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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Document No 8 December 1948

NO CHANGE in Class. ☐

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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO. 108

SUBJECT: Political Parties in Israel. Class. CHANGED TO: TS

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In spite of these MAPAM speeches and articles clamoring for closer Israeli-Soviet relations, there are no indications so far that MAPAM is Communist. In domestic policy it is strongly socialist, and its support of communal settlements, which are sponsored by all the Israeli socialist parties, cannot be interpreted as a Communist policy. MAPAM would gladly accept Soviet guidance, money, and arms in support of freedom, progress, democracy, and, above all, socialism.

This article also reports that MAPAM has adopted the Achdut Hashomer administrative system of a council of 101 members and that the Hashomer Hatzair newspaper Hishmer will be issued daily by the party as Al-Ha-Mishmar. Koshe Sheli, who was formerly a leader of the left wing of the General Zionists and reportedly the Jewish Agency's liaison officer with Eastern Europe, is MAPAM's primary leader and spokesman. He has had strong contacts with Polish Communists in Palestine. He is known as an ambitious opportunist and his influence was restricted in the Jewish Agency Council by more moderate leaders. It is quite possible that his shift to this "new" leftist party was motivated more by personal ambition and the chance to become the top man in the new party than by conviction. In his speech at the opening meeting, Koshe Sheli stated that the persecution of Communists is identical to the persecution of Jews and appealed to all to join in the struggle, led by the USSR, for freedom, progress, democracy, and, above all, socialism.

An article in the 25 January 1948 edition of the Palestine Post contains excerpts from the new party's platform:

"The independent nation is to forge its socialist future by striving for a pact with the toiling Arab masses in the country... The party sees itself as an inseparable part of the revolutionary workers' movement and the work against capitalist reaction (sic). It will foster contacts with revolutionary movements all over the world and favors agreement between the workers of the world and the USSR, which is the first workers' state... Complete equality and cooperation between the Jewish people returning to its land and the Arab masses living there will be sought..."

Regarding the UN decision, the platform has determined to support the establishment of the Jewish state and its defense under present conditions despite its rejection, in principle, of the partition solution."

3. MAPAM: MiLaga ha-Poelim ha-Khechenedet (United Labor Workers' Party).

a. MAPAM, which is also a Zionist socialist party, was formed in January 1948 by the fusion of three left-wing parties: Achdut Avoda, Poale Zion Smol, and Hashomer Hatzair. MAPAM differs from MAPAI, with which it is closely associated in the Histadrut, in advocating a more extreme socialism within Israel and the forging of closer links with the USSR in foreign affairs.

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MAPAM - A Brief Outline

The independent Israeli socialist party -- MAPAM (the United Workers Party) -- was officially founded in January, 1948. Diverse elements of the socialist-Zionist left, particularly those representing the collective settlement movement (kibbutzim -- which played a vital role in building the country) and the emerging Israeli working class, united to form the party.

In essence, however, MAPAM was originally conceived some 80 years ago as a Jewish youth movement -- Hashomer Hatzair. Very quickly it became a socialist movement striving to form socialist communes, which ultimately became the "kibbutzim" in Israel.

The Kibbutz Artzi Federation, numbering today more than 85 kibbutzim and nearly 25,000 members, significantly contributed to the ideological and organizational development of the party and remains an integral part of MAPAM. The kibbutz way-of-life, based on self-management and volunteerism, lends a unique character to the democratic-socialist ideology of MAPAM.

From its inception, this movement understood that two peoples are living in the Land of Israel, and they both have the right to national self-determination. At its founding convention in 1929, the Kibbutz Artzi Federation resolved: "...the historic Land of Israel is the common homeland of two peoples, the Jewish people returning to it and the Palestinian people living in it."

This kibbutz federation, and its youth movement, strove to create a bi-national state in Israel, in which both peoples would have equal national and political rights -- while preserving the Zionist principle that the country must be open to all Jews persecuted by anti-Semitic forces and all Jews who choose to manifest their national existence. However this dream became totally obsolete with the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1948.

While firmly rooted in the origins of the Zionist movement, MAPAM was the first Zionist political party to accept Arab members. From its outset MAPAM has called itself a Jewish-Arab party, and Arab members enjoy full and equal rights within the party, and are represented in all party insitutions, including the Knesset faction.

In 1947, the United Nations -- on the backdrop of the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict -- decided to partition the Land of Israel (Palestine) into two independent states: a Jewish state and a Palestinian-Arab state. The United States and the Soviet Union both supported this decision. The state of the Jewish people arose, despite the ensuing invasion by Arab armies. The state of Israel did not succumb, rather by conquering those areas which had been set aside for the Palestinians by the UN proclamation, it prevented the formation of an independent Palestinian state.

MAPAM did not forego its desire for an accommodation with the Palestinian-Arab people and opened its ranks to Arab members, within the framework of a common political party. MAPAM fought against all restrictions on freedom of movement for the Arab population of Israel

imposed by the Military Administration. MAPAM demanded -- and achieved -- the acceptance of Arab workers into the General Labour Federation of Israel (Histadrut).

MAPAM's internal economic program demands the nationalization of key industries, the tightening of price and rent controls, a capital levy, progressive indirect taxation, a state monopoly of foreign trade, and the transfer of Histadrut's economic enterprises to the nation.

The most optimistic estimate of MAPAM strength in the coming elections gives this party 25% of the vote. Most recent estimates, from Goldman in London and the Press Club in Tel Aviv, give MAPAM only 16% and predict another MAPAM-led coalition. In that case, MAPAM would probably continue in very much its present role; it would maintain its economic power in the Histadruth and seek to gain prestige by taking credit for any Soviet action favorable to Israel.

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In April 1946, Achatz merged with Poale Zion Smol to form the Keflaget Achatz Avoda, although (as in the mergers of other Jewish parties) it retained its own party organization. In the 1946 elections to the General Zionist Congress, the first in which it participated, Keflaget Achatz Avoda polled 24,346 or 12% of the votes. After the visit of two of its members to Moscow in February 1948, this party merged with the Hashomer Hatzair to form MAPAM.

