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- Hyman Lumer

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Editorials

Israel's 25th Anniversary

May 7 of this year marked the 25th birthday of the state of Israel. It has been widely celebrated in this country as well as in Israel, with parades, mass meetings, cultural events, special television programs, newspaper and magazine articles and in other ways. It has been looked upon as an occasion for great rejoicing, and not without justification, for the building of a modern industrial country and the emergence of a new Israeli nation are truly noteworthy developments.

However, it is also symbolic of the occasion that in Israel it was celebrated with a huge military parade in the city of Jerusalem, and this despite protests from many quarters as to both the character and location of the parade. That it was felt necessary by Israel's rulers to put on such a display of military strength is indicative of the inescapable fact that today, after 25 years of existence of the Israeli state, and despite the great superiority of the Israeli armed forces, the Israeli people continue to live in a state of insecurity and fear of new threats of war. Such is the fruit of the Zionist-inspired policies of aggressive expansionism of the Israeli ruling circles.

On this point Dr. Wolf Ehrlich, editor of Arahkim, theoretical journal of the Israeli Communist Party, writes:

The Zionist thesis on the "solution" of the Jewish question is that the Jews will live in Palestine in security and peace. History has disproved this.

Has the State of Israel brought security and peace to the people living here? There is, perhaps, no other country in the world where the Jewish population lives in such constant and high tension. Tension heightened after the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in 1956, and reached the present high pitch after the Israeli aggression against the neighboring Arab countries in June 1967. Every hour the average Israeli switches on the radio to hear the news because "maybe something has happened." ("Bankruptcy of a Reactionary Idea," World Marxist Review, March 1973.)

Nor is the situation improving. As the de facto annexation of the occupied territories and the eviction of Arabs from their homes continues, as the armed incursions into Lebanon and Syria are multiplied, as incidents like the shooting down of a Libyan

passenger plane accumulate, hostility hardens and tensions mount. The danger of a new explosion becomes ever greater, and with this the feelings of insecurity and uncertainty among the Israeli people increase. Indeed, nowhere do Jews live in greater insecurity and danger than in Israel.

More, the present policies of the Israeli government, with the enormous military budgets and skyrocketing foreign debt they entail, are driving the country into economic bankruptcy and undermining the living standards of the Israeli people. They are increasing Israel's dependence on U.S. imperialism. Moreover, in the name of security these policies are fostering chauvinism and militarism and are undermining morality. And they are isolating Israel in the eyes of the world. For the Israeli people they hold forth prospects not of peace and security but only of ultimate disaster.

Israel's 25th anniversary should become the occasion for abandoning these suicidal policies. If the Israeli people are to live in peace and security the Israeli government must begin by agreeing to withdraw from the occupied territories and accepting UN Security Council Resolution 242 in full, as the neighboring Arab states have already done. It must agree to a just solution of the refugee question and to respect the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. And it must end Israel's reliance on U.S. imperialism and seek instead to develop friendly relations with the Arab peoples on a basis of equality. This is the only real path to peace and security.

* * *

Happy Birthday, Paul Robeson!

Paul Robeson's 75th birthday, which took place on April 9, is a truly notable occasion. It has been celebrated and continues to be observed by countless millions throughout the world who have come to love and respect this heroic figure, this matchless fighter for freedom, peace and progress. For Paul Robeson is an outstanding leader in the fight of all peoples everywhere for freedom and dignity. His songs are the songs of all peoples and his singing expresses a oneness with all humankind. He is the truest of internationalists, a man who belongs to all peoples.

It is with deep feeling of honor that Jewish Affairs joins with the countless millions of others in celebrating this momentous occasion. In its observance we reprint below an editorial which appeared in the April issue of Political Affairs.

*

April 9, 1973, marks the 75th birthday of a truly great, heroic figure of our times, one who has become a legend within his own lifetime. The name of Paul Robeson is known throughout the world. It commands the admiration and respect—more, the love—of hundreds of millions. In vain have the ruling-class forces of reaction in this country tried to silence him, to erase his name from people's minds. Today his music is heard by growing numbers and his stature grows ever greater in the eyes of our people, both Black and white.

A particularly striking expression of the durability of his name and his contributions was the dedication, on April 2, 1969, of the Paul Robeson Music and Arts Lounge in the new student center at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. For it was as a student at Rutgers (then Rutgers College) that Paul Robeson's extraordinary talents first became widely known. Winner of a four-year scholarship, he was both a Phi Beta Kappa student and an outstanding athlete—a four-letter man and an All-American football star.

After graduating from Rutgers in 1919 he attended the Columbia University Law School, from which he received a degree in 1923. However, his career was to unfold not in the courtroom but on the stage. Possessed of unique talents in these fields, he was to become world-famous as a singer and an actor. His pursuit of his stage career took him to England and, repelled by the pervasive racism which surrounded him on all sides in the United States, he decided to settle there. But then, as he relates in his book *Here I Stand*, living in the center of the British Empire he acquired an interest in the study of African culture—a culture whose very existence was denied by the racist colonialists. This in turn led him to the Soviet Union where, he had learned, formerly oppressed peoples were making enormous cultural strides in the new socialist society.

He writes: "Well, I went to see for myself and on my first visit to the Soviet Union in 1934 I saw how the Yakuts and the Uzbeks and all the formerly oppressed nations were leaping ahead from tribalism to modern industrial economy, from illiteracy to the heights of knowledge." (Beacon Press, Boston, 1971, p. 34.) His experiences in the Soviet Union profoundly influenced his thinking and his outlook. Paul Robeson now came forward as a great champion of the freedom of his people, of world peace, of socialism, and as a staunch, unshakeable friend of the Soviet Union.

He won great acclaim as singer and actor. He received many honors, among them the following:

Honorary degrees from Rutgers, Hamilton, Morehouse and Howard Universities.

The Abraham Lincoln Medal in 1943 for notable and distinguished ser-

vice in human relations in New York.

The Donaldson Award in 1944 for the best acting performance of that year. This was given for his performance in the role of Othello, considered to be the greatest performance of that role in the history of the U.S. theater.

The Spingarn Medal, awarded by the NAACP, in 1945.

But Robeson the artist was never divorced from Robeson the fighter for freedom. In him the two were always fused. Of his singing his wife, Eslanda Goode Robeson, wrote on the occasion of an earlier birthday:

When he sings folk songs and classics, he translates them from the past into the present, or transports his listeners from the present into the past, and either way adds new life and significance to the songs, and new understanding and appreciation to the listeners.

When he sings "Were You There?" he sings not only of the crucifixion of Jesus, but also of the lynching crucifixion of the Negro people, the cremation of the Jewish people, and of the intolerance, fear, hatred and brutality which caused these tragedies. One can almost hear him sing: "Were you there when they crucified the Moores?"*

When Paul Robeson sings songs of sadness, people weep; when he sings songs of hope, they take heart; when he sings songs of protest, guilty governments tremble. ("Robeson: The World's Symbol of Freedom," Freedom, April 1952.)

