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CONTENTS

Editorials

- Zionism and Reaction 1
- Jack Walter, Soviet-American Friendship and American Jews 3
- How Jews Live in the Soviet Union 7
- Lee Carr, The Role of the Hebrew Day Schools 12
- U.S. Middle East Intrigues 15
- Abraham Melamed, The New Face of the Old Horror Policy 16

Communications

- David Fried, Not NATO Bases but a Just Peace! 22
- Events and Views 23

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EDITORIALSZIONISM AND REACTION

On September 25, mass demonstrations for the freedom of Angela Davis and in protest against the Attica massacre took place in New York and other cities. On that same date there took place a dinner in Los Angeles at which Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban presented the Medallion of Valor of the State of Israel to none other than the arch-reactionary governor of California, Ronald Reagan.

How is such an outrageous act to be explained? How does it happen that such an honor is bestowed on this leading apostle of the extreme Right, of the forces of racism and anti-Semitism, who has ridden rough-shod over the rights and welfare of the working people of California? Among the reasons, it is suggested, is that Reagan has signed a bill allowing savings and loan companies tax exemption on investments in Israel.

In the eyes of the Zionist clique which rules Israel, it is clear, support of Zionism is the one criterion for judging others; it overrides all other considerations. In return for such support any reactionary, any racist, any anti-Semite may be regarded as worthy of honor. The obscenity of awarding a medal to a Reagan is not an isolated incident or an error in judgment. It is part of the long-standing pattern of tying Israel to the forces of reaction everywhere in exchange for their support of its rulers' own reactionary policy of aggression and annexation.

In 1966 Konrad Adenauer, the architect of renazification of West Germany, visited Israel. He was awarded an honorary doctorate at the Weizmann Institute and was hailed by the then Prime Minister Levi Eshkol as a "true friend of the Jewish people." In his case the payment of reparations and the sale of arms to Israel sufficed to wipe out all else.

Especially notorious are the relationships between Israel and South Africa. The fascist rulers of South Africa have become ardent partisans of Zionism. They look upon Israel as being, like South Africa, an apartheid state as well as a bulwark against Communism. Hence close economic and political ties are maintained between the two states. In addition, in a state which bitterly persecutes Africans, Coloreds and Indians the Jewish community--itself once persecuted--is now left free of any restraint.

The Zionist organizations in South Africa are permitted to send unlimited sums of money out of the country to Israel. In return, under the guise of "neutrality," the official spokesmen for the Jewish community have become outright apologists for apartheid. In the face of the unspeakable brutalities inflicted on others the Jewish Board of Deputies and other leading groups have for years maintained total silence. Not even the horrible massacre at Sharpeville a number of years ago evoked a word of protest.

On the other hand, when Verwoerd became prime minister in 1958 the Board formally expressed congratulations. And on his death he was eulogized by leading rabbis, one of whom described him as the "first man to give apartheid a moral ground."

In like manner, ever closer ties are being developed with the forces of reaction in the United States--indeed, to an even greater degree, since it is the support of U.S. imperialism on which the Zionist leaders of Israel are basically dependent. The "friends" of Israel include not only a Reagan but also a Nixon, an Agnew, a Rockefeller, a Meany, a Buckley, and others of their kind. Let us recall, in this connection, the enthusiastic support of the Vietnam aggression voiced by Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, a support echoed here by the leaders of the Zionist Organization of America and by other Zionist spokesmen.

The dinner at which the award to Reagan was made was picketed by a number of groups and organizations ranging from the Radical Zionist Alliance to the Emma Lazarus Clubs. But from the leading Zionist organizations and spokesmen there came no word of protest. On the contrary, these have associated themselves with Reagan and his ilk no less than have the Israeli leaders. Thus, at the celebration of the 23rd anniversary of the State of Israel held last April in Carnegie Hall in New York, two of the main speakers were Senators Henry M. Jackson and James L. Buckley. Both are notorious Right-wingers and Buckley conducted one of the most anti-Semitic election campaigns by a major candidate in the country's history. More recently, on September 26, Jackson spoke at the East Side Orthodox Synagogue in New York, where he called upon Nixon to intensify the anti-Soviet campaign.

These efforts to tie the Jewish people to the chariot of Right-wing reaction are not accidental. They are the logical outcome of the reactionary, racist character of Zionism itself, of the expansionist policies being pursued by Israeli ruling circles at the expense of the Arab peoples in league with U.S. imperialism.

To combat this betrayal of the interests of the Jewish people, therefore, means to combat the poisonous influence of Zionism. It means pressing for a reversal of the present Israeli foreign policy. It means demanding an end to the imperialist maneuverings of the Nixon Administration in the Middle East. At the same time, it means arousing as loud an outcry as possible against honoring such enemies of the Jewish people--of all the people--as Reagan.

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SOVIET-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP AND AMERICAN JEWS

By Jack Walter

Friendship between the Soviet Union and our country is an indispensable condition for world peace. Since it is a cornerstone for peace, then we should show deep concern over any attempts to chip at this cornerstone, and thus undermine the friendship that means so much for world peace.

The clamor that has been raised concerning the so-called defense of the three million Jewish people in the Soviet Union is a provocation against the Jewish people and especially against the Soviet Union, intended to distract and divide the progressive peace-oriented people in our country.

In 1954 the Jews of our country celebrated their 300th anniversary--commemorating the arrival of 23 Jews from Brazil to New Amsterdam (now New York). These 23 Jews, men, women and children, were refugees escaping from the Inquisition. At that time, in 1654, Jews had already been living in Russia for about 1,000 years. To be sure, their life was hardly a bed of roses--Tsarist Russia was a prison house of nations and nationalities, and the Jews were inmates in that prison, occupying a cell, or rather, an area called the "Pale of Settlement." The life of these Jews has been amply and graphically described in Yiddish literature. However, let us read what Lunarcharsky, a friend of Lenin's, had to say about the condition of the Jews and the Tsarist oppression.

As the centuries went by, the bulk of the three million Jewish population of Russia degenerated into small-chested, miserable, shortsighted weaklings tortured by foul air and malnutrition, who were capable only of becoming shoemakers, tailors, and nothing else. Jews were becoming people who had to "feed on air" and rack their brains to find some means of earning a miserable livelihood to support themselves and their families. They were becoming a people with a high infant mortality rate, people who suffered beyond belief and lived in staggering, unimaginable squalor and unhealthy conditions.