The party's main strength is from the 6,000 members of the Kibbutz Artzi, a federation of Hashomer Hatzair agricultural settle-

ments, although in 1944 it also had 1,500 members outside these communal settlements. In the 1944 Assefat Haniivarin elections the Hashomer Hatzair and the Poale Zion Smol combined in a "Left Front" which received 24,773 votes or 12.4% of the total.

In February 1946, Hashomer Hatzair merged with the Socialist League. Their combined program demanded both the holding of elections at regular intervals for the general assembly of the Jewish community and greater participation in the administration of the Vaad Leumi, whose policy they believed should be determined by the labor parties and democratic and progressive groups. They also consider that the freedom of the Jewish workers to wage a class struggle is vital to Zionism, and they believe that any ideologies which include the concept of arbitration or curtailment of the right to strike are not only anti-socialist but anti-Zionist.

The 2,000 workers of the Socialist League plus 500 former members of the Hashomer Hatzair Youth movement brought total adult membership of the Hashomer Hatzair up to 8,500 in 1946. Its newspaper, Mishmar, was the third most widely circulated in Palestine. In 1946 the party came out against terrorism and was reported to be trying to gain strength in rural areas. In July 1946 there was a reorganization of the political executive. Sections were designated for cooperation with the USSR, the V-League (Friendship for Soviet Russia), and the Arabs. A member of this political executive (Oren) was reported to have gone to a conference at the Soviet Embassy in London in September, where he promised that the Hashomer Hatzair would work to make the Yishuv (the Jewish community in Palestine) vanguard against Anglo-American influence in the Middle East. In the October 1946 elections for the World Zionist Congress, Hashomer Hatzair polled 23,944 votes or 12% of the total. Leaders include Mordecai Bentov, who is Minister of Works and Buildings in the PGI, M. Yaari, and V. Hasan.

During the fall of 1947 negotiations were in progress in Palestine and abroad, particularly in Poland, for a union of all pro-Soviet left-wing groups in the Jewish Agency to a unbalanced MAPAI's "dictatorship" and to oppose the "fascism" of the Irgun-Revisionist bloc. Such pro-Soviet institutions as the Society for Israeli-Soviet Friendship, (the former V-League) the Soviet section of the Pan Slav Union, and the satellite consulates lent encouragement. By January 1948, Achdut Avoda-Poale Zion Smol's fear of being swallowed up by the better organized communities of Hashomer Hatzair was assuaged, and these three parties united to form MAPAM. In the 1946 elections to the Histadruth the parties combined in MAPAM received 25% of the vote as opposed to 35% received by MAPAI.

d. The third of the triumvirate, the Poale Zion Smol (Left Workers of Zion), is at the extreme left of the Zionist socialist parties in Palestine. Its socialism is similar to that of the third (Moscow) International, but the party's numerous attempts to

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The new cabinet: The formation of Israel's first non-provisional government is notable for the strong control exercised by MAPAI throughout. When Prime Minister Ben-Gurion invited the other Israeli parties to join MAPAI in the new coalition, he made it clear that those accepting must accept the principle of collective responsibility and MAPAI's major policies--friendship and cooperation with both the US and the USSR, an Israeli-Arab alliance, a majority of constructive labor elements in the government, and complete civic equality for women, Christians, and Moslems. This point was emphasized when MAPAM, the left socialist party which had played a part second only to MAPAI in the provisional government, demanded as a condition to its joining the new cabinet that Ben-Gurion promise: (1) to decline any Marshall Plan aid offered Israel; (2) to refuse bases to the Western powers; and (3) to balance trade

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between the Eastern and Western blocs. Although Ben-Gurion is still holding four portfolios open for MAPAM and the General Zionists (who wanted more than the single post offered them) he refused to commit himself on MAPAM's demands, and the MAPAM Council has voted 150-33 to remain in opposition.

The new Cabinet announced by Ben-Gurion on 4 March is thus more completely dominated than was the provisional government by MAPAI, whose seven posts include all of the important ones. The United Religious Bloc has three portfolios and the Progressives and the Sephardim one each. Even if MAPAM does not reconsider its decision, this combination should provide the government with an effective majority of 73 seats out of the 120 in the Assembly. Although without MAPAM the government will be generally more conservative than it was expected to be, its policy will be comparatively clear cut and predictable, and it will continue to maintain theoretic neutrality while actually leaning toward the West.

1948

181

Meeting: P.I. Ershov – M. Sneh

(Tel Aviv, 9 October 1948)

DIARY: AVP RF, F.089, OP.1, P.1, D.3, LL.5–6

Secret

I saw Sneh at his request. He is one of the leaders of the United Mapam Workers' Party, having previously been in command of the Hagana. In conversation Sneh told me that he was leaving in a few days' time for the US as his party's delegate in order to establish closer relations with a certain progressive Zionist group in the US. This group has recently been linked to Wallace's Party¹ and supports his candidacy in the presidential elections. Sneh's task is to organize propaganda in the US, aiming to make the group work more actively in support of Wallace. Sneh, being a foreigner, cannot speak publicly for Wallace, but he will support him through the Zionist group. He thinks he will stay in the US until the presidential elections and may stop off in Paris on his way back.

I mentioned that I had read his article 'The Fateful Hour', published in the newspaper *Al hamishmar*,² in which Sneh warns the government and society about the dangers of concessions and any sort of deal on the Palestine question. I asked him what sort of danger he had in mind and how serious it was. Sneh answered that the main danger was that Britain and the US were always trying to draw Israel into their sphere of influence. With that in view, they were trying to detach the Negev from Israel in order to turn it into a military base. This question had been on their agenda during the entire thirty-year period of British rule in Palestine. All their proposals for the partition of Palestine have envisaged the separation of the Negev. This was evident in Lord Peel's plan in 1937³ and in the Morrison-Grady proposal of 1946;⁴ and, finally, the Americans insisted on it at the session of the General Assembly in 1947.

I asked whether the Americans and British were pursuing only strategic aims in the Negev, and Sneh said that there were important economic as well as strategic motives: 1) the Negev has oil reserves (in Gaza and the southern part of the Dead Sea around Kurnub;⁵ 2) the Dead Sea has very rich reserves of potash, manganese and bromide. It was with this in mind that Churchill, as early as 1922, decided to divide the Dead Sea into two parts, so that the western part would be included in the mandatory territory of Palestine and the eastern part in Transjordan.

