

BONN PACT AND WAR DANGER

**ANTI-SEMITISM ON DP TRANSPORTS** 

THE "CRIMES" OF JACK SCHNEIDER

ARAB WORKERS IN ISRAEL

THIRTY YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE

SONGS OF MY CHOICE

by Gerhard Hagelberg

by Theodore Jacobs

by Miriam Kolkin

by Salim Quasim

by Morris U. Schappes

poems by Abraham Rosenfeld

#### From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

AT HOME

Resistance news . . . Rep. Emanuel Celler (D., NY) said "I am unalterably opposed to the Smith act (of 1940) and will work and vote for its repeal," in a letter in June to John Masso, secretary of the Trade Union Committee to Repeal the Smith Act. . . . The Jewish War Veterans sent a protest early in July to the State Department against the recently announced decision to exhibit the pro-nazi Hollywood film, Desert Fox, in West Germany. . . . The B'nai B'rith Messenger, Los Angeles weekly, editorialized on June 6 against "a growing censorship of school and college textbooks." The paper called increased school seats and more teachers "a futile gesture" "if the threat of thought control in the public schools becomes a reality." . . . Jacob Potofsky, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, warned in a speech at Grand Rapids, Mich., in June before the United Fur-niture Workers Union convention that big business forces and their agents were planning to smash the labor movement and will try to pass laws after the elections that would make trade unions ineffectual. . . . Among the signers of a letter to the platform committees of both major parties urging inclusion of "a plank calling for the repeal of the McCarran act" were Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Dr. Robert Gordis, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Rabbi Leo Jung, of New York City. The letter was initiated by the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act.

The annual convention of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People was held in Oklahoma City the last week in June. The annual report stated that "Cases involving the violation of Negroes' rights in 1951 were probably more shocking than during any other year in recent history." The NAACP's legal department this year will emphasize the legal and legislative fight against segregation in public recreation facilities and in transportation. The Spingarn Medal for the year was awarded to Mrs. Rosa Moore, 69-year old mother of Harry T. Moore, victim of the Florida terrorist bombing.

Immediate reinstatement of the three doctors dismissed from the Los Angeles Cedars of Lebanon Hospital last December 28 for political reasons, was the demand of 1600 people who attended a pro-

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test mass meeting against the firings on June 26 at Los Angeles.

A survey of the winners of New York state's medical scholarships conducted by the American Jewish Congress and the New York State Committee on Equality in Education and issued on June 16, showed that the Jewish winners were only half as successful in applications to the nine medical schools in the state as the non-Jewish winners. Most discriminatory were the Cornell Medical School and New York Medical College while the best records were those of Long Island University Medical School and New York University. This discriminatory situation exists despite its outlawing by the New York State Fair Educational Practices Act of 1948.

Anti-Semitism in Canada . . . A "flood" of anti-Semitic literature originating in California is being re-mailed from Ottawa, charged Mayor Marjorie Whiton of Ottawa in June. She urged the Canadian government to take action to stop the flow of filth. . . The anti-Semitic British film Oliver Twist re-opened in Toronto in June. . . Twenty-four tombstones in the Lambton Cemetery in Toronto used by 16 Jewish organizations, were desecrated in mid-June. Damage is estimated at about \$8,000.

A secret international conference of racists and anti-Semites was held in Chicago early in July at the same time as the Republican Convention. Among those present was said to be Einar Aberg, (Continued on page 32)

## FROM MONTH TO MONTH

### **ISSUES OF THE ELECTIONS**

THE dust has cleared over the Republican scuffle for power at this writing and the Democratic show is yet to come. The basic situation and issues remained unchanged nor can we expect any change after the Democratic convention. The bipartisan policy of preparing and provoking war continues, whether it will be executed by Eisenhower or a more liberal-sounding Democrat. The significant choice of Senator Richard M. Nixon, of California, as vice-presidential nominee, marks the Republicans' official embracing of McCarthyism. The Republican platform contained no surprise either: despite the obfuscating verbiage, it pledges continuation of pro-war policies in both Europe and Asia; it remains squarely anti-labor in its total endorsement of Taft-Hartley; it capitulates to the Dixiecrats in its opposition to compulsory federal FEPC, and reiterates McCarthyism and its reactionary position on all issues. We may expect the Democratic platform to differ only in more skillful concessions in words to labor and the Negro people.

In an important sense, the candidacy of Eisenhower and Nixon constitutes the essence of the platform: the road to war in Europe and Asia and the road to fascism at home. Yet the Republican platform had to toy with the profound and growing disquiet of the labor movement and the masses of the people at the disastrous policies of war preparations and depression of living standards in the name of preserving the American "way of life." The people want peace and they are not deceived by talk of the "national emergency," as the great steel strike shows. And so we have such interesting demagogic statements in the Republican platform as these: the Democrats have "created . . . planned emergencies and war crises. . . . They have plunged us into war in Korea without the consent of our citizens through their authorized representatives in Congress." (As though the Republican Dulles had not been a partner in the Korean enterprise!) And the Republicans finally declare: "The supreme goal of our foreign policy will be an honorable and just peace. We dedicate ourselves to wage peace and to win it." But their "road to peace" is by way of invasion of Manchuria and a European war! And the Democratic platform will no doubt include its own far more demagogic recognition of the disquiet of the people.

There have been in recent months a number of major manifestations of growing popular uneasiness: dissatisfaction with the Korean war and desire for a truce; strikes, like that of the steel workers, in spite of intimidation on the spurious ground of "national emergency"; soft-pedalling of anti-communism at a number of major trade union conventions and resolutions favoring repeal of the Smith act; heightened struggle of the Negro people for FEPC as evidenced by the rejection by the National Association

of Colored People of all presidential candidates who have not come out in favor of federal FEPC.

There can be no doubt that on a national scale there is only one party that is responsive to these demands of the people and that is the Progressive Party, with its candidates Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass. Only the Progressive Party fights for a foreign policy that will not only end the Korean war, but that will promote negotiations among the five great powers for peace, and for a domestic policy that will fight for a compulsory FEPC and for the rights of the Negro people and will restore the rights of labor and our vanishing civil liberties. An effective election campaign can exert enormous effect on the major parties by throwing into the arena of discussion issues on which the people are demanding answers.

However, many who sincerely want peace and are appalled by McCarthyism are trying to find other ways of expressing the increasing disquiet of the people and of influencing national policy. They are fighting in the local and congressional electoral campaigns for progressive candidates, whether they run on major party tickets or on the Progressive Party ticket. In any case, it is essential that the trade unions and organizations of the people should wherever possible place the basic demands before each and every candidate of every party and try to get them to accept these demands as a condition of support. Over the country there are many localities where a strong fight can be put up by organized groups to push forward the central issues and cause local candidates to give ear to them. Effective mass pressure of this kind can extend into the halls of the next Congress.

Another important medium of local action is the support of Negro candidates on every electoral level. For the breakdown of Jimcrow in government representation is in itself a blow at reaction. And the demands of the people are given great impetus by the achievement of a representative voice by the militant Negro people.

In the Republican platform (and it is to be expected that the Democratic platform will follow suit) there are some glowing platitudes in the form of promises to the Jews. Both parties claim to be dedicated to the continuation of aid to Israel, and so forth. The purpose of these *phrases* is simply to get Jewish votes. The content of the policy that both parties have been pursuing with reference to Israel has been defined many times in Jewish Life: to integrate Israel ever more completely into Washington's war aims in the Middle East. This is one important reason why Jews will be turning to the Progressive Party to express the desire for a policy that can keep the American people, the people of the world and the State of Israel, out of war.

## **BONN PACT AND WAR DANGER**

Does the "contractual agreement" signed at Bonn further peace or bring war closer? The people all over the world are opposed to it

By Gerhard Hagelberg

ON July 1, the United States Senate ratified the "contractual agreement" with West Germany and the Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty concerning that country. A third pact, establishing a "European Defense Community" (EDC) with an army containing substantial German contingents, requires no American ratification since the United States is not a member of the "European community." It is the official boast that all three agreements are indivisible parts of a system of enabling acts to integrate a re-militarized West Germany into the EDC and NATO as a key partner. These treaties will not become fully operative until approved by 14 other countries. But the action of the Senate constitutes a turning point for the American people and American Jewry, in large majority uneasy about if not opposed to partnership with a renazified West Germany.

The haste with which the sponsors of the pact with West Germany seek to consummate their war plans is unmistakable. It was steamrollered through the Senate in an obvious attempt to use the American body as a whip to line up the recalcitrant West European and German parliaments. Even before this the New York Times of June 22 announced that about 30 German officers in civilian clothes would begin to participate in western military planning in Paris the following week. The garb of the officers is indicative of the illegality of their activity.

Government spokesmen acknowledge even with pride that the United States has taken the initiative over a hesitant Europe in bringing about these arrangements. Yet almost everyone agrees that West German remilitarization as part of NATO entails sponsoring the renazification of West Germany and presents inestimable dangers to the peace of the world and the security of the Jewish people. How then have we come to this?

#### Uneasiness of Jews

The Jewish people have a special responsibility in this whole matter, as was indicated in a Brooklyn Jewish Examiner editorial on June 6: "The 'contractual agreement' between West Germany and the western democracies, whereby the Reich assumes a place in the defensive structure against the Soviet bloc, is accompanied by frantic hosannahs of impending amity between Israel and the former home of Hitlerism....

"We are beginning to suspect that the whole scheme for the Israeli-German reparations deal was a gigantic public relations project to 'sell' a revived Germany to the Jewish people—and to the world. Obviously if the Jews, who suffered most from Hitlerism, can be 'convinced,' the rest of the population will more willingly accept the Vaterland into the family of nations and the moral case against Germany collapses."

How do we measure up to our responsibility? Despite popular uneasiness at German rearmament, a few American Jewish figures have expressed support of the Bonn war

Take Senator Herbert H. Lehman. Aware of the fears of the Jewish masses, he has lamely voiced the opinion that Western Germany is not "yet ready to assume the full obligations and responsibilities of equal partnership in a defensive alliance of the free world." Then he voted for ratification despite his "misgivings" because "we have no alternative." This is like saying that we have no choice but to take the road that may well lead to the gas chamber. Failure to mobilize the Jewish masses is undoubtedly at least partially responsible for Senator Lehman's vote. It is a deplorable fact that on June 17, the day for hearing non-governmental witnesses on the Bonn treaty before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, not a single Jewish organization appeared to testify.

Or take Rabbi Samuel Berliant, president of the Rabbinical Council of America, who before that body's annual convention on June 30 praised NATO as "an effective rallying point for waging continued moral warfare at home and abroad against forces seeking to enslave mankind." This, after the planners of NATO admit that it cannot exist without a West German army, which is a renazified army.

Or consider the stand of Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress. Of his communication to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Bonn pact, Ted O. Thackrey said in the New York Daily Compass of June 23: "Dr. Goldstein seems . . . to believe that the peace contract will be all right provided certain 'safeguards' against its possible evil consequences are somehow written into it."

The ambivalence of Messrs. Lehman and Goldstein is akin to the demagogy of the American Jewish Committee which, as editor J. I. Fishbein of the Chicago Sentinel

pointed out on June 12, "epitomizes the European concept of the Judenrat" and acts "as the 'Jewish Division,' of the State Department." The committee's latest study, Neo-Nazi and Nationalist Movements in West Germany, contains this classic sentence: "One must also recognize the fact that—desirable though it may be for other reasons—the drive the remilitarize Germany has given the military and neo-nazi groups a strong impetus." (Emphasis mine—G.H.) Of course, no effective opposition to the Bonn pact and West German remilitarization as part of NATO is possible when one accepts Washington's thesis of the necessity of NATO.

#### Meaning of the Agreement

Can the Jewish people accept the premise that NATO and the European Defense Community represent "a defensive alliance of the free world" in which West Germany is to have an "equal partnership"? No, for every element of this premise is dangerously false. What is the real situation?

The New York Times of June 1 summed up the effect of the Bonn pact and the EDC arrangement in the headline: "Now the U.S. Frontier is Fixed at the Elbe." Under the North Atlantic Treaty protocol the United States has been committed to regard as a threat to its own security any action, from whatever quarter, which threatens the integrity or unity of the EDC. Secretary of State Acheson testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 10 that a withdrawal by a future West German government from the EDC would be regarded as such an action affecting the security of the United States.

As the well-know foreign policy student, James P. Warburg, has pointed out, this goes far beyond earlier commitments. Now agreements have been made which the Republican columnist Walter Lippmann forecast on May 27 "can be carried out only if the United States makes a very considerably greater military and financial contribution than it is now making to the global alliance." The purpose of this contribution is to attempt to guarantee that Germany will not pull out of the EDC. What does this mean to Americans? It raises the prospect of being called upon, not to defend their country against any attacker, but to prevent a German government from pursuing a policy of peace in accordance with the wishes of the German people.

This analysis is supported by the fact that the Bonn pact in effect perpetuates the occupation of Germany under another name. American forces, together with those of Britain and France, are committed to remain indefinitely.

Most disturbing are the contents of Article V of the Bonn pact, which provide that the western powers may proclaim a state of emergency in West Germany not only in the case of an attack upon the Federal Republic or Berlin, but also in the event of any "subversion of the liberal, democratic basic order," "serious disturbance of public order" or "grave threat of any of these events." Moreover, independently of any such state of emergency, any military commander may

take immediate action, including the use of armed force, any time he thinks his troops are menaced.

#### Against German Self-Determination

What is the purpose of these provisions? It is well known that a serious revival of nazism has taken place in West Germany during the last seven years under the occupation and that the Bonn government itself is shot through with Hitlerites. Washington's anti-Soviet plans in fact require the fostering of such elements. These sweeping powers are thus not directed against the nazis. On the contrary, the only purpose of these provisions can be to provide for their protection in the event that the German people decide to throw them out of office.

Thus, America may wake up one morning to find that the blood of its sons is being shed to prevent a West German government from withdrawing from the EDC; or to suppress an attempt by the German people to replace the admittedly neo-fascist Adenauer government; or to support a provocation engineered by those elements in West Germany which seek the forceful overthrow of the East German government and recapture of the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse line. Army Chief of Staff General J. Lawton Collins himself admitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 13, that there "inevitably" will be a revival of the spirit of German imperialism if West Germany rearms and joins the EDC.

Nor can Americans ignore the fact that the Bonn pact is designed to prevent the reunification of Germany. Professor Karl Loewenstein, a consultant of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, pointed out in the Columbia Law Review of February 1952 that while the sacrifice of German unification for the integration of a truncated Germany with the west "may conform to the American policy of Soviet containment, it runs counter to the hopes and wishes of the vast majority of Germans on both sides of the border."

Add to this the fact that under the Bonn pact the foreign policy of West Germany is sought to be pre-determined under threat of western armed intervention and its internal affairs are subject to western martial law, and we have a true measure of the "equal partnership."

Peace in Europe, and the security of its Jewish communities, cannot be built on such foundations.