The socialist revolution of October 1917 saved these people. The progress of the Jewish people, together with all the other Soviet people, is an open chapter for all to read.

In light of the terrible destruction and almost complete annihilation of the Jewish people in Germany and Eastern Europe (Rumania, Hungary, Poland) by the Nazi hordes during World War II, it can be asked how it is that the Jewish community of the Soviet Union remained virtually intact and that today there are over three million Jews enjoying life in the Soviet Union. It was the principled Soviet policy of taking special measures to move the Jewish population out of the path of the invading Nazi armies and moving them into the far rear. The

Soviet government has been very careful and consistent in its efforts to protect the rights of its national groups, including the Jewish people. To be sure, errors were made, insensitivity on occasion showed itself. Some of these weaknesses show up here and there. But then the Soviet Union does not claim to be a Utopia, but a country of hardworking people, pioneering in an area where its history in the past was so wretched.

* * *

It is bitterly ironic that when the Nazi holocaust was raging in Europe in the 30's and the fascists proclaimed for the whole world to know that they were committing genocide against the Jewish people, that they were bringing a "final solution" to the Jewish question, that they were going to make Europe "Yudenrein," that there was then no mass clamor for getting the Jews out. England, the United States could find no way to save these hapless people--and, as it turned out, six million died in the concentration camps. Now, in the face of the Soviet government's affirmations and re-affirmations that the Soviet Jews are equal and honored citizens of their land, the clamor is rising to "let my people go." Whereas Nazi Germany was burning the books of Lion Feuchtwanger and Arnold Zweig, the Soviet Union honors and publishes not only these writers but their own great Jewish writers. In the 14-year period 1955-69, 466 books by Jewish writers, in editions totaling 46,354,000 copies were published.

Take the works of Sholem Aleichem, with whom we think we are familiar because of the musical "Fiddler on the Roof" (which is a fine musical but hardly revealing the depth and the seriousness of Sholem Aleichem's art). Has there been a tremendous hunger for his works in our country? Is he vying with "Love Story" for a place among the top ten? Hardly! But in the Soviet Union he has been published not only in his native tongue, Yiddish, but in 23 languages, with a total circulation of almost nine million copies. The list could be extended of other Jewish writers very popular with Soviet readers. The Union of Soviet Writers, which has a membership of 7,103 writers, includes 835 Jewish writers, which is approximately 12%, in a country where the Jewish population is 1.5%. We can hardly call that cultural oppression!

The cold war advocates among the Jewish organizations have distorted the position of the Soviet Union in its attitude towards Israel. The Soviet Union has never been opposed to the State of Israel. It is a fact of record that the Soviet Union was the first to advocate an independent Israel and to give it immediate de jure recognition. It was the socialist countries that came to the rescue of Israel in 1948-49 when it was fighting for its initial independence, while at the same time Truman and the State Department were clamping an arms embargo against the new State of Israel.

The Soviet Union fully supports the U.N. Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, providing for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, as well as observance and guarantees of the legitimate rights of the State of Israel.

The newspapers and TV cameras are exposing the lies of those who say that the Soviet Union does not permit Jews to emigrate to Israel from the Soviet Union. For those people who have legitimate claims, the Soviet Union, out of humanitarian considerations, allows them to leave their country.

* * *

What is the situation like in our own country on the question of anti-Semitism and the Jewish people? The American Jewish Year Book, 1970, a publication issued annually by the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Publication Society of America, speaks of an uneasiness about the apparent rise of anti-democratic sentiment:

The segments of the population seemed to be circling each other warily. . . . The Jewish community shared in this uneasiness, developing some insecurities of its own. There was a groping sense of the minority status of the Jews in America." (P. 191.)

This is hardly a picture of a happy, assimilated group living in calm security, which the "bigwigs" of the Jewish organizations like to paint of the American Jewish community in contrast to the so-called terribly insecure and oppressive conditions of the Soviet Jews. The Year Book points with uneasiness to the possibility of a "deteriorating civil status of Jews in America." (p. 211.) It shows that the Jewish people were not without feeling at the "break in the tradition of Brandeis, Cordoza, Frankfurter and Goldberg whose contributions to the bench were generally sensitive and humanistic." It has not gone unnoticed that not only are there no Jews in the Nixon Cabinet, but that the number of Jews in policy positions has been strikingly reduced from those of previous administrations.

As one writer put it, quoted by the Year Book, "The President is an honorable man, and surely no one accuses him of overt anti-Semitism." One may continue the Shakespear reference by quoting the other line from Marc Anthony's speech--"So are they all, all honorable men."

One must recall today in light of the recent intimidating blast by Vice President Agnew against CBS's documentary on the Pentagon that in his previous attacks on the mass media he was greeted by Gerald L. K. Smith, "dean of professional anti-Semites," as the Year Book cutely identifies him. "A courageous address," the anti-Semitic magazine Thunderbolt wrote. "Vice President Agnew has come to grips with the Jews."

The Year Book quotes two prominent syndicated columnists who wrote in the Washington Post:

It was noticeable at once in this city [Washington] where local stations were swamped for three days after Agnew's speech with obscene phone calls protesting "Jew-Commies on the air."

One of the most belligerent self-appointed protectors of the Jewish people is the so-called Jewish Defense League. What is their background? According to the Year Book, this group originated in 1968 as a racist outfit to thwart and harass the Black movement in New York for a better education. As the book points out:

The character of the organization was most dramatically revealed in May (1969) when it "unsolicited and unwanted" offered protection with lead pipes to Temple Emanu-El in New York, when James Forman, a Black leader, had announced that he was going to speak at the Temple. Rabbi Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, reacted sharply. -- "Jews carrying basketball bats and chains, standing in phalanxes, like goon squads. . . are in essence no different from whites carrying robes and hoods. . . burning crosses. Neither Jews nor Christians nor America need such 'protectors' . . . This so-called Jewish Defense League violates every ethnic and tradition of Judaism and every concept of civil liberties and democratic process in American life." (P. 225.)

Where does the Jewish Defense League get its funds? They asked for \$100,000 from the Jewish organizations for "citizen patrols" and were promptly turned down, and the Anti-Defamation League even called the request "chutzpah" which in these circumstances can only be characterized as blackmail or provocation.