379

430 / 1076

196%

Documents on Israeli–Soviet Relations 1941–1953

446 / 1076

127%

1. See Doc. 145, n. 2.

2. *Al hamishmar*, 1 Oct. 1948.

3. See Doc. 31, n. 3.

4. See Doc. 65.

5. Present-day Mamshit in the Negev Desert.

1948

also against international trusteeship without the USSR. The party had major differences with the government on the question of Haifa and Lydda. Shertok had been saying in the State Council that, since Bernadotte's proposals concerned only the port and not the whole town of Haifa, Israel could agree with it. Mapam was saying that giving Transjordan the right to use the port of Haifa would, in practice, mean handing over the port to the British and turning it into a British naval base. The same was true of Lydda. That was why Mapam was insisting that there should be no concessions on this matter.

When I asked which parties or political groups were showing an inclination to give ground, Sneh answered that at present there were three currents of thought in political circles: 1) the right wing of the Mapai Party and the representatives of the *grande bourgeoisie*, whose views were expressed in the government by Finance Minister Kaplan and the Minister of Justice Rosenblueth, and in the press by the newspaper *Haaretz*: These were all inclined to make territorial concessions in order to gain the agreement and support of the US and Britain; 2) the extreme nationalists, revisionists and the IZL, secretly supported by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who oppose concessions and are trying to reach an agreement with the US to obtain the annexation of part of the Arab territories of Palestine in order to hand them over later as concessions to American capital. Ben-Gurion's view is expressed in the press by the journalist Liebenstein [Livneh] in the newspaper *Davar*: 'What Liebenstein writes, Ben-Gurion thinks, or the other way round' said Sneh; 3) the United Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Israel are against any sort of concessions to, or compromises with, the US and Britain, but in favour of 'a just compromise' with the Arabs, and of the closest possible relations with the USSR and the People's Democracies. The first and second of these groups frequently agree on their general line, but although they have eleven ministries out of thirteen in the government, their strength should not be exaggerated. This government has not been elected by anyone: basically it has usurped power and its ministers are usurpers. It is quite possible that when new elections are held, the 'balance among the parties' will change. The progressive movement in Israel is only just beginning. If the government goes for concessions over the Bernadotte Plan, this will strengthen the opposition parties, that is Mapam and the Israeli Communist Party, which are at present exerting a restraining influence on the government, and which cannot be disregarded. Of course what restrains the government more than anything else in its lurches towards the West is the Soviet Union, which pursues a consistent policy of support for Israel as an independent and sovereign state.

The conversation lasted about an hour. Second secretary Fedorin was present.

Minister of the USSR in Israel

P. Ershov

381

432 / 1076

220%

Documents on Israeli–Soviet Relations 1941–1953

448 / 1076

125%

Meeting: P.I. Ershov – Y. Riftin and L. Levite

(Tel Aviv, 23 September 1948)

DIARY: AVP RF, F.089, OP.1, P.1, D.3, LL.21–3

Riftin and Levite came to see me at their request. Levite said that the United Workers' Party [Mapam] was playing an important role in the political life of Israel. In the last elections to the Histadrut, it received about 40 per cent of the votes. At least a hundred collective settlements, out of a total of 300 Jewish agricultural colonies, are under its influence. Since many of this party's settlements are located near the frontiers of Israel they bore the main thrust of the Arab forces. Before the formation of the Jewish army, units of the Palmah, which consists mainly of supporters of this party, formed the basis of the Jewish armed forces. At present a large number of the military commanders, including some generals, belong to Mapam. However this is not true of the general staff or other central military departments, where Mapai members predominate.

Riftin said that he had recently returned from America, where he had met Comrade A.A. Gromyko. He believes that the United Workers' Party is the most

1948

and not by the broad masses of the population; a struggle against clericalism, while retaining freedom of conviction; defence of its positions in the army, because 'with the support of the army, the party can be a significant force'; officials who served the British to be dismissed from the civil service.

When I asked what reaction there had been in the party to the Cominform-buro's decision on the Yugoslav Communist Party,² they answered that the resolution had not been discussed, and that they had very little material about this.

In conclusion I commented that the world was now split into a democratic and an imperialist camp, which meant that each party formed its foreign and domestic policies on the basis of these historic circumstances.

Semioshkin, the attaché of the legation, was present during the conversation.

Minister of the USSR in Israel

P. Ershov

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DOCUMENTS ON ISRAELI–SOVIET RELATIONS

progressive party in Israel, where it is ‘following the path laid down by the Great October Revolution’. At present, the party considers its main task to be winning the war, because only when it has defended its territory from the enemy, will it be possible to build a democratic state.

At first the party favoured the establishment of international trusteeship over Palestine (America, Britain, the USSR), but later gave full support to the United Nations’ resolution on partition. It is a staunch supporter of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, since it sees them as the main international support, which will be needed in order to build a democratic socialist state. It is therefore trying to arrange practical links with the Soviet Union in the hope of receiving some advice. For their part, they offer comprehensive information about Israel and the Arab countries. In addition, it would be desirable for the Soviet Union to give moral support to the United [Workers’] Party.

I asked about the party’s attitude to the Bernadotte Plan.¹ Levite answered that the proposal to hand over the Negev to the Arabs had met with determined resistance since it would reduce the scale of immigration to Israel. This was something to which they could never agree in any circumstances since immigration was the cornerstone of Zionism. Moreover, if the Negev were handed over to the Arabs, it would become a British base. As for Jerusalem, the party had supported its internationalization, but had changed its initial position under the influence of events, since ‘in the course of the war it was proven that the Christian powers pay no heed to the sacred character of this city’. Furthermore, Abdallah, the agent of British imperialist plans in the Near East, had his own ideas for this city, and a progressive party had to take account of this. In Levite’s opinion, the progressive movement in Arab Palestine was so weak that at present it had no practical significance, but Mapam kept in contact with it nevertheless. The only real power was Abdallah, against whom they would have to struggle. The party considered that if decisions unfavourable to Israel were taken, the Jews would have to begin a war themselves in order to defend, in particular, the Negev, by force of arms. The party had nothing against the annexation of Western Galilee to Israel.

