

DECEMBER 1953 • 25¢

# Jewish Life

A PROGRESSIVE MONTHLY

*an editorial article*

## DULLES AND THE ISRAEL-ARAB CRISIS

**COLLABORATION IS A BOOMERANG** ◀ *by Louis Harap*

**PLOT AGAINST THE LEHMAN-CELLER BILL** ◀ *by Joseph Klein*

**BEN GOLD STANDS FIRM** ◀ *by Benjamin Paskoff*

**BRANDEIS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM** ◀ *by Morris U. Schappes*

**SUSIE'S HANUKAH REPORT** ◀ *a story by Alice Citron*

## From the Four Corners

Edited by Louis Harap

### AT HOME

**President Eisenhower** greeted in October at the White House, among a group of aviation experts from various countries in connection with the 50th anniversary celebration of aviation, three Germans named by the War Department in 1945 as "dangerous nazis"—Dr. Willy Messerschmidt, Helmut Sachse and Gerhard Feisler—and nazi General Major Wolfgang von Gronau. Messerschmidt is reported to have publicly expressed anti-Semitism since the end of the war. Protests against their presence to Secretary of State Dulles and Defense Secretary Wilson have gone unnoted.

**Greek Queen Frederika**, who was feted all over the country on her "good will" visit to this country in October, was revealed as having been the first girl in Greece to have donned a Hitler *Deutsche Maedchen* uniform.

**Senator Herbert H. Lehman** on November 4 expressed his "shock" at United States permanent UN delegate Henry Cabot Lodge's statement following a UN resolution calling on nations to speed ratification of the Genocide Convention. Lodge had said that the resolution was not interpreted by the United States as permitting propaganda in this country in favor of the Genocide Convention. "This seems," said Mr. Lehman, "to be another instance in which the administration not only failed to give leadership within the United Nations but discredits its own leadership by an attempt to dictate to the Secretary General what he may or may not do to carry out a directive of the General Assembly."

**Convicted traitor** Tomoya Kawakita had his death sentence commuted to a life term by President Eisenhower on November 2, ten months after the appeal for clemency was made. Observers remarked on the contrast in treatment of this case with that of the Rosenbergs.

**Notes on anti-Semitism . . .** A fire bomb was thrown into B'nai Mnashe Synagogue in Philadelphia in mid-October by a large group of teen-agers. Congregation members succeeded in throwing out the fire bomb but not until several pews had caught fire. Another gang of anti-Semitic hoodlums in another section of the city in the same period attacked two  
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# FROM MONTH TO MONTH

## THE CRIME OF IWO "LIQUIDATION"

CONFORM or be "liquidated," said Hitler to the people's organizations of Germany.

Conform or be "liquidated," say New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey and his Insurance Department to the great multi-national people's fraternal organization, the International Workers Order.

No sooner did the Supreme Court refuse, on October 19, to accept the IWO case on appeal than Dewey's Insurance Department hastened to end the life of the IWO, even though, at this writing, the petition for a re-hearing of the case by the Supreme Court is pending.

The right to liquidate the IWO was bestowed on the Insurance Department by Judge Henry Clay Greenberg after hearings which were a witch-hunt under the cloak of judicial formalities. The outcry of 160,000 IWO members, the fact of exemplary financial soundness with which the Order had executed its business, 21 years of magnificent accomplishment in the service of the people counted for nothing in this court. Credence was rather given to the falsifications of seedy, discredited, professional stool-pigeons who fly from trial to trial to supply the "legal" material for the current frame-up system.

This workers' organization under its democratically-elected leadership, working with financial integrity unchallenged by the Insurance Department, amassed funds amounting to seven and a half million dollars in the members' interest. Over 17 million dollars has been paid out in cash benefits to members and their beneficiaries. In addition to insurance the IWO provided its members with many other benefits and services—medical, funeral, cemetery, welfare, recreational, social and civic. All these benefits and the property rights of these working people were swept aside because the IWO did not conform to Dewey's McCarthyite conception of Americanism.

This case should raise the alarm among all fraternal organizations, trade unions and democratic organizations of all kinds. For the deprivation of the constitutional right of free association now suffered by IWO members will reach them, too, if the McCarthyite trend is not stopped. Every association of working people to promote their welfare and further their interests is endangered by this decision regarding the IWO. Especially should the members of the Workmen's Circle, also a fraternal insurance order, take warning from the fascist mentality that led to liquidation of the IWO. Do not the present or past socialist or liberal views of many Workmen's Circle members make them the object of McCarthyite attack? In this light, is it

not shocking that their leaders betrayed their fraternal interests by acting as *Mosrim* (informers) and advisors for those who worked to destroy the IWO? Such leaders should be repudiated before it is too late to save their own organization.

It is an open secret that Dewey and the McCarthyites were hounding the IWO because of its program in support of labor, its fight for equality of all peoples—Negro and white—its stand for social security and, above all, its passion to make peace secure in the world. The 15 national groups making up the IWO worked in unity on behalf of a democratic and peaceful world—and this the McCarthyites wanted to destroy.

The Jewish People's Fraternal Order, largest section of the IWO, made great contributions to American life. It lent its greatest efforts in the struggle against nazism during the thirties and during World War II. It brought progressive Jewish culture into the atmosphere befouled by the vulgarization of the *Jewish Daily Forward*. The JPFO gained the right to act as spokesman for the progressive aspirations of the Jewish people. And it is impossible to liquidate the influence of JPFO members on the American Jewish scene. They will continue to bring clarity, determination and courage to the Jewish people of our country in the fight against creeping fascism and a threatened war.

The fight for the interests of IWO members is far from over. On the contrary, it is more important now than ever. For vigilance must be maintained on the issue of re-insurance of its members and the disposal of the assets saved up by the members through the years. The leadership and membership must continue to stand together on these issues, as they have done throughout the history of the Order and especially in the past years of attack.

Those who are attempting to murder the corporate existence of the Order have not heard the last of this crime. They are dealing with people—100,000 members who love their country and are prepared to shield the Bill of Rights and the Constitution with every ounce of their energy. The IWO members will no doubt let the liquidators know that their fraternal feelings, their ties with working people of the country, their right to associate and speak freely cannot be liquidated as easily as the McCarthyites think. The liquidators will learn, and learn soon, that American working people will not permit the destruction of their aspirations to freedom and security and peace by those who carry on in the spirit of McCarthy in its Deweyite version.



## RESISTANCE BY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

**T**HE early Fall period saw a number of conventions of Jewish organizations and, as one would expect, all of them expressed their concern at the growing threat to American freedom from McCarthyism. We have in these pages shown that McCarthyism, like any fascist development, is not only anti-democratic in its political views, but is also racist. McCarthy himself has close connections with the most dangerous anti-Semitic and anti-Negro elements in the country. The latest evidence is the ominous suspicion of the operation of anti-Semitism which emerged from McCarthy's spy hunt at Fort Monmouth, it was revealed in the *New York Post* of November 12. An investigation had shown that of the 40 scientists suspended in the past weeks as a consequence of the spy hunt, 35 were Jews and one a Negro. Rabbi Hershon, Jewish Welfare Board chaplain at Fort Monmouth, had passed on to the commanding officer his suspicion that anti-Semitism was involved in the suspensions. The reply was that the men had gone to the "wrong college" (that is, New York's City College).

It is therefore no wonder that, both as Americans and as Jews, the leaders and members of Jewish organizations should express alarm at the growth of McCarthyism. Perhaps the high point of this resistance in the recent period in Jewish organized life was the resolution unanimously passed at the American Jewish Congress biennial convention on November 10 criticizing by inference the American Jewish Committee for its acceptance of an invitation from the Un-American Committee to confer with Protestant and Catholic representatives on the coming witch-hunt of religious figures. The AJ Congress urged no collaboration whatever with the Velde Committee in its religious witch-hunt.

In September the Jewish War Veterans at their annual encampment passed a resolution condemning McCarthyism. And Hadassah, the women's Zionist organization with a membership of over 200,000, at its 39th annual convention on October 27 also unanimously adopted a resolution showing concern at "the growing practices and trends which tend to undermine the American tradition." On November 8, the Mizrahi Organization of America, representing 70,000 Orthodox religious Zionists, also passed a resolution urging congressional investigating committees to avoid "wounding or humiliating man made in the image of God."

It must be noted, however, that all these organizations have as yet failed to grasp the un-American nature of the witch-hunt as such, for they all expressed their agreement with the need for hunting communists, disagreeing only with the "methods" used. Until they realize that it is impossible to separate the "methods" from the fascist objectives of the inquisition, the effect of their resistance will be seriously weakened. Until they realize that the democratic tradition is safe only by debating freely with the communists instead of suppressing them, will the future of freedom and the Jewish people be threatened.

## STORM-TROOPER JUSTICE

**P**ROGRESSIVES have repeatedly warned that the tirades, hysteria, jailings and deportations of McCarthy, Brownell and Company, must lead to storm-trooper violence and a breakdown of civilized restraints. Several events in the past month have shown that the day of violence will reign if McCarthyism is not stopped.

On October 20, Robert Thompson, Communist leader indicted under the Smith act, was standing on the mess line at New York's Federal Detention House on West Street. From behind came Alexander Pavlovic, a Yugoslav fascist and self-confessed assassin who was about to be deported, and struck two blows at Thompson's head with a lead pipe. Pavlovic had never said a word to Thompson, never knew him. But Pavlovic knew one thing—communists are attacked in every possible way every day.

In Pittsburgh, a savage judicial act savoring of storm-trooper mentality was committed on November 2. James Dolsen, a writer for the *Daily Worker* and a veteran of anti-communist hysteria who had been tried during the "Palmer raid" days in the twenties, was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment under Pennsylvania's notorious "sedition" law. Since Dolsen is now 68, no one will bet on whether his 20 year sentence plus five years already passed on him under the Smith act means that a death sentence has been imposed on him.

Shades of Hitlerism! Behind these and innumerable acts like them is the grim face of fascism. The masses of this country must realize that such unchecked attacks on the left will give seven league boots to those who would destroy the right to carry a dissenting thought in one's head.

## PRESS SUPPRESSION

**A** NEW step has been taken in the direction of the destruction of freedom—a stab in the direction of suppression of the press. It is not the first. A number of editors and writers for the *Daily Worker*, the *People's World*, the *National Guardian* and the foreign language press have already been indicted or jailed under the Smith act or arrested for deportation under the McCarran-Walter act. And now McCarthyism has found a new channel for suppression in the Post Office Department, which in recent months has subjected the *New World Review* to a number of harassing actions that spell further danger to freedom of the press. The Post Office has held up several issues of this journal of information about the socialist world for several weeks on the excuse that they contained "non-mailable" material under the provision referring to matter "advocating or urging treason, insurrection or forcible resistance to any law of the United States." The charge is absurd, as any reading of this journal will immediately show and the magazine has denied any such advocacy. Protests should be sent to the Postmaster General at Washington to stop this encroachment on freedom.



# DULLES AND THE ISRAEL-ARAB CRISIS

*A look at the fundamentals in the current crisis that goes to the heart of responsibility for it and indicates a way out*

## *An Editorial Article*

THE attempt of the State Department to fasten attention solely on the Kibya massacre of October 14 and to blame Israel for the current Middle Eastern crisis has directed the greatest outspoken anger of the masses of American Jews and of Zionist leaders against Dulles. Although one would not for one moment condone the brutal deed at Kibya, one must recognize that the State Department was trying to curry favor with the Arab rulers by this one-sided estimate of the situation. For the infiltration and murders have taken place on both sides ever since the end of the Israel war of independence. Israel reports that 421 Jews have been killed in border attacks since 1950 and many Arabs have also been killed, although figures are not available. The Kibya massacre was only the climax of a long series of border violations and murders on both sides.

Where does responsibility lie for the crisis? What is the way out? These questions are of the utmost importance not only to the masses of people in Israel and the Arab countries, but also for the peace of the world. We must try to find a guiding thread through the maze of charges and counter-charges with which the press has been filled in the past weeks.

The immediate occasion for the crisis was the massacre by Israelis of more than 50 Arabs in Kibya. This raid was in retaliation for an Arab raid on an Israel village in which a mother and her two children were killed a few days earlier. Any attempt, however, to look for the real source of the crisis in these inhuman acts alone or in a presumed conflict of interests between Israel and the Arab states will yield no light. One has to look more deeply into the pressures of anti-Soviet and oil politics exerted by Washington, primarily, to understand what is going on.

After Secretary of State John Foster Dulles returned from his Middle Eastern tour last Spring, he "reported" to the nation on June first. "The United States," he said, "should seek to allay the deep resentment against it that has resulted from the creation of Israel. . . . In the past we had good relations with the Arab peoples. . . . Today the Arab peoples are afraid that the United States will back the new State of Israel. . . . We cannot afford to be distrusted by millions who could be sturdy friends of freedom. They must not further swell the ranks of Communist dictators."

What are the realities thinly veiled behind these words? Dulles is really saying that his policy demands a more vigorous effort to drag the Arab rulers into the anti-Soviet

strategy than that put forth by the Truman administration. It means that Dulles puts a higher value on the necessity of militarization of the Arab countries for anti-Soviet war than his predecessors did. It does not mean that Dulles has written off Israel as an instrumentality of his war-instigating policies: he has confidence that the Mapai-General Zionist government will fall in with his plans and he has allotted Mutual Security funds to Israel to insure this. But he is laboring to bring the Arab leaders into line, and what better method can he use on the Israelis and Arabs than the classic divide-and-rule technique?

## *Realities of Dulles Policy*

It is no accident that the acute Middle Eastern crisis follows hard upon the new Dulles policy in the Middle East. The backing which Dulles gave to the Arab rulers on his Spring trip is now bearing fruit. The requisite degree of turbulence has been created in the area so that Big Brother Dulles can now step in to "mediate" the issue, that is, establish State Department control over the area in furtherance of the aggressive anti-Soviet policy of Washington.

How could this be accomplished? How could Dulles divert the intense anti-imperialist sentiment of the Arab masses that frightened Dulles so on his trip and turn it away from Washington and London? The events of the past weeks give the answer. By creating nationally inflamed incidents, both sides can be set against each other instead of venting their ire against the behind-the-scenes engineers of these incidents. If Dulles cannot altogether repress the anti-imperialist feelings of the Arab and Jewish peoples, he can give them an outlet for mutual anger.

It is sublime hypocrisy for the State Department to express "shock" at the Kibya massacre, brutal as it was. What about the murder of Israelis by Arab infiltrators? Where was the State Department's humane sensitivity when millions of North Korean women and children were being killed in wanton air raids on their cities and burned with napalm? Why did not the State Department protest against the Lidice-like razing of African villages by the British constabulary in Kenya? Or against the brutal murder of hundreds of civilians by the American-trained police of Iran under the Nazi collaborator General Zahedi? The answer is obvious. Massacre, murder and pillage is "shocking" only when Dulles and colonial powers can thereby set one

dependent people against another so as to facilitate control over these peoples and further anti-Soviet war strategy.

It is therefore a mistake to assign responsibility for the crisis to the peoples of Israel or the Arab countries, or even to place *primary* responsibility on their governments. The root of the problem is the divide-and-rule tactic now being followed by Dulles.