William L. Patterson, the noted Black Communist leader, states, in an earlier birthday tribute appearing in these pages:

Paul was a statesman. Not in the realm of politics, although he stood head and shoulders above many others in that arena. He was a statesman in the sphere of art and culture. He studied the relation of art to liberation movements. Paul was an artist of the revolution. He was a fighter for a democracy of the people. He did not believe that the other cheek should be turned to the aggressor. He was in the midst of the fight for the lives of the Scottsboro Boys, Angelo Herndon, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, and a number of other civil rights victims. That distinguished him from the artist-reformer....

That is why Paul went to Spain during its civil war and sang to the troops in the trenches, Spanish workers and peasants; Americans, Europeans, men and women who were heroically seeking to stop Hitler and Franco at the gates of Madrid. He was a "premature anti-fascist," one of those far-sighted peace lovers who recognized that

*Harry T. Moore, militant NAACP leader, and his wife, Harriet Moore, were brutally assassinated by the explosion of a bomb in their home in Mims, Florida on Christmas night, 1951.

if Hitler was stopped in Spain, a second world war might be prevented, just as a third world war may be prevented if American imperialism is stopped in Vietnam. Paul's experiences at home forewarned him of the nature of fascism. Paul hated Hitler and every aspect of Hitlerism, especially its anti-Semitism. He hated imperialist wars, and American imperialism persecuted him for it. ("In Honor of Paul Robeson," Political Affairs, May 1969.)

Paul Robeson was in the thick of struggle at all times. With William L. Patterson, he took part in presenting the petition "We Charge Genocide" to the United Nations in December 1951. He headed the Council of African Affairs during the fifties and was chairman of the editorial board of the monthly publication Freedom. And always his magnificent voice and inimitable artistry were on hand in the cause of freedom, peace and progress.

With the advent of the cold war the forces of McCarthyism descended on him with exceptional fury. The concert stage was closed to him, as were radio, television, films and other media of artistic expression. He was denied a passport; even more, he was denied the right to go on to Canada and other countries where no passport is required. A campaign of silence was decreed, and when Here I Stand was published in 1958, virtually no white commercial newspaper or magazine so much as mentioned its existence.

But Paul Robeson did make himself heard. In 1949, when an outdoor concert at Peekskill, New York, was broken up by a gang of racists and fascists, a second concert was organized on the initiative of the Fur Workers and other unions in New York - and carried through - with the protection of a large body of trade unionists, mainly white. In 1952, when he was forbidden by the State Department to go to Canada to attend a convention of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, a concert was organized for him at Peace Arch Park on the border between Washington and British Columbia, to which 30,000 Canadians came. When he was forbidden to travel to England to sing before the miners of Wales, he sang for them by telephone. Concerts were organized for him in churches, in halls. He sang at meetings. McCarthyite reaction could never silence this heroic fighter.

In later years, with the defeat of McCarthyism, avenues of artistic expression began to open up, the right to travel was regained, and Paul Robeson began again to come into his own. Unfortunately his activities were cut short by illness, which has incapacitated him for a number of years. But his influence is nevertheless increasingly felt. His recordings are more widely distributed and heard than ever before. Eslanda Goode Robeson wrote: "Yes, indeed, Paul Robeson, while still living has become a symbol and a challenge, the symbol and challenge of freedom and peace." He is still that symbol today.

It is with a deep feeling of love and reverence that we join with the countless others, in this country and abroad, who are saying: "Happy birthday, Paul!"

The AJC's "Briefing Service"

Are you planning a trip to the Soviet Union? Do you want to meet Soviet Jews? Do you want to know what to bring? Where to go? What to say? How to conduct yourself? The American Jewish Congress stands ready to assist you.

Wanting to know more about this "assistance," one of our readers, planning to go on a tour to the USSR, went to the AJC headquarters in New York to inquire. Here is what he found.

First, he purchased for \$1.25 a booklet entitled How to Find and Meet Soviet Jews: Briefing Kit for Travellers to the U.S.S.R. This handy manual, one reads inside the front cover, was prepared by Phil Baum and Zev Furst of the AJC's Commission on International Affairs at the request of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. Then he received some additional personal briefing. Both the manual and the personal briefing are indeed instructive.

The manual starts out with a warning which, for added emphasis, is repeated on a mimeographed insert. We quote the latter:

There is nothing in this Briefing Kit that recommends anything unlawful in the Soviet Union or that may rightfully be judged in any way detrimental to the Soviet Union. On the contrary, in all of our recommendations, we urge strict conformity with Soviet law. Still, some official may nonetheless consider our recommendations somehow provocative or unfriendly. As a simple precaution, therefore, and to avoid any possible misunderstanding, we urge that this briefing packet not be taken into the Soviet Union with you. Read it and study it before you leave. Copy out portions you think may be especially pertinent to your own plans. You will note that a number of pages containing maps and other directions appear at the end to allow you to detach and carry these pages individually.

But to avoid any possible misunderstanding, please leave the basic text at home.

This already speaks eloquently of what is to come.

What should one bring? First, religious articles, but only one or two of each, as if for one's personal use. Skullcaps or Mogen David emblems can be taken in larger quantities and given freely as gifts. A Russian-Hebrew dictionary should be included; it is in great demand among Soviet Jews.

Second, copies of novels such as Exodus by Leon Uris, The Source

by James Michener or The Chosen by Chaim Potok, among others. (The first two are strongly pro-Zionist, the third deals with Chasidim in New York.) Third, gifts for young people such as blue jeans or rock or country music albums. The tourist is strongly warned not to take anything of a political nature.

Where does one meet Soviet Jews? First, in the synagogue. However, one should sit not in the special section for tourists but among the congregation. And one should not hurry away afterward, to give those Soviet Jews who may wish to arrange later meetings an opportunity to do so. Second, in the Jewish cemetery, which serves as a gathering place. And third, in the universities where, if one carries "something conspicuously Jewish," he may be approached by Jewish students.

There follow cautions about how to speak to Soviet Jews, about avoiding entrapment, about the danger of taking written notes, etc. Possibly one may be followed or one's room may be bugged, but this is "highly unlikely"; there are too many tourists and the Soviet government is too busy with other things. But one should speak on the telephone as if it is tapped.

The rest of the manual is devoted to questions and answers about Soviet Jews, repeating the usual anti-Soviet canards, and to facts about U.S. Jews and about Israel. At the end, to be detached, are a directory of synagogues (57 are listed) and directions for getting to the chief ones, as well as inserted maps showing the location of those in Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev.

So much for written instructions. The oral briefing included the following:

"Do you have a family in the USSR?" "Yes, a large family."

"Where do they live?" "They are widely scattered."

"Do they desire to go to Israel?" "I don't know, but even if they do they don't have the means."

"When you speak to them, be very careful. Let them start talking. But if they open up, encourage them. Tell them to go to the Dutch Embassy. Arrangements for money can be made there. If they can't get into the Embassy, bring their names and addresses to me. We will see that they get the necessary funds. Are there any relatives in Israel?"

"No."

"Don't worry. There will be relatives in Israel."

