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**THE SOVIET UNION
VS.
THE JEWISH PEOPLE**

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THE SOVIET UNION

V S.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

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The problem of Soviet Jewry is, by its very nature, a complex one. Care must be taken not to oversimplify it, even when the intention is to offer assistance to the struggle of the nearly one out of four Jews in the world, who are battling within the Soviet Union to survive as Jews. Care must also be taken not to exaggerate the plight of Soviet Jewry. Their situation is tragic enough not to need or warrant exaggeration. More important, overdramatization which involves inaccurate portrayal of the actual condition can well be counterproductive. It enables the Soviet Union to achieve its aim: to discredit the entire campaign on behalf of Soviet Jewry as irrational and irresponsible.

Care must be taken to insure that providing an emotional outlet to those who wish to act does not outweigh the most important consideration -- what will be most effective in assisting the Soviet Jew. Responsibility, militancy and accuracy must be the guidelines for the struggle to affect the policy of the Soviet Union, especially in a question as complicated as its policy toward the Jews.

THE SOVIET UNION, RUSSIA AND THE JEW

The Jews present the Soviet Union with an almost insoluble dilemma and, as a result, they follow a contradictory policy, not really knowing what to do. In part the dilemma arises because the Soviet Union can best be understood by realizing that it is Russian -- it acts and reacts primarily as the Russian state has always acted and reacted. True, it is ruled by a party that pledges fealty to the philosophy called Marxism-Leninism. In point of fact, however, Russian policy is determined by the basic needs of the Russian state; the proper Leninist rationale can

always be found to justify whatever action Russia must take. Russian history, therefore, rather than Marxist philosophy, should be used as the basic key to understanding the Soviet Union.

On the question of dealing with Jews, Russia has a heritage of contradictory policies, a heritage of uncertainty. And after hundreds of years, the Soviet Union still does not know what to do.

Russia has existed as a nation-state for approximately eleven hundred years. Jews have been under the rule of Russia for less than two hundred years. One of the most important factors that underlies Russian policy toward the Jews is that for the first nine hundred years of its existence, almost an entire millenium, Russia was effectively "Judenrein" - and not merely by accident, but as a result of conscious and determined government policy. The concept of a "Judenrein" state, in fact, was a major component in the evolution of the Russian state.

Russia, as was the case with most of the nations of the Western world, became an accepted state when it converted to Christianity. Russia adopted Christianity in its Eastern Orthodox form, more mystical and fundamentalist than the Catholicism which predominated in the west. One of the basic tenets of the more primitive Christianity of the ninth and tenth centuries was the concept of the Jews as "the killers of Christ" - "the accursed race" doomed to wander the earth, an example to mankind of the punishment in store for rejecting Jesus. As a late convert (Russia was one of the last states in Europe to accept Christianity, in the ninth century), the Russians were especially vigilant in keeping all the tenets of the faith, determined to prove that they were truly pious. What better way to show how truly dedicated to the new faith they were, than to insist that those "accursed" people, the "killers of Christ", would not be allowed in Russia. From the beginning then, the idea of excluding the Jews became intertwined with and inseparable from asserting their allegiance to the one true Orthodox Church.

In the following centuries, Western Europe was much affected by the Scientific Revolution, the Renaissance and the Reformation. These movements played decisive roles in reshaping society, introducing concepts such as secularism and individualism and laying the foundation for our Western civilization. During these crucial centuries, however, Russia was cut off from the West, subjected to the rule of the Mongols who had invaded and conquered the Russian state. Therefore, the Christianity of Russia, even after the Tzarist state renewed its contacts with the West in the fifteenth century, was not tempered by the effects of the Renaissance and Reformation. Rather, it remained the all-embracing pietistic force that had predominated in the West before, permeating and affecting all aspects of life. In this kind of pervasive religious atmosphere, the image of the Jews as "accursed" and therefore unwanted, found a ready response.

MOSCOW - "THE THIRD ROME"

This response was further intensified by an event which had great significance in moulding the character of Russian civilization. In 1453, Constantinople, the center of the Eastern Orthodox Church of which Russia was a part, fell to the Ottoman Turks. One of the doctrines of Eastern Orthodoxy stressed the basic unity of the world. According to this theological concept God had ordained a universal world: one world, one state, one church, one city to be the center and one man to rule over all. This is why the concept of Caesaro-Papism - the basic unity of church and state in which the head of the state is also the head of the church - was deeply rooted in Russian history.