Where are they aiming? What are they trying to accomplish? They are attempting provocations. They are aiming to break all relations between our country and the U.S.S.R. The League has become a John Birch Society among American Jews. Their pretence at defending the Jews is only a cover-up for war provocations. A few years ago their leader, Rabbi Kahane, co-authored a book defending the Vietnam war and pointing out the stakes the Jews have in a victory over the Vietnamese people.

World peace is the overriding issue. The attempts on the part of individuals and Jewish organizations to inflame and provoke hostility between the Soviet Union and our country serves only to endanger world peace and to bring disunity to the progressive, democratic movement. Too often has anti-Sovietism been a cover for racist and anti-Semitic aims. The greatest guarantee for peace is to forge closer links between the Soviet people and our own. American-Soviet friendship is the hope for peace.

* * *

HOW JEWS LIVE IN THE SOVIET UNION

(The following is excerpted from Soviet Life, July 1971. Each of the individuals listed below replies to a particular question concerning the status of Jews in the Soviet Union. - The Editors.)

Colonel General
David Dragunsky,
twice Hero of the
Soviet Union,
deputy to the
Supreme Soviet of
the Georgian SSR

To what extent do Jews hold government or administrative posts or commands in the Armed Forces?

It would not be overstating the case to say that there is not a single area of political or economic activity in the Soviet Union in which Jews are not directly involved along with representatives of other nationalities. Our first President, for instance, was Yakov Sverdlov, a Jew.

The person who asked that question would probably want a list of our statesmen of Jewish nationality. But to name even only those I know personally would make a long list. So I'll mention just a few.

Veniamin Dymshits, whom I have met several times, is Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, a member of the CPSU Central Committee and a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I'm also acquainted with Professor Lev Volodarsky, a leading scholar and statesman. He holds the post of First Deputy Chief of the USSR Central Statistical Board.

Well known throughout the country are such leading figures as Semyon Ginsburg, Board Chairman of the USSR Construction Bank; Yuri Bokserman, USSR Deputy Minister of the Gas Industry; Joseph Ravich, USSR Deputy Minister of Communications (by the way, he recently received the Order of Lenin, the country's highest award); Aaron Gindin, a member of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Science and Technology, and others.

Armored Forces Lieutenant General Matvei Vainrub, Hero of the Soviet Union, is a close friend of mine. Son of a railroad worker, he is today Commanding General of the Kiev Military District. His brother, Colonel Yevsei Vainrub, is also a Hero of the Soviet Union and also a tankman.

I head one of the Soviet Army's military academies. I was promoted only

recently: I was a Lieutenant General, now I'm Colonel General. I know quite a few generals, colonels and other officers of Jewish nationality in the professorial staffs of Moscow's military academies. Some of them were schooled on the battlefields of World War II, others come from the young galaxy of Soviet military leaders.

*

Riva Vishchinikina
Chairman of the
Executive Committee
of the Valdheim Rural
Soviet, Jewish Autono-
mous Region

Why are there no Jewish schools in the USSR?

Immediately after the Revolution the Soviet state set up a wide network of Jewish schools, because at that time the children of the Jewish poor usually knew only one language--Yiddish. The task of the Jewish schools was to make culture and knowledge accessible to the younger generation of Jews, to draw them into the country's new life.

The years went by. Life changed. In due course the Russian or Ukrainian or Byelorussian language imperceptibly and inevitably became the native tongue of Jewish families. Attendance in Jewish schools naturally began to drop. Parents preferred to send their children to a Russian school. In view of historically established conditions, Russian became the second language in all the republics, a vitally necessary language for international relations.

Although I, in my day, attended a Jewish school, I sent my children to a Russian one. Why? Well, judge for yourself. Besides Jews in our village of Valdheim, there are Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Tatars and Bashkirs. The children play together, are brought up together in the kindergarten, make friends. It would be cruel to separate them from each other, isolate them. Wouldn't sending them to a Jewish school, when all the rest of the children of other nationalities are studying together in a Russian school, isolate and hurt them irreparably?

But I didn't send my children to a Jewish school because of one other, no less important, reason. On finishing a Russian school, they will be able to continue their education in Khabarovsk, Moscow, Leningrad or any other big city--in other words, in the educational institutions of large centers, which have absorbed the very best of Russian and foreign scientific thought. Those are the lines along which not only Jewish mothers reason, but Tatar, Armenian, Uzbek and others living in the Russian Federation. It may sound paradoxical, but it is a fact: Jewish mothers closed the Jewish schools. However, all those who wish to

learn Yiddish can study it at home, privately, in courses, or by joining amateur Jewish theater groups. The monthly magazine Sovetish Heimland has Yiddish language lessons in every issue.

*

Maria Kotlyarova,
Jewish actress

Is it possible to see a Jewish play in the Soviet Union? Hear a Jewish song?

Certainly it is! Come visit us. See and hear for yourself.

I, personally, am a member of the Moscow Jewish Dramatic Ensemble, which is headed by Honored Artist of the RSFSR Veniamin Shvartser. Our company numbers over 20 actors, and our repertoire includes Shalom Aleichem's Tevey the Milkman and 200,000, Lermontov's Spaniards, Goldfaden's Witch and Gordin's Overseas.

We prepare and rehearse every performance in Moscow. All the expenses of direction, scenery, costumes, stage requisites and premises are covered by the state. By the way, the actors all receive fixed and steady salaries regardless of the number of performances we give. When touring, we get additional pay (traveling expenses, hotel accommodations, a daily allowance, and so on).

Our company performs not only in Moscow, but in different cities of the Soviet Union, and everywhere to full houses.

Besides our ensemble, Anna Guzik's and Sidi Tal's musical variety ensembles are very popular in Moscow, as are the talented reciters Emmanuel Kaminka, Joseph and Leah Kolin, Sofia Saitan and Dina Roitkop, singers of Jewish songs, Mikhail Alexandrovich, Clementina Shermel, Anna Sheveleva and others.

I attended a concert not long ago given by Ethel Kovenskaya, an actress of the Mossoviet Academic Theater in Moscow. Her program was made up of folk and contemporary Jewish songs. I was enchanted by her masterful renderings. No wonder every one of her songs evoked general applause.