#### Spurious Threat of Soviet Aggression

Certain Jewish figures accept the view that the treaties are necessary to ward off an attack from the Soviet Union. Yet people in high places do not seem to take this alleged threat seriously. Senator Robert A. Taft declared in the Senate on January 5, 1951: "I do not myself see any conclusive evidence that the Russians expect to start a war with the United States." Walter Lippmann on June 3, 1952, asked "Why—with a ten to one superiority on the ground and control of the air over the battlefield, the Com-

munists have not yet overrun Western Europe?" He voiced the belief that the "true role" of western armed forces "is to reinforce the authority of the existing governments. , . . That they are also somewhat deterrent against outright invasion of the orthodox kind may be true. But that is an altogether secondary and incidental contribution to the general security of Europe." Finally, the Wall Street writer David Lawrence declared on June 17: "More armament is needed not so much to meet a Soviet threat of military operation, for that seems unlikely, but primarily to bolster the morale of the democratic peoples—to make them feel secure." State Department policy is to prepare to crush all people's movements in Europe as a prerequisite for attack on the Soviet Union.

This analysis is borne out by the situation in Berlin. According to the New York Times of May 20, there are now roughly 12,000 western troops in the city, about half of whom are American. It is obvious from this number that there is nothing to the allegation of a Soviet threat. As the Times hinted, the primary task of this force is rather to prevent the West Berliners themselves from effecting any change in the status of their city.

So much for the "defensive alliance of the free world." The doctrine of so-called "internal aggression" is developed by Lippmann and Lawrence for two reasons: (1) To provide a new rationale for the American occupation of Europe since the Soviet Union does not plan to play the aggressive role assigned to it by Washington; (2) to justify the protection of Wall Street's investments.

In the case of Germany, the second reason is particularly obvious. Western governments and private investors claim that West Germany is indebted to them for over \$6,000,000,000, the larger part of which is said to be owed to the United States. In addition, about \$750,000,000 of Western capital, 30 per cent of which is American, is invested in West German industry, particularly in those branches that stand to profit most from rearmament.

There figures go a long way to account for the reluctance of the western powers to withdraw from West Germany and agree to its reunification.

#### West German Opposition

The theory of "internal aggression" is also especially meaningful in connection with Germany in view of the fact that the strongest opposition to the Bonn pact continues to come from West Germany itself. What the New York Times described as "a startling turn" occurred on June 22, when Jakob Kaiser, Minister for All-German Affairs in Adenauer's cabinet and well-known for his anti-Soviet position, strongly demanded a four-power conference on Germany. Kaiser's sharp divergence from Adenauer's line was further pointed up by his statement that reunification would not include the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse border.

Open defiance by members of his own party, coming on top of the opposition of the Social Democratic Party, forced Adenauer on June 24 to accede to a delay until September of final consideration of the contractual agreement and the EDC pact by the Bonn parliament.

These few facts merely indicate the tide of resistance that is beginning to sweep West Germany. Many observers have long spoken of the possibility that the Adenauer government will be replaced at the next general elections in 1953. In any event, there is no question that even if the Bonn parliament approves the treaties, the German people will reject them. The provisions of the contractual agreement and the NATO protocol are neatly tailored to fit just this eventuality. And a doctrine of "internal aggression" has been invented to provide a theoretical justification.

In this situation, American Jewry is faced with the plain and pressing question: Are we who desire and need most desperately the democratic revival of Germany ready to aid in its repression?

According to Senator Lehman, we have no choice. Yet the history of the Jewish people shows that there is always an alternative to the road of the *Judenrat*.

Americans Jews can be among the leaders in organizing the repudiation of the Bonn and NATO agreements by the American people. They can help sound the alarm against the attacks planned by Washington on the German peace and reunification movement. They can and must make a most effective contribution to the establishment of a united, independent, democratic Germany through negotiations with the Soviet Union. That is the road to peace for all peoples, and for security of the Jews.

#### World Congress for Peace

VARIOUS Jewish spokesmen have expressed apprehension at the signing of the Bonn "contractual agreement" while West German renazification proceeds apace. Even more, it is clear that the signing of the agreement has accelerated this process. Thus Milton Friedman, Washington syndicated columnist of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency early in July called attention to the fact that "neo-nazis are more openly seeking to revive Reich nationalist extremism, including anti-Semitism, as the Senate ratified" the Bonn contract. And there is a direct connection between the two developments. The only decisive way to combat renazification is to support the movement for reunification of Germany on a democratic—that is, anti-fascist—basis.

A world movement exists to further this end. The World Peace Council, which met in Vienna in July to consider the new danger of war brought on by the Bonn pact signing, issued a statement in which it pledged itself to working for the convening of a four-power conference (United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union), "the object of which would be to take all decisions necessary for a peaceful solution of the German problem." The World Council called a World Peace Congress for December 5—a meeting of people's representatives from all over the world—to consider ways of making the people's demand for peace heard. The organizations of the Jewish people should join in this meeting for peace.

## **ANTI-SEMITISM ON DP TRANSPORTS**

Survivors of the death camps meet their torturers and rabid racists on board ship to America. A first hand account of treatment of Jews

By Theodore Jacobs

PRESIDENT Truman recently urged Congress to pass legislation, sponsored in the House by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY), admitting 300,000 more refugees to the United States within the next three years to help "innocent and unhappy victims of Communist oppression." The policy of throwing open our doors to anti-communist refugees is explained with patriotic fanfare as a means of strengthening democracy. These immigrants, we are told, are valuable allies in the defense of the "free world." But who are these allies who are supposed to "strengthen democracy"? This writer knows at first hand that the refugees so eagerly sought by the Truman administration and who in turn find the United States government's war program so attractive, include some of the worst anti-Semites and nazi collaborators in Europe.

We have already seen one strong indication of what the American people can expect from such immigrants. We refer to the anti-Semitism rampant on transports that brought into our country thousands of nazis among the 339,000 DP's admitted under the DP act that expired at the end of last year. The shocking story of anti-Semitism aboard the DP ships has been carefully hushed up. Hundreds of Jewish immigrants with whom I have spoken gave me eyewitness accounts of the abuse which Jewish DP's suffered at the hands of their pro-nazi fellow passengers. For every person who told me his or her experiences, there were countless others who confirmed these ordeals but were reluctant to give specific details for fear of reprisals from United States immigration authorities.

Picture the explosive situation that existed aboard the DP ships. Most of the Jewish immigrants had been in Hitler's concentration camps and almost every one of them lost some member of his family. Some had lost as many as 100 relatives at the hands of the nazi murderers and their quisling supporters. Whatever backgrounds these Jewish DP's had, there was a common bond among them—hatred of nazism. Their years of torture and struggle for survival and the death of six million of their people had taught them the meaning of anti-Semitism.

#### Open Door to Pro-Fascists

Entering our country together with these victims were DP's admitted under the provisions of legislation calling for the admission of 1) 18,000 members of the notoriously

anti-Semitic army of General Wladyslaw Anders, exiled Polish militarist responsible for the murder of thousands of Jews; 2) a total of 54,744 persons who were of German origin but who had lived outside of Germany (Volksdeutsche), most of whom had remained loyal to Hitler during the war; 3) 500 refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe imported in the "national interest" by the State Department and destined for use in Washington's military program; 4) thousands of other pronazis who had fled from Eastern Europe since the end of the war, and 5) 4,000 Chinese nationals who had found life safe enough under the corrupt government of Chiang Kai-shek, but had fled from the Chinese People's Republic.

"We were surrounded by our murderers," one Jewish DP told me. "All about us were the people who had participated in the slaughter of six million Jews and now they are going to America with us."

To make matters even more outrageous, officials of the now-defunct International Refugee Organization of the United Nations designated pro-fascist DP's to act as military police aboard the transports. Throughout the corridors of the DP ships Anders soldiers and other pro-nazis could be seen wearing military police (MP) arm bands and cockily policing the other passengers. They had authority, among other things, to withdraw mess hall cards for the slightest infraction and used that power, as the nazis had, to enforce every brutal whim. In this environment the Jewish immigrants fearfully learned that the horrors of the past years had not been left behind.

"I was in my little room," a tiny, frail woman in her seventies said to me, "when a Polish soldier entered with a pail of water and a scrub brush. He lay down in my bunk, began munching an apple and ordered, 'Jew, scrub the floor!' I was forced to get down on my knees and had to wash the floor while he taunted, 'You Jews are lazy. You don't like to work. But we'll teach you.'"

Another woman told me that one of the *Volksdeutsche* struck her across the mouth. An elderly man, who was ill, was forced by one of the military police to leave his bed and do a strenuous job with the threat of a beating if he did not obey. Another Jewish man told how he had been locked in his cabin for objecting to being pushed around.

"I was very seasick," one woman said, "and I had not eaten because I could not go to the mess hall. I asked my husband to bring me some food. After he had eaten and

was getting my meal, he was stopped by an MP. Although he explained that I was sick, the food was taken away from him and he was told, 'You Jews are greedy. You are not

going to steal any food here."

One favorite way of humiliating Jewish DP's was through use of the ship's newspapers. Jews were arrested and locked up during part of the voyage for minor infraction of the rules. Their names were singled out for listing in the paper with the "crimes" noted. Few non-Jews ever received such notoriety.

#### Finishing Hitler's Job

One day a middle-aged woman broke down and sobbed on the pier after she had disembarked. "I was sitting on deck," she related, "and two nazis walked by, deliberately talking loud enough for me to hear. One said, 'When we get to America, we are going to finish the job Hitler started. There are plenty of Jews in the United States and they should get what they deserve.'" Such threats were very common. "You escaped from Hitler, but you won't escape from us," was a frequent warning. (Apparently they have set out to make good on their threats. At the time of the synagogue bombings in Florida last year signs were discovered bearing swastikas and anti-Jewish slogans printed in German.)

At the end of one trip a 30-year-old man pointed out to me an immigrant from Yugoslavia. "See that man," he said. "I'll never forget him. Back in my home town when the Germans came, he had the job of sorting out the Jews and sending them to concentration camps. And do you see that suitcase he is carrying? That is the very same one he took from me when he sent me to the camp." At that moment a group of reporters were eagerly taking down the collaborator's comments on the danger of communism and how he had escaped. There were many similar incidents in which Jewish DP's pointed out immigrants whom they had recognized as nazi collaborators.

In addition to such specific incidents, there was a continuous undertone of general discrimination against the Jewish DP's. When they lined up for presentation of their documents, they were herded through like sheep. "Move ahead, faster!" the military police shouted. Being helped along with a shove was not infrequent. When a Jewish passenger was summoned to one of the offices and had to pass through the crowd, he was forced to battle his way through the hostile guards who challenged him at every step. Bearded orthodox Jews garbed in traditional raiment were singled out for special abuse and ridicule.

Let no one suppose that the anti-Semites practiced their brutality without the knowledge of their superiors. The commanders and officials of the transports, predominantly American personnel, knew very well what was going on. They had complete power to end it. Every movement of the collaborators was designed to win approval and curry favor from their American superiors, at whose feet they groveled. The United States personnel, imbued with feel-

ings of American superiority, showed little liking for any of the DP's. The Americans generally regarded the DP's as inferior and tolerated them only in so far as they could be of use. But for the Jews the officials had special disdain. "Look at those cute kids," I heard one officer say as he pointed toward two Jewish children. "It's too bad all of them aren't that young." However, such anti-Semitism did not prevail to any great extent among members of the crews. One woman told me how a Negro seaman had rescued her from abuse by an Anders soldier. Jewish seamen were particularly resentful at some of the things they saw.

#### Threat to America

Those DP's who tried to protest to I.R.O. officials were brushed off, often with further anti-Semitic insults. "You Jews are always stirring up trouble," one officer said. "You'd better get back to where you belong before I lock you up." Many immigrants witheld complaints for fear of reprisals and of being condemned as "communists."

Before Jewish DP's could get their visas, they had been put through security checks frightening in their detail while they saw collaborators and war criminals accepted on their anti-communist records. No clearer illustration of how this immigration policy worked could be provided than an incident that I witnessed when one ship docked. While the usual parade of pro-nazis disembarked without hindrance, a Jewish immigrant was held for questioning and sent to Ellis Island for detention. His crime was that he had fled to the Soviet Union from his native Poland to escape the invading nazis and had joined the Soviet army to fight back while the United States and the Soviet Union had been united in the war against fascism.

While the real victims of nazism were objects of dicrimination, thousands of Hitler's disciples poured into our land. Today plans are being made to import thousands more. It would be well for the Jewish people and Americans generally to pause and consider the comment that I heard from a Jewish DP on his arrival after experiencing the events on a DP transport: "I don't know what to think. All of this is what I had hoped to leave behind. I wanted to come to the United States because here, I was told, there would not be any anti-Semitism and I would find democracy. But what will life in America be like, if these are the people who are being brought here?"

#### Rabbis Call for Freedom

"THE greatest threat facing our democracy is from within in suppressing honest criticism of ideas and institutions," read a resolution passed unanimously on June 25 by the Rabbinical Assembly of America at its 55th annual convention in Chicago. The conservative rabbis voiced strong opposition to "assaults on academic freedom" and called upon the major political parties "to guarantee the civil rights and liberties of all our citizens."

## THE "CRIMES" OF JACK SCHNEIDER

His militant, uncompromising fight for the workers got him beatings and jailings many times and won him the confidence of the workers

By Miriam Kolkin

IN the winter of 1940 a fur manufacturer was on the witness stand in a federal courtroom in New York City. The government was prosecuting 25 leaders of the International Fur and Leather Workers on a trumped-up "anti-trust" indictment that had been kept in mothballs for nearly seven years. Among the defendants was Jack Schneider, assistant manager of New York Furriers Joint Council.

The employer, Frank Bader, was an extremely willing witness for the government. His voice shook with indignation when he spoke of Schneider, whom he repeatedly accused of "terrible crimes."

Then the prosecution pulled a boner. The government lawyer asked Bader to elaborate on Schneider's criminal activities.

Bader's pent-up grievances poured out in angry words. "Every time Jack Schneider came up to my place of business," he cried, "he asked for money." The courtroom mecame tense. The district attorney asked if Bader had ever uncovered a case of graft.

The judge leaned over and asked Bader what happened to the money. Was it for Schneider?

"Never," the boss lamely conceded. "He only wanted wage increases for the workers."

#### **Devoted Union Leader**

Schneider has been committing these "terrible crimes" for nearly 30 years, except for occasional periods in jail for union activities. Although the employers, gangsters, police and forces of law and order have alternately slugged, knifed and kidnapped him, tried unsuccessfully to bribe him, framed and imprisoned him, Schneider has found his "criminal" career highly rewarding.

Not in a monetary sense, of course. In an industry where the union has won wages as high as \$125 and more for a 35-hour week for some skilled workers. Schneider earns about \$100 a week although he occupies one of the most responsible posts in the labor movement. He travels to work by subway each morning from his modest Bronx apartment, where he lives with his wife and daughter, and arrives in the fur market at eight A.M., before the furriers' working day begins.

From then until nightfall, and frequently late into the

evening, Schneider is in and out of his third-floor office at the Council's building at 250 W. 26th street, personally settling grievances, attending policy meetings and handling the scores of trade union problems and activities that arise during an ordinary day. Since the Council's manager, Irving Potash, was jailed under the Smith act, Schneider and two other veteran union leaders, Joseph Winogradsky and Murray Brown, have constituted the managing committee for the Council and its 14,000 members.

Schneider's reward lies in the friendship and devotion of literally thousands of fur workers. An old-timer in the industry told me, "Jack always finds time for the individual worker. He listens to his problems and understands them."

Schneider's rather shabby wooden desk, piled high with papers, is pushed into one corner of his large, sparsely furnished office, leaving plenty of space for impromptu meetings. No secretary bars the way and rank-and-filers wander in and out freely.

