology of the Zionists, can best be expressed in their own words, as set forth in a pamphlet published in New York in 1907 by the Federation of American Zionists, entitled *Zionism: A Jewish Statement To The Christian World*.

Discussing the proposition to the Turkish Sultan, the Federation of American Zionists points out that just as certain economic reforms have been made in the Lebanon province of Turkey, the Zionists would be prepared to finance such reforms in Palestine. In fact, the Zionist organization has already established the Jewish Colonial Trust with a capital of 2,000,000 pounds sterling and its subsidiary, the Anglo-Palestine Company. Then the Federation adds (all italics are this author's): "It is quite certain that reforms of the nature of those suggested, would *attract Jewish capital* from all over the world to that land in a far stronger manner than would be the case with any similar commercial ventures founded anywhere else. The reforms in Palestine besides, are urgent apart altogether from Zionist aims, and in the interests of good government ought not to be delayed."

Yet can the Sultan agree? The Federation of American Zionists answers thus: "But, it is often objected, His Majesty the Sultan would be opposed to such reforms, exactly because they would tend to foster Zionist aims. Why should he? Zionist aims in Palestine are *not in the least incompatible with, but are entirely consistent with Palestine remaining forever a province of the Turkish Empire. Nationality such as Zionists are striving to set up in Palestine by Jews and for Jews is not identical with an independent government.*"

What a vision! Jewish capitalists, governing and exploiting the Jewish masses in a Jewish province in Palestine as part of the Turkish Empire *forever*.

"As in India"

Then the Federation of American Zionists proceeds to argue how practicable this aim is: "There is a nationality in Canada and in Australia, *as there is in India*, and they are encouraged by the British government. These peoples are loyal to the British crown just by reason of the freedom which has been given them to develop their own existence."

Has an indignant Zionist ever asked you, how is it you support *all* national liberation movements, yet you oppose the Zionist movement? There is the answer! A real national liberation movement is anti-imperialist. Yet here

were the Zionists in 1907 speaking of *India* and the oppressed Indian peoples as "encouraged by the British government" and as having been *given* "freedom . . . to develop their own national existence." What is this but the Jewish bourgeoisie because of its class character applauding British rule in India and rejecting the claim of the oppressed masses of India to sympathy with and support of their struggle for national independence *from* "the British crown"? How could progressives support both Indian independence and the Zionist movement and be *consistent*?

But let us go on with this self-revelation of their bourgeois class character by the Federation of American Zionists: "Jews wish for nothing more than this same opportunity extended to themselves in Palestine. Thus the Turkish government would gradually turn Palestine from an almost uncultivated, and certainly from an undeveloped, land attracting for the most part, so far as Jews are concerned, *fanatics, beggars, paupers, and the decrepit who go there to die*, into a province, the great natural resources of which would quickly attract the *capital*, the energy, the brains of the *very best among the Jewish people.*"

Is "*reeks*" too strong a word to use about the bourgeois ideology of this passage? Consider the upper-class contempt of these Zionists for the then-existent Jews in Palestine, "the fanatics, beggars, and paupers" whose families had dwelt there for generations, or "the decrepit who go there to die" because of their Orthodox Jewish belief that it is holy to die in the "Holy Land."

Then consider what they offer the Sultan of Turkey: the transformation of his province of Palestine from an undeveloped land into a flourishing area attracting the capital, and that is significantly placed *first*, and "the brains of the very best among the Jewish people," that is, the Jewish capitalists, while "the energy" it is to be presumed will be provided by the "superior" Jewish masses of Europe, as distinguished from the Oriental "fanatics, beggars, and paupers" then living in Palestine. Here indeed is bourgeois arrogance, chauvinism and sycophancy to the Turkish ruling class combined in a few lines. This is how Jewish bourgeois nationalism looks when it opens its mouth and speaks frankly. (All quotations from pp. 12-13 of the cited pamphlet, with italics added.)

Well, did the Sultan of Turkey jump at this lively bait of Jewish capital, energy and brains dangled before His Majesty by Herzl and the Zionist movement? No, he did not, and his failure to do so may be one of the reasons why the Turkish feudal ruling class and His Sultanic Majesty went out of business as a ruling class.

The Kaiser and Tsar Say No

At any rate, Herzl had to go looking elsewhere for an alliance. His next stop was at the German imperialist ruling class. Of course Palestine was not a province of the German Empire yet, but German imperialism did have strategic aims in that part of the world, such as the Berlin to

Bagdad railway and what not, and if the German imperialists kicked the Turkish ruling class in its decaying teeth and took Palestine away and gave it to the Zionists, why then "the capital, the energy, the brains of the very best among the Jewish people" would be ready to serve the Kaiser's strategic interests in the Middle East.

And did the German imperialist ruling class jump at this offer of an alliance with the Zionists and Jewish capital? No, they thought they could do better with other allies, and in fact in World War I the Germans had Turkey as an ally.

But Herzl was resourceful. If not the Turkish or German ruling classes, there were still others. So the tsarist ruling class was approached next. Palestine was no more a Russian province than a German, but the tsar did have strategic imperialist objectives connected with the Dardanelles, and with preventing German imperialist penetration via the Berlin to Bagdad railway and so forth, and maybe the tsar would snatch Palestine for the Zionists, in which case the Zionist bourgeoisie would be His Majesty's loyal servants in the Middle East, and incidentally the Zionists would remove from tsarist territory all the Jews, particularly those nasty Jewish revolutionaries in the illegal socialist movement, Jewish revolutionaries whose subversive activity the Zionists held responsible for provoking pogroms against the Jews. So Herzl had an audience with Minister of the Interior Von Plehve, the master mind behind the Kishinev pogrom, but it was no go: the tsarist ruling class would not make an alliance with the Zionists although it had no objection to the Jews getting to—Palestine out of there. Maybe that's one reason why the tsarist ruling class is out of business too as a ruling class.

Did Herzl learn from these failures that one should not try to make alliances with imperialist ruling classes? Not at all. The bourgeois class character of the movement limited his search for allies to capitalist or other oppressive ruling classes. Never did the Zionist leadership try to forge an alliance with the European working classes or with colonial and national liberation anti-imperialist movements. Yet the weakness of the Jewish bourgeoisie required an alliance—so Herzl persistently went on his Jewish bourgeois nationalist search for an imperialist power far-sighted enough to recognize in the Zionist movement a worth-while ally. To England, then, next.

The Uganda "Offer"

Joseph Chamberlain (the uncle of Neville the Munich-maker), with whom Herzl began negotiations, was an experienced diplomat, with an Empire on which the sun, at the beginning of the 20th century, never set. British imperialists could always use allies and tools of their far-flung imperialist strategic needs. And here was Herzl, begging that Britain wrest Palestine from Turkey for the Jews, and thus gain a dedicated and loyal Jewish State as its servitor in the Middle East. Did Chamberlain therefore promptly say "Yes"? No! Britain was not yet ready

to accept the Zionist movement as a basic ally in that part of the world. But did Chamberlain flatly, as had the Turkish, German and Russian rulers, say "No"? No. A British imperialist diplomat never shut the door on any offer of an alliance, for Britain never knew when it would need new allies for its strategic requirements, especially since the anti-imperialist forces were growing. So Chamberlain in effect said, "Maybe." More concretely, he made a counter-proposal: not Palestine for the Jews, but—Uganda!

Uganda? There was a scurrying for maps to find Uganda, and sure enough it was there, right there in east central Africa, where British strategy required an ally with capital, energy and brains. Herzl was disappointed but not fazed. A British offer was a British offer and therefore must be taken seriously. So the Zionist movement began to weigh the desirability of a Jewish State in—Uganda. An expedition was actually sent there to survey the land and estimate its practical suitability for the Jewish people.

Of course, there was an obstacle. Until Uganda loomed on the strategic horizon, the Zionist theoreticians had been making their appeals to the Jewish masses in terms of what was called the 2,000-year old dream of the Jews to return to Palestine. The Bible was searched for texts that would "prove" that such was the destiny of the Jews. The Passover Hagada, with its toast, "Next year in Jerusalem," became a basic test demonstrating Zionist claims to Palestine and Jewish aspirations to be, one and all, Zionists.

But Uganda? The most diligent search of sacred texts revealed no historic or prophetic connection with Uganda. No holy-day ritual or prayer mentioned it, and the new slogan, "Next year in Uganda!" sounded like a mockery or a profanation. Thus there developed a crisis in the Zionist movement. The Ugandists and the Palestinians fought it out, in person, at mass meetings, and at the Sixth World Zionist Congress in 1903. Max Nordau, a Ugandist, was almost assassinated after the world congress when two bullets whizzed by his head, badly aimed by an irate Palestinian who had had enough of such talk. The crisis led to an organizational split: the Ugandists became the Territorialist-Zionists (with Israel Zangwill in the leadership), that is, those Zionists who would take any territory that any imperialist power would be ready to assign to the Jews. But the main tide of the Zionist movement returned to the concept, "Next year in Jerusalem!", that is, if not next year at least as soon as we find an imperialist ally who will make that goal possible.

It was not until November 2, 1917, during the first World War, that British imperialism finally decided to enter into an open alliance with the Zionist movement by proclaiming the Balfour Declaration.

What Zionist History Says Today

Perhaps you think the foregoing account of 20 years of Zionist diplomacy is more entertaining than truthful? Then consider how the Zionist leadership today writes

about these events in order to win young Jews over to Zionism. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the American Zionist Youth Commission, joint agency of the Zionist Organization of American and Hadassah, published a 58-page pamphlet entitled *Guide to Zionism*. It was written by Jeremiah Ben-Jacob, a Palestinian-born Zionist theoretician. How does this official publication present this history for the instruction and inspiration of Jewish youth? Pages 10 and 11 have a section on "Diplomatic Orientation." The italics in the following quotations are added by this author.

"Herzl's main diplomatic preoccupation (except in the last phase)," writes Ben-Jacob, "was to secure a Charter from the Sultan. This he hoped to achieve by promising Jewish aid for the financial recovery of [the] Turkish Empire and by securing the goodwill and support of the great powers.

"The record of Herzl's negotiations and conversations with the Turks, the Germans, and the Russians is a moving but also a humiliating story. . . .

"Yet Herzl went through all this with high courage and the consistency of a scientist experimenting by a process of elimination.

"His conversations with the Kaiser are no less humiliating [than with the Sultan] . . .

"To the anti-Semitic government of Russia he also *had to* make an appeal—in vain." Why he "had to" has already been explained: the bourgeoisie, including the Jewish bourgeoisie, turns to the bourgeoisie and other reactionary classes for alliances. But to continue with Ben-Jacob: "In striking words he [Herzl] describes what he felt when he saw von Plehve, the tsar's minister of the interior: 'I stood before a panther, a strong, sinuous, unrelenting beast, whose every move was a guarded offense . . . the arch anti-Semite, cool, frank, a butcher.'" That Von Plehve was all of this, however, was known before Herzl went to him with the offer of an alliance; yet it did not deter Herzl.

