

SEPTEMBER 1953 • 25¢

Open Letter to the Jewish People of the U. S.

by The Editors

THE NEW LEHMAN IMMIGRATION BILL *by Abner Green*

THE SOBELL CAMPAIGN GOES ON *by Morris U. Schappes*

HIS BROTHER'S BULLETS *a short story by Abraham Reisin*

COMMITTEE TESTIMONY OF LOUIS HARAP AND MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

The World Jewish Congress held its third plenary meeting (the second was held in 1945) at Geneva the week of August 4. Some highlights: at the opening meeting, acting president Dr. Nahum Goldmann told the congress that all Jews in the western world should go to Israel; that all Jews are Israelis or at least potential Israelis; and that "there is no other state in the world where nearly 90 per cent of the people live outside of it." American delegates and others objected strenuously to this position. Rabbi Morton M. Berman, of Chicago, chairman of the national administrative committee of the American Jewish Congress, pointed out, to quote the *New York Times* account of August 6, "that if conditions became such that Jews in the United States could not survive as Jews or would be uprooted from their homes, conditions would also be so bad that the State of Israel would have a slim chance for survival." A few days later Dr. Goldmann said that his remarks had been misinterpreted. . . . On August 6, Moishe Erem, Mapam delegate from Israel, criticized Dr. Goldmann's address for failing to take note of the anti-Semitic implications of the Rosenberg case. American delegates forced a dropping of the matter. . . . British and French delegates introduced resolutions to urge West Germany to eradicate attempts to revive nazism and to oppose remilitarization of the country. These were opposed by a group headed by Dr. Goldmann and presumably including the dominant American delegation, who felt that the congress should do no more than "regard with concern" these developments. . . . On August 11, Dr. Nahum Goldmann was elected president and Dr. Israel Goldstein president of the Western Hemisphere section.

Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, early in August wired Secretary of State J. F. Dulles in opposition to the rumored review of sentences of all remaining imprisoned nazi war criminals and prospect of parole for these criminals. If clemency or parole is granted, said Klutznick, he urged strict supervision of the released criminals.

Appointment of Gov. James F. Byrnes, of North Carolina, leading Jimcrow advocate, to the United States UN delegation on July 27, met with an avalanche of protest from Negro, labor and Jewish sources. Among those protesting were: Walter

(Continued on page 32)

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CONTENTS

FROM MONTH TO MONTH	
PROSPECTS OF PEACE	3
A BREACH IS HEALED	4
OPEN LETTERS TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES by The Editors	5
MEMORANDUM OF THE ADL	7
THE HARAP TESTIMONY	9
PROJECT "X" IN EAST GERMANY by Sam Pevzner	13
HIS BROTHER'S BULLETS, a short story by Abraham Reisin, translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld	16
PRaised AND BLESSED, a poem by Abraham Reisin, translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld	17
THE NEW LEHMAN IMMIGRATION BILL by Abner Green	18
CLARA SELLS A HAT, excerpt from a new novel by Arthur D. Kahn	21
THE SOBELL CAMPAIGN GOES ON by Morris U. Schappes	22
THE "INDESTRUCTIBLE" PAIR, a book review by Alice Jerome	24
THE SCHAPPES TESTIMONY	26
THE LIFE OF JEWS IN SOFIA	30
LETTERS FROM READERS	31
I SEE, I HEAR, I SPEAK THE ROSENBERGS! a poem by Edith Segal	31
FROM THE FOUR CORNERS edited by Louis Harap	2, 32

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FROM MONTH TO MONTH

PROSPECTS OF PEACE

A VAST sigh of relief swept over the peoples of the world when the Korean truce was signed on July 27 at Panmunjom. It was not only that the shooting had stopped: the gates to a general settlement in the Far East and to general relaxation of tensions had also been opened. The signing had been virtually forced on the reluctant Eisenhower-Dulles administration by the insistent demand of the peoples of the world, including the Americans. Dulles was given to understand that the world would not sit by and permit the killing to continue—and spread. Eisenhower and Dulles understood that Washington would have to go on alone if the truce were not signed. The North Koreans and Chinese had convinced the world by their large concessions that they genuinely wanted peace. Responsibility for a continuation of the war would have rested squarely on Washington's shoulders.

But the end of the shooting and perspective of settlement of other tense issues do not warrant any let-up in the people's watchfulness over peace. The desperate actions of Syngman Rhee in the last weeks before the truce show that peace is by no means secure. Nor was Rhee acting as quite the independent obstreperous element that he wanted to appear. Washington could have stopped him dead in his tracks at any moment it wished, for its puppet Rhee would topple the moment Washington withdrew support. Obviously Rhee was fulfilling a necessary function for Dulles—to keep the pot of tension boiling. And the blustering threats of Rhee since the signing, backed up by Dulles at Seoul in August, to pull out of the peace conference if conditions of virtual surrender were not accepted by the North Koreans and Chinese 90 days after the conference opened, presents an ominous threat. And bellicose statements continue to issue from Washington.

Will the peoples of the world permit such a reckless manhandling of the peace? We doubt it. As we go to press, the General Assembly prepares to meet to set up the peace conference. Already strong indications have appeared that Washington will not be permitted by the other nations to have its way and minimize the chances for a peaceful settlement. The people have let it be known to their representatives that they are tired of being led by the nose by Washington into disasters. They are looking for a genuine alleviation of world tensions.

The same impetus that forced a truce also is leading to a meeting of the Big Four. Washington here too was unable to withstand the pressure of the people for a move to settle European issues, particularly the German question. The people do not want a second Korea in Germany and the

German people themselves are overwhelmingly demanding reunification of their country. The people must demand that the Big Four meeting take place to reduce this major danger to the peace. At the same time, they must demand denazification and demilitarization as part of the solution. Jewish leaders have particularly called attention in recent weeks to the accumulating power passing into the hands of neo-Nazi elements. A crucial aspect of the fight for peace is therefore a Big Four conference that will issue in arrangements for a reunified, demilitarized, denazified Germany.

The major factors in this situation are of course the two giants of the world, the United States and the Soviet Union. The attitude of the Soviet Union over the years in regarding peace as the cornerstone of its foreign policy and the words and deeds that have issued from Moscow in the recent period give assurance that the Soviet Union is in earnest about peace. In his speech before the Supreme Soviet on August 8, Soviet Premier G. M. Malenkov reiterated that peace is possible.

"We firmly maintain," he said, "that at the present moment there is no disputable or outstanding issue that could not be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement between the parties concerned. This refers also to those issues under dispute that exist between the United States and the USSR. We stood and stand for a peaceful co-existence of two systems. We consider that there are no objective grounds for a collision between the United States and the USSR. The interests of the security of both countries, as well as international security, the interests of the development of trade between the United States and the USSR, can be safeguarded on the basis of normal relations between the two countries." Co-existence is not only possible but absolutely necessary for the security of the world: this is a fact that must sink into the minds of the American people.

The people of our country must press upon Washington through organized peace action to take up the offer of Malenkov. For they do not, any more than any other people, wish to be shriveled by the hydrogen bomb, which Malenkov announced is now available to the Soviet Union. In order to lessen the burden of armaments and the war economy, to mitigate the dangers of a depression by extending East-West trade, for the sake of our future and the future of our children, the people must let Washington know that the opportunity for peace should be grasped. And peace is in the people's hands if they press for a Big Four meeting, leading to a Five Power peace pact, and an approach to a settlement of Far Eastern questions provided by the Korean peace conference.

A BREACH IS HEALED

THE news on July 20 that diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel had been resumed was greeted with joy by the people of Israel. Israel had been placed in a highly disadvantageous position in international relations by the attitude of the Ben Gurion government that led to the bombing of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv last February and the ensuing break in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. The State Department of John Foster Dulles was taking a tougher approach to Israel because of a shift toward greater dependence on the Arab leaders for its anti-Soviet plans in the Middle East. The Ben Gurion policy of keeping Israel on the dole from Washington had placed Israel in a dangerous position and the people had clamored for resumption of relations with the Soviet Union to relieve this situation.

The visit of Dulles to Tel Aviv on May 13 convinced the Ben Gurion government that its position was untenable. Shortly thereafter negotiations for a resumption of relations were initiated. And now the Israeli people are recalling the essential aid given by the Soviet Union for the realization of the State of Israel. Once again the Israeli people look to the Soviet Union for help in their critical situation.

The resumption in relations also demonstrates once more, if this is necessary, that the whole hysterical campaign about "Soviet anti-Semitism" was totally unfounded. It shows that the break need never have occurred at all if the Ben Gurion government and the Jewish organizations, Zionist and non-Zionist, had not propagated the baseless charges that engendered a situation that led to the break in relations. Recent events have shown that this anti-Soviet campaign was dangerously opposed to the interests of the people of Israel, let alone world peace.

The new development is welcome also because it is another sign, as Israeli Foreign Minister Sharret said in his note to the Soviet Union of July 6, that there is "an improvement in the existing international situation." On the part of the Soviet Union, the resumption of relations was another word *and deed* toward world peace. This is no new Soviet policy but an extension of the oft-expressed determination of the Soviet Union to strive for the achievement of peace.

Soviet Premier G. M. Malenkov stated this policy quite simply and directly in his speech to the Supreme Soviet on August 8. "Striving to ease general tension," he said, "the Soviet government agreed to restore diplomatic relations with the State of Israel. It took thereby into consideration the pledge of the government of Israel that Israel will have no part in any union or agreement pursuing aggressive aims against the Soviet Union. We consider that the restoration of diplomatic relations will promote cooperation between the two states. The assertions of some foreign papers that the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel will lead to a weakening of the relations of the Soviet Union with

the Arab States are void of any foundation. The activity of the Soviet government will be directed also in the future toward the strengthening of friendly cooperation with the Arab States."

The crucial element in this situation, as Premier Malenkov notes, is the pledge by Israel to refrain from entering into any aggressive bloc against the Soviet Union. This is not only to the mutual interest of the Soviet Union and Israel. It also is a contribution to the peace of the whole world. The very physical existence of Israel depends on the preservation of peace and the security of all peoples is bound up in world peace. It therefore behooves the Ben Gurion government in the vital interest of the Israeli people to implement its pledge by refusing to participate in any anti-Soviet arrangement in which Dulles might try to involve it. The people of Israel must impress on the Ben Gurion government the totally unfounded basis of the charge that the Soviet Union has "aggressive intentions" in the Middle East or anywhere else, for that matter. As Premier Malenkov said in the speech quoted above, "The Soviet Union has no territorial claims against any state whatever, including any of the neighboring states."

In addition to the overarching benefits of contributing to peace, the resumption of relations also has a not insignificant added advantage to the Israeli people. This is the prospect of a resumption of trade, with which indeed the promotion of peace is closely tied. Already talks have got under way to negotiate a trade agreement with the Soviet Union which should help in some measure to relieve the serious economic crisis in Israel.

The resumption of relations offers Israel a renewed opportunity to shake itself loose from complete subservience to Washington and the economically paralyzing effects of dollar diplomacy. Recovery of the economy absolutely demands that Israel should gain a free hand to trade also in the non-dollar market in line with the interests of the Israeli people. Only by such measures will the continuing drop in the standard of living of the Israeli workers be halted and peace be furthered.

TOWARD THE NEW YEAR

THE Rosh Hashonah holiday, which begins on September 9 this year, is a traditional time of pondering the past and of resolve for the coming year. Like all others, the Jewish people have reason to be thankful for peace in Korea and the general relaxation of tensions. They look forward, like all others, to a securing of peace and a rout of McCarthyism. They should resolve to fight with all other forces of good will for the realization of these objectives.

Open Letter to the Jewish People of the United States

BY THE EDITORS

AN act, shocking and menacing, committed on July 2, is of the gravest concern to every Jew and every Jewish organization, irrespective of viewpoint.

We publish below a confidential memorandum issued by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This document reveals that a secret meeting, not intended for the knowledge of the members of or contributors to the organizations involved, was held to work out plans for cooperation with one of the pro-fascist forces in American life. Every Jew and Jewish organization is imperiled by the action exposed in this document, which proves that certain representatives of the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish War Veterans are secretly flying in the face of the condemnation of McCarthyism that has been openly expressed by scores of Jewish organizations, periodicals and religious and communal leaders.

Does Senator Herbert H. Lehman, whose valiant denunciations of McCarthyism have won universal acclaim among Jews and non-Jews alike and who is an honorary vice president of the American Jewish Committee, know that a representative of this Committee offered use of the files of the Committee to the inquisitorial "Congressional vigilantes" whom he has excoriated?

We ask the leaders of every Jewish organization and every Jew to study this confidential memorandum and to decide if certain leaders of the ADL, AJC and JWV are to be allowed to flout the anti-McCarthyite sentiment of the entire Jewish community by engaging in private, cooperative negotiations with the carriers of fascism in American life.

FIRST LET US FILL IN THE BACKGROUND OF THE STARTLING conference that took place on July 2, 1953, in the offices of Rep. Harold H. Velde's Un-American Committee in Washington, D.C. Present were the Washington representatives of the ADL (Herman Edelsberg), AJC (Marcus Cohn) and JWV (Ben Weitzer) and committee chairman Velde, committee chief counsel Robert L. Kunzig and assistant counsel Frank T. Tavenner. The confidential memorandum below tells what transpired at this conference.

What led these Jewish professionals to scurry to the Un-American Committee with their treacherous proposals? It was the publication in the daily press of certain statements made by Dr. Louis Harap, managing editor of *JEWISH LIFE*, in the course of a hearing of the Un-American Committee on June 29 to which Dr. Harap had been subpoenaed. Dr. Harap had given as a reason for refusing to answer many

questions, in addition to invoking the protection of the First and the Fifth Amendments, the following: "My refusal to answer is also based on the fact that as a Jew I have the obligation not to cooperate with this committee because this committee is tending to bring this country into the same conditions as those under which 6,000,000 Jews were murdered."

Without defending the committee against this charge, Rep. Kit Clardy replied by asking, "Do you shrink with the same horror from what the Soviet Union is doing to the Jews?" Dr. Harap then answered that any objective and truthful examination of the facts shows there is no discrimination against Jews in the Soviet Union, that "Jews have a higher degree of equality in the Soviet Union than in any other part of the world," and that the Soviet Union, where anti-Semitism is a crime, demonstrated that "anti-Semitism would not be tolerated" there by arresting and punishing those who tried to foment anti-Semitism in the Moscow doctors' case.

PEOPLE MISINFORMED OR MISLED ABOUT THE SITUATION OF Soviet Jews may differ with Dr. Harap's statement on this matter. But there can be little dispute with his warning about the danger to the Jews from the Velde Committee and McCarthyism in general. Dr. Harap was only making more explicit what many Jewish and non-Jewish American leaders have been saying in this period of rising resistance to McCarthyism. Here are a few such expressions.

The convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis on June 23 passed a resolution condemning the "undemocratic methods used in the investigations conducted by McCarthy, Jenner and Velde."

At the annual meeting of the Rabbinical Assembly of America on June 22, its president, Dr. Ira Eisenstein, attacked the "state of terror and intimidation" created as a result of the methods used by the McCarthy and Velde committees. McCarthyism, he said, "if it succeeds, will spell the death of all that has made American great."