Speaking about the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly and the prospects for development of the State of Israel, Rifting told me that their pre-election platform had been approved and consisted of the following: in foreign policy, orientation towards the Soviet Union and the new democracies; strengthening links with the Arab democratic movement. On the issue of Arab refugees, Levite said that the party’s position included the following: return of refugees after the war, with the exception of ‘warmongers’. In the sphere of domestic policy, a resolute struggle against fascist and terrorist organizations. At present the government was pursuing only the Stern group, while members of other fascist and terrorist groups were still at liberty. Legislation to institute a progressive tax, the burden of which would be borne by the bourgeoisie,

1. See Doc. 156, n. 4.

364

(DIARY: AVP RF. F.089, OP.1, P.1. D3, LL.5-6, Secret, Meeting: P.I. Ershov – M. Sneh, Tel Aviv, October 9, 1948. In: “Documents on Israeli-Soviet Relations, 1941-1953, Parts 1-2”, Israeli Foreign Ministry, Russian Foreign Ministry, Israel State Archives, Russian Federal Archives, p. 381) (DIARY: AVP RF, F.089, OP.1, P.1, D.3, LL.21-3, Meeting: P.I. Ershov – Y. Rifting and L. Levite, Tel Aviv, September 23, 1948. In: “Documents on Israeli-Soviet Relations, 1941-1953, Parts 1-2”, Israeli Foreign Ministry, Russian Foreign Ministry, Israel State Archives, Russian Federal Archives, pp. 363-365)

PPI’S ROOTS AND HISTORY

The following has been written by Arie Lebowitz and Ralph Seliger:

Organizationally, Partners for Progressive Israel has roots in the Hashomer Hatzair youth movement, founded in 1913 in Galicia, Austria-Hungary. In 1947, a number of adult former members of Hashomer Hatzair felt the need to maintain social and political cohesion even if not making *Aliyah* (moving to Israel); many were involved in the Progressive Party campaign of Henry Wallace. They created an organization called the Progressive Zionist League (PZL).

(PPI’S ROOTS AND HISTORY, Partners for Progressive Israel, Arie Lebowitz & Ralph Seliger) <https://www.progressiveisrael.org/ppis-roots-and-history/>

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I.N. Bakulin to A.A. Gromyko (Moscow)

COPY: AVP RF, F 089, OP.2, P.3, D.8, LL.2–11







Moscow, 29 September 1949

Secret

To Comrade A.A. Gromyko,

I attach Comrade Ershov’s note ‘The Situation in Israel’ and with it a draft of instructions to the USSR minister in Israel, which he has prepared with our participation.



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The Communist Party of Israel is insignificant in numbers and in influence in the country. It makes mistakes both in tactics and in matters of organization. It badly needs help.

Mapam and the Communist Party have recently begun to make joint statements on certain questions.

(The Situation in Israel, P. I. Ershov. In: I.N. Bakulin to A.A. Gromyko (Moscow) COPY: AVP RF, F 089, OP.2, P.3, D.8, LL.2-11, Moscow, September 29, 1949, Secret. In: “Documents on Israeli-Soviet Relations, 1941-1953, Parts 1-2”, Israeli Foreign Ministry, Russian Foreign Ministry, Israel State Archives, Russian Federal Archives, p. 536)

4. ~~SECRET~~ ISRAEL

The Israeli political situation: The Israeli Constituent Assembly, delegates to which were chosen numerically in the 25 January election with each delegate representing 2,599 votes, will open 14 February in Jerusalem. MAPAI, the winning party in the election, will control 49 of the 120 seats in the Assembly. MAPAM, the second party, has 19 seats, the United Religious Bloc 16, and Menachem Beigin's extremely nationalist Freedom Party 14. If it so desires, MAPAI can bypass these three major parties and still obtain the additional 11 votes necessary for a majority in the Assembly from the center parties, which have 12 seats, and the Sephardic Jews, who have 5.

The first task of the Assembly will be to elect a President; Dr. Weizmann, now President of the PCI Council of State, will almost certainly be chosen. The President will then call upon MAPAI's Ben-Gurion, as leader of the most powerful political party, to form a government. As the chief task of the government and the Assembly will be to draw up a constitution for Israel, MAPAI will probably attempt to form as broad a coalition as possible. Except for the Communists, it may invite all the parties, possibly including even Beigin's Freedom Party, to join for the framing of the constitution. The center parties will almost certainly be asked into the coalition because of the enormous political and financial power they command among Zionists abroad, and they will undoubtedly accept. MAPAM, the leftist labor party which is closest to MAPAI in views and second to it in strength, will probably also be included in the coalition. Although relatively weak in the country as a whole, its influence in the coalition and the Constituent Assembly may be much greater because of its strong position in Histadruth, the powerful labor organization to which more than 40% of the population belongs. In the last Histadruth elections in 1944 MAPAM obtained 43% of the vote to MAPAI's 53%. Should this ratio be maintained in the 13 February Histadruth elections, MAPAM will be in a strong bargaining position vis-a-vis MAPAI and can be expected to demand greater influence in the coalition government and the Constituent Assembly than its 15% vote in the general election would warrant. By including the third strongest party, the United Religious Bloc, in the government, MAPAI could obtain a strong majority without MAPAM and still have a relatively free hand in economic and foreign affairs.

(INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY FOR WEEK ENDING 9 FEBRUARY 1949, CIA, Near East / Africa Branch, p. 4) <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP78-01617A004700010039-7.pdf>

archive.org Between battles and ballots : Israeli military in politics : Peri, Yoram

Sergo Beria - Beria, My Father, Inside Stalin's Kremlin-Gerald Duckwo... 128 / 431 219%

out of the question.²⁴ At the start Stalin said neither yes or no.²⁵ But he soon gave preference to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine – a Socialist state, which, as he saw it, would become an advanced satellite of the USSR in the Middle East and enable Moscow to expand its influence forward in this oil-rich region.

high.⁶⁰ Mapam members who had stayed in the IDF, like Yitzhak Rabin, Haim Barlev, David Elazar and others, were mostly appointed in the first few years of statehood to staff and training posts, and only slowly obtained commands over fighting units.