Heving defined the "humiliation," Ben-Jacob then assures his Jewish youth: "In summing up the significance of Herzl's orientation it is clear that his achievements so transcended his failures, that even his failures assume the aspect of grandeur. They were the failures, as already suggested, of an experimenting scientist, or better still, of an inspired artist that must pass in humility, patience and devotion through the phases of creation, rejection and synthesis." Such is science and such is art and such is nonsense—to this Zionist theoretician, guiding the youth to Zionism.

Yet after the failures came the "success." Says Ben-Jacob: "From the heavy smoke of Constantinople's intrigue Herzl moved to the electric atmosphere of arrogance, hate and megalomania of Imperial Germany and tsarist Russia. From there he tried to find a way to the fog of England which he probably found more congenial. 'England, free England,' he prophesied, 'with its *world embracing outlook* will understand us and our aspirations.'

"He was even prepared to consider the British Uganda proposal as a temporary substitute for Palestine. First, because he was deeply stirred by the signals of Jewish distress in Europe. Second, because he was attracted by *England's political prestige*."

England's "world embracing outlook," England's "political prestige"! In what "striking words" Herzl and Ben-Jacob try to veil the reality of oppressive British imperialism, trying to embrace even more of the world than it had already subjugated colonially! But Ben-Jacob, ending his section on "Diplomatic Orientation," strikes this lofty note: "Thus Herzl's orientation paved the way to *the alliance with Britain* and to the integration of political, cultural, and practical Zionism. That is, it paved the way to the Balfour Declaration and to the so-called 'Synthetic Zionism.'"

In the Service of British Imperialism

The origin in the complex negotiations that led to the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, it is not necessary to set forth here. Essential, however, is the undisputed fact that the Zionist negotiators knew exactly what they were doing in their appeal to the British imperialists. No less a Zionist figure than Jacob De Haas, once the secretary to Theodore Herzl himself, thus describes the last lap: "The Zionist memorandum presented just prior to the discussion of the final stages of the negotiations urged that after three years of debate: 'The problem be considered *in the light of imperial interests* and the principles for which the Entente [the Allied powers in the first World War] stands. . . . We therefore now humbly pray that this declaration may be granted to us and this would enable us to further consolidate Jewish public opinion in the Entente countries to counteract all the demoralizing influence which the enemy press is endeavoring to exercise by holding out vague promises to the Jews and finally to make the necessary preparations for the constructive work which would have to begin as soon as Palestine is liberated.'" (Louis D. Brandeis, New York, 1929, pp. 91-92, italics added.)

This memorandum was signed by Lord Rothschild, president of the English Zionist Federation, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann. When Foreign Secretary Balfour replied to it in the Declaration, he addressed the Declaration to Lord Rothschild.

Nor have Zionist historians, themselves bourgeois-nationalist in their thinking, attempted to cover up the character of the alliance. Abraham Revusky, whose *Jews in Palestine* has gone into three editions since 1934, explains: "Certain British statesmen seemed to believe that a pro-Zionist declaration would enlist the support of the four million Jews in Russia for the tottering Kerensky rule, and that this support would in turn help to prevent the impending Bolshevik Revolution. There are also strong indications that in issuing the Balfour Declaration the British were partly influenced by reports from the United

States that such a step would undoubtedly help to transform the hitherto lukewarm attitude of the American Jews toward the Allied cause into a whole-hearted enthusiasm. In any event, it must be admitted that the Balfour Declaration made a valuable contribution to the Allied cause. . . ." (New York, 1945, 3d ed., pp. 20-21.)

Here Revusky, a *Labor* Zionist, whose ideology is no less bourgeois nationalist because he belongs to a party with the word "Labor" in it, blandly accepts not only British and Allied imperialist war aims, but specifically the anti-Bolshevik aim of the Balfour Declaration. That the millions of Russian Jews were the first in the world to be liberated from the anti-Semitic system of tsarism-capitalism precisely by the working class and the socialist revolution, is of no interest to this Jewish bourgeois nationalist, who prefers the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917 to the November 15, 1917 declaration of the equal rights of the nations, national minorities and ethnographic groups on the territory of Russia, issued by Lenin and Stalin, or to the specific law against anti-Semitism, the first to be passed by any state, issued in Soviet Russia on July 27, 1919.

The role of the American Zionist movement at this time grew in importance as the weight of United States imperialism in world affairs increased. American Zionist historians are frank about the matter. Rufus Lears, in *Fulfillment: The Epic Story of Zionism*, notes that among the motives of Britain "the long-range value for the British Empire of a grateful world Jewry and of a large, vigorous and loyal community on the road to India was not lost from view." Then, a "more immediate consideration" is defined thus: "The War was not going well for Britain and her Allies. . . . In the circumstances, the attitude of the Jews of the world, and especially of America, was considered a factor of sizable importance. . . ." As for the Balfour Declaration, Lears asserts, "what finally tipped the scales in its favor was a message which President Wilson, at the request of Brandeis, addressed to Prime Minister Lloyd George, approving the pronouncement" as it was being debated and formulated. (Cleveland and New York, 1951, pp. 193, 192, italics added.)

Intelligence Services Rendered

Now how did Brandeis, the leader of the American Zionist movement during this period, succeed in forging an alliance between the Zionists and the American government? He followed what Jacob De Haas enthusiastically applauds as "a constructive and novel aggressive policy." Writing about this first in *The Menorah Journal* for February 1928, De Haas explains: "By freely rendering service to American officials the American Zionist Organization won the friendship and good will of those who could not be influenced permanently by importunate effort. The objective was not merely to maintain the esteem and willing cooperation of President Wilson himself, but to permeate every avenue of his administration, and the whole British

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Brandeis in Zionism

BY JACOB DE HAAS

IT is not without reason that often at Zionist conventions and congresses since 1921, proposed policies which sounded austere and economic have been dubbed "Brandeisian." Or that, more than occasionally, when the movement finds itself oppressed by practical problems, Zionists begin to consider whether the Brandeis régime may not be restored. For in the

A real organization does not exhibit all its strength on parade, though that ostentatious form of demonstration was not overlooked when the need arose. The great strength of the American Zionist organization was in the multifariousness of its contacts, and in the accurate knowledge by those in control of the human resources on which they could depend. Did the British need to obtain a contact in Odessa, or were they in need of a trustworthy agent in Harbin? Did President Wilson require at short notice a thousand word summary detailing who was who in the Kerensky upheaval in Russia? The New York office rendered all these services, asking nothing but receiving much, the respect and good will of the men whose signatures counted in great affairs. Thousands of Zionists everywhere served, and served well, in that far-flung line which the organization maintained during that long trying period when victory seemed in the balance.

In the above excerpts, Jacob de Haas, secretary of Theodore Herzl, founder of political Zionism, tells about Zionist collaboration with United States and British intelligence during World War I. If then, why not now?

service in this country, with a sympathetic understanding of Zionism." (P. 143, italics added, here and below.)

What service to American officials were the Zionists in a special position to be able to render? Well, in the first place there was the Transfer Department, a Zionist apparatus that "served Jew and non-Jew alike, without cost to sender or recipient" of money transferred. "It became a department that sought and found people worlds asunder." Surely a worth-while activity in a world rent by war and the displacement of millions of war victims! But De Haas adds happily that this service was also a help to American officialdom: "Starting by using the good offices of the U.S. Department of State as a means of communication and deposit, it became so successful and so reliable that it was employed by the Treasurer of the State Department to deliver monies and messages which the government itself could not handle or successfully deliver." (Pp. 142-143.)

A service indeed! When the State Department was unable to pay somebody, or to send him a message through its ordinary channels, here was a new channel, the Zionist Organization of America, and an efficient one too. De Haas elaborates his point with relish: "A real organization does not exhibit all its strength on parade, though that ostentatious form of demonstration was not overlooked when the need arose. The great strength of the American Zionist organization was in *the multifariousness of its contacts*, and in the accurate knowledge by those in control of *the human resources on which they could depend*. Did the British need to obtain a contact in Odessa, or were they in need of a trustworthy agent in Harbin [China]? Did President Wilson require at short notice a thousand word summary detailing who was who in the Kerensky upheaval in Russia? The New York office rendered all these services, asking nothing but receiving much, the respect and good will of the men whose signatures counted in great affairs. *Thousands of Zionists everywhere served*, and served well, in that far-flung line which the organization maintained during that long trying period when victory seemed in the balance." (P. 144.)

Was it in the interests of the Jewish workers and the Jewish people as a whole to supply British intelligence with a "contact in Odessa" or "a trustworthy agent" among the war refugees in Harbin? And one wonders what it was that United States Ambassador to Russia David R. Francis did not include in his cables to the State Department or in the diplomatic pouch of his couriers that the New York office of the Zionists *could* provide from its sources of intelligence. But whatever it was, President Wilson required it promptly, and it was the New York office that supplied it. And since De Haas had a hand in this efficient office, he is proud of this achievement.

In the Interests of the Jews?

Once *The Menorah Journal* for February 1928 appeared, however, wiser heads, perhaps more experienced in intelligence operations and certainly more sensitive to what should be presented "on parade" before American Jews, American Zionists, and the general reading public, must have protested to De Haas that he had babbled too much, that he had actually put "on parade" those things which an organization should keep under the shelf, or locked in the memories of reliable and close-mouthed people. At any rate, when De Haas came, in 1929, to publish his book on Brandeis, he *carefully omitted* the entire paragraph quoted above from p. 144 of *The Menorah Journal*! But that paragraph is unerasable proof that not only did the Zionist organization become a channel for United States intelligence operations in 1947, as was testified at the Prague Trial, but that it had been such a channel in 1917, and that its Transfer Department, set up for humanitarian purposes, was also such a channel.

That this should be the case is perfectly logical, plausible and normal provided one keeps in mind the class nature

of Zionism as a Jewish *bourgeois* nationalist ideology, and of the Zionist leadership as dominated by the Jewish bourgeoisie. That such a leadership professes to act philanthropically and in the interests of all the Jews is to be expected. That the functions of the Zionist organizations include many more things than appear "on parade" is also obvious.

Bourgeois nationalism today is an ideology that sacrifices the interests of the people to those of the reactionary bourgeoisie. It is the ideology of imperialists and those who imitate and ally themselves with imperialists. Balfour was no more acting in the interests of the British masses in sending his Declaration to Lord Rothschild than Rothschild was acting in the interests of the Jewish masses in soliciting and receiving it. Between the two World Wars, the Zionist alliance with British imperialism was an uneasy one, with the British undecided as to whether their imperial interests could not better be served in the Middle East by firmer ties with the Arab States. Only the Zionist leadership through thick and thin remained loyal to the British imperialists and when part of the leadership began to move in another direction, it was in the direction of an alliance with *another imperialism* rather than with the anti-imperialists. This development, as well as the most recent events, we shall analyze in another article.

(To be continued.)

WHY SO MANY JEWS AT TRIAL?