In the elections held every two years by the Council, Schneider is invariably reelected to his post with the highest vote of anyone running for office. That means more to him than the high salaries, fancy expense accounts and thick-carpeted, modern decor offices that are the success trademarks of the "labor statesmen" in many AFL and CIO unions.

Organizing comes naturally to Schneider. In any story he relates, the key phrase that provides the turning point is likely to be, "and so we organized." It first appeared when he was telling me about his youth.

#### Fighting the Pogromists

Schneider was born of Jewish parents in 1897 in Faleshti, a small town in Bessarabia, a region which was to supply an unusually large number of future fur union leaders, including President Ben Gold, Winogradsky and Abe Feinglass.

Living near Kishinev, scene of one of tsarist Russia's worst pogroms, Schneider grew up in an atmosphere of strong Jewish nationalism. Like most of his boyhood friends, he was a Zionist and planned to go to Palestine. The outbreak of the first world war forced them to delay their plans.

When the revolution broke out in 1917, their town lay directly in the path of homeward bound Russian troops

who had deserted from the trenches along the Rumanian frontier. Word reached the local Jewish population that many of the soldiers were looting and killing Jews as they straggled home through the towns and villages.

"One day," Schneider recalls, "a company of these soldiers arrived in our town. They had guns and other weapons. They called all the Jews together in the synagogue, men, women and children, and threatened us with violence unless we handed over tobacco and food.

"The young people said, 'Let's not give in, let's organize to defend ourselves.' But the old folks counseled otherwise and got together a committee to collect what had been demanded by the soldiers. The ransom was turned over.

"In less than two hours the soldiers were back with more demands. This time they wanted jewelry, clothing and money. So the young people had their way after all. We refused and organized ourselves."

The Jews put up a house-to-house battle. Homemade knives and a few guns that had been carefully hidden away were their only weapons. The fighting went on throughout the night. Among those with whom he fought side by side that night, Schneider recalls, were his father, a bearded, devout man in his sixties, and one of his closest friends, Morris Pinchewsky, now an active rank-and-filer in the fur union.

A few Jewish soldiers who were with the troops came over to the side of the embattled townspeople. By morning, Jews from neighboring towns who had heard of the attack arrived on the scene and helped beat off the soldiers. The toll was several dead Jews, some looted shops, but the soldiers were gone. "It would have been much worse if we hadn't put up a fight," Schneider says.

#### A Year in Palestine

Later the Rumanian government occupied the section of Bessarabia where the Schneiders lived. Anti-Semitism grew even worse and living conditions became virtually unbearable. It was then that Schneider, his friend Pinchewsky, and 80 other youths said goodbye to their families and set out for Palestine.

"Five of us were well-to-do, five were poor, so we or-



Jack Schneider

ganized ourselves as a cooperative and shared whatever we had," Schneider said. It took them three months to get to Haifa.

Schneider spent a year in Palestine, working as a construction laborer and on farms. His hopes that the ten youths would be allowed to work together as a group in a cooperative were disappointed and the group was forced to split up. The labor movement in Palestine at that time was divided into bitterly contentious factions and Schneider was particularly upset at the pitting of Jewish workers against Arab workers.

Along with Pinchewsky and two others of the original group, he decided to migrate to America. An uncle in New York sent him fourth class passage money and Schneider sailed with his friends.

#### **Enters Fur Union**

He arrived in New York in March 1921, and set to work learning to be a fur cutter. Within several months he had plunged into union activity and from then on his life became completely intertwined with the bitter and frequently bloody struggles that built the furriers union.

The previous year, the workers represented by the Furriers New York Joint Board had been forced into a disastrous 30-week strike by the combination of rightwing Socialists and gangsters who controlled the union. The strike's end found only a few hundred members left in New York. Union control in the shops had disappeared, unemployment was widespread and scores of workers were facing prison terms.

Racketeers and petty thugs terrorized the industry, beating and robbing workers. "It took me several months to get into the union," Schneider recalls. "At that, I was lucky. Most of the workers had to pay \$200 and \$300 to get in."

He still vividly remembers the first union meeting he attended at Astoria Hall on East Fourth Street on the lower East Side.

"A worker took the floor to criticize the leadership and a bunch of gangsters surrounded him and began beating him up. This made a terrible impression on me. The next day the workers in my shop told me all about the graft and corruption in the union. It made me sick."

A few days later, Schneider saw a leaflet in the fur market, written in Yiddish and signed by a group of left-wingers. The contents, explaining the issues confronting the fur workers and offering a constructive program for improving conditions, instantly appealed to Schneider. As soon as possible he joined the rank-and-file organization, which was under the leadership of a remarkable group of devoted, militant men and women, including Ben Gold, Sam Liebowitz, Fanny Warshafsky and others. Like Schneider, most of them were in their 20's.

"From then on," Schneider says, "it was my dream to help build a union of workers under clean, honest leadership."

For the next few years the fur workers were engaged in

a grim, daily struggle to bring America's boasted democratic forms to their union. The majority of the organized fur workers at that time were Jewish, as were the top bureaucrats in the union. One of the major problems of the progressive group was to counteract the influence of the Jewish Daily Forward, which had departed from its early pro-labor outlook and become a rich and powerful supporter of the rightwing labor leaders who made lucrative deals with the bosses in between spouting "socialist" doctrine.

Under the leadership of the leftwingers, the furriers met the challenge of the gangsters head-on. At one meeting of Cutters Local 1, a group of sluggers approached Schneider while he had the floor. In an instant, dozens of cutters leaped to their feet and cried, "We dare you to lay a hand on him." The gang quickly retreated.

Finally, in May 1925, the left wing's united front program of ousting the racketeers, democratic elections, enforcement of contracts and elimination of graft, paid off. Gold was overwhelmingly elected manager of the Furriers Joint Board and the first great step had been taken toward freeing the union from the corrupt machine of Morris Kaufman. Schneider was elected a board member and since then has continuously held some kind of union position.

#### Framed by the Police

The crucial test for the new administration came in the memorable strike of 1926, when for 17 weeks the strikers stood up against unprecedented violence, mass arrests and betrayals by their international union and such AFL leaders as William Green and Matthew Woll—and went on to win the first five-day, 40-hour week contract in the labor movement.

Before that victory was finally achieved, the streets and police stations in New York's fur district ran with blood. Hundreds of workers and their leaders were beaten, knifed and jailed. Official police records later showed 1,500 arrests during the strike. Schneider, a member of the strike committee and the picketing committee of 1,000, became a favorite target of the police and gangsters. He was attacked and arrested so many times that he stopped keeping count.

The remarkable success of the left wing group in winning the 40-hour week angered the top AFL bureaucracy. The international union leadership opened a frontal attack on the Joint Board. Its charter was revoked, the left wing leaders were expelled and the police obliged with a new frameup.

Schneider became the first victim. On March 16, 1927, he was arrested and taken out to Mineola, L. I., a well known center of the Ku Klux Klan. He was given a working over of the kind for which the nazis were later to become famous. The Mineola detectives demanded that he sign a statement that Ben Gold had sent a committee to break up a scab shop in Mineola during the 1926 strike. Schneider refused.

He was beaten until his body was a mass of black and blue bruises. His head and face were swollen beyond recognition. The detectives would let him catch his breath for a few minutes and then begin all over again. This went on for six solid hours. Finally, after Schneider lost consciousness, the detectives gave up.

While Schneider was being pounded into insensibility, a letter was waiting for his at home notifying him to pick up his second citizenship papers. He didn't see the notice until weeks later. By then the papers had been withdrawn. He was never again allowed to get that close to citizenship.

Schneider, Ben Gold and nine other active union leaders were formally placed under arrest and charged with assault on the phony Mineola charge. After a trial in Mineola, during which both the judge and district attorney openly appealed to prejudice against the Jewish defendants, Schneider and eight others were sentenced to two-and-a-half to five years in prison. Gold and another defendants were acquitted. It took two years of legal appeals and continuous mass pressure before Schneider and six others were freed of the charge.

In the years that followed, Schneider was to be arrested for union activities many times. In 1931, while he was earning \$5 a week as manager of the fur department of the Needle Trades Industrial Union, he was picked up and held for deportation. The warrant was later cancelled for lack of evidence. The immigration authorities decided to bide their time.

#### War with Lepke-Gurrah

During the depression the individual gangs of thugs and racketeers which had preyed on the fur industry for years merged into the underworld empire of Lepke-Gurrah, which combined thieves, bootleggers, dope peddlers, smuggling, racketeers and murderers into one powerful gang. The two mob leaders, Louis (Lepke) Buchalter and Jacob (Gurrah) Shapiro, centered their operations in the garment district, where they worked with impartial and well-paid enthusiasm as strong-arm men for the bureaucrats in the needle trades unions and as strikebreakers for the bosses.

The Lepke-Gurrah gang tried to get the leaders of the Industrial Union to work with them. When that failed, they turned to murder and terrorism. Morris Langer, an outstanding rank-and-file leader, was killed by a bomb planted in his car. Other leaders of the union were warned that they too would "meet the boys" unless they cooperated.

Gold, Schneider and the others met the boys on a spring morning in 1933. A gang of 15 armed men, brandishing revolvers, knives and lead pipes, burst into the union's headquarters on West 28th Street. They opened fire on workers in the building, beating them and smashing windows. With almost incredible speed, word of the attack flashed through the fur district. Thousands of workers poured out of the shops and ran through the streets to the beleaguered union headquarters.

Converging on the building from all sides, they caught up with the gangsters as they were fleeing from the union defenders inside. The thugs starting shooting wildly. Seventeen workers were wounded, two fatally. A stray bullet killed one of the gangsters and police shot down another. The enraged workers surrounded the murderers. The next morning the New York papers front-paged pictures of six gunmen unconscious on the sidewalk.

After that, Schneider says, the Lepke-Gurrah gang stayed away from the fur market. But the leaders of the industrial union were determined to drive them out for good. As a result of their pressure, the Federal Bureau of Investigation was forced to conduct a secret investigation of fur racketeering. Undeterred by daily threats, Gold, Potash, Sam Burt, Schneider and other union leaders courageously presented detailed facts to the probers on how the rackets operated. Their testimony finally resulted in the conviction of Lepke and Gurrah in 1936.

But before that, the fur union leaders had been rewarded for their courage by being indicted under the Sherman anti-trust act. It was this indictment that was held up for seven years and dusted off in 1940 after the leftwing had won final, unchallenged leadership over a united fur union.

#### Threat of Deportation

When the anti-trust trial opened, Schneider had just finished serving a jail sentence growing out of a frameup engineered by a foreman who liked to appear in the shop dressed in a Hitler stormtrooper's uniform.

Frank Bader, the employer mentioned at the beginning of this article, succeeded in convincing the jury that it was indeed a crime to fight for higher wages. The jury brought

in a guilty verdict. Although this verdict was reversed on appeal, another frame-up on union activities followed and Potash, Schneider, Winogradsky and other leaders of the Furriers Joint Council were jailed for 15 months to two years.

They were in prison when Pearl Harbor took the United States into war. From their cells they sent a message to the union membership, "No sacrifice is too great to assure the victory of our country." On his release from jail, Schneider was placed in charge of all the Council's wartime activities. He headed the union's blood donor campaign and supervised production of fur vests manufactured by the union members on their own time and contributed to the navy and merchant marine.

Looking back on the "terrible crimes" committed by Jack Schneider, one wonders what makes an acceptable. American in the eyes of the Immigration Service, which arrested him again in 1949 for deportation. This time they were determined to make the charges against him stick. He was out on bail when the McCarran act was passed in the fall of 1950. Schneider was taken to Ellis Island and here there for three weeks. His deportation order has been upheld by the commissioner of immigration and is now on appeal.

Aiding him now in his fight to remain in this country, to which he has contributed so much, are his thousands of friends in the fur union. A resolution unanimously applauded by delegates to the recent fur union convention in Chicago pledged him full support. "We know of no union leader," it said, "who enjoys more confidence or commands more respect from the workers than Jack Schneider. No other union leader is more beloved by the workers than Jack Schneider."

Not many "criminals" can boast such a testimonial.

#### Guy Gabrielson Was Interested

ONE communication which failed to gain the attention of any of the various accreditation committees at the recent Republican national convention contains more meaningful substance—despite its brevity—than the bulk of patent demagoguery which echoed through the amphitheater in Chicago. For on April 6, 1950, Guy George Gabrielson, chairman of the Republican National Committee through the convention, sent his "appreciation and interest" to unknown John J. Fleck, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the latter's comments on "German Communism" and for his thoughtfulness in directing a copy of a publication called Common Sense to the Republican party.

Originally—in March 1950—Fleck had written to Senator Robert A. Taft, enclosing the March 15, 1950 issue of *Common Sense*. While Taft's office did not answer Fleck's communication, it was considered important enough to refer to the National Committee. In replying to the pathological racist, Gabrielson assured him of his appreciation: "I was very much interested

in what you had to say to Mr. Taft . . . [and] I have noted with interest the marked portions of the article on German Communism in *Common Sense* and you may be sure I shall have the disclosures therein very much in mind as we plan for the future."

That one's decency should be violently outraged when a leading figure of a major political party traffics with a fascistic crackpot such as Fleck and expresses the slightest approval of an anti-Semitic gutter-sheet like Common Sense would be to underscore the obvious. For the significance of this hitherto unknown exchange lies in a capsuled demonstration of the consequences—large and small—which accompany the bi-partisan crusade against "Communism." The "Old Guard" of the Republican party does not exercise a single monopoly over trading with fascists; in larger measure, Francisco Franco and Syngman Rhee are to Harry Truman what a John J. Fleck is to Guy Gabrielson.

KENNETH DAVID

## **SONGS OF MY CHOICE**

By Abraham Rosenfeld

#### INTRODUCTION

A BRAHAM ROSENFELD, the Jewish worker who wrote the group of poems printed below, was born in 1886 in the city of Uman in the Ukraine. When he was 13, he was apprenticed for three years in the iron working trade, after which he worked in iron factories in and near his home town and engaged in labor activities. In 1911, he came to the United States and settled in New York City where he continued to work at his old trade. He was active in the Iron and Bronze Workers Union, of which he was secretarytreasurer from 1920 to 1929 and edited the union's monthly bulletin. In the course of a struggle between the right and left wings of his union, he was among those left wing workers expelled from the union in 1929 by his international. Since he was blacklisted, he changed his trade to metal working, joined the Metal Workers Union and was active in helping to organize the trade. After an unsuccessful strike he was again out of a job until he got work in a radio parts factory.

It was at this point that Mr. Rosenfeld started writing poetry. He had been a worker-correspondent of the Morning Freiheit in the twenties and thirties and wrote most easily in Yiddish, although he had never written Yiddish poetry. But Mr. Rosenfeld became a poet in English ("I don't consider myself a poet," he writes us) out of political necessity, so to speak. In his factory of several hundred workers, he found that the workers, readers of the Daily News and Daily Mirror, greeted his explanations of current problems as "Commie talk."

Mr. Rosenfeld then ingeniously tried another approach. He posted pictures from the papers on a plant bulletin board and interspersed these pictures with political cartoons from journals like the New York Daily Compass, the Morning Freiheit and the Daily Worker. Underneath the cartoons Mr. Rosenfeld wrote two to four line explanations in verse. The workers liked his verse. So he expanded his writing and posted whole poems expressing his ideas. He soon found that the workers asked him for copies of his poems as souvenirs. Finally a shop committee worked with the author in getting out a mimeographed booklet of poems which was distributed among the workers. Songs of My Choice, A Simple Verse, from which the poems printed below are taken, was thus published in 1951.