There was more. But the pattern is clear. The object of the AJC's briefing operation is not to teach tourists "how to find and meet Soviet Jews." This requires no briefing. Soviet Jews can be

found in considerable numbers in cities like Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev and in all walks of life. There is no difficulty in meeting them and speaking to them, as many tourists can readily testify. Least of all is it a problem for those tourists who have relatives there.

Furthermore, the briefing kit directs the tourist not to places where a cross-section of Jews may be encountered but primarily to the synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. The overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews never go to the synagogues nor are they in the habit of congregating in cemeteries. What one finds in these places is the very small minority of religious Jews, practically all of them elderly people, or another small minority which gathers there for other reasons—indeed, largely in the expectation of meeting Jewish tourists.

In other words the purpose of the briefing is to direct the tourist to those Jews who for one reason or another are dissatisfied with life in the Soviet Union and may wish to migrate to Israel. More, the purpose in having the tourist meet these Jews is to encourage and secure assistance for their migration.

The manual is definitely not designed to help tourists learn for themselves the actual status of Soviet Jews. On the contrary, its readers are presumed already to accept as fact the slanderous allegations of official persecution of Jews in the USSR, and indeed are urged to speak out against it on all possible occasions. Not only are they not encouraged to seek out Soviet Jews who might express a contrary point of view, but conspicuously absent from the list of places where one can meet Soviet Jews is the office of Sovietish Heimland. In the eyes of the AJC the Jews to be found there are "official" Jews, to be avoided like the plague.

In short, the American Jewish Congress is involved to the hilt in a disgraceful campaign to slander the Soviet Union, to create disaffection among Soviet Jews and to get as many of them as possible to go to Israel, and it seeks to enlist as many Jewish travelers to the USSR as possible in its disreputable schemes. The shadiness of the whole venture is indicated by the numerous warnings in the manual which add up to "Don't get caught."

We can only conclude that U.S. Jews who plan to visit the USSR would do well to stay as far away from such "briefing" as possible.

* * *

GREETINGS

to

Hyman Lumer, Editor of Jewish Affairs
and

Sam Liptzin on his 80th birthday
Contribution \$15.00 "Uncle," Miami Beach

The Brezhnev Visit and the Jackson Amendment

By Hyman Lumer

The visit of President Nixon to the Soviet Union last year was an important step toward improving relations between the two countries and advancing the cause of peaceful coexistence. Among other things it resulted in agreements representing significant progress toward imposing limitations on nuclear weapons and in agreement to open up U.S.-Soviet trade--in particular to end the present tariff discrimination against the USSR and to establish the necessary credit arrangements for large-scale trade.

Of even greater moment is the coming visit to this country by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is scheduled to arrive on June 18. The mere fact of the visit is in itself a noteworthy contribution to U.S.-Soviet friendship. But more than that, it offers the prospect of major new advances in lessening tensions and promoting peaceful coexistence. It is an occasion to be hailed by all who genuinely seek peace and social progress.

At the same time, it must be noted that the improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations does not mean that there has been a change in the character of U.S. imperialism. On the contrary, it is a part of the process of retreat which is being forced on U.S. imperialism in the world arena--a retreat marked also by the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. This retreat reflects the continuing shift of the world balance of forces in favor of the forces of anti-imperialism, and the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. It is this deepening crisis which leads simultaneously to the overtures to the Soviet Union and to the monstrous conspiracy of reaction which has come to the surface in the Watergate scandal, as well as to attempts to re-escalate the war in Indochina. The basically reactionary, anti-Soviet character of Nixon and his cohorts has by no means changed. Hence it is essential that the masses of the U.S. people, and in particular of the Jewish people, extend a proper welcome to Brezhnev and exert all possible pressure to assure the success of his visit.

Of singular importance for the promotion of peaceful coexistence is the breaking down of economic barriers. Not surprisingly, therefore, the opening up of trade relations occupies a leading place in the coming negotiations.

The blocking of trade has long been a major weapon in the cold-war anti-Soviet arsenal, one to which U.S. imperialism has clung tenaciously since World War II. Hence the expressed willingness to abandon this policy now represents an especially significant retreat, a retreat dictated by the growing economic problems of U.S. monopoly capital.

Certain circles in this country claim that it is the Soviet Union which is desperate for expanded trade relations because of agricultural failures and lagging industrial growth. Says the Wall Street Journal (April 19, 1973): "The Soviet economy is faring badly, causing Kremlin leaders to seek Western help through expanded trade and credits." But this is not so. The Soviet Union has not only survived all imperialist efforts to undermine its economy but has made phenomenal economic advances without the benefit of trade with the United States, and it will continue to do so, if need be. It would be a serious mistake to conclude that the Soviet grain purchases in this country are an indication of economic failure, or that Soviet industrial development cannot take place without U.S. help.

On the contrary, it is U.S. monopoly capital which is pressing Nixon for opening up U.S.-Soviet trade. It recognizes ever more clearly that the policy of blocking trade is not only futile but deprives it of large potential profits which are going instead to its rivals abroad. Furthermore, expanded trade with the Soviet Union offers a means of materially reducing the mounting balance of payments deficit and shoring up the increasingly shaky status of the dollar. It is such factors as these and not Soviet needs which motivate Nixon's readiness to expand trade relations with the USSR.

This is not to say that the Soviet government is not on its side desirous of improved trade relationships and closer economic ties with the United States. Such developments would be clearly advantageous to Soviet economic advancement. But even more important is the service they would render to peaceful coexistence and to world peace.

For U.S. workers trade opens the outlook of creating many new jobs and reducing unemployment. More, it opens the doors to the establishment of closer bonds between U.S. and Soviet workers, and among the former to a better understanding of the nature of socialism and its meaning for them.

★

There are, of course, ruling-class elements which remain

completely opposed to any improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations and particularly of trade relations. Posing a threat to the successful expansion of trade today is the anti-Soviet drive in Congress spearheaded by the notorious reactionary, Senator Henry Jackson, and energetically promoted by the leading Zionist organizations and their spokesmen. Jackson is the author of an amendment to the Administration-sponsored trade bill, prohibiting "most favored nation" treatment (that is, the ending of tariff discrimination) or the granting of credits to the Soviet Union or any other socialist country which "denies its citizens the right to emigrate or imposes more than nominal emigration fees." In the Senate the amendment has been sponsored by 76 senators and in the House by 270 representatives headed by Congressman Wilbur D. Mills.

Behind this drive lies the ceaseless campaigning of the Zionist establishment to line up Congressional support for the amendment and to keep it in line. *New York Times* correspondent David E. Rosenbaum writes (April 6, 1973) that "It was apparent from interviews with Senators and Representatives and their aides, and with Jewish leaders, businessmen and Administration officials, that such solid Congressional support could not have been mustered were it not for the organized political activities of American Jews." He goes on to describe the intense pressure campaign conducted principally through the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, representing 34 national Jewish organizations and 200 or more local agencies, and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Zionist lobbying body in Washington. He describes also their close working relations with such senators as Jackson, Javits, Ribicoff and Humphrey.