### Israel and the Arabs

But the governments of the Arab countries and Israel also bear a share of the responsibility by the varying degrees of their subordination to the policies of Washington and London. The fact that incidents have occurred on the borders between Israel and four Arab states is a sign of the reactionary policies pursued by both the Ben Gurion regime and the feudal Arab rulers under the whip hand of Washington and London. The Ben Gurion government certainly has not given the Arab masses any cause to have friendly feelings toward Israel. For it has followed chauvinist policies toward the Arab minority in Israel. In its nationalistic zeal and in the interest of the ruling manufacturers and big landowners the Ben Gurion government has relegated the Arabs to second class citizenship in Israel. Hear the testimony of an old Zionist leader in Israel, Itzhak Greenbaum, who wrote some months ago in *Al Hamishmar*, Mapam organ, in protest against the treatment of Arabs. "I can see," said Greenbaum, "that the relations being established between us and the Arab minority in our country begin to acquire the same horrible aspects as those that existed toward us Jews in the different countries. With this one difference: there in Europe we were the victims of suffering and here in Israel we are the ones who cause the suffering."

When Israel later passed the law confiscating the land of



Reprinted from *Hador*, Tel Aviv labor journal

"They lecture morals to Israel, and behind their backs . . ."

Arab refugees, the late Moshe Smilansky, a leader of the *Ihud* (Unity) group, which advocated Jewish-Arab unity and had been led by the late Judah L. Magnes, wrote a bitter article in the group's organ, *Ner* (Light), in which he called the law "legal theft." Another leader of the group, Dr. S. Sherashavsky, wrote, "Do you realize what you have done to the State of Israel? Do you realize that from now on the judges of our country will have to render decisions according to a law which is not law but robbery? I am not here concerned with the interests of the Arabs. They themselves will know how to protect their rights. I am concerned here with our own interests, in the name of God, and in the name of the people of Israel, in the name of our sons and daughters who have not sinned."

Policies such as this are no basis for peace with the Arab masses in Israel or in the Arab states. Upon a background of these anti-Arab measures, it has not been hard for the Arab rulers to create incidents which exploit these just grievances of the Arab masses and to arouse chauvinist feelings among the Arab peoples. And Washington and London maneuver behind the scenes. With "aid," diplomatic alliance and arms they manage to keep such regimes in power so as to prevent the peoples of Israel and the Arab countries from uniting in their common interests of peace and economic cooperation.

### The Way Out

There is a way out of the present crisis but it is not easy. Both Israel and the Arab countries are beset with very severe economic and social problems. But the people of Israel—and their friends in this country—have learned a bitter truth from the callous policy of Dulles. They have been subjected to disillusionment as to the "friendship" that the State Department bears toward Israel and of Dulles' devotion to peace in the Middle East. The people of Israel are beginning to see that the difficulty lies even deeper than the policy of "favoring" the Arab leaders rather than the Israel government. The whole post-war policy of reliance on "aid" from Washington for the economic development of Israel has brought Israel to its present pass. Instead of improving conditions, the dependence on Washington has meant lowered living standards, budget-busting military preparations, near-bankruptcy because of dollar slavery—and now the crisis with the Arab countries. That way lies economic disaster and a war policy which, if allowed to run its course and end in a hot war, would mean the physical destruction of Israel altogether.

Nor do the Zionist leaders in this country help the Israeli people by lulling the Jewish people into passivity with respect to the dangers of the Dulles policy. Their foolish strategy of demanding restoration of "aid" and winning an easy victory on this issue on the eve of elections only perpetuates the predicament of Israel. The aim should be *trade*, not "aid" for Israel, with all markets, including East Europe.

For their part, the Jews of this country who are genuine



friends of the Israeli people will do their utmost to oppose a Dulles foreign policy which generates dangerous crises in a desperate bid to dominate the Middle Eastern situation in line with control of the oil-rich area and an anti-Soviet war strategy. The current crisis has jolted the Jewish people out of its complacent acceptance of Washington's foreign policy with respect to Israel. What is demanded now

is the deeper realization that this callous Middle East policy is only one phase of a total war-inciting program. The people of our own country, of Israel and of the Arab nations have in common a desperate need of peace. Peace will not be won if such Dulles policies which brought into being the present crisis are allowed to continue. For all of us, opposition to these policies is a condition for survival.

## ZIONISTS VERSUS DULLES

THE reaction of the Jewish community to the State Department's actions in relation to the Israel-Arab crisis centers on a tremendously important fact: every major Jewish organization—with varying degrees of vehemence—*forcefully condemned the actions of the State Department*. These protests were directed at the application of Dulles' policy of favoring the Arab states in his plans to win the Arab leaders over and to arm them for a Washington-dominated war alliance in the Middle East. The Zionist leaders do not differ with Dulles in his general anti-Soviet policy. But their sharp criticism in this instance has not strengthened their adherence to that policy. For the Zionist leaders protested at Dulles' frantic wooing of the Arab leaders because they fear that arms supplied to the Arab states for anti-Soviet war preparations might be used for a "second round" of the war against Israel; and they also fear a lessening in "aid" to Israel. These leaders were somewhat appeased by the restoration of the temporarily suspended "aid" but found themselves in the position of supporting a foreign policy which is also a danger to Israel.

Yet, the condemnation of the State Department by Zionist leaders was significant. A scant few months ago such opposition would have hardly seemed possible. No doubt the Jewish masses have in consequence begun to ask questions about Dulles' policies as a whole.

The American Zionist Council, for instance, sent out an Emergency Bulletin (October 23) to its constituency—composed of every Zionist organization in the country—calling for the convening of local Zionist councils, to include the entire Jewish community, to mobilize "protests by letter and telegram to the Secretary of State." Jewish organizations adopted resolutions in which words like "condemn," "denounce," "deplore," "dismay," "regret" were very much in prominence, though such terms have rarely, if ever, been directed at State Department policy in recent years. Such statements came from the national executive committee of the American Jewish Committee, the National Zionist Administrative Council (ruling body of the Zionist Organization of America), Hadassah, B'nai B'rith, the National Council of Jewish Women, New York Board of Rabbis and the Association of Reform Rabbis of New York City, American Jewish Congress, the Labor Zionist Organization of America, the Mizrahi (Orthodox Zionist) Organization of America and Zionist Youth Council.

The statement of Louis Lipsky, chairman of the American Zionist Council, on October 19 is typical. He expressed "our alarm that the Department of State has hastened to single out one side for rebuke on the eve of the Security Council's consideration of the whole problem of Near East tension." The American Zionist Council's Emergency Bulletin referred to above linked Dulles' silence on Egypt's violations of UN decisions in regard to Israel with his promise of "formidable arms" to dictator Naguib. These statements must be seen as cautious expressions of uneasiness in the Jewish community that the expediences of the cold war are doing Israel no good. This growing realization that Washington's cold war policy in the Middle East presents a danger to Israel is a new note in Zionist circles. Israel and world peace can only benefit from the strengthening of this new realization and one hopes that it will develop into clear, forthright opposition to the program of the cold war in the Middle East and in the world generally.

The cessation of Mutual Security "aid" to Israel drew protests from Jewish organizations as being "an unwarranted act of duress," (Lipsky), "an attempt to coerce a friendly government" (Hadassah). Of course, this characterization of the State Department's action is unquestionably correct. The Zionist Council was justified in referring sarcastically to Dulles' statement of October 20 that "we shall not . . . try to make Washington the place from which decisions are imposed." However, in the best interests of Israel, the Jewish community must see that coercion is imposed not only by the cessation of "aid" from Washington, but also by the *conditions under which that "aid" was extended in the first place*.

Dr. S. Margoshes, columnist of the *Jewish Day and Morning Journal*, on October 24 affirmed that "Dulles represents a class and a party which . . . is committed to high finances and to a firm foreign policy. Very seldom was there a case when American Jews were called upon to oppose their government. However, the time has come now when they must stand the test . . . of their spiritual maturity and determination. . . ."

Opposition, active and outspoken, to government policies is not easy. However, Dr. Margoshes and the Jewish community generally can take heart in knowing that the opponents of that policy include not only the masses of Israel but of all the world.



# THE USSR AND THE MIDDLE EAST

*Does the Soviet Union have "aggressive intentions" in the Middle East? Friends of Israel should know the facts that are given here*

*By William Mandel*

NO one in Israel regarded the re-establishment of relations with the USSR as a routine diplomatic happening. Even the staid *Jerusalem Post* gave front page prominence to the playing of Russian songs in Israel night clubs on the evening that the announcement was made. Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett's pledge that "Israel will not be a party to any alliance or pact aiming at aggression against the Soviet Union" has been taken too seriously, both by the opponents and the supporters of that position, for anyone to regard this pledge as merely diplomatic politeness.

The *Jerusalem Post* made it clear that the final resumption of relations was delayed for some weeks until the exact wording of this pledge was agreed upon in the Israel cabinet in a form acceptable to the Soviet Union.

The speech of Henry Morgenthau to the Israel Bond Conference in Washington on September 26, 1952, shows that the concern of the USSR is well-founded. He noted that the Israel "army . . . has grown tremendously since its victories. . . . In the fast-changing European political scene, 250,000 men, representing first-class troops, constitute a striking force which the United States cannot and should not overlook."

Neither can the Soviet Union. And that is why it insisted upon the promise that these troops not be used against it as a condition of renewing relations. But for us in the United States, with our long experience with the use of Bonds for Israel and United Jewish Appeal money to influence Israel government policy, Morgenthau's concept of Israel's youth as cannon fodder for Wall Street—"a striking force"—indicates that much remains to be done to assure that Israel is guaranteed the neutrality that is its only hope of economic stability and survival.

The fact is that the government of Israel continues to respond to American pressure in a manner which causes concern even to so "Western" and conservative an organ as the London *Jewish Chronicle*. Editorializing September 4th on the UN decision rejecting the admission of India to the Korean peace negotiations, it wrote:

"We were treated to the unedifying spectacle of the United States rounding up its supporters for the crucial vote. . . . The position of Israel in this matter (was) doubtless somewhat embarrassing. . . . On August 26, the Israeli delegates spoke strongly in favor of India, a country for which Israel rightly entertains the friendliest feelings and whose unremitting efforts to secure peace

in Korea have won wide acclaim. It was, therefore, to be expected that Israel would support Indian participation. When the vote was taken and Israel, together with ten other countries, was found to have abstained, the conclusion was unavoidable that United States influence had been brought very strongly to bear."

It is clear that we may expect renewed efforts to pressure Israel into deeper involvement in the anti-Soviet military strategy of Washington with increasing detriment to its economy from staggering war budgets and a crippling dollar economy. The persistent pressures on Israel to join in the anti-Soviet military scheme are based on the assumption that the Soviet Union has "aggressive" intentions and, specifically, that it threatens Israel. Let us examine that assumption. In the first place, the Soviet Union and Israel do not border on each other. We must therefore survey Soviet relations with the countries that lie between it and Israel—the countries of southeastern Europe and of the Near and Middle East.

In the past few months the Soviet Union has taken steps to stabilize peaceful relations with all these countries, as it did in resumption of relations with Israel. These measures are part of its world-wide effort to reduce tension by negotiation.

## *Soviet Negotiations with Turkey*

Most remarkable of all is the changed Soviet attitude toward Turkey, which is of key importance to our present discussion because it lies on a direct line between the USSR and Israel. The Soviet note of May 30th does something virtually unheard of in relations between a large state and a small one. It admits that a previous Soviet stand antagonized the Turkish government and people and withdraws it unceremoniously, without any attempt to justify the previous position. This is the clearest example of the "deeds" which President Eisenhower has asked for as evidence of Soviet good intentions.

Lest the reader conclude that the Soviet Union formerly had an "aggressive" attitude toward Turkey and that this is a renunciation of aggression, some historical facts are in order—facts that are important to understanding the basis of Soviet concern with the Near and Middle East.

No one has ever attacked the United States through the Middle East. No one could, as we are 5,000 miles away.

But the Soviet Union *has* been attacked through the Middle East, since it—alone among the great powers—is itself part of that section of the world. In World War I, Turkey was Germany's ally. During that war—and again in World War II—German raiders and troopships passed from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Black Sea for the fighting in the Crimea and German bombers from North Africa crossed Turkey during World War II to attack the Soviet Caucasus.

During World War I, when the brand-new Soviet government had to accept Germany's peace terms early in 1918, they included the occupation by Turkey of Armenia, most of Georgia and the oil-rich city of Baku. Later, even when Turkey had to withdraw, it retained the districts of Kars and Ardahan, which were the chief areas in question in the Soviet claims now abandoned.

When the Central Powers were defeated in World War I, the British took up where the Turks had left off. Moving up from the Arabian peninsula through Iran, they occupied Soviet Central Asia and then moved across the Caspian Sea to Baku. To the West, the French and even the Greeks poured through the Straits into the Black Sea to occupy and plunder the people of the Ukraine and the Crimea.

### **Attack Through Turkey?**

Clearly, the Soviet Union, *alone* among the great powers, *has* reason to be concerned about the defense of the Middle East. Yet its policy, even before the recent extraordinary efforts to settle outstanding problems, was one of non-intervention in the affairs of these peoples, despite the fact that the United States was establishing itself there, right on the Soviet frontiers. Thus, the *New York Times* of Feb. 22, prior to Stalin's death, contrasted American and Soviet behavior as follows:

"The Soviet Union is right next door to the Middle East. The United States is 5,000 miles away. . . . It (the USSR) occupies no military bases in Middle East countries, holds no oil concessions and maintains no technical missions. Its diplomatic representatives operate quietly and inconspicuously. . . . On the other hand, representatives of the United States—diplomats, advisors, technicians, *secret agents*, businessmen, missionaries, teachers, *airmen*, *soldiers*, newsmen, and rubbernecks—are all over the place" (emphasis added).

More than three years ago, the *Times* revealed (March 9, 1951) that "American construction workers are speeding completion of a protective ring of Turkish airfields that would put atom bomb carrying planes within about three hours flying time of Moscow." And only recently Israel has participated in an 11 million dollar contract with Turkey to sell concrete and give technical aid in the construction of anti-Soviet bases in Turkey.

The Soviet Union continues to protest military cooperation of Turkey with the United States adjacent to Soviet frontiers, such as the fact that 60 American and British

warships were permitted to enter the Black Sea this year alone for maneuvers. This is comparable to a Soviet fleet coming up the St. Lawrence for maneuvers in the Great Lakes. Yet the USSR has not only relinquished territorial claims on Turkey, but has just signed an agreement selling Soviet irrigation water to eastern Turkey.

### **Soviet Relations with Iran**

The Soviet Union has demonstrated a similar attitude toward Iran. At the very beginning of their relationship, in 1919, Moscow initiated its anti-imperialist policy toward colonial and semi-colonial peoples in a remarkable note to Iran. In it, the Soviet government, although very impoverished at the time, cancelled Iran's \$35,000,000 debt; gave up Russia's interference in Iran's income from customs, post and telegraph; gave over Russian-built telegraph lines; renounced mining, oil, and transportation concessions; turned a \$32,000,000 Russian bank in Teheran over to Iran; declared Russian-built railroads, ports and vessels to be the property of the Iranian people, and surrendered the right of Russians in Iran to be tried by Russian courts. It is to be understood that the Iranian government of that day was—as it is today—a government of landlords, so that the Soviet action was founded purely on a policy of renunciation of imperialism.