The introduction to the booklet by "The Shop Committee" reads as follows: "The ideas expressed in Simple Verse, written by a simple factory worker, are very popular and appealing to us. Written in plain words, they seem to be sharp, clear and with feeling. The committee was therefore not much concerned with the rhyme, rythm or the ungrammatical expressions one may find here and there. We knew that our shopmate, who spent most of his years behind the machine, has no schooling. We agreed to cooperate in the publishing of the booklet because his verse is very much liked by most of the several hundred employees who had the opportunity to read them."

When we received a copy of this booklet from Mr. Rosenfeld, who now lives in Denver and works as a handyman in a factory there, we were immediately impressed with the genuine poetic quality of his verse. Here, it was apparent to us, was an expression in English of the tradition of the Yiddish proletarian poets, Winchevsky, Morris Rosenfeld, Edelshtat and Boyshover. Although, like the shop committee that published his poetry, we were aware of occasional lapses in grammar and perhaps some prosaic expressions here and there, the poetry as a whole seems to us touched with genuine feeling and a certain strength deriving, as Mr. Rosenfeld writes us, from the "struggle I am going through with millions of others." These poems, it seems to us, are a genuine addition to the poetic expression of Jewish workers and of the American working class, particularly the stirring "They Come," which cries aloud for a rousing musical setting.

JEWISH LIFE is proud to present these poems of a Jewish worker for the first time in printed form.

LOUIS HARAP

#### SONGS OF MY CHOICE

I heard many songs On land and on sea, The best of them all Appealing to me Are songs of toil Songs of plain people Who till the soil Labor in work-shops, In mines and in mills
And with their labor
The world's needs fulfill.
Songs of faith and of hope
For a world bright and free
Their inspiring notes
Vibrate still in me.

#### FREE ENTERPRISE

For many long years I worked for one boss, Who kept on complaining He "runs" at a loss. With eyes unfriendly He looked very sore Always demanding, I should produce more. And year after year I saw how he grows Owns big properties, His savings, who knows? While I couldn't save Not one extra cent And hardly can pay The Landlord my rent. I work and he saves There is no surprise As this is the "Law" Of Free Enterprise.

#### HANDS

Creative hands; They work the soil And gather grain, Or dig the coal Build ship and train. They paint or sweep Or scrub and cook Or hands that write A useful book. The hands that heal, Or shine the boot, They all deserve A big salute. All working hands Create wonders. While Masters' hands Rob and plunder.

# Masters tremble, for slave chattels Are fighting liberation battles. The world's heart-beat is their drum They sweep the earth; they come. Guided by their leaders—sages They are breaking chains of ages And with a mighty freedom song They are marching millions strong. Beware exploiters, all you fakers For the builders and the makers

Are no longer meek and dumb Are no longer the earth's scum All the wealth on sea and land Was created by their hand They build, they plow, wide and deep

And they are coming now to reap.

#### FRIENDSHIP

The fresh flowers in my vase
Were given by a friend,
Who will always when need be
Lend a helpful hand.
I treasure them and tend them,
They are so dear to me,
When they fade I'll put them in
My book of memory.
Their gentle petals will remain
A loving work of art,
They will remind me of a friend
With a kind human heart.

#### TO A GRANDCHILD

Your chatter and laughter My jolly grandchild, Makes me feel happy The grim world becomes mild. Sing and laugh little one Let your voice be heard, Your laughter is needed In this gloomy world. Let your smile clear lanes Tinged with hate's poisoned barb, The bleak winter change Into Spring's festive garb. Sing and dance little boy Let the rest follow suit, Let your gayety, joy The world over commute.

#### INTOLERANCE

WE CLIMBED A HILL

A Firm wanted a clerk
And I was out of work,
I came dressed in my best
To look smart as the rest
And with reference indeed—
But my name and my creed
To the job barred my way
As I learned next day
That clerks were hired a few
But they wouldn't hire a Jew.
It hurts to the core
This intolerance sore
It's a blot on the State
To permit racial hate.

#### SHOP GIRL'S PRAYER

The Lord is my shepherd
To Him I do pray
Not to be yelled at
Day after day
And while in the rest room—
Not to be asked
How long will I stay.

#### FAITH

Thrust aside those Bards and Scribes Who distort and falsify, Who sneer at people's freedom cry, While tyrants rule, they glorify. Look up and read all the records Of an earlier by-gone day, Read how despots lost their power, How Empires crumbled in decay. Learn how nations long enslaved come To gain freedom with their blood and pain, Know that no sword, no atom bomb Will force them back into the chain. And how leaders have arisen, Carried freedom's banner before men Helped break their chains, unlock their prison Such valiant leaders will rise again. And freedom's torch they will raise high To light world's road to unity And like the bright sun in the sky Its blaze will guide towards liberty.

The sun was shining on the land,
I took my grandson by the hand
And climbed a hill the other day
Toward heaven, for rest and play.
We climbed until we reached the crown
And with delight we both laid down
Upon the grass under a shade
A Colorado pine tree made.
We were high, heaven higher still
We could not reach it from the hill.
We'll try again some other time
There are yet higher hills to climb
For grandson who is in his prime.

#### **FAR AWAY**

Far away on battlefields Our young and strong ones die, While safe home war profiteers Cashing in by cheat and lie They cause panic, scarcity Make all prices to mount high, While small consumer stands aghast Wondering how will he buy. The nation grieves; is alarmed About the outcome of the war But unbridled beasts of greed Keep on hurting it still more How they must stare, the ghost of lads Who fell on plain, hill and shore In their stare a grim reproach: "Is this the cause we died for"?

#### FOR FREEDOM

If great is the plight,
If the day seems dark as the night
And evil ghosts stand at bay
To block to freedom your way,
Don't be in despair,
Or rely on a prayer . . .
Your weeping and moaning,
Your cursing and groaning
Will never dispel
Those greedy forces
Who turned world into hell
You will not soften their heart,
From their greed they'll not part.
For freedom, abundance, for light
You must muster your forces and fight.

## **U. S. ZIONISTS HAVE NO PROGRAM**

The 55th convention of the Zionist Organization of America exposed the bankruptcy of Zionist theory. Zionists should fight for peace

By Paul Novick

WITH banner headlines the Yiddish and English-Jewish press heralded the election on June 16 of Rabbi Irving Miller, formerly president of the American Jewish Congress, as the new president of the Zionist Organization of America. This wasn't world-shaking news. Even when the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) was at the height of its influence, the election of its president was not the occasion for such loud bugle blasts. The way the news was played up this time reflected the bitter struggle which took place in the Zionist movement around the election of a new administration.

The situation in which the Zionist movement in this country finds itself was quite openly discussed during the 55th Zionist congress, which was held in New York from June 12-16. The Jewish Day wrote on June 12th: "For the past few years there has been a steady decline of membership in the ZOA and of its prestige and influence as well, of its intellectual and spiritual outlook, its authority and capacity for spiritual leadership in the Jewish world." It was generally admitted that the ZOA has lost thousands of members and is in a state of chaos. What, then, did the congress accomplish?

The congress discussion clearly demonstrated that many American Zionists are opposed to Israeli Premier Ben Gurion. Although there were three or more factions at the congress, the real struggle was between the supporters and opponents of Ben Gurion.

#### Friends and Foes of Ben Gurion

Among the defenders of Ben Gurion was Dr. Nahum Goldmann, who came to the congress fresh from his visit with Adenauer in Bonn. Without doubt this did not help the cause of Ben Gurion. The fact that this faction used Dr. Goldmann as its main speaker demonstrated not only its bankruptcy in leadership, but its own ineptitude and its contempt for the feelings of the Jewish people.

The main speaker for the anti-Ben Gurion faction was Dr. Emanuel Neumann (former president of the ZOA and close co-worker of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver) whose enthusiastic speech in favor of Rabbi Miller contributed considerably to his election. The end result was, then, a victory of Rabbi Silver over Ben Gurion. The election of Rabbi Miller proves that the influence of Dr. Silver in the Ameri-

can Zionist movement remains quite strong at present.

It must be said, however, that Ben Gurion himself contributed a great deal to the defeat of his American supporters. On a number of occasions in the past year Ben Gurion had lambasted the American Zionists in his own inimitable style. So now—at the congress—he received his answer. The Ben Gurion government in general had also contributed to this outcome. If the government's policies had not been so catastrophic for Israel, it is very possible that the Ben Gurion faction would not have lost at the congress. In a measure the election of Rabbi Miller also reflected the disappointments of American Jews with developments in Israel.

The struggle was conducted at the congress around the issue of whether or not the General Zionists of the United States should identify themselves with the conservative General Zionist Party of Israel. It stands to reason that such an identification would be natural, just as it is natural that the American Paole Zion should identify itself with the Mapai Party and the Mizrachi with the clerical bloc of parties in Israel. However, the General Zionists in Israel are in opposition to the Ben Gurion government and that creates complications. The result is that the supporters of "identification" did win a victory, but their position has been watered down a bit so that it would not appear publicly that the ZOA is opposed to the government of Israel.

Rabbi Miller formulated it thus: We have a right to criticize the Ben Gurion government. Dr. Nahum Goldmann argued that the government must not be criticized, but he was defeated.

#### Whither American Zionism?

Well, what next?

Opposition to the Ben Gurion government is not sufficient reason to justify the existence of the ZOA. What should be its tasks here in the United States and those with respect to Israel?

"Since the founding of the Jewish State the ZOA lost its straight, smooth path and cannot find it again," wrote S. Dingol in the Day (June 14). This is true. And it is also true, as Dingol says further, that the establishment of the state of Israel completely changed the mode of existence of the Zionist organization. But why this change?

It is not only the fact that fund raising for Israel is no longer the monopoly of the Zionists. This loss of monopoly

is no doubt an important element in the disorientation of the Zionist movement today. American Zionism has always been in essence a fund raising agency. Today at the head of the fund raising agencies, the Bond drive and United Jewish Appeal, are non-Zionists like Henry Morgenthau, Ir., and James P. Warburg. But why did these individuals become the big guns in a field formerly monopolized by the Zionists?

The reason for this is not only the fact that these individuals themselves began to raise money after the birth of Israel-"Marshall money"-in line with the Washington policy of drawing Israel into the sphere of the Truman doctrine. There is another reason. With the birth of Israel the ZIO did not succeed in spreading its influence among the Jews of America. On the contrary, its influence declined together with the membership. Why?

Attempts to answer this question were already made four years ago. Immediately after the birth of Israel the Zionist movement began to search for a new program. A committee was established with Judge Simon Rivkind at its head and it somehow or other "formulated" a program-which did not "take." And there are sufficient reasons for this

and for the total lack of a program today.

It is of course true that the American Zionist movement has always essentially been a fund raising agency. But it could be this agency because it had a definite program. It appealed to the Jewish people for money under the slogan that the achievement of a Jewish state in Palestine would solve the Jewish question. This program continually implied that the Jewish people would be gathered in Palestine -the "ingathering of the exiles."

It was a program without relation to reality. Once the state of Israel came into being, the error of the program became evident. The whole foundation upon which the Zionist movement rested then caved in. For it has become unmistakably clear that the existence of Israel is not a solution for the problems of the Jews in the United States. American Jews, notwithstanding all the scoldings by Ben Gurion, are Americans and don't want to be "ingathered" somewhere else.

#### Downfall of "Catastrophe" Theory

Zionists circles have begun to deny the "catastrophe theory," namely, that Israel can be built only with the help of "catastrophes" among Jewish communities in other lands. The fact is, however, that the exodus of Jews from Poland before the war, from the German camps after the war and from the Arab countries in the recent period was in essence "catastrophe emigration." And there are Zionist leaders who predict a catastrophe for Jews in the United States and use this stratagem to stimulate the exodus of American Jews. A leader of the Mapam mentioned this at the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem last year. But the theory of "catastrophism" must be rejected! Catastrophe in the United States can mean only one thing: fascism. But in the event of such development, tragedy would come

not only to the United States and its Jewish community: Israel would also be threatened. Fascism and war are twins. Should war break out, the very existence of Israel will come under the shadow of a question mark.

It is clear, then, that the theory of "catastrophism" must be combatted. The Jewish people, together with all other Americans, must fight for a democratic America, against reaction and for a secure life here at home. Yet, despite the bankruptcy of the theory of "ingathering of the exiles," the Zionist movement still has not embarked on the path of struggle for democracy and peace here.

From time to time certain Zionist leaders speak of Jewish cultural work here in the United States as a valid element of its program. What kind of cultural work? Do these Zionists believe that such work must be based on the mass of the Jewish people and bound up with the struggle for peace and progress, as true cultural work should be?

Not long ago Dr. Abba Hillel Silver spoke in Chicago on the question of cultural work. Since Dr. Silver often speaks out against reaction and for peace, one would think that he would propose cultural work of this type. Regrettably this is not the case. Unfortunately there is a complete separation between Dr. Silver the Zionist and Dr. Silver the American who fights for peace. Therefore we cannot conclude from the victory of the Silver forces at the Zionist congress that the ZOA will take the road of building a healthy Jewish life in the United States and through the struggle for peace help make the state of Israel secure.

If any more indication is needed of the road taken by the ZOA, the congress provided it. Not one word was heard there about reaction in America, about the Smith act, the Walter-McCarran bill, anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement as such is not concerned with what is happening here at home. Everything was centered on events "there," in Israel. The Zionist leadership still swims in the metaphysics of chauvinist phraseology-plus attachment to the realities of the Washington line. In addition, Rabbi Miller is not an unknown quantity. What he "accomplished" as president of the American Jewish Congress is well known. He helped make a shambles of Stephen S. Wise's more or less progressive program for Jewish unity against reaction.

There is therefore little hope that the Zionist movement will grow in prestige and membership. The reverse is far more likely.

The average Zionist in the United States, like the average Jew generally, is of course vitally interested in the struggle against reaction and its inevitable anti-Semitic consequences. The average Zionist, like the average American generally, wants peace. If the ZOA were true to the interests and sentiments of its membership, it would take its place among the forces in the United States fighting for peace. Inasmuch as this is unfortunately not the case, the Zionist masses in our country, who comprise a substantial proportion of the Jewish community, are duty-bound to find other means of making their influence felt in the fight for peace and progress, which is in the interests of America, as well as those of Israel.

## I: TOWARD PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Several important aspects of the deliberations of Israel's communists at their recent convention. What was really said

By I. Berman

Tel Aviv

A highlight of the 12th biennial congress of the Communist Party of Israel, which ended on June 1st at Tel Aviv, was the report delivered by General Secretary of the party and Knesset deputy Shmuel Mikunis in the name of the Central Committee.

Mikunis devoted an important section of the report to the struggle of the working class and the masses of Israel for peace, bread and freedom. He emphasized various people's actions like demonstrations and strikes which involved tens of thousands of workers and which also showed the great possibilities of further broadening and deepening the united struggles among the masses. Mikunis then presented a concrete program by which the Communist Party could advance the struggle for a free, independent, people's democratic Israel.

In the present period, Mikunis said, the issue is not the overthrow of capitalism in Israel and the establishment of a socialist order: it is rather the liquidation of the domination of Israel by American and British monopoly capital and by the big bourgeoisie of Israel that is bound up with it. But to achieve this objective, day-to-day economic struggle by the workers and all the common people is not enough. Even though that struggle may take the most revolutionary forms, it cannot bring forth the deep changes necessary to solve the problems facing the people. It is essential to add to the economic the political struggle. It is necessary to see quite clearly the political issues of the moment and to fight on these issues.