By Eleanor Wheeler

Below is an excerpt from a letter written by Eleanor Wheeler of Prague to a friend in this country:

Prague, November 21, 1952.

AS TO the fact that most of the defendants [at the Prague trial] were Jews. The [Allen W.] Dulles organization [for United States intelligence working out of Switzerland during the war] had explicit instructions to concentrate on work with the Jews—of course (as the indictment shows) Jews with middle class background and outlook. These were the people who bought their way out of the nazi terror, some even serving on the committees which sent millions of honest Jewish workers to their death [Judensrat], and then trade on their positions as "victims of fascism" to export millions of dollars of goods out of a country which is recovering from war damage and starting the rugged path to socialism. These are not the ordinary Jewish workers—of these, the ones who survived work tranquilly on without the discrimination which bars them from jobs in some of the countries most vociferous about persecution here. These accused Jews are people who, whatever their origin, have an undemocratic outlook and will oppose socialism by any means. And they are the real anti-Semites because in using Jewish organizations for their dirty ends they deliberately discredit their own people. The indictment accuses [Karl] Schwab, [Joseph] Frank and [Bedrich] Reicin of betraying and mistreating Jews in concentration camps. These are the anti-Semites and they are being punished as such by the Czechoslovak government.

IV: ISRAEL IS IN DANGER

The hysteria in Israel about socialist "anti-Semitism" is being fed by bourgeois Israeli leaders to cover up the critical situation there

By Dr. Moshe Sneh

When the news came to Israel of the Zionist and Israel involvement in the Prague trial, the "left" Zionist party, Mapam, split on the issue. Led by Dr. Moshe Sneh, a minority of party leaders refused to go along with the majority view that Mordechai Oren, a Mapam leader who confessed to complicity in the conspiracy, was guilty, and that anything anti-Jewish was involved in the trial. Dr. Sneh submitted the following article stating his position to the Mapam organ, Al Hamishmar, which refused to print the article. It was finally published in the Mapai daily, Hador, and appeared in a Yiddish version in the New York Poale Zion weekly, Yiddisher Kemfer, on January 9, and is translated in part into English below.

Because of his firm position against the charge of "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, Dr. Sneh has been expelled from Mapam. He is organizing a new group in Israel.—Eds.

THE United Workers Party (Mapam) reacted to the Prague trial from two public platforms; in a leading article in *Al Hamishmar*, the organ of the party, and in a statement of its parliamentary group on the floor of the Knesset.

The following lines are not meant to re-state or say anything new about the position of Mapam, which received authoritative and binding expression in the two above-mentioned declarations. But this "position" was taken on a wave of slanders against the Czechoslovak People's Democracy, against all the countries of socialism, against Communism throughout the world, against Mapam here in our country. These slanders have provoked the thoughts and observations expressed here.

The muddy wave which for a week has been flooding organizational life in Israel—whom is it really intended to harm? It is clear: it is aimed at the working class in Israel, against the masses in Israel.

It arose, this wave of baiting, in order to cover up and hide the wave of rising living costs, which tears the food out of the mouth of the working person, and the wave of unemployment which is drawing tens of thousands of workers into the whirlpool of hunger and desperation. It arose, this wave of incitement, in order to wipe out the wave of resistance of the inhabitants of the *Maabarot* (temporary quarters of the new immigrants), where they have been ordered to spend the winter in tents, despite all

the deceitful speeches about secure dwellings for the winter.

It arose, this wave of filth, in order to divert the attention of public opinion from the failures of the country's leaders, both in internal affairs as well as external affairs; from the growth of the deficits in the economy and in the public treasury and from the decline of Israel valuta on the stock markets of the world; from the pressure of the American rulers to make "peace" with the Arab countries at the expense of Israel—a "peace" which would be merely an aggressive regional pact for war.

It arose, this wave of hate, in order to awaken in the masses an enthusiasm to take part in a war as a holy thing against the Soviet Union and all the nations striving for peace. It arose, this wave of insults, in order to hush up and obliterate the wave of dissatisfaction and embitterment which is mounting in the camp of the supporters of the existing order and especially among the youth and the workers of Mapai.

For these purposes there appeared on the floor of the Knesset the united chorus of the crows, which interrupted the music of the radio program "Voice of Israel." These intentions united in one front all the poison-spewers from Ben-Gurion and Sharett to Labun and Livneh, Begin and Lipshitz, all partners of the American front in the state of Israel; from Mapai to Herut to the deserters from Mapam.

Communism Against Anti-Semitism

Communism and anti-Semitism are mutually contradictory, are two things which contradict each other—actually a thing and its antithesis. But in order to strengthen the "Falling House of David (Ben-Gurion)," in order to attach the state of Israel to an imperialistic, fascistic, anti-Semitic league, together with McCarthy and MacArthur, with Guderian and Kesselring, with Adenauer, with Tito and Franco—the speakers of Voice of America in the Israel Knesset dragged out this false refrain: "Communism is anti-Semitism."

Lenin taught the working class throughout the world, in the time of rising anti-Semitism in tsarist Russia, "It is not the Jews who are the enemies of the workers; the enemies of the workers are the capitalists of all countries. Among the Jews there are workers, there are toilers—they are the majority. And they are our brothers-in-oppression

by capital; they are our comrades in the struggle for socialism."

Stalin regarded anti-Semitism as the most acute form of cannibalism. "Anti-Semitism, in the extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most terrible relic of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is for the exploiters a convenient lightning rod which protects capitalism from the attack of the toilers. Anti-Semitism is a danger for the workers, like a misleading path which takes them off the straight road and leads them into the jungle. Communists, as consistent internationalists, can therefore not be anything else but uncompromising and sworn enemies of anti-Semitism. In the Soviet Union anti-Semitism is strictly forbidden as a phenomenon that is absolutely inimical to the Soviet regime." (Reply to a representative of JTA, Jan. 31, 1921.)

This is the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the question of anti-Semitism and this is the foundation of the practical politics of the Communist Parties not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the people's democracies which grew up after the Second World War.

All the prattle about a so-called change which took place in this respect is lies and falsehood. In all the countries of socialism, anti-Semitism is regarded by law as a criminal offense and he who breaks the law against anti-Semitism receives a heavy penalty.

The Slander Will Fail

In the days of the trial in Prague, the Czechoslovak radio broadcast a special program which denied the libel about "the anti-Semitic character" of the trial—but this information was given prominence only in one newspaper—*Al Hamishmar*.

Reaction in Israel is interested in presenting the Prague trial as anti-Semitic. The bourgeoisie in every nation is always interested in presenting its class interests as general, national interests, in dragging the working class into solidarity with "national" reaction, with "its own reaction," and in drawing the workers away from international proletarian solidarity.

Scientific socialism has equipped the working class with the knowledge and the consciousness that its class struggle against the bourgeoisie within its own nation is not in contradiction with the existence of one society and one people, in the framework of one bourgeoisie state, but that it forms the essence of this society. It is a mistake "to conceive of the conflict of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the acute class struggle which takes place between them, as the dissolution of society, as a severance of all relations between the opposing classes"; "as long as capitalism exists, so long will the bourgeoisie and proletariat be tied to each other by all the threads of the economy, as parts of one capitalist society"; "the class struggle, even the sharpest, can therefore not lead to a dissolution of society." (Stalin, *Marxism and Linguistics*.)

Scientific socialism has also equipped the working-class with the knowledge and the consciousness that socialist

international solidarity is not only not in contradiction with the national interests of the given nation, but that it is the guarantee for the true national interests of all nations—the highest expression of loyal patriotism.

Also, the recent history of our ancient people has forcefully proved this teaching. The Soviet Union which in its war of defense against Hitler aggression conquered and smashed the nazi beast, therewith rescued the entire world from the stupor of fascist enslavement, freed many nations from fascist plunder and rescued the Jewish people from extermination and destruction.

And the Soviet Union, and together with it the people's democracies, and the Czechoslovak People's Democracy among them—they were the ones who extended to the Jewish people full assistance to set up its own state in Israel. In the two most violent and most fateful occurrences in Jewish history—in the attempt to destroy the Jewish people and in the struggle for its establishment—it was the Communist world, and the Soviet Union at its head, which showed and proved that it and only it was a true friend of the Jewish people, as of all the nations of the world. And every "explanation" that the Prague trial shows, so to speak, that "Communism is the enemy of the Jewish people" or of the state of Israel or of the liberation movement of our people, is no more than a malevolent libel and a lying slander.

The fact that the government of Israel has harnessed itself to the chariot of American imperialism, the speeches of Sharett and Eban and Ben Gurion, which are laden with hate, and spread enmity to the Soviet Union and to Communism—could produce no other effect. Therefore, we cannot react to the Prague trial in partnership with the enemies of socialism in Israel. And their attempts by word and deed, to turn those in Israel who are loyal to socialism against the strongholds of socialism in the world and to cut us off from the world revolutionary camp, of which we are an inseparable part, will not succeed.

If you want to know what is the true psychical cause of the anti-Communist outburst in the Knesset, on the "Voice of Israel," and in the bourgeois Mapai press, you have only to listen to the outpouring of love and to the glorification which Ben Gurion, and Namir and Labun, and Livneh and Begin pour out to the betrayers of communism: to Trotsky and Bukharin, to Kamenyev and Zinovyev, to Tito, Rykov and Kostov, to Slansky and Clementis. What hymns of praise did the ministers and spokesmen of Mapai sing about each one of these whose liquidation saved a socialist state from destruction!

And just look: love and kindness for him who betrayed Communism in the Soviet Union and went over to the service of imperialism; and the other side, the cry of hate and the hissing of snakes against one who through his life experience and through the lessons of his struggles, rose in his development from the national bourgeois democratic movement to proletarian class consciousness, to revolutionary socialism, to true friendship for the Soviet Union.

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld.)

V: A VISIT TO EAST EUROPE

A recent trip, since the Prague trial, to the East European countries shows that the "fantastic tales" of "anti-Semitism" are a "cruel cheat"

By Ivor Montagu

London

WITHIN the last few weeks I have traveled in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, four peoples' democracies. Conditions are completely and entirely normal so far as their Jewish inhabitants are concerned. That is—far more secure, honorable and confident than in the bulk of the "Western" lands. This is the short answer to stories of "purges" and "pogroms," of "Jewish people panic-stricken with insecurity." These fantastic tales of horror are a complete fabrication, a cruel cheat.

A callous game is being played with the feelings of Jewish people and others. The monstrous pretense of a wave of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe has been spread because of the arrest and punishment of a handful of criminals, Jewish and non-Jewish. It has been spread to try to obscure the discovery that the American sabotage and terror machine has, with the collaboration of some Zionist officials, penetrated Zionist and Jewish philanthropic organizations and used them for its purposes.

In the last few weeks, since the trial of Slansky and others in Prague, I have met rabbis. I have attended synagogue services, talked with Jewish citizens, both Orthodox and unbelieving, party and non-party, young and old, students and greybeards. I have talked to Jewish men and women, in humble jobs or prominent in public life.