To protect itself against British or other imperialists endangering its frontiers through Iran, the Soviet government insisted, in its Treaty of 1921, that Iran pledge not to grant concessions to foreign countries in the areas of the former Russian concessions and that the Soviet Union have the right to place troops in Iran should it be threatened by the activities of any other country in Iranian territory. It was under this provision that the USSR occupied northern Iran in 1941, withdrawing in May 1946. Since that time Iran has had a relationship with the United States under which our officers have trained the Iranian Army, thus giving them virtual control of it. Despite that fact the Soviet Union has done no more than issue diplomatic notes of protest. Nor did it use its strength to force Iran to reconsider cancellation this year of Soviet caviar-fishing arrangements on the Caspian Sea.

On the contrary, just as the Soviet Union renounced all claims on Turkey, it has recently informed the Iranian government that it is willing to re-negotiate the 1921 treaty, removing the provision permitting Soviet armed forces to enter the country.

On the record, then, it is ridiculous to speak of Soviet aggression in the direction of Israel. But it is not at all ridiculous to speak of trade by which both parties can be the gainers. This applies especially to Israel because it can procure from the Soviet Union raw materials and industrial goods it needs on a barter basis, without use of foreign currency. In this field as well, the USSR makes no political conditions.

In view of Israel's needs, it is worth giving close examination to this brand-new Soviet-Iranian agreement. Under it,



the USSR will provide 5,000 tons of rails, 1,200 tons of lubricants, much nickel, copper, brass, telephone and electrical cables and wiring, light bulbs, tractors and other manufactures, plus sugar. Iran will supply rice, tobacco, carpets, pork, skins, oil seeds, and cotton. Thus Iran, gets precisely the kinds of products that Israel needs. Moreover, the Iranian press reports that this deal will save Iran \$84,000,000 in foreign currency.

### **Soviet Trade with Israel**

That sum is larger than Israel's entire short-term debt, a debt which Israel has been able to sustain, according to Henry Morgenthau, only by "sharp curtailments . . . in consumer goods" and "crushing interest rates." A large trade agreement negotiated with the USSR would not only be a means of getting what Israel needs on a business basis, without political subservience—it would also raise the living standard by removing the "need" for the austerity that now finances payment on an ever-greater burden of foreign debt. And it will be noted that the type of products sold by the Soviet Union to Iran is itself an argument against the nonsense of Soviet aggression. For these products include so-called strategic goods—nickel, copper, brass—the very types of products which our government forbids other countries to sell to the USSR! Yet the USSR sells them to its neighbors.

Practically speaking, the state of Israel-USSR trade relations at this moment consists of negotiations over the sale of 75,000 tons of Soviet crude oil to Israel in exchange for citrus fruits. This would also make possible the reopening of the Haifa oil refinery, which has been lying idle. In addition, the Soviet Union has offered wheat and corn in exchange for citrus fruits. And at the Moscow Economic Conference in April 1952, the Soviet Union offered Israel industrial and agricultural machinery, an offer which was turned down by the Israel authorities in line with the dollar-imposed boycott.

The Soviet Union, unlike the United States, pursues an equally friendly policy toward Israel and the Arab states. In his speech before the Supreme Soviet on August 8, Premier Malenkov said: "The assertions of some foreign newspapers that the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel will lead to a weakening of the relations of the Soviet Union with the Arab states are without any foundation. The activity of the Soviet government will be directed, in the future as well, towards the strengthening of friendly cooperation with the Arab states."

Far from harboring "aggressive" intentions in the Middle East, the Soviet Union is performing deeds in furthering peace in this, as in other areas.

In their desire for peace the peoples of both Israel and the Arab countries are one. The Arab peoples are consciously engaged in the struggle for peace. This is attested to by a writer in the *New York Times Magazine* (June 7) who states: "But by far the most common theme is that of the 'peace movement.' The Arab is completely uninter-

ested in major wars, hot or cold, and is sure that Westerners are liars when they say that there is now no such thing as neutrality. The 'peace movement' which the Russians [sic!] launched at Warsaw in 1950 exactly suits his frame of mind and he has appended hundreds of thousands of signatures to its manifesto."

### **Israeli and Arab People Want Peace**

The peoples of Israel, too, voiced their desire for peace when over 400,000 Israelis signed the petition for a Five Power peace pact and against German rearmament. This unity of expression constitutes the basis for pressure upon all the governments concerned to act in accordance with the people's desires. The pressure of their peoples has already compelled the Arab governments to a far greater degree than in the past to conduct their foreign relations in closer accord with the interests of world peace and the struggle against imperialism. The Arab states voted solidly for the inclusion of India in the Korean peace talks. They voted in favor of inviting the North Korean government to present its case before the UN. They rejected American pressure to vote against Soviet charges of murder of prisoners of war in South Korea and the Czech resolution condemning United States use of Mutual Security act funds for sabotage and espionage.

All of this arises out of the Arab peoples' ferment towards national liberation and against imperialism. The Arab states consequently officially support the Tunisian and Moroccan national liberation movements, the rights of the people of Indian origin in Africa and of the Africans in the Union of South Africa. In each of these matters, these countries have found themselves opposed by Washington, which supports the colonial powers. And in each of these matters, the Arab countries have found themselves on the same side as the Soviet Union.

A decisive question for the coming period is whether the anti-imperialist and peace sentiment of the Arab peoples will manifest itself in further deeds of their governments or whether these governments will submit to Dulles' policy of clamping dominance of Washington on the area.

The contributions to peace of the stand taken in the UN by the Arab states are also in the interest of the people of Israel, as of the mass of the people of the world. The Israeli people have thus much in common with the Arab peoples in this opposition to imperialism and support of peace. If the government of Israel were to act genuinely in the interests of its people, it too would support these same positions. Pursuit of such policies by the Israel regime would facilitate successful negotiation of issues with the Arab states. American Jews, therefore, can help Israel by effectively pressing upon the State Department to lift the weight of Washington's domination from Israel and the entire Middle East and to permit the countries in that area to pursue a truly independent foreign policy aimed at the achievement of world peace.



# COLLABORATION IS A BOOMERANG

*Rampaging McCarthyism is making ever clearer that no-collaboration is the only resistance policy. This realization is gaining ground*

*By Louis Harap*

WE got one answer to the question asked in our editorial article last month, "Who will be next?" It turns out that ex-President Harry S. Truman was next, when he received a subpoena from the Velde Committee on November 10. And this in connection with a regurgitated "spy" charge against the late Harry Dexter White so unsubstantial that a federal grand jury six years ago could not get enough evidence to indict! As we have been reiterating these many months, no one—no one—is safe from the McCarthyites. And now we are in the middle of a Republican offensive (we use the word advisedly) in which they will apparently stop at nothing or no one with the slightest connection with anything that has been progressive in the past two decades. The Republicans find that they must divert the American people from dissatisfaction with their policies and from the economic decline in the offing. Again it becomes obvious that the hysterical cry of "anti-communism" is a shield behind which the most reactionary policies are put into effect against democracy as such and against all sectors of the American people.

In the Jewish community the realization of the menace continues to grow. In the past month or so a half-dozen conventions of Jewish organizations have expressed wide resistance (see editorial, p. 4). Eminent Jewish figures continue to sound the alarm. In a sermon on October 17, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver warned that "Many Americans have come to fear that the process of limiting our liberties will continue until they are permanently lost," just as they were in Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. In a most significant move Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, proposed that representatives of Jewish groups meet with Christian church groups to work out a common program for combating McCarthyism. The importance of this offer lies not only in the fact of joint resistance, but also in that this was prompted by the fighting statement issued by the Presbyterian Church Council on November 3 that, with hysterical anti-communist cries, McCarthyism and the "cold war" policies are opening the gates to a possible "fascist tyranny . . . in the high-sounding name of security." The Presbyterian statement and the offer of Rabbi Eisendrath signify grasp of the fact that there is an integral connection between the war danger and McCarthyism. The statement consequently urged top level negotiations with the socialist governments.

These are encouraging signs of more determined resistance to McCarthyism. Especially important was the forthright resolution unanimously passed by the biennial convention of the American Jewish Congress on November 9 which urged a *no-collaboration* policy with the inquisition of ministers. This resolution was prompted by the news, made public on October 25, that the American Jewish Committee, together with the National Council of Churches of Christ in America and the National Catholic Welfare Conference, had agreed to send representatives to confer with Rep. Harold E. Velde on the witch-hunt of religious leaders. We strongly suspect that the American Jewish Committee suggested the projected meeting to Velde as a follow-up of the pact they made with him. The American Jewish Congress resolution correctly characterized this prospective inquisition as a threat to "the basic principle of freedom of religion." (Full text on page 21.)

But the inquisition as a whole threatens all freedoms and by the same token requires a no-collaboration policy altogether toward the McCarthyite committees or any other form of McCarthyism. Cooperation to any degree becomes a boomerang. The prime example is that of ex-President Truman himself, who was one of the initiators of the post-war witch-hunt with his "loyalty" decree and Smith act prosecutions and now finds himself a target of the witch-hunt. In other words, the beginning of wisdom about resistance to McCarthyism is that this American form of fascism starts with the Communists but ends with anyone who does not acquiesce to the fascist program and diverges from strict conformity with McCarthyism.

## *A Weakness in the Fight*

Among many who are putting up resistance to McCarthyism, there is a serious weakness in the fight: denunciation of the "methods" of the McCarthyites without perceiving that the attack on communists is inseparable from that on all who are falsely called "communists" or who are said to "help" communists by maintaining a semblance of liberalism. Let us illustrate the point by the example of an English-Jewish publication which has courageously challenged the Anti-Defamation League's participation in the by now well-known conference with Rep. Velde in which an arrangement was made by the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee to open their files

to the Un-American Committee. The *Valley Jewish News* of North Hollywood, California, editorialized against the Anti-Defamation League on September 2. Again on October 7, following the smear of Rabbis Stephen A. Wise and Judah L. Magnes, the paper ran an editorial entitled, "No One Is Safe," ending with a "memo" to the ADL head with the proverb, "When you lie down with dogs, you get up with fleas." The moral was clear: *no collaboration with the inquisitors.*

The ADL was apparently touched to the quick, for the paper printed a protesting letter (October 21) in which ADL regional director Milton A. Senn stated the ADL position. The paper also reproduced in its entirety the ADL memorandum describing the meeting with Velde (first published in *JEWISH LIFE* for September). Mr. Senn made it clear that the ADL believed that "such committees [as the Velde Committee] have an important function to perform; we believe, too, that the procedures and tactics sometimes used or adopted by the committees or some of their personnel have been detrimental to the very freedoms and institutions which all of us seek to protect." In other words, the objectives of the committee are good, but their "methods" are sometimes bad.

In the next issue (October 28) the paper reprinted the letter sent by Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the ADL, to the Velde Committee protesting the smear of Rabbis Wise and Magnes. Again the paper published a front-page editorial in which it was revealed that the local B'nai B'rith members had been sent a letter by Mr. Senn justifying the ADL position in the affair with Velde. The editorial goes on to assert that the Velde Committee has consistently failed to act in the American tradition of fairness and ends with another proverbial "memo" to Mr. Senn: "When you run with wolves, you howl like one." Yet the editorial also affirms that "One does not question the need for an Un-American Activities Committee but we must question the manner and methods employed by this body in using the committee as a tool to further political power and prestige at the expense of the innocent."

### **Communists' Rights Must Be Defended**

The *Valley Jewish News* was right when it protested vigorously against the conference with Velde and the confidential memorandum on this meeting. But it also manifests the weakness in the fight against McCarthyism that is shared by so many Jewish leaders and other Americans who are up in arms against the inquisition—the limitation of criticism to the inquisition's "methods" alone. The methods are destructive of democracy, of course. But is it an accident that these McCarthyite committees use "methods" that threaten the Bill of Rights and the Constitution? This is the nub of the question. *They use these "methods" because their objective is to destroy American freedom. It is the inquisition itself which is hacking away at the Bill of Rights, not its techniques alone.* The only

decisive way to make an end to the inquisition and smears and the disintegration of democratic safeguards is to fight the committee altogether. This the American Jewish Congress recognized in connection with the prospective smear of religious leaders when it urged *no-collaboration whatsoever* on this aspect of the inquisition. Yet in this very resolution the AJ Congress reiterates its objections only to the "un-American methods" used by the Velde Committee. The Congress and all fighters against McCarthyism must take a further and indispensable step: *no-collaboration in any form whatever.*

At this late date there should be no question that the activities of the McCarthyite committees show them to be the advance guard of American fascism. "As in Nazi Germany, the method is to ride in on the coattails of 'anti-communism.'" And we know what fascism means for the Jewish people in these days. Americans who are devoted to the Bill of Rights, on which the security of the Jewish people rests, will therefore fight the McCarthyite inquisitions all down the line, including the hounding of communists. For there is no such thing as a witch-hunt of the communists alone. A nice division between the hunting of communists and immunity for all others is impossible. This has been continuously demonstrated over the post-war years to be a mirage. And the reason is that the McCarthyites are not after communists alone but after any manifestation of non-conformity with their fascist politics.

The Jewish organizations, which are expressing opposition to McCarthyism ever more vigorously, will lack full effectiveness until they realize that a successful struggle absolutely demands defense of the Constitutional rights of communists. More concretely, this means opposition to McCarthyite laws like the Smith, McCarran, McCarran-Walter and Taft-Hartley laws, and also to bills like the McCarthyite anti-labor Butler bill. Must our children await the wisdom of hindsight after an American fascist debacle before these truths are realized and acted upon?

### **Victory at Pittsburgh**

**M**CCARTHYISM received a sharp blow on October 16 when the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania by a vote of five to two threw out the petition of Pittsburgh fascists to revoke the charter of the Jewish Cultural Association on the ground that it was a center for "subversive" activities. Significantly the majority decision pointed out "that the present petitioners are merely informers" and that if they were permitted to institute proceedings, "the same rights would exist on the part of each and every citizen of the Commonwealth, however irresponsible, however improperly motivated he might be." This is indeed a voice of sanity in the babel of McCarthyite hysterical cries. The petitioners had in storm-trooper fashion raided the center and desecrated pictures and books precious to the Jewish people. This victory is heartening evidence that McCarthyism can yet be defeated.



# BEN GOLD STANDS FIRM

*The indictment of Ben Gold is a threat to his union and all labor.  
But they are not intimidated and go on to fight for a strong union*

*By Benjamin Paskoff*

"ANY attempt on the part of an employer to utilize my indictment to deprive the workers of their gains and conditions must be met in the most determined manner. The wages and conditions of our members must be safeguarded at all costs. The unity in the ranks must be maintained. The entire membership must be on guard to defend their working and living conditions and to defend their union."

With these words, Ben Gold, president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, opened his first public statement after his indictment by a Washington grand jury. On August 28th, the grand jury in our nation's capital handed down a three-count indictment charging that Gold had perjured himself when, three years ago, he signed the non-communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley law.

Gold's immediate response to the indictment was easily predicted by those who have known him during his long history in the labor movement. Always a fighting trade union leader, he sensed immediately the union-busting essence of the attack on him. The mapping out of the fight against the indictment has from that first moment on been based on what is in Gold's view the Number One job—defending the wages and conditions of the workers and the union itself.

The key to Gold's tremendous stature in the labor movement is to be found in this understanding and approach. This stature is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the union he heads is not among the larger unions, nor are the industries it has organized basic to the economy of the country.

Despite these facts, the union has always been a target for reaction. Large numbers of its leaders and rank and filers have been beaten, maimed and jailed over the years because of their militant struggles on behalf of the workers. Even now, Irving Potash, formerly manager of the Furriers Joint Council of New York, is serving his third year in Leavenworth under Smith act conviction.