Why has the campaign been so successful? Primarily because there have been so few counterpressures. Rosenbaum writes:

"Why did so many people sign the amendment?" a Northern Senator asked rhetorically. "Because there's no political advantage in not signing. If you do sign, you don't offend anyone. If you don't sign, you might offend some Jews in your state."

Thus does Zionism continue to pursue the role of a spearhead of anti-Sovietism, allied with reaction and prepared to aggravate U.S.-Soviet relations and obstruct progress toward world peace, all in the name of "defense" of Soviet Jews.

We do not propose to discuss here the issue of Soviet exit fees. This has been dealt with previously in the pages of Jewish Affairs. And in any case the Soviet government has removed it as an issue in trade negotiations by letting it be known that the imposition of such fees has been suspended. But this does not satisfy the anti-Soviet clamor. Suspension, it is said, is not enough; the Soviet government can simply resume collection of the fees after a trade agreement is signed. Hence the pressure

to pass the amendment continues unabated.

However, this is a phony argument. Even if the Soviet government were to repeal the law altogether, it would still be argued that there would be nothing to prevent them from reinstating it later. Furthermore, emphasis is now shifted to the demand that the Soviet Union permit complete freedom of emigration. And to this, other demands can readily be added. In short, the prospect of trade is to be used as a club to compel the Soviet Union to make its internal policies conform to Zionist demands. Aside from the fact that this constitutes an impermissible and dangerous attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of another state, in reality it adds up to a rejection of trade relations altogether since the Soviet Union obviously would flatly reject any such demands.

This anti-Soviet line stands out even more sharply in the stand taken by George Meany, one of the most vociferous supporters of the Jackson amendment. In a press release dated April 19, 1973, Meany says: "Under no present circumstances should the Soviet Union be granted such a 'most favored nation' status.... There is no evidence at all that the Soviet Union would keep its promise....Indeed the Soviet Union has an unbroken record of breaking her word every time she gives it." Which means that no relations with the Soviet Union are possible. Of Meany's views a Wall Street Journal editorial states (May 4, 1973): "Mr. Meany's precondition for trade with the Soviets goes well beyond the Kremlin's treatment of Jews. At times, AFL-CIO officials sound as if they will settle for nothing less than a change in Soviet leadership and a change in the Soviet form of government before they would consider competing with the 'slave labor' of the Soviet Union."

What is at issue, therefore, is whether or not such hard-core anti-Sovietism is to be permitted to block the development of trade relations and progress toward world peace.

*

There are already growing expressions of opposition to the Jackson roadblock, emanating from various sources. First of all, Nixon himself has appealed to the Senate not to use the exit tax as a basis for restricting U.S.-Soviet trade, especially since the Soviet government has suspended it. And Republican Senator Hugh Scott has stated that he hopes compromise language could be worked out which would express the concern of Congress about Soviet Jews without endangering the negotiations for improvement of U.S.-Soviet relations.

In addition, the Wall Street Journal editorial cited above declares that "we disapprove of the U.S. government involving itself in the internal policies of other nations, except insofar

as those policies affect U.S. citizens or interests." It adds that "it is one thing to see a policy rejected on its merits, and it is quite another to see it derailed over issues unrelated to American interests."

Roscoe Drummond, writing in the Christian Science Monitor, (April 6, 1973) wonders "if second thought will not persuade those American Jews and others who want the U.S. to try to intervene legislatively in the domestic affairs of the Soviet Union that such an action would be a grave mistake--and unhelpful." He asks: "Should the U.S. ever throw away large opportunities to expand its trade, strengthen the dollar, and redress the adverse balance of payments? Should the U.S. jeopardize the growing detente with the Soviet Union at a time when much that can be beneficial to the peace of the world is coming within reach?" And he answers: "I cannot escape the conclusion that the answer should be no to these questions."

Questions are being raised also in some Zionist circles. The current issue of Israel Horizons (May-June 1973) contains an editorial which raises doubts about the wisdom of the amendment. Among other things it notes:

Jackson has been a Soviet-fresser from 'way back and, while not belittling the value his amendment has been, we can't help feeling that his efforts have not been entirely out of love for Mordechai, the Jews, but from an intense dislike of Haman, the U.S.S.R....

Also, we think that American-Soviet trade and this country's general rapprochement with Russia and with the People's Republic Of China are an important step toward world peace, and care therefore must be shown all around that roadblocks are not put in its way, for the good of all peoples, therefore for the good of all Jews.

These are welcome developments, indicative of the possibility of mobilizing sufficiently widespread opposition to force the dropping of the Jackson amendment. But this has yet to be accomplished, and the task is an urgent one. Senators and representatives must begin to feel mounting pressure in opposition to the amendment in addition to the pressure from its supporters. Pressure must also be exerted on Jewish leaders and organizations to abandon their present course. In this, Jewish Communists and progressives have a special responsibility.

The Brezhnev visit has a tremendous potential for advancing the cause of peace and progress. Everything must be done to assure the fulfillment of that potential.

The Campaign Against "Quotas"

By Lee Carr

For some time now the U.S. public has been subjected to a shrill, intense campaign against the alleged danger to this country that will result from preferential hiring of members of groups suffering discrimination in employment. This campaign, decrying the use of "quotas," was widely publicized by press, radio and television and emerged along with opposition to busing as an issue to inspire fear, hysteria and irrationality. So far did this go that the New Republic of October 21, 1972 was prompted to state:

Judging by the outcry one might guess that quotas in hiring had become as rampant and destructive as racial discrimination itself. In the last month quota setting has won a place alongside war, crime and inflation as one of the scourges from which both of our presidential candidates have promised to deliver us.

The main promoters of this campaign are the leading Jewish organizations, among them the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans and other religious and lay organizations. Also joining in the battle are labor leaders of the stripe of George Meany and Albert Shanker, not to mention certain "liberals" whose devotion to the fight against racial oppression ended with the march on Selma, Alabama. Such Jewish publications as Commentary, Midstream and Congress Bi-Weekly are also in the thick of the campaign.

Indicative of the character of this drive is a New York Times story on June 30, 1972 stating that the executive heads of two national Jewish organizations "condemned today the use of the preferential quota to equalize employment and educational opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities, calling it a distortion of anti-discrimination policies." One of them, Benjamin R. Epstein of the Anti-Defamation League, told 300 delegates at a Los Angeles conference that "the fundamental wrong in preferential treatment is that individuals who have no responsibility for past discrimination are made to sacrifice their opportunities for self-fulfillment to pay the debt that society owes." Apart from the fact

that this is not true, it is noteworthy that Mr. Epstein's concern for the self-fulfillment of Jews is not matched by any comparable concern for the Black, Chicano or Puerto Rican youth who suffer unemployment and poverty because of the discrimination against them.

Similarly Lane Kirkland, AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, addressing a Human Rights Award Dinner of the Jewish Labor Committee, stated: "The position of the AFL-CIO in opposition to quotas calls for open doors and the total destruction of barriers without regard to percentages or numbers, whether the results produce one or one hundred per cent of any category of the human brotherhood."