Although Mapam's strength inside the army was broken, Ben Gurion's apprehensions did not diminish. Mapam's wholehearted identification with Stalin's Soviet Union and its claim to belong to the Soviet bloc sounded alarms in Mapai Headquarters. At the beginning of 1951 Ben Gurion

(‘Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin’s Kremlin’, Sergo Beria, p. 110).(Between Battle and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics, Cambridge University Press, Yoram Peri, 1983, p. 62) https://archive.org/details/betweenbattlesba0000peri_c5j0/page/62/mode/2up?q=dghskjdhg+&view=theater

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OFFICE OF CURRENT INTELLIGENCE
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SECTION 2 (EASTERN)

"A" ISRAEL. Pro-Soviet MAPAM Avoids Threatened Party Split. According to a "Reuters" broadcast from London, Israel's left-wing socialist party, MAPAM, dodged a threatened party split on the issue of how closely the party should follow the Cominform line when the party concluded its political convention at Haifa. A contradictory mixture of Zionist pioneering and pro-Soviet tendencies was revealed by the convention's directive that MAPAM move toward "the socialist revolutionary camp, against Titoism, and for Jewish pioneering". MAPAM's ideological position remains undefined, though it generally follows along Communist lines. (R FBIS News Ticker, 4 June 51). COMMENT: MAPAM's attempts to avoid an internal split will face a real test this summer in the elections for a new Knesset (Parliament). The threat continuing to face MAPAM, which won the second largest number of votes in Israel's first elections in 1949, is that the total party votes may be diminished with the extreme left strengthening the small Israeli Communist Party and the rightist elements voting with Ben-Gurion's moderate socialist party, MAPAI.

(‘Israel. Pro-Soviet MAPAM Avoids Threatened Party Split’. In: ‘Daily Digest’, CIA, Office of Current Intelligence (OCI), June 4, 1951, p. 3) <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP79T01146A000200310001-6.pdf>



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Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict

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Mapam was unusually well placed to follow the unfolding of events in 1948. Much of the Haganah/IDF's officer corps was recruited from Mapam – e.g. Galili, Carmel, Rabin and Allon. Moreover, committed as it was to achieving a *modus vivendi* with the Arab world, Mapam enjoyed atypically close relations with the Palestinian Arabs. Finally, Hashomer Hatzair, which together with Ahdut Ha'avodah formed Mapam in January 1948, managed to accumulate an extensive archive on the Arab flight.

Now, according to Morris, the ‘majority opinion’ in Mapam throughout 1948 was that Ben-Gurion’s policy was ‘tending toward

In early May, Aharon Cohen, director of Mapam’s Arab Department, wrote that ‘a deliberate eviction [of the Arabs] is taking place. ... Others may rejoice – I, as a socialist, am ashamed and afraid’. A few days later he repeated that the Arabs were being expelled – a “transfer” of the Arabs from the area of the Jewish state’ was being executed – ‘out of certain political goals and not only out of military necessity’. And at a Mapam meeting in June, Cohen charged that ‘it had depended on us whether the Arabs stayed or fled. ... [They had fled] and this was [the implementation of] Ben-Gurion’s line in which our comrades are [also] active’. At a late May Mapam Political Committee meeting, Eliezer Prai, the editor of the party’s daily paper, accused elements of the Yishuv – e.g. Weitz – of carrying out a ‘transfer policy’ by ‘blood and fire’, aimed at emptying the Jewish state of its Arab inhabitants. In July, Mapam leader Ya’acov Hazan threatened that ‘the robbery, killing, expulsion, and rape of the Arabs could reach such proportions that we would [no longer] be able to stand’ belonging to a coalition with Ben-Gurion’s Mapai. (In May 1948, Mapam had joined the newly formed government as a junior partner.) At a meeting in

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Beer's arrest was not made public. On the bulletin board of the University of Tel Aviv was merely a notice that “Dr. Israel Beer’s courses will not meet until further notice.” His interrogation began in absolute secrecy.

Iser Harel was now convinced that Beer was a Soviet agent who had been installed in Israel over twenty years ago. Iser’s case rested on the fact that Beer had fought in the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War. Only a few officers of that brigade were still alive, the majority having either died during the war or been liquidated in Moscow or elsewhere on Stalin’s orders. The few survivors had become faithful servants of the U.S.S.R., and before World War II several had been sent as spies into the West or, like Beer, into Palestine.

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Room at the Top 209

In the general elections of August 1961 Ben-Gurion’s political opponents tried to make capital of the Beer scandal, but it appeared that Mapai’s principal rivals in the electoral campaign belonged to the left-wing parties, Mapam and Ahdut Ha’avoda. Consequently, before attacking Mapai, they had to get the skeletons out of their own closets, for it was the leaders of Mapam who had “discovered” Beer, linked him to their party, and opened the way for him to the top.

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On the anniversary of the October Revolution, November 7,

128 Spies in the Promised Land

1952, Mapam’s central committee said in a greeting address to the Israeli soldiers: “Let us remember the Red Army of liberation and fight for the transformation of our own forces into a People’s Red Army in the noble tradition of Palmach.” Neither the Prague trials, nor the wave of anti-Semitism that followed them in November 1952, nor the trial of the doctors in Moscow in January 1953 could shatter the mystical faith of Mapam. On the day Stalin died, one of Mapam’s leaders delivered a public oration in Tel Aviv, in which he said: “If there is one grave in the world to which the Jewish people ought to make a grateful pilgrimage, it is Joseph Stalin’s.”

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“A group of extreme Leftists had been set up in the heart of Mapam,” Iser says, “and were fighting to annex it to the communist party. The Mapam leaders did not know of this group, whose leader was Moshe Sneh, the former chief of Haganah. Apparently the Soviet Embassy was directing by remote control a subversive plan which the leaders of the communist party and of communist groups inside Mapam were putting into execution, all unbeknownst to the Mapam leaders. To me, Mapam was first and foremost a Zionist party, and I made up my mind to stop its drift toward communism. Through a friend I informed Meir Ya’ari about the conspiracy that was going on behind his back.”

