

# 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*

**T**HE 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."