This, it should be noted, comes from a spokesman for the Meany clique which has never lifted a finger to open one door or to remove one barrier and which has, among other things, offered no opposition to the outrageous racial discrimination practiced by the building trades unions.

Leonard J. Fein, professor at Brandeis University, also puts the matter bluntly. "The weight of emergent Jewish opinion," he says, "is, in the end, hostile to quotas, a hostility often blunted by an endorsement of 'affirmative action' or some other such concept which sounds forward looking but is, in the end, enshrouded in ambiguity." (Midstream, March 1973.)

*

This is but a small sample of the massive outpourings of the major Jewish organizations and leaders and their supporters against the efforts to end racist hiring and upgrading practices. One would indeed think, as the New Republic says, that there is a quota system in effect, that large numbers of Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans are being hired and promoted and this at the expense of Jews. But, says the New Republic, with regard to government jobs, "the remarkable part of all this is that there are no quotas in federal hiring, none at all." Nor are quotas imposed in any other field of employment.

What does exist is an "affirmative action" program which requires employers to set goals for minority hiring and a time period within which these goals are to be achieved. The government is then supposed to see to it that a "good faith" effort is made to reach these goals. The idea, it was said, was that the government was simply to enforce what the employer had already imposed on himself.

The kind of enforcement that can be expected of the Nixon Administration in the case of even this vaguely-defined requirement is shown by the fate of its most highly advertised example, the Philadelphia Plan. Arthur Fletcher, a Black Labor Department official who played a role in setting up this plan for hiring Black and other minority group construction workers, left the Labor Department be-

cause, he said, the plan was dying for lack of enforcement. In addition George Holland, director of the Labor Department's Office of Contract Compliance, quit his post because he felt that his power to act against discriminatory firms had been seriously weakened.

That this program is a "toothless tiger" is admitted by even vociferous opponents of "quotas." Thus, Ben Halpern writes in Midstream ("The Quota Issue," March 1973) that "federal grants are being cut back and the relatively minor impact of affirmative action programs is becoming obvious." He says further that "the actual impact of HEW policies on hiring practices in universities and high status jobs is much less than the outcry might lead one to think" and he refers to the "semi-serious method of their present application." Nevertheless the American Jewish Congress at its convention in May 1972 hedged its support to even this token program with the declaration that it must be "without the use of quota systems and other devices which [The AJC] has long opposed and which it believes violate the principle of equality and non-discrimination."

*

The uproar about "merit" as the basis of hiring is designed to obscure the racist exclusion of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and other applicants from employment, and particularly in college and university hiring. It serves to cover up what J. Stanley Pottinger of HEW calls the "tacit quotas"—the real quotas which are used to limit to token numbers the hiring and promotion of members of these oppressed groups. To rail against "preferential treatment" for Black people when unemployment rates among them are at least double the national average and reach as high as 40 per cent among Black youth according to even the official figures is sheer hypocrisy.

The problem is not lack of merit; it is that applicants who are fully qualified are refused employment because of racial and national discrimination. For years owners of professional ball teams sought to justify their refusal to hire Black players by saying they couldn't find any who were qualified. But once a breakthrough was forced by mass struggles against this discrimination the fraudulence of the owners' claim was glaringly exposed. The same holds true in other fields.

Those who are refused employment, regardless of their qualifications, simply because they are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American or Asian, cannot and will not wait another few hundred years to achieve what the sociologists call "upward mobility." Centuries of racial discrimination require a group solution. Special compensatory measures must be taken to correct these effects of the long-standing oppression that condemns entire peoples to poverty, ill health and degradation. Without this, talk of equality

becomes a mere sham.

The question of "merit" is further beclouded by the fact that the tests used to measure it are themselves racist and discriminatory in character. Thus, John Slawson of Columbia University and Hunter School of Social Sciences, in a letter to Commentary (December 1972), calls for "tests that do not include built-in discriminatory elements that are, in fact, of little or no value in predicting quality of performance."

This is in addition to the notoriously inferior education provided to youngsters in the ghettos and barrios, based on the idea that these are to be prepared only to become "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Consequently they are poorly prepared for professional studies and are very largely excluded from enrollment in colleges and universities. This state of affairs the open enrollment policy, which calls for admission of all applicants with high school diplomas, is intended to correct. And this policy, which has been adopted by the City University of New York, the Jewish organizations and leaders also sharply oppose.

They have seized on every problem resulting from this basic change in the City University and from the long years of inferior education in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, and have used them to attack the policy and to try to reverse it. Commentary (February 1973) contains a long and supposedly "objective" article by one Martin Mayer entitled "Higher Education for All." This is the same Martin Mayer who wrote widely publicized articles at the time of the 1969 New York teachers' strike, supporting Albert Shanker's racist fight against community control of education in the Black and Puerto Rican areas. His position in this article is entirely consistent with his racist position then. Speaking about the students entering City University under the open admissions policy, he says:

The Open Admissions students deserve better than that (meaning lowered standards—L.C.)...They are not very bright, most of them, but their perception of their social situation is correct.

No doubt college does civilize some who were merely acculturated by elementary and secondary education. Higher education for those who wish to understand better should always be "open," voluntary on both sides. But these are not the drives that can (or will) fill the City University (or combine to finance it at a rate of nearly half a billion dollars a year). What is beating at the universities—but especially at CUNY—is involuntary education on the tertiary level, the forced prolongation of an outworn adolescence for purposes that are quite separate from the civilizing ideas of a university.

But this slander of the Open Admissions students is belied by the more objective evidence presented by another observer. Dr. Martin E. Danzig of the Sociology Department at Kingsbridge Community College in Brooklyn writes in Congress Bi-Weekly (November 24, 1972):

A panoramic view of the Open Admissions experience discloses some remarkable achievements. First, an enlarged freshman class, from less than 20,000 to almost 35,000 students, was admitted in the fall semester of 1970, an increase of 77 per cent. Second, in the new entering class the number of Black and Puerto Rican students more than doubled, from 3,900 in 1969 to 8,700 in 1970. Third, minority group students were distributed among all of the university campuses, avoiding the development of de facto segregation. Fourth, empirical observations lead to the conclusion that many Jewish students, scholastically marginal, took advantage of the open admissions program. Such students formerly could not have gained college entry. Fifth, there was a decided increase in the female population of the University. Sixth, a comparison of the total undergraduate enrollment for the five-year period 1967 to 1971 shows a decided increase in all enrolled ethnic groups. The number of Black students has grown from 12,472 to 35,320. Puerto Rican students have more than tripled, from 3,546 to 10,705; and the white student body increased from 99,895 to 129,080.

Finally, the City University has grown to 221,000 students, the third largest in the country. Open Admissions has resulted in a remarkable growth of the student body and a sizable increase in the number of minority group students. (Emphasis added.)