Speaking before the annual meeting of the Washington chapter of the AJC, Herbert B. Ehrmann, a national vice president of the AJC, said: there is good reason why "so many thoughtful and patriotic Americans should worry about the unfair treatment of Communists and fellow travelers. The answer is that we are not concerned with the accused individuals, although we know that loose and emotional procedures frequently work grave injustices. We are concerned with the preservation of the rights and liberties of us all. Once you tolerate a breakdown with respect to any group, however unpopular, you have started the destruction of the safeguards for every group." And this certainly applies to the Jewish people.

Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and a vice president of the CIO, urged in New York on June 20 that labor and liberals should "stop McCarthyism dead in its tracks The pattern followed by McCarthy is pretty much the pattern followed by Hitler and Mussolini. . . . McCarthyism is only another and more dangerous extension of fascist thinking

and planning against which all men of goodwill must take a stand."

And Milton Friedman, syndicated columnist for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, wrote in his column of the weekend of June 22, that "Jewish organizations and outstanding Jewish members of Congress are rallying to defend civil liberties amidst warnings that the atmosphere created by 'McCarthyism' is breeding anti-Semitism."

ONE COULD GO ON AT GREAT LENGTH CITING MANY LEADERS OF all kinds of Jewish organizations and eminent Jewish individuals like Senator Lehman and Dr. Albert Einstein to show what must be quite obvious, that Jews, as well as non-Jews, are alarmed by the threat to American democracy from McCarthyism in its many forms, particularly the inquisitorial congressional committees of McCarthy, Jenner and Velde. Jews have especially good reason to resist this trend because, as everyone knows, the disintegration of democratic freedoms also accentuates the dangers of anti-Semitism. Dr. Harap was only spelling out the implications for the Jewish people implicit in a statement like that of Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President, who said on July 24: "When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler."

Those involved may take refuge in the argument that they are helping Congress to "fight communism" with this memorandum. Irrespective of one's views of communism, however, the blunt fact is that such actions as the conference with Velde contributes to undermining democracy.

McCarthyism is represented not only by the activities of the Wisconsin would-be *Fuehrer*. The menace is also manifested in the activities of other committees in Congress headed by McCarthyites like Jenner and Velde. Under cover of "fighting communism" these committees have been curbing and undermining freedom of speech and the press, intimidating and driving from their jobs independent-minded men and women in the schools, the arts and sciences and professions. McCarthyism and the forces behind it are responsible for widespread arrests and persecutions that have thrown a blanket of fear over the land. They are responsible for book-burning, for the racist McCarran-Walter act, for the unconstitutional Smith act, for the growing anti-Semitism and racism in the country. McCarthyism, in short, is fascism. To collaborate with it is to help the onset of fascism.

The Velde Committee is certainly one of the strong forces that are breeding an American form of nazism. What did the representatives of the ADL, AJC and JWV say to the Velde group? Did they protest the fascist aims of the committee, did they urge on the committee the necessity for an investigation of growing overt anti-Semitism so that the committee could recommend legislation to meet this un-American danger?

No, they offered to serve the reactionary purposes of the committee, to *inform* on other Jews—in short, to become *Mosrim*, informers, a volunteer research agency for Velde.

Read the confidential memorandum. You will see that these "defenders" of the Jews

- offered to help the Velde Committee stave off out-

spoken criticism of the committee's nazi-like activity;

- offered with staggering presumption to call the press "for an accounting" in case the press should print "bad stories," that is, material exposing the committee;
- urged the committee to make empty, self-serving statements against anti-Semitism;
- offered to make the research files of their organizations available to the committee in order the better to handle uncooperative witnesses.

The Velde Committee graciously accepted these disgraceful offers.

SOME LEADERS OF THE ADL, AJC AND JWV HAVE APPARENTLY learned nothing from the experience of Hitlerism. This offer of collaboration with the American equivalents of the nazis should shame every Jew. Those responsible have shown themselves more ready to betray the interests of the Jewish people than to defend them. Instead of fighting against the inquisitorial committees, as many Jewish organizations and individuals have done, these "leaders" have offered to become the partners of Velde.

This conference with Velde was not the first instance of collaboration with the Inquisitors. On December 27, 1951, top officers of the ADL met with Joe McCarthy to work out a deal with this aspirant to the role of an American Hitler. The ADL was so furtive about this betrayal of Jewish and democratic interests that they first denied the story but subsequently had to admit its truth.

Although the secret conference described in the memorandum below was apparently initiated by the ADL, the

American Jewish Committee was not so secretive about its collaboration with the Velde Committee. On July 1, Velde read into the committee record a letter sent to him by the AJC expressing its "outrage" at Dr. Harap's testimony. This letter was a whitewash of the anti-Jewish implications of the Un-American Committee and by the same token a treacherous act against democracy and the Jewish people.

The Jewish people of the United States must squarely meet the issue presented by this conference with Velde. The issue is whether Jews or anyone devoted to democracy can in any manner cooperate with these inquisitorial committees, which are destroying democracy and consequently endangering the Jewish people. The memorandum goes even farther than appeasement of pro-fascism: it *offers* collaboration with pro-fascist forces.

We cannot believe that the Jewish people will remain silent before such treachery. We call upon the Jewish people to preserve the integrity of their organizations as fighters for democratic rights. We call upon them to repudiate this shameful agreement and to call to account the leadership responsible for this act of collaboration with pro-fascism. The Jewish people will have nothing to do with *Mosrim* who are abettors of the threat against democracy by Velde and his like.

And finally, we call upon all Jews, organized and unorganized, to join actively in the fight against McCarthyism, which constitutes the most profound threat to our democracy since its founding.

The full text of the ADL memorandum follows.

THE EDITORS

MEMORANDUM OF THE ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue—Suite 601
New York 10, N. Y.
MEMORANDUM

To: ADL National Commission, Eastern Region
Board, Chicago Board, National Civil Rights
Committee
FROM: Benjamin R. Epstein
DATE: July 9, 1953

SUBJECT: You will want to read the attached report of a significant conference with Congressman [Harold H.] Velde, Chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR PUBLICATION

To: ARNOLD FORSTER
FROM: HERMAN EDELSBERG
DATE: July 3, 1953

ON June 30th, the Washington and New York papers carried the story of the appearance before the House Un-American Activities Committee of Dr. Louis Harap, editor

of JEWISH LIFE. The headlines and the body of the stories sent out by AP and UP, were, as you know, most unfortunate. They played up Harap's charges: 1. That the Com-

mittee was creating conditions "under which 6,000,000 Jews were murdered"; 2. that the Jews in the Soviet Union are better off than they are in this country.

That afternoon, I phoned Chairman Velde of the Un-American Activities Committee and told him that the Committee: 1. Had taken the obscure editor of an obscure paper with a peanut circulation, an editor who had been consistently ignored by the Jewish community, and had provided him with a million dollars worth of free publicity in all American papers for his Commie propaganda line; 2. the Committee had failed to show that Harap spoke for no Jewish organization or Jewish group, or that in fact Harap and his kind had been flatly repudiated by the responsible Jewish organizations.

Velde told me that he was unhappy over the news stories, that he hadn't sat through the whole hearings and didn't realize that the hearings had gotten out of hand, and that he had just received a statement from the American Jewish Committee in New York repudiating Harap which he would put into the record.

I told Velde that was all to the good, but it couldn't begin to undo the damage done by the Harap stories. I asked him to give me an hour with himself and his chief counsel so that I could suggest a course of procedure that the Committee could follow with witnesses like Harap to insure that such witnesses didn't climb all over the Committee and get away with murder. Velde set Thursday, July 2, at 4 o'clock as the date for such a meeting. I told him I would bring several of my colleagues from other Jewish organizations with me.

On Thursday, I brought Marcus Cohn of the AJC [American Jewish Committee] and Ben Weitzer of the Jewish War Veterans to Velde's office. Velde was detained on the floor of the House by the voting on the defense bill, so we began our conference with Robert L. Kunzig, chief counsel of the Committee, and Frank S. Tavenner, who had been chief counsel under the Democrats and now was associate counsel. (Kunzig is a Philadelphian who served as prosecutor in some of the war crimes trials and shows both an interest in and understanding of Jewish problems.) Velde joined us about half-way through the hour-long conference.

After the amenities, I showed the Committee counsel our office press clippings on the Harap hearing. I said bluntly that in my opinion the net result of the hearing had been to: 1. Disseminate Communist propaganda; 2. create the false impression that *Jewish Life* and Harap were substantial spokesmen for a section of Jewry that praised Russia and denounced American institutions; 3. perpetuate suspicion among some Jews, created during the days when Rankin was riding high on the Committee, that the Committee was unfriendly to Jews.

Kunzig asked me to elaborate on the last point, and I did. My colleagues told me that they were aghast at my bluntness, but they were gracious enough to say that my resume of the Committee's history cleared the air beautifully and permitted us to get down to cases.

We made the following proposals to the Committee:

1. They must assume that witnesses like Harap will try to use the Committee as a sounding board for their propaganda. Accordingly, they should screen such witnesses first in executive session to explore what the witnesses might be up to. While we did not take the position of suggesting to the Committee who should or should not be called in an open hearing, we did suggest that they should make their own decision as to whether or not the good served by a public hearing for an insignificant Commie would outweigh the harm done by this carefully coached witness when he shouts "persecution."

2. The files of the ADL and AJC should be consulted for information about such witnesses. Where responsible Jewish organizations had repudiated the witness or the line he peddles, that fact should be put in the record *before* the witness sounds off. In such a case, it would be most unlikely that the newspapers would play up the witness' charges against the Committee. Kunzig wasn't so sure about this. He felt that many reporters were out to smear the Committee or at least to sensationalize the hearings by playing up the wild charges of witnesses. We told him to try our way nevertheless, and if the newspapers persisted in writing bad stories, this same delegation would call on them for an accounting.

3. The Committee staff handling such witnesses should be familiar with our analyses of the Communists' studied tactics of exploiting charges of persecution and discrimination. The witnesses should be confronted with material from ADL's report, *The Troublemakers*, and our two pamphlets on Communism, "the damned best pieces there are on the subject." Copies were left with them.

4. Why don't Committee members say flatly, when a witness falsely charges anti-Semitism, that they regard anti-Semitism as being un-American and odious? Why don't they steal the witness' lightning? If Committee members took a clean-cut public stand on anti-Semitism, they would be in a position to say that, "just as patriotism may be the last refuge of scoundrels, so the cry of anti-Semitism may be the last refuge of insincere Communists." Kunzig insisted that some of the members had done just that—as I would see when I read the whole transcript of the hearing—but that the newspapers did not report it.

Velde didn't take much part in the discussion—both counsel carried the ball. (But, Velde did make a contribution—counsel noted he called me by my first name.)

1. Velde and counsel agreed then and there that in the future, Committee investigators would be sent to ADL and AJC for material on prospective witnesses. (That would be a good opportunity to make specific suggestions on procedure.)

2. We were invited to send additional copies of our material so that the staff could bone-up on our answer to the Commies' persecution cry.

We left on the most friendly basis. My colleagues and I were heartened by the understandings achieved. I was extremely glad for their participation—Marcus Cohn was a tower of strength—I think it contributed greatly to the success of the conference.

THE HARAP TESTIMONY

Here is part of the official text of the hearing before the Velde Committee that exhibits resistance to the pro-fascists

Following are excerpts from the official transcript of the hearing of Louis Harap, managing editor of JEWISH LIFE, before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (83rd Congress, 1st Session) on June 29. Present were Rep. Donald L. Jackson as acting chairman and Rep. Kit Clardy. Reps. Gordon H. Scherer and Harold H. Velde joined the hearing later.—Eds.

MR. HARAP. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement here which I should like to read before the committee.

Mr. Jackson. The statement will be accepted by the committee. However, you are not permitted to read the statement.

Mr. Harap. May I ask why I am not permitted to read it since it is relevant to my testimony?

Mr. Jackson. Yes. That is the standard procedure of the committee and has been for a long time, that statements are not permitted to be read. However, having answered a question, you may then elaborate however you wish on your answer, giving your reasons for your answer, if you so desire.

The committee will receive and take under advisement any statement that you have.

Mr. Harap. Well, I simply want to register an objection to my not being permitted to read the statement, because it is relevant to my sentiments about the committee, about the activity of the committee, and about its significance for the American people, and so on.

Mr. Jackson. Your objection is noted in the record.

Mr. Clardy. I think, Witness, we can pretty well anticipate what you have said. We have heard it many times before.

Mr. Harap. It doesn't make it any less true, sir.

Mr. Clardy. We shall be the judge of that.

Mr. Kunzig. Would you give the committee a résumé, sir, of your educational background?

Mr. Harap. Yes. I graduated from Ethical Culture High School in New York City. I then went to Antioch College for a few years, transferred to Harvard College where I received my B. A. degree in 1928; I received my master's degree in 1930 and my Ph. D. in philosophy in 1932. . . . Shortly after receiving my doctorate I was appointed librarian of the philosophical library at Harvard University and held the job about—I don't know exactly when I assumed it—I held it about—no; precisely until the end

of the academic term of 1939, and I came to New York City after that; I resigned my position and came to New York City, and since 1939 I have worked as a writer and have done editorial work except for the period in the Army.

Mr. Kunzig. Would you state where you have been a writer and where you have done editorial work and who employed you?

Mr. Harap. I have written for various publications and I will state to this committee some of the publications which I wrote; some of the publications I will not state, as I will explain soon, and [this also] applies to my work, editorial work.

Mr. Kunzig. Just state all that you can.

Mr. Harap. Yes. I have written for a number of learned publications, such as the *Journal of Philosophy*, *Philosophical Review*, *Musical Quarterly*, and so on, a number of these publications. . . .

Mr. Clardy. Let's see if I understand, Counsel.

Is it your question now that you want him to complete the listing and to include those which he seems about to tell us he will refuse to give us?

Mr. Kunzig. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. I cannot see that it is incriminating before this committee that a person list the publications for which he has written. Apparently the witness feels that certain publications may incriminate him.

I respectfully request that he be ordered to answer the question as to listing the publications for which he has written since he graduated and got his Ph. D.

Mr. Jackson. Is this for the purpose of establishing the occupational background of the witness?

Mr. Kinzig. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Jackson. Very well. The witness is directed to answer the question as to all of the publications to which he has contributed.

Mr. Harap. For any publications which I have not stated here I refuse to answer on the following grounds:

First, I refuse to answer under the protection of the first amendment which guarantees the freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of thought, and academic freedom, and I believe that this committee is infringing those freedoms and putting them in jeopardy, and I refuse to answer in the first place on that ground.

In the second place, I refuse to answer the question un-

der the fifth amendment which gives me the privilege of refusing to answer on the ground that no person can be compelled to be a witness against himself.

Mr. Clardy. In a criminal proceeding.

Mr. Harap. Mr. Clardy—I believe you are Mr. Clardy?

Mr. Clardy. That is right.

Mr. Harap. I believe that the inference which you are trying to draw by that question—

Mr. Clardy. No; I am just giving you the language.

Mr. Harap. The language does state, on the other hand, that judicial decisions have provided that the fifth amendment applies not only in criminal proceedings but also in such investigations as this and for a number of other circumstances.

Mr. Clardy. You can take it for granted I am familiar with the law; I have practiced law a number of years.

Mr. Harap. I am taking this procedure because I don't want the inference to remain that my application of the fifth amendment here implies in any sense guilt of any kind. On the contrary, the fifth amendment was designed specifically to protect the innocent, and so that I stand on the fifth amendment.

Mr. Kunzig. I will proceed, sir. I do think, though, that we ought to clear the record and not allow the last statement to remain unchallenged.