The problems facing Israel are to

make peace secure; to regain the national independence of Israel and to free the land from the political and economic enslavement of American imperialism; to develop the natural resources, industry and agriculture of the country; to guarantee to all workers full employment; to create the possibility of the absorption of the old and new settlers; to carry through land reforms; to assure the democratic freedoms of the people, and to guarantee full equality for the Arab population.

A positive solution of these problems, Mikunis emphasized, requires that the leadership of Israel must pass into the hands of the people themselves. Leadership must be taken out of the hands of the representatives of the pro-imperialistic big bourgeoisie. In brief, an end must be made of the enslavement of Israel to the American imperialists and their faithful servants, the bourgeois-Mapai coalition government.

Without the struggle for such a political change it will be impossible to guarantee that the daily demands for bread and work, the proposals to uphold elementary freedoms, will be met. Therefore, Mikunis continued, the Communist Party of Israel makes the specific proposal that the present antipeople's regime be replaced by a people's democratic government, by a coalition regime of all the anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the country, by a government of national independence and progress, of freedom and peace.

How will this change be realized? The condition for this change, said Mikunis, is the creation of a broad anti-imperialist front of workers, farmers, petty bourgeoisie, working intelligentsia and a part of the industrial bourgeoisie. But

the primary necessity for the achievement of such a front is the consolidation of workers' unity, is establishment of a solid front of the working class.

In presenting this task of working class unity, Mikunis of course took up the question of united action between the Communist Party and Mapam. But achievement of this unity demands the exposure of the opportunistic and nationalistic policies—and the vacillations engendered by them—of the Mapam leadership. Particularly necessary is the overcoming of the splitting and anticommunist tactics of the right wing of the Mapam leadership and the strengthening of the genuinely progressive forces in Mapam that are developing in the direction of Marxism-Leninism.

It is not feasible in this brief account to present in detail the entire program laid before the congress by Mikunis in the name of the Central Committee. But enough has been said to indicate some of the broad outlines of this program. Mikunis expressed optimism as to the possibility of realizing this program. Conditions are ripe for a victorious fight for this program.

Following are conditions that provide a favorable ground for struggle and permit anticipation of successes and final victory: profound changes in the relationship of forces between the camps of peace and of war to the advantage of the former; intensification of the struggle of colonial and dependent nations; growth of the movement for national liberation and peace among the countries of the Near and Middle East; strengthening of the peace forces of Israel; tremendous militancy of the Israeli people in the defense of their interests, which are being every day betrayed as a result of the ever deepening involvement of American imperialists in Israel and of the making of Israel into a war base.

Mikunis explained in this optimistic vein that the party program was not a goal for the distant future but was a concrete platform for struggle today.

The important political report of Shmuel Mikunis and the concrete program he proposed were enthusiastically received by all those assembled at the congress. The report also had wide repercussions throughout the country. The conservative Tel Aviv daily, Haaretz, was obliged to recognize the

maturity of the Communist Party of Israel and its development toward an ever more leading role among Israel's workers.

## **II: FRONTIERS AND IMMIGRATION**

By Ben-Yitzhok

Tel Aviv

In commenting on the 12th congress of the Communist Party of Israel, the Mapai-bourgeois leaders and their agents in Mapam stood side by side. The right wing Mapam leaders published a series of nasty articles in Al Hamishmar, Mapam organ, attacking the program adopted at the congress. Likewise, Naivelt, organ of the right wing Mapai leaders, made its contribution to the hue and cry against the Communist Party. In Naivelt this job was done by M. Erem, who did not make the slightest effort to analyze the party program or report it accurately.

"The conference of the Communist Party of Israel," wrote Erem, "decided that Israel should be deprived of Jaffa, Ramleh, Ludd, all of Western Galilee, Migdal, Ashcalon and the road to Jerusalem. The Communist Party of Israel clearly has returned to its old ways: it wants to break up the state of Israel, just as it wants to destroy Zionism in general."

But the resolution of the Communist Party to which Erem referred clearly stated that: "The needs of the antiimperialist struggle for peace and national liberation demand that we oppose each and every attempt to raise the question of frontiers now, demand that we oppose the regulation of frontiers and the occupation of territories by means of big or 'little' wars."

One would think this was clear enough. But a program which takes into account the "needs of the antiimperialist struggle for peace and national liberation" is meaningless to

Erem. Yet the workers in Mapam and even large sections of the workers in Mapai already sense that they have nothing in common with the policy of warmongers like Benjamin Browdy, Jacob Blaustein, Emanuel Neumann, etc., even if some of these Americans are Zionists and take part in Zionist congresses. The workers do not see in such people those who can help them "achieve Zionism." Quite simply, such people are regarded as enemies of the state of Israel. Their aim is to convert Israel into an outpost for the defense of what they call "American democracy."

Erem makes another point in his article in *Naivelt*. "The Communist Party of Israel," he says, "does refer in passing and stealthily, so to speak, to the welcoming of the immigrants who are streaming into the country to its great sorrow. But you will not find the Communists saying a word about the historic and practical necessity of immigration, about stimulating and organizing immigration."

However, the program adopted at the 12th congress declares clearly and openly and not at all stealthily that an anti-imperialist people's front will act so that "the state of Israel will be open for immigration." That should be clear enough.

The man in the street knows that immigrants have stopped "streaming in." In each of the past few months no more and often less than 1500 Jews have entered the country. Instead of empty, hollow talk about the "historic and practical necessity of immigration," the

Communist program simply declares that "the state must provide for the absorption of immigrants through employment, housing and social services." These words are quite clear.

The 250,000 immigrants now in maabarot (immigrant settlements)and 40,000 of them live in tents-are demanding housing and want it immediately. They are demanding work and bread. The program adopted at the 12th congress clearly states: "These questions cannot be solved except by fighting to replace the Mapai-bourgeois coalition government with a people's democracy." "Only such a people's democratic government," the resolution says, "will be able to open the way of full utilization of all possibilities of developing the country's resources and of guaranteeing a constructive and productive life for the masses, including the immigrants."

#### Atom Bases in Israel

RECENTLY the conservative London Daily Express published a report that the largest air base in the Middle East for atom bombers was being built near Nathnaya, about 30 miles southeast of Tel Aviv. When the Communist daily, Kol Haam, published this news, the Ben Gurion government suppressed Kol Haam for one week on a charge of "infringement of censorship rules."

Al Hamishmar, Mapam daily, also revealed that the base was being built by and for the Truman administration for "use against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies." Later Kol Haam published a demand that the Knesset should designate a special commission to make a thorough investigation of this revelation. For its part, the Ben Gurion government proposed an amendment to the laws governing the press that would permit the Ben Gurion government to suppress any paper for "spreading rumors." The Israel press is protesting this attempt at censorship.

Israel needs no atom bomb bases for "defense." The obvious purpose of such a base is to involve Israel in the aggressive war plans of Washington, in exchange for which Ben Gurion hopes to get American dollars. One is inclined to ask, are the dollars worth the threat of atomization to Israel?

The child's ball, tossed, Beats on the ghetto wall, Booms in the lightless hall, Thunders in the heart; Drums, continents apart.

Here on a hundred streets the windows slant Like eyes in early death; the coward skies Flatten on crests of houses. Dark eyes stare Behind shut windows, brood and pierce and stare. Below—

The man-stampede in the streets.

Up the pocked and plundered pavement murder slogs. Guns hot as sweat adhere to paws.

Here come the bold protectors of the law.

No questions asked. The mouth's pit shows

To the rhythmic quiver of the jaws.

The "laws" advance. A man prey darts

On frightened, fluttering feet. Where is retreat?

He clings to doorways as to sheltering arms.

If stone could close about him . . . He implores

His faceless heaven: "Our Father . . . let no harm . . ."

But the white horror spouts.

But is this he . . . ? Surely the houses topple—fall—and crash.

A man falls bit by bit, drains sense by sense. And still the eyes seek a familiar window, A fondled face, a mouth, a wisp of words . . . And the heart, hammered open, thrums its dirge Of outrage. Spilled and stolen are the years.

Sharper than cop's whistle in the ears, The dying urge sets stone and flesh to groaning. The mouths of women stretch behind shut windows. The fists of childhood beat upon the doors.

Like a splayed monster, lurching, on all fours, The killers grope away. Another day Strangles in the dark ghetto. Red drops glaze The street. A child's ball lies Neglected in the gutter. Coins freeze dim On the forgotten counters.

Killers go,
Fearing to turn, yet fearing not to turn,
Braving the sawdust cavern of a bar,
Crying: "A beer!" This too they take, nor pay.
"De law."

The rosy, petted jaw. No fear. God shall allay.

A storm of lamentation shakes the street, Thudding from dark throats, massed by wordless hands.

The killers go . . . hard-gunned and heavy-faced, In uniforms that hold them like a brace, Each to a home, to children, woman, bed. To bed . . . (this fine, forked flicking in the head . . . )

A uniform hangs on a wall.

A faceless dead man hangs and droops upon the wall.

The killer belches beer; through waves of light Sees something dark and strange hang on the wall, And reels, and feels along the alien wall, And steals down the long, lightning-lighted hall. So, bed. (But this forked flicking in the head . . .?)

Did think to bind the limbs, drain off the breath? Pinion the power-strung? make spirit, flesh, Dead images to sweep the dung, to thresh? To take scraps flung; breed, perish; in mute flood To blood the pillared banks; give thanks? Go, halter-led?

Proud tempest-trees that storm against the storm. Dark glory, vastly born, in blood-wells bred . . .

Dark mother of us all, We come. Your call Thrills in the tortured breast.

Out of the cubicles, Out of the pale, Out of the centuries' red hail Our dawns we wrest!

(The above is a section from a long poem, Thine Alabaster Cities, a Poem for Our Times, which has just been published by the author (237 Penn Street, Brooklyn, 11, N. Y., 25c). Martha Millet, who has had her poetry published in numerous magazines and anthologies, writes us: "My background is working class. I was brought up in an atmosphere of union struggle. My father was blacklisted in the knitgoods industry for union activity. He is a needle trades worker to this day. I was a worker for 16 years, belonging to the UOPWA and later the Newspaper Guild.")

## THIRTY YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE

Trends and changes in the organizational life of the Jewish community through the momentous years since World War I

By Morris U. Schappes

The following essay was written in connection with the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Morning Freiheit. It was published in part in Yiddish translation in the "Jubilee Journal," issued as an anniversary supplement of that paper on April 27, 1952.—Eds.

AFTER the First World War the drive of reaction in our country was put into high gear. The American plutocracy let loose a campaign of propaganda, intimidation and terror. This campaign was anti-labor (red-baiting, breaking the steel strike); it was anti-Negro (lynching of soldiers in uniform, "race riots"); it was anti-alien (deportation drives, immigrant restrictions); it was anti-Semitic (Ford's Dearborn Independent); it was anti-Soviet (Senate hearings on "Bolshevik propaganda"; the capitalist press as a whole).

Every aspect of this campaign of course had a profound effect upon the Jews in the United States. In this article, however, we can touch upon only a few of the results of this drive, and of the resistance to it.

The drastic restrictions imposed upon immigration from Europe had a profound and immediate effect upon the Iews. These restrictions were part of the viciously racist program of American reaction. Racist conduct, ideas and laws had been a prime factor in American ruling class circles for generations, revealing themselves first of all in the oppression of the Negro people, but also in the treatment of the Indians, in the Chinese Exclusion laws, and in the theory of Anglo-Saxon "racial superiority," which found ever wider support among the "thinkers" tied to the ruling class. This racist ideology found a new expression in the Immigration Law of 1920, which made a "racist" distinction between "desirable" immigrants coming from Central and Western Europe and "undesirable" immigrants coming from Southern and Eastern Europe. Italians, Slavs and Jews were openly branded "undesirable" and unassimilable."

#### Growth of Jewish Population

This law invented a quota system to exclude Italians, Jews and Slavs as much as possible. Anti-Semitism was a publicly acknowledged part of the program. The annual quota was to be three per cent of the people from a particular country already in the United States in 1910. Although immigration from the "undesirable" countries dropped greatly, the reactionaries decided that there were still too many Jews, Slavs and Italians coming in. Therefore in 1924 a new quota went into effect: two per cent of those here in 1890.

The effect of these quotas upon the Jews can be shown in these figures of entry of Jewish immigrants: 119,036 entered in 1921; 49,989 in 1924; 10,292 in 1925.

With the stream of immigration choked down to a trickle, the Jewish population entered a period of stabilization, in which the rate of growth quickly declined. In 1908, for instance, it is estimated that there were about 1,800,000 Jews in the United States. By 1922, the Jewish population had just about doubled, reaching the total of about 3,602,000. But after the immigration quotas were clamped down, such a rapid growth was impossible. The figures tell the story: in 1927, there were about 4,228,000 Jews in the United States; in 1937, there were about 4,831,180; and in 1950, the figure was about 5,000,000.

Thus, while in the 14 years from 1908 to 1922 the Jewish population increased 100 per cent (doubled), in the 25 years from 1927 to 1952, the increase was only about 20 per cent (one-fifth). These facts of course had a great influence upon the Jewish people, for more and more of them were now American-born, with English as their native, and usually their only, language, with their education acquired primarily in the American free public school system, and with economic and occupational features rapidly changing. We can comment now however upon only one of these aspects, the change in the social composition of the American Jewish population.

#### Class Distribution

Before the First World War, because about 1,500,000 Jews had come into the United States in the preceding 30 years, the class distribution of the Jewish population was approximately as follows: First, the largest class were the wageworkers, crowded into the sweatshops in a few industries (garment, food, tobacco, wood-work, metal-work, building, etc.), in at least one of which (garment) the Jews made up the largest section of the labor force. These masses of

Jewish wage workers, women as well as men, had already established a glorious tradition of militancy in the labor movement through great strike struggles and through active participation and leadership in vanguard and radical political movements with socialist aspirations. It was no wonder that in New York, which contained more than half the Jewish population of the country, the Lower East Side and Williamsburgh were centers of creative political and cultural activity in the fight for progress and the Jewish quarters of other large metropolitan cities were not far behind.

Substantial in size, but still smaller in number than the Jewish wage-workers, was the middle class of Jewish manufacturers, proprietors, store-keepers and professional people. To the extent that elements in this class, especially in the lower-middle class, were close to the wage workers and were influenced by them, these elements tended towards liberalism, philanthropy, or even a mild and not too consistent support of radical programs. The directly exploitative sections of this middle class, the manufacturers and bosses, tended towards conservatism and even reaction in deeds despite occasional liberalism in phrases.

Finally, there was among the Jewish population a little group of bankers, financiers and big manufacturers who were, or aspired to become, an integrated part of American Big Business, accepting its general program of conservatism, although modifying it by grand gestures of Jewish and general philanthropy. In Jewish life, this group expressed itself through the select and tightly-knit American Jewish Committee. Although the Committee had been elected by nobody and represented nobody except its handful of members, it nevertheless presumed to speak for all of American Jews and was accepted as that spokesman by the American capitalist class. How thoroughly the American Jewish Committee misrepresented the Jewish masses then—and now—can be gleaned from this typical incident.

In February 1919, a witness before the Senate Committee investigating "Bolshevik propaganda" had testified that the Soviet Revolution had practically been made right here by the Jews on the Lower East Side. As the self-appointed "defender" of the Jews against this cry of "Jew-Bolshevism," Louis Marshall, head of the American Jewish Committee, leaped into the arena with a statement published in the New York Times of February 15, 1919 under the headlines: "SAYS MASS OF JEWS OPPOSE BOLSHEVIKI. . . . East Side Not a Hotbed. . . . " Marshall avoided the fact that the East Side, while not a "hotbed" of subversion, was indeed a "hotbed" of advanced social thought, of patriotism based on loyalty to the people and not to the dollar, of working class political struggle that was electing Socialist candidates to office, and of profound sympathy for the new working-class rule in the land of former tsarist tyranny.

Instead, Marshall offered to join the reactionary pack in its wild attack on "Bolshevism" if only the pack would agree not to put the prefix "Jew" before the naughty word. "Attack Bolshevism as much as you please," Marshall pledged, "and the Jews of America are with you." What he

meant was, "Attack Bolshevism as much as you please, and the American Jewish Committee is with you." To this pledge, the American Jewish Committee has been more faithful in the past 33 years than to any other allegiance in Jewish life or in American life as a whole.

#### Class Changes

During the past 30 years, important changes have taken place in every one of these classes in Jewish life, the wage working class, the middle and lower middle class, and the plutocracy, and also in the relations between these classes. All these changes are caused basically by the operations of the American capitalist economy under the control of the trusts and monopolies, and it would be very instructive to trace these changes in detail. All we have space for here, however, is to summarize the end result, which was this: First, the plutocracy has grown more wealthy and stronger.

A few Jews are directly a part (of course a very small and not at all a decisive part) of Big Business itself. During the economic crisis that began in 1929, this plutocracy was able to survive because of its sheer wealth while many Jewish business men of the middle class were wiped out economically and declassed. The Jewish plutocracy still expresses itself mainly through the American Jewish Committee, now headed directly by the oil magnate, Jacob Blaustein. (Another section of the plutocracy, headed by Lessing Rosenwald of Sears Roebuck, the giant merchandising network, finds expression in the American Council for Judaism, organized December 11, 1942.) Through its great wealth and skill in manipulation the American Jewish Committee has been able increasingly to dominate organized American Jewish life-economic, philanthropic, religious, cultural and social. By controlling the funds, the Jewish plutocracy controls the policies of organized Jewish life. The facts are clear. In 1945, for instance, American Jewry raised about \$125,000,000 for local, national and overseas-aid purposes. More than 30 per cent of this huge sum came in large contributions of \$5,000 or over from a rate of four out of a thousand contributors. In other words, four out of every thousand contributors donated almost 31 per cent of the total contributed while the other 996 out of a 1000 contributors donated only about 70 per cent. One may be certain that these big contributors have the determining voice in the policy of organized Jewish life, while the masses of smaller contributors have no, or very little, say in making up policy.

Second, in addition to a consolidated, strengthened and dominant Jewish plutocracy, there developed during these 30 years a very large and proportionally over-sized Jewish middle and lower-middle class, which is now the largest single class in the American Jewish population. It includes the manufacturers and business men of all kinds, proprietors, merchants and storekeepers, the professionals and civil service workers of all types. Important sections of the lower middle class consist of men and women who were themselves once wage workers and who "worked themselves up"

into the ranks of small business. Other sections of this class, particularly the professionals and civil service employees, are the sons and daughters of workers who were steered by their wage working parents away from the dreaded sweatshops into economic pursuits that promised more dignity, independence and security. Taking advantage of the American economy's need for expanding numbers of professionals, civil servants and clerical workers, and using the opportunities for free higher education uniquely available in a city like New York (which contained half the Jewish population), the younger generations of Jews worked and studied and fought their way "up" into the lower middle class.

Now a part of this very large lower middle class, precisely because of direct or indirect origin in the working class, as well as because of its own economic insecurities, is inclined to liberal and progressive conduct and contributes many forces both to advanced social and political movements as well as to new trade unions that have developed in such fields as the teachers and other professional and public workers.

#### American Jewish Congress Movement

This Jewish middle class as a whole, as it gathered size and standing in the community, did not thoroughly approve of the virtual monopoly that the Jewish plutocracy exerted on the policy of Jewish organized life. Therefore, already during the First World War, while the masses of Jewish wage workers were seething with militancy and new social principles, the Jewish middle class moved to establish its own organization, the American Jewish Congress. (Although at the very beginning the Congress movement included labor leaders like Isaac A. Hourwich, Morris Hillquit, M. J. Olgin, Meyer London and Joseph Schlossberg, these elements soon withdrew, leaving the field and the program in the hands of a Zionist middle class and upper middle class leadership.)

Challenging the supremacy of the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress movement brought notes of militancy and democracy into Jewish organized life outside the labor movement. The technique of mass elections was introduced into the Jewish community, with some 335,000 voting in the first elections on June 19, 1917, and more than 352,000 voting in elections held June 25-27. 1938. Although dominated by the bourgeois-nationalist ideology of political Zionism, the American Jewish Congress, because it was a mass organization with a mass membership, did have to reflect some of the needs of the American Jewish masses who, whether Zionist or not, faced many problems here at home that needed attention. Furthermore, the general liberalism of an outstanding leader like Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, with his contacts with the militant Jewish labor movement from its pre-First-World-War days, contributed to the development of a force that frequently made positive contributions to the welfare of the Jewish people.

Especially was this the case upon the rise of Hitlerism.

Then, despite the active opposition of the plutocracy of the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi Wise mobilized the forces of the American Jewish Congress and of Jewish masses around it for large scale public demonstrations against Hitlerism and for the boycott of nazi German products services. This tradition of militancy has not yet been stamped out by the new administration that took control of the Congress after the death of Rabbi Wise, and it can still, if properly aroused, play a role in the fight for peace and against the Smith-act-type of reactionary wave.

#### Role of Jewish Workers

If the Jewish middle class swelled enormously in size by drawing workers out of the shops and into small business and by taking the sons and daughters of Jewish workers out of the wage working class, it stands to reason that the size of the Jewish working class would decline in relation to the middle class. That is what indeed happened. Although there is still a *substantial* body of Jewish wage workers, it is no longer the largest single class in the American Jewish population.

Does this in any sense imply that the role of the Jewish workers in American Jewish organized life is unimportant? On the contrary, the Jewish workers are still the only class in Jewish life capable of consistant, clear-sighted, militant policies in defense of the Jewish people as a whole. The reduction of the relative size of the Jewish wage working class really *increases* the responsibility of these workers to provide proper leadership to the Jewish people in the fight against reaction at home and adventurist aggression abroad by the national administration. It is an elementary fact of social science that no other class than the workers *can* play a consistently progressive part in social life.

With this in mind, it is necessary to chart a major change that has taken place in the ranks of the Jewish workers, in addition to their decline in relative numbers. This is the fact that reactionary social democracy has in the past 25 years become a dominant force in the ranks of the Jewish workers. The disruptive "anti-Bolshevik" propaganda of the most reactionary circles of American Big Business (to which Louis Marshall, it will be remembered, pledged the support of the American Jewish Committee and all those it could influence), found its way through the A.F.L. bureaucracy into the ranks of the Jewish workers. The chief transmission-belt of this red-baiting was the Jewish Daily Forward; the chief organizers of actual disruption were to be found in the rightwing "socialists" of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and in the group of unions that are its satellites.

The briefest and most self-incriminating account of this planned disruption is to be found in this statement by Morris C. Feinstone of the United Hebrew Trades, who in a brief history of the U. H. T. written in 1938 to celebrate its 50th anniversary writes as follows: "In December 1926 [after the great cloakmakers' strike], the United Hebrew Trades took the initiative. It sent out a call to all affiliated

unions and internationals, and to the American Federation of Labor, inviting delegates to convene and discuss the organization of a counter-movement against the Communist penetration of the trade union movement.

"There was an overwhelming response. More than 500 delegates attended, electing . . . Morris C. Feinstone as Secretary. They organized a Committee for the Preservation of Trade Unions. This Committee developed a program for practical resistance to the destruction by the Communists. Its success was enormous, since the whole Labor movement co-operated with it. Great numbers of Communists were driven from cover and forced to start open opposition unions, a form of conflict far less dangerous than the earlier 'boring from within.'"

Note with what glee Feinstone writes about the expulsion of tens of thousands of workers as part of a deliberate plan to provoke dual unionism and to weaken the working class!

#### The Left Wing

Of course the splitting activities of reactionary social democracy did not go unchallenged. The Morning Freiheit was in fact born in 1922 in the fight against the swing to reaction of the Jewish Daily Forward. With their sentiments and views expressed by the Freheit, there rapidly developed a leftwing movement that was loyal to the noblest traditions of the militant American Jewish workers' struggles and devoted to the needs of the Jewish workers and Jewish people as a whole, both here and abroad. As the rightwing social democrats split the workers' political parties, trade unions and fraternal organization, the militants found their voice in the Freiheit. Always these movements fought to mobilize, stimulate and stiffen the resistance of the Jewish workers and the Jewish people as a whole to policies of reaction.

In the anti-fascist movement before World War II, these forces played an ever more important part. To stiffen the anti-nazi front initiated by the American Jewish Congress leadership under Wise, there was launched in 1936 the Jewish People's Committee against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, which made a distinct contribution to clarity by linking the fight against nazism with the fight for a program of collective security. In addition, the activities of the militant fur workers' union, of locals of the painters' union, of rank and file groups in the unions operated by the Dubinsky apparatus, all these gave depth and consistency to the fight for peace and democracy.

One of the significant developments in 1930, was the birth of the Jewish Section of the International Workers Order (later renamed the Jewish People's Fraternal Order). This new Jewish fraternal organization brought a progressive current into the varied fraternal life of the Jewish community.

During the anti-fascist World War II, the tide of national unity in our country as a whole embraced the Jewish community too. Out of it grew the American Jewish Conference in September 1943, a temporary alliance which included

the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, despite the opposition of the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, both of which withdrew from the Conference because of splitting disagreement on this and other issues.

Beginning during the war, but reaching new levels after it, was a new feature that has great promise for the future of organized Jewish life. Leading forces among the working class had realized that the changes in Jewish life required more and more attention to mobilizing those Jewish workers and middle class elements of progressive persuasion who were operating in the general progressive movement to devote more and more attention to work within the Jewish community. The magazine Jewish Life, now in its sixth year, the School of Jewish Studies, and now the Division of Jewish Studies of the Jefferson School of Social Science, are expressions of this orientation to bring new English speaking forces into the work of challenging the dominance of reaction in organized Jewish life.

#### The Need: Organized Resistance Movement

American Jewry is highly organized. In 1945, there were 268 national organizations with about 2,000,000 members and many local organizations. There were also about 4,000 Jewish congregations, only one-fourth of which were affiliated with national organizations.

What has been attempted here is only a simple outline of major trends as revealed by movements reflecting various classes in Jewish life. What is urgently needed in Jewish life is the development of the tremendous possibilities that exist for a broad peace movement among the Jewish workers and middle class elements, as well as a broad front of resistance to the drive to a fascist police-state of which the Smith and McCarran acts are dangerous symptoms. This front can be firm only to the extent that its backbone and ultimately its leadership are provided by Jewish workers and tested progressives from the middle class. This resistance movement would naturally be linked to the general American labor and progressive movement of opposition to aggressive wars abroad and repression and political corruption at home. Such a movement among the Jewish people would also, to the extent that it fights against the operation of white supremacy theories and practices upon the Jews, link the Jewish resistance to the fight of the Negro people for equality and liberation. One of the prime functions of a militant resistance movement in organized Iewish life would of necessity be to isolate and even run out of Jewish life the *Judenrat*-type of misleaders in major Jewish organizations that have revealed the depths of their capacity for betrayal in the shameless plot to whitewash a renazified Adenauer regime at the bidding of the American State Department.

For such a new development the trends in Jewish communal life in the past 30 years show the Jewish community to be objectively ripe. What are required are sufficient forces, clarity, skill and patience to meet these needs and fulfill these obligations.

## OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

The fingers of those attempting to choke the breath out of American democracy have applied unjust malicious pressure in the effort to dissolve the International Workers' Order. Here is a fraternal order which has served its 160,000 members well for 22 years, financially solvent, actuarially sound, culturally fruitful, with a social and civic conscience that made it a model among fraternal organizations.

It seems the IWO is a bit too American for the 100 percenters. It is opposed to Jimcrow and discrimination. It unites under its roof Negro and white and the various national groups which make up the American people. It is intensely interested in peace, in social progress, in the welfare of labor. It enriches American culture by promoting the democratic cultures of the various national groups living here.

The lengths to which the Insurance Department of the State of New York and Thomas E. Dewey's henchman, Alfred J. Bohlinger, Superintendent of Insurance, have gone in their efforts to destroy the IWO indicate the utter disregard they have for the United States Constitution, the laws and even the much-heralded property rights which these gentlemen defend so vehemently on every occasion. What is even more dangerous to the very fabric of our democracy is the fact that a New York Supreme Court justice, Henry Clay Greenberg, granted the petition to dissolve the Order and that the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court upheld Judge Greenberg's decision only a few weeks ago.

The original decision by Judge Greenberg and the accompanying opinion dealt little with the law but was interlarded with unseemly red-baiting and fantastic inferences. The prize example is the point made that because the assets of the Order are very liquid (which usually is highly commendable in an insurance or other financial institution), the danger exists that the leadership of the IWO might turn over those assets to a foreign power, if a conflict should arise between that foreign power and the United States.

When the idea of turning over the funds was first presented in the hearing by Mr. Paul Williams, counsel for the Insurance Department, it was thought by many in the courtroom that this fantastic, nightmarish idea would be laughed out of any court which maintains any standards of logic and realism. But the fact is that the court grasped this straw. This

demonstration of the effect of red-baiting hysteria on some of our legal minds, was augmented in the opinion given by the Appellate Division in denying the appeal of the Order. This opinion stated, among other things: "There is nothing which indicates, to be sure, that the officials of IWO would steal funds of the organization for their personal advantage; there is reason to believe, however, that, acting subject to the discipline of the Communist Party and the Politburo in Soviet Russia, they would not hesitate to do so for the Party under orders."

This is said despite the admission by the Insurance Department that the leaders of the IWO never touched a penny of the corporate and insurance funds for any but their legally designated purpose, and that the business management of the IWO has been exemplary. It is a topsy-turvy world indeed when the evidence of 22 years of operation points to scrupulous adherence to insurance law and responsibility to membership (and not one word was said in court to even imply otherwise) but the "legal" opinion bases itself on the type of wild conjectures that have no place in a court of law.

Leaving the realm of fantasy, let us consider what the decision of the Appellate Division means, if it is not reversed by the higher courts. We quote from the statement of the IWO Policyholders Protective Committee:

"The decision of the Appellate Division . . . threatens 160,000 policyholders with the loss of their civil and property rights and the destruction of their organization.

"The Court has disregarded the injury to our rights, our insurance protection and our family security, and has seen fit to sustain the position of a politicallymotivated, vindictive member of Governnor Dewey's official family, the Superintendent of Insurance.

'The Court tries to justify its drastic act aimed at destruction of \$110,000,000 of insurance in force held by 160,000 policyholders by discovering that renewable-term insurance issued by the IWO is 'unfavorable.' This despite the fact that the N.Y. Insurance Department has continuously approved this insurance; that similar insurance is written by a large number of life insurance companies and fraternal societies, and was adopted by the United States government to insure millions of servicemen in World War I and II."

Former Supreme Court Justice Philip J. McCook, counsel for the policyholders' committee, in his brief to the Appellate Division characterized the attempt to liquidate the IWO as "an un-American doctrine, a fantastic theory and a savage solution.

But this "un-American doctrine" and 'savage solution" is not one to be limited to the IWO only. It presents the gravest danger to all people's organizations, other fraternal organizations, the trade unions, and the basic right of association for all.

Note should be taken of the fact that the Appellate Division went farther in its decision than the Supreme Court in upholding the Smith act. It came up with a rather startling theory venturing into the realm of moral philosophy, namely, that since business, commerce and credit is based upon "bourgeois morality" the IWO, which allegedly is "Communist dominated" and therefore does not believe in "bourgeois morality," is beyond the pale of the law. This opinion, if allowed to stand, presents the gravest danger to trade unions, cooperatives and fraternal organizations, which can be attacked on the nebulous grounds that they are not following the dictates of "bourgeois morality."

Also the false accusation of "foreign dominance" and "allegiance" can very easily be the basis for attacks on Jewish organizations which have a fraternal interest in the welfare of Israel.

It is therefore foolhardy and dangerous for Jewish organizations, no matter what their view of the IWO and its Jewish society, the JPFO, to ignore this unprecedented attack on the very right of existence of a great organization. For all Jewish organizations and all individuals, defense of the IWO is self-defense. The issue is one of defense of the civil and property rights of the American people. If Dewey's Insurance Department can confiscate the property of 160,000 Americans because it does not agree with the thinking of some of their leaders, then what group is safe in the United States?

The members of the IWO have stood behind the organization magnificently. They have faith that the American people will not permit the destruction of an organization whose achievements in behalf of this nation and its members is matter

of record and pride.

The Order is carrying the fight to the New York Court of Appeals, and to the United States Supreme Court, if necessary. But the really significant struggle which can halt the liquidators of decency must take place among the people of America, in their organizations and trade unions. The people must begin to understand that the defense of the IWO is defense of all that is dear to American democracy.

# Letters from Abroad

## ARAB WORKERS IN ISRAEL

By Salim Quasim

The situation in Israel is the same as that in all other capitalist countries in the orbit of the American-British warmongers. It is characterized by a shortage of food-stuffs and clothing materials, a housing crisis, inflation, continuous rise of taxes and prices, fall of real wages, depression of the living standards and increasing oppression of the working people.

In addition to this, the Arab national minority, numbering over 170,000, suffers national oppression and racial discrimination under the military rule which was enforced over the Arab population areas since the creation of the State of Israel. Those who bear the brunt of this rule are the toiling masses, the workers

and the pasants.

Under this rule, citizens are not allowed to practice their democratic rights in electing their municipal or local councils. Democrats and trade unionists face oppression, discrimination and intimidation. Trade union rights and freedoms are violated. Marketing of agricultural produsts is concentrated in the hands of greedy exploiters and vast areas of the lands of the peasants are confiscated under pretext of "security." Communications, irrigation, health, education and other services which greatly concern the people are very backward.

To enter or leave the military-ruled areas, a special permit from the military authorities is needed. This causes great inconvenience to workers. They often lose a long-awaited job because of refusal of the authorities to issue the necessary movement permits. Issue of these permits is subject to the consent of the employers. No worker receives a permit without producing a certificate from an employer testifying that he is required. Naturally, this arrangement provides the exploiters with the possibility of increasing their

pressure on the workers.

No enterprise or construction plans have been developed in the Arab popu-

SALIM QUASIM is secretary of the Arab Trade Union Congress in Israel.

lated areas to provide employment for the workers. They are, therefore, compelled to seek work in the other parts of the country notwithstanding the laws restricting their free movement. Thousands of them continually face the military courts under the charge of leaving their residence without permits and are sentenced to fines, sometimes reaching over 100 pounds and to terms of imprisonment sometimes reaching over one year.

In a district called the Triangle, inhabited by about 30,000 Arabs, the authorities have completely banned the establishment of trade union organizations. Trade unionists are prevented from reaching that district. Workers who are active in forming trade union organizations are persecuted in every possible way.

Three members of the Arab Trade Union Congress from Taiba village, because of their activities in defense of the rights of the workers and peasants, were brought before a military court last year under frame-up charges and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from four to eight months. Workers in the district are completely deprived of travelling permits to other towns and villages in search of employment. In consequence they suffer unemployment, poverty and deprivation. Those few who are employed in the temporary and seasonal works there are brutally exploited, their wages hardly equal to one-third of the wages paid in other parts of the land. Genuine trade union organizations are oppressed and trade union rights are violated. The most flagrant attack on the freedom of trade union organization was the banning of the 5th National Congress of the Arab Trade Union Congress, which was scheduled to be held in Nazareth, in September 1950. This congress was held in April 1951, after the persistent struggle of the A.T.U.C., supported by thousands of Arab and Jewish workers in Israel, by the World Federation of Trade Unions and the national centers affiliated to it.

The policy of discrimination in wages and employment is common in Israel, especially in government and semi-government enterprises. Wages of the Arab workers do not exceed 60 per cent of the wages of their Jewish colleagues engaged

in the same work.

The Arab worker in the Public Works Department of the Ministry of Labor receives from 1.5 to 2 Israel pounds daily, while the Jewish worker receives from 2.750 to 3 pounds and more.

2.750 to 3 pounds and more.

In Solel-Boneh, a Histadruth building cooperative, the wages of unskilled Arab

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workers range from 1.500 to 2 pounds daily, while the wages of his Jewish colleagues are not less than 2.750 pounds.

An Arab teacher in the employment of the Ministry of Education receives monthly not more than 60 Israel pounds (and that only recently after bitter struggle), while his Jewish colleagues with the same qualifications receives not less than 90 pounds.

In addition to this, the Arab workers have to travel daily tens of miles to and from their place of work, paying a large part of their wages as travel expenses because they are not free to settle where

they wish.

Workers and employees often lose their jobs because of their political conviction or trade union affiliation. The large enterprises, especially government controlled or semi-government workshops, demand as a condition of employment that Arab workers affiliate with the government sponsored "Israel Labor League."

Arab workers are not allowed to register with the General Labor Exchanges, which are restricted to Jewish workers only. Arab workers seek employment in the free market and are thus exposed to harsh exploitation by the employers.

Such conditions are made possible by the policy of the reactionary Mapai leadership in the Histadruth, who at the same time lead the government. In banning Arab workers from joining the Histadruth as equals, they follow a policy detrimental to Jewish and Arab workers. The Arab workers and toiling masses fully realize that this policy, planned and executed by the reactionary Mapai leadership in the Histadruth and the government, is part and parcel of a general policy inimical and detrimental to the interests of all the Israel working class, Jews and Arabs, a policy of service to the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, a policy of war preparations.

Thus the Arab Trade Union Congress leads the struggle of the Arab toiling masses against discrimination and national oppression as part of the country-wide struggle against war preparations and for peace. Tens of thousands of Jewish workers support the Arab T.U.C.'s struggle against military rule, for equal rights and for the unity of Jewish and Arab workers within one general trade union organization.

The Arab T.U.C. has mobilized its members in support of the appeal for a peace pact, which has been signed by more than 400,000 Israeli citizens—more than 43 per cent of the adult population.

The success of the peace movement means the success of the struggle for work, bread and equality and friendship of peoples.

## **FUEL SHORTAGE IN ISRAEL**

By I. Elsky

Tel Aviv

Several conferences over a period of weeks were held in May between officials of the Israel and British foreign ministries regarding supply of fuel by England for Israel. Up to now Israel had paid for oil with exports of citrus fruits and capital "frozen" in England since the end of the British mandate.

But now this "frozen" capital is gone. How shall the oil be paid for now? The Israel government therefore asked the English government to extend credit for the purchase of oil. Israel's Foreign Minister Moshe Sharret then conferred with British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden about this. Israeli President Chaim Weizman sent a special letter to Churchill on the matter and D. Horovitz, advisor to the finance ministry, has also taken part in several talks on the problem.

However, the response of the English government has been a regular and brutal

"No"-"No credit."

Failure of these negotiations has presented Israel with very difficult problems. The frantic measures of the government clearly show its anxiety. It has decided to cut fuel consumption by 25 per cent. Since only one per cent of the oil consumed in Israel is used for private automobiles, five per cent for general commucations, and 11 per cent for military needs, the cut will create new hardships for our agriculture and industry, for fully 83 per cent of our oil consumption is for various productive purposes. The cut then affects first of all the production of necessities. As a result, production will decrease at a time when maximum production is a dire necessity and ever expanding production is needed. Secondly, this curtailment in oil will decrease export possibilities. The total result is a further deepening of the crisis.

Here is, then, another respect in which the Israel government policy of subordinating the country to the interests of Anglo-American imperialism expresses itself with brutal clarity. Israel has become a victim of the rivalry of American and British oil monopolies. The American imperialists are everywhere driving their poorer British partner out of positions of control. This is also happening in Israel. The Americans are trying to wrest control of the potash industry from the British; they want control of the electric companies. An Israeli representative is already in America in connection with plans to replace the British with Americans in the 'Bank Leumi." And now the "fuel law" recently introduced in the Knesset is another measure designed to weaken the British monopolists.

In May and June the strike of United States oil workers cut down oil shipments from that country to all Marshallized counries. Many air lines were compelled to curtail their service and the United States government even sharply restricted the sale of oil for military purposes. This latter fact was one main reason for the English government's refusal of credit to

Israel to purchase oil.

The Israel government was therefore set back in its efforts to deal with the deepening economic crisis. Was this necessary? Decidedly not! Some time ago the Iranian government offered to sell Israel oil at 50 per cent of the price demanded by the English and American companies. Yet the Israel government rejected this offer. One should bear in mind that Israel spends 50 million dollars annually for oil and therefore could have saved 25 million dollars if this offer had been accepted. Moreover, the Israel government could have bought crude oil from Iran and have



utilized the Haifa refineries at full capacity to process it. But the government rejected this opportunity, despite the fact that the British owners of the Haifa refineries do not wish to exploit more than one-third of the potential productive capacity of these refineries.

The Israel government did not even try to enter into negotiations for oil with the Rumanian People's Republic. Why was the offer of oil from Iran rejected and no effort made to approach the Rumanian People's Republic for oil? The "explanation" given in government circles for failing to do these things is the shortage of dollars. These government circles try to present the situation thus: if Israel gets the materials from Britain and America, it need not pay with dollars—the payment for materials would be made from loans.

But these excuses are bubbles that have burst. What is the real situation? Part of the oil imports from Britain were paid for by the export of our citrus fruit products. Now it has been revealed that the Soviet Union will give us a better price for our citrus products than Britain—and in dollars. It is also known that the Soviet Union has ordered half a million cases of citrus fruit in Israel to be shipped to her on Israel ships. Last year, the Soviet Union purchased only about 170,000 cases of citrus fruit from Israel. Furthermore, there are good prospects for export of bananas to the Soviet Union.

At the International Economic Conference in Moscow last April it was positively stated that oil could now be bought from the People's Republic of Rumania more cheaply because transportation costs from Costanza, in Rumania, are lower than those from Venezuala. It was also clear that this oil need not be paid for in dollars but in Israel pounds. Rumania would then use these pounds in Israel to buy our products.

This tremendous opportunity would be grasped by a government that has the real interests of its people at heart. Not only would Israel get a better price for its citrus products than it gets at present. It would also have the opportunity of buying materials necessary for industrial and agricultural production at greatly reduced prices. Not only would Israel have the opportunity of exploiting its own oil resources and saving tremendous sums now paid for foreign oil: it could at the same time enlarge both the scope and the extent of its agriculture and industry.

At the Moscow conference it was further clear that Israel could buy the machinery so necessary for the development of its own oil industry. Contrary to the barrage of false propaganda, Israel has revealed that it is not possible to begin to exploit its own oil fields in the Negeb

and the Great Desert because necessary machinery and capital are lacking.

The oil crisis not only strikes a blow against agricultural and industrial production now. It also causes increased suffering of the people through increased unemployment and threatens a deepening of the economic crisis.

What are the government plans to remedy this situation? Davar of May 26 writes about "the sacrifices which still have to be made in the United States and in South America," and the "institutions

of new controls." The proposed solution therefore shows that the government is not able to draw the proper conclusions from the situation created by its own false anti-people's policies of subordinating the national interests of Israel to the war interests of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Only by a change in Israel policies so as to free our land from dependence upon imperialistic trade relations, to expand trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and to begin to exploit our own national resources, can Israel be led out of this economic and political crisis.



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## **NEWS OF EAST EUROPEAN JEWS**

#### Czechoslovakia

The following report on a visit to Prague was printed as a letter in the London Jewish Chronicle, June 13:

SIR—I think your readers will be interested in a visit I made to the famous Alt-Neue Synagogue in Prague on Friday morning, May 30—Shavuot.

I was in Prague by invitation of the Prague Spring Festival to appear in Don Giovanni at their National Opera House.

I arrived to find the service in progress and the beautiful Gothic synagogue decorated with foliage for *Yomtov*.

There was a congregation of about 40, in appearance and age similar to any other in many synagogues with which I am acquainted.

A very broad Polish-Hebrew pronunciation was in use. I was given the honor of taking the *Sefer* from the Ark and also called to the Reading of the Law.

I learned from the president and hazan of the congregation that the synagogue and its officials were supported by the State, which also paid for the upkeep and preservation of the 600-year-old building. The present synagogue had been built on the site of a former one—hence the name Alt-Neue (Old-New).

After the service and Kiddush [blessing of the wine] the president, Mr. Blum, took me to another ancient synagogue which was being restored under the supervision of an archaeologist of Prague University.

All the expense for this enormous task was being borne by the State and when I asked Mr. Blum whether it would be used for its original purpose, he assured me that its congregation was waiting to commence services when the restoration was completed in time for the next High Festivals.

Mr. Blum informed me that there were about 3,000 Jews left in Prague; there were about 30,000 before the war. Each of them had suffered from the nazis and Mr. Blum himself had lost over 150 members of his family. His own life had been saved by his escaping to Soviet Russia.

After describing various aspects of Jewish life in present-day Prague, from which I gathered it had quite a healthy existence, he gave me this message to the Jews of Britain. Tell them, he said, not to send Matzot or Mezzuzot; we have plenty of them. But we have had enough of war. Tell them to send us peace.

MARTIN LAWRENCE

London

#### Soviet Union

ON A visit to Tel Aviv from his post as Israeli Minister to Moscow, Shmuel Elyashev, addressed the Tel Aviv Commercial and Industrial Club on June 20 about the Soviet Union. Elvashev told his audience that living standards had risen markedly in the past four years. While in 1949, he said, one could easily distinguish foreigners because of their clothes, today it is not easy to distinguish them from Moscovites because of the new clothes available at cheaper prices. Food on the market was more varied and cheaper, he said, although wage levels had been maintained. Price cuts have also caused a much greater sale of books. Elyashev said that the prospects for increased trade between the Soviet Union and Israel were good. The Soviet Union would be willing, for instance, to increase its import of citrus fruits, he said. He added that "there had been no change in the Soviet policy towards Israel, which has always been one of friend-

The Israel chargé d'affaires in Moscow, Mr. Orgamon, is annoyed with Mrs. Lydia Kirk, wife of the former United States ambassador to the Soviet Union. In her article in the May Ladies Home Journal she reported that the Israeli diplomat had told her that there were about 45,000 Jews in Moscow and more in Odessa and Kiev. These Jews, she said that he told her, were living in dire need and many had been thrown out of their homes and rendered unemployed. Mr. Orgamon has stated that this is a false report: he asserted that he had never made any such statements to Mrs. Kirk or anyone else. He called Mrs. Kirk's assertions a fabrication from beginning to end. "How could I ever give such a ridiculously low figure of the number of Jews in Moscow?" [The figure has been estimated at about 250,000.—Eds.] He also indignantly denied having made the other statements to Mrs. Kirk. When he saw the actual magazine article, he exclaimed incredulously, "How could anyone do such a thing?"

Several Jewish Soviet playwrights have recently concerned themselves with problems of university students: V. Lifshitz has written Students and A. Davidson has written, in collaboration with A. Borozina, the play, A Third Year Student.

#### Rumania

THE removal of Ana Pauker from her post as foreign minister of the Rumanian People's Republic provided the occasion for the Associated Press to issue on July 5 fabrications about alleged "anti-Semitic" causes for this dismissal. "Western diplomatic reports from Bucharest," said the account, "said that the fact that Mme. Pauker was Jewish was a major factor in the internal rivalry for power that led to her purging. . . . Mme. Pauker was said to have incurred the Kremlin's displeasure because she arranged to have her aged father sent to Israel two years ago' (!). The fantastic nature of these "reports" can be judged from the detailed analysis of the reasons for the criticism of Ana Pauker published in a recent issue of the Cominform paper, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy. After expounding the anti-Rumanian activities of the former Finance Minister V. Luca, the 'conciliatory stand taken by Comrade Ana Pauker in relation to V. Luca" and the "unprincipled relationships cultivated [by Ana Pauker] within the Party leadership" were given as the reasons for criticism of her. It is obvious that the "Western diplomatic reports" were creating their "anti-Semitic" version out of thin air and were slandering the Rumanian people's democracy.

#### Poland

A STUDY course for teachers of the Jewish State Schools in Poland was opened on July 6. The study program includes courses in the Yiddish language, Jewish history and literature and contemporary Poland. Director of the program is the well-known Jewish teacher S. Ferdman, the director of the Jewish Historical Institute Ber Mark and others.

A conference was held in Wroclaw in June of 100 local correspondents of the Yiddish paper Folks-Shtimme. The conference was headed by the editor, H. Smolar, and was called to discuss ways of "establishing closer cooperation between local Jewish communities and the paper." The correspondents pledged that they would engage in "merciless criticism and self-criticism" in order to help overcome obstacles to the realization of socialism in Poland.

## Book Reviews

## SALESMAN OF COLONIALISM

By Richard Riess

Blood, Oil, & Sand, by Ray Brock. World Publishing Company, Cleveland. \$3.50.

Over 15 years ago, Ray Brock went to Spain at the age of 23, to report on the conflict there. Since then he has spent the years as a traveling salesman for American colonialism. His territory has now dwindled slightly, since his employers have lost China. In this book he presents to them his proposals to prevent their losing the Middle East territory as well. He has his doubts as to our ability to retain this territory and has criticized certain aspects of Western business policy, not because of the bad effects on the Arab peoples but because these peoples are turning away from us.

Brock is full of indignation and scorn at the "ineptitude" of the "West" and its native assistants to which he attributes the turning away from us of the Arab peoples. Always his motif comes through-we must keep them on our side to fight Russia, we must keep them on our side to hold on to our oil or we are lost. The book actually winds up with a fervid plea for war against Russia with the Middle East as the battleground. Of course, as is popular today, he doesn't call for war against Russia, but calls for the stopping of Russian "aggression." He doesn't hesitate to "hope that your sons and mine will go forth as readily to battle armed with ideas to end forever this tyranny."

In general this book is a hodgepodge of a travel guide, a Hollywood version of the Middle East and a glorification of the author himself. He points to the threat of a Russian hurricane, failing completely to understand that the present hurricane in the Middle East is one of Arab peoples rising up to blow away not only the oppression of Western big business, but their own native feudal ruling class as well. His American tourist mind cannot conceive of the people taking into their hands their own destinies.

The careless, slapdash fashion in which the book is written gives the impression that it was done in a hurry and that the author threw in whatever came into his

mind at any moment without any necessary connection with the immediate subject matter. For example, in the chapter on Israel the author attacks the San Francisco Conference of 1945 at which the United Nations Charter was adopted. To him the conference was "an assembly of mice presided over by a few mice." In the course of this section the author drags in every appeal to current hysteria, the Katyn Forest "massacre," an alleged Russian "kidnapping of the Polish government," Alger Hiss and the "ruinous Russian occupation of Berlin and the partition of Austria"

Mr. Brock's complaint, it seems, is that the conference "loosely consigned the Mediterranean basin to British dominance and continued their exploitation of the riches of the Middle East." So superficial is his observation and understanding of the Middle East, that he fails to grasp that an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviet Union was and is being constructed, while simultaneously the allies are rivals of each other, with England steadily losing out to the United States.

British dominance in the Middle East has already been replaced by the United States in Turkey, Greece and Saudi Arabia; it is being replaced visibly in Iran and Egypt and in economic terms in Israel; in Syria the shifting of control back and forth following the frequent assassinations and "revolutions" reflects the continuing struggle between the two powers behind the smokescreen that "Russia is the threat to the peace of the world and the Middle East." The smokescreen in reality rises up from Washington, Western Europe. Mr. Brock helps it along in this book.

Brock makes no mention of the harmful aspects of American foreign policy toward Israel, such as the American effort in 1948 to replace the UN resolution with a trusteeship or Washington's arms embargo policy that prevented Israel from buying arms from us while the Arabs got all they needed from Britain. But about the Soviet Union there is no such reticence. The book is full of such unsup-

ported statements as "Soviet aggression,"
"the all-too-murderous certainties of the
Russians." etc., etc.

Russians," etc., etc.

To get the full flavor of Brock's reasoning and writing, take the following

sample

"Despite the most rigorous screening, the waves of immigrants into Israel contain men and women dedicated to the eventual anarchical overthrow of the Israeli government and the establishment of a desperate Communist state in the heartland of Middle East."

What can one think of the sincerity of a man who professes to be a friend of Israel, yet says the following: the Israeli army consists of "fanatical young Hebrews . . . full of gutter cunning"; "The investigation of one's paper and background reminds one of a totalitarian state"; Israel was "born in hatred"; the population "is composed of emotional, violent, sometimes reckless and altogether anxious and suspicious peoples bred on idealism, sabotage, smuggled small arms, illegal immigration."

One can only conclude that Brock has written a vicious book.

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# Letters from Readers

#### "Hitler Wasn't So Fussy"

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, in attacking those who would try to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, states that they (the Rosenbergs) are anti-religious—without any documentation whatsoever—and therefore cannot legitimately claim to be Jews.

In other words, according to the LAJCC, the more orthodox the Jew, the more legitimate. For example, a religious Jew, but without a beard or yarmelke, would be an 85 per cent Jew. Likewise, a Jew who didn't attend synagogue might be a 15 per cent Jew.

Hitler wasn't so fussy. To Hitler anyone with only one of his four grandparents Jewish (orthodox, conservative, reformed, non-religious or anti-religious), was a law

Manpower mobilizer Anna Rosenberg, a faithful servant of the bipartisan government that framed Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, was and is Jew-baited to high heaven. No one established how religious she was. The mere fact that she was a Rosenberg was enough.

One reactionary South California weekly editorialized thus: "Mark these names. Two Rosenbergs, 'citizens' of the USA, were convicted of passing atomic secrets on to Mother Russia. There are such traitors working tirelessly in our community."

Enclosed is \$2.

J. D.

Downey, Cal.

#### No Surprise

Editors, Jewish Life:

In response to your appeal, I am sending a small check, wishing it could be a great deal larger.

Although I am not Jewish and never saw a copy of your magazine until last March, it has become a great favorite with me. The obvious sincerity, clear thinking, decency and regard for truth which your articles display are as rare as they are appealing.

I am also greatly pleased that you are supporting the Progressive Party, but I am not surprised, because it seems to me that such support is due from all lovers of peace like yourselves.

My hope is that you will receive so

many large contributions this month that your future will be assured.

Mrs. E. H. T.

S. W.

Jackson Heights, N. Y.

#### Confidence from Canada

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

We find Jewish Life a magazine of the highest literary, social and scientific caliber. While Americans who write for JL live, we cannot despise "all" Americans or their culture.

Montreal, Canada

#### "Bright Searchlight"

Editors, Jewish Life:

Not having as yet read Lantern for Jeremy, the phrase may not be appropriate, but it occurred to me in regard to your magazine. Jewish Life is a bright searchlight which we must all keep lit, bright and sparkling and full of batteries, for we need it for the dark corners we must round in order to find the road to peace and freedom for all peoples, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

Am enclosing a contribution of \$10.00.

Oakland, Cal.

#### More Appreciation

Editors, Jewish Life:

I contributed to your magazine just a few months ago but here is the best I can do now, \$3. So many things to do now!

JEWISH LIFE is wonderful and mustn't cease publication!

M. N.

Chicago

Editors, Jewish Life: .

Your April issue was the best I have read so far. In the words of the shochet from Poland, what can I say to you?

JEWISH LIFE is unique. There is no other Jewish publication like it here in the USA. Keep it up!

Enclosed is \$2.

Mrs. L. K.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

Enclosed is my check for \$10, for which please send me a copy of V. J. Jerome's

book, A Lantern for Jeremy, also a renewal of my subscription and the balance of \$6.50 is in response to your appeal.

The magazine is getting better all the time and I certainly want to do my bit toward helping it continue along this path.

New York City

Editors, Jewish Life:

Enclosed find ten dollars.

Your magazine is wonderful. Carry on! A. F.

New York City

Editors, Jewish LIFE:

Here is \$2 for a sub for a relative of mine.

I hope that it will not be necessary to discontinue publication of Jewish Life. Each reader can find one other person who would benefit immeasurably by reading this worthy magazine.

B. H.

B. T.

Los Angeles

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## FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)
notorious Swedish international antiSemite. Among the American planners of
the meeting were said to be Gerald L. K.
Smith, John Hamilton, Peter Fagan and
Bill Hendrix of the Ku Klux Klan.

Two letters in April and May, written to General Douglas MacArthur by Rabbi Samuel M. Silver, of Cleveland, asking the general's position on anti-Semitic propaganda in connection with his candidacy sent out by Gerald Winrod's "Defender, Inc.," remained unanswered.

Gerhard Stahlberg, West German consul-general in San Francisco, has been established to have taken an active part in Hitler's anti-Jewish annihilation program. A document dated 1941 shows that Stahlberg, then a member of Ribbentrop's foreign ministry, drew up anti-Jewish proposals.

**Permission** was refused in June by the Beachwood Village Council, to the Euclid Avenue Temple in Cleveland to build a new center. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* editorialized against the discrimination.

The Grand Lodge of the State of New York Knights of Pythias has been conducting a campaign for some years to eliminate the "white only" membership clause. Last year the state convention ordered a poll of members on the matter and indications are that a majority favor eliminating Jimcrow. Supreme Chancellor Eric N. Genzberger of the order has lifted the charter of the New York unit because of this fight. Legal action has been taken against Genzberger's act.

The number of Jewish farmers in the United States is increasing, according to a statement issued by the Jewish Agricultural Society in June. Many newly-arrived DP's are settling on farms and the uncertain condition of the garment industry is also said to be a cause for the increase at a time when the American farm population as a whole is decreasing.

#### **EUROPE**

Menachim Beigin, leader of the extreme right wing Herut Party in Israel, held a conference with General Charles de Gaulle, pro-fascist French leader, on a recent visit to France.

The judicial review committee of the

French National Assembly was preparing in June to approve an amnesty law that would allow release of 3,000 collaborators and war criminals still imprisoned. Many of these were involved in anti-Jewish atrocities.

Sam Wanamaker, American actor-producer now appearing in a play at a London theater, held a talk in London in June in which he charged that there is more anti-Semitism in British theatrical circles than in American. He said that the anti-Semitism was more subtle and "gentleman-like" in England and therefore harder to deal with.

In a report to the World Jewish Congress European conference in London in June, Dr. Noah Barou, chairman of the European executive, said that anti-Semitism was increasing in many countries and that racism was being fostered by local reactionary forces, supported by imported nazi groups among them. He added that the cold war has been creating "a favorable background for racial and religious strife."

A Bonn parliamentary committee investigating for eight months charges that the diplomatic service of West Germany was riddled with nazis, filed a report in June in part confirming the accusations and affirming that presence of former Hitler diplomats in the present foreign service was damaging the West German reputation. Retirement or removal of some officials was recommended.

A Gestapo-like raid was made by 120 police and customs officials on the Jewish DP camp at Foehrenwald, near Munich, early in June, several days after signing of the Bonn agreement. Jews were beaten with rubber truncheons and brutally treated. The inmates stoned the raiders, injuring four, who withdrew.

A West Berlin court absolved a drunken rowdy of anti-Semitism, but imprisoned him for being disorderly. He had hammered on the doors of Jewish old women shouting, "The time has come to act against this gang of filthy Jews. I'll pour gas over them and set them afire." The judge quashed the charge of anti-Semitism on the ground that the man had been "temporarily deranged by alcohol."

A newspaper in Spain, La Noche, published in five cities, is publishing a serial-

ized version of the vicious *Protocols of Zion* forgery under the sponsorship of nazis who escaped to Spain after Hitler's fall

ISRAEL

Several demonstrations were held in Israel in June. Over 4,000 residents of the immigrant camp of Be'er Ya'acov marched through the city shouting slogans for housing and better living conditions. Two thousand residents of the camp had been living under tents for three years. The demonstrators claimed that Jewish Agency officials had failed to keep an appointment called to discuss conditions. . . . Several hundred men gathered outside of the Histadrut Jerusalem offices in mid-June shouting "We want work!" Six demonstrators were arrested. When the police attacked the demonstrators with truncheons, the demonstrators cried, "We want work, not police." The Histadrut re-fused to receive a delegation of demonstrators.

A meeting to protest the Bonn agreement was held under the auspices of the Israel Peace League in Tel Aviv in mid-June. Communist Shmuel Mikunis said that the agreement was the beginning of a second "Korea in Europe" and Mapam leader Dr. Moshe Sneh said that "Israel is prepared to approve of the military treaty signed with Western Germany without reservation, while both Britain and France hesitate to do so."

Elections to the 96-man student council at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in June showed an increase of Communist Party representation to 10 per cent, a decrease for Mapam to 14.5 per cent, a drop for Mapai to 33 per cent and an increase of the right wing bloc to 21.5 per cent.

The cost-of-living index rose by six points in May to 150 (September 1951 is 100).

An order cutting delivery of milk to three days a week (presumably in the interests of saving fuel) caused the milkmen to strike early in June. There was wide sympathy for the milkmen among the people and storekeepers.

When Tewfiq Toubi, Arab Communist deputy, charged in the Knesset on July 2, that the Israel army had committed atrocities against Arab citizens, a 68-year old deputy tried to strike Mr. Toubi, who had said that during a military action against Al Shibi, Israeli soldiers looted food and other possessions. Disorder followed the encounter and the Knesset was temporarily adjourned.