Notwithstanding the many difficulties and problems associated with such a basic change, the Open Admissions Program is a most impressive democratic achievement for the people of New York City. It is clear that opening wide the doors of CUNY to Black and Puerto Rican youth has resulted in opening them wider for youth of Jewish and other ethnic groups, as well as for young women. The lesson is there for all to see: ending racist practices benefits not only the direct victims of racism but all others as well.

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The anti-"quota" positions cited above reflect a conscious attempt to promote bourgeois nationalist ideas among the Jewish masses. This is most directly expressed in the article by Ben Halpern, who says: "There is every reason for a Jew to approach public issues in the light of the question 'Is it good for the Jews?' He continues: "We still belong to the class of minorities—indeed we are essentially alone—in the world at large and in America, too...Jews must ask themselves 'If I am not for myself, who will be?' But also,

'If I am for myself alone, what good am I?'

Halpern answers these questions in this fashion: "It remains the case that Jews in our time have done the greatest injustice by harping on the second question, not the first, especially so when the pretense of being 'for others' was so often an escape from the burden of being oneself."

Jews must therefore worry only about themselves and stop worrying about others. That is what everyone else does. But this is the ideology of the bourgeois jungle which says that national groups can advance only at one another's expense, whereas the truth is that they can advance only together in opposition to their common enemy, monopoly capital. This is narrow Jewish nationalism, whose most reactionary form is Zionism, and it is the basis of the rampant racism which afflicts so many Jewish communities today—in Forest Hills, in Canarsie and elsewhere.

Such Jewish nationalism, which equates anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism, today sees the main source of anti-Semitism and the main threat to the Jewish people as coming not from ruling-class reaction, not from the fascist ultra-Right, but from the Left, beginning with the socialist countries, and from the Black people. It therefore seeks to turn the Jewish people against the forces of progress and socialism, against the forces of Black liberation. Instead of calling for Jewish-Black unity to fight all discrimination in employment, it pits Jews against Black and other oppressed peoples in their efforts to overcome racial discrimination, charging them with seeking to take jobs away from Jews.

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In contrast to these bourgeois nationalist Jewish leaders the Communist Party fully supports all special and compensatory measures to end racism in hiring and promotion. In its view such measures are in no way injurious to any national group.

What is required is a united struggle of all democratic forces for drastic reduction of military budgets and massive channeling of funds into much-needed programs of home building, expansion of educational and health facilities, medical research, pollution control, etc. This would vastly increase the need for workers at all levels and would provide jobs for all peoples. It is such an approach that is called for, not a racist crusade against "quotas."

But even with a vast expansion of available employment, compensatory measures are still needed to overcome the effects of past and present injustices. Thus, in the socialist German Democratic Republic Jews and other victims of Nazism receive preferential treatment in housing, employment, etc.—in sharp contrast to the situation in West Germany. It is wrong to object to such measures on the

grounds that quotas have been used as a device for discrimination against Jews. Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser of the Forest Hills Jewish Center places the matter correctly when he states: "A parallel is often drawn with university quotas against Jews in countries dominated by anti-Semitism. But should not a distinction be drawn between a system evolved as a device to discriminate, and one evolved by the struggle to end discrimination?" And he warns: "Such Jewish reactions to the thrust for democratization are in danger of turning the Jewish community into a retrogressive force in American life." (Congress Bi-Weekly, November 24, 1972.)

Indeed, as a result of the shocking Zionist-inspired growth of racism in the Jewish community, it is already acting as a retrogressive force. What is needed is a struggle against this racism—a fight for unity of the masses of Jewish working people with the Black and other oppressed peoples and with the working class to end discrimination in housing and employment and for a new democratic upsurge in the life of our country. The Communist Party will strive to make such a struggle a reality.

* * *

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From The Foreign Press

Racism in Israel

(From Zo Haderekh)

The following articles from Zo Haderekh, organ of the Communist Party of Israel, present some recent examples of the brutal oppression of Arabs in that country, the most shocking instance being the lynch murder of an Arab by a group of Georgian Jews. The articles, reproduced here with some abridgements, speak for themselves.

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A Racist Murder And A Ruthless Attack

(February 21, 1973)

A shameful murder, on a background of racism and chauvinism, took place last Friday, February 16, when a number of people from Nazareth Eilit (Upper Nazareth) attacked Subhi el-Nasir, a resident of Nazareth, who was sitting inside a car in the company of Regina Polkovskaya. They dragged him out of the car, beat him in the head and body until he lost consciousness and was dripping blood, then threw him back in his car. They also badly beat up R. Polkovskaya, wounded her and sheared off her hair and then they took her with them to her house. A passing motorist, who heard the cries of the victims, called the police. Subhi el-Nasir died of his wounds in the hospital. Regina Polkovskaya also had to be hospitalized.

As a result of the barbaric attack, the police arrested eight suspects, all of them residents of Skunat Shalom in Nazareth Eilit. Against the background of a lynch atmosphere, a number of residents of this area reacted by calling on the police to "free the prisoners because, in their opinion, the prisoners had behaved in the same way they would have behaved toward a stranger abroad." Thus,

the Arabs are "the strangers" in Nazareth, not the immigrants from Soviet Georgia who have just recently arrived.

"When we came to Nazareth Eilit they (the government and the Histadrut) explained to us the importance of the Jewish population in an Arab area," Ha'aretz of February 18 quotes a newly arrived immigrant as saying. This racist guidance from above was revealed in order to brighten this criminal act done in the name of guarding "the purity of the race."

The police and a number of newspapers have sought to blur the seriousness of the affair by trying to give it a romantic twist, which has absolutely no connection with the racist attitude of the criminals. However, even Davar, the semi-official daily newspaper of the Histadrut, notes in its editorial of February 19:

If the announcement by the police was made specifically as an attempt to reduce the seriousness of the crime that was done, then it fell short of its goal. According to the impressions gained from the first news reports, a group of inhabitants had in this case taken the law into their own hands in order to force their morality on the community, by ruthlessly attacking and murdering. This is an action to which the Israeli society cannot give its support under any circumstances.

Ha'aretz notes in its editorial of February 18 that "this was a case of a wild attack, on a background of contempt and hatred towards the Arab people. There has been sufficient reflection on the interpretation of the developments which are known, up until the present, to prove that all the characteristics of similar actions in the South of the United States in the past are not missing." The editorial demands "that this be clearly rejected, because there is no argument which can answer this barbaric action. There also cannot be any support for half-hearted protests, when what is hidden behind them is sympathy with the criminals."...

The police claim, in spite of all this, that there is no "background of racism" to this deed, but rather that only a question of "morality" is involved. It is hard to accept the supposition that these people had defined themselves as "guardians of morality" in Israel just to come out against an act of violation. If so then the victims would of course reach thousands, tens of thousands and more.

* * *

Racist Overtones Of The Murder In Nazareth

(Excerpt from the column by Josef Galili, February 28, 1973)

"The police are wrong to imprison our young men," said a young

Georgian Jew, an inhabitant of Shkunat Shalom. "They must free them, because they did a good service to the state and to the neighborhood. Now the Arabs will be afraid to come here." (Ma'ariv, February 23, 1973.)