Of course, Mr. Clardy was absolutely correct, that this only applies—there must be a fear of involvement in a criminal prosecution, and certainly the fifth amendment may be used before this committee or any other committee in a judicial proceeding, but it must arise because of fear of involvement in a criminal proceeding.

That is the law, and the record should be straight.

Mr. Harap. On the other hand, a criminal proceeding—if there is involvement in a criminal proceeding it does not necessarily mean the one involved is guilty, necessarily.

Mr. Kunzig. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party at any time, sir?

Mr. Harap. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds that I previously stated, and I would like to say that it is questions of this kind which are—and the activities of the committee relating to questions of this kind which are throwing the country into a hysteria and miasma of fear that is very, very dangerous for this country and threatens our democratic freedoms. Only this morning—...

Mr. Kunzig. Do you have any comment on the testimony of [Granville] Hicks ["friendly" witness who named names] that you were a member of this Communist Party group?

Mr. Harap. Well, again, Mr. Kunzig, the same applies, that is to say, you are merely asking the same question which I have several times already refused to answer, and I may say that my refusal to answer is based upon the fact, also, that as a Jew I believe that it is my obligation as a Jew and as an American, but speaking for the moment of my being a Jew, it is my obligation not to cooperate with this committee because, in my view, the activities of this committee are tending to bring this country into

the same conditions under which 6 million Jews were murdered and, for that reason, it seems to me I must refuse to answer and refuse to cooperate with this committee.

Mr. Clardy. Do you shrink with the same horror from the things that the Russian government is doing to the Jewish people?

Mr. Harap. Well, Mr. Clardy, I will be very glad—

Mr. Clardy. Answer my question.

Mr. Harap. I am answering it, Mr. Clardy. I will be very glad to discuss this matter with you because I think that the implication, "Do you shrink from what they are doing to the Jewish people" is based on ignorance of what the status of the Jewish people is in the Soviet Union, and ignorance of the way in which in the Soviet Union anti-Semitism has been virtually obliterated.

I know that in the Soviet Union, Jews—there is no discrimination against Jews in employment or in any activity, vocational activity. There is genuinely a free avenue to Jews in every activity of Soviet life, and there—

Mr. Kunzig. They just have their heads chopped off if they disagree; that is the only discrimination.

Mr. Harap. There is no such matter. There is disagreement on a number of things in the Soviet Union, but there is no chopping of heads. The fact of the matter is that in the Soviet Union the Jews have a higher degree of freedom and equality than they have, I think, in any other part of the world, and this is a matter of recorded fact, Mr. Clardy; this is a matter of statistical fact, and with respect, for instance, to—I suppose you refer to the recent events. Now, I would like to point out, Mr. Clardy, that when it was discovered in the Soviet Union that there was an attempt to frame up Jewish doctors, that the Soviet Union did an unprecedented thing, namely, it publicly announced to the world that this attempt existed, and, further, it went even further than that; it punished those who made the attempt.

Now, I submit, Mr. Clardy, that this is evidence of a determination that there shall be no anti-Semitism; it should not be tolerated for a moment and, furthermore, this is associated, also, with the policy of the Soviet Union with regard to all nationalities, national antagonism. No national antagonism is permitted, and if it is perceived or detected in any way it is summarily dealt with—

Mr. Kunzig. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. Jackson. This is largely extraneous matter.

Mr. Clardy. May I ask one more question?

Mr. Jackson. Yes.

Mr. Clardy. You admire Russia a great deal; don't you? Now, what is the source of the knowledge you have on that subject?

Mr. Harap. Mr. Clardy, I am a serious person. The world is—many serious problems are facing the world, and I have, therefore, assumed the obligation of informing myself about these things, and that is the source of my knowledge.

Mr. Clardy. You don't disagree with me when I say

you have a great admiration for Russia, though, do you?

Mr. Harap. I think there are many things about the Soviet Union which register an advance in human relations and in social relations; yes. . . .

Mr. Kunzig. Have you at any time been the managing editor of JEWISH LIFE, a publication issued monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association?

[As a matter of fact, JEWISH LIFE has been published by Progressive Jewish Life, Inc., since the middle of 1950.—L.H.]

Mr. Harap. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have previously stated, and I think that in any case such questions are [not] indicative of respect for freedom of the press.

Mr. Kunzig. Well—

Mr. Clardy. Now, Mr. Chairman, since JEWISH LIFE is a publication as such?

Mr. Kunzig. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. Clardy. Then, Mr. Chairman, I ask that he be directed to answer it because, obviously, in my opinion, at least he will be in contempt of the subcommittee or in contempt of Congress if he refuses to answer something that is of public record.

Mr. Jackson. The witness is directed to answer the question.

Mr. Harap. I stand on my privilege.

Mr. Jackson. You continue to refuse to answer on grounds previously stated?

Mr. Harap. Yes, I do, Mr. Chairman. . . .

[Refusal to answer this and similar questions is based on the fact that the questions are intended to be opening wedges to further questions that would give the witness the alternatives of becoming a stoolpigeon or subjecting himself to a contempt citation if he refuses to become a stoolpigeon. The remainder of the hearing was almost entirely taken up with similar attempts to get affirmative answers to questions about authorship of various articles bearing my name and of speeches made by me at various meetings. Below we give only a few examples of this procedure, which is a process of establishing "guilt by association."—L.H.]

Mr. Kunzig. Now, I have here in front of me a copy of the Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, February 5, 1953, and I ask you if you were the Louis Harap who wrote an article therein entitled . . . "The Evidence Against Zionist Leaders, the Truth About the Prague Trial"?

Mr. Harap. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as I stated before, and I might say I think this—

Mr. Kunzig. He refuses to answer the question. I don't think there is any necessity to have further comments.

Mr. Velde. No. If you answer the question, I think, certainly, it has been the rule of the acting chairman that you would be allowed to explain and make further statements, but upon refusing to answer the question I see no reason to be bothered with further harangue. . . .

Mr. Kunzig. Did you take part in a meeting on Wednesday, April 16, 1952, entitled "A Tribute to the Warsaw

Ghetto Fighters," presented by JEWISH LIFE, the same publication already mentioned as coming from the Morning Freiheit, together with Morris Carnovsky and Morris Schappes, S-c-h-a-p-p-e-s?

Mr. Harap. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. Kunzig. Do you know Morris Carnovsky, who is listed in this handbill as having appeared in the grand ballroom of the Hotel Diplomat together with you on Wednesday, April 16, 1952?

Mr. Harap. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. Kunzig. For the record, Morris Carnovsky has been identified as a Communist before this committee by Marc Lawrence, April 24, 1951; Leo Townsend, September 18, 1951; Charles Daggett, January 21, 1952, and also by others in executive session.

Morris Schappes has been identified as a Communist by Harvey Matusow, former member of the Communist Party, New York, principally in youth groups, and identified Schappes in public session, February 6, 1952. . . .

Mr. Kunzig. Now, perhaps of more current interest, Dr. Harap, did you write an article in the Worker of January 20, 1952, entitled "Anti-Semitism and the Rosenbergs," the effect of which article was to make it clear, or suggest very strongly, that the only reason for the death sentence of the Rosenbergs was because of anti-Semitism?

Are you the Louis Harap who wrote that article in the January 20 issue, 1952, of the Worker?

Mr. Harap. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. Kunzig. Did you on Thursday, June 26, 1952, in the Daily Worker, write an article entitled "The Ominous Aspect of the Rosenberg Death Sentence," by Louis Harap? Are you the Louis Harap?

Mr. Harap. I decline to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. Kunzig. Did you, in the Daily People's World of Friday, March 21, 1952, write another article entitled "Anti-Semitism in the Rosenberg Spy Case," by Louis Harap? Are you the Louis Harap who wrote that article?

Mr. Harap. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Kunzig. Mr. Chairman, there is much other material here indicating articles written from the Marxist viewpoint of art, articles in the Daily Worker, articles in various other publications here. I think it is rather apparent that the witness is going to take the fifth amendment as to any and all of these articles and, therefore, I respectfully suggest that there is perhaps no further reason in citing them in addition. . . .

[Several days later, on July 1, Velde opened the Un-American Committee hearing for that day as follows:]

Mr. Velde. Before proceeding with the next witness, Mr. Counsel, I want to read into the record a letter and two resolutions which refute some of the statements made by the witness we had yesterday, Dr. Louis Harap.

The letter is on the stationery of the American Jewish

Committee, and reads as follows: . . .

[*Velde then read a letter to the committee sent from the office of Marcus Cohn, the Washington counsel of the American Jewish Committee, and signed by "Irving Engel, Chairman, Executive Committee." Mr. Engel expresses the AJC's "outrage which American Jews, like so many of their fellow citizens of all faiths, must feel at Harap's attempt to exploit your committee's platform to impugn American democracy and its treatment of the diverse groups constituting our population." Engel offers the Un-American Committee "to place at your disposal all our published findings on the treatment of minorities behind the Iron Curtain." Velde also read two AJC resolutions condemning "Communist Anti-Semitism."*—L. H.]

Mr. Velde. I believe that these resolutions and the letter express, of course, an opinion, but a great majority of

the people who adhere to the Jewish faith here in the United States and Americans, if called to testify, if we were able to call all the members of this committee and other organizations of the Jewish faith, we would be able to definitely prove the statement I have just made.

Mr. Walter. You might be interested in knowing that several weeks ago we were having some hearings on an immigration matter and the spokesman for various Jewish groups was asked the question by me because of the charge that the immigration act is anti-Semitic and the question was asked wherein it was anti-Semitic. He said it wasn't, but these charges are made by the same kind of people, the same Jews.

Mr. Velde. I am sure that the gentleman is correct in his interpretation of the Jewish opinion regarding the McCarran-Walter Bill. . . .

VOICES OF RESISTANCE TO MCCARTHYISM

Neo-Nazis' Friend

THE affinity of Senator Joseph McCarthy for nazism and fascism so sharply exposed in our July issue was blatantly confirmed in mid-July. Edward A. Fleckenstein, a pro-nazi Weehawken, N. J., lawyer who tried to present McCarthy at a pro-nazi Yorkville rally on May 4, 1952, spoke at a rally of 30 West German neo-nazi splinter groups at Mannheim. According to the *New York Times*, "Fleckenstein told neo-nazis that Germany's true friends in the United States were Senators Joseph McCarthy, Pat McCarran, Everett Dirksen and William E. Jenner. He denounced democracy as a glorification of mediocrity. He said Germany must have a government that would know how to make demands on the United States."

Labor Must Sound Alarm

Hugo Ernst, president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union (AFL), wrote in the July issue of his union paper, *The Catering Industry Employee*: "There is no doubt at all that McCarthy is going to be stopped, he is going to have to be stopped soon, while there is yet freedom to rise up and denounce him as the mischief maker he is. . . . This mischief, once it takes hold of a nation, is a kind of political polio. It paralyzes free men with fright. Unchecked, it will surely lead straight to that ugliest of tyrannies: fascism. . . . There is one more thing that needs to be understood about McCarthyism. It is that you can't fight McCarthyism by agreeing with it. Once you join the hue and cry of denunciations, McCarthyism has added one more recruit to its ranks. . . . Unions like ours should now stand up and be counted among those who are willing and able to fight back. . . . The future of the labor movement, which has proved itself time and again to be the main prop of America's freedom, will depend on whether or not we sound the alarm loud enough to command the attention of the whole people."

Storm over "Keystone Cops"

Senator Herbert H. Lehman struck back quick and hard at McCarthy on July 20 when the would-be *Fuehrer*

charged the night before that Senator Mike Monroney's characterization of the antics in Europe of McCarthy's boys investigators Roy M. Cohn and Gerard Schine as "Keystone cops," was "anti-Semitism." Lehman blasted McCarthy's charge as "pure and arrant demagoguery" and "wholly ridiculous." As a "Jew, sensitive to any religious bias," said Lehman, he believed the two young men have done the country "great harm both here and abroad." "I am certain," Lehman went on, "that most members of my religious faith, not as Jews but as Americans, are anything but proud of these two young men. To brand critics of them as 'anti-Semitism' is pure and arrant demagoguery, raising an ugly symbol in defense of indefensible conduct."

Many national and local Jewish organizations have come out in defense of Senator Monroney against McCarthy's preposterous, lying charge of "anti-Semitism." The B'nai B'rith chapter of Monroney's home state of Oklahoma supported the senator, who received the chapter's Americanism award in 1953.

"The Backfire Is On"

In a letter to the Committee to Defend Negro Leadership released on July 22, Bishop William J. Walls of the African Methodist Episcopal Church Zion, hit out at the witch-hunters. Bishop Walls is himself a target of the witch-hunters because of his activities for peace. He wrote, in part: "The raid continues. Our names are raided and carried out of our legitimate task of prophecy and preaching in the church and in church affairs and paraded before the public as near traitors to our national and Christian cause by heartless and designing politicians who will sell out heaven to hell to prey upon the public for their selfish advantages and gains. I do not believe these people are afraid of ministers and communism, they are afraid of religion and righteousness. The efforts are being made to cower all prophets of God and to make them smug little slinkers and defame Negro leaders to scare the followers away. It is thought to make examples of a few to destroy the initiative and courage of the rest, but the backfire is on and truth will have its hearing."

PROJECT "X" IN EAST GERMANY

What was really behind the "revolt" in East Germany? The ties between these events, Dulles' "liberation" and renazification

By Sam Pevzner

THE riots in East Berlin and other parts of East Germany on June 17 provided a field day for the cold war press, radio and television. And Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and President Eisenhower added their innings to the game by announcing that the German Democratic Republic was on its last legs, that the people's democracies in Europe faced chaos and revolution, that the Soviet Union was in crisis.

Those whose information on East Germany and Eastern Europe is gained from headlines and radio commentators might have been taken in by the tale that the East German workers had risen against the republic and that these workers were eager to place themselves in the hands of the West German Adenauer regime and to follow the Eisenhower-Dulles "liberation" crusade.

But such people are cruelly misled, as the facts show. In the long run facts are stronger than slanted headlines, news stories, radio talks and the wishful thinking of cold war politicians.

Background of June 17

In this instance the facts are of the most vital significance to the Jewish people, for Germany is not just another nation to them. Germany was the center of nazism and hence the world center of anti-Semitism and wholesale murder of Jews. What happens to Germany will also determine to a large extent what happens to the Jewish people of Europe and other continents, as well as to all people of the world. A renewal of nazi power would be a tragedy not only for democracy everywhere, but to the Jewish people quite especially. Consolidation of democracy and demilitarization in Germany would establish a firm basis for the peace of the world and the security of the Jews.

The international setting of the events of June 17 are essential to an understanding of what really took place. The peace offensive of the Soviet Union was proceeding with considerable success, to the consternation of United States cold warriors. A Korean armistice was imminent; the people of Italy had won a great victory over reaction. In Germany itself, both East and West, sentiment for unification was becoming irresistible and cut across all party lines. These developments have obviously placed the Dulles foreign policy in jeopardy. This is how one organ of United States high finance, *Business Week*, put the situation in its issue of June 20:

"The American position in Western Europe has deteriorated seriously in the past six months. That area no longer looks to the U.S. leadership as it did in the past.

"You can see this in the Italian election results and the French political crisis. In both cases, middle-of-the-road regimes are breaking up. And these have been, in effect, an expression of U.S. policy in Europe" (emphasis in original).