It was Gold who rallied the fur workers in the 1920's to oust the corrupt and bureaucratic right wing leadership of that period. Operating on the belief that terrorism by hired gangsters could be defeated by the united action of the masses of the workers, Gold's leadership gave inspira-

tion and encouragement to honest workers throughout the country by cleaning the Murder, Incorporated gang of Lepke and Gurrah out of the fur market. The air was cleared in what had been a racket-controlled, gangster-dominated industry in which both workers and bosses suffered untold indignities and losses. Workers regained their dignity and a strong union emerged from the struggle.

It was this union which won the first 40-hour week—in 1926. And the 35-hour week in the earliest days of the Roosevelt administration. Average weekly wages even today, in the crisis-ridden fur industry, are still slightly better than \$83.00—with a strict ban on the piece-work monster which has undermined the standards of many workers in other needle trades industries. In the fur industry, there is no problem of large open shops in and out of New York, such as plagues other needle trades.

## *Leather Is Organized*

It was under Gold's leadership that the leather workers across the nation were organized for the first time in history—a task previously written off as impossible by both AFL and CIO leaders.

When the organization of the leather workers was undertaken, the industry was infested with company unions and spy systems. Wages averaged 62c an hour and as low as 40c in the South. Workers in the tanneries were brutally exploited while their employers reaped unlimited profits. The lot of Negro workers, confined to the most difficult, low-paying jobs, was particularly miserable.

Today, the organized leather industry is a living example of what can be accomplished by a democratic, militant, progressive union. The sub-standard conditions of 1939 have been eliminated. Wages have risen to a national average of \$1.70 an hour, and as high as \$1.90 in some parts of the country. Almost all contracts provide for an average of six paid holidays; up to three weeks paid vacation; minimum wages of well over \$1 hourly; job security and seniority rights; grievance machinery; free protective clothing; life insurance coverage of \$1,000 and up; sick benefits, free hospitalization and surgical care.

The union's record in leather under Gold's leadership is a special sore spot for the employers of the country because in many cases there are close organizational connec-

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tions between the tanning companies and the large trusts in industries like dairy products, shoe and others.

Most recently Gold and the IFLWU have earned the vengeful displeasure of Big Business in our country by successfully organizing over 5,000 brutally exploited Negro menhaden fishermen in the South. In one of the most outstanding examples of organizing the unorganized since World War II, the IFLWU has once again provided inspiration and leadership in the workers' struggles for a better life. Although the fishermen's strike is in its second year, the workers' ranks remain solid.

### ***How and Why of the Indictment***

It is not difficult to understand the feverish scramble of Eisenhower's Cadillac cabinet to indict Gold against the background of the outstanding achievements of the IFLWU under Gold's leadership. Raids by other unions have met with practically 100 per cent failure. Attempts to split this solidly united union from within have been singularly unsuccessful. The jailing of Irving Potash, while a loss to the union and particularly to the New York fur workers, has only resulted in a stiffer determination not to yield an inch to the constant pressure of the employers on the workers' wages and conditions.

Gold's long-standing membership in the Communist Party until 1950 was never a secret either from the membership of the union or the public at large. When the 1950 Convention of the IFLWU voted to comply with the Taft-Hartley law in order better to defend the union against raiding attempts, Gold publicly resigned from the Communist Party and signed the T-H affidavit. His resignation was important news to large sections of the press.

In 1951, and again in 1952, after intensive efforts by FBI agents to dig up evidence of perjury, Gold was summoned to the special New York grand jury. Finally, in 1952, after the second attempt, the New York grand jury publicly admitted that there was no evidence of perjury and therefore did not return an indictment. Less than a year later, the Washington grand jury did return an indictment.

The difference between the two grand juries was more than one of geography. Of the 23 members of the Washington grand jury, 13—a clear majority—are government workers, a number of them in the Department of Justice! But taking no chances, the government gave itself that extra margin of safety with a grand jury foreman who is a bank vice president and an assistant foreman who is an executive of the American Railway Association. The Washington grand jury was clearly designed and streamlined to do the job which the New York grand jury twice refused to do.

The three counts of the perjury indictment charge Gold with continued membership in, affiliation with and support of the Communist Party. It is obvious that the third count of "support" is the one most fraught with danger to the entire labor and progressive movement of the country. As Gold himself has put it:

"It is clear that on the basis of the *support* gimmick they

can indict every man and woman in our country, particularly union members and labor leaders. . . . If any American stands for peace instead of war—if any worker stands for higher wages and better working conditions and opposes speed-up—if any decent American opposes the persecution of the Negro people and fascist legislation such as the Smith, McCarran, Taft-Hartley and other such acts—on the *support* thesis it would be easy to prove that this is similar to the Communist Party program and therefore one is guilty of supporting, sympathizing, fraternizing, promoting, etc., etc.

"Clearly, their aim is to muzzle the entire nation and particularly labor. Clearly, their aim is to club everyone into submission and to deprive all Americans of their right to oppose the destructive program of reaction. That's the gimmick in the charge of supporting the Communist Party."

### ***The Union Stands Solid***

The Eisenhower administration has not been slow to display its real intentions. Already the newly-appointed National Labor Relations Board chairman, Guy Farmer, has announced that the NLRB will no longer process any IFLWU cases since Gold is under indictment—a complete denial of the traditional American principle on which our legal system is based, that innocence is assumed until guilt is proven. This is obviously intended as a whip against any trade union whose leaders may at any time be indicted for violating any of the T-H provisions.

If the masterminds behind this decree thought that this would open up the open-shop floodgates and wash away the IFLWU, they must be sorely disappointed. Perhaps the employers have taken seriously the union's words of warning: "Fortunately, our union does not depend solely upon the NLRB. The employers know it. Fortunately, ours is not the kind of trade union that is helpless without the NLRB. The employers as practical businessmen, would do well to adjust grievances with our union regardless of the NLRB's illegal position."

Meanwhile, every section of the IFLWU has rallied solidly behind Gold. From the fishermen in the South, the leather locals in New England and the Midwest, fur locals from coast to coast, as well as the New York Joint Council and Joint Board, have come vigorous expressions of support. Sharp indignation has been expressed in a number of AFL and CIO locals in addition to independent unions.

The indictment of Ben Gold is only the latest in the series of attacks on the labor movement. With this indictment the Eisenhower administration has more clearly shown its anti-union, open-shop mentality than on any previous occasion. It is only historic justice that in the fight to defeat this plot against the American working class, the widest unity of the trade unions should emerge—in fulfillment of the objective for which Ben Gold has stood for over a quarter of a century.

# PLOT AGAINST LEHMAN-CELLER BILL

*Attempt of the Eisenhower administration to bottle up the Lehman-Celler revision of the McCarran-Walter law can be turned back*

*By Joseph Klein*

**T**HE Eisenhower administration is exhibiting callous disregard of the intense, widespread opposition of the American people to the racist McCarran-Walter immigration law. What is happening to the McCarran-Walter law is something like the double-cross by the administration on its pledge to revise the Taft-Hartley law which caused the sensational resignation of Martin Durkin as Secretary of Labor. A deal which can quite literally be called a "plot" has been hatched by administration figures to sabotage efforts to revise or repeal the infamous immigration law.

The outlines of the story were told in a *New York Times* dispatch by Clayton Knowles on September 24,\* headlined, "Pact Bars Change in McCarran Law." This is what the report said: "Revision of the McCarran-Walter immigration act at the next session of Congress is ruled out under terms of an understanding, reached late in the last session, that made it possible to pass the administration bill providing a haven for 214,000 refugees in this country. The understanding, informed sources said, is hard and fast and provides an explanation of how it came about that opposition to the refugee bill, spearheaded by Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat of Nevada and an author of the basic immigration act, collapsed suddenly in July."

The story went on: "The White House was not linked to the understanding, which may foreclose all hope that the administration can perform on a promise, stated and restated many times during the closing stages of the 1952 campaign by General Eisenhower, that the nation would be given a 'better law than the McCarran act.' The understanding on Capitol Hill, however, is so firm that Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, plans to move at the first meeting of the House of Representatives Judiciary Committee in 1954 to table all 24 bills that have been offered for overhaul of the basic act. This move, said to be certain of approval, would leave the committee with nothing before it for change in the act, which Mr. Walter also sponsored."

## ***Close-Up of a Double-Cross***

Let us take a closer look at this situation.

First, as to the law for whose passage the Eisenhower administration traded the ditching of McCarran-Walter revision. This so-called Refugee Relief Act of 1953 provides for the admission of 214,000 into this country in the next three years. Philip B. Perlman, solicitor general in

the Truman administration for many years, characterized the act succinctly. Perlman had been chairman of a commission set up by President Truman to study immigration and naturalization problems. "The Refugee Relief Act of 1953," said Perlman late in September before the Baltimore chapter of the Americans for Democratic Action, "expressly adopts the discriminations and other abuses of the McCarran-Walter act and then adds new ones." This new law, said Perlman, is even worse than the McCarran-Walter law and is "the most discriminatory, the most restrictive and generally the worst piece of immigration legislation" in our history. This, then, is the law for the sake of which the administration traded revision of the McCarran-Walter law.

Second, the deal is a flat renunciation of the promises made by Eisenhower for revision of the racist immigration law, no matter how inadequate these revisions might be. Not only did Eisenhower promise revision in his campaign speeches. In his State of the Union Message on February 2, he said explicitly, "In the sphere of immigration . . . existing legislation contains injustices. It does in fact discriminate." And he promised to ask Congress "to review this legislation and to enact a statute . . . faithful to our basic ideas of fairness and freedom to all." Then, on April 6, Eisenhower sent a letter to Senator Arthur V. Watkins, an ardent advocate of the racist law and chairman of the joint congressional committee appointed to look into "injustices" in the immigration law, in which Eisenhower recommended changes in the law.

Senator Watkins wrote a letter to the President on August 31, in reply to the President's directive for the committee to make recommendations for "a fundamental revision

## ***Norman Tallentire: McCarran-Walter Victim***

**O**N November 9, Norman Tallentire died of a heart attack at the age of 67. He was hounded by the immigration authorities in the last few years of his life and was on the verge of deportation to his native England under the McCarran-Walter act when he was struck down. The harassment of the authorities undoubtedly hastened his death.

Norman Tallentire was for many years a devoted worker for the progressive movement and a working class fighter for peace. We mourn his passing and pledge a continuing fight against the McCarran-Walter act.



sion" of the law because he had received "a great many complaints." In his letter Watkins apparently saw nothing wrong with the law and assured the President that the Republican Party was in such a "strong position" on the issue, that there was no need to consider revision for the next three years. (The results of the 1953 elections will no doubt cause a revision of the estimate that the Big Money party is in a "strong position.") Watkins also made a personal attack on Senator Herbert H. Lehman, strenuous opponent of the racist law and co-sponsor with Rep. Emanuel Celler of the proposed immigration bill, of which we shall speak below.

An indication of the anti-Semitic trend among the McCarthyite supporters of McCarran-Walter is indicated by the ominous fact that when Milton Friedman, Washington correspondent of the Jewish Telegraph Agency, asked Watkins' committee for a copy of his letter, which had been generally released to the press and to newspaper correspondents, the request was refused.

Finally, what of the President's part in this plot? The *Times* story quoted above notes that the "White House was not linked to the understanding." Yet in July, Senator Pat McCarran held a private conference with the President

from which this McCarthyite Number One of the Democratic Party emerged with the statement that the President would not lead a drive to revise the McCarran-Walter law. It was then that McCarran withdrew his threat of a filibuster against the administration's refugee bill.

### Plot to Thwart Popular Will

Why this plot against wiping out the disgrace of "America's First Nuremberg Law," as the racist act has been called?

The answer lies in the tremendous strength achieved by groups all over the country of various political, social and religious beliefs, that have been fighting the McCarran-Walter law. The movement for repeal or revision of the law has become so powerful that desperate measures are needed to head it off.

Here are only a few typical signs, which could be multiplied manifold, of continuing and growing resistance to the law. At a meeting on October 5 in St. Louis of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Paul B. Rava, chairman of the international law committee of the Missouri Bar Association, and Myron Schwartz, executive director of the St. Louis Jewish Community Relations Council, sharply condemned the law. At a Pennsylvania meeting in October, Philip J. Klutznick, president of the several hundred thousand member B'nai B'rith, called the law "contrary to the basic principles of Americanism." And a stinging attack on the law was leveled by Jacob Blaustein, president of the American Jewish Committee, when he said that under McCarran-Walter "even a dog might have trouble getting security clearance for admission into the country."

An indication of the unity against the law that is being achieved on the local level throughout the country can be found in the jam-packed rally held on New York's West Side on October 15. Speakers included Reps. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. and Adam Clayton Powell; New York's first Negro State senator, Julius A. Archibald, and prominent religious leaders. The rally was sponsored by such figures as Rabbi Edward S. Klein of the Stephen S. Wise Free Synagogue, Mrs. Helen Weinbaum of the American Jewish Congress, Mrs. Trina Torres of the Hispano-American Women and Mrs. Ella Baker of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

This kind of strength can be achieved all over the country and can accomplish revision or repeal. Such a success would not only wipe McCarran-Walter off the books, but would have deeper significance. By smashing this legal tool being used to enforce a reign of terror against the foreign born and naturalized citizens, a blow would be struck against the whole system of thought control, deportations and the tightening fascist grip on American life. Repeal or revision would thus topple one of the cornerstones of McCarthyite policy in the United States.

It becomes a matter of the utmost urgency to defeat the schemes to prevent consideration of repeal or revision.

EVERYBODY WELCOME
FREE ADMISSION

**JOIN YOUR COMMUNITY**

## PROTEST RALLY

FOR THE REVISION OF THE


### McCarran-Walter Immigration Act

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15th, 8:00 P. M.**  
(DOORS OPEN AT 7:30 P. M.)

AT THE

### JOAN OF ARC JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

93rd STREET AND AMSTERDAM AVENUE




**Cong. Roosevelt**

Speakers:

CONGRESSMAN  
**FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT JR.**

CONGRESSMAN  
**ADAM CLAYTON POWELL JR.**

STATE SENATOR  
**JULIUS A. ARCHIBALD**  
AND OTHER PROMINENT CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS  
LEADERS OF THE WEST SIDE



**Cong. Powell**

**PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER SAID:**

"WE MUST HAVE DECENCY AND FAIRNESS AMONG ALL OUR CITIZENS. WE MUST REPEAL, FOR EXAMPLE, THE UNFAIR PROVISIONS OF THE McCARRAN-WALTER ACT."

**SENATOR HERBERT H. LEHMAN SAID:**

"IF (THE NATIONAL ORIGIN QUOTA SYSTEM) IS BASED ON THE SAME DISCREDITED RACIAL THEORIES FROM WHICH ADOLF HITLER DEVELOPED THE INFAMOUS NUREMBERG LAWS, THIS SYSTEM IS BASED ON THE HYPOTHESIS THAT PERSONS OF ANGLO-SAXON BIRTH ARE SUPERIOR TO OTHER NATIONALITIES AND THEREFORE BETTER QUALIFIED TO BE ADMITTED INTO THE UNITED STATES AND BECOME CITIZENS."