According to the Orthodox Church, when the Jews rejected Jesus, Jerusalem was doomed as the seat of God's kingdom and was therefore destroyed by Rome. God chose Rome as his favored center, and the Roman Empire was the model of one world, with one universal church at its core and one man, the Emperor, to rule in God's name. Then Rome went into heresy, and in punishment God brought down the barbarians and sacked the city. However, since, theologically, there had to be one world, one state, one church, God in his mercy had chosen a Second Rome -- Byzantium (Constantinople) -- as the new center of the universal state and universal church.

By the fifteenth century, however, Byzantium had evidently lapsed into heresy, and, in a desperate effort to rally support against the incoming Turks, the Byzantium Emperor had offered to recognize the Roman Pope as head of the Church. In punishment for the proposed dealings with the corrupted Catholic Church, God brought down the Turks upon them, and Byzantium was destroyed.

However, since theologically God had ordained one universal world, with one state and city at its center, by the end of the fifteenth century the doctrine began to emerge that God, in his infinite mercy, had chosen a Third Rome - Moscow...and a fourth there shall never be.

The concept that Moscow is the Third Rome had great consequence, for Moscow then became more than just the capital of a nation-state. Moscow assumed universal significance. Russia became Holy Mother Russia, more than just a nation - rather, the chosen nation, the elect of God. The Russian people became a chosen people, the new Israel, with a universal mission to spread the truth of God; an obligation to be more moral, more religious than others, to set an example and to be "a light unto the nations".

Interestingly enough, the self-image of the Russians and Jewish people showed amazing similarities, which in part explained the Russian antagonism to that group whose heir they had in effect become. And if the Russians had become a chosen people, a religious people, a special people, and even a holy people, then what better way to affirm it than to ensure that the "accursed" people, the Jews, would not be allowed in to contaminate Holy Mother Russia. As Russia evolved, the prohibition against the Jews remained firm, even as the Jews arrived and settled in great numbers in neighboring Poland.

Even Peter the Great, the first great reformer in Russian history, held to the same policy. Peter was the first Russian Tsar who left the country, travelled to the west, and realized the backwardness of Russia and the need for major reform. Upon his return, Peter issued an open invitation to all foreigners to come and settle in Russia, to bring their expertise and to remake and modernize Russian society - all foreigners, "kromye yevreiev" (except for the Jews). When asked, Peter simply responded that "from the killers of Christ I want no assistance". So basic had the concept of "no Jews in Russia" become, that even a basically secular ruler, as was Peter, automatically accepted what had, after almost a millenium, become Russian policy.

RUSSIA FIRST CONFRONTS THE JEWS

With the continued expansion of the Russian state, however, the problem of the Jews had to be faced. Some fifty years after the death of Peter, during the rule of Catherine the Great, the Russian state made its first effective contact with the Jews. In 1772, the first partition of Poland took place, with Russia, Prussia and Austria each taking portions of the Polish Empire. In those portions which Russia annexed, in 1772, lived some 200,000 Jews -- Poland had by then, a considerable Jewish population. Russia's initial response showed firm adherence to previous policy. Immediately after annexing the new territory, Catherine expelled its 200,000 Jews.

However, twenty years later, in 1793, and then in 1795, the second and third partitions took place and the Polish state disappeared, divided among Russia, Prussia and Austria. Russia received the vast preponderance of the Polish Empire, and with it some one million Jews. After being "Judenrein" for a thousand years, Russia literally overnight became the center of world Jewry, with the single greatest concentration of Jews anywhere in the world.

What were they to do with them? Expel them? But to where? Poland had disappeared and Prussia and Austria were unwilling or unable to accept them, or both. For the hundred and twenty five years that remained to

Tsarist Russia, they vacillated, trying unsuccessfully to determine an effective and consistent policy toward the Jews. And in the fifty some odd years of the Soviet Union, they have vacillated as well, still unable to determine clearly what to do with the Jews.

Catherine's initial policy was a compromise. Unable to expel them, and unwilling to admit them into old Russia, Holy Mother Russia, Catherine decreed in 1796 that Jewish residence would be restricted to the former Polish sections of the Russian Empire -- The Ukraine, White Russia, Lithuania and Poland - the Pale of Jewish Settlement. Through this Pale they hoped to prevent the Jews from affecting the Russian interior, the heartland of the Empire. Theoretically this was a temporary measure until a basic policy could be evolved. However, like so many other "temporary" measures relating to the Jews, it remained in effect as long as Tsarist Russia survived.