As for the reunification sentiment in Germany, M. S. Handler wrote in the *New York Times* on July 12 that "Statements issued in Bonn, Berlin and Washington by United States officials expressing sympathy for the East Berlin and East German resistance fighters found a hollow echo. The Germans wanted to hear something about reunification but the issue was glossed over in official United States pronouncements."

No wonder, then, that *Business Week*, in the same issue as noted above, said: *"The East German business has come at a fortunate time for the U.S.—assuming we can move fast enough to take advantage of it" (emphasis in original).* But there is more to say—the June 17 riots were deliberately provoked by the Dulles "liberators."

The Dulles "liberation" policy was evident in the June 17 events, which was the fruit of "Project X." "No government official will admit it," wrote *Nation's Business* (April 1952), published by the Chamber of Commerce, "but we are training men to be spies, saboteurs, specialists in the tougher forms of psychological warfare. They learn to blow bridges, railroad trains and war plants. . . . They merge into hostile populations and spread disquieting rumors." (For full details on "Project X" see "Department of Dirty Tricks," by Gerhard Hagelberg, *Jewish Life*, March 1953.)

"Project X" in Action

It was high time for "Project X" to get into action in East Germany. Time was running out for United States plans. The "liberators" saw their chance when some East German workers struck for legitimate grievances. On June 11—about six days before the "revolt" broke out—the East German government acknowledged validity in the workers' demands and announced "a series of measures designed to correct the mistakes made by the government." These measures would "provide for the improvement of the standard of living of the workers and intellectuals, together with the peasants, craftsmen and other members of the middle class." The reforms were immediately instituted. Why then

SOVIET POSITION ON GERMANY

Following is a section of Premier G. M. Malenkov's speech before the Supreme Soviet on August 8, dealing with the German question:

URGENT questions, such as the German question which is of primary importance, must also be solved. The German question must and can be settled. For this it is necessary to proceed from the interests of strengthening the security of all European countries, and in the first place, the security of Germany's western and eastern neighbors, and at the same time from the national interests of the German people. For this purpose it is necessary to give up the policy of dragging Germany into aggressive military blocs, from the policy of restoring an aggressive militarist Germany.

They want us to agree to the rebirth of an aggressive militarist Germany and at the same time allow themselves to talk of enduring peace in Europe. However, our people have not shed the blood of millions of its sons and daughters in war against militarist Germany in order to restore once more this most dangerous hot-bed of war in Europe.

The Great Powers have assumed the obligation to preserve, not destroy, Germany's national unity, to insure the transformation of Germany into a peace-loving democratic state, not to facilitate the rebirth of German militarism. The Soviet Union will make every effort on its part to facilitate the carrying out of these obligations....

did the "revolt" erupt after these concessions had been made by the government?

Dulles had said in Bonn last February, "It would be dangerous and perhaps even catastrophic to pin the hopes for reunification on a four-power meeting at which the Soviet Union might retreat from its present position and discuss reunification in terms that might be practical for the West. . . . *Unrest in East Europe must be encouraged by decisive policies in the West.* (New York Times, February 6, emphasis added.) The "liberators" then went to work in line with Dulles' program "to create unrest."

Agents of the "Free World"

There is plenty of evidence that the revolt was deliberately provoked by nazis and West Germans under Washington's instructions. The West Berlin radio station RIAS broadcast incitement and instructions during the entire day and played an indispensable role in the "revolt." All the "liberation" agencies, such as the Gestapo-like "Free Jurists," went into action. The *Toronto Daily Star* of July 18 carried a story about the "Free Jurists" "headquarters of the underground army which has stirred the revolt in East Germany." And this same story adds a warning that shows how close "liberation" and renazification are: "Many observers, granting the effectiveness of the Free Jurists against communism, also fear this underground army operates too much like

another Gestapo." The major Jewish organizations, which have often warned against the dangers of renazification and its virulent progress in West Germany under the guiding hand of United States agents, should see the riots for what they were, one result of renazification and the "liberation" policy by an attempt to extend through undemocratic agents the power of reaction in all Germany.

For fascist elements were utilized to instigate and direct the riots and terror in East Germany on June 17. Those Jews whose anti-communist mania may have caused them to greet the riots, should stop to consider the company in which they find themselves. For example, in Halle western agents stormed the jail and freed a number of war criminals. Among them was Frau Erna Dorn, a former SS officer in the Ravensbrueck concentration camp serving a 15 year sentence for crimes against humanity. Frau Dorn threw herself into the rioting and was placed on the "Action Committee." After her arrest following the restoration of order, an unfinished letter to her father was found in her pocket. "The hour has struck," said the letter, "and we can again put on our beloved SS uniforms."

This symbol of the "free world" in Germany was typical of the agents bearing Dulles' "liberation" program to the people of East Germany. During her interrogation she described her former activities for the Gestapo. She admitted that she had liquidated "80 or 90 at the most." When asked if she had mistreated prisoners under her, Frau Dorn answered, "Sometimes I hit them with a rubber truncheon, sometimes I kicked them." Her truncheon-wielding and kicking experience no doubt served her well in the riots.

Or let's look at another representative of the "free world" who helped instigate the riots. Werner Kalkowski was a young unemployed man who lived in the American sector. He testified that on June 17 he "was sent from West Berlin into the Democratic Sector . . . to create disturbances and drag striking workers into the disorders." He was promised pay for the job.

Kalkowski met "at least 90 others, mainly unemployed" at Breitenbach Platz in West Berlin on the morning of June 17 and there met the "organizers," "together with the American Hiwer who was in uniform. He had two stars on his shoulder." Kalkowski and the others were instructed to join up "with the striking workers" and turn "the peaceful strike into a mass disturbance. We should demand the overthrow of the government of the German Democratic Republic."

Here you have the events of June 17 in a kernel—nazis and West German unemployed turned into provocateurs for a few marks and promise of a job, who made up the gangs that instigated the riots at the command of the American "liberationists," and the West German neo-nazis.

"Revolt" and Renazification

It is a sad commentary on many Jewish leaders and publications that they decry the rebirth of nazism in West Germany and then greet with satisfaction the riots that

took place. They mislead Jewish people by their failure to see that the riots were an outgrowth of renazification or to recognize that the prompt action by the East German authorities and the Soviet forces was a severe blow against the program of renazification.

As recently as July 20 the American Jewish Committee published a survey (*Neo-Nazi Strength and Strategy in West Germany*) warning that "The democratic forces . . . are still in control of the situation, but, on the whole, it would seem that more nationalist and less desirable elements are making the greater progress." The *New York Post* editorialized (July 22) on the finding that the neo-nazis were making progress, thus: "Why shouldn't they? The war criminals are walking with their heads to the sun again. The Americans and British and French have turned them loose in droves; we settled for a handful of the real big nazi names and let the others off In that kind of atmosphere the poisonous thing called neo-nazism has an excellent chance to flourish. . . . Thus Germany's Free Democratic Party flies the banner of a man the AJC terms a 'barely concealed anti-Semite.' He is Dr. Friedrich Middelhaue, the FDP's deputy chairman—and the FDP is part of the three-party coalition which controls the West German Parliament!"

The alarm of the *New York Post* is amply justified and is no doubt shared by the majority of the Jewish people. But what the *Post* fails to see, or does not wish to see, is that renazification is part of the program of a "war of liberation" against the peoples of East Germany, the new democracies, China and the Soviet Union. Only if this program is defeated by the American people can the program of renazification be stopped. The attack on the East German Republic was the first major probing attempt by the "liberationists" to garner the fruits of renazification. The *New York Post* and all Jewish organizations opposing renazification render themselves less effective in the fight against neo-nazism by supporting the cold war and the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of "liberation."

Food for the Cold War

Likewise, on the follow-up to the riots in East Germany, the support given by the *Post* and Jewish organizations to the demagogic use of free food parcels to East Germans, renders their struggle against renazification ineffective. Never was "humanitarianism" used more hypocritically for an ugly, inhuman purpose—intensification of the cold war. While the Soviet Union and the East German government have been taking step after step to decrease the tensions which exist and initiating moves for reunification of Germany and liquidation of the cold war, Dulles and his German puppets pull the ghastly food gag to maintain tensions and heat up the cold war.

Just as the instigation of riots to overthrow the German Democratic Republic failed in its purpose, so will the food distribution adventure flop. Even the headlines about hundreds of thousands from East Germany lining up for parcels

were the object of cynical sneers by sensible Americans. Start giving out free food parcels in New York, or Chicago, or Kalamazoo, they remarked, and see how many hundreds of thousands will line up.

No, the program of free eats and renazification will not entrap the German people. It certainly should not fool the Jewish people, to whom the issue of renazification is no light matter.

The East German events and the free eats follow-up should serve as a warning to the Jews of the United States—a warning of the speedy resuscitation of nazism by the Eisenhower-Dulles-McCarthy crowd. This must be halted and halted quickly or the nazis may soon be wielding their truncheons again. The Jews of the United States can halt this by intensifying its struggle against the renazification of West Germany, by joining the forces fighting for an end to the cold war, by demanding a Big Power conference to discuss all issues causing world tension and by raising their voices for a world of peace and an America without McCarthyism!



YE SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH

By Charles White

HIS BROTHER'S BULLETS

A Short Story

By Abraham Reisin

NEVER had it been so easy for Davidson to find work. In the office of the huge ammunition factory he was received coldly but without superfluous questions or remarks. He was even spared the trouble of mentioning his "previous training," that he was really a locksmith by trade. The chief question was: in what country was he born. To this he answered, as he showed his "papers," that he was now an American citizen. It was obviously something of a handicap that he came from a town in Galicia [in pre-World War I Poland]; this he recognized in the raised eyebrow of the manager who examined his documents. But still, there were no comments.

Nor was there any haggling over wages. The rate was extremely good. Even in the best union shops he had never received such wages and in his heart he was grateful (though he did not know to whom) for the chance to earn a better living. He had put up with enough, now working in shops for small pay, now hanging about without any job at all.

The city in which the factory was located was not particularly large. But it was growing from week to week. Thanks to the ammunition factories, which turned out thousands of implements of death each day, the city grew more lively. Riding to work every morning in the train and returning at night, Davidson could barely find a place to stand.

The jammed throngs in the trains reminded him of the great city of New York; they were really something to be proud of! Often it occurred to him that if the war

lasted long enough, this small town would even surpass New York. He was pleased when he heard the same talk among the other workers.

The factory grew too. Additions were constantly being built. In a few months, the entire vast area, which had been an open field when he came, was covered with a chain of buildings. Over the gate of the factory was an immense sign, which listed in simple black letters, the names of all the weapons which were made by this factory. Davidson noticed the sign only after he had passed it many times; in the beginning he walked quickly through the gate without stopping to survey his surroundings.

What did all those names mean to him, anyway? He himself worked in the cartridge department. All the bullets were exactly the same—one mould! Further than that he gave them no thought. Many times he even forgot that these bullets were designed to penetrate human heads and hearts, to send living young men to their death. Later, in his mind's eye, the bullets assumed the guise of toys for little children.

IT WAS ONLY AFTER HE RECEIVED THE LETTER FROM HOME that the bullets began to look different. The letter said that his younger brother had gone off to war and the bullets began to look like little laughing creatures. Once a cartridge sprang out of his hand with a laugh and said, "Well, Davidson, do you have a message for your brother?"

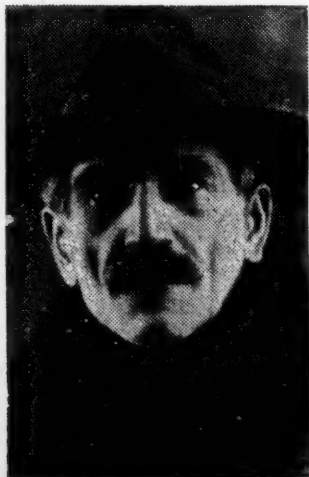
Davidson shuddered. He picked up the bullet, examined it and was convinced that this particular shell would hit his brother. Making sure that no one was watching him, he put it into his pocket; he felt that he had saved his brother from certain death.

Later, strange kinds of cartridges began to pass through his hands. One bullet seemed suspiciously determined to enter his brother's eye. He could tell by its peculiarly sly smile. Naturally, Davidson could not allow this to happen.

In terror he glanced about him and slipped the bullet into his pocket. Now he felt at ease; he had saved his brother again. He breathed more freely, and returned his attention to his work.

Immediately before quitting time another cartridge caught his eye, one that seemed especially destined for his brother's right arm. He was certain it would enter the arm right here, a little above the elbow. Of course, he could not allow it to happen. Again Davidson hid the bullet deep in his pocket.

This was the day that he broke a long-standing habit.



ABRAHAM REISIN is the noted Yiddish poet and short story writer who died on April 1. He was a worthy bearer of the great Yiddish tradition. His writings dealt with Jewish workers and his Yiddish songs were popular wherever Yiddish was spoken. Although he wrote for the *Jewish Daily Forward* in the last 25 years of his life, he was never a member of the paper's corps of rabid red-baiters.

He did not go straight home, as usual, but stopped first at a saloon and stealthily ordered a brandy. The brandy made him feel better and in his pocket he toyed with the shells.

The next day, the suspicious-looking cartridges began to appear again. One of them looked so threateningly at Davidson that he grabbed it without hesitation and put it into his pocket. For a short time he felt relieved, but the same thing happened with a second, third, fourth.

A strange thing. He began to recognize every bullet that was meant for his brother. As he put each one into his pocket he smiled faintly.

GRADUALLY IT BECAME MORE AND MORE DIFFICULT FOR HIM to distinguish with certainty which bullet was fated for his brother and which was not; he had to snatch them up by two's and three's. In the saloon after work he began to order double brandies.

Still later he noticed that the entire upper layer of cartridges was acting suspiciously. Somehow all the top bullets seemed to menace his brother. Quickly he pocketed them. As he did so, he felt the eyes of the foreman on his back and bent lower over his work.

No more, thank goodness; he would not have to take any more of the bullets. He had removed the last one that spelled danger for his brother.

But something was wrong now with the second layer. They, too, were beginning to mock him. There was nothing else for him to do—he had to think of his brother.

It was too late. The foreman was at his side, tapping Davidson's pockets, taking out a handful at a time, looking puzzled.

"What is this? What are you doing with the bullets?"

Davidson did not answer.

"Why are you stealing the bullets?"

At this Davidson became angry. "Be a little more civil! I am not stealing them!"

"Then what are you doing with them?"

Davidson began to stammer. "There are certain . . . they are bullets that are . . . no good. . . ."

"They're all good!" Looking at the bullets in his hand the foreman began to raise his voice. "How do you know they're no good? What are you, an inspector?"

"It seemed to me," Davidson tried to continue, "that these bullets would have. . . ."

"All right, all right, let it go!" The foreman was angry as he tossed the cartridges back into the big box.

At this Davidson was completely unnerved. He stared at the box of bullets, so many of them aimed at his brother! He could not take them out again, he did not even know which were the ones. His brother was lost!

On his way home, the third brandy and the fourth did not quiet him. The thought of the bullets in the box gave him no rest. He dashed violently from the saloon and ran back toward the factory.

A plant guard blocked his way. With bloodshot eyes Davidson pleaded with him, "My brother's bullets are in

that box!—let me in!—I must save my brother!"

The guard's whistle shrilled and a policeman came running.

"Take him in—to the station—or the madhouse—whatever you think. . . ."

As he led Davidson away, the policeman demanded, "What were you trying to do, blow up the factory, or what?"