**DR. WALTER W. VANKIRK SAID:**

(NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST)  
"AN AFFRONT TO THE CONSCIENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

**HARRY S. TRUMAN VETOED THIS INFAMOUS BILL**

**SPONSORED BY THE WEST SIDE COMMITTEE**  
**FOR THE REVISION OF THE McCARRAN-WALTER IMMIGRATION ACT**

<b>RABBI EDWARD E. KLEIN</b> Stephen S. Wise Free Synagogue	<b>HARRY ROGERS</b> West Side News	<b>MRS. TRINA TORRES</b> Hispano-American Women
<b>MRS. HELEN WEINBAUM</b> American Jewish Congress	<b>MRS. BERNICE P. ROGERS</b> West Side School Community Centers	<b>MRS. ELLA BAKER</b> National Association for Advancement of Colored People

*New York's West Side shows the way: leaflet for a united meeting of protest against McCarran-Walter.*



## TOWARD ACTION ON THE LEHMAN-CELLER BILL

**T**HERE are two main areas of action in the fight to repeal or revise the racist McCarran-Walter law.

First, organizations and individuals should send letters and resolutions to the House Judiciary Committee and the Senate Judiciary Committee demanding open hearings as soon as possible on the Lehman bill (S. 2585) and the Celler bill (H.R. 6820).

Second, delegations should be organized to visit congressmen at their office or at home to urge them to call for open hearings and to support the Lehman-Celler bill and to discuss with them needed amendments. (For a discussion of the bill and desirable amendments, see "The New Lehman Immigration Bill," by Abner Green, *JEWISH LIFE* for September.)

Particularly important is that those people and organizations located in the districts of the 33 Senate and House sponsors of the bill should visit their senators and representatives to discuss and urge amendments to the bill that would remove its undemocratic provisions. Following are the bill's sponsors:

Senate: Herbert H. Lehman (Dem., N. Y.); Hubert

H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.); Wayne Morse (Ind., Ore.); John O. Pastore (Dem., R. I.); Theodore F. Greene (Dem., R. I.); James A. Murray (Dem., Mont.); John F. Kennedy (Dem., Mass.); and Warren Magnuson (Dem., Wash.).

House of Representatives: Emanuel Celler (Dem., N. Y.); Franklin D. Roosevelt (Dem.-Lib., N. Y.); Sidney A. Fine (Dem., N. Y.); Thomas J. Lane (Dem., Mass.); Peter W. Rodino, Jr. (Dem., N. J.); Thaddeus M. Machrowitz (Dem., Mich.); Herman B. Eberharter (Dem., Penna.); Earl Chudoff (Dem., Penna.); Barrat O'Hara (Dem., Ill.); Louis B. Heller (Dem., N. Y.); John J. Rooney (Dem., N. Y.); Samuel W. Yorty (Dem., Cal.); Abraham J. Multer (Dem., N. Y.); Arthur G. Klein (Dem., N. Y.); Leo W. O'Brien (Dem., N. Y.); John J. Rooney (Dem., N. Y.); Eugene J. Keough (Dem., N. Y.); Alfred D. Sieminski (Dem., N. J.); James J. Delaney (Dem., N. Y.); Hugh J. Addonizio (Dem., N. J.); Isidore Dollinger (Dem., N. Y.); Lester Holtman (Dem., N. Y.); Mrs. Edna Kelly (Dem., N. Y.); Charles R. Howell (Dem., N. J.); and Louis C. Rabaut (Dem., Mich.).

Primary consideration must be given to digging the Lehman-Celler bill, which would revise McCarran-Walter, out of the congressional file drawer. For this bill can form the basis for a campaign to defeat the plot to stifle widespread resistance to the racist law. While the Lehman-Celler bill has certain shortcomings, as pointed out in Abner Green's article on the bill in the September issue of this magazine, it goes a long way toward correcting basic evils in the immigration law. The bill removes jurisdiction over non-citizens from the Justice Department and establishes an Immigration and Naturalization Commission as an independent agency in the executive branch of the government. The bill also removes the racist national origins quota system and provisions that permit denaturalization for political reasons. It provides a statute of limitations on deportation cases, as well as remedying other undemocratic aspects of the McCarran-Walter law.

### Open Hearings for Lehman-Celler Bill!

However, the bill contains several undemocratic provisions which constitute a concession to McCarthyism and McCarranism. The bill provides for McCarthyite deportation of non-citizens who "have advocated or taught subversive doctrine" or have been "members or affiliated with any organization which advocates or teaches subversive doctrine." It permits arrest without warrant, allows secret hearings, accepts the McCarran-Walter law's practice of registering and fingerprinting non-citizens and compelling them to carry a pass, in addition to other measures which do not live up to the principles and practice of democracy.

While it is essential to get Congress to consider the Lehman-Celler bill, it is also important to try to get

amendments to the bill to remove its undemocratic provisions. But above all, united efforts must be made to force open hearings in Congress on the Lehman-Celler bill and thus to thwart attempts to drown the bill in the McCarthyite tide.

### Dr. Einstein on Education Today

*A New York State Education Department four-page publication, Schools in Action, put to Dr. Albert Einstein the question: "How can the schools develop in youth the ability to face and solve problems objectively?" Following is the answer given by Dr. Einstein in the September issue of Schools in Action:*

**T**HE basic prerequisite for the ability to face and solve problems objectively is independence of judgment. Schools can assist in developing this faculty in the following ways:

1. The teacher should—as far as possible—present logical arguments for his assertions. This applies as well to the books used in school work.
2. Doubts and critical comments on the part of the students should be taken in a friendly spirit and should be discussed in class.
3. Accumulation of material should not stifle the students' independence and their zest for learning. This latter point is particularly important.
4. In teaching history, such personalities should be discussed extensively who benefited mankind through independence of character and judgment.

Under conditions such as they presently prevail in this country the realization of such a program is impossible. Its most important prerequisite is virtually unlimited freedom of teaching so that teachers and students do not feel constrained by external pressure.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

# ABE LUPIN: 50 YEARS OF MILITANCY

*A life sketch of this labor leader who at the age of 65 still follows his life-long devotion to the welfare of the workers*

**By Sam Pevzner**

**T**HIS is the story of a little man who is big.

I am not speaking of a great writer, painter, statesman, industrialist, inventor or scientist. I am speaking of a plain, modest worker in a needle-trades shop in New York. I am speaking of a man whose 65th birthday and 50 years of activity in the labor and Jewish people's movement will be celebrated by thousands of workers.

This worker is Abraham Lupin of the Bronx and the Grand Canyon of the needle-trades in the West Thirties of Manhattan.

The story of Lupin is a story of the Jewish working class and its contributions to the labor movements of the United States and the "old country." It is a story of the heroic struggles for the improvement of the workers' lot and for social progress. Abraham Lupin was forged in the crucible of these struggles.

In his home town of Mazir, the province of Minsk, Lupin began to work at the age of 15 in a match factory. In the shop he joined the "Bund" (the General Jewish Labor League of Lithuania, Poland and Russia) and before long was working with other Bundists to organize the workers into a union. Conditions were unbearable in the factory. In the manner of employers all over the world—if they can get away with it—they fired the young organizer Lupin.

Before long he was working in a veneer factory, where he had the opportunity to help organize the 150 workers there. He was soon elected to represent the workers in the City Committee of the Workers' Guild. In this way began a history of leadership in behalf of labor and the common man which extends right up to the present.

Lupin participated in the 1905 revolution against tsarism. Then, as now, despite the defeat of the revolutionary workers, he never for a moment lost confidence nor faith in the struggle. Meet Lupin today, and you are struck by the realistic optimism of the man in the face of the most bitter attacks by reaction on movements and people he loves.

In 1907, the veneer factory workers went out on strike under Lupin's leadership. The tsarist police arrested the leaders of the strike but Lupin managed to elude capture. Hunted by the brutal police he was forced to flee to our country.

In the United States the young man threw himself into the Jewish labor and political movements for a new day for the oppressed and downtrodden. He joined the Work-

men's Circle in 1909 and remained a member for 22 years until the establishment of the International Workers Order, which became a warm and integral part of his life from then on.

The new American became a skirtmaker and joined the skirtmakers' Local 23 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. In that year, 1908, only three shops in New York City were organized. Soon Lupin was elected as delegate for his local to the Joint Board.

## ***A Devoted Labor Leader***

In 1910, the revolt against sweatshop conditions reached a climax. The cloakmakers organized a general strike and emerged from the struggle with the trade more extensively organized. In this strike Lupin's stature as a militant labor leader reached new heights. He was chairman of a strike hall with 2,000 workers under his leadership. His diminutive figure was seen on the picket line day and night. He was arrested several times but no sooner was he freed than he was back on the line. His fearlessness, devotion and militancy played no small part in inspiring the workers under his leadership to victory in the strike.

From this time on Lupin was an important figure in the union. After a short period in Local 25, Waist and Dressmakers Union, he helped organize the Dressmakers Local 22 in 1918. He became a member of the local's executive board and served as president of Local 22 for some years. In 1925, when the top bureaucracy of the ILGWU sought to destroy the influence of the left-wing, Locals 2, 9 and 22, three of the largest locals in the International, were expelled. Lupin, who was then president of Local 22, fought to preserve democracy in the union and became one of the leaders of the Joint Action Committee, set up to fight the expulsions and the destruction of democracy in the International.

The bureaucracy used thugs to try to seize the offices of Locals 2 and 9 in the middle of the night. But thousands of dressmakers under the leadership of Lupin prevented the seizure of their local's office. They stood as a stone wall to defend their headquarters.

Together with other workers who were expelled from the International, Lupin helped build the Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, which was affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League. Here, too, he worked with



the zeal and loyalty which has made him a respected figure among the workers.

In 1933, when depression stalked the land, Lupin was shop chairman and leader of the strike in the Needleman and Bremer shop, which turned out to be one of the most bitter struggles in the history of the trade. The strike lasted one year and ended when the shop went out of business. Lupin had not been working for six months, in addition to the 12 months' duration of the strike. Thus for one year and a half Lupin had no means to feed, clothe and house his family—his wife and two children, Morris and Minnie.

Despite this, Lupin was on the picket line every day. He was beaten up a number of times on the line but he fought on, never losing faith and courage even though failure appeared inevitable.

One gets a measure of the devotion of this worker and his wife, Sarah, when one learns that his family was evicted from their homes twice during the period of this strike. With the furniture on the street Lupin and his wife were forced to send their young son to stay with friends. Offers of lucrative jobs were made to Lupin if he would betray the workers. In spite of hunger, of the dispersal of his family, evictions, of beatings on the picket line—in spite of all this suffering, Lupin fought on until the end of the strike.

Sarah Lupin speaks of those days with a note of bitterness, visualizing again the suffering of the two children. But she hastens to add, "I never want to live through those days again. It was terrible. My boy we sent to school without decent shoes—we put cardboard in for soles. The gas was shut off. We were evicted. But terrible as it was, I would not want Abe or myself to give up our principles for anything. I didn't want it then and I don't want it now."

### ***A Gentle, Militant Man***

To look at Lupin, one can hardly believe the history of militancy of the man. He seems the soul of gentleness and modesty. His eyes are warm and friendly and one would suppose that this man could not hate. But hate he can, and hate with a passion and intelligent direction as only one can who understands the struggles of his class for a decent life. It is because he knows how and whom to hate that he feels such warmth and affection for his fellow workers and fighters. For Lupin hates oppression and injustice—and those who are responsible for them in our society.

At the present time Lupin feels intense anger against those who seek to take away his beloved International Workers Order from him and his fellow-members. The IWO and its society which he helped build, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, is on the verge of liquidation at the hands of Governor Thomas E. Dewey's Insurance Department.

Lupin was one of the founders of the IWO. While a



***Abraham Lupin***

member of the Workmen's Circle, in which he was president of Lodge 64 for years, he fought for progressive policies. It was this fight that ultimately led to the organization of the IWO. He was a member of the National Board of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order from its inception.

No matter how high a post Lupin held, whether in the union or the Order, he was always to be found among the members. He was chairman of the City Committee of the JPFO for five years, a representative of the National Board to New Jersey for years, a leader of the Bronx County Committee from the day it was set up. Yet he was active in his own lodge at all times. In a quiet, unassuming way Lupin works on various leadership committees, never shirks an assignment—and still is able to do more if asked. Considering that this man works in a shop for a living, one is justified in asking, how does he do it? The answer may be that his devotion, clarity and enthusiasm disintegrate all obstacles in the way of a many-sided and rich activity in behalf of the struggle for progress.

From this story of Abraham Lupin it should be easy to understand why a Jubilee Committee, sponsored by over 125 leading trade unionists, fraternalists, writers and community figures, is giving a grand concert to celebrate his 65th birthday and 50th year of activity on Saturday evening, December 12th, at the New Terrace Garden in the Bronx. The working people of New York will no doubt jam the hall that night because they want to honor the little man who is big and because this man symbolizes the best contributions of the Jewish working class to the ever expanding struggle for a world of peace, security and democracy.

***Coming in January***  
**An Evaluation of the American**  
**Jewish Congress biennial convention**

# SUSIE'S HANUKAH REPORT

*A Story for Children*

*By Alice Citron*

SUSIE was flying on her magic carpet. She had given up jets and helicopters ever since she had read a story about magic carpets. All the children in Susie's class could tell when she went on one of her big trips. Miss Sweeting always looked hurt when this happened. She didn't like to lose the attention of any of "her children." While they were busy with their arithmetic workbooks, Sidney, Margie, Sara and many of the others wondered where Susie was on her way to this time. They remembered the day that Susie announced she was George Washington's niece during a celebration of George Washington's birthday. She had called herself Betsy Ross Washington for a whole week. All the grownups called Susie a "day dreamer" and "full of imagination." But Susie's friends loved her exciting travels.

Susie was really going places this time. Her older brother had told her that Hanukah was coming soon. This stirred Susie to great excitement. She had asked Seymour what he called "a million questions."

"Seymour, why is there such a holiday?"

"It's because there were five brave brothers who organized an army of Jews to fight a terrible King Antiochus."

"But what did the King do?"

"He killed women, children, men, every Jew who didn't want to believe what he believed."

"Who won, who won?" exclaimed Susie. She couldn't bear the thought of the five brothers losing. She sighed with relief when Seymour told her that Judas, Simon and their brothers were able to lead their soldiers to victory.

So, while "189x48" was going on in the heads of her classmates, Susie was thinking of other things entirely. Her magic carpet had taken her to old Jerusalem. It was over two thousand years ago. She, Susie, was now Hepzibah, the daughter of Saul the carpenter, and she was walking around in sandals with long hair flowing down to her shoulders.

For a moment, Susie decided to remember that she was going to ask her mother to let her grow her hair long. Then she was Hepzibah again and eating gorgeous black grapes that grew in this warm land. Hepzibah was very bold and she walked right up to Judas Maccabee and asked if she could help Judas when the Syrian King attacked again. Judas was very surprised because the men did all the fighting. But Judas knew how brave the Jewish women were and how they refused to become slaves to the King. He took Hepzibah to a cave in the side of one of the hills. He knew he could trust her not to tell a soul about this cave. It was hard to get to the cave but Hepzibah didn't complain once

even though her feet hurt terribly from the stones that she had to walk on. Hepzibah said that she would remember the path and wouldn't have to be shown the way again. Hepzibah now had an important job. This cave would be one of the hideouts for the Maccabees' soldiers. When it got dark Hepzibah would bring them water and bread for the time they might have to stay in hiding.

"Susan Greenberg," a voice called imperiously. "Have you finished page 15 of your workbook?"

Susie's carpet completely disappeared and she looked with astonishment at the desk in front of her. Instead of grapes in her mouth, she was nibbling a pencil.