TWO BASIC POLICIES EVOLVE

In a hundred and twenty-five years Russian policy toward the Jews vacillated between two basic approaches. One policy seemed to be predicated on the assumption that favorable treatment would entice the Jews away from their Jewish heritage and ultimately lead to their assimilation into the masses of the Russian people. Thus Catherine's grandson, Alexander I, offered to set up schools, at government expense, to secularize Jewish children and lead to their conversion. Simultaneously he offered free land to Jews who would leave the Pale and their Jewish faith. Alexander, evidently, was bitterly disappointed by the meagre results of his supposed benevolent policies.

Alternately, the government at times adopted the philosophy that the Jews were a stubborn people, an ornery people who would have to be punished for the stiffnecked adherence to their own community and way of life. Thus Nicolas I, the next Tsar, added heavy taxes to "kosher" meat, and to all items necessary to ritual observance, clearly indicating that the Jews would pay heavily for their insistence on remaining Jews.

Russia at that time had a conscription system which involved military service for 20 years beginning with age 18. Nicholas introduced a special provision for the Jews: they would be taken at age 12, for six years of preliminary education preceeding the 20 years of service. This evidently was a thinly disguised attempt at conversion, with the government convinced that after six years of intensive education in Christianity and 20 years of service, the returnees would be completely estranged from their Jewish past.

This measure had tragic consequence for the Russian Jewish community, and was one of the factors that contributed to that collapse of the "kehilla" (community). Each community was given a quota of Jewish youngsters to turn over to the Tsarist army. Internecine bitterness developed, as poor families became convinced that the rich were allowed to buy safety for their sons. One of the most feared individuals became the "khapper", the community official who would go, usually late at night to "khap" (grab) youngsters for army service.

Either through enticement or pressure, the government sought the eventual elimination of the Jews. Even without such pressures, however, or forced conversions, or any negative policy on the part of the government, the position of the Jews became increasingly difficult in Tsarist Russia. It should be remembered that the Jews were invited and lived and prospered in Eastern Europe within Poland, which was a backward, feudal, primitive agrarian state. Poland's society was clearly stratified, with each group basically autonomous: the Polish and Lithuanian land-owning nobility; the vast majority of Polish Lithuanian, White Russian and Ukrainian peasantry; and a thin level of middle class, either German or Jewish.

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF RUSSIAN JEWRY

The Jews in Poland were engaged as administrators and tax-collectors for the Polish nobility; or as merchants and peddlers in the low-level of commerce that existed in the basic agrarian society; or as artisans -- tailors, cobblers, blacksmiths -- providing the primitive needs of the basically self-sustaining peasantry. Once the Polish territory was incorporated into the Russian Empire, however, large numbers of Jews were automatically dislocated.

As backward as Russian society was compared to the West, it was more advanced than feudal Poland. The Russian government had its own bureaucracy and its own fiscal apparatus. All those Jews involved in administrative positions were replaced by government officials directly responsible to Moscow. Similarly, all the autonomous instrumentalities of Jewish self-government were eliminated, and the "Kehillah" lost its quasi-political and juridical powers. The primitive Jewish peddlers and artisans found it difficult to compete with the more advanced level of Russian commerce and industry, especially since, as a result of the Pale, he was cut off from the markets of the Russian interior.

These disabilities were greatly intensified in the middle of the nineteenth century when Russia, under Alexander II, began to industrialize on a major scale. The serfs were freed, and the foundations of a modern

industrial apparatus established through government investment, control and subsidization. The beginning of industrialization had great consequences for Russia -- and tragic ones for the Jews. If the peddlers had difficulty competing before how much more so did they face difficulties when a modern banking system evolved. If the tailors and cobblers faced difficulty before, they now faced impossible competition from modern textile and shoe factories that employed hundreds, if not thousands, of workers. The development of Russian industry meant the further dislocation and pauperization of Russian Jewry.

IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

There were certain groups, though, who did benefit from Alexander II's planned modernization. The government was interested in obtaining the support of those Jews who might specifically aid in the development of the Russian economy. As a result laws were promulgated that allowed three groups of Jews to leave the Pale and settle in the Russian interior. The first were those who paid taxes in the First Guild of Merchants; clearly the government was interested in having the wealthiest Jews invest their capital in the developing industries. Jews did play a significant role in sugar, in railroading and in banking. However, in all of the Pale, with by now more than three million Jews, only a handful qualified under this provision. Those who were let out were those who suffered least from the restrictions in the first place.

The second group consisted of selected artisans who possessed key skills deemed necessary for the development of Russian industry. Again only a handful qualified (Interestingly enough, the largest number consisted of young Jewish girls who, in order to leave the Pale, registered as prostitutes. Prostitution, for some reason, was deemed a "highly skilled craft".).

The third group was much more significant. Needing highly educated administrators and technicians, the government decreed that all Jews with university-level education would be allowed to leave the Pale. With conditions becoming increasingly intolerable, large numbers of Jews were looking for any way out of the Pale. Also, the development of Russian culture made Russian society appear more attractive, while the degeneration of the "kehilla" made Jewish life seem even more inbred and stultifying. The result was a veritable mass exodus to the universities in the 1860's, involving hundreds and then thousands of young Jews.

These students, the first significant number of Jews in Eastern Europe to receive a secular education, helped make a revolution within the Jewish community, further contributing to the downfall of the "kehilla" and the traditional community life style. They also helped make a

revolution within Russia. An oversimplified slogan in Russia at that time announced that one went to the university "and turned left". The university then, as periodically thereafter, was the center of radical agitation calling for basic reform in Russian society and proclaiming the path of revolution as the way to achieve it. Jewish youngsters sharing in the general atmosphere prevalent in the universities, and well aware of the special disabilities which affected their people also joined the revolutionary movement of Russia which became a meaningful phenomenon in the 1860's and 1970's.

MODERN ANTI-SEMITISM - THE POGROMS

In 1881 Alexander II was assassinated in a dramatic and desperate gesture on the part of the student revolutionaries to awaken mass action by the peasants. The assassination set the stage for the tragic denouement of Russian Jewry.

The government at that point faced a basic choice. Appreciative of the danger of revolution, it might have made far-reaching changes seeking to adopt the societal structure to the needs of the time and meet the basic demands of the people of Russia. Such change, however, would have meant weakening or even abandoning the very concept of autocratic Russia. Then, as now, however, the government was committed to maintaining intact the fundamental nature of the existing social orders. Instead, the government sought to suppress the revolutionary ferment by force, and sought to divert the people from support of the movement for political, economic and social reform.

They embarked upon a program of severe repression, hunting down the revolutionaries and sentencing them, by summary court martials, to exile in Siberia or to death. In addition, an innovation was introduced in an effort to divert the people: in the Fall of 1881, the first pogroms broke out in Southern Russia -- a signal event in Jewish history, a significant phenomenon in Russian and even world history. It was, in fact, the birth of modern anti-Semitism.

Anti-Semitism and even pogroms had occurred periodically throughout Jewish history. What distinguished this "modern anti-Semitism" was first, its size and scope. For the first time it was clearly governmental policy and, therefore, because of central control and planning, could be carried out on a hitherto unprecedented scale. In September 1881, more than 300 pogroms occurred throughout the Ukraine alone. More significant still, the Jew was not really the enemy -- rather, hatred of the Jew was engendered and developed merely as a tactic in a much larger war. The real confrontation was between the Russian regime and the revolutionary movement. Anti-Semitism became a tactic, a useful means of deflecting

attention from the basic problems which beset Russian society. Because of the hundreds of years of enmity, the peasantry readily responded to the anti-Semitism stimulus of the government and church -- the new program evidently succeeded.

While the use of anti-Semitism as a major tactic in essentially political battles for internal control of society was innovated in Russia, it was soon adopted by other European states. The next decade witnessed a similar phenomenon in France with the Dreyfus Affair. Para-military groups of the radical right fomenting pogroms with government support also occurred in the 1890's in Romania and Hungary. Certainly the twentieth century, culminating in the Holocaust, has seen the lengths to which Western civilization had developed and refined this technique which was to be copied and used repeatedly after its introduction in Russia.