Meir Ya’ari, however, violently objected to Iser Harel’s interference. Shin-Bet, therefore, decided to keep a close watch on

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The officers opened the envelope and found in it confidential reports of the Foreign Affairs Ministry and various departments of the Defense Ministry, names of members of three Mapam kibbutzim, and details on important persons connected with them.

That evening the envelope was laid on Iser’s desk. From its contents he deduced that “Mapam had set up an underground

Iser Harel's Mikes 131

network which was operating out of the very bosom of the Defense Ministry, the army, and the Foreign Ministry.” He or-

Iser Harel's Mikes 129

the activities of the communist faction inside Mapam, and that was why the mike had been installed in Ya’ari’s office.

(Spies in the Promised Land: Iser Harel and the Israeli Secret Service, Michael Bar-Zohar, 1972, p. 209)

https://archive.org/details/spiesinpromisedl0000barz/page/207/mode/1up?q=rabin&view=theater

כמה מגיבורי מלחמת העצמאות שחשו כאילו גורשו בחרפה מהצבא, פנו להנהגה ההיסטורית של המפלגה והציעו את שירותם. הכול היה בשל למהלך של הכנת אלטרנטיבה מהפכנית, שבבסיסה קציני צה"ל הבכירים, שנאלצו לפרוש מהגוף אותו הקימו ובראשו יצאו למלחמה. מעמדם הקרום בצבא אפשר להם להרחיב את הבסיס ולצרוף אליהם, בחשאי כמובן, קצינים בשירות פעיל.

ב־1950 פעלו תאים חשאיים של מפ"ם בשירות הבטחון, בממשל הצבאי, במשרד הבטחון ובצבא. יש להקדים ולומר, שפרשת מחתרת מפ"ם במערכת הבטחון רגישה ביותר. התיעוד אודותיה מוגבל, וחלקו הגדול איננו זמין לחוקר. כמה מחברי התאים עשו לימים קריירה בטחונית מרשימה. מהם שהיו לאלופים, שגרירים וחברי־כנסת, לאו דווקא ממפ"ם. אחד מהם היה לשר במפלגה ימינית דווקא. ממילא מובן עד כמה מוגבלת האפשרות לסמוך על ראייונות מאוחרים ועדויות בעל־פה של הנוגעים בדבר. הדברים שלהלן נסמכים על כמה מקורות. אלה המאוחרים כוללים עדויות של חברי קיבוצים, שהתבקשו להכין מחסן נשק מקביל למחסן הרשמי, המוכר והרשום על־ידי השלטונות. לדבריהם, לפחות בחמישים קיבוצים הוכן מחסן נשק חשאי. לעתים היה מאגר הנשק הסורי גדול בכמותו ובאיכות הציוד שבו מהמחסן שנועד להגנה המרחבית בפיקוח צה"ל. מקור אחר המלמר על פעילות התאים החשאיים, הוא תיק מסמכים של ברוך רבינוב, שהיה אז ראש ועדת הבטחון של 'הקיבוץ הארצי'.

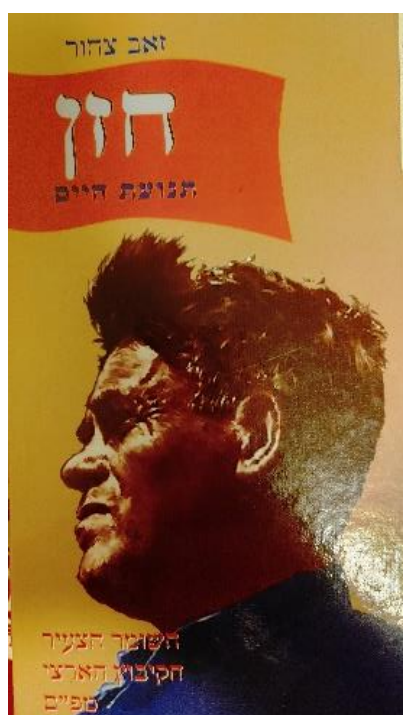
ברוך רבינוב, חבר בית־אלפא, מראשי 'ההגנה' ואחד מבכירי משרד הבטחון לעת הקמתו, הוא שקושר את הנושא לחזן. רבינוב היה במעגל הראשון של מקורבי חזן, ובעיניי בטחון הוא היה איש סודו. היחסים ביניהם חרגו ממסגרת של נאמנותו של פעיל התנועה למנהיגו, והתפתחו לידידות אישית ומשפחתית. סמוך לפרשת כינוס הפלמ"ח 'החפוטר' גם רבינוב ממערכת הבטחון ביישוב, ציפו בבית־אלפא שיחזור הביתה. חזן פנה לקיבוצו וביקש לאשר לרבינוב המשך הפעילות. הוא נקרא לרכז את ועדת הבטחון של המפלגה. חזן לא הצטרך להפציר הרבה; החברים נרמזו שיש סיבות נכבדות משקל המחייבות אותם לוותר במקרה זה על עקרון הרוטציה. התפקיד שיועד לרבינוב אינו פעילות תנועיתית רגילה ומן הראוי לא להרבות על כך בדיוברים.²⁶

חזן – תנועת חיים לחזן נחשב חזן לבטחוניסט. הטיבל בתאים החשאיים היה בידי. הוא גם האיש שבעבור שנה וחצי עזר לפוקס. עדויות מאוחרות קושרות לפעילות שהתחשף בהאים מנהיג נוסף, משה סנה. חזן התייחס בחשדנות לדוקטור מבסרקי. שיה ענה ההלך אקטיביזם ציוני סוער באקטיביזם מהפכני סוער לא פחות. מסינו על סנה לעקוף את 'ההנהגה ההיסטורית' ולבנות מכוח הבריחה שלו עורר הידברות ישי"ר עם צעירי 'הקיבוץ הארצי' עורר א־שקט. סנה, שביקש לטפח את יחסי עם צעירי 'הקיבוץ הארצי' בלי לעורר עליו את חמת ההנהגה, העדיף שהקשר שלו לאתם לא ייוודע לחזן. הקשר של סנה אל התאים הוגבל אפוא קטן ונודח מהנכס, וגשמו כסוד בתוך סוד.