"But I have to bring them water," she started to say, while Sidney, Margie and Sara roared sympathetically.

Miss Sweeting suddenly smiled. "Finish your work, dear, and dream after three o'clock."

At lunchtime, Susie was surrounded. She told her friends about her far-away journey. She herself was disappointed that she hadn't been able to go much further than the cave. But she promised her friends that her journeys were not over.

THAT EVENING AT DINNER SHE WANTED TO TELL HER PARENTS about her latest "look into history," as her father called it. But her father started talking first.

"What a shame! Why can't they let those kids alone! Can you imagine, throwing two orphaned children out of school?"

Then Susie's father told them that he had read that the school officials of Toms River, New Jersey, had decided that Michael and Robert Rosenberg couldn't go to that school anymore.

Mrs. Greenberg was furious. Susie had never seen her sweet mother look so angry.

"How dare they let little boys suffer so? They're tyrants, they're barbarians!"

Susie called out, "That's just what Seymour called King Antiochus—a 'barbarian'!"

"That's a polite word for kid torturers," remarked Seymour.

Susie didn't sleep well that night. She had all kinds of mixed-up dreams. She had a nightmare of a giant of a man with a tremendous crown on his head chasing two little boys with a club. At another point in her dream she was pouring buckets of water on a man dressed in ancient clothes and shouting, "Go away! Go away! Leave us alone! We want to be free!"



The next day at school everyone noticed that Susie didn't look happy. Miss Sweeting asked if she'd like to see the nurse. Sidney kidded her about flopping on her way up to the cave. Margie told her, "You'll live, whatever it is." But Susie was too unhappy to joke back. She did her work all through the day. About two o'clock the teacher reminded the class that the Christmas holidays were coming and asked who would like to make reports on how Christmas was celebrated in other countries. She queried, "Susan, would you . . .?" But Susie jumped right out of her seat. "Miss Sweeting, Miss Sweeting, please let me tell about Hanukah, please. . . ."

Susie had a week to prepare for her report. The Greenberg household was beset with all kinds of requests from Susie. "Can I buy 30 stamps?" When her mother asked, "Whatever for?" Susie put on her far away look. Mr. and Mrs. Greenberg never challenged this look and Susie knew it. Another day she asked for a dollar for writing paper. One day she asked Seymour how to spell "courageous." Seymour of course had to quip back, "What are dictionaries for, anyhow?"

Everyone was puzzled by Susie's busyness. She hadn't flown on her carpet for days now. Susie was busy writing, cutting items out of newspapers. But most of all Susie was practicing letter writing. Her mother observed that Susie would write, tear up and write again. She told Mr. Greenberg that she was afraid their daughter was now going through a "serious stage." She almost wished that Susie would go back on her journeys. The family remained mystified, for Susan refused to enlighten anyone.

THE NIGHT BEFORE HER REPORT ON HANUKAH WAS TO BE GIVEN to her class, Susie instructed her mother to awaken her ahead of time. This was so unusual that Mrs. Greenberg decided to keep her eyes peeled on Susan the next morning. All Mrs. Greenberg was able to see, however, was a Susan laden with a box of writing paper, and an envelope full of sundries.

At school Susie was nervous. John had told how Dutch children like gifts put into wooden shoes. Mary had reported on Christmas customs in Norway. For a minute, Susie forgot her nervousness. She liked the idea of putting out food for the birds that was the tradition in Norway, too.

Then it was her turn. What Susan started to say was no surprise to the children who had heard her tell of her trip to Jerusalem. And Susie was telling it in her usual way. "While I visited Judas Maccabee . . .", "I climbed to the cave. . . ." After awhile Susan's voice changed. Defiantly she said, "There are Maccabees, today, too!" The children all sat up. This was a different Susie. She went on, "I think that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are Maccabees. They did what Judas Maccabee and the others did long ago. They wouldn't betray their honor. . . . They were courageous. . . ." Susie faltered and went on. "The other day I took a trip around the world. Boys and girls in Germany were writing, 'Lieber Michael and Robert,' boys and girls in England were writing, 'Be our pen pals,' boys and girls in France were saying, 'We love you, Michael and Robbie.'"

The class was hushed and still. No one was cutting up. Miss Sweeting's eyes were on her desk as if she couldn't bear to look up. Susie went on. "I love Michael and Robert, too. I wrote them this letter:

Dear Michael and Robbie,

Hanukah is coming soon and I am thinking about you. I feel sad that you lost your wonderful father and mother. I tried to think what was the best thing I could do for Hanukah. And I decided to ask the boys and girls in my class to write to you. We want to be your friends.

Your Friend,  
SUSAN GREENBERG"

Susan gave out 30 sheets of writing paper and 30 envelopes. She carefully placed a stamp on each desk. Miss Sweeting's class was very busy writing for Hanukah.

### **AJ Congress' Anti-McCarthyism**

*The great importance of the following resolution, passed unanimously by the American Jewish Congress at its biennial convention on November 9, is that it clearly enunciates a policy of no-collaboration with the McCarthyite inquisitors in the proposed witch-hunt of religious leaders. Anti-McCarthyites should go further—no-collaboration on any phase of the inquisition!—Eds.*

**W**E have long been mindful of the un-American methods employed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, of its use of discredited witnesses and the irresponsible release of uncorroborated accusations. We call upon the Congress of the United States to establish legislative safeguards against these and other procedural abuses.

The recent activities of the House committee have, however, a new and even more dangerous implication. The committee is now expressing judgments on who shall occupy the pulpits of America, what materials shall be circulated by churches, what agencies the churches shall create for the fulfillment of their objectives and what causes ministers of religion may not espouse. The basic principle of freedom of religion is thus threatened and our fundamental guarantee of this freedom through the separation of church and state is undermined.

When the State thus intrudes upon freedom of conscience, it is the duty of all communal organizations, secular as well as religious, to resist such intrusion and to uphold the Constitution and defend our religious freedom. No organization should become a party to this violation of the Constitution by counseling or assisting in such infringement of religious liberty. Where such cooperation occurs, no matter how well intentioned, it serves to sanction and approve acts of censorship over religious expression. We, therefore, urge that whatever organizations have agreed to cooperate with the Velde Committee in its investigation of ministers of religion will reconsider their decision and withdraw their participation from an inquiry that threatens religious freedom in our country.

# BRANDEIS' FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

*The great Supreme Court Justice strengthened guarantees of freedom that are now being broken down. We need a return to his principles*

**By Morris U. Schappes**

ANY day now the Velde Committee may have its ghoulish informer against the dead, Benjamin Gitlow, lie under oath that Louis D. Brandeis, Justice of the Supreme Court from 1916 to 1939, was as subversive as Rabbis Stephen S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes and "took orders" from the Communist Party. Obviously only the fact that the subpoena from the Angel of Death has forestalled the subpoena from the McCarthyites keeps the Brandeises, Wises and Magnes from being badgered in the witness chair by the Un-American Committee gavel-pounders.

For what makes Justice Brandeis memorable is the fact that he fought in the spirit of an aggressive democratic tradition at a time when Big Business was already subverting democracy. Beginning as a corporation lawyer (he died a multi-millionaire), he became a "people's attorney" and militant liberal during the second half of his long career (1856-1941), applying the democratic ideals of Paine, Jefferson, Lincoln and the Hebrew Prophets to the monopoly dominated United States of the twentieth century.

In these days of scurry and scamper, when many a middle class liberal and progressive is not only being silenced by the McCarthyites but is sometimes padlocking his own mouth, this fighting democratic tradition needs reviving. For the example and the words of a Brandeis, a Wise and a Magnes can inspire people to speak up for repeal of the McCarran-Walter act in behalf of the non-citizen and the naturalized citizen, for repeal of the Smith act in behalf of freedom of speech and the half-buried First Amendment, in opposition to monopoly and the Eisenhower billionaire cabinet.

Reviving these militant traditions requires of course a fight against the McCarthyites. But it also demands presentation of the full picture of what these persons fought for and whom they fought against. Progressives today must rescue the democratic tradition of the Brandeises and Wises from those who would inter their principles with their bones, and honor their names with empty ritual rather than with imitation.

How does the Jewish plutocracy, for example, regard a Brandeis now? When the American Jewish Committee's periodical, *Commentary*, published an article on Brandeis in October 1948, its author, Prof. Solomon F. Bloom, concluded that "Brandeis . . . speaks to us in the muted tone of a distant age." Characteristically, Bloom made only passing reference to the fact that it was Brandeis and Holmes who in 1919 first presented the formula of "the clear and present

danger" as a barricade to those who, after the first World War, sought to destroy the First Amendment. This barricade was an obstacle to reaction until Vinson wrote his infamous decision on the Smith act case of the Eleven Communists in 1951. Yet Brandeis' fight for freedom of speech was one of the finest he ever waged, and since the fight is more desperate now than ever before, the Brandeis words are of especial importance now. But *Commentary* had no room for them and refused to point to their vitality.

Nor did the Eternal Light radio program of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America when it presented a Brandeis program on January 15, 1950, shortly after the end of the first Foley Square Smith act trial which undermined the First Amendment and the Brandeis-Holmes defense of it.

## ***Brandeis Versus Plutocracy***

Fortunately, many of Brandeis's profoundest democratic utterances are to be found in this little volume of *The Words of Justice Brandeis*, edited by Rabbi Solomon Goldman.<sup>1</sup> Into 160 pages, Rabbi Goldman has crowded about 380 single excerpts from the writings of Brandeis, from one line to seven pages in length. About 30 of these are unpublished statements made by Brandeis to Goldman himself. Regrettably the excerpts are offered with no indication as to the contexts in which they were uttered or even as to the time. Since the possibility of correction in a future edition is vain, owing to the death of Rabbi Goldman, we shall have to use the present volume in its present form to the utmost.

For very many of these excerpts contain bold democratic thinking and no progressive today can afford to make the obvious limitations in Brandeis' thinking a hindrance to his recognizing what *is* there as a weapon now against McCarthyism.

Brandeis feared "the rule of a plutocracy" (p. 133). He recognized that "the real fight today is against the inhuman, relentless exercise of capitalistic power" (p. 101). The main issue was that "both liberty and democracy are seriously threatened by the growth of big business" (p. 102). "We must break the Money Trust," he wrote, "or the Money Trust will break us" (p. 138). He declared that "either political liberty will be extinguished or industrial liberty must be restored" (p. 102).

<sup>1</sup>*The Words of Justice Brandeis*, edited by Solomon Goldman, with a Foreword by Justice William O. Douglas. Henry Schuman, New York. \$3.





**Louis D. Brandeis**

Naming names, he denounced the United States Steel Corporation. "The Steel Trust," he said, "looks on its slaves as something to be worked out and thrown aside. . . . It stamped out, through its immense powers of endurance, one strike after another. It developed a secret service, a system of espionage among its workmen, singling out individuals who favor unionism; and anyone fomenting dissatisfaction with existing conditions, as it was called, was quietly discharged" (p. 176). Brandeis supported trade-union organization and favored legislation for a shorter working day, for minimum wage standards, for the protection of women workers, and so forth.

He thundered against monopoly and the open shop not because he was a radical seeking radical working class solutions. Rather was he afraid that "every excess of capital must in time be repaid by the excessive demands of those who have not the capital" (p. 73). Yet since he died, the excesses of capital and the repressions by the government of billionaires have grown worse and the Brandeis thunder is good to hear and needs to be re-echoed.

### ***A Defender of Freedom***

Brandeis was afraid of revolution but he was even more afraid of the destruction of the First Amendment and the right to freedom of speech and assembly. He warned that "there will come a revolt of the people against the capitalists, unless the aspirations of the people are given some adequate legal expression" (p. 121). But in the criminal syndicalism case of the Communist Anita Whitney he wrote a concurring opinion defending the right to advocate revolution: "I am unable to assent to the suggestion in the opinion of the Court that assembling with a political party, formed to advocate the desirability of a proletarian revolution by mass action at some date necessarily far in the future, is not a right within the protection

of the Fourteenth Amendment" (p. 86). It should be noted that in this Whitney case (1927), the Supreme Court sustained the conviction (she was pardoned by the California governor before serving sentence), but Brandeis and Holmes, in *concurring opinions*, explained that had she raised the constitutional issue of the "clear and present danger" principle, at least their vote would have been different.

Incidentally, it was Justice William O. Douglas who took Brandeis's place when he retired; and Brandeis said to Rabbi Goldman, "I am very much pleased with my successor. He would have been my own choice" (p. 64). In his dissent, with Black, in the Smith act case, Douglas justified that confidence by his sticking to the First Amendment in the Brandeis tradition. And when Douglas issued his heroic stay of execution in the Rosenberg case, he was both following and extending the Brandeis lead. For Brandeis demonstrated his sympathy with Sacco and Vanzetti in 1921 when he "permitted the wife and children of Nicola Sacco to use (his) Dedham home" while Sacco was in the Dedham jail (Alfred Lief, *Brandeis*, New York, 1936, p. 437). In 1927, when lawyers for Sacco and Vanzetti tried to get a stay in order to take an appeal to the Supreme Court, Brandeis denied the stay because, as he explained, of his "personal relations with some of the people interested." (*New York Times*, Aug. 22, 1927.)

### ***Brandeis as Zionist***

In 1910, however, acting as arbitrator in the great garment workers' strike, he became aware of what he regarded as a basic bond between the Jewish strikers and the Jewish employers: the fact that they were both Jewish. It seemed to him that this tie, which could blunt the sharpness of the class conflict, was meaningful. In 1912, Jacob de Haas finally converted Brandeis to Zionism. Rabbi Goldman does not see the irony involved in his statement, in his introductory essay, that it was contact with the Jewish *workers* that spurred Brandeis toward the bourgeois nationalism of the Zionist movement. If it was so, it was not because the garment workers were then Zionists, but because Brandeis was rooted in the middle class.

Yet, although he was the leader of the Zionist movement in our country from 1916 to 1921, Brandeis wore his Zionism, so to speak, with a difference in some respects. He rejected the concept of the Jews as the "chosen people" and told Rabbi Goldman: "let us teach all peoples that they are all chosen, and that each has a mission for all. I should prefer such an effort to that of boasting of our election" (p. 51). He recognized that it was the segregation imposed upon the Jews that was the basis of whatever it was that Jews had in common (p. 108). Then also Brandeis sought to revise orthodox Zionist theory that Palestine was to become the home of all the Jews of the world through the "ingathering of the exiles." Brandeis stressed that the migrants to Palestine would come chiefly from the tsarist-ridden lands of Eastern Europe and the

undeveloped countries of the Middle East, while American Zionists would politically and philanthropically aid that project.

Such unorthodoxy is still an issue with orthodox Zionists. Thus Dr. S. Margoshes, a publicity director for the Zionist Organization of America, in a Yiddish article on this very book in *The Day*, March 21, 1953, sets out to define exactly how unorthodox Brandeis is in his view of Zionism. Yet Margoshes concludes that while "this kind of Zionism is not in tune with classical Zionism," it is still the better form of Zionism with which to appeal to the American Jewish population. Non-Zionists, however, see no merit in either variety of Zionism, and will find what is valuable in the Brandeis tradition in his militant efforts to protect American democracy from being torn to shreds by Big Business.

The most durable Brandeis is the one who, in his Whitney opinion, wrote: the revolutionaries of 1776 "believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage

to be the secret of liberty . . . that without free speech and assembly discussion would be futile. . . . Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty . . . no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence. . . ." (pp. 81-82).