Regina Polkovskaya said that at the time of the attack on her by the criminals she shouted to them, "Why? Is it not true that I am only learning to drive? They said: "You could have learned from us, not from an Arab."

The father of one of those principally accused, Avraham Kozi-ashvili, told a correspondent for Ha'olam Hazeh February 21, 1973:

We don't care what young women from Odessa do, but not with Arabs. The Arabs come there at night and we are afraid of the Arabs. Perhaps an Arab will depart and leave a bomb. Maybe he's a terrorist. How can one know? Even the Histadrut told us to watch out for the Arabs. They told us that every Arab that comes to our neighborhood after eight in the evening must be driven out and that the Histadrut must be informed. What happened was necessary. It had to happen. Why did the Histadrut tell us that if we saw an Arab in our neighborhood walking around at night we must run after him and throw him out of the neighborhood?"

A most serious fact was revealed in the statement of A. Kozi-ashvili. It has come to light that those Jews who emigrated from Soviet Georgia to Israel received, on their arrival in Israel, anti-Arab propoganda from the representatives of the government and in this instance also from the representatives of the Histadrut in Nazareth Eilit. These people, who are brought over to live in the undeveloped area where the Arabs live, are warned to see in every Arab an enemy and a terrorist, to be afraid of him, hate him, drive him out, inform on him and beat him. This education does not delay in bearing its fruits. Its victims this time, in Nazareth, were Subhi El-Nasir who was murdered and Regina Polkovskaya who was badly injured both in body and soul.

This double crime in Nazareth must be used as a note of warning, because of the atmosphere which serves the anti-Arab mentality prevailing among much of the public in Israel, a mentality which is the result of the racist education and incitement which permeates our society, starting from kindergarten in our educational institutions and carried on by means of the mass media, of newspapers, radio and television. The root of this double crime in Nazareth is chauvinism and racism. From this root the snake became poisonous.

* * *

Chauvinism in Israeli Society

(March 7, 1973)

Knesset member Meir Vilner (general secretary of the Communist

Party of Israel) said the following on the subject of the Hebrew Writers union and other questions:

The Hebrew Writers Union in Israel assembled on February 20, 1973 for a general meeting, in order to decide whether or not they should accept Arab writers into their union. The substance of the question can awaken trembling and fear among many who themselves have suffered from racist persecution and anti-Semitism. The Writers Union, 25 years after the founding of the State of Israel, is still closed to Arab writers only because they are Arabs.

Language is not the determining factor here but rather national chauvinism and racism. In the independent newspaper Ma'ariv (February 20, 1973) the well known writer Hanoch Bartov states: "It is a fact that the union has long been open to writers who do not write in Hebrew—writers who write in Czech and Slovak, English, Rumanian, Russian and French."

On the same day the newspaper Yediot Aharanot carried these words by the poet Dedi Manosi: "A word in Yiddish, Russian, Hungarian, Polish is possible. But Arabic—this is almost obscene."

Also on the same day, an editorial appeared in the newspaper stating: "The restriction on Arab writers joining the Union is an act of discrimination. The Histradut has increased non-Jewish membership within its ranks, and other organizations have also done this. It is not to be tolerated that the Writers Union, which claims to speak for enlightened and forward-thinking people, should be the last refuge of crude discrimination against people on the basis of national origin."

In voting on the resolution of Shimshon Meltzer, to decide whether the gathering wanted to keep the racist status quo in the Writers Union or to open its ranks to Arab writers, the chauvinists predominated. With a majority of 78 votes to 70 they decided against accepting Arab writers into the union.

The next happening that I bring before you as an example is the case of Haya Ramhi, who fell into the clutches of Rabbi Darai, who deals in separating women from their husbands and children on the basis of chauvinism. They brought her to her family in Haifa under false pretenses. She told the correspondent for Ma'ariv on February 20 that they held her by force; that she had never thought of leaving her husband and children. After she insisted that she wanted to return to her husband, that it is him and her children whom she loves, they threw her out into the street and screamed after her: "You are a Jew and they are Arabs; how can you act like this?" "I suffered a great deal there," she said. One day when she was still with her family in Haifa her brother told her that she was divorced. They had forced her husband to give her a divorce. "I did not resist," the husband explained, "because it was clear to me that I could not resist the government of Israel." Now she

has returned to her husband and children.

The ideological and political sources of chauvinism became stronger after the June War of 1967. Zionist practice reached extreme dimensions. Chauvinism has grown, among other places, in the education in the schools.

I will bring forth only one example from a textbook which is now in use in the schools: The History of the Israeli People: The Restoration of Israel. The authors are B. Ahia and M. Harpaz. On page 91 this book says: "In the year 1909 close to the Arab city of Jaffa a new city was built, a Hebrew city called Tel Aviv. Among its founders were the sons of the middle-class: merchants, artisans, teachers and others, whose spirit was being destroyed in the Arab city with its narrow alleys, its filth and its Arab character. They requested that a settlement be built for them which would be completely Hebrew and which would fit their demands as people of culture."

This is how they educate the children! The Arabs are lacking in culture! Among the Arabs there is filth! As if these were national characteristics!

* * *

On The Phenomenon Of Racism

(March 21, 1973)

In an article in Ma'ariv of March 2, Professor Shlomo Avineri writes: "I fear the possibility that in one of the coming meetings of the [Socialist] International someone will ask the prime minister or the general secretary of the Labor Party: Is it true that you do not accept Arabs into your party? The Writers Union can hide behind all kinds of subterfuges in relation to language and Hebrew culture. The Labor Party, as a Social-Democratic party, has no such alibi. If I am not mistaken it is the only Democratic Workers Party in the world which is closed to specific people for reasons of national identification or race."

Professor Avineri said in conclusion:

To a community like the Arab community, there is a special feeling toward problems of status. In not accepting Arabs into the ranks of the parties in Israel, the communities are severed, because we are establishing a policy here based on discrimination...."

If the writers and the parties who are directing the country are still of the opinion that indeed all the citizens are equal but there are those who are more equal, why do we complain about the people in the street?

* * *

How The Bulgarian Communist Party Fought Hitlerite Anti-Semitism

(When the Hitlerites overran Eastern Europe during World War II, Bulgaria's monarcho-fascist government allied itself with them and, among other things, sought to turn over the Bulgarian Jews to the Nazi butchers. However, thanks to a determined struggle by the Bulgarian working people led by the Communist Party, the Jews were saved from Hitler's extermination camps. The following is a section of an article describing the role of the underground radio station "Christo Botev," voice of the Fatherland Front. It is taken from the Annual (Vol. VII, 1972) of the Social, Cultural and Educational Association of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.)