I had occasion to attend performances of the Kishinev Jewish People's Theater. The company has many talented young people. All of them act with great enthusiasm and a strong sense of responsibility to their art and the audience.

I also know that the Jewish people's theaters in Vilnius and Birobidzhan are very popular with their audiences. Their repertoires include classical and contemporary plays.

Abraham Gontar,
Jewish poet

Is Jewish culture really being suppressed in the Soviet Union?

Why should Jewish culture be suppressed? What points to that?

Jewish poets, prose writers, critics and literary scholars live and work in Moscow and Kiev, in Birobidzhan and Vilnius, in Kishinev and Minsk, in Chernovtsy and other Soviet cities. Their writings appear regularly in Sovietish Heimland, a literary magazine published in Yiddish in Moscow. In the 10 years of its existence this magazine has carried scores of novels, hundreds of novelettes, thousands of stories, poems, songs, essays, literary critiques and historical studies that mirrored the many-sided life and creative effort of the peoples of the Soviet Union and, in particular, the country's Jewish population.

We publish our writings in Yiddish. A one-volume collection of my poetry, Pigeons on the Roof, came off the press not long ago. It's made up of lyrical and philosophical poems and poems about my early childhood, about loyalty and friendship. On my bookshelves are friends--poets Itsik Fefer, Lev Kvitko, Samuel Galkin, Aaron Vergelis, Girsh Osherovich, Yevsei Driz, Matvei Grubian, prose writers Eli Shekhtman, Nathan Lurie, Joseph Rabin, Samuel Gordon and many others. Alongside of the above are new editions of the Jewish classics--Shalom Aleichem, Mendele Mocher Seforim and I. L. Peretz. I edited the last two.

Our books are also translated into Russian and other languages of the Soviet Union. Some 10 years ago a six-volume edition of Shalom Aleichem in Russian came out in Moscow in 225,000 copies. Four volumes of the same writer's selected works were published some time later in Kiev in Ukrainian, with a preface by Mikola Bazhan, a well-known poet-academician. A new enlarged six-volume collection of Shalom Aleichem is now being prepared for publication in Moscow. It will probably be printed in an edition of 300,000 copies.

One hundred and seventy-five books by 72 Jewish writers, and seven collections and anthologies (each containing from 10 to 50 authors) have been published in the Soviet Union in the last five years--1965-1970--in editions totaling over 20,354,000 copies in the Yiddish, Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Moldavian, Georgian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Turkmenian, Kirghiz, French, English and Spanish languages.

A collection of new Jewish songs edited by Dmitri Shostakovich, the eminent composer, was released recently in Moscow, and a richly illustrated album of works by well-known artist Samuelis Rozinas, entitled Jewish Folk Songs, was published in Vilnius. The latter series was very well received at exhibitions of the artist's work in many cities.

To the above I'll add that the Melodiya Company in Moscow regularly releases long-playing records with Jewish songs rendered by prominent Soviet performers. They can be bought in any music store in Moscow.

Professor Joseph Braginsky,
corresponding member of the
Tajik Academy of Sciences,
Editor in Chief of the magazine
Peoples of Asia and Africa

Is it true that Soviet Jews are being forceably assimilated?

Nothing of the kind. There is not and cannot be any forced assimilation of Jews in the Soviet Union. It would run counter to the entire national policy of the country, which is based on friendship, mutual aid and mutual respect. What is happening is a natural process, the voluntary merging of different nationalities in the Soviet Union, with national traditions preserved and national cultures encouraged. It is an absolutely realistic and inevitable process under conditions of national and racial equality. And it should be noted that Jews aren't the only ones affected. Take my experience as a cultural worker among the peoples of Central Asia. In Uzbekistan, for instance, there are several hundred thousand Tajiks. They speak both the Tajik and Uzbek languages and, as you might expect, a considerable fraction of Uzbekistan's intellectuals are Tajiks.

Other nations and peoples, irrespective of race, who live beyond the confines of their national republics, are also subject to this historically objective law. Thus, only 80 per cent of the country's Russians live in the Russian Republic. Russians also live and work in the Ukraine, in Kazakhstan, in Uzbekistan and in other union republics.

Of the Soviet Union's total Ukrainian population, a little over 86 per cent live in the Ukraine proper. Large groups of Ukrainians live and work in the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and Moldavia. Only 56 per cent of the country's Armenians live in Armenia, most of the rest live in the neighboring republics and the Russian Federation. This factor serves to bring peoples and their cultures together, to shape common traditions.

Here is an example: Suleimanov, a young talented Kazakh poet, writes his poetry (usually on Kazakh themes) in Russian, while poet Nadezhda Lushnikova, a Russian by nationality (born in Kazakhstan in 1942), writes her poetry in the Kazakh language. Or take Alexander Belousov, a young Russian from Kuibyshev, who, having found Yiddish to his liking, writes his poetry in Yiddish and is published in the magazine Sovetish Heimland. One could cite many examples of such merging of cultures.

Testifying to the ever increasing rapprochement of nations and peoples in the Soviet Union is the multinational composition of workers in our factories and offices of the students in all types of educational institutions, and the joint rearing and schooling of children of different nationalities and races in our nurseries and kindergartens. The mixed marriages of people of different nationalities is also very convincing evidence of the way national barriers and prejudices are breaking down.

THE ROLE OF THE HEBREW DAY SCHOOLS

By Lee Carr

The Zionist magazine, Midstream, carries an article in its June-July 1971 issue titled "Whither the Hebrew Day Schools," by Eugene Rothman. The article deals with Jewish education today and its aims, problems and future.

The author presents figures from the AAJE (American Association of Jewish Education) census of Jewish schools taken in 1967. This census indicates that about one third of all eligible children between the ages of 3 and 17 were receiving Jewish education of one kind or another. Estimated enrollment throughout the U.S. was 554,468, of whom 70 per cent were on the elementary school level, between the ages of 8 and 12. Most of the pupils were from large urban areas.

The types of schools ranged from the one-day Sunday school to the afternoon school (usually meeting for 2 hours a day, 2 to 5 days a week) and to the intensive day school and yeshiva with a full day program of both Jewish and general studies under the same roof. The census further showed that about 42 per cent were in one-day schools, 44 per cent in the afternoon schools and 13 per cent in full-time day schools.