Were this the doctrine of our courts and our government today, there would not be two-score Americans in prison, convicted under the unconstitutional Smith act, and there would be no McCarran Internal Security act on the books. These words of Brandeis can be useful in the fight required to restore the First Amendment to our Bill of Rights.

## "FEAR BREEDS REPRESSION..."

### *Excerpts from Justice Brandeis' defense of the First Amendment*

*The following spirited defense of the First Amendment is in Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis' concurring opinion in 1927 in the free speech case of Anita Whitney, California Communist. The passage is also to be found in The Words of Justice Brandeis, edited by Solomon Goldman, pages 80-83.—Eds.*

THOSE who won our independence believed that the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties, and that in its government the deliberative forces should prevail over the arbitrary. They valued liberty both as an end and as a means. They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty. They believed that freedom to think as you will and to speak as you think are means indispensable to the discovery and spread of political truth; that without free speech and assembly discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty, and that this should be a fundamental principle of the American government. They recognized the risks to which all human institutions are subject. But they knew that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that fear breeds repression; that repression breeds hate; that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety

lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies; and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. Believing in the power of reason as applied through public discussion, they eschewed silence coerced by law—the argument of force in its worst form. Recognizing the occasional tyrannies of governing majorities, they amended the Constitution so that free speech and assembly should be guaranteed.

Fear of serious injury cannot alone justify suppression of free speech and assembly. Men feared witches and burnt women. It is the function of speech to free men from the bondage of irrational fears. To justify suppression of free speech there must be reasonable ground to fear that the serious evil will result if free speech is practiced. There must be reasonable ground to believe that the danger apprehended is imminent. There must be reasonable ground to believe that the evil to be prevented is a serious one. Every denunciation of existing law tends in some measure to increase the probability that there will be violation of it. Condonation of a breach enhances the probability. Expressions of approval add to the probability. Propagation of the criminal state of mind by teaching syndicalism increases it. Advocacy of law-breaking heightens it still further. But even advocacy of violation, however reprehensible morally, is not a justification for denying free speech where the advocacy falls short of incitement and there is nothing to indicate that the advocacy would be



immediately acted on. The wide difference between advocacy and incitement, between preparation and attempt, between assembling and conspiracy, must be borne in mind. In order to support a finding of clear and present danger it must be shown either that immediate serious violence was to be expected or was advocated, or that the past conduct furnished reason to believe that such advocacy was then contemplated.

Those who won our independence by revolution were not cowards. They did not fear political change. They did not exalt order at the cost of liberty. To courageous, self-reliant men, with confidence in the power of free and fearless reasoning applied through the processes of popular government, no danger flowing from speech can be deemed clear and present, unless the incidence of the evil apprehended is so imminent that it may befall before there is opportunity for full discussion. If there be time to expose through discussion the falsehood and fallacies, to avert the evil by the processes of education, the remedy to be applied is more speech, not enforced silence. Only an emergency can justify repression. Such must be the rule if authority is to be reconciled with freedom. Such, in my opinion is the command of the Constitution. It is therefore always open to Americans to challenge a law abridging free speech and assembly by showing that there was no emergency justifying it.

Moreover, even imminent danger cannot justify resort to prohibition of these functions essential to effective democracy, unless the evil apprehended is relatively serious. Prohibition of free speech and assembly is a measure so stringent that it would be inappropriate as the means for averting a relatively trivial harm to society. A police measure may be unconstitutional merely because the remedy, although effective as means of protection, is unduly harsh or oppressive. Thus, a State might, in the exercise of its police power, make any trespass upon the land of another a crime, regardless of the results or of the intent or purpose of the trespasser. It might, also, punish an attempt, a conspiracy or an incitement to commit the trespass. But it is hardly conceivable that this Court would hold constitutional a statute which punished as a felony the mere voluntary assembly with a society formed to teach that pedestrians had the moral right to cross unclosed, unposted, waste lands and to advocate their doing so, even if there was imminent danger that advocacy would lead to a trespass. The fact that speech is likely to result in some violence or in destruction of property is not enough to justify its suppression. There must be the probability of serious injury to the State. Among free men, the deterrents ordinarily to be applied to prevent crime are education and punishment for violation of the law, not abridgement of the rights of free speech and assembly.

## ALCATRAZ

Far?

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Three thousand miles to begin your journey.

There a boatman scans a list  
And beckons names on board.

Ferries them across—

Across the sea of death?

No, not death, not even dying.

Life is there, and loving.

Arrived? Arrived?

Not yet arrived.

When you have passed through the eye,

(The magnetic eye of Alcatraz which

Warns its master with its ringing.

Have you a knife or gun?)

Then a driver waits,

Up, a few miles up, to end your journey.

The happy ending now?

The sweetest kiss, the embrace

*By Helen Sobell*

That brushes off the heavy dust  
Of ever present yearning?  
And hand in hand to live the words  
That part the lips and make  
Of time and distance, nothing?  
Of trial and terror, nothing?

It was not like that.

Kiss the wall and caress the glass.  
Feast, after your lonesome fast.  
Cherish this joy, garner your pleasure  
Emptiness demands it back, full measure.

Here is studied destruction,  
Scorched sorrow engulfed by shifting sand.  
Madly we fill and empty our cups,  
Our moments beyond our command.  
We must drink of our love, taste of our truth,  
Seconds must be the days, the years, of our youth.

*(Helen Sobell is the wife of Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenbergs who is serving a 30-year term in Alcatraz. The Rosenberg-Sobell Committee asks that letters be sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell urging transfer of Sobell from Alcatraz.)*

# NEW MARRIAGE LAW IN ISRAEL

By Dvora Yaffe

Tel Aviv

The "Law of Marriage and Divorce" and all the other laws in our country having to do with married life are ancient religious laws which are in glaring contradiction with the secular life of modern society. Jurisdiction over all problems of married life is in the hands of the Rabbinate; among the Arab population in the hands of Moslem and Christian religious authorities. This scheme of things was established 30 years ago under the British mandate, which regarded the population of the country merely as a conglomeration of religious communities.

According to the laws of the Rabbinate the woman is a passive factor in all the questions of marriage. She is "given in marriage" and is always the "second party" in a divorce action. She may accept the divorce or reject it, but she herself can never institute a divorce action. The woman is discriminated against also in regard to her rights over the children. She has no rights at all as far as family property is concerned. She cannot inherit her deceased husband's property in cases where there are male survivors in his family. In addition to this there are also the humiliating laws of *Halitzah* and *Agunoth* [ancient laws dealing with re-marriage of women, widowed and deserted].

Even more discriminating and degrading are the laws of the Moslem religion, according to which the woman in the family has no human rights at all. She is purchased by her husband and she must submit to his will throughout her life.

These laws have been a source of endless suffering and tears for women for generations. The effect on the children is no less appalling.

With the establishment of the State of Israel and its law-making body, the Knesset, the demands of the people grew stronger for progressive marriage laws which would form the basis for abolishing the discrimination against the woman in the family relationship. Unfortunately, however, the laws of marriage and divorce which were adopted recently by the Knesset do not meet these justified demands. These laws actually give legal authority to the Rabbinical institutions over all the Jewish inhabitants of the country, even temporary residents. The minor improvements in the new law such as the possibility of civil jurisdiction in matters of support and inheritance, do not basically change the situation. The key fact is that jurisdiction over marriage and divorce remains in the hands of the religious institutions.

For the Israeli people and especially for the women an entirely different law is needed. We need a law which is based on full equality of women with men, a law which will lay the basis for eliminating the social and economic discrimination and inequalities of the woman's position in the family and thus eventually in society.

To this end the Knesset should work out a series of new, secular, progressive marriage laws for all the citizens of Israel without regard to sex, race or religion. The law should give exclusive jurisdiction to the civil authority in all problems of

married life. The government should establish civil institutions for marriage and divorce. Those couples who wish a religious ceremony in addition will be able to use the established religious institutions. But no one should be compelled to go through a religious ceremony against his conscience or belief.

It is high time to abolish the ancient relics of the slavery of women. The Israeli woman of today is an active citizen of the state and a member of society. She is a worker, a builder, a fighter, an educator of children. She has earned the right to full equality in all fields of life, a right which she was guaranteed in the Founding Declaration of the State of Israel.

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ROSE NEMTZOV  
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# VISIT IN RUMANIA AND BULGARIA

By Esther Dolgoy

*The following notes on Jewish life in Rumania and Bulgaria were written by Esther Dolgoy after her return from the Third World Youth Congress and the Fourth World Youth Festival, which took place in Bucharest last summer. Miss Dolgoy, who attended as a delegate from the Youth Division of the United Jewish People's Order of Canada, teaches at the Sholem Aleichem School in Winnipeg, Canada.—Eds.*

Some of the Jewish delegates at the Fourth World Youth Festival interviewed the chief rabbi of Rumania, Dr. Laib Rosen, in order to get to the bottom of some of the stories about "anti-Semitism" in the people's democracies that have been spread by our daily press.

Dr. Rosen was appointed chief rabbi of Rumania in 1948 and is a descendant of a family of rabbis. His brother was killed by the nazis at Auschwitz and his brother-in-law lives in Glasgow where he is the chief rabbi.

The interview lasted for some two hours during which time the young people shot a great number of questions at Dr. Rosen.

"Religious freedom," he declared in answer to a query, "is guaranteed." He estimated that some 20,000 people attended the services in Bucharest during the High Holidays and declared that the synagogues were heavily subsidized by the state, with extra expense money coming from the sale of *matzos* and kosher food products.

Many children attend Yiddish schools in Rumania and there are four Talmud Torahs in the capital. Three Yiddish secular schools are maintained in Bucharest and there is a Teachers' College for the training of personnel for these schools. Yiddish, Dr. Rosen stated, can be studied as a language in the public schools.

On the question of anti-Semitism, Dr. Rosen told his interviewers: "It was prevalent before and during the Second World War and was encouraged by the ruling powers and the nazi forces throughout the country. Today anti-Semitism is a crime punishable by imprisonment in terms ranging from six months to two years. All positions are open to Jewish people and the lesson of equality and friendship between peoples is taught in all schools. Of course vestiges of racial

intolerance and ignorance still cling to some of the older people, but many have changed and those who have not changed dare not openly voice their poisonous opinions. Discrimination against Jews, even to the extent of referring to a person in a derogatory manner, is punishable by imprisonment.

"The base of anti-Semitic prejudice has been removed and it is only a matter of time and effort before it is completely wiped out. . . . This is being done far faster than could have been expected."

Just a few words about my visit to the leaders of the religious Jewish community in Bulgaria and what I learned of Jewish community life there.

There are only some 7,200 Jews remaining in Bulgaria. They are "Sefardic" in origin and very few of them speak Yiddish—they speak Spanish, Bulgarian and Hebrew. I visited their library in Sofia and spoke to several of the staff members there. The community has a theater, choir and orchestra and a newspaper. There is a very beautiful synagogue in the Bulgarian capital which I visited on a Friday evening and found about 50 people at the service. I saw a showcase there which contained old treasures dating back to the 14th century. The rabbi asked me to come and visit him so that he could tell me about the life of the Jews in Bulgaria.

From him I learned that there is a Jewish community council in Bulgaria fostering cultural activities, organizing relief, children's summer camps, offering scholarships for top Jewish students, etc. The committee is elected by the Jewish population and represents all sections of the community.

From these interviews and from my own observations about Jewish life in the people's democracies I could see that the Jewish population was perfectly free to carry on and develop their cultural, educational—and their religious activities in the manner which they chose. Moreover, Jewish citizens can live in these countries as Jews, without the fear that exists in Western countries of racial discrimination and intolerance.

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# Book Reviews

## SOL KENNER FACES LIFE

By David Alman

*Cowboy on a Wooden Horse*, by Yuri Suhl. Macmillan, New York. \$3.50.

In this new novel Yuri Suhl continues the story of Sol Kenner, the young immigrant boy of *One Foot in America*. The warm, buoyant humor of the earlier book gives way now to a more thoughtful awareness in which humor serves to relieve reality. The earlier book was the story of the transition from child to young man; the new book transforms the young man into a worker.

At 18, young Kenner unknowingly stands on the verge of changes that he can only vaguely comprehend. It seems to him that there is a certain simplicity in life: his love affair with Beatrice will evolve into eventual marriage; his education will proceed without interruption; his jobs, which make the first two possible, will continue to give him independence and a sense of security. Kenner, after all, is partially a product of the "prosperous" years before the time of the big depression and the second world war.

He discovers, without regret, that he is required to "declare" himself in matters of the heart. He cannot simply go on seeing Beatrice night after night for months at a time without giving her some assurance of permanence. This is a rather new idea to Kenner, in whose Polish village such assurances were made at birth between the parents of intended couples. He also knows that this idea will seem even newer to his devoutly orthodox father,

although not to his more worldly step-mother.

He discovers too that one can find an education outside the classroom. The moving spirit behind this extra-curricular learning is Kenner's Uncle Philip, a garment worker who is one of those selfless, unsung heroes to whom all labor owes a debt of gratitude. Uncle Philip does not work during the busy season; that is the best time in which to organize workers into unions. Consequently Uncle Philip must accept an even meaner poverty than that suffered by the men he is trying to organize. But in Uncle Philip's attitude Kenner discovers some great moral questions and Uncle Philip's influence goes beyond the matter of wages and into matters of truth and history.

Sol Kenner also discovers the American Newspaper. He "knew" from reading the newspapers that Sacco and Vanzetti were thieves and murderers. But he arrives at the realization of their innocence with extraordinary simplicity. Suhl has the capacity for making many startling insights with extreme ease.

The most far-reaching changes in Kenner's life come, however, in his thinking and status as a young worker. He cannot remain a butcher boy forever, however much he feels some loyalty to his employers, who are a cut above that class in

understanding. He breaks from them to become an apprentice in an upholstery shop. No longer an isolated worker, he is now among men who have families and responsibilities far beyond his own. Although he thinks of his days as a worker as a bridge to a professional life which education will make possible, he does not feel that he is in any way different from those who work at his side. It does not occur to him to seek solutions to his problems other than those solutions with which history has confronted an entire class. Consequently his life is integrated with theirs. In this respect Sol Kenner differs markedly from the pseudo-heroes of novels of a similar theme.

Sol Kenner faces the inevitable test of class loyalty in a strike at the upholstery shop. The most militant workers recognize in the boy's behavior and attitude that he is dependable. From the moment the strike is planned and the loyalties of every worker are assessed, he is with and among them. Kenner is pleased at this acceptance, not only because it does justice to his loyalties, but also because it helps narrow the gap that lies between himself as a boy and the other workers as men. The other workers are sensitive to this need of his to be a man among men, and they elect Kenner their "picket captain." The boy knows that the title is

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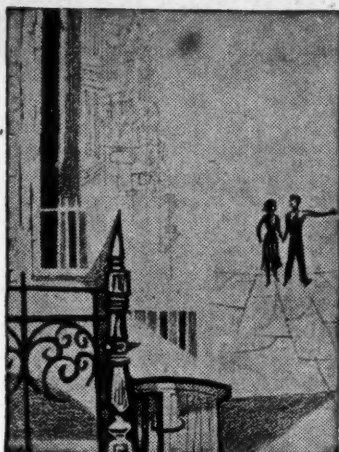
Down with the Un-American Committee  
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LOS ANGELES

### Greetings on Your SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY

We look forward to many more  
such happy occasions—in a world  
of peace and plenty

Chicago Culture Club  
LOS ANGELES





From jacket design of  
"Cowboy on a Wooden Horse"  
by Yuri Suhl  
(Macmillan)

simply a "gift" and he returns the compliment in a very practical way by discovering that their employers are bedding down scabs for night work.