"No! No! Not blow up the factory! I wanted to get my brother's bullets out of there! I made them myself—you understand? I made them myself—for my own brother!"

Davidson laughed the hysterical laugh of one whose heart is being eaten away by a gnawing regret.

The policeman was at a loss. Where to take his prisoner? To the station? To the madhouse? Where?

A difficult problem. . . .

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld)

PRAISED AND BLESSED

By Abraham Reisin

Praised and blessed they
Who boldly block the way
Of fiends who would debase
The human race,
And drown it in the gore
Of fire and War.

Praised and blessed he
Who will not bend the knee
To canting Wealth, which reigns
By mankind's pain;
Who runs the gilded gauntlet,
Brave, undaunted.

Praised and blessed be
The great of heart, who see
Beyond the prison-night,
Freedom's light;
Whose song surmounts the wall—
"Peace for all!"

Praised and blessed, then,
Calumniated men!
Who dip your hands and borrow
From tomorrow,
Strength, to ease the way
For us, today!

(Translated from the Yiddish by Max Rosenfeld).

THE NEW LEHMAN IMMIGRATION BILL

A basis is provided by the new bill to repeal the racist McCarran-Walter law. The new bill has excellent features but needs changes

By Abner Green

ON August 3rd, 32 members of Congress—eight in the Senate and 24 in the House of Representatives—jointly introduced a 211-page omnibus Immigration and Naturalization bill. Senator Herbert H. Lehman and Rep. Emanuel Celler, who head the group of 32 legislators, stated that their bill is intended to revise and replace the Walter-McCarran Law of 1952.

The omnibus bill took eight months to draft and brings to a close the first stage in the fight against the Walter-McCarran police-state law.

The law was passed by Congress over the President's veto on June 27, 1952. Public reaction was immediate and intense. Every important national organization—labor, church, fraternal, social—spoke out against the provisions of the law. A special Commission on Immigration and Naturalization appointed by President Truman held public hearings in 11 cities across the country during October.

The President's Commission heard more than 600 witnesses and, in its report filed January 1, 1953, stated that, "The Commission was surprised to learn of the widespread and rather determined opposition to the Act of 1952. . . . Comparatively few of the organizations and individuals appearing before the Commission were in favor of the Act of 1952."

During the first half of this year, opposition to the Walter-McCarran law continued to grow. Because of the unceasing protests President Eisenhower was forced to send a special message to Congress urging ten changes.

The Lehman-Celler bill, as a substitute for the Walter-McCarran law, therefore, represents the great body of public opinion that has condemned and refused to accept the provisions of the Walter-McCarran law.

"Remolding American Policy"

The 32 sponsors of the Lehman-Celler bill, in a statement and analysis released to the press on August 3rd, declare that the bill "is a complete recodification of immigration and nationality law . . . remolding American immigration and naturalization policy into its traditional directions of justice, equity, and welcome."

ABNER GREEN has been executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born since 1942. He is the author of the recent pamphlet, *The Walter-McCarran Law: Police State Terror Against Foreign Born Americans*.

These laudable objectives are achieved in a number of provisions of the 211-page omnibus bill.

The Lehman-Celler bill removes jurisdiction over non-citizens from the Justice Department. It establishes an Immigration and Naturalization Commission as an independent agency in the executive branch of the government. The commission would be composed of three members appointed by the President. The commission would be given responsibility also for all aspects of immigration, including the issuance of visas, thereby ending State Department control over this phase of work.

In addition, the bill would establish a nine-member Board of Visa and Immigration Appeals as an independent entity, attached to the commission for administrative purposes only. The Board would have review authority and would act on visa, immigration, exclusion and deportation appeals.

All deportation hearings under the bill would be held in accordance with the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act. At present, deportation hearings are obviously biased and unfair, lacking every semblance of dignity or impartiality. Under the APA, there would be a greater possibility for fair hearings.

In these three provisions, the new bill would establish a complete and vital change in the administrative treatment of non-citizens, making possible elimination of the present policy of harassment and terrorization of non-citizens carried on by the Justice Department.

One of the most far-reaching and dangerous innovations contained in the Walter-McCarran law is its attack on the rights of naturalized citizens. For the first time in the history of the country, the law provides for cancelling the citizenship of naturalized Americans for acts committed in the exercise of one's rights as a citizen, within five or ten years after becoming a citizen. At the same time, revocation of citizenship on the basis of past political beliefs or affiliations is facilitated.

The new bill not only repeals these political provisions but repeals as well denaturalization provisions based on residence abroad, which has always been a discriminatory feature in the citizenship laws. The bill provides that citizenship can be revoked *only* if naturalization was illegally procured or obtained by fraud. Equally important is a provision that naturalization cannot be revoked more than

ten years after naturalization.

The bill provides, too, for a special statute of limitation in its deportation section. Under the Walter-McCarran law, non-citizens can be deported for acts committed at any time—ten or 50 years ago. The sponsors of the bill state that, "Banishment or exile is a severe penalty, the relic of another day and age." The bill provides that no non-citizen could be deported on any ground if he was admitted to the United States for permanent residence before his 14th birthday or if he has lived in the United States for 20 years or more. Deportation based on membership of affiliation with proscribed organizations (discussed later in this analysis) must be initiated within five years after termination of such membership or affiliation.

Another major advance is in the bill's proposed elimination of the racist and discriminatory national origins immigration quota system and its replacement by a unified quota system. The annual quota, based on the 1950 census, would be 251,000. The annual quota would be adjusted every ten years. The unified quota system assures a minimum quota to each country and prevents any one country from getting a preponderant share of the total quota. Unused quotas would not be cancelled, as presently, but would be used during the following year.

These are the major advances proposed by the new bill. There are other positive features of some importance. Non-citizens illegally in the United States could adjust their status without endless red tape. Re-entry permits issued to non-citizens could not be cancelled without a hearing as was Charles Chaplin's last year after he had left the country. Newly-arriving immigrants could be excluded only after a hearing and being informed of charges.

Those sections of the bill which re-codify the present law propose some excellent changes and generally advance the rights and welfare of the American people.

Some Undemocratic Provisions

Several sections of the bill, however, fail to maintain this democratic level. At several important points, the bill deserts democratic principles in the treatment of non-citizens despite its sponsors' claim that it is "designed to reflect the true American tradition of equal justice under the law for alien and citizen alike."

A number of provisions contained in the bill are identical with police state provisions now in the Walter-McCarran law. The bill completely fails to meet its announced purposes in those sections which capitulate to McCarthyite principles incorporated in the Walter-McCarran law.

The sponsors of the Lehman-Celler bill in their statement declare that, "This proposed Act does not purport to be a finished product. . . . It is rather a pioneer draft which undoubtedly will require modification and improvement." They call for "public discussion and comment."

It is in this spirit that we discuss a number of provisions contained in the Lehman-Celler bill which we feel should be omitted or amended before the bill is enacted into law.

Any proposal to punish non-citizens by deportation because of their political beliefs or affiliations is not in accord with our "highest principles and noblest traditions" nor can it be regarded as "equal justice." If non-citizens violate the law, they should be punished for such violation. But, to add deportation to the punishment, or to order deportation where no violation has been committed, is discriminatory, violates the Bill of Rights and endangers the rights of all.

The Lehman-Celler bill establishes a category of "subversive doctrine," which includes seeking "overthrow of the government of the United States by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means." Then the bill, *without hearing or other consideration*, designates as "conclusively deemed to have advocated or taught subversive doctrine at all times" the Communist Party of the United States or any other country. Similarly designated is the now defunct Nazi Party of Hitler Germany.

This is an unwarranted and unconstitutional concession to McCarthyism and McCarranism. In addition, the Immigration and Naturalization Commission could similarly designate any other organization in the country.

The bill provides for the deportation of non-citizens who "have advocated or taught subversive doctrine" or have been "members or affiliated with any organization which advocates or teaches subversive doctrine." Immigrants would be excluded on the same basis. Citizenship would be denied to any applicant who, within five years before filing a petition for naturalization, advocated or taught "subversive doctrine" or belonged to any organization so advocating.

The bill permits arrest without warrant. It authorizes *secret hearings* when "the Board determines that secrecy is requisite on grounds of national security." The bill provides that, "The right of any person to bail in proceedings brought under this Act shall be inviolate, except in cases affecting the national health and security of the United States." This qualification, of course, opens the door wide to a complete abrogation of the right to bail.

Other provisions lifted from the Walter-McCarran law would give the commission authority to set "reasonable conditions" when bail is granted and would permit the commission to hold non-citizens without bail for six months after a final order of deportation.

Carry-Overs from Walter-McCarran

The bill provides further that, if deportation cannot be effected within six months after a final order of deportation, the non-citizen "shall become subject to such further detention or supervision pending eventual deportation as may be prescribed by the Commission." Under this provision, non-citizens could be imprisoned for the rest of their lives. Under the Walter-McCarran law, such non-citizens can be held for six months, at the end of which time they must be released. This bill, whose sponsors condemn "contradictory and inequitable standards of justice

for aliens resident in the United States," would make it life imprisonment.

If the commission decides not to hold a non-citizen, he is released under supervisory parole, whose conditions under the new bill are identical with the supervisory parole conditions of the Walter-McCarran law.

Under the new bill, too, non-citizens can be deported to any country that will accept them. A non-citizen must take steps to effect self-deportation. Failure or refusal to make timely application in good faith for travel documents is made a criminal offense punishable by one year in jail rather than ten years, as provided by the Walter-McCarran law for the same offense.

Generally speaking, the bill seeks to delimit the possibilities that should be afforded non-citizens to test in the federal courts decisions by the Board of Visa and Immigrations Appeals. The bill should be amended to provide the greatest possible opportunities to non-citizens to secure review and challenge in the courts any decisions by the administrative agency.

The Walter-McCarran law is followed again in the registration provisions of the bill. All non-citizens must be registered and fingerprinted. The Gestapo pass system is continued and all non-citizens must carry their alien registration cards on their persons at all times. All non-citizens must report in writing to the attorney general once a year during the month of January. Non-citizens must notify the attorney general of any change of address within 30 days of such change.

The bill seeks to make more moderate penalties for violations of any of these provisions and eliminates jail sentences in some. Also, while the law provides deportation for any violation in addition to fine and imprisonment, the bill does not make violation a ground for deportation.

While penalties in the bill may be more moderate, the effect of the Gestapo pass system and the annual registration perpetuate the police state provisions and treatment of non-citizens contained in the law.

The bill would encourage the hounding of non-citizens. It instructs "all agencies of the United States exercising investigative powers" to keep the commission "advised of relevant information they may gather regarding any alien. . . ." It established in the commission's office "for the use of the security and enforcement agencies of the Government of the United States, a central index" of the names of all non-citizens, containing "all relevant information." In addition, all records of any government agency, including social security records, concerning non-citizens must be made available to the commission.

Fight for Amended Lehman Bill

Additional study and analysis of the 211-page bill may develop other provisions that require special consideration. The main outlines of the proposed bill however, are clear in the sections analyzed in this discussion. They provide the framework for developing the second stage in the

fight for the repeal of the Walter-McCarran law, until January 1953, when Congress reconvenes and the next stage will be under way. Between now and January it is the responsibility of every organization and every individual concerned with the preservation of democratic rights to discuss and fight for repeal of the Walter-McCarran law.

Part of this fight will mean exposing what this law means in the life of the American people: more than 10,000 denaturalizations and 12,000 deportations of long-time residents threatened by the attorney general.

Unrelenting harassment and attempted intimidation of non-citizens and naturalized citizens: police-state treatment of honest and decent people.

Herman Nixon, Israel Blankenstein, Felix Kusman, Harry Yaris and Charles Doyle held at Ellis Island without bail—prisoners at America's first concentration camp—some of them for almost a year. David Hyun, of Los Angeles, father of two young children, held at Terminal Island, California, for deportation (forced repatriation) to Syngman Rhee's South Korea, where he faces persecution and possible death.

More than 300 non-citizens arrested already in deportation proceedings and more than 35 denaturalization proceedings on political grounds initiated.

This is indeed a shameful record of Walter-McCarran law persecution. Not only must the law be fought by defending its victims but real mass support must be developed to repeal the law when Congress reconvenes in January. The Lehman-Celler bill can replace the Walter-McCarran law. We must fight to achieve this and, in fighting for this objective, seek also to secure amendment of the bill before it is enacted.

What To do

AS A part of its preparations for the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, which is to be held in Chicago on December 12 and 13, 1953, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has issued the following suggestions for action:

1. Letters and resolutions should be sent immediately to the House Judiciary Committee and Senate Judiciary Committee urging that public hearings be held on the Lehman Bill (S. 2585) and Celler Bill (H.R. 6820) as soon as possible.
2. Delegations should be organized to visit congressmen at their office or home while Congress is not in session and to discuss with them support for the bill and sections requiring amendment before its enactment.
3. Individuals should send letters to their congressmen and to the editors of local newspapers concerning the Lehman-Celler bill.
4. Prepare to participate in the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims in Chicago on December 12 and 13. Information concerning the conference, as well as special material on the Walter-McCarran law, can be obtained by writing to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

CLARA SELLS A HAT

Excerpt from a New Novel

By Arthur D. Kahn

CLARA was at work in the department store.

In fact, at this moment in the hat "bar" (as it had been renamed by the new, arty floor manager) of JB Associates department store, Clara was lugging a chair to the demonstration mirror. "Sit down," she half sang in encouragement, pushing up her glasses, which were always sliding down her very small bridgeless nose. "Rest yourself." The elderly white-haired woman breathed an "oy" and perched at the edge of the chair, fearful of taking full advantage of Clara's invitation. She tangled her fluttering hands in the strap of her purse and was almost frantic when the purse threatened to slip from her lap.

"That's better," Clara sympathized, speaking a little loud considering how close she was to the old woman. Now she felt foolish for reeling off the routine patter: "Yes, madam, this is the latest . . . oh, certainly, that's the color they're featuring in all the best stores . . . of course, the more conservative style never goes out of fashion. . . ."

The little old lady in a best dress with an ancient yellowing lace collar and wide, cracking black shoes that had remained dull after a despairing effort at polishing, would wear a babushka when she sat on a camp chair in front of the door and talked with the other old people and watched the shrill children at patsy, silently recalling when her own boys and girls had been this age; or when she lugged her patent leather shopping bag among the stalls in the public market on Essex Street amid the cries: "Nice melon today, sweet as sugar . . . what's yours, mamma, the usual? Joe, give the lady ten cents soup greens." Or the buttonman's crazy auctioneer's song, "Here, lady, lady, lady! Here lady, lady, lady!"

She had nodded with apparent approval at each hat, set it aside and stared helplessly at the gathering accumulation.

"Now we'll take our time," promised Clara. "No rush, there're not so many customers, don't rush yourself." She rehung the hats allowing plenty of time for the woman to become at ease. When she returned, she folded her delicate hands on the counter and asked brightly, "All right, tell me, where're you going with a new hat?"

For a moment the woman relaxed into an embarrassed, proud young smile. "*Mein tochter's* getting married today, my baby."

"So-o!" exclaimed Clara like a fairy godmother in a nursery tale, "your daughter's getting married! That's

why . . . !" Clara disappeared behind the counter, repeating "so-o, that's why" in a high crooning. She hunted through several cartons of the newly-arrived stock, winked to herself, screwing up her face and wrinkling her nose to do so, and fairly danced out with her surprise. She paused dramatically, opened her eyes wide and nodded in encouragement and then drew forth a tiny bit of straw with a brilliant red bird flaunted at one side.