Not only is there no alarm, no perturbation. There is no sign even of apprehension. The stories to the contrary are complete and utter rubbish.

The Jewish people I met talked of their work, their hopes, their plans, their children in perfect calm, just as they have done when I have met them in these lands before. Often the trials and arrests were never mentioned. They didn't happen to arise. If they happened to come up in conversation, they were discussed as something that would not, or could not, touch the speakers, as they could touch no honest men.

Something more. I have traveled in public transport in all these countries, shopped, visited theaters and sports arenas, chatted with passers-by. Nobody, from my appearance, could be under the slightest illusion respecting my Jewish origin. Sometimes I wore winter clothing borrowed from friends and then, at least before I spoke must have appeared a domestic citizen. When chatting, of course, my identity as a foreign Jew was clear. At no time, in no place, from anybody, did I, in either character, encounter the slightest constraint, the slightest discourtesy or hostility.

Nor did I encounter any qualification in friendliness and helpfulness. On such a point a Jew cannot be mistaken.

I have stood with hundreds applauding a Jewish prima donna. I have clapped with thousands, cheering on a Jewish sports champion. Nowhere among any of these hosts was there the slightest sign of reservation in their admiration or encouragement. There could not be. For in these countries the Jew is a human being and human beings are respected.

In the last few hours I have received a letter from a Jewish friend in Poland. He talks cheerfully of his work and plans. I have also received a message from a Jewish friend in Russia. He speaks brightly of his family. On my breakfast table I found a letter written only four days since by a Jewish woman of 73. She returned to her homeland—Eastern Germany—two years ago, believing the description of life there that she read in the *Daily Worker* rather than in other newspapers. In her letter she recounts her happiness and the surprise she regaled her family with a few days ago—a bronze medal of honor and a certificate to celebrate her 50th half-shift as a volunteer on the rebuilding of Berlin. She enclosed a newspaper cutting praising her with portrait.

Have Jews in these countries any worries? Yes. Certainly they have—but of a kind very different from that pretended in the falsehoods spread by the United States State Department. Their worries are of a kind from which these falsehoods are designed to distract attention.

I hear the voice of the chief rabbi of Bulgaria throbbing with indignation as he speaks of the release of the Nazi war criminals in the British zone of Germany and the evils this can portend for Jewry and the world. I sit, the supper things cleared away, with a Jewish friend in Strasnice, Czechoslovakia, his lovely fair-haired wife beside him and and their bright four-year-old child playing on the floor. He asked: "How is the peace movement in Britain? Realize what it means for us here—the American bombers are less than a half-hour's flight from Prague."

I hear again the glorious choral chant of the oldest Bucharest synagogue. The lamps cast exquisite shadows, the worshippers are rapt in the serenity of Sabbath evening service. Anger boils in me at the venality, the recklessness or the gullibility with which certain spokesmen in this country, Jewish and non-Jewish, risk the shattering of their peace and happiness by tearing up the Ninth Commandment—"Thou shalt not bear false witness"—in the interests of war.

VI: "DEPARTMENT OF DIRTY TRICKS"

A comprehensive, documented expose of the United States intelligence operations behind the trials and arrests in the socialist countries

By Gerhard Hagelberg

Really the only result of this statement [by the State Department that Soviet charges against "Project X" were "groundless"] was to confuse the American people. The Russians know we are playing cops and robbers back of the Iron Curtain. So do all the satellites and our allies. About the only people who do not know—and they must suspect it—are the American people, many of whom do not know anything about the bare-knuckle aspects of the cold war.

—James Reston

New York Times, Dec. 9, 1951.

SINCE the conviction of Rudolf Slansky and his associates in Czechoslovakia in November 1952 on charges of high treason, economic espionage, military treason, and sabotage, arrests and trials on similar grounds have taken place in a number of Eastern European states, in East Germany and in the Soviet Union.

In this article we shall deal with a most crucial question; were the accused guilty? For if they were indeed guilty, then certainly the charge of anti-Semitism has no foundation, since Jews do not have exemption from punishment for crimes under socialist law any more than they do under capitalist law.

We shall attempt to show that there actually exists a mountain of evidence, composed entirely of documentation from sources hostile to the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.

Expansion of American Intelligence

Let us first briefly trace the enormous growth in American intelligence operations in recent years. Beginning with World War II the United States undertook undercover operations on a grand scale. In 1941, an American civilian intelligence agency was established, the Office of Coordinator of Information, directed by then Colonel William J. Donovan. According to an anonymous wartime intelligence officer writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* of April 1948, this agency pioneered in "the gathering of political as well as military information by unorthodox means" and in "combined sabotage and intelligence-gathering operations."

In 1942, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was established as the successor to the Coordinator of Information.

The OSS further extended the innovations of its predecessor by entering more deeply into intelligence fields hitherto plowed by the Western European powers—into Southern Europe, the Middle and Far East, Southeast Asia and Africa. The basis was thus laid for today's world-wide American network.

Particularly relevant to the recent East European arrests and trials are the OSS activities in Central Europe. Director of the OSS continental branch, operated during the war out of Switzerland, was Allen W. Dulles, brother of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and today head of the Central Intelligence Agency. Hans B. Gisevius, a German intelligence agent who worked with Dulles from 1943 on, wrote in his memoirs, *To the Bitter End*:

"Dulles was the first intelligence officer who had the courage to extend his activities to the political aspects of the war. . . . Dulles concluded that it was time to think intensively about the political end of the bloody struggle. Therefore, he tried to establish contact with all the resistance groups in Europe. His bureau on the Herrengasse in Berne grew in time into a virtual center of the European Resistance. Not only Germans, but Austrians, Hungarians, Italians, Rumanians and Finns, not to mention the citizens of occupied countries, met there."

The Bankers' OSS

The type of officers recruited for leading positions in OSS and their postwar aims were described in a column by Drew Pearson on April 26, 1945.

Pearson wrote: "The OSS . . . has, strangely, distributed some of the most powerful bankers' representatives in the United States of America at key points where they can influence United States policy in occupied Germany.

"The roster of OSS men . . . includes: Paul Mellon, son of Andrew Mellon; Junius and Henry Morgan of the House of Morgan; Alfred Du Pont; Lester Armour of the Chicago Armours; Gordon Auchincloss; John Auchincloss; Warrick Potter; Harold Coolidge; William Van Allen of the Astor family, and Allen Dulles, attorney for various international bankers with previous connections in Germany.

"Some of these may not deserve the suspicion focused upon them. But others more than make up for it. And

SABOTAGING OF CZECH MUNITIONS DESCRIBED

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3 (AP)—Czechoslovakia was destroyed. Czech refugees said today that they had seen several soaked rags. derground reports from anti-Also burned was a supply of

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE DAILY MIRROR

NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1951

"Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."
—John, viii, 32

Let's Have Lots of Snies

THE RED KIDNAP

EAST ZONE PLANT ADMITS SABOTAGE

West Berlin Anti-Reds Spur Workers in a Key Factory to Damage Goods for Soviet

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES
BERLIN, Jan. 14—Anti-Communist groups in West Berlin, infiltrating one of the key plants in East Germany's Five-Year Plan, have been undermining the workers' morale and persuading them to sabotage large transformers due to be sent to the Soviet Union.
That was conceded in an official Communist report, published today, that also said the plant had failed for three years in a row to fulfill its share of the Five-Year

America Has ACE SPIES, Too

by TRIS COFFIN

one of the nation's best brains work for CIA, a new agency in our security p

U. S. SPIES KILLED IN 'SECURITY ABROAD'

Men of the Central Intelligence Unit Face Peril on Their Own
—Few Even Know of Them

OCT 23 1949
WASHINGTON, Oct. 23 (AP)—Agents of the American Govern

Capital Studies Aid to Anti-Red Underground

MARCH 25 1948
'Project X' Would Send Funds, Possibly Arms, to Soviet Satellite Areas

By Robert J. Donovan
WASHINGTON, March 25.—Plans were under discussion by members of Congress today for a secret "Project X"

U.S. Spy Force Is Voted by House Group

Bill Is Too Secret For an Open Study
HERALD TRIBUNE

Intelligence Agency Plan

ould Provide a Haven Aliens Who Assist
FEB 24 1949

By David McConnell
WASHINGTON, Feb. 23.—The Armed Services Committee up a new bill for con-

Halsey Urges U. S. to Assist

satellite Revolt
M-TRIBUNE

Jewish Veterans That We Must Give Subjected people' Hope for Future
OCT 9 1950
By Paul Tobenkin

BURY PARK, N. J., Oct. 8.—Admiral William F. Halsey today that while the United should be prepared mili-

While a fog of false charges of anti-Semitism in the socialist countries is being thrown up to cover the exposure of numerous plots by United States intelligence to undermine the socialist world, the press in thousands of forms openly boasts of the existence of and agitates for more spying operations. Above is a sampling.

anyone listening for 30 minutes to their conversation about the next war and building up Germany as a partner in that war, can understand why the Russians wrongly accuse us of a deal to permit the American army to enter Berlin first." This was written before V-E Day!

While aiding the war against the Axis powers, OSS also kept an eye peeled on our ally, the Soviet Union. Stanton Griffis, former ambassador to Poland, in his book, *Lying in State*, published in 1952, tells that on his OSS mission to Sweden in 1942, he was busy "collecting information regarding Sweden's armed forces, its attitude toward Germany and the Allies, its relations with Finland, and, above all, with Russia."

Griffis also provides an interesting insight into the methods of operation of American intelligence abroad. A director of Paramount Pictures at the time, Griffis went from Sweden to Finland "to use Paramount funds for arranging an intelligence network that would relay information from the Russian-German lines back to Allied headquarters."

The Central Intelligence Agency

When OSS was dissolved in 1945, its key units were transferred to the State and War Departments and its bases in foreign lands were maintained and served as the nucleus for postwar operations. Stanton Griffis writes that, "Even today, almost ten years later, it is impossible for me to tell the whole story of my work in Finland, for the men whose subterranean employment I arranged are still there, and Russia is very close."

In fact, such networks existed all over Eastern Europe. On July 23, 1948, the *New York Times* military editor, Hanson W. Baldwin, revealed that "several intelligence fiascos have occurred in Rumania, Hungary, Finland and elsewhere... 'rings' of agents established in the old OSS days and inherited willy-nilly by the Central Intelligence Agency were responsible for much loose work which resulted in easy detection and ultimate elimination of the 'rings.'"