THE MAY LAWS

In addition to periodic pogroms, the Russian government sought other means to use the Jews as a foil to ward off potential unrest. A special commission was established to "investigate" the Jews, and its recommendations were promulgated in a series of "temporary" measures, which remained in effect as long as Tsarist Russia survived. These May Laws (issued in May, 1882) were theoretically based on the concept that the Jews were "carriers" of revolution, and therefore should be isolated to the greatest extent possible from the masses of the Russian people.

Great restrictions were placed on any additional Jews leaving the Pale. The "numerus clausus" was introduced, a quota system for Jews in the universities -- no more than 10 per cent of the student body in universities within the Pale, five per cent in universities in the capitals. There were two major laws, however, which affected great change in the pattern of life and even the very existence of the vast majority of Russian Jews. The first stated that no Jew would be allowed to settle in a "new" area. The rationale, clearly, was the same as that which underlay the establishment of the Pale itself in 1796; keep the Jews where they are, but don't let them affect additional areas of Russia. However, then, as now, the bureaucracy of Russia was quite complex and cumbersome, and this rule was quite liberally and loosely interpreted by the various officials. Jews became afraid to go to hospitals, for fear that upon their return they might be declared "new settlers" and expelled. They were reluctant to visit other towns and villages -- again they might be declared "new settlers" upon attempting to return home.

Even more severe was the second law which decreed that henceforth Jews were forbidden to settle in "rural areas". The rationale was that the peasantry was the base of support of the autocratic regime and

therefore, at all costs, had to be kept "safe" from the revolutionary "infection" which the Jews supposedly carried. This law, too, was liberally interpreted, so that Kiev, the third largest city of Russia, was declared a rural area -- and so closed to the Jews. In 1894, Moscow, the second Capital, was declared closed and all the Jews expelled.

Many of the Jews had lived in the smaller towns and villages, earning their livelihood as peddlers or artisans, performing services or producing products for the peasants among whom they lived. Now, in one fell swoop, 97 per cent of the land of the Pale was declared closed to the Jews. A vast internal migration began. Forbidden to live among the peasants, the Jews were forced to move to the larger towns of the Pale. Cut off from the population from whom they earned their keep, the Jews of Russia were literally sentenced to economic death.

This was the time the Jews moved, in large numbers, to towns like Berdichev, and Kishinev, Brisk and Minsk and Pinsk, the proverbial "shtetl". This was the time of the "luftsmensch", the Jew who lived on air, because he could not sustain himself with any meaningful employment. This is when you had towns with hundreds of tailors, but no one who could afford to buy a suit of clothes. This was the beginning of the end of Russian Jewry, the mass pauperization that destroyed the base of the once flourishing community. By 1900 almost 30 per cent of Russian Jewry were completely dependant on charity from abroad. The economic dislocation wrought by the May Laws, coupled with the periodic pogroms which recurred with increasing frequency, introduced the "crisis of modern Jewish history".

THE JEWISH RESPONSE

In response to this crisis, to which some answer had to be found, arose most of the ideological currents, movements and even specific organizations which have dominated Jewish life until the present.

The most immediate and seemingly logical answer, of course, was simply to leave. The pogroms broke out in 1881; that same year began the mass migration of Russian Jewry. In the following thirty years approximately three million Jews left Russia, the most significant migration in Jewish history - establishing the basis of many of the Jewish communities throughout the world today. Interestingly enough, however, emigration, while solving the problem for the Jews who left, did not really answer the basic dilemma which beset the community as a whole. Given the Jewish birth rate, the population grew markedly in spite of the massive exodus. In 1881 there were approximately three and one-half million Jews in Russia; in the next thirty years the same number left, and yet the Jewish population of Russia in 1914 stood at some five and one-half million. Emigration then, while a major phenomenon, was not a real solution to the dilemma of Russian Jewry.

Instead, three movements arose at this time, which dominated Jewish life. The first declared the crisis either a punishment by God or a test of faith. In any event, the answer was a return to piety, a regeneration of Judaism and a revitalization of the community through religion. The "Mussar" movement of Orthodox Judaism, resulting in new emphasis on morality began, leading to the establishment of many of the great "yeshivot" which dominated East European and even world Jewry until the Holocaust.