The woman shook her head pendulum-wise and clicked her tongue. "For me?" She turned to Clara in disbelief.

Clara nodded.

The woman hesitantly took the hat and turned to the mirror. Though she shrugged her shoulders, she was almost unable to meet her eyes in the glass; nor could she suppress a nervous laugh. Her gnarled and trembling fingers were not for such a diminutive fanciness, and Clara adjusted the hat for her.

The woman studied Clara's face in the mirror, fearful of ridicule.

"A regular spring chicken!" Clara cried, pointing into the mirror. "What will your daughter say when everybody says you're the sister and not the mother?" The mother sighed and rocked in sad acknowledgment. "I never had a hat like this."

"I know, dear, we go through life missing so many things, so many pleasures." She rested her hands on the woman's shoulders. "But you have to catch up with the children. They should only be happy, the young people."

"There should only be peace in the world, darling," sighed the old woman, pressing Clara's hand with her work-worn callouses and adding brightly, "then *you* could come to the wedding and we'd dance in the streets."

Clara busily pinned some loose strands of the clean white hair, took a full appraising look and stroked the old woman's lined cheeks, nodding in satisfaction. "I have a son myself," she said. "What do we mothers want in the world but the happiness of our children? And what a day it is when we see the first grandchild."

The woman dug in her purse for the money and was frightened that she had misplaced her five dollar bill. But it was there, and she was atremble to hurry out with her prize. Several times she checked the hat in the mirror, tilting her head every which way. Clara waited expectantly. The woman looked at her quizzically and gripped her hand. "Come, darling, I'll give you a kiss."

The two women kissed and pressed each other in a tight hug.

"*Mazeltov, mazeltov,*" called Clara as the little old woman ran for the elevator. "Congratulations and good luck."

ARTHUR D. KAHN is a political and creative writer in New York. His new novel, *Brownstone: a Novel of New York*, from which the above is taken, will be published late in October by Independence Publishers (138 Remsen St., Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THE SOBELL CAMPAIGN GOES ON

A new trial must be obtained for Morton Sobell in view of the flimsiness of the evidence and his illegal abduction from Mexico

By Morris U. Schappes

WITH attention now beginning to focus on the Morton Sobell phase of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial, the same kind of indignation that slowly gathered in behalf of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg is now spreading in behalf of Sobell.

For those who have grown to believe that the Rosenbergs were innocent should also understand that Sobell is innocent.

And those who have grave doubts about the guilt of the Rosenbergs will have similar doubts about the guilt of Sobell.

And those who were convinced that the death sentence against the Rosenbergs was brutal, excessive and unjust cannot but regard the 30 year sentence against Sobell as cruel, unequal and excessive.

Furthermore, among the Jewish people it is universally understood, although not so widely acknowledged in public, that Judge Irving Kaufman would not have given the Rosenbergs the death sentence had they not been Jewish. By the same token, it should be understood that Sobell too is Jewish and was handed his horrible sentence because the same Jewish judge felt it necessary to "prove" to anti-Semites that he could not even remotely be suspected of any kind of leniency with Jewish defendants. And Judge Kaufman capped the "proof" with a twist that he knew was utterly uncalled for. Having pronounced the sentence, Kaufman added: "While it may be gratuitous on my part, I at this point note my recommendation against parole."

What a monstrous gratuity this was on his part can be appreciated only if one knows the following. Ordinarily, a judge's recommendation about his attitude to paroling a prisoner is not solicited by the Department of Justice until the prisoner actually comes up for parole. In the case of Sobell, this would have been after ten years' imprisonment, that is, in 1961. By that time, the cold war atmosphere may have changed. The judge conceivably might have mellowed, might have come from under the pressure of the hysteria in which the trial was conducted, the prisoner could have by his exemplary behavior won some grace, the condition of the wife and two children, and the aged parents of Sobell—all these might in 1961 have moved Kaufman to recommend parole. At least judges are not supposed to decide at the time of sentencing what their parole recommendation is to be ten years later. But Kaufman could not, would not, wait, and *gratuitously* made his recommendation against parole right in the very heat of battle. So the Sobell case

closed in this court on this unexpected note of savagery.

But it should also be noted that the Sobell case began in illegality and savagery. As was pointed out in the article in *JEWISH LIFE* last month, Sobell and his family had been vacationing in Mexico. In August 1950, Sobell was kidnapped by the FBI and deposited at the border.

At the trial, Prosecutor Irving Saypol, in his summation to the jury, stated it this way: "The FBI caught up with him and brought him back. . . ." (*Transcript of Record*, p. 1534.) How they did it is told by Morton Sobell in the following affidavit, of which we give the full text.

The Sobell Affidavit:

Morton Sobell, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am one of the defendants herein and I make this affidavit in the interest of justice and in furtherance of my rights as an American born and brought up in this country.

On Wednesday, August 16, 1950, at about 8:00 P.M. we had just finished our dinner in our apartment in Mexico City in the United States of Mexico, and while my wife and I were lingering over our coffee, there was a knock on the door. My older daughter opened the door and three men burst into the room with drawn guns and bodies poised for shooting; these men did not ask my name, did not say what they wanted. I demanded to see a warrant or some other legal process. No reply, except some vague charge that I was one "Johnny Jones" and that I robbed a bank in Acapulco in the sum of \$15,000.00 was made. Of course, I vehemently denied the charge and tried to show them my papers, visas, etc., to prove that I was no bank robber.

One of the men showed a piece of metal in his hand and said they were police. They were dressed in civilian clothes. A fourth man came later. He also was in civilian clothes.

Only about 10 minutes lapsed from the time that they came till they hustled me out, and that was after I insisted on calling the American Embassy; but without being permitted to do so.

They picked me up bodily and carried me down from the fourth floor to the ground floor. In the street I kept shouting for the police. A taxi was hailed and they opened the door; tried to force me into the taxi; when two more men came in and beat me over the head with black jacks until I lost consciousness. I woke up in the taxi and I was stretched horizontally at the feet of the three men.

When the car stopped in front of a building, they ordered me to get up; they told me to get into the building, but not to make a scene or they would plug me. We walked to the elevator; we went upstairs and we went into an office. They sat me down and a slim, tall, dark man came over, he looked at me. I asked him what it was all about. He slapped me in the face and told me that they were the ones that were asking questions. At that point I discovered that my head was bloody and my shirt bespattered with blood. However, they asked me no questions, but they photographed me in several poses. We spent in that building from approximately 8:30 P.M. till 4:00 A.M. At 12:00 midnight, they offered me something to eat; but I had no appetite for food. During all the time no one questioned me. Some persons who identified themselves as officers to guard me chatted with me but expressed ignorance of the reason I was there.

At 4:00 A.M. I was moved into a large four-door Packard and seated in the rear with two armed men, one on each side of me. At that moment, the same tall, thin man came to the door and spoke to my guards in English saying to them "if he makes any trouble, shoot him."

The driver of the car, who apparently was the leader of the expedition and who answered to the name of "Julio" told me that they were taking me to the chief of the Mexican police for further action. With a number of stops for one reason or another, we drove on till about 6:00 P.M. At that time Julio tried to make a phone call, or he did make one, and he told me that he was trying to get the Chief of Police. The same thing happened at about 10:00 P.M., and at midnight, on August 17th, telling me that he was trying to make sure that the Chief of Police would be available. At about 1:30 we arrived at Nueva Lorado, we stopped in front of a building and Julio went into the building and returned in about ten minutes and told me that he had spoken to the chief and the chief told him to take me across the border and let me go.

We stopped at the Mexican customs on the Mexican side of the bridge, across the Rio Grande marking the border. No examination was made of my baggage and then we waited around in the car for about ten minutes. Julio returned and we started onward. When we reached the bridge, which as heretofore stated marks the boundary between the U.S.A. and Mexico, our car was flagged. We stopped and the front door opened. A man entered with a badge in his hand and stated that he was a United States agent and he remained in the car. When we arrived at the United States Customs I was directed to sign a card after they searched my baggage and myself. They handcuffed me and placed me in jail where I remained for five days, after which time I was taken to New York City.

MORTON SOBELL

April 4, 1951.

(*Transcript of Record*, Vol. I, book I, pp. 30-32.)

A Campaign for Sobell

When you down your horror at the brutality and illegality of this kidnap "arrest," you begin to wonder: why did

our government use this method instead of the "due process" that would be required in normal circumstances? Why did not the government ask the Mexican authorities to arrest Sobell and then make the proper representations for extradition from Mexico to the United States?

Was our government afraid that the Mexican government would refuse to hand Sobell over formally and legally? Or was it rather that our government feared something else: that Sobell would not oppose extradition, would voluntarily return to face the charges and thereby deprive the prosecution of the issue they played up in the press and in the court: the alleged "flight" of Sobell to Mexico? Mexican patriots may well resent this FBI invasion of the territory and sovereignty of Mexico. And American patriots may well wonder at the illegal tactics used to bring Sobell back—to face one of the most vicious trials in the history of our country.

There can be no flagging in the fight to free Sobell. Since there is no date of execution against which to race, as there was in the Rosenberg situation, some may underestimate the urgency of the case. But in Alcatraz, known as the "Devil's Island" of the United States, Sobell lives in inhuman conditions. And a 30 year sentence is a sentence to a living death.

The campaign is under way. In San Francisco, a conference of 100 on July 19 mapped a plan of activity which included a full-page advertisement in a major newspaper sponsored by 1,000 signers contributing \$1 each to pay for the ad. The same day, in Los Angeles, over 1000 persons packed the Park Manor ballroom at a meeting which also undertook to work for freedom for Sobell. Among the speakers, it should be noted, was David Gruthman, president of the Southland Jewish Organization of Los Angeles.

Of course efforts are being made to enlist the aid of all those who in any way spoke up for the Rosenbergs, to take part in the Sobell campaign. Every newspaper, every columnist, every organization, every rabbi, every civic leader is being re-canvassed. But it is also possible to win to activity in behalf of Sobell many who, for one reason or another, did not lift a finger for the Rosenbergs. There are millions who now regret that they did nothing in that case. They can do something in the Sobell case. We shall be glad to publish reports from our readers of all activities, statements, petitions, meetings, etc. in this campaign. Particularly will we watch for signs that the trade union movement is awakening to its responsibility in the fight to free Sobell.

What You Can Do

1. Write or wire Attorney General Herbert Brownell not to oppose legal motions in behalf of Morton Sobell.
2. Attend and bring friends to Rosenberg Dedication Rally at Randall's Island Stadium (New York City), September 16, 7:30 P.M.
3. Bring facts of the Rosenberg-Sobell case to the American people with literature available at the Rosenberg Committee, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York City.
4. Send urgently needed funds to the Rosenberg Committee, 1050 Sixth Avenue, New York City.

THE "INDESTRUCTIBLE" PAIR

The published letters of the Rosenbergs show them to be deeply human people who grew in stature as they approached execution

A Book Review
By Alice Jerome

Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Jero Publishing Co., 401 Broadway, N. Y. C. \$1.00. All proceeds from sale of the book donated for the Rosenberg children.

IN THOSE bitter days of June many people were swept into the campaign to save the Rosenbergs and began to identify themselves with the doomed couple. There were so many possible points of closeness—as workers, as Jews, as members of an oppressed minority, as progressives—as women, or as mothers or fathers—as part of the same generation, inhabitants of the same city streets, products of the same public schools—as victims of political persecution. In how many different ways did people come to feel as they felt, locked up in the death house, to hold on to loved ones with the kind of desperate passion they must have known, to fear as they feared, to grow strong as they grew strong? This happened not only in New York, but also in Kansas, in Mexico, in France and Italy—all over the world. Little people felt themselves in them—on trial, framed, sentenced, jailed, maligned and executed. The grief expressed on June 19th and 21st and the weeks thereafter was deeply, sharply personal.

So in approaching their last writings, *The Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg*, it is hard to be objective. It is like reading one's own letters of another time, another life—the feelings are remembered and relived as one reads—the whole painful period is opened up again. Beginning when the Rosenbergs were first arrested, Julius in July 1950 and Ethel in August, the letters cover almost the entire three years, until March 1953. Most of them were written after the trial and brutal sentencing in March and April 1951. They record Ethel's transfer from the Women's House of Detention in New York City to the Sing Sing Death House immediately after sentence was passed, and Julius "joining" her there in May 1951, when he wrote with brave irony: "Honey, we have a license. We should be allowed to set up housekeeping here."

In July 1951, after a full year of separation, they were permitted the first visit with their two boys, then aged four and eight. Ethel planned presenting the situation to the children so as to be both honest and re-assuring. She wrote:

Alice Jerome is a New York teacher and housewife.

"Here is what I have been dreaming up as a sample of the conversation that may take place. I'm putting it in the form of a monologue:

"Of course, it's not easy to know about the death penalty and not worry about it sometimes, but let's look at it this way. We know that a car could strike us and kill us, but that doesn't mean we spend every minute being fearful about cars.

"You see, we are the very same people we ever were, except that our physical selves are housed under a different roof from yours. We feel bad that we are separated from you, but we also know that we are not guilty and that an injustice has been done to us by people—people who solved their own problems by lying about us."

But after the visit, she wrote her husband: "... I could howl like a she-animal who has had her young forcibly torn from her. How dared they, how dared they, the low, vile creatures, lay unclean hands upon our sacred family? And tell me, oh, my sister Americans, how long shall any of your husbands and children be safe if by your silence you permit this deed to go unchallenged?"

Two Years of Growth

It wasn't until August 1951 that the *National Guardian's* history-making articles began, exposing the Rosenberg frame-up as part of the drive to silence dissent from prevailing government views. In November, December 1951 and January 1952, *Jewish Life* further publicized the case. By November the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case was set up and public support began to grow. Help from outside was of tremendous importance to the morale of the couple in the death house.

Reading the letters carefully, one finds in their two writers a striking growth during these three years of pain and persecution. One finds new strength, reinforced understanding and greater confidence gathering in them as the movement outside grew and spread. At first the letters are an impassioned outcry—the two people are hurt, bewildered, almost lost, straining only for each other against their steel-barred isolation. This was during that terrible first year when, to the shame of progressives and organized labor, as well as others, very few were protesting this frame-up. Gradually, as word and evidence of

support came through from the world outside, the letters take on greater calm and the heightened courage of convictions confirmed through struggle for their cause. Thus, after the Circuit Court denied their appeal in March 1952, Julius wrote:

"It is good to know that even without the facts having been publicized, to any extent, the entire Jewish press was aghast at the brutal sentence. Now that the facts are being spread, ever wider groups of people will come to our support. It's tough, hard, and oh, so long—but it's the only road to vindication, and nothing less will do.

"You know, it's wonderful to see you feeling good. I watched your face as you were busy sopping up all the good news Manny was telling us, and it was beautiful. I, too, soared to new heights at the splendid work being done by our lawyer, the Committee, and the many decent human beings supporting our fight for justice. Keep your chin up, Ethel. If we must suffer through this nightmare, then the very manner in which we conduct ourselves will contribute to the general welfare of the people."

In October 1952 the Supreme Court refused to review the case, (actually the court as a whole never did read the record), and in February 1953 President Eisenhower refused clemency. By then the Rosenbergs had achieved the "courage, confidence and perspective" that was rock-like. Ethel wrote:

"... And on Sunday, December 21, 1952, I sat quietly in my cell 'listening' to the songs that close to 1000 people were singing in a heavy rain at Ossining Station (although I couldn't actually hear them) and feeling a calm and a safety and a spiritual bond that no deprivation, no loneliness, no danger, could shatter!"