Intelligence work grew by leaps and bounds. To co-

ordinate the intelligence activities of all government departments as well as to carry on independent operations, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was started in 1947. It received unprecedented authority to conduct its affairs in the utmost secrecy by a law passed in 1949, most details of which were not even revealed to Congress. However, Rep. Carl Vinson declared that the bill provided for "just plain spying, no matter what you call it" (*New York Herald-Tribune*, February 24, 1949). Rep. Carl T. Durham gave this explanation for the act:

"There are many people all over the world who believe in this country. . . . Many of them are living in police states. Some of them may have formerly been highly placed in the service of their government. *Some of them may even be there now.* Many of them have important intelligence information to make available to this country. . . ." (*New York Times*, March 8, 1949, italics added.) Most of the bill's provisions were kept secret on the plea that otherwise current CIA operations might be jeopardized. Sen. Millard E. Tydings, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, declared on May 27, 1949: "The work to which the bill relates is dangerous work. . . . Several [representatives of our government] have already lost their lives. . . . Because, quite often, if they are detected, they are forced to tell why they are there, and the picture is not a pretty one" (*New York Times*, October 23, 1949).

It was not long before stories appeared in the press bragging about CIA's achievements. On October 30, 1949, an Associated Press dispatch in the *New York Times* proclaimed: "The American spy system, although still in its infancy, is robust and growing. . . . The American cloak-and-dagger men [are] now working noiselessly and invisibly throughout the world." Large and ramified as it is, the CIA does not represent the sum total of American clandestine operations.

When we examine concretely the various kinds of activities and weapons utilized on this hot front of the cold war, a significant result appears. They coincide with the criminals acts already exposed at the various trials and arrests in the socialist countries.

Techniques of Propaganda and Terror

First we shall examine techniques employed—propaganda, infiltration of agents, sabotage and terror.

Almost two years ago, on April 9, 1951, *New York Times* correspondent C. L. Sulzberger reported from Athens: "Operational political warfare against puppet regimes in Soviet satellite states has now been started, presumably by organizations within the Western allied countries. Leaflets have been scattered over Bulgaria and Albania. Special underground radio stations apparently are being erected to encourage opposition elements and co-ordinate their anti-Soviet activities. . . . A number of parachuted agents have landed in [Albania's] mountains."

The technique of terror was emphasized by Rep. Charles J. Kersten, sponsor of the amendment to the Mutual Security act, which appropriated \$100,000,000 for Project X: "To

say that terror would play no part in a liberation movement in Eastern Europe is to be utterly unconvincant with what constitutes a liberation movement" (*Congressional Record Appendix*, Vol. 97, Part 15, p. A6642).

Precisely what is meant by "terror" was described by wartime intelligence officer, Anthony H. Leviero, now *New York Times* White House correspondent. Writing in the Chamber of Commerce publication, *Nation's Business*, in April 1952: "No government official will admit it, but we are training men to be spies, saboteurs, specialists in the tougher forms of psychological warfare. They are being taught to slip into the Russian fabric on their own to do some unravelling. They learn to blow up bridges, railroad trains and war plants, are taught to use all types of weapons, both United States and foreign. . . ."

This terrorism does not stop at murder and assassination. Almost five years ago, in one of the first public discussions of Project X, *U.S. News and World Report* of April 9, 1948, reported: "One school of thought in Washington and abroad wants an 'Operation X' performing behind the Iron Curtain with tactics similar to those used by the Office of Strategic Services in wartime. This school advocates strong-arm methods, including assassination if necessary, to keep Russia's part of the world in turmoil. It would finance underground movements in Russia's satellite states. . . . *Assassination of key Communists would be encouraged*" (italics added).

Assassination and the Cold War

Is the indictment that United States agencies directed the murder of two top Soviet officials and planned to murder others, as charged against the Soviet doctors, so "fantastic" after all?

Here is what Leviero wrote in his *Nation's Business* article mentioned above: "A former American secret agent, now a business man abroad, . . . recently wrote to a former underground, official and suggested a revival of our 'accident squads.'"

"These squads were set up to take care of troublesome enemy agents in places where direct action was inconvenient. A wheel might roll off the car of a troublesome spy, or he might meet sudden death in some other accidental way. It was not unheard of for the officials who arranged one of these 'accidents' to appear as mourners at the victim's funeral."

The existence of assassination plots as part of the cold war is not a matter for speculation, and as a matter of fact such plots are not confined to Eastern Europe. Last October the Social Democratic prime minister of the West German state of Hesse made public the existence of a murder gang in West Germany, organized, financed and directed by American agents, which planned the assassination of the leading members of the West German Social Democratic Party.

The border-line between terror and propaganda is thin. The large meaning of the word "propaganda" was outlined by Leviero in an article in the *New York Times* on De-

Ex-Intelligence Agent Caught In Berlin With Secret U. S. Files

Army Authorities Say Documents Could Jeopardize
Network of Informants in East Germany

By The Associated Press

BERLIN, Dec. 13.—United States Army authorities disclosed today the arrest here of a former American intelligence agent and said he had in his possession enough documents to jeopardize its entire network of informants in East Germany.

They identified the man as Michael R. Rothkrug, forty-four, of Westport, Conn., a naturalized American born in Belgium, who served as a lieutenant in the Army in World War II and later was a civilian agent for the Military Intelligence Division (M. I. D.).

American spokesmen said the agents discovered thousands of top secret documents, missing from M. I. D. files for two years, in the textile concern's office.

The documents included names of Germans working in the anti-

Communist underground. Informants said disclosure of such a list would mean years of painstaking work and jeopardize the lives of the persons concerned. Some are living in West Berlin. Others are in the Soviet Zone of Germany. There were hints that they included men highly placed in the Communist government itself.

Rothkrug was jailed in the Army stockade here. He has been in custody four months. A trial is being prepared and may be held in the next few weeks.

The sudden disappearance of about 4,000 separate documents prompted the Army to send a general and a colonel here from Washington in 1950 for investigation. At that time, Army officers said, Rothkrug was still on the M. I. D. staff and told interrogators he had returned all documents for which

in indications that Washington is turning its thoughts to means of letting the people of the satellite countries know they are not forgotten by the West. Two years ago it was the opinion of most Westerners close to the work of the [UN] Economic Commission for Europe that there were techniques of economic permeation of the Iron Curtain that would cost relatively little and have valuable results as 'cold war' tactics.

"These techniques included selective loans and medium and long-term trade contracts through which Western instead of Russian or domestically produced equipment would be used in industry. There was even reason to believe that with sufficient inducement from the West some countries in Eastern Europe would have modified their then rather fluid economic plans to give their economies greater Western orientation. . . .

"To be successful such techniques required the presence within the governments of the satellite countries of elements, Communist or non-Communist, willing and able to debate the merits from the viewpoint of their countries' interests of dealing with the West in various fields. . . . It is now clear that such elements were in fact present in the Hungarian, Polish, Czechoslovak governments and even in Bulgaria, and most obviously of all in Yugoslavia." (Italics added.)

Intelligence on a Grand Scale

But whom do United States agencies use to execute these plans for espionage, sabotage and murder?

Washington has in fact organized a vast apparatus for these purposes. The CIA alone, according to Hanson W. Baldwin in the *New York Times* of January 29, 1953, employs an estimated 9,000 to 15,000, "in addition to other thousands employed by the Army, Navy and Air Force." This figure compares with the perhaps 3,000 employees of the famed British Intelligence Service and the estimated 300 of Israel, whose efficiency, Baldwin reported, is regarded highly by Washington observers. Such a judgment can of course be made only on the basis of close collaboration between U.S. and Israeli intelligence services.

In *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy*, Sherman Kent, a top CIA official, disclosed that the Departments of State, Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, Interior and Justice, the Treasury and the Tariff Commission were among the other government agencies engaging in intelligence. Of the Department of State, Telford Taylor wrote: "the entire department is, in effect, an intelligence service, constantly gathering information through ambassadors and other foreign service personnel." (*New York Times Magazine*, May 27, 1951.)

These facts are so well known in other countries that American governmental representatives are held suspect. Furthermore, their reckless participation in more perilous activities would lead, and has in fact led, to diplomatic complications. In any case, the immense program of subversion in socialist countries could not possibly be carried out unless innocent-sounding organizations with contacts

ember 12, 1951: "While much must be left unsaid for security reasons, it is possible to define the three types of propaganda—'white,' 'black' and 'grey'—and to say that Americans and cooperative foreigners in critical areas are practicing all three. White propaganda is straightforward overt action, such as the broadcasts of the Voice of America. . . . Black propaganda conceals or falsifies the source, and may include violence, planting false rumors, the manufacture and propagation of scandals and other activities designed to sow confusion and distrust. Grey propaganda is employed in the twilight zone between white and black. . . . Recent black operations are covered by security regulations."

Economic Sabotage

The plans of the Eisenhower administration to use these techniques were disclosed in *Newsweek* of February 2, 1953: "It may be denied, but the Eisenhower Administration plans to rely heavily on subversion and sabotage in its stepped up cold war against the Soviets. Few people realize it, but the United States has already been going in for this in an important way against the Reds on the China mainland. A reason it has been hushed up: Official Washington fears the United States public would be shocked by disclosure that this country resorted to such 'dirty' methods."

On the front of economic sabotage, an article by Michael L. Hoffman from Geneva in the *New York Times* of March 19, 1950, practically describes what a number of the conspirators at the Slansky trial in Prague actually confessed. Hoffman wrote: "There is naturally much interest here

in these countries were used as a "cover." As Baldwin put it in the *New York Times* of July 24, 1948: "Secret intelligence operations must be conducted on a broader and far more secure base than heretofore. The State Department's embassies and missions have offered 'cover' up until now for nearly all overseas CIA activities, largely because this was the easiest way. But other types of 'cover' can and must be provided. Ingenuity and secrecy are the keys to sound operational procedures."

The AFL as Agent

Sherman Kent in his book enumerates as intelligence gatherers "members of special commissions, United States delegates to international conferences, traveling congressmen," as well as "the writers, the newspapermen, the scholars, the businessmen, the travelers, and big-game hunters."

And that isn't all. The 1949 law mentioned above authorized the CIA to assign agents to schools, businesses and labor unions in this country. Westbrook Pegler, for his own purposes, charged in the *New York Journal-American* of January 29, 1953, that "when the CIA wanted to plant an 'advisor' in the AF of L," a former State Department offi-

cial named Carmel Offie "was selected and the AF of L put him on its payroll in May 1950." Earlier, on January 15, Pegler had urged Congress to expose "the sinister case of the Garment Workers' venture in international political conspiracy with a secret grant of our money from the Central Intelligence Agency," asserting that this money was used "to hire street-fighters to wage riots and terror in European nations." On February 4, Pegler said that the State Department and/or CIA had given \$3,000,000 to the AF of L. He further reported:

"Carmel Offie . . . told me that Dave Dubinsky's Garment Workers' Union was deemed most appropriate to wage conspiracy in European countries in violation of the sovereignty and dignity of their governments because the AF of L, and especially Dubinsky's union, had unlimited money subject to no accounting. Another authority in the CIA said Dubinsky on one of his trips to Europe to organize this evil system carried \$50,000 in currency."