The behavior of the men towards Kenner stands in sharp contrast to the attitude of their bosses before and during the strike. Kenner's skills and needs must be denied by them so that they can justify paying him half as much as they pay a man. During the strike they make a brief attempt to split him from the men. For Kenner, therefore, the strike is at one and the same time a step for a higher wage and an advance towards manhood.

Suhl does an excellent and graceful portrayal of the diverse needs that culminate

in the strike, and particularly of its maturing effect on Kenner.

It is one of the great merits of the book that it presents us with as wholesome a young man as Sol Kenner. If we laugh at him it is with sympathy, and if his actions give us cause for concern, it is because we are re-living the suspense of our own lives.

All the other persons who populate the novel are seen through Kenner's eyes in the course of their demands on him. Kenner's opinions and characterizations of them give us an additional insight into his own development. He describes his Uncle Philip in these words, "Although I found it difficult to accept his ideas, I was always moved by his sincerity. . . . All he wanted was to supplement my high school studies with something I was not taught in my classrooms. I could not understand how an ordinary presser, who couldn't even boast of a public-school diploma, could undertake to improve on the whole Board of Education. . . . 'Wait, wait,' Uncle Philip would say, 'wait till you get out into the world. . . . Get out into the world! And where was I now? On the outside looking in? . . . But there were also times when I tried to conjure up an image for myself of that other world. . . .'"

At the novel's end Sol Kenner has begun to discover "that other world" and undoubtedly Mr. Suhl will have something to tell us about that in his next book.

There is one other quality in the novel that deserves mention. It is free of the self-consciousness and need for "explana-

tion" and even apology that so many past novels of immigrant life have been afflicted with. Mr. Suhl is not writing to "explain" the immigrant Jew to the native-born Jew or non-Jew. His approach is similar, in some respect, to Sholem Aleichem's. Indeed, there is a touch of the old master in Yuri Suhl.

## New M&M Books

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From small beginnings JEWISH LIFE has grown into a mighty weapon in our fight to defeat the McCarrans, McCarthys and Veldes.

We pledge renewed effort to build JEWISH LIFE as an indispensable instrument in our daily effort to win peace, security and democracy for all.

### Los Angeles Jewish Life Committee

### Greetings on Your Seventh Anniversary

Best wishes for many more years of outstanding service in the cause of peace

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LOS ANGELES

### GREETINGS

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Seventh Anniversary Greetings  
JEWISH LIFE is an inspiration to the American people!

### Morning Freiheit Committee SAN FRANCISCO

Greetings to our JEWISH LIFE  
Many more fighting years to a valiant fighter for peace

### Silver Lake Culture Club LOS ANGELES

Greetings on the 7th birthday to a fighting Jewish magazine we can be proud.

### San Francisco Kindershule

# Letters from Readers

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

At long last I'm getting around to subscribe to *JEWISH LIFE*. Buying it at the newsstands, which I've been doing, is bothersome and uncertain.

I must say I'm finding *JL* necessary to my own life. I've particularly appreciated certain articles of current application by Louis Harap, Morris Schappes and also the current expose—which I've just started—by Charles R. Allen, Jr.

I enclose my check for \$2.50 and regret that my first sub did not start earlier than your seventh anniversary.

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON

New York City

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

Just a few words to let you know how much we love and appreciate *JEWISH LIFE*. If only all the foreign groups could have such a fine magazine.

Good luck and continue the good work.  
J. A.

Highland Park, Mich.

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

I am now unemployed as a result of the witch-hunt. However, as you put it, I can't afford to be without *JEWISH LIFE*. To move correctly in Jewish circles one must have correct information. Keep up the good work. Keep up the honest reporting.

H. C.

Schenectady, N. Y.

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

Please send me six copies of the July issue containing the excellent article by Allen and Dlugoff (on "McCarthy and Anti-Semitism"). This article should get the widest circulation.

F. C.

Washington, D. C.

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

Enclosed is check for \$3.50 for a sub

**IN MEMORIAM**

**Morris Schafritz**

**PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS**

and four copies of the July issue—an extraordinary issue which we intend giving the widest circulation.

N. R.

Ithaca, N. Y.

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

Enclosed please find check for \$5.50 for renewal of my subscription and a copy of Schappes' *Documentary History*. I'm very happy with the job being done by your

staff and it is a duty for every person who considers people important to support you.  
L. B.

Los Angeles

*Editors, JEWISH LIFE:*

Enclosed is a check for another year of *JEWISH LIFE*. We particularly found the August issue ("The Legacy of the Rosenbergs") a source of comfort and inspiration, coming as it did while the horrible murder of the Rosenbergs still cast its shadow over all good hearts. Keep up the good fight.

W. G.

W. Englewood, N. J.

## Manna from Heaven?

## No! Money from You!

**D**EAR READERS, let us talk frankly together. Maybe you don't know that every magazine we sell you costs us more than twice as much as you pay for it. Where do we get the money to pay for publication? Does some Angel from Heaven make up this deficit? You know the answer—we have only YOU to keep the magazine running. And if we don't get the money from you, we have to close shop. It's as simple as that.

You've got to do your share—or there won't be any *JEWISH LIFE*.

On December 15 we begin our 1954 Fund Drive for \$15,000 to sustain the magazine through the year.

You know what a job we've done this year. We began the year with our Prague trial coverage—unique in the *WHOLE* field of American journalism (32,000 copies of the Prague trial pamphlet over the country); we went on to our exposures of the anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism of McCarthy; we carried on with one of the most sensational exposes in all Anglo-American journalism, the Anti-Defamation League secret memo on the deal with Velde (25,000 reprints all over the country)—and much more. And you ain't seen nothin' yet.

All this costs money—in case you don't know. We must get that \$15,000 from you before May 1st. So all of you, as individuals and in whatever groups you may be, must join in to assure publication of *JEWISH LIFE* for 1954. You, you and you.

Let's get down to business on the Fund Drive right now.

THE EDITORS.



# OBSERVATION POST

By Sam Pevzner

## Urgent Call

All you readers, Jewish Life Committees and friends of the magazine: without much fanfare we call upon you to embark immediately on our 1953-54 fund campaign. Aim—\$15,000. We launch this year's campaign just when the McCarthyites are throwing all discretion to the winds in their objective of bringing fascism to this country. They have gone so far as to start a campaign to give the Democratic Party and even ex-President Truman the McCarthyite treatment. As JEWISH LIFE has warned again and again, the Big Lie of espionage and subversion against the Communists is aimed also at all those who are even the slightest bit left of McCarthy and Dulles. We said it is aimed at American democracy, at branding all opposition to fascism and Eisenhower reaction as subversive. This is a grave danger signal—especially to the Jewish people. It is JEWISH LIFE that has taken a position of leadership in exposing the fascist, racist, anti-Semitic aims of McCarthyism. Now, now more than ever must JEWISH LIFE be on the job, reach thousands of new readers. That is why the new \$15,000 campaign is a life and death necessity not only for the magazine but for the Jewish people as a whole—for the anti-McCarthy struggle.

So get to work, everyone. Organize the campaign in your organization, among your friends, in your Jewish Life Committee. Solicit individuals, run house parties, meetings, affairs. We can tell you that

JEWISH LIFE is at a danger point in its existence—financially speaking. We know that you will see to it that nothing stands in the way of its publication in times like these—by doing your share to make the campaign a successful one and with the fullest speed.

Groups desiring speakers from JEWISH LIFE to help in the campaign should get in touch with Manager Lester Blickstein at the office of the magazine.

## What an Offer!

The offer of the combination subscription and Morris U. Schappes' *Documentary History of the Jews in the U.S.* was accepted by many. May we suggest Schappes' book as a Hanukkah gift.

Also—here is an offer that should fill up our mailbag with responses post-haste. A long-playing record of the theatrical hit *The World of Sholom Aleichem* has been made. We offer this record plus a subscription or renewal to JEWISH LIFE for \$5.50. The regular price of the record alone is \$4.95—so you can see what a saving this combination offers.

## New Jersey in News Again

A handshake for the Newark Jewish Life Committee. It held a highly successful concert on October 24, celebrating the seventh birthday of our magazine. It was a sellout—with standing room only for

the unlucky ones who didn't get their tickets in time. Martha Schlamme and the Yehudit-Betzalel Dancers were the featured artists—and Lester Blickstein spoke for JEWISH LIFE. Hy Mandel was chairman. Good job, Newark. Keep it up.

## Philadelphia Too

We are especially heartened by developments in Philly. The Jewish Life Committee there is beginning to work on all cylinders. They had a rousing affair for the mag. Editor Harap, Business Manager Blickstein and feature writer Charles R. Allen, Jr. greeted the affair. Here, too, the Yehudit-Betzalel Dancers entertained. Now let's watch Philly go in the fund drive.

## Miami Beach—Congratulations

JEWISH LIFE is indeed fortunate in having a person in Miami Beach who carries out every task with distinction. This is our sister (fraternally speaking), F. Carroll, whose leadership always places Miami Beach near the top in accomplishments for JEWISH LIFE. This is true in getting subs, enlarging bundle orders, getting greetings for special issues, distributing reprints—and making fund campaign quotas. We extend our congratulations to Mrs. (or is it Miss?) Carroll.

## History Lesson

Our readers will be interested in knowing that articles by co-editor Morris U. Schappes have recently appeared in two important scholarly journals. The July 1953 issue of *New York History*, quarterly publication of the New York State Historical Association, carried Morris's review of the book *Portraits Etched in Stone*, by David de Sola Pool. In the October 1953 issue of *The New York Historical Society Quarterly*, Morris had a review of *Early American Jewry*, by Jacob Rader Marcus.

### GREETINGS

from  
Members of Thomas Jefferson  
Lodge 519, JPFO

BRONX

### Anniversary Greetings

Members of Lodge 585, JPFO

BROOKLYN

### GREETINGS

Members of Lodge 817, JPFO

BROOKLYN

### GREETINGS

Detroit Jewish Life Committee

### GREETINGS

We congratulate you on your cultural contribution for Peace. May your efforts be crowned with success

Members of  
Emma Lazarus Clubs

BRONX

### GREETINGS

We wish Jewish Life, together with the Jewish people and all the people of the world, a bright and happy future

Members of Lodge 615, JPFO

BROOKLYN

### GREETINGS

Detroit Reading Circles

Emma Lazarus Clubs

# FROM THE FOUR CORNERS

(Continued from page 2)

young Jews and hurled obscene epithets. Police arrested two of the attacking youths. . . . A new series of anti-Semitic incidents broke out in the Roxbury and Dorchester sections of Boston in October. . . . Two men inflicted damage described by the police as "terrific" on a synagogue in Portland, Maine, in October. Temple fixtures, prayer books and the Torah were damaged.

**One consequence** of Washington's military pact with Franco was the holding by New York Rabbi Jeshurun Cardozo of a Yom Kippur service in Madrid. Jewish exiles from Spain in this country and anti-Franco papers here expressed sharp protest at this attempt to whitewash the intolerance to Jews in Franco Spain. Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein, who just returned from Spain late in October, challenges rosy statements about tolerance of Jews in Franco Spain and *The Reconstructionist* editorialized against the attempt to kosher up the Franco regime (Oct. 23).

**On the Jimerow front** . . . Two fires were set in the Negro Trumbull Park Chicago project early in October. These are the latest of a series of outrages by white supremacists at the project. Special details of 750 police were sent to guard the project. . . . On November 6 racist hooligans attacked the home of Wendell Stewart in Cleveland, breaking the windows with stones and pelting the walls with eggs. Police guard was placed at the house. . . . A study by the National Planning Association, Duke University (South Carolina) institute, found that Jimcrow in jobs had not changed much in the past 15 years in North and South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky. . . . Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia said on November 2 that if the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, it would be a "step toward national suicide." . . . The NAACP charged on November 5 that the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington had abolished its apprentice training program to avoid upgrading Negro workers. . . . The First Annual Anti-Discrimination Conference of the United Packinghouse Workers on November 2 advanced a program for eliminating Jimcrow in the industry. . . . The United Church Women, representing about ten million Protestant churchgoers, on October 8 overwhelmingly voted opposition to racial segregation in public schools.

## EUROPE

**The Unity Theater** of London presented a play about the Rosenbergs this Fall, the first play on the famous case to be presented anywhere. Authors are Eric Paice and William Bland. . . . Leon Kruczkowski, chairman of the Polish Writers Union, is working on a play about the Rosenbergs.

**The Soviet book, *Soviet Composers—Winners of Stalin Prizes***, recently published, contains biographical material on 120 composers. Among them are Jewish composers Victor A. Byeli, Rheingold M. Gliere, Alexander A. Goldenvizer, Sigismund A. Katz, Lev K. Kniper and Yuri Levitan. . . . The Soviet State Film Studio "Lenfilm" has released a new film based on the novel, *The Star*, by Soviet Jewish author Emanuel Kazakevich. The book was originally written in both Yiddish and Russian and was awarded a Stalin Prize. The novel is now available in English translation.

**Jacob Roitboim**, director of the Jewish State Theater in Poland, led a delegation of Polish directors on a visit to Moscow in October to study the Soviet theater. He was interviewed by Tass on the visit.

**The East German** government announced on November 2 the discovery of nazi Wehrmacht files showing that 24,559 German soldiers had been executed by the nazis for opposing the war.

**Renazification notes** . . . Nazi actor Werner Kraus, second highest nazi theatrical official six months after Hitler took power, has come back to the West Berlin stage. No protests were made. . . . The Jewish saw union at American Jewish created early in October. . . . Nazi General Alfred von Jodl was exonerated by a "denazification" court in Bavaria early in October from the charge of being a leading war criminal. The World Jewish Congress has protested. . . . A well-known West German journalist, Michael Heinze-Mansfeld, in October sent Chancellor Konrad Adenauer a letter charging that a number of high officials in his government were key men in carrying out the nazi extermination program against the Jews in Europe.

## ISRAEL

**Trade between** the socialist countries and Israel is intensively being discussed.

In the first six months of 1953, less than one per cent of Israel's exports went to the socialist countries while 38.1 per cent went to the dollar area and 14.7 per cent went to the sterling area. The Soviet Union has offered to sell Israel 75,000 tons of crude oil in barter exchange for citrus fruits. The Israel delegation in Moscow also hopes to interest the Soviet Union in textiles and soft goods. Tests on Soviet crude oil have met Israel standards. . . . Poland has offered to trade 100,000 cases of Israeli citrus fruits in exchange for Polish foodstuffs and other goods. Israel trade delegations are also discussing trade agreements in Hungary and Rumania.

**Because they were** born in socialist countries, 26 members of the Israel ship "Jerusalem" were refused visas by the United States consulate in Haifa for the trip to the United States on the basis of the McCarran-Walter law.

**Two delegates** from Israel attended the Third Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions at Vienna in mid-October. They were I. Barzalai and Esther Vilenska, head of the Mapam and Communist Party fractions, respectively, in the Histadrut.

**Premier David Ben Gurion**, head of the Israel government since its founding and leader of the Mapai Party, announced his resignation from the government early in November. Although he gave reasons of health (he is 67), it is reported that his real reason is the growth of differences with Prime Minister Moshe Sharett and other party leaders on a number of major issues.

## Jewish Life

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