Strength Through Understanding

If we ever doubt or question the value to the victims themselves of public protest against impending American fascism, here is our answer.

The letters show that the Rosenbergs grew in strength and stature also from the very tangible satisfaction involved in holding to their principles, in proving themselves—in Ethel's words—"indestructible." Neither appeals from the stoop-pigeon branch of her family, nor shady deals offered by high officials, nor any form of coercion could bring them to weaken or to lie. They achieved that serenity born of conflict which only comes when, as Barrows Dunham once expressed it, "We have bosomed ourselves upon the future, and in struggle we find peace." Julius wrote in March 1953:

"The real beauty of the good life is participating in the forward movement of humanity. The heritage of our Hebrew culture has served our people throughout the ages and we have learned its lessons well. It is part of us, in our blood, and we strive for a free, richer, and better life. What we are and what we have, no one can take from us, even though they keep us apart and threaten us with death."

Reading these pain-dipped pages to find further secrets of their heroism, one sees that the Rosenbergs had a clear understanding of history and of today's problems. This is the essence of their devotion to truth and their steadfastness. Innocent of espionage, innocent of atomic secrets—of course, they were; but more than just innocence was needed to withstand the wrack on which our sadistic government stretched them to frighten off opposition to war. This was an understanding of their Jewish working class background and their democratic American heritage; in them, both strands intertwined to make a sustaining rope that was cable-strong. In one letter, Julius described his childhood in the slum tenements of New York's East Side, and the struggles of his father, a garment worker and active unionist, to feed and clothe five children. He wrote: "As an American Jew with this background, it was natural that I should follow in the footsteps laid down by my heritage and seek to better the lot of the common man." In drawing from this past he answers the anti-Semites, who connived for his death, as well as those Jewish "leaders" who tried to deny the anti-Semitism involved.

In another letter he tells how as a high school senior he was drawn into the movement to free Tom Mooney, became one of many active anti-fascist students at New York City College and worked for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys. On his first job, clerking in a Harlem drugstore, he saw a middle-aged Negro who had been run over bleed to death waiting for the ambulance that took 45 minutes to answer an emergency call. He wrote (December 1952): "I had to mop up this man's life blood and I'll never forget this crime that permits such a thing to happen to a human being. . . . Can I now deny all these truths I know? Can I deny the principles that are so much a part of me?"

This love of people, this treasuring of every human life, this dedication to the cause of peace, was rewarded by death in U.S.A. 1953. But this death in turn awakened new love of people, new fight for life, new demands for an end to war throughout the world, reflected in the truce signed so soon after their execution. The Rosenbergs' love for each other and for their children, which fills this book, was part of their love for humanity. Here is the great unity between the personal and the social, from which we all can draw strength for the people's battles still to be won.

Julius wrote, near the end: "As for us, we are confident of the righteousness of our cause and we will not allow ourselves to be used as tools against the fight for peace, freedom and decency.

"Don't be too hasty, gentlemen, in pulling the switch. Remember, it's a two-way affair. The world is watching our government's action in this case and the conscience of men of goodwill is outraged. . . . Time is short. There are but ten more days left to live. I will do my best to crowd in as much work as possible."

For us who have so many more days to live, how much work for the vindication of these heroes of humanity can we crowd in?

THE SCHAPPES TESTIMONY

Defiance of the McCarthy Committee book-burners when they went gunning for the author of a work on American Jewish history

On April 2, our fellow editor, Morris U. Schappes, was summoned under subpoena before the McCarthy Committee. When he appeared before the committee, Mr. Schappes learned that the reason for his being called was the fact that his *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States, 1654-1875* was on the shelves of the United States Information Service Library in Tel Aviv. The day after Mr. Schappes was grilled, this book was removed from the shelves in Tel Aviv.

Below are excerpts from the official transcript of the hearing. The full text is obtainable without charge from the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Operations, U.S. Senate, Part 2 of the Hearings on the "State Department Information Program—Information Centers."—Eds.

PRESENT: Senator Karl E. Mundt (Republican), South Dakota, and Senator John L. McClellan (Democrat), Arkansas.

Present also: Roy Cohn, chief counsel; Donald Surine, assistant counsel; Daniel G. Buckley, assistant counsel; and Ruth Young Watt, chief clerk. . . .

Senator Mundt. We want to get you identified. Your present place of employment?

Mr. Schappes. I am largely self-employed. I also have other employment, which I refuse to identify here, for the following reasons:

First I regard this inquiry as an invasion of freedom of mind, of scholarship, and of association, or, to put it more eloquently, as the American Association of University Professors on March 27 in its convention, as reported in the *Times* of March 28, said—

Senator Mundt. I think you should be addressing your complaint to another committee. We are not investigating that here. But if you have a statement to read, you may go ahead.

Mr. Schappes. I had no idea exactly what your purpose was, since the subpoena did not state what you were investigating me for. I should like to finish my reasons, if I may.

Senator Mundt. How long will it be?

Mr. Schappes. It will be very brief.

Senator Mundt. Go right ahead.

Mr. Schappes. This statement by the American Association of University Professors stated that: "Political misuse of legal devices, suppression of dissent, the banning and censorship of books, either because of their ideas or because

of what their authors believe, the boycotting of the creative mind—these and other methods of control are among the most dangerous enemies of a free society."

So, under the provisions of the first amendment to the Constitution, which guaranteed freedom of mind, scholarship and association, that is my first reason.

My second reason is that this inquiry exceeds the powers of Congress, because it invades certain rights constitutionally reserved to the people of our country under the ninth and tenth amendments to our Constitution.

And the third and last reason that I refuse to answer is under my privilege under the fifth amendment, not to be compelled to be a witness against myself.

I want to say that this is a privilege for the benefit of the innocent as well as for the guilty, and that no imputation of guilt can properly be inferred from my claim under this fifth amendment. . . .

[For a brilliant analysis of the history and meaning of the fifth amendment, see the article, "Does Silence Mean Guilt?" by Norman Redlich and Laurent B. Frantz in *The Nation*, June 6, 1953, also available as a 10c reprint from *The Nation*, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.—M. U. S.]

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Chairman, first I would ask Mr. Surine if he can tell us whether any works by this witness, Mr. Schappes, were in use by the State Department information program as of March 15, 1953.

Mr. Surine. In a book entitled *Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, written by this witness, as of March 15 of 1953, our information shows that it is being used in the program at Tel Aviv. We do not have the full details as to the other places in various parts of the world where it may be used.

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call your attention to the fact that this book was published in the year 1950. It is entitled, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, by this witness, and was published in the year 1950, and it was in use as of March 15 in Tel Aviv.

Senator Mundt. Who was the publisher?

Mr. Cohn. This was published by the Citadel Press, New York. Now, Mr. Schappes, when you wrote this book, which is in use in the State Department information center in Tel Aviv, Israel, this book entitled, *A Documentary History of the Jews in the United States*, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Schappes. I want to say, first that a revised second edition was published in 1952. That will complete your

record on the publication.

Mr. Cohn. There was a revised edition in 1952. All right, sir. Fine. Thank you. Now, the question is: In 1950 when the original edition was published, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Schappes. I refuse to answer that for the reason already stated. . . .

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Chairman, at this point I wonder if I might read one sentence each from two reviews of this book by responsible Jewish organizations in this country and then have the entire reviews made exhibits and attached to the record.

Senator Mundt. You may.

Mr. Cohn. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The first is a review by Prof. Ellis Rivkin, professor of Jewish history at the Hebrew Union College—Jewish Institute of Religion, in the *American Jewish Archives*, June 1952, in which Professor Rivkin states, concerning this book, on page 98—I see you have the review, Mr. Schappes, and you can follow me—in the second sentence from the bottom of the first paragraph on the page: “In this review an attempt has been made to show what the book really is, namely, an effort to win Jews over to the policies of the American Communist Party.” That is the sentence. Now, I would ask that the entire review, Mr. Chairman, be made an exhibit, attached to these hearings.

Senator Mundt. It will be marked as an exhibit and attached to the record. . . .

Mr. Schappes. May I, sir, also ask that as an exhibit my 11-page refutation of the entire review be incorporated into the record, also published in the same journal, the *American Jewish Archives* for January 1953?

Senator Mundt. That will be accepted as an exhibit. . . .

Mr. Cohn. I see. Now, Mr. Chairman, the next review is one by Nathan Schachner, editorial consultant of the American Jewish Committee and a well-known historian and himself the author of a number of books. Mr. Schachner states this in his review, which I ask be made an exhibit. I will just read one sentence.

Mr. Schappes. Where was that review published, sir?

Mr. Cohn. This was published by the American Jewish Committee. I have a copy here, and I would be glad to make it available to you.

Mr. Schachner states, in the second paragraph of his review, and I quote: “Mr. Schappes states frankly in his introduction that to him ‘history is not a toy but a tool.’ It is also ‘his aspiration that the tool be used well and often.’ And Mr. Schachner states that: The tool he uses happens to contribute to Communist ideology.” . . .

Mr. Schappes. I have a refutation and I want to make this point. First, that what counsel called a review never appeared in print. It was surreptitiously distributed in a mimeographed form widely but not through ordinary channels of scholarship, and it was refuted not by me—I didn’t need to stoop to this—but it was refuted in the *American Jewish Congress Weekly* of May 7, 1951, by the reviewer of that periodical under the title: “Distorted Literary Criticism.” I ask for permission to enter this.

Senator Mundt. What is the name of the reviewer?

Mr. Schappes. The reviewer’s name is Ward Moore, M-o-o-r-e. I should like to have this incorporated in the same way in which the other is. . . .

Senator Mundt. It will be accepted as an exhibit. . . .

Mr. Cohn. Now, Mr. Schappes, are you the Morris U. Schappes who was convicted of perjury in denying that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Schappes. I was convicted of perjury. I do not remember accurately, since this took place 12 years ago or more, what the four charges in the indictment were. . . .

[As a matter of fact, the four charges did not involve denial of membership in the Communist Party—M.U.S.]

Mr. Cohn. Did you serve a term in jail?

Mr. Schappes. I served 13½ months in prison. . . .

Mr. Cohn. For what?

Mr. Schappes. Well, there was a witch-hunt on a State scale going on— . . .

Senator McClellan. You use the shopworn term “witch-hunt.” Since you do not remember, you say, what the charges were, can you give us your opinion on whether the witch-hunt in your case was successful or not?

Mr. Schappes. No, because there was on the faculty of City College, which was one of the targets of the witch-hunt, a Japanese agent, who was not uncovered by the witch-hunt, who was imprisoned on the initiative of the FBI after the witch-hunt closed and when the war began.

Senator McClellan. They missed him and found you? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. Schappes. I am saying this was a real witch-hunt, because it was not aimed at finding enemies of our country, such as this Japanese spy, but aimed at terrorizing teachers and impairing academic freedom and undermining the morale of the student body.

Senator McClellan. And it wound up finding you guilty of perjury?

Mr. Schappes. It wound up in much more disastrous consequences for the free educational system of our country.

Senator McClellan. And for you?

Mr. Schappes. For me it led to a prison term. . . .

Mr. Cohn. Do you persist in your refusal to tell us whether or not you, yourself, were a member of the American Communist Party at the time you wrote this book?

Mr. Schappes. I do.

Mr. Cohn. Now, are you a sponsor of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case?

Mr. Schappes. I refuse to answer that on the grounds stated, including the fifth amendment.

Senator Mundt. Is it your feeling, then, that to identify yourself with that committee might tend to incriminate you?

Mr. Schappes. I have stated my reasons. . . .

Mr. Schappes. I may say in elaboration on that that I have decided opinions about the injustice being done the Rosenbergs, in the sentences and in the questions about due process that have been raised by eminent scientists and others. . . .

Senator McClellan. I would like to ask the witness if he

regards international communism as a conspiracy.

Mr. Schappes. That is a loaded question. "International communism" is a loaded phrase. I have an opinion on it. In my opinion, communism is not a conspiracy.

Senator McClellan. You do not regard it as a conspiracy?

Mr. Schappes. No. I do not see how a movement which embraces hundreds of millions of people can be a conspiracy. Conspiracy implies a quantitative difference so vast that I cannot share your opinion.

Senator McClellan. There would have to be at least more than two people to conspire, would there not?

Mr. Schappes. But 800 million people or a billion people can't conspire.

Senator McClellan. You seem pretty well informed with it.

Mr. Schappes. I am a historian and writer by profession, sir.

Senator McClellan. You think 800 million people, of their own free will, have accepted international communism as a world ideology and philosophy? Do you believe that?

Mr. Schappes. I think there are—

Senator McClellan. Do you believe that? Answer my question.

Mr. Schappes. I am answering the question, sir.

Senator McClellan. All right, do you believe that 800 million people have freely accepted international communism as an ideology and philosophy?

Mr. Schappes. I believe that there are hundreds of millions of people who are freely, and to a large extent, with increasing prosperity and happiness, living under socialism.

Senator McClellan. You have not answered my question. Do you believe what I have asked?

Mr. Schappes. Your question is stated in such a prejudiced way.

Senator McClellan. Well, I used your words. You said 800 million.

Mr. Schappes. Well, I am using my words, and you want to straitjacket me to using your words.

Senator McClellan. Have these 800 million people voluntarily and of their own free will accepted it?

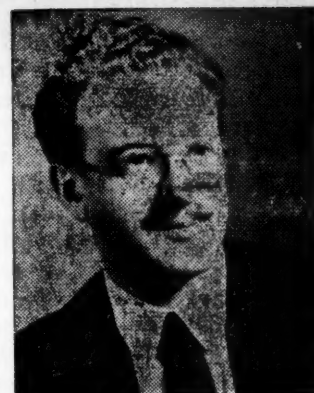
Mr. Schappes. I believe that these people have voluntarily and of their own free will determined how they are going to live, and they are abiding by that decision, despite the cold war propaganda and all of its "project X's" and other attempts to change their way of life for them. . . .

Senator Mundt. I presume you believe in the doctrine that majority rules, so how many of these 800 million people would you feel are Communists and have anything to say in the government in their area?

Mr. Schappes. Oh, I think they have a great deal to say as citizens of those countries.

Senator Mundt. About how many would you say are members of the majority Communist Party?

Mr. Schappes. I think your question is misleading, because if I were to ascertain how many members there are of the Republican Party, certainly it would not equal the electoral vote of the Republican Party. Therefore, membership and support of a party are two obviously different matters.



Morris U. Schappes

Senator Mundt. All right. I will grant that the Republican Party tries and sometimes succeeds in wooing some Democratic votes and some independent votes. But that still does not answer my question about how many of these 800 million you believe belong to this majority party.

Mr. Schappes. That is a question of fact and not one of belief. I don't have the facts at my fingers.

Senator Mundt. Let me tell you, sir, that the last time I asked that question of a man in a position to know, it was asked in the Kremlin of a man by the name of Andrei Vishinsky who did not stand on the fifth amendment, because they did not have such an amendment over there, as they do not have a bill of rights over there.

I asked him the question, and he did not stand on his privilege, and he said there were 5 million Communists. That was in 1945. You would say that has grown to 800 million people, I suppose, because they control 800 million people. How far do you think they have expanded from that 5 million?