These figures were not as significant to the leaders of the Hebrew schools as two other findings. First from 1962 to 1967 total enrollment of Jewish students fell from approximately 589,000 to about 555,000, a drop of close to 35,000. However, in the same period, total full-time day school and yeshiva enrollment rose by 19 per cent to approximately 60,000 students, with the Conservative day schools receiving the biggest increase.

It would seem therefore that at least until 1967 Hebrew school education in the U.S. was not winning many new converts and in fact losing some ground among Jewish families who did formerly enroll in Hebrew education. The change that did take place was mainly internal; children previously enrolled in one-day or afternoon Hebrew schools but remaining in the public schools were now leaving the public school system and entering private Hebrew day schools. But with this rise, the total was still only 60,000 of the more than 554,000 enrolled. The biggest bulk of Jewish children still took their Hebrew education in moderate doses and were still sticking to the public school system.

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Nevertheless, what accounts for the sharp rise in intensive Hebrew day school and Yeshiva enrollment?

Rothman, like most other nationalist and Zionist leaders, tries to brush off the racism inherent in this expansion. He briefly mentions Leo Pfeffer, a leading member of the American Jewish Congress, who testified before a New Jersey Senate

Committee that the reason for popularity of private Jewish schools had little to do with religious or educational needs of American Jews and more to do with running away from Black people in the public school system. As Pfeiffer stated, Jews "go there / to day schools / not because they love God but because they are afraid of the Negro." Rothman himself admits that the dramatic growth of the day school movement following the Second World War paralleled the general deterioration of public schooling in the major urban centers and "when one considered the decline of public schools and the general increase in private schools that accompanied it, there may have been a prima facie case for the charge that latent racism, or at best sectarian exclusivism underlay the growth of the Hebrew day school system."

But Rothman then asks: "Was this actually the situation? Did the Jewish parent turn to the day school solely, or mainly, in order to escape the ugly social realities of the cities and the public educational system?"

Rothman says, heavens no. The reason the day schools grew is that it is the "program for survival for Jews in America." He then traces the history of Hebrew education saying that until the 1930's there was limited growth, apathy, and even hostility on the part of many American Jews who were living in a relatively open society which placed no insurmountable obstacles in the path of integration.

What changed the picture, however, in the author's view was the destruction of European Jewry before and during World War II, the influx of new groups of Jewish refugees who brought with them European yeshiva traditions, the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and the subjective factors leading to a "revival of Jewish consciousness."

Undoubtedly these factors played a role in the growth but they do not negate the racist reasons. In fact the Zionist leadership in this country used the post-World War II situation to fan nationalist and chauvinist attitudes that are not at all unconnected to racism against Black people.

Rothman attaches great weight to the establishment of Israel as a factor in day school growth. He says that "it was inevitable that this sympathy and interest / in relation to Israel / should assist the growth of a Hebrew-oriented school system with a generally admitted Zionist ideology." Israel is more than amply paid back for this assistance. Thus, the Orthodox Hebrew day schools, by far the largest sector of the day schools (57 per cent), were primarily formed to propagate Israel as the Jewish national ideal. He points out the different ways in which this attachment to Israel is expressed, such as courses to impart knowledge on modern Israel, assemblies and parades on Israel's Independence Day. Aside from this "there is an attempt to permeate the atmosphere with informal Zionism" which usually creates a desire to live in Israel. In the lower grades "News from Israel" is reported in Hebrew each day. In some

schools extensive lecture courses by persons active in Israel's behalf are given to high school seniors as part of the "Israel Now" program. There is "wide-spread use of Israeli textbooks and the presence of numerous Israeli teachers who inevitably impart a Zionist viewpoint to their charges."

The author quotes Dr. Zelmon Slesinger, Director of Pedagogics for AAJE, to the effect that this revival of Jewish consciousness is tied "to the fact that to some parents the day school seems to be a more convenient educational institution since it meets all the educational needs of their children--general as well as Jewish--and to the fact that the day school serves some parents as a refuge from public schools that are either overcrowded or overpopulated with culturally deprived children." Thus even the supporters of Hebrew day schools sometimes acknowledge the racist antipathy to Black people as a factor in increased enrollment.

*

With regard to the aims of the day school, the Zionist fear of assimilation, of integration, comes to the fore. Formerly the "aim of the Jewish school was to produce scholars." Now it is mainly to "teach commitment and survival." This is constantly stressed by Jewish educators of all affiliations.

One other interesting factor emerged from the statistics. The census refers to the religious and communal auspices of Jewish education. The breakdown given is:

Orthodox	21.5%
Conservative	34.3%
Reform	35.7%
Inter-Congregational	0.6%
Communal Non-Congregational ..	6.9%
Yiddish Schools	1.0%

We presume the Yiddish schools include the progressive Jewish shules. These were always oriented on Jewish history and secular Jewish culture rather than on the purely religious and Zionist aims of many of the other schools. The shules have played a progressive role in Jewish life and still do in varying degrees. Rothman does not deal at all with this aspect of Jewish education in his article.

Finally the author raises the following questions: Are the day schools stable? Are they fulfilling the goals for which the Zionist, nationalist and religious leaders have set for them? Beyond the self-serving expressions of confidence there is definite uneasiness. According to Dr. Solomon Spaist, Hebrew educator, "success is qualitative rather than quantitative--the erosion of the community has been slowed." Dr. Slesinger says "there is no precedent for how it is possible for an ethnic group to survive in a free society." We would suggest to Dr. Slesinger that there is a precedent but for this he would have to take

off Zionist and capitalist blinders. That precedent is the socialist Soviet Union, where as Professor Joseph Braginsky, Jewish member of the Tadjik Academy of Sciences, states: "There is a national policy which is based on the friendship, mutual aid, and mutual respect of all peoples." Further, "what is happening is a natural process, the voluntary merging of different nationalities in the Soviet Union, with national traditions preserved and national cultures encouraged." According to Professor Braginsky this "process is taking place under conditions of national and racial equality."

Yet it is precisely such conditions of national and racial equality that the largely Zionist leaders of the Hebrew day school movement do not see as possible or fight for. They are fearful that "Jewish institutions" cannot survive in the U.S. in a prolonged period of democratic growth and freedom from anti-Semitism. For them a threatening climate is favorable to the maintenance of these institutions.

* * *

U.S. MIDDLE EAST INTRIGUES

(The following excerpt is taken from a resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel on August 11, 1971.)