There is too much corroboration of these charges from other sources for us to ignore them. An article in the *Reader's Digest* of September 1952, on Irving Brown, European representative of the American Federation of Labor, characterized him as a "one-man OSS" who had "organized

RECENT ANTI-SEMITIC INCIDENTS AT HOME

WHILE the columns of the commercial press are choked with "news" about the presumed anti-Semitism in the socialist countries, anti-Semitic occurrences take place in this country with routine or no notice in the press. Where is the outcry against them? Where is the action to stop anti-Semitism on the part of those who are so consumed about "anti-Semitism" in the socialist world?

Following are some of these anti-Semitic incidents that have occurred or come to light since January 1.

Naval Captain Hyman G. Rickover was the designer of Washington's first atomic-powered submarine. Truman's Secretary of the Navy Kimbal said last July that "Captain Rickover has accomplished the most important piece of development work in the history of the Navy." Yet the captain's name was twice skipped over for promotion by the Naval Selection Board. This means now that Captain Rickover must retire from the Navy at 53. Captain Rickover is Jewish.

The "Women's Patriotic Conference," a federation of about 30 women's organizations, held a meeting in Washington at the end of January at which Robert H. Williams, well known West Coast bigot, made an anti-Semitic speech. The Anti-Defamation League has called Williams "one of America's most prolific and vicious anti-Semitic pamphleteers." Present at the conference were a number of congressmen and senators and Mrs. Ivy Baker Priest, newly-appointed treasurer of the United States. The conference also received messages from President Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon and various senators.

Stephen H. Berger, 14, of Newton, Mass., was walking home from a party at the local Temple Emmanuel late Saturday night, February 7. Five teen-age boys asked him, "Are you a Jew?" When Berger answered "Yes," he was beaten with an army belt with a heavy buckle by the five boys. Two other boys, 12 and 13, also reported being punched in the face after returning from the party. The five attackers have been brought into court.

Two Jewish brothers, 14 and 17, were brutally beaten on a Philadelphia street at eight PM on January 26. The unprovoked beating was made by a crowd of attackers.

The Hebrew Congregation cemetery in Indianapolis was desecrated on January 29. Three large monuments, which weighed close to a ton, were toppled over. Seven months earlier, caskets and slabs in the cemetery's mausoleum had been desecrated.

Did anti-Semitism prevent the selection of Hank Greenberg, outstanding baseball star and manager of the Cleveland Indians, to Baseball's Hall of Fame by the Baseball Writers Association? Bill Wolf, Jewish Telegraphic Agency's sports editor, thinks so. "The sportswriters," said Wolf, "have listed many ball players ahead of Hank, some of whom come nowhere near the stature of the great first baseman."

The Williams College chapter of the Phi Delta Theta fraternity elected a Jewish student to membership in January. The chapter was then suspended from the national organization because it had violated the rule that membership is restricted to "men of white and full Aryan blood."

a whole army of vigilantes," an operation which was said to have cost the AFL close to \$1,000,000. Brown was further credited with aiding the organization of contacts inside the Czech Communist Party. Victor Riesel stated in the *Daily Mirror* of November 24, 1952, that Brown and the leaders of the AFL-sponsored International Confederation of Free Trade Unions could "brief" President Eisenhower "in more detail than Central Intelligence on Soviet activity in every corner of the world."

Not only United States but also foreign groups are used. The "East Bureau" of the West Berlin Social Democratic Party coordinates resistance in the German Democratic Republic and "collects valuable data for the West" (*New York Times*, December 14, 1952). On the same day, according to the *New York Herald Tribune*, United States Army authorities disclosed in connection with the arrest of a former American intelligence agent in Berlin, that they found in his possession "enough documents to jeopardize its entire network of informants in East Germany. . . . There were hints that they included men *highly placed in the Communist government itself.*" (Italics added.)

Another West Berlin organization, the Fighting Group Against Inhumanity, which brags of training East Germans in resistance techniques, was said by its leaders to be largely supported by the Ford Foundation (*New York Times*, May 19, 1952).

Ford Foundation As "Cover"

The Ford and other foundations are apparently among the "covers" for American intelligence operations. The Ford Foundation has a subsidiary, the East European Fund, which helps "Soviet refugees to become integrated as useful citizens of the non-Communist world" (*New York Times*, March 16, 1952). George F. Kennan, author of the Truman "containment" policy, was president of this fund before his appointment as United States ambassador to the Soviet Union. Its director is Melville J. Ruggles, a veteran of OSS and the State Department intelligence office. Chairman of the Ford Foundation Board on Overseas Training and Research is Gordon Gray, former secretary of war and first director of the Psychological Strategy Board. (This Board was described by James Reston in the *New York Times* of December 9, 1951, as "a sort of department of dirty tricks," coordinating "cloak and dagger operations of all the government departments.") An associate director of the foundation, Milton Katz, former chief of the Marshall Plan in Europe, also has an OSS background.

It cannot be a coincidence that such an aggregation of intelligence veterans, of whom only the most prominent are known, are assembled in the Ford Foundation.

Another arm of this apparatus is the National Committee for a Free Europe, formed in 1949 with State Department blessings. Its first president was the late DeWitt C. Poole, a high OSS official, while Allen W. Dulles headed the executive committee. This outfit coordinates the dozens


of emigre groups scheming to overthrow the governments of the American Zionist Organization under the guidance of Justice Brandeis in the *Menorah Journal* of February 1928, by Jacob De Haas, secretary to Theodore Herzl, founder of political Zionism:

"The great strength of the American Zionist Organization," wrote De Haas, "was in the multifariousness of its contacts, and in the accurate knowledge by those in control of the human resources on which they could depend. Did the British need to obtain a contact in Odessa, or were they in need of a trustworthy agent in Harbin? Did President Wilson require at short notice a thousand word summary detailing who was who in the Kerensky upheaval in of Socialist countries. This committee maintains high-powered radio stations in West Germany which, with their huge staffs, serve also as organizing centers for espionage and sabotage operations.

Zionism and Intelligence

We have cited only a fraction of the evidence available to demonstrate the existence of a pervasive American espionage-sabotage system which utilizes every means of contact with the "enemy." The Prague trial, the case of the Moscow doctors and other cases showed that American Jewish middle class philanthropies and Zionist organizations, all of them having decades of experience in international relations, were part of this system.

13th January 1953



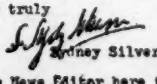
Dear Mr. Bloch,

I am shocked and distressed beyond words by your letter and enclosure of the 8th instant, which has reached me only this morning. It reveals about as shameful a bit of dishonest reporting as I have come across for a long time.

On 6th January I took part in a public Forum in London about the Prague trial. I said that they were certainly not anti-Semitic; that they were certainly anti-Zionist; that they might therefore lead to unintended anti-Semitic results. I said, in passing, that it would be as wrong to infer anti-Semitism merely from the fact that many defendants were Jews and were described as Jews as it would be to infer anti-Semitism in the Rosenberg case merely because the Judge, both counsel, both defendants, and the chief prosecuting witness were all Jews whereas there was not a single Jew on the Jury.

So far from intending to imply any support for the hysterically extravagant sentence on the Rosenbergs (even if guilty, which seems to me very doubtful) I had only the previous evening been the principal speaker at a large and very crowded public protest meeting which apparently the United States press did not report at all! In the course of my speech I said that I did not think a conviction on the evidence could have been obtained or held on appeal in the United Kingdom and that to carry out the capital penalty would be to indict not the Rosenbergs but the United States Government.

I remain of that opinion and you may make such use of this letter as you wish.

Yours very truly

 Sidney Silverman.

P.S. I have talked to the United Press News Editor here this morning. He informs me that he has no record and has no knowledge of any such report and that in any case the New York Post does not take the U.P. service—S.S.

The New York Post is caught in a lie.

We can flatly assert that the American Zionist Organization engaged in intelligence activity during World War I. This is stated in so many words in a review of the accom-Russia? The New York office rendered all these services, asking nothing but receiving much, the respect and good will of the men whose signatures counted in great affairs."

De Haas also described the "Transfer Department" of the organization, set up ostensibly to handle remittances from American Jews to their relatives overseas. "Starting by using the good offices of the United States Department of State as a means of communication and deposit," he wrote, "it became so successful and so reliable that it was employed by the treasurer of the State Department to deliver monies and messages which the government itself could not handle or successfully deliver." (Italics added.)

One can also cite the case of Aaron Aaronson during World War I. He was director of a Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station at Athlit, near Haifa, which was financed by American Jewry. According to Frank E. Manuel in *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations* (1949), Aaronson was "chief organizer of a British spy ring among the Jewish colonists in Palestine."

Another channel of "underground" activity in the Socialist countries is the Jewish Labor Committee, an intensely anti-Soviet group. The committee has often boasted of this "underground." Jacob Pat, the committee's executive secretary, disclosed in 1951 that more than 1,000 Jews had been "rescued from countries behind the Iron Curtain by members of the underground" operated by this group, which had once again set up its "underground machinery in Europe" (*New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1951.)

More on Prague Defendants

In addition to the mass of evidence about activities and organizations involved by United States intelligence in its operations, reports in recent weeks specifically incriminate several of the accused in recent arrests and trials and corroborate the facts revealed at the Prague trial. A story on Bedrich Geminder, a defendant in the Prague trial, appeared in *Der Spiegel*, a West German weekly similar to *Time* magazine, on December 17, 1952. It stated that Geminder was an agent of the German intelligence service beginning in 1935. He is said to have furnished regular reports, first from Czechoslovakia and later from the Soviet Union, which were paid for in Swiss francs into a bank account in Zurich, where Geminder would appear now and again under the names of Kramer or Vltarsky to pick up his money. Shortly after the outbreak of World War II, according to *Der Spiegel*, German intelligence suspected that its secret agent Geminder was sending duplicates of his reports to the British secret service. However, his information was important enough to the Germans for them to keep him on the payroll. The full story of Geminder's German connections was obtained by the British after the war when they captured the German intelligence officer who was Geminder's contact man.

Another "story-behind-the-trial" was reported by the *New York Journal-American* on December 2, 1952, on the authority of Dr. V. S. Krajcovic, chairman of the National Committee for Liberation of Slovakia, a reactionary emigre group here. Citing "messages received today from the anti-Communist underground in Czechoslovakia," Krajcovic claimed that the Slansky trial was precipitated by an abortive uprising of officers in the Prague garrison "aimed at overthrowing the Red government" of President Gottwald and replacing it with Vladimir Clementis, Slansky and their colleagues.

More light is thrown on the Czech trial by a United Press report in the *New York Times* of March 14, 1952. According to this, Bohumil Lausman, former Czech vice premier and minister of industry, suggested in Paris that "a Czechoslovak official had been sent to Austria last November—only two weeks before the arrest of Rudolf Slansky [in December, 1951] . . . to learn the Western price for improved relations between Czechoslovakia and the free world."

The arrest of East German foreign minister Georg Dertinger was illuminated in a dispatch by the Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times* on January 17, 1953:

"[Dertinger] is known to have visited West Berlin members of his party quietly. The West German branch of the Christian Democratic Union is headed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. Unofficial Western sources also said Herr Dertinger had intentionally passed on to the British information about the inner workings of the East German government through his association with Eberhard Plewe. The latter, a West Berlin lawyer, was reported arrested by East German state security police November 29 after having visited Herr Dertinger at his home in the Pankow district of the Soviet section of Berlin. Herr Plewe allegedly had contacts with the British intelligence service."