[Pravda, on July 13, 1953, gave the membership figure as 7,000,000. Incidentally, Senator Mundt's statement that there is no Bill of Rights in the Soviet Constitution is indicative either of elementary ignorance or habitual distortion of simple facts.—M.U.S.]

Mr. Schappes. I have no such belief as you imputed to me, sir. If we were to add the total number of members of the Democratic and Republican Parties, the parties which have ruled our country now for some 28 or 30 years, I don't know whether the percentage of members of both the Democratic and Republican Parties would be smaller or larger, but there would not be a great difference between that and the proportion that are members of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

Senator Mundt. Let me see if I understand your answer. Your answer is that you believe that the number of Communists in the Soviet Union percentagewise is substantially the same as either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party of this country, where they are pretty evenly divided.

Mr. Schappes. Both, I would say. They are substantially the same as both the Democratic and Republican Parties, more or less. It might be a million or two one way or the other. But the important point, if we are not to quibble—

Senator Mundt. However, I asked Andrei Vishinsky, a

pretty well-known Communist, and he said 5 million.

Mr. Schappes. Well, accepting that figure, I don't know whether there are in this country now 5 million members, not voters supporting but members, of both the Democratic and the Republican Parties. I don't know. If you know, sir, you are a Republican, I assume—

Senator Mundt. I can assure you that the registration figures of either party are a great many times over 5 million.

Mr. Schappes. Is registration the same as membership, sir?

Senator Mundt. Correct.

Mr. Schappes. It is?

Senator Mundt. Correct. Because you register that you are a member of the party.

Mr. Schappes. If you are correct, then I have added to my fund of knowledge about this. But are you sure that a person who registers Republican is a dues-paying Republican, a card-carrying Republican?

[The last sentence corrects the inaccurate version in the printed record.—M.U.S.]

Senator Mundt. I suggest you continue to learn something about our American system.

Mr. Schappes. My mind is open to learn. I wish you were, sir. . . .

[At this point Mr. Schappes finally was given permission to read his prepared statement, the full text of which was published in JEWISH LIFE, May 1953.—M.U.S.]

Senator Mundt. In that statement, you made some protestations of being a loyal American. At the time you wrote it, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Schappes. I refuse to answer that question, on the grounds stated. . . .

Senator Mundt. Is it your contention that a man can be a loyal American and a member of the Communist Party at the same time?

Mr. Schappes. In my opinion, that is possible; yes.

Senator Mundt. You think that is possible?

Mr. Schappes. Yes. I believe that our Constitution provides for differences of opinion.

Senator Mundt. Can you name any Communist who is a loyal American?

Mr. Schappes. I beg your pardon?

Senator Mundt. Could you name any Communist who is a loyal American? Your testimony is in direct conflict with the FBI.

Mr. Schappes. I suppose it is. The FBI is in direct conflict with a great many institutions of our country, including those protected by the first amendment.

Senator Mundt. This committee, and quite a few Americans, seems to think that the FBI's testimony might be better than yours on the subject, but if you can name some Communist who is a loyal American, I would like to have you name him.

Mr. Schappes. Well, if you will look up the record and find the names of those Communists who died in defense of our country and were honored by Congress and by other institutions, legal, legislative, executive, military, for their services to this country, services that went back to the Civil

War, when Communists fought in this country on the Union side, when officers, including officers of the rank of general, who were Communists, were officers of the Union Army, I think you can find adequate substantiation indeed in the records of our government that Communists have been and therefore obviously can be loyal Americans.

Senator Mundt. You have claimed that you are a scholar. You have admitted that you are a historian. You have referred to yourself as a great writer.

Mr. Schappes. I would not be so immodest, sir, as to refer to myself as a great writer.

Senator Mundt. Well, to your book as a great piece of writing. Let us put it that way.

Mr. Schappes. Your sarcasm is really petty, sir. Don't you think so?

Senator Mundt. I did not think it was sarcastic. I thought it was a statement of the facts.

Mr. Schappes. Your tone belies you, sir.

Senator Mundt. Very well. The point I am trying to make: Having studied so much about the records of this country, can you give the name of a Communist who was a loyal American citizen? You still have not named any.

Mr. Schappes. Well, I can think of Maj. Gen. Joseph Weydemeyer, who fought in the Union Army. I can think of Capt. Herman Boettcher.

Senator Mundt. All right. Let us think of somebody who since 1917 has been a Communist, at the time that the Communist apparatus took over Russia and changed its whole procedure from the doctrine of the original *Communist Manifesto*.

Mr. Schappes. Capt. Herman Boettcher was killed in World War II and was decorated by our government. I think he got a Congressional Medal of Honor. I am not certain of that, sir, but I think so.

Senator Mundt. And he was a Communist.

Mr. Schappes. And he was a Communist.

Senator Mundt. All right. Can you give us some more names? Let us bring it up to date now. Can you think of a present-day Communist—

Mr. Schappes. My statement would include all those now living.

Senator Mundt. You mean the top echelon leaders who are now in the Federal penitentiary?

Mr. Schappes. I have no reason to believe that they are not loyal Americans. I have reason to believe to the contrary. I know, for example, that some of them were also decorated by our government for distinguished service in World War II. . . .

Mr. Cohn. Mr. Chairman, just before we begin Miss Lumpkin's testimony, I want to say that a responsible Jewish organization, the American Jewish Committee, has supplied us with a list of books covering exactly the same subject matter as that written by Mr. Schappes, and I ask that that be attached as an exhibit to this record.

After that we can forward it to the State Department, and maybe they can look at some of those books and see if they would not better suit this particular purpose. . . .

Senator Mundt. That will be done. . . .

THE LIFE OF JEWS IN SOFIA

The following report on Jewish life in Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria, was written by a correspondent of the London Jewish Chronicle and appeared in the July 10 issue of the paper.—Eds.

Sofia
There are at present 4,200 Jews in Sofia, most of whom take an active part in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

Jews in Bulgaria enjoy equality with other citizens and they play a prominent part in all facets of the country's life. Among those awarded labor prizes for participating in the construction of the youngest Bulgarian industrial city—Dimitrovgrad—were three Jews: Friedrich Nussan, Salomon Benjosef, and Eshya Aji. Angel Wagenstein and Chaim Oliver, script writers of the Bulgarian feature film *This Land of Ours*, were decorated with high Dimitrov awards. The play *Sparks in the Night* by Armand Baruch, is performed on the stage of the Sofia National Theater, the producer being

Mois Beniesh, a graduate of dramatic art in the Soviet Union.

The Sofia Jewish municipality has for four years maintained a hostel for 55 youth—Jews from provincial towns.

The summer camp in the Boikovo village, by Plovdiv, is well organized and last year 135 children—105 from Sofia—spent their summer holiday there. Besides the Boikovo camp, a pioneers' camp in the Black Sea resort of Varna (a youth organization for children from eight to 14 years of age) will be set up, where 30 children from Sofia will send their summer vacation.

The weekly nursery "Anni Ventura," housed in the Jewish municipality building in Sofia's Lozenetz city quarter, has been functioning for six years. It accommodates 50 children.

Seventy-two needy Jewish families have been assisted by the Jewish municipality and 80 people granted individual aid.

The Jewish municipality assist sick people and invalids as well as Jews who

have lost their working efficiency.

The cultural activity of the Jewish municipality is conducted through the Central Jewish Cultural Club in Sofia, founded in 1949. The 92 "nights of culture," held so far by the Central Club, have attracted great interest. There have been occasions when 800 people have been present.

The central Jewish Club has a large building where the visitors have at their disposal all Sofia newspapers and magazines, foreign newspapers and periodicals. There are also indoor recreational facilities.

Another cultural center is the Jewish People's Reading Club, "Emil Shekerdjiisky." It has a library of 15,000 volumes and 120 books are handed daily to the reading public. There is a reading-room open throughout the day.

The club conducts literary discussions and organizes courses in the Russian language. It has a choir and a dramatic section. The Jewish municipality subsidizes the club.

The annual budget of the Central Jewish Consistory and of the Jewish Sofia municipality amounts to 50,000 pounds.

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Letters from Readers

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The article, "Songs of Yiddish Labor Poets" by Ruth Rubin in the May issue was excellent.

For a person like myself, who knows almost nothing of the Jewish people after biblical times (Talmud Torah level), the article was like an oasis in an empty desert. I hope more people know of these artists, especially the youth, as well as non-Jews.

As a young and active trade union member in the electrical manufacturing industry I am very interested in the contribution Jewish people have and are making in building unions. (Are there any Jewish steel workers?)

I think that many young Jewish people have little or no knowledge of what our people have contributed to the labor movement. Are there any poets, writers and composers writing about what working people have here and also dealing with conditions Jewish people have, as well as what they are doing in the unions of 1953? For as much as I appreciate Winchevsky's poetry, he is in my grandparents' generation (though many things and essentially the main points are still true).

Could you serialize in future issues the history of the modern Jew (18th century and on) as well as have material on working Jews of today? We need our artists, composers, writers and poets not just because culture is enjoyable, but because it is needed. Please aim especially for the young Jewish person who more often than not knows no Yiddish or Hebrew and aim particularly for working Jewish people.

Thanks and good luck in producing such a good magazine as JEWISH LIFE is.

A YOUNG ELECTRICAL WORKER
Bronx, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Harap:

I am writing you on behalf of the *Vochenblatt* editorial board to tell you how

proud and cheered progressive Jewish Canadians were by your courageous stand before the McCarthy witch-hunters. Many people here in Canada who read of or saw the proceedings on television commented on the dignity of your manner before that foul body of inquisitors, which symbolizes for us everything that is truly un-American.

ALLAN SCHWAM
English Editor,
Canadian Jewish Weekly
(*Vochenblatt*)

Toronto, Canada

MASSES & MAINSTREAM

AUGUST, 1953

Book Burning: Yesterday and The Book Burners Today	Herbert Aptbecker
A Trap for Intellectuals	Angus Cameron
The Freedom to Read	
Banned, Branded, Burned	
King Bradley and the Sons of Daniel Boone	Joseph North
The Rosenbergs: Three Poems	Martha Miller
In Memoriam	R. Brandsteb
Epitaph	
Elegy for Two Who Were Murdered	A. B. Magil
Charles White: Beauty and Strength	Philip Evergood
In Praise of History (poem)	Charles Humboldt
The Living Lorca	George Leeson
Right Face	
Books in Review	
Letters to Americans: 1848, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels	Dorsey Wilkerson
Death House Letters, by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg	Shirley Graham
The Cotton Kingdom, by Frederick Law Olmsted	Elizabeth Lawton

I SEE, I HEAR, I SPEAK THE ROSENBERGS!

By Edith Segal

Whatever I see
I see The Rosenbergs

lying in their coffins
side by side

lying in their coffins
groom and bride

the veil of white
upon her youthful face

their dignity
no torture could erase

Whatever I hear
I hear the Rosenbergs

"Take my hand, dear Ethel,"
"Take my hand, dear Julius,"

"Our marriage vow is sealed
with our last breath

"We have loved
and we have honored until death!"

Whatever I speak
I speak The Rosenbergs

I answer to the question
"How are you?"

"I live—
yet the Rosenbergs are dead!"

A million times a day
it must be said

'till out of the caves of shame
America awakes to vindicate
their name!

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FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

White, executive secretary of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, who called the selection "shocking"; American Jewish Congress and Jewish Labor Committee; Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers Union; Americans for Democratic Action; the Urban League; United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) and many others.

Charges of racism were preferred early in August by two top officers of the United Packinghouse Workers (CIO) against A. O. McKinney, director of the union's eight-state Southern district. McKinney was charged after an investigation of sabotaging the union's anti-discrimination program and imposing Jim-crow practices in his district. He is subject to trial by the union.

Fascist mobs at times numbering 2,000 besieged a Chicago federal housing project, Trumbull Park Homes, after rental to a Negro family. The area was patrolled by 750 police and a number of the racist mobsters were arrested. In another racist outbreak less than a mile away, a Negro family was forced out of their home. Rabbi Elliott Einhorn, of the Congregation Kehillath Israel Synagogue, had his home stoned because he publicly announced his support of the Negro family.

Among the numerous organizations that participated in the successful fight to defeat the fascist-like Broyles bills in Illinois recently were local branches of the American Jewish Congress and Hadassah.

Forty Pennsylvania organizations, including many Negro, Jewish, church and labor groups, charged late in July that the public would hold two state senate leaders responsible for defeat of an FEPC bill in the legislature.

EUROPE

A number of Jewish youth from many countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania and many more of the 70 countries represented, attended the Youth Festival in Bucharest in August. A number of Jewish youth from both eastern and western countries won Festival prizes in literature, music and art. The Polish delegation, which contained the largest number of Jewish youth, organized a conference on common problems for the Jewish youth.

The one Yiddish newspaper now being published in Poland (*Folksstimme*), wrote A. Harkavi in the London *Jewish Chronicle* of July 24, "gives ample and convincing evidence of the existence of a pulsating Jewish cultural life. Almost every day the paper carries announcements of Jewish cultural activities—lectures, meetings, concerts, exhibitions, theatrical performances and frequently also Jewish conferences, congresses, anniversaries—large gatherings, showing the great attraction these events still have for the community."

Three Jewish workers were among those given prizes for outstanding work in Dzhembitz, Poland, late in July. The noted Yiddish poet Binem Heller was also given an award by the Polish Parliament.

All the fantastic rumors about Anna Pauker, deposed former foreign minister of Rumania, including those of her death, were put to rest at a press conference attended by visiting American newsmen in Bucharest on August 10 given by Grigoire Preotesa, Rumanian deputy foreign minister. Mrs. Pauker, he said, has not been arrested and is living in Bucharest.

A Synagogue in Halle, East Germany, was dedicated early in August in the presence of Otto Nuschke, deputy minister-president in charge of church affairs.

Many nazis have been nominated for the West German Bundestag in the forthcoming elections. Some are nominees of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party. The neo-nazi Reich Party has nominated Dr. Werner Neumann, former state secretary in the nazi propaganda ministry, who was released early in August after being jailed as a nazi plotter against the Bonn regime.

ISRAEL

Israel will receive \$65,000,000 in Mutual Security aid funds this year. . . . On July 24, Israel was notified by the State Department that her request for a \$75,000,000 loan to be used to pay off interest and short term obligations on other loans, thus converting them into long-term debts to the United States, was rejected.

The ruling Mapai and General Zionist Parties are taking a leaf from the Italian and French regimes and are planning to propose an election measure which would prevent small parties which receive less

than ten per cent of the vote from winning any representation in the Knesset.

Since the Histadrut opened its rolls to membership to Arabs, 10,000 Arabs have enrolled. Included are several hundred from the progressive Arab Workers Congress, which dissolved early in August. (Arabs do not have all the privileges of Jewish members in the Histadrut even yet.)

The Histadrut membership, including housewives, was 472,251 on January 1, an increase of 16,950 over the previous year. The Histadrut membership is now 45 per cent of the country's population.

A number of Israeli youths attended the Youth Festival in Bucharest in August.

A report on immigration presented on July 2 to the plenary session of the Jewish Agency by Itzhak Raphael, head of the immigration department, revealed that 9,000 immigrants had entered Israel in the previous nine months.

A joint declaration was issued late in July by the Communist Party of Israel and Dr. Moshe Sneh's new Left Socialist Party pledging unity of action against the Ben Gurion regime. They called that government as that of the big bourgeoisie and opposed to the interests of the people, against national independence, and against democracy and peace.

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