The prolonged visit of U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco in Israel, his talks with the prime minister and other ministers, are part of an American campaign of intrigues in our region which has led to the paralysis of Dr. Gunnar Jarring's mission, to the curbing of any advance in the four-power talks on the Middle East. Sisco's visit, on top of the visits to Israel of U.S. Secretary of State Rogers and CIA boss Helms, and the visits of the American representatives to Cairo, are intended to sabotage the peace efforts in our region by the Soviet Union and other countries, to use Israeli occupation for blackmailing the Arab countries into political concessions for the benefit of the West, to strengthen the hand of the pro-imperialist Israeli rulers who seek territorial expansion, and to assist the pro-imperialist Rightist circles in the Arab countries.

The exhibitionistic proclamations of Sisco about differences of opinion with the Meir government do not attest to fundamental differences of opinion but are intended to mislead public opinion in the Arab countries and in the whole world as to the nature of American policy in our region. The facts prove that if it were not for the military, economic and political backing of the U.S., the Israeli government could not continue its policy of occupation and territorial annexation, and prevent the implementation of the Security Council Resolution of November 1967

* * *

THE NEW FACE OF THE OLD HORROR POLICY

Abraham Melamed, member of CC of CP of Israel
(Zo Haderekh, August 4, 1971)

Gaza is again fermenting. Again the fate of the 400,000 inhabitants attracts the attention of the Israeli and world public. Shops are shut in protest, the medical staff of the hospitals strikes for a few hours, women demonstrate again and again in the streets of the town and express their protest in front of the UNO Welfare and Employment Agency. Stones are hurled in all directions where Israeli vehicles pass. Furious looks accompany the funeral of five Palestinian resistance fighters who were killed in a skirmish with Israeli forces. The occupation authorities have closed the approaches and roads to and from Gaza to all outsiders. The refugee camp Jabaliya has been put under curfew.

Gaza has never been quiet, for Gaza has never reconciled itself to the rule of the foreign occupation. In the course of time it became a symbol of resistance, its population did not bow the head to the savage shooting from armoured vehicles, to the hand grenades which "just by chance" exploded in busy crowds, in the market place, in schools, in post offices. All this did not shake the persistent will of the youngsters and the adults in the Gaza Strip to continue the struggle against the foreign yoke. The punishment campaigns of the Frontier Guards units, which excelled in cruelty, did not succeed in suppressing what cannot be suppressed.

Gaza again takes up considerable space in the press.

The town, which after several years of occupation resembles a ghost town, again keeps busy the press, the government institutions, the military authorities and the War Minister.

"Thinning-Out"

Clouds of dust envelop the refugee camp Jabaliya. Bulldozers, brought here by the occupation authorities, thrust their iron claws into the walls of the dwelling houses and with a merciless embrace turn them in the twink of an eye into dismal ruins. The military correspondent of the evening paper Yediot Ahranon, Eitan Haber, reports to his readers on July 30, 1971, that "400 houses have been demolished till now by the 'security forces' in Jabaliya in the Gaza Strip, and till yesterday 200 families (1,200 persons) were transferred to various places, including El-Arish." And one of the glorified generals of the occupation army, Shlomo Gazit, consoles the public, saying that we are just at the beginning of the work...

Thus, the Israeli Government has decided to use the blessed expedient of demolition--today in the Jabaliya refugee camp, tomorrow or the day after in other places in the Gaza Strip.

The semi-official daily Davar of July 26, 1971, ingenuously explains to its readers: "This is the most crowded camp, in which about 40,000 people live in terrible congestion. The alleys are narrow and crooked and a person can only with difficulty make his way. Therefore the Government decided to thin out the number of inhabitants and in the framework of this operation about a quarter of the structures in the camp will be demolished and roads 12 kilometers long and 25 meters wide will be paved. Davar simply is unable to comprehend the indifference of the inhabitant towards his own life and that of his neighbor. The Israeli authorities, doubtlessly guided by the noblest feelings, declared that "this is above all for the security of the camp dwellers themselves" and that this is "the duty of the Israeli authorities much more towards the refugees than towards themselves."

We, simple readers, who do not succeed in rising to the level of the feelings of Davar can only wipe a tear from an eye and continue to read the explanations ordered "from above" in such abundance. The bourgeois daily Ha'aretz of July 28, 1971, reports with satisfaction: "Within the framework of thinning out the refugee camps, renovation of empty dwelling units has started in El-Arish, where refugees will be housed, whose evacuation from the refugee camp Jabaliya has begun." The paper generously promises that these will be roomy apartments with running water and toilets. The evacuated families are getting full compensation. And so that there might remain no shadow of a doubt, Ha'aretz adds that "the transfer of the refugees takes place willingly." Yediot Ahronot of July 28, 1971 rounds out the job of "explanation," claiming that "the thinning out began after explanation had been carried out among the refugees." Military trucks have been put at the disposal of the evacuated families, which--and this time the honorable paper must be believed--attempted to save every piece of wood or tin.... "

In this manner, in the phrase dictionary of the "liberal" Israeli occupation, a place has now been found for the term "thinning out." But it is to be doubted whether the blessed activity of those concerned with the improvement of the language will succeed in concealing behind this new linguistic invention the monstrous face of one of the cruel methods of gradual expulsion of the Arab population from its homeland.

A Brief History of Pride and No-Surrender

On July 7, 1969, about two years after the June war, the Information Minister, Israel Galili, declared that "it is possible to say with an absolute measure of certainty that the district of Gaza will never be severed from the State of Israel." This was a declaration voiced loudly in relation to something that had been also decided in relation to other territories, but the attention of the Israeli Government was concentrated on Gaza, for it had proved itself to be a very hard nut to crack. The inhabitants of Gaza did not wish to consent to the destiny ordained for them by Minister Galili, and it was only natural to expect that their resistance to occupation and surrender would take on various forms, from formal protests and strikes to armed struggle. Amnon Rubinstein's

statement in the daily Ha'aretz is not exaggerated. According to it the Israeli military authorities have lost all capability of facing the situation created. Things went so far that the general Moshe Dayan, famed for his heroism, decided on July 7, 1969 to evacuate all the local police from the refugee camps in Gaza subsequent to the unceasing attacks of the Palestinian resistance fighters. Neither was the policy devised by the War Ministry, and termed by its inventors "let them kill one another," of any help. The aim of this policy had been to set Arabs against Arabs, employing the well-tested methods of British colonialism, of provocations and informing. From January 1971 till mid-July, 91 persons, including 7 Israelis, were killed in Gaza, and 400 persons, including 73 Israelis, were wounded. Human life lost all value, death reaped its harvest in the explosion of a grenade hurled from an unknown direction, in submachine gun fire in the narrow alleys of the refugee camp.