במרחק הזמן לא ניתן לקבוע בוודאות את שיטת פעילותם של השניים בתאים ואת חלקם האישי בניהולם. יש מקום לשער, שתפקידם הוגבל לעיצוב המסגרת האידאולוגית של ההתארגנות. למרות ההדירות והשמדת הראיות, נותרו רישומים העוסקים בהסבר הצורך בהקמת תאים חשאיים בתוך הצבא. נזכרים בהם שני משומות שונות לחלוטין: האחת, שהוותותה ככל הנראה על־ידי חזן, מניחה אפשרות שהזמן בראשיתו של מנחם בגין ישלט בכוח על המדינה ויקם בה משטר פשיסטי. במקרה כזה נודע לתאים לאסוף אינפורמציה מוקדמת כדי למכל את ההשתלטות, או להיערך למאבק מחתרתי, אם מה שהוגדר כ'מדינת היום הפשיסטי', תצלול. משימה שונה לחלוטין היא זו שהוותותה כפי הנראה על־ידי סנה. לפיה, על התאים להיערך לקראת אפשרות מלחמה בין המערב 'מחזרת המלחמה' לבין 'עולם המחר' הסוציאליסטי. סיכום בלה־ח'תום של דיון באחד התאים מועיד למחתרת מהפכנית שתפעל בצה"ל השתתפות אקטיבית 'במלחמה העולמית הקרובה'.

הסבר לתפקיד המחתרת נגזר מתוך הנחה, שבן־גוריון הבטיח למעצמות המערב עזרה צבאית בעת המלחמה העולמית העומדת בפתח. כדי לאשש הנחה זו, נערך ניתוח עביר המנהיגותי והאידאולוגי של בן־גוריון, כדי לקבוע את מגמותיו בעתיד. כך, למשל, נקבע שבן־גוריון החליט על פירוק הפלמ"ח עוד לפני הקמת המדינה. בן־גוריון השווה ליבוסטנסקי – שניהם רק התחזו ללוחמים בבריטים בעת שבאמת היו 'אנגלופילים'. בן־גוריון, שמאז ומתמיד העריך את הבריטים, רקם עמם קנוניה, שכללה יותר על כיבוש הארץ. מטרותו היא לאפשר לבריטניה לשלוט על ירדן ולהתקרב באמצעותה ובאמצעות עיראק לבסן הרכה של ברית־המועצות. עוד נקבע, שקיימת הבטחה בכחה של בן־גוריון להקים בסיסים צבאיים בריטים ואמריקאיים. שיהפכו את מדינת ישראל לבסיס לוגיסטי של ברית־המועצות. היון כלל קביעות. שבן־גוריון מבקש לפגוע בתנועה הקיבוצית ולתקוע טריז בתוך מפ"ם. איש נטול עכבות מוסרית כזה עלול לכרות ברית עם הימין הפשיסטי בהנהגת בגין, ולהפוך את המדינה לזרוע של המערב במזרח התיכון.²⁷

אותם הימים הזריפה המלחמה הקרה בין המזרח, בהנהגת ברית־המועצות, למערב, הדימוניזציה של בן־גוריון היחה בבחינת נבואה המגשימה את עצמה. כנעם



(Hazan: Movement of Life, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, Ze'ev Tzohor, 1997, p. 197) ('British Mandate-era Arms Cache Found Under Israeli Kibbutz', Ha'aretz, Eli Ashkenazi, January 28, 2014) <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-arms-cache-found-under-kibbutz-1.5316108>

Documents

INTERVIEW WITH DR. SNEH

By L. Bruck

While Dr. Moshe Sneh, a leader of the Israel United Workers Party (Mapam) and a member of the Knesset, was in Paris attending the World Jewish Congress meeting held there in August, he granted an interview to L. Bruck, of the editorial staff of the Neie Presse, Paris Yiddish daily. The interview follows.—Eds.

1. How would you evaluate the international position of the state of Israel at the present moment?

Those in control of American policy are actually exerting strong pressure on Israel. American imperialism is striving completely to dominate the Near East, to eliminate British imperialism from its previous positions and to transform the countries of the Near East into a base for exclusively American domination from the political, economic and strategic viewpoints.

In the framework of this policy Washington seeks to make our young state one of its satellites. Pressure on Israel is expressed in a number of forms:

a) By the rearmament of neighboring feudal Arab states, which are incited to take revenge upon Israel, in order to force Israel to seek its security through a regional Middle Eastern pact under an American protectorate;

b) By the "internationalization" of Jerusalem. This means the creation of an American enclave in the country's heart;

c) By the annexation of the southern part of the Negev and of the outlet to the Red Sea near Akaba for the purpose of establishing an American base for the ports of the Indian Ocean;

d) By piling up for the state of Israel numerous economic and financial difficulties so that Israel should adopt the Mc-Ghee Plan, which is only a special edition of the Marshall Plan for the Middle East.

To make Israel its satellite, American imperialism is exploiting the tragedy of the Arab refugees in such a way that American banks can practically dominate the state of Israel, as well as the Arab states, under the pretext of "aid" for their rehabilitation. This is the real explanation of American pressure. Washington is trying to provoke an economic crisis in the state of Israel under the double burden of Jewish immigration and readmission of Arab refugees.

2. What is your attitude on the question of Arab refugees?

We have always demanded the right of peaceful Arab refugees to return to the country. We have connected this with our demand that in the Arab part of Palestine there should be created a democratic independent Arab state, which would be linked with Israel by an economic union and a treaty of friendship. In the framework of such a democratic solution the question of refugees could no longer be used as an instrument for foreign intrigues. It is characteristic that, when we proposed a year ago that the right of peaceful Arab refugees to return be proclaimed as part of a democratic entente between Jews and Arabs, the majority parties just about denounced us as traitors. Now, when America is demanding that we permit the return of Arab refugees, the government declares that it is ready to receive them. According to our proposal of a year ago, the return of Arab refugees could have been an act of good will on the part of Israel on the path to Jewish-Arab friendship; now it becomes an act imposed by the American government having for its purpose the economic subordination of the Arab states as well as Israel.