American Jewry and the American people as a whole cannot afford to ignore this evidence. Washington is not satisfied with the terror inaugurated under Truman's policy of "containment." The new administration has made "liberation" the guiding doctrine of American foreign policy. The debate on the implementation of this policy during the last six months has revealed the alternatives to be either the incitement of "rebellion of the masses against the satellite governments" or "rebellion of the satellite governments against the USSR, in a word, Titoism," as Walter Lippmann put it in the *New York Herald Tribune* on September 9, 1952.

Whether the approach to "liberation" is via murder or Titoism, it foreshadows an even greater resort to terror and espionage than heretofore. A coterie of the leading practitioners of these arts—the Dulles brothers, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith and their lieutenants—has already been installed at the very top of the Eisenhower administration.

The Jewish people and all Americans must heed the warning of the East European trials, for if not stopped, the terror now being prepared in Washington will strike at all nations and peoples.

A PROGRESSIVE JEWISH SCHOOL

The School of Higher Jewish Education is celebrating its Tenth Anniversary in furthering progressive Jewish culture and history

By Sam Pevzner

AN item in a recent column of *Observation Post* elicited an interesting response from a few readers. It dealt with our mention of the School of Higher Jewish Education (*Kursn*) which is celebrating its tenth anniversary at an impressive concert on March first in Manhattan Center. One reader asked us, "How come, I who have considerable interest in the progressive Jewish movement knew nothing, but nothing, about the fact that 'we have a college,' as you put it in a recent column?"

Both readers were really directing a criticism against us in the magazine for not keeping them informed about important institutions built by the progressive Jewish workers—and we have to accept the criticism. The following is in the nature of a slight effort to rectify the error.

The school was founded in October 1943, to answer the need for teachers in the progressive Jewish schools, for journalists (in Yiddish), and for training progressive Jewish leaders from the new generation. It began with 24 students in 1943, is conducting its sixth graduation this year, and has at present an enrollment of 75 students.

All told, the school has already graduated 62 students. Over 30 graduates teach in the progressive Jewish schools today, three became conductors of Jewish choruses, four became dance teachers, and three are writers (in Yiddish and English) and translators. Almost all the other graduates not in these categories are active today in Jewish youth or adult movements. So the school has succeeded in producing a corps of young people able to render leadership to progressive Jewish institutions and organizations during a decade when an interest in Jewish problems was growing among English speaking Jews and need was great for people with roots in Jewish progressive life and culture.

Most of the students in the "*Kursn*" were and are graduates of the progressive Jewish elementary and high schools—with a knowledge of the Yiddish language. Until 1945, all the courses were taught in Yiddish. That year a number of courses in social science by instructors who could not teach in Yiddish were introduced. In 1950 special courses for young people who do not know Yiddish were added. Thus there has been a slight change in orientation aiming at meeting the needs of students who do not know Yiddish as well as those who do.

The curriculum of the *Kursn* provides something that no other institution in the Jewish community does. Its education is based on the progressive aspects and interpretation of Jewish history, culture and community life, with a recognition that the true interests of the Jewish people

are embodied in the progressive working class and democratic movements of the people. Thus the school is an antidote to the unscientific, religious, nationalistic institutions of higher learning in the Jewish community. Of course, the school itself, operating during a period of heightened nationalistic agitation among the Jewish people, may have suffered here and there from the infiltration of nationalistic tendencies, making it necessary to be ever mindful of its basic working class orientation.

The director of the school is N. Kamenetsky, who more than any other individual is responsible for the growth and development of the school, of maintaining its high standards and ideological foundations. He has been a prominent Jewish educator since 1918, writer on pedagogical subjects, first editor of a Yiddish pedagogical magazine *Shul un Lerer* (School and Teacher) published by the Jewish Teachers' Union of the AFL.

But the school is not the product of an individual. It is an institution built and supported by progressive Jewish fraternal and cultural organizations, trade unions, women's clubs and Jewish school movements.

With him Mr. Kamenetsky has a teaching staff of prominent educators not only in the Jewish field but in progressive American life. Among them are Rabbi Abraham Bick, Aaron Bergman, Jack Foner, I. Goldberg, Eli Katz, Paul Newman, Leon Singer, Morris U. Schappes, Edith Segal and Menashe Unger.

This distinguished roster of instructors teach such subjects as Composition and Style, History, Literature, Hebrew, Biblical Literature, Methods of Teaching in Jewish Schools and Kindergartens, History of American Labor Movement, History of American Democracy, National Problems and the Jewish Community and Problems of Jewish Youth. There are also classes in the arts, drama, music, etc.

The ages of the students range from 16 to 25, and most of them are college students and attend the *Kursn* on week-ends. In order to graduate they must pass through the four-year curriculum. About 50 per cent of the students enrolled usually graduate. A number of students enroll in the course without intending to take the whole four-year program.

The school deserves not only appreciation but support. A small token of this support can be expressed by all New York readers of *JEWISH LIFE* by attending the Tenth Anniversary Concert of the school on March first, at one P.M. on Manhattan Center, New York City.

SALLY BLOOM: WOMAN OF THE PEOPLE

By Theodore Jacobs

We sometimes forget that the strength of the progressive movement lies in its people. The daily fight for a better life calls forth the best in people and molds new men and women full of warmth and love. Around us are countless workers who, although not well known, are the nation's real heroes. These are the ones upon whose shoulders lies the great responsibility of preventing fascism and war. Such a woman was Sally Bloom, a housewife of Brooklyn.

Sally died on Saturday, January 3, at the age of 49. The funeral was held the next day in accordance with Jewish tradition. There was little time for news of her death to circulate. Yet, so swiftly did the word of mouth report spread through East Flatbush, that 1,000 came to mourn her. Negro and white. People of different religions and nationalities. Persons of various political beliefs. They came to mourn the Sally who had won their admiration through her daily fight for peace and a better world.

What was there about this local progressive woman leader that enabled her to reach out to so many people? Sally Bloom's life offers an example to progressives of an approach to people that unites broad groups in the fight against war and fascism. "Sally was the embodiment of love, laughter, devotion and brightness, and all of these elements in her served the cause she held dearer than life itself," said someone who had worked with her for many years.

Sally had a favorite expression: "You and I are in the same boat, so let's not fight. Let's try to see the facts." In this way she would patiently approach people with the conviction that once they learned the truth, they would understand. If she lost her temper in an argument, she became angry with herself. "I wasn't fair to them," she would say.

Sally ran for State Assembly District on the American Labor Party ticket. Her family and friends did not know then that she was already fatally ill. When walking from home to ALP headquarters, Sally had to stop at almost every corner to catch her breath. Yet she resolutely continued to go through the neighborhood talking to people. She would start street meetings by calling out a few friends.

They in turn would get their neighbors. They would stand in small groups while Sally patiently explained why she was running for the ALP. Her neighborly approach, coupled with her long record of devoted service to the community, accounted for the many invitations she received to speak before chapters of Hadasah and Parent Teachers Associations during the campaign. She finally polled 2.9 per cent of the vote, running ahead of the ALP percentages received in Brooklyn by the national and senatorial candidates and of the average percentage of the assembly candidates.

A constant stream of neighbors and co-workers came to her house for help with their problems. Sally felt it her responsibility to aid them—whether she liked the person or not. "Some of the things Sally told me changed my whole life," one woman confided. Sally had impressed upon her that a woman had the right to do the things she held important and did not exist merely to cater to her husband. "She shed light wherever she went," someone commented. "Every time we came in contact, a warmth would engulf me," said another friend.

Sally fought hard for the rights of the Negro people. "I know that she was as concerned with my people as with her people," declared Mrs. Charlotta Bass, one of America's leading Negro women, at the memorial meeting for Sally held in Brooklyn on February 5. "We, the Jewish people and the Negro people, must work together." Sally was aware of this and fought bigotry wherever she found it. Once her son brought home a college companion who was born in the South and had been poisoned with Jimcrow ideology. The Southern visitor was shocked to find a Negro guest for dinner. The ensuing discussion with Sally helped eventually to change this young man.

Sally was not one to shirk the responsibility of educating her own family. She believed that the fight for a better world began in the home. Ten days before she died her son, Jack, was visiting at her bedside. He had just distributed 1,000 leaflets urging clemency for the Rosenbergs. "I'm proud of you," said his mother, satisfied that she had taught him well. The nurse, who overheard the remark

and knew that Jack was a salesman, asked if "he had made a good sale." Sally, her blue eyes glowing with pride, replied, "Oh yes! He made a wonderful sale. The best sale anyone could make."

Sally had many relatives and often got them to cooperate on important issues because they felt so close to her. "She always felt an obligation to call our relatives to see how they were getting along," said her sister, Sadie Doroshkin, who is California district secretary of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, I.W.O. "When she asked them for money for important causes, they would say, 'If Sally is behind it, it must be worthwhile,' and they would contribute."

Sally developed her qualities through a hard life as a working woman. She came here from Russia at the age of eight, one of six children. Her father was a presser in a cloak and suit sweatshop and the family lived in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn. The family finances didn't allow Sally to finish high school. She went to work in a factory at 16, studied typing at night, then worked in a huge mail order house where she operated four addressing machines under a grueling speed-up system. She was 21 when she married Harry, then a shipping clerk.

By the time the depression struck, they had two small children. Until then Sally had not thought deeply about why life was such a bitter struggle. The impact of the depression caused her to probe for the answers. She began to fight back in an organized way. She joined unemployed demonstrations, taking the babies along with her because she had no money for sitters. Some mornings she got up at five o'clock, was on a picket line by seven and stayed until she had to go to work. She considered that this was the best way to build a future for her children. Later she often said that her family was "part of a bigger family of a whole world with children, among whom are my children." Not until recent years, when her husband opened a typewriter repair shop, did they begin to enjoy a few of the comforts of life.

For many years Sally was active in various organizations fighting for the people. She was a hard-working member of the ALP, an active member of JPFO, and an enthusiastic builder of JEWISH LIFE. She would persuade people to subscribe to the magazine by saying, with a kind of humor typical of her, "Read it. You'll save me some arguments."

By patient discussion with those who disagreed with her, by generously giving of her time to help others, by her efforts to educate and strengthen her own family, by her work in progressive organizations and her faith in people, Sally Bloom won respect and love both for herself and the causes she represented.

"THE DEVIL IN BOSTON"

By Howard Da Silva

At last! The theater-goer has a play to go to. The current scene has been greatly enriched by the exciting and timely production of Lion Feuchtwanger's *The Devil in Boston*. Translated into Yiddish by N. Buchwald and directed by Morris Carnovsky, the play is being presented on week-ends at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel in New York by the Yiddish Theater Ensemble. The production brings new life and dignity to the Yiddish theater and to theater as a whole, for the performance has clarity and excitement and significance even for those who do not understand Yiddish.