The policy of "let them kill one another" professed to present the struggle of the Palestinians as indiscriminating terror, as hostility and hatred of the population towards the Palestinian resistance movement. And what were the results? Amnon Rubinstein was compelled to state to his sorrow in his article of July 25: "You are walking through the narrow stinking alleys. A swarm of children follows you, shouting, yelling, cursing; little girls of nursery age are running in front of you and making coarse oriental gestures; stones are thrown at you from behind the walls of the alley, eyes full of hatred are guards which accompany you. . . you are walking through dense orchards and your eyes look for a suspected movement among the branches." On the other hand, Rubinstein states the absolute failure of the policy intended to create hatred towards the "terrorists": "In the alleys of the refugee camps you see blackened spots on the ground. These are the remains of bonfires that had been lighted as expression of the inhabitants' mourning and grief at the death of known saboteurs. The graves of saboteurs are decorated. . . ("saboteurs," "terrorists," are the names given by the official mass media to the resistance fighters--A.M.)

The Israeli militarists in the Government and outside it have begun to claim that "the imposition of disorder and lawlessness" in the Gaza Strip "undermines our right to demand its inclusion within the bounds of Israeli rule, and the more the terror intensifies, and the more our rule narrows down, the more our claim declines. . . ." This, of course, is a theory which puts the facts on their head. For it is precisely the continuation of the occupation, contradicting the will of the population of Gaza, and the acts of terror committed on behalf of the authorities, which have created the intensification of the resistance. But Dayan and his henchmen need no logic and no international law; they want facts, accomplished facts, which, if they do not occur themselves, must be created. Therefore, when the armored cars and machine guns were of no avail, bulldozers started crawling into the refugee camps.

The Great Architect

It is no secret that there exists, at the side of the Government, a Commission of Government Ministers for Gaza Affairs, headed by the Minister I. Galili. But according to all signs, the policy of this commission is laid down by the War Ministry, which has proposed a "plan for palliation and pacification" in the Gaza Strip. This plan, fathered by Moshe Dayan himself, proposes (according to press reports) that "the population shall not be expelled from the Strip abroad, and that until the full peace settlement with the Arab countries one has to act in the narrow territorial bounds of the Strip." In order to implement this plan one has to act according to three action lines: 1) employing means of determent and punishment against inhabitants who collaborate with members of the Palestinian organizations; 2) thinning out the big camps, primarily Jabaliya, and "improvement" of these camps. The thinning out and "improvement" will be done by blazing the trail for roads which will encompass and cross the camps. Meantime the inhabitants will be evacuated to empty dwelling units in the Strip. The final intention is to attain a series of relatively small camps and to take out many inhabitants from the Jabaliya camp; 3) In order to make the thinning out possible, new camps will be created in the Strip. These camps will have a different form from the previous camps, but will still bear the character of refugee camps.

The Yediot Ahronot of July 28, 1971 reports from sources of the military government in Gaza that the "Dayan plan" includes the establishment of "labor villages" between Gaza and Rafiah.

All this looks, at first sight, so perfect, so full of paternal concern for the fate of the hundreds of thousands of refugees that it will be difficult to express doubts and lack of confidence in the humane and noble considerations of the military government in Gaza. But the great architect Moshe Dayan will not be able to embellish the ugly reality which hides behind the plans that are drawn up in such clean and straight lines. For the occupant remains an occupant, and his plans and aims no longer constitute any secret for the whole world.

If Matters Are so Fine, Why Are They so Bad?

In the second half of July, when the military government took actual steps to carry out the "Dayan plan," the press announced that the inhabitants accept with satisfaction their transfer to other dwellings. It announced that before the families leave the camp, military government personnel visit the houses of the inhabitants whose dwellings had been demolished by the paving of roads in Jabaliya, and assess the damages caused to them. Every family receives transport at the expense of the military government, and it is carried out by truck, which also transports its possessions to the new dwelling. The family also receives the promise for immediate work at their new domicile. This is what the press reported.

But already on July 28, some newspapers also began to publish reports. Ha'aretz of that date published a report of its correspondent in Gaza, Amos Hadad, which said that "tens of families in Jabaliya, whose houses had been demolished consequent to blazing the trail for roads, have disappeared and have not come to ask for new dwelling in exchange for their demolished homes. Yediot Ahronot reported on that day that "tens of refugees have run away, abandoning their possessions and others refuse to move to the dwellings in El-Arish proposed to them by the military government." The reporter of Davar in the Strip, Dani Tzadkoni, writes on July 29, 1971, about his meetings with evacuated refugees who complained that they are sent to El-Arish, where there are "sand storms." Another young man disclosed to him that "those who had been transferred in recent days to El-Arish are returning from there." Amnon Rubinstein condemns the myth of payment of "high compensation": "Reports are published in the press as if the inhabitants of Jabaliya were evacuating their camps with joy and happiness. It is doubtful if the intelligent reader will believe these reports."

The general embitterment and resistance of the local population was joined by the UNO Welfare and Employment Agency, which protested against the steps taken by the military government in carrying out the violent expulsion. All the employees of the Agency declared that they join the strike of the nurses in the hospitals as a sign of their solidarity with the sufferings of the refugees. This is, evidently, one of the reasons why, as the political correspondent of Ha'aretz reported, "further discussion was held in the Government in connection with the plan for the thinning out of the refugee camps," and "why the plan is encountering difficulties." In order to overcome these difficulties, the War Ministry has again taken up the well-tested expedient of "persuasion." The thinning-out is necessary for security reasons. David Appel wrote on July 28, 1971 in Yediot Ahronot: "The new roads will enable an easy and fast approach for military vehicles in cases of combing operations or curfew. Also, the roads which are close to orchards will be widened to 25 meters. This will be done in order to afford the Israeli army forces a field of visibility."