Most Jews, however, could not find in religion a sufficient response to the challenge that the crisis engendered. Two new movements competed for support in proclaiming the ultimate solution to the problems of Russian Jewry. One declared that the only answer was for the Jews to realize they were a nation like other nations; through the return to their ancient homeland, and in the battle to regain and rebuild their national existence would come the real salvation. Modern Zionism as a mass movement with both political overtones and concrete resettlement efforts in Palestine developed in Eastern Europe at this time.

THE REVOLUTION AND THE JEWS

The second new movement declared that the only solution for the Jews was a social revolution that would destroy the Russian regime that had incited the persecutions, and introduce radical change in the economic structure of Russian society, ending all problems including the Jewish one. Socialism, declaring that the problem of the Jew would only be solved through a restructuring of the entire society, had always had an appeal to certain segments of the Jewish intelligentsia. In late nineteenth century Russia, however, socialism, for the first time evoked a significant response among the masses of the Jews. They supported the Russian revolutionary movement in all of its many ideological factions, way out of proportion to their numerical representation within the Russian population as a whole.

No people needed a revolution more than the Jews; no people worked for the revolution more than the Jews; no people greeted the revolution with more glee than did the Jews; no people devoted themselves to the new revolutionary regime as did the Jews; and no people were as betrayed by the revolution as were the Jewish people of Russia.

THE SOVIET REGIME AND THE JEWS

The Jews played a major role in the revolutionary movement, and in the new regime that came to power in 1917. Any regime requires "intelligentsia" support to provide the administrative and technical leadership

necessary in maintaining control and services in a modern state. The vast majority of the Russian "intelligentsia" was either dead, (killed in the war, the revolution or the civil war which followed in the wake), or was driven into exile, or opposed the regime. The Jews were one of the few significant groups, with a large "intelligentsia" component, prepared to co-operate with the Soviet state: in the 1920's they played a significant role in all forms of Soviet life, within the Communist Party hierarchy, within the governmental structure, and in the trade unions, co-operative organizations and educational and cultural apparatus.

The Soviet regime promised a new world, and many Jews, believing the promise, rejected their Jewish heritage and even identity to join in the building of a new society to be a model for a new world. To the regime which promised equality and an end to all the discriminations which so permeated the Tsarist past, they were prepared to pledge their loyalty and devote themselves to building the glory of the new socialist utopia.

In certain ways the promise seemed fulfilled. Anti-Jewish restrictions were abolished and legal equality decreed. Anti-Semitic outbreaks were declared capital offenses, and people were even executed by the State for pogroms. Jewish cultural institutions, pro-communist to be sure, were authorized and even encouraged. Under Lenin the regime seemed to be committed to eradicating the thousand year old heritage of anti-Semitism. The new regime aroused tremendous hope on the part of many Jews.

To be sure the Jews suffered more than most of the Russian people in those first years of the Soviet Union. The painful process of social change especially affected certain occupations. Private trade and artisanry, just those crafts in which the preponderance of the Jews were to be found, were not "acceptable" occupations in a new "socialist state". It was a difficult period that saw the Jews of Russia transformed and transferred into new occupations in administration and in the professions. However, they were maintained by the dream of a new world, a dream which captured the imagination of much of the Russian people. And then came Stalin - and all those who had dreamed found that their dream had turned into a nightmare.

STALIN

There are various ways of interpreting the battle between Stalin and Trotsky for the succession to Lenin and the leadership of the Soviet Union. One theory, useful within this context, posits Trotsky as the continuation of that tendency within the early Bolshevik regime that stood for world revolution, a new regime that would break the bonds with the past, a rejection of Russia and its heritage, and even sacrificing the

interests of Russia if necessary for the sake of the hoped-for world revolution. Stalin, on the other hand, represented a return to tradition, the restoration of much of the pattern of Russian life and Great Russian nationalism, the legitimation of the revolution within the heritage of Russia.

Stalin brought back a much more favorable opinion of Russia and its history. Where the Tsarist regime was portrayed in completely negative terms in the 1920s, under Stalin many of the former rulers were projected as great men who, in spite of mistakes, laid the foundation for a great state and nation. Stalin, in establishing ceremonials and traditions, almost elevated himself to the position of the former Tsar. The Soviet army revived the orders of the Tsarist army. The Patriarchate was re-established within the Orthodox Church. Leninism was codified and formalized with much of the trappings of a religion, making it more understandable and more readily acceptable to the Russian people.

REEMERGENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Stalin, in the 1930s, achieved one of the most significant social revolutions in the history of Western civilization. The methods that he used were tragic in their consequences; however, while terrorizing a considerable portion of the Russian population, he remade the very basis of the society. While revolutionizing the nature of the Russian system, he sought various means to restore old traditions and patterns - in part to ease the shock of change, in part to establish the legitimacy of his regime and ensure basic support of the people. Thus, the return of Russian history and the restoration of the Russian Church were useful tactics to restore ties between the socialist regime and the Russian people. What better way to restore such ties than to encourage the kind of anti-Semitic sentiments so prevalent among the people? Whereas the regime in the 1920s fought against such tendencies, Stalin's regime tolerated, and even encouraged them. Anti-Semitism was once more legitimated by the regime, for its own reasons.

Much of the opposition to Stalin within the Party was composed of Jews; Stalin never forgot or forgave them - and never let the Jews forget it either. As was noted, the Jews in the 1920s played a prominent role within the leadership of the Soviet Union. By purging these Jews, Stalin was able not only to remove opponents, potential or real, but to ensure his control by replacing those purged with individuals of unquestioned loyalty. Beginning in the 1930s, continuing into the 1940s (with a brief respite during World War II), and culminating in the years which preceded his death, Stalin purged the Jews from most positions of importance, destroying whatever remained of Jewish cultural institutions, and reviving the climate of anti-Semitism so endemic in Tsarist Russia.

Tsarist and Soviet Russia, therefore, both portray the same kind of basic indecision, with rulers alternating in their attitude toward the Jews, and the regime periodically encouraging anti-Semitic excesses and using the Jews as scapegoats to mask their inability to solve the problems which beset Russian society. In spite of their hopes for the elimination of the Jews, the regime endorsed policies which maintained the Jewish people. Ultimately, the Tsarist regime did not know how to solve its "Jewish problem"; neither does the Soviet.

THE THREE SOVIET JEWRIES

It is difficult to generalize about the nature of Soviet Jewry, for the Soviet Jewish community is disparate and complex, displaying crucial internal differences. There are three Jewish communities within the Soviet Union, geographically separated.

The smallest community, though in many ways the most interesting, is that of the Caucuses and Central Asia: the Jews of Georgia, Ubekistan, Tadhikstan and Kirghizstan. These are primarily Sephardic Jews, quite different from the vast majority of Soviet Jewry who are of Ashkenazic extraction. Historically, they grew up and lived among a Moslem majority as opposed to the rest of Soviet Jewry who lived among Christians. They never went through the "Europeanization" and secularization which marked the nineteenth century experience of most of Russian Jewry, and therefore, more traditional and religious than most of Soviet Jewry. The entire region is more backward (not coming under Russian control until the 19th Century) and the Jews are preponderantly to be found in those artisan and merchant occupations which prevailed among Russian Jews before the revolution. Not being involved in Communist Party affairs, the Jewish leadership here was not affected by the purges. There is, then, more continuity, more cohesion, more a sense of community (even in the old sense of "kehillah") than anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Almost half the rabbis still practicing in the Soviet Union are to be found here, catering to a community numbering only some 100,000 Jews.

The second Jewish community is of great significance. As a result of World War II, the Soviet Union annexed considerable territory along its western frontier: the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, Eastern Poland, Western Ukraine, Carpathio-Ukraine, and Bessarabia. In these territories were a considerable number of Jews who had survived Hitler. More important, in these territories were a considerable number of Jews who, before the war, had lived in an environment that tolerated or fostered an intensive Jewish life and experience. Here, then, were Jews who, in their youth, went to Jewish schools, spoke, read and wrote Yiddish or Hebrew or both, and had a good Jewish education. In short, they lived in a Jewish world, and their Jewishness was, if anything,

heightened by their having lived through the Holocaust. It is no wonder that cities like Vilna, Riga, and Kovno provided much of the leadership for the Jewish renaissance and underground within the Soviet Union. For in this area the Jews have lived in the Soviet Union only one generation; they are only one generation removed from the time when they lived a committed and fully Jewish life, and so are more prepared to identify positively with their Jewishness. Within the heartland of the Soviet Union, the Jews are already three generations removed from a similar experience of living a fully and/or committed Jewish life. Geography then explains much of the differences within Soviet Jewry.