The play is about the Salem witch-hunts of 1692 and deals primarily with three key characters: Cotton Mather, the fanatical Puritan clergyman who is an authority on witchcraft; Hannah Parrish, an hysterical and repressed young girl who sends innocent men and women to their deaths; and Doctor Coleman, a reasoning man. In sharply dramatic terms the play reveals fantastic fears of the time, ignorance, superstition, false accusation and guilt by association.

But what makes the play most pro-

found and compelling is that the motivations of the characters are clearly correlated with the social and political forces of their time and specifically with the struggle for the independence of the Massachusetts colony.

Cotton Mather and his father represent the British king. In them is vested autocratic power over the colony. Dr. Coleman expresses the popular opposition, the urging of the people for independence. This is the springboard for the basic conflict of the play, faithful to history and deeply revealing today.

Mr. Feuchtwanger does not manipulate his leading character into an over-awareness of his motives. Cotton Mather believes in original sin, in the supernatural, in the existence of witches. He believes that opposition to his power stems from the devil. But the playwright skillfully shows the political use that Mather makes of this belief. He makes it an instrument to whip up popular sentiment against the opposition which is rising. The parallel here between the events in Salem in 1692 and the current political scene is startlingly clear. For Cotton Mather uses his witch-hunt just as today's Mather uses investigation, intimidation and terror to destroy the civil liberties of all who would oppose him. Mather is successful for a time and 20 innocent men and women are hanged as witches. But at last the people are aroused and Mather is overwhelmed.

At this point the play suffers somewhat from the failure to enact the conflict between Mather and the people. We hear bits of the battle off-stage. And the growing sentiment of the people is reported to us. But we have missed the satisfaction and

the encouragement of witnessing the awakening.

Yet, despite this weakness the Yiddish Theater Ensemble's production is so skillful that interest never lags. Major credit for this belongs to Morris Carnovsky, whose direction is clear, taut and dynamic. The basic conflicts of the play and the moment-to-moment actions are so clearly defined and so compelling that they are comprehensible even to those with no knowledge of Yiddish. And Mr. Carnovsky's staging is vital and imaginative.

The acting reveals the admirable spirit and dedication of the Yiddish Theater Ensemble. Luba Rymer as Abigail, Goldie Russler as Hannah and Michael Gebiner as Samuel Parrish act with conviction and honesty. Their performances show thoughtfulness and insight. But this viewer feels that the group could well profit from the inclusion of some new members and a serious evaluation of its craft standards. For with few exceptions the rest of the acting partakes of a kind of formal externalism which may suffice for some dramatic works but is **very limiting if the Ensemble is to grow as it deserves.**

The translation of N. Buchwald is excellent. Jerry Borgos' set is properly dour and oppressive, its heavy beams and dark textures furthering the illusion of Puritan repression.

The Yiddish Theater Ensemble has made a major contribution to the life of the American theater. We look forward to its growth and development.

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OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

On Campaign Highway

At this moment it is not possible to give a picture of the progress of the Jewish Life Fund and Subscription campaign. A number of large districts are holding their first drive affairs just too late to be reported in this column. Bronx and Brooklyn are holding house parties where all Jewish Life Committees will bring the money they raised. Other areas better get moving.

Chicago Tidings

We were heartened by a letter from Chicago announcing the re-establishment of a Jewish Life Committee. Best of all the Committee enclosed results of some work already done: \$168 for the Fund Drive and 22 subscriptions. Welcome to the family of JL Committees, Chicago. We are depending on you for a completely fulfilled quota.

New Jersey, Too

The New Jersey JL Committee held a party for the campaign—and has projected further plans. Which makes us ask what's brewing in Cleveland, Detroit, Boston, Manhattan, Miami Beach (we remember the great job Miami did last year), Philadelphia, Los Angeles and San Francisco?

Hungry for Truth

The pamphlet *The Truth About the Prague Trial*, reprinting Louis Harap's article in January JEWISH LIFE, has gone into its third printing already. The demand for the pamphlet came from all over the country from cities, towns, villages and farms. Orders are still pouring in. The broadest distribution of the pamphlet is the responsibility of all who want to see light spread on the false propaganda about "anti-Semitism" in the socialist countries

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of Europe. This propaganda aims at the complete demoralization of the Jewish people in order to eliminate their natural revulsion and resistance to the war plans of Wall Street and the American Jewish Committee—Jewish Labor Committee cabal. The greatest fear of this crowd is that the average Jew might get the facts—the truth—about the issue. That is why the spread of the pamphlet and every issue of JEWISH LIFE has become a matter of paramount importance to all of us.

Items and Dots

New Century Publishers will soon pub-

lish the Victor Perlo series on the economy of Israel which appeared in JEWISH LIFE. This series was a real eye-opener to many and the pamphlet should receive a wide circulation. . . . A tenth anniversary observance of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising will be held on April 19th, 2 PM, at Manhattan Center in New York. This is being arranged by an Observance Committee composed of many Jewish organizations. The tenth anniversary of the Ghetto Battle will be an important moment for all of us and we should attend.

. . . JEWISH LIFE greets the new little bulletin of the Jewish Music Alliance, the first issue of which appeared in January. It is called *Resonance* and is replete with interesting news about the progressive Jewish choruses, musical developments, etc. If you request it, we are sure the Jewish Music Alliance at 1 Union Square, New York City, will send *Resonance* to you for a small subscription fee.

Go Thou and Do Likewise!

WE were much moved by the following letter:

"Three weeks ago a group of Chicagoans got together and decided that we were going to do something for JEWISH LIFE. We formed a Jewish Life Committee to carry on this campaign. As yet nothing spectacular has been achieved but we did manage to raise \$168 as our beginning effort and we feel extremely confident that Chicago will come through and do its share to secure the continued existence of our beloved magazine."

What are you doing to help JEWISH LIFE succeed in raising the \$25,000 goal in its fund drive to assure the continued publication through 1953?

Our Chicago friends have shown the way.

Our magazine has demonstrated that it has a vital and necessary place in Jewish and American life. But it cannot continue to live without your help, for only you can assure its life.

Let us hear your answer!

THE EDITORS

FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

Schools for white children are open during the bean harvesting season. . . . In a 6 to 3 decision on February 9, the Supreme Court decided in an appeal of three "rape" cases against Negroes in North Carolina that the state was not discriminating against Negroes in selection of juries by basing jury lists on property and poll tax. The minority opinion, written by Justice Hugo Black, stated that the court should have ruled on the constitutionality of property discrimination. . . . Progress against school segregation has been made in the Southwest. In February the Maricopa County (Arizona) Superior Court outlawed segregation in Phoenix high schools and the city of Las Cruces, New Mexico, has abolished high school segregation. A bill to outlaw segregation in schools and other public institutions has been introduced into the New Mexico legislature. . . . An FEPC bill similar to that of New York has been introduced into the California state legislature. A major campaign for the bill is planned. . . . The Supreme Court late in January reversed the conviction of Roosevelt Ward, 22, Negro youth leader and Labor Youth League officer, on the charge of having failed to give his correct address to the New Orleans draft board.

Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, held a one-hour conference with President Eisenhower late in January on Middle East affairs. Observers noted that this initiated the liaison between the influential big bourgeois Jewish organization and the new administration in relation to Israel affairs.

A report by the Jewish Information Bureau in January showed that between 1921 and 1951, the circulation of the English-Jewish press in this country practically doubled while the circulation of the four daily Yiddish newspapers in New York in the same period dropped from about 400,000 to 200,000. . . . The *Jewish Morning Journal*, Orthodox Yiddish daily, was merged with the *Day* in January.

Jewish History Week this year falls on April 12-19.

EUROPE

News from France. . . . A McCarranized bill was introduced by the government into the French parliament December which jeopardizes the citizenship of about 200,000 French citizens naturalized in the past five years—many

of them Jews—by removal of legal safeguards through arbitrary action of the police and subjection to possible denaturalization and deportation. The Communist and Socialist Parties will fight against the bill. . . . Communist deputies have strongly protested inclusion in the cabinet of Prime Minister Rene Mayer of a nazi collaborator and ex-member of the Vichy government, Andre Butami. He is accused of betraying members of the Resistance to the Gestapo. . . . The word "Juif" (Jew) was painted in large letters on 30 Jewish shop windows of Toulouse in January.

Windows of a Wimbeldon (London) synagogue were smashed for the second time in a month in January.

Violent anti-Semitic material is appearing in a nazi journal, *Deutschland Brief*, published in Barcelona. Among the statements in this journal are: "Hitler's ideas are alive in the hearts of millions" all over the world. "We should not like to see you among us when the third disaster begins. . . . Little more than ten years will pass before the great upheaval begins. We can wait, but we are coming."

Renazification news. . . . Report of an opinion survey among West Germans was released by the United States High Commissioner in January showing that pro-nazism had made large gains in West Germany in the past year. One main finding of the survey was "that the large majority of [West] German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any nazi type group to return to power." Pro-nazi orientation among youth from 18 to 24 has gained so much that their feelings equal those of the high point of the Hitler period. A majority of the West Germans polled believed that there was more good than bad in nazism, a reversal of attitude over that of a year ago. A large majority believed that the German people as a whole had no responsibility for the crimes of Hitlerism but only those who actually committed them. Anti-Jewish sentiment was increasing. . . . Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reacted to the survey by remarking that nazism could not come to power in West Germany.

ISRAEL

Unemployment is rising in Israel and had reached about 19,750 late in January, according to official government figures. Some hundreds of unemployed demonstrated for work and bread in Haifa early in February. Demonstrations of unemployed also occurred in other cities. In

mid-January some thousands of workers demonstrated in Tel Aviv. They marched through the main streets shouting slogans of "bread, work, peace, higher wages, a more realistic cost-of-living bonus and an end to firings." Progressives in Israel are demanding a 20 per cent wage increase and lower prices.

Teachers of Jerusalem went on a two-day strike on January 15 after the city failed to pay their December salaries. The teachers returned after they received post-dated checks for their full salaries.

The executive committee of the Histadrut voted on February 8, that no known Communist would be allowed to hold a position in the Histadrut.

At the annual meeting early in February of the light drinks producers in Israel a project to produce American Coca Cola was sharply condemned.

A cartoon in January in the General Zionist organ, *Haboker*, shows a man facing a telephone in agonized indecision. Says the caption: "With telephone calls recently upped to 50 pruta, a citizen wonders, 'Shall I call—or buy half a loaf of bread?'"

Only 915 immigrants entered Israel in December, the lowest since Israel was established. In the same period, 580 persons left the country.

The population of Israel was officially reported to be 1,629,000 in January. Of these, 170,000 are Arabs. Since Israel was established, 39,000 persons emigrated, about six per cent of those who immigrated. During the first 11 months of 1952, 22,500 persons came into the country and 12,500 left.

Jewish Life

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