*

At the beginning of 1941 the monarcho-fascist government officially adopted anti-Semitism as its policy and then radio "Christo Botev" came out in active support of the Bulgarian Jews, who were declared to be outside the law. In its broadcasts the radio station unmasked the anti-Jewish policy of the monarcho-fascist government, its efforts to divert the dissatisfaction of the masses with the anti-people's policy of the government and to turn them against the Jews. During the winter of 1941, when the Hitlerite military machine began creaking on the Eastern Front, the Goebbels propaganda machine launched a new attack against the Jews. "Christo Botev" immediately exposed this new anti-Semitic campaign and explained the real reasons for it. "And if the Hitlerites, after declaring to the world that they had annihilated the Jews in Germany, after driving many Jews out of Germany, killing many others and sending still others to prison or turning them into agents, are today again shouting about the Jewish menace and want the German people to see in this the reason for the madnesses and losses of the Hitlerites, this shows that they are completely at a loss and losing their reason."

On July 17, 1942 the Party radio station proclaimed the first

Program of the Fatherland Front. In essence this was a document pointing to the road for preventing the very real threat of catastrophe hanging over the country. The Program called for an end to the alliance of Bulgaria with Hitlerite Germany, for the democratization of the political regime in the country, for curbing the fascist criminals, etc. The Bulgarian Jews hailed the Program because there were special items in it demanding the dissolution of the fascist organizations Brannik, Legion, and Union of the Ratniks, the most anti-Semitic of the adherents of the government's anti-Jewish policy. The Program also demanded the uprooting of fascism and racial hatred.

The radio station exposed the anti-Semitic articles in the government newspapers, pointed out their role of stooges and warned them of the time when the people would demand an answer. The radio station called upon the people to fight against the efforts to sow hatred toward the Jews and it spoke of the ideals of Levsky on the equality of all ethnic groups in the future liberated Bulgaria.

When the monarcho-fascist government started to steal Jewish enterprises and property and to give the loot to its adherents, the radio station revealed the motives of these activities. "The anti-Jewish clamor comes in handy to the bankers and speculators of the Hitlerite phalanx in this country because they want to lay their hands on the capital of several big Jewish merchants and capitalists. Unmask these ignominious machinations of the predatory adherents of fascism in this country!"

During the summer of 1941 the government issued a list of 70 Jews who had fled from the Jewish labor groups. The announcement threatened their relatives with repressive measures if these individuals did not give themselves up. Stressing the Gestapo character of this threat, the radio station appealed to the Bulgarian citizens to give shelter to their Jewish fellow citizens.

On August 26, 1942 the Council of Ministers adopted a regulation giving it the power to interpret and apply the anti-Jewish laws. This made the situation of the Bulgarian Jews still harder and increased the discriminatory measures against them. The radio station appealed: "Our country has turned into a sad valley of barbarism, of bestial arbitrariness, of savagery, of idiotic medieval persecution of the Jews... Bulgarians! You who love your country! Befriend our Jewish fellow citizens persecuted by the Hitlerite dogs. Help them...."

In February 1943 the monarcho-fascist government in close cooperation with the German legation in Sofia worked out a detailed plan for the deportation of all Bulgarian Jews to the Nazi camps of death. Fearing the reaction of the people against this crime the government decided to carry out this plan in stages. First it betrayed the Jews from Macedonia and the Marmora Sea region to the

Hitlerites. Their deportation was carried out with relative ease because these regions were under a drastic occupational regime, and there the influence of the Bulgarian Communist Party was not so strong as inland. The government did its best to hide this inhuman deed from the Bulgarian people. But the radio "Christo Botev" revealed this crime and exposed its real reasons, i.e., to steal the property of the deportees. "There is only one way out," the station said. "People and army have to rise and drive the fascists away...."

Due to the decisive actions of the Bulgarian Communist Party and of the people this attempt to deport the Jews from the old parts of the country and annihilate them was not carried out. But the government had not given up the idea and tried another trick. It interned the Jews from Sofia in different parts of the country so as to deport them together with the Jews from the provinces to Poland in a less conspicuous way.

The psychological preparations for this move were assigned to the minister of the interior P. Gabrovsky. In slanderous statements in the press he tried to blame the Jews for all the misfortunes brought by the monarcho-fascist government on the people. The radio station "Christo Botev" exposed these slanders, revealed their roots and appealed to the masses to prevent the government from committing this new crime against the Jews.

For 1147 days and nights, from July 23, 1941 to September 22, 1944 the radio station "Christo Botev" unmasked the enemies of the people, directed and organized the armed resistance of the Bulgarian patriots against the Hitlerite occupationists and the monarcho-fascist government. Thus it helped, under the slogan of armed struggle raised by the Bulgarian Communist Party from the first days of the Hitlerite invasion of the Soviet Union, to bring the resistance movement to its logical end—the nationwide uprising of the Ninth of September, 1944, organized and led by the Party under the banner of the Fatherland Front.

* * *

In Our Next Issue:

A full report on the International Conference for Peace and Justice in the Middle East, held in Bologna, Italy on May 11-13, 1973. The Conference, attended by 188 delegates from 33 countries, among them delegations from Israel and a number of Arab countries, represents an important breakthrough in the fight for a political solution based on acceptance of the UN Security Council Resolution 242. We are sure you will want to read this and other interesting articles to appear in our July-August issue.

Events And Views

Amos Kenan, Israeli journalist and playwright recently in the United States in connection with the showing of a play of his which was censored in Israel, was interviewed by Leo Seligsohn of Newsday. The interview, appearing on March 29, 1973, states:

Sitting in a Manhattan restaurant earlier this week, he called Israel a "colonialist, imperialistic state—chauvinistic, smug, self-righteous and corrupt." He said Israel should immediately get out of the territories it occupied after the Six-Day War in 1967 and permit the land to become an Arab state. He characterized the American Jewish community, which has given monumental support to Israel over the years, as "reactionary, stupid and so proud of Israel that I want to vomit."

The interview further quotes him as saying: "I am a Zionist. I never questioned the right of a homeland for the Jews. But I don't think Zionism has to be a symbol for colonialism."

Kenan is representative of a growing body of opposition in Israel to the government's expansionist policies.

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According to a story in the New York Times (March 10, 1973), Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas recently discovered that its Harrison Bible Collection included a long-lost Torah from Kaifeng, China. Dr. Menahem Schmelzer, head librarian of the Union Theological Seminary, identified it as having been written by Chinese Jews, apparently in the 17th century. The Kaifeng community is regarded as having been established, probably in the 12th century, by Jews from the Middle East. In the late 19th century the community "withered away," the Times story says, chiefly because of assimilation. The Torah was one of six bought from Kaifeng Jews by missionaries in 1851.

*

Terence Smith, New York Times correspondent in Jerusalem, reports the following (March 24, 1973):

Millions of dollars' worth of equipment and property of Egyptian enterprises in the Sinai was looted by Israelis in the months after the June 1967 war, according to a confidential report prepared by the Israeli State Controller.

The property, mostly heavy machinery and industrial equipment owned by Egyptian mining and oil ventures, reportedly was carried away by individual Israelis and civilian contracting concerns that were engaged in various road-building, construction and repair jobs in the desert.

The question has been raised: how was it possible to move heavy equipment and installations from the Sinai and conceal them without the authorities being aware of it? But this prompts another question: were they really unaware of it?

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