The vast majority of the Soviet Jews live within the borders of the pre-World War II state. Like the American Jewish community they are heavily concentrated in the major urban centers. In fact, four cities - Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Odessa - contain approximately 50 per cent of Soviet Jewry. This community of Jews, almost sixty years within the U.S.S.R., is also quite disparate. There are at least three generations of Jews within the Soviet heartland, and they are quite different one from the other.

THE THREE GENERATIONS OF SOVIET JEWRY

The first generation is the smallest in size and the easiest to understand. These Jews, whose average age now approaches 70, were old enough at the time of the revolution or shortly thereafter, to remember the kind of Jewish world that preceded the Bolshevik regime. These are the Jews to whom Yiddish is not only their native, natural language, but who remembered the kind of all-pervasive Jewish life-style, centered in the synagogue, which was the hallmark of the "shtetl". These are the people you find in the synagogues of the Soviet Union today. They suffer because of the religious restrictions, the difficulty of obtaining "kosher" meat, or religious books. They grieve that when they die they will not be buried in hallowed ground, since the government will authorize no additional Jewish cemeteries. They want to live and die according to the kind of life-style they remember, but have not been able to practice for decades. However, this is a group that is decreasing in size, more the result of the passage of time than the restrictive policies of the Soviet government.

The next generation, their children, is quite different, and, in many ways, is the really tragic generation of Soviet Jewry. These Jews, now in their 50's, are the ones who in their youth lived through the revolution and were caught up in the hopes and enthusiasm which it aroused. Many of them rejected their religion, language, history and customs, and even their Jewish identity. They considered these merely as remnants of the old order, now unnecessary when they, together with their countrymen,

were to battle together to build the socialist utopia which would bring equality to all. This is the generation that devoted itself to the new Soviet regime, assumed important positions within Soviet society and believed that they were greeting the dawn of a new world. This is the generation that dreamed the great dream of Soviet internationalism and gave its life to the ideal of a socialist society. And this is the generation that lived through Stalin, and discovered that the ideal was a fraud -- that the dream had turned into a nightmare. These are the people who late in their lives discovered they were Jews -- Stalin made it clear they were Jews. They are Jews, although they had wished otherwise. But these are not the Jews who are protesting.

For reasons which can be easily understood, anyone who lived through the traumatic experience of Stalin's purges and terror, will be forever scarred and fearful of possible reoccurrence. Since the Jews were so prominent in the 1920s, and Stalin's purges were so pervasive, almost every Soviet Jewish family was touched by the terror, almost every family had a member who spent time in a Siberian labor camp, or who never came back, or who lost his position. This generation, then, is a tragic one; they devoted their lives to a fraud, lived through the brutal realization of the fraud, and now live in constant fear that the terror might yet be repeated.

The third generation, their children, is quite different. For their parents, a dominant theme was the dream evoked by the revolution and the shattering discovery of their Jewishness in the wake of the return of anti-Semitism under Stalin. The children never experienced the false illusions and therefore never suffered from the brutal confrontation with reality. What the parents learned, bitterly, in the twilight of their lives, the children accepted from the start as a fact of life: they are Jews in the Soviet Union, and that means facing all kinds of discrimination. In short, they never went through the kind of crisis of identity which their parents endured.

Also, if the parents were forever scarred by the experience of living through Stalin, the children were all born or brought up in a post-Stalin Russia. The stories of the forced labor camps and all-encompassing terror seem like ancient history to them, while remaining all too real for their parents. The children accept the fact that this is a Soviet Union which allows more dissent, and is more responsive to the demands of its people, and more concerned with the concept of Soviet legality. This is a generation that is less willing to accept the disabilities of being Jewish, at a time when Soviet society seems to allow them to do something about it. It is from this third generation that has come both the renaissance of positive Jewish identity, and the militant dissent to give it expression.

There is more than just a generation gap within Soviet Jewry. Each of the three generations lived in almost different worlds, was moulded by completely different factors and responds in completely different ways.

THE DISABILITIES OF SOVIET JEWRY

There are various kinds of disabilities which afflict the Soviet Jews. It should be stressed once more that care must be taken not to exaggerate their plight. No Jew faces physical danger, except for those in the underground who have gone beyond the bounds of Soviet legality and are threatened with prison and labor camps. The vast majority of Soviet Jewry, however, do not live in physical fear, either of pogroms or of summary arrest or exile in Siberia.

Economically, the Soviet Jew does