Thus the fig leaf has fallen from the "humanitarian" considerations of the "Dayan plan." But the claims of the military government that "the refugee camps have become nests of rebellion and sabotage" do not stand any scrutiny. Even the juggled data of official statistics prove this. Thus, writes Amnon Rubinstein in one of his above mentioned articles, "among the saboteurs who have been caught, just as among those who are wanted, a large part - almost one half - are not refugees, but local inhabitants." The significance of this is that the entire population of Gaza - refugees in camps and local residents - stand up against the Israeli occupation.

Without Make-Up

The "new" Dayan plan is nothing but the new embodiment of the old adventurist steps of Israeli militarism, which still believes that by creation of

accomplished facts in the occupied Arab territories it will strengthen its rule over them. However, if the building of Jewish urban settlements in Hebron, or the establishment of rural settlements in the Jordan Valley are "accomplished facts," whose aim is the Judaization of Arab lands, the "Dayan plan" takes us back to the epoch of brutal maltreatment, when whole tribes and peoples were uprooted from their places of birth. The objective of the "Dayan plan" is to empty the Gaza Strip of its inhabitants, and in the first stage to disperse them to the four winds, or to put them into special concentration camps, according to their character and structure ("labor villages"), and in this way to lead them to despair and lack of prospect ever to lead a human life, until they decide "by themselves and voluntarily" to seek their fortune in neighboring Arab countries or in the West Bank. The Israeli militarists secretly hope that if they will not be allowed to keep all the occupied Arab areas, they will at least succeed in keeping the Gaza Strip, and hence their intention to populate empty houses in El-Arish or other places, which are situated on the Egyptian side of the international frontier.

Apart from the criticism and the protests of the democratic circles in Israel, which consider the new designs of the Israeli ruling circles as a new and dangerous link in the chain of policies intended to move peace farther away, voices of "criticism" and "protest" have also been sounded from chauvinist quarters, which believe that the "Dayan plan" constitutes a missing of opportunity for a more radical and purposeful "solution" of the refugee problem in the Gaza Strip.

Their intention does not need any interpretation. If it has already been decided to transfer inhabitants from one place to another within the territorial bounds of the Gaza Strip and northern Sinai, why should one not execute more purposeful tasks, such as the gradual transfer of all the inhabitants of Gaza to the East Bank (of the Jordan)?

It is not quite clear whether the "Dayan plan" is not intended precisely for this final solution, despite its impressive phraseology. The history of the expulsion of the Arab population has not begun yesterday or the day before yesterday. This was, and is, the basic policy of the Zionist Israeli government and no robe is able to conceal the ugly face of this policy.

However, this policy has not let to peace, which is vitally necessary for the Israeli people for its security, but conversely, it has created a profound and perilous conflict which can only be abolished with the complete abolition of the occupation, with the crossing over from colonialist methods to good neighborliness.

* * *

COMMUNICATIONSNOT NATO BASES BUT A JUST PEACE!

In a declaration published in Der Veg (July 14, 1971), the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel condemns the proposal of Israel's Security Minister Moshe Dayan that NATO establish a military base in the Sinai Peninsula.

The declaration states that these are Arab lands and not Dayan's to turn over to NATO. It maintains that Dayan is carrying out the plans of his U.S. imperialist masters, that these plans are against the interests of the Israeli people and that Dayan's proposal does not spell security for Israel.

The Israeli leaders may stupidly believe that in this manner they can continue their occupation and ultimate annexation of Arab lands. The truth is, however, that Dayan has simply disclosed more openly their annexationist policy, and that this will bring forth new peace forces in Israel, forces opposed to this policy of aggression.

The Arab lands must be liberated and returned to the Arab nations. Only in this way can peace in the Middle East be achieved, a peace that the Israeli people so badly need.

The Communist Party of Israel calls on all peace-loving people to oppose Dayan's criminal proposal as adventurism in the service of U.S. imperialism. It calls on all Israeli peace forces to unite in the fight to implement the UN Security Council Resolution of November 1967, to withdraw from all occupied lands, to return these lands to their Arab neighbors and thus to lay the foundations of a just and stable peace.

David Fried

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EVENTS AND VIEWS

The Communist Party of Israel reports that the Israeli authorities have been compelled to release Naim El-Ashhab, a leader of the Communist Party of Jordan, from prison. He had been confined for more than three years without charges or trial. As a result of his imprisonment, his health had deteriorated and he was in danger of losing his eyesight. He is now receiving medical treatment in the Soviet Union.

* * *

Just recently we received in the mail an envelope postmarked Metairie, La. It contained a collection of anti-Semitic filth, mostly mimeographed, on slips and sheets of paper. It repeats all the gutter attacks of the Ku Klux Klan and other anti-Black, anti-Semitic hoodlum groups with a few added twists. There is a page of quotations from that notorious forgery, "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion." There is an attack on the Masons as "Jew controlled" and seeking to destroy the Christian religion. Another sheet trumpets: "The Jew owned NBC, CBS, ABC television are pushing integration." The B'nai B'rith is charged with a secret world plot to destroy the Catholic Church. A mimeographed slip says: "This literature is precious and should be passed on. The Jews control our money. They control our armed forces; and sometime in 1971 it may not be possible for anyone to send such warning literature as a private Jewish group will control the U.S. Postal System."

This is by no means unique. Every so often something of this sort turns up in the mail. It raises a question: Isn't it time that there was an outcry against permitting the dissemination of this Nazi-like racist filth? Isn't it time that those Jewish organizations and spokesmen who are so vociferous about non-existent "persecution" of Soviet Jews ended their silence about this real anti-Semitic danger right here in the United States?

* * *

A story from Jerusalem by New York Times correspondent, Peter Grose (September 22, 1971) takes note of the unrest in Israel on the eve of the New Year. "In the closing weeks of the year," he writes, "the aging labor leaders decided to enact stern restrictions against the workers. The moves were triggered by seemingly uncontrollable strikes..." Legislation to give legal status to union-management contracts, thus outlawing strikes for the duration of a contract, had been approved by the Cabinet and was before the Knesset. If adopted, it would destroy the right to strike. The leadership of the trade union organization, Histadrut, supports this anti-labor legislation, saying it cannot control its members. Underlying the strikes, says Grose, "is the broader issue of inflation and the widening gap between rich and poor."

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