3. How, according to you, can Israel defend itself against the pressure of American imperialism?

Today we are an independent state and we are in a position to reject all American demands. It is evident that our resistance can only succeed if it is supported by help from sincere friends of our independence, that is, in the first place by the help of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. We do not have the least confidence that the present government of Israel will put up effective resistance to the demands of American imperialism. The composition of the government—right wing social dem-

ocrats (Mapai), religious front, small bourgeois parties—determines in advance its political line of submission to the policy of the United States. That is why we are conducting a fight of unswerving opposition to the policies of the government inside and outside of the Knesset. The fight for the independence of Israel is tied to the fight for peace just as the act of dragging Israel into a regional pact under American control would be tied to the preparation for a new war by American imperialism against the Soviet Union, against the people's democracies and against the independence of all peoples.

We have just established in Israel a Committee for Peace which has affiliated with the World Congress of the Partisans for Peace. We are also in the process of enlarging the scope and strengthening the activity of the League for Friendship with the USSR. The popular masses have warmly—even enthusiastically—responded to the call of these two organizations. We hope to be able to create a mass movement in support of the fight to promote peace and friendship with the Soviet Union. Mapai recently attempted to split the League for Friendship with the USSR, but the result has been just the opposite. The League has been strengthened and the number of members doubled. Our view is that friendship with the USSR is a touchstone for every individual on the question of world peace; for every Jew who wishes to remain true to the real interests of his people and his country; and for every worker who wishes to remain faithful to the banner of genuine

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socialism. It is necessary to add that not only the Movement for Peace but also the League for Friendship with the USSR take part in and collaborate harmoniously with all progressive forces in Israel, both Jewish and Arab.

4. Can you say a few words about the economic situation in Israel?

It is evident that our economic situation is difficult. We have to meet the normal difficulties of a state as well as the war budget as long as the armistice is not transformed into a peace treaty. We have to accept hundreds of thousands of new immigrants (260,000 in the last 15 months). I should also add what I have often declared in the Knesset: government policy is tending towards reduction of immigration, to lower the standard of living of the masses and to penetration of foreign capital into the country.

Our economic program aims at the following objectives: nationalization of the land, of water sources, of natural resources (the Dead Sea), of electricity, of oil refineries and of foreign trade; radical recasting of the fiscal system by increase of direct taxation and suppression of indirect taxation and creation of the tax on capital; increase in the volume of trade with the USSR and with all European countries which would replace imports solely from Anglo-Saxon countries, which inevitably lead to the increase in the deficit of our trade balance; democratization in general of the whole economic system, as closely as possible in accordance with the example of the popular democracies and in the spirit of the pioneers of our renaissance.

5. What are the repercussions of governmental policies on the condition of the workers?

First of all the government is not capable of insuring employment for everyone, above all for the new immigrants. Secondly, we have already had cases of wages cuts (2.5 pounds per month). The Mapai majority in the Histadrut has accepted the reduction in salaries because, they say, prices have dropped. For the first time in Israel strikes have broken out against the will of the Histadrut leadership. At Tel Aviv the strikes included 4000 workers and at Haifa several thousands. Under pressure from striking workers, the Histadrut leadership has been forced to make a concession: it has set up a commission (with the participation of the opposition Mapam) to re-examine the cost-of-living index.

6. How would you sum up your opinion of the general situation in Israel?

No confidence in the government, confidence in the people. And that means confidence in the future.

Letters from Readers

More on Psychoanalysis

Editors, JEWISH LIFE:

George Stewart's articles *No Peace of Mind* in the March and April issues were stimulating and their basic theses irrefutable. Yet they raise points which must be challenged, at least to the extent of insisting that Stewart be called upon to amplify his attitude toward psychoanalysis and psychotherapy in general.

On two points, a progressive could hardly disagree with Stewart—one, his view that the attempt to wed psychoanalysis and religion is futile and dangerous, the other, his criticism of Freud's own attitudes on the nature of man and society. Further, progressives, or even mildly intelligent conservatives, could scarcely question the proposition that mental and nervous disorders, especially anxiety and insecurity feelings, are symptoms of a fevered age. Society is the basic cause of emotional conflicts, and in a double manner. Anxiety grows from the immediate troubles of our era, from fears of war, unemployment, loss of liberty. It grows also from reactionary methods of child training which inflict on the growing generation the outworn and unhealthy attitudes of the past.

Psychoanalysis is, of course, no cure for society's ills. Yet, the possibility of help through such treatment is a real question for many progressives.

While emotional conflicts have a deep root in society, they can often be resolved and channelized through a growth in understanding of one's self and one's environment. That understanding can grow through properly-applied analysis.

It is on that point that Stewart seems most unclear, and even slightly callous. To a layman, he seems to ignore the basic difference, one which is almost qualitative, between the neuroses of the age and the crawling, miserable anxiety pressures that afflict certain individuals.

The anxiety and nervousness of the age are something that all progressives feel with varying pressure. An understanding of these, coupled with work for civil liberties, better living conditions and a better world, is the best therapy. For such conditions there can be no cure-all.

But other difficulties go beyond. What of the young man worried sick about his sex problems? What of the frigid woman? What about persons whose lives are a morass of petty fixations, anxieties, worries, far beyond the normal reactions to a troubled society? Is it sufficient to give

them a volume of Marx and a bundle of leaflets? Surely, the purposeful existence of the good progressive will help, but the basic conflicts need special therapy.

That is what Stewart seems to ignore. For many individuals, such difficulties are subject to amelioration even within the framework of existing society. This therapy is expensive, yes, and the clinics are crowded. But, as is the case with physical medicine, the remedy is not less therapy, but more. A rational society would make the findings of neuro-psychiatry available to all who need them.

Does Stewart propose to junk psychoanalysis entirely? What are his views of psychosomatic medicine? What of the physicians who regard many physical ailments, such as coronary thrombosis or even defective vision as rooted in anxieties stemming from childhood experiences?

There are, indeed, obvious dangers for the progressive seeking psychiatric aid, and Stewart is quite correct in pointing them out. Through class bias, many analysts regard any left-wing viewpoint as *ipso facto* neurotic. Some analysts themselves are muddled. But others, while by no means progressives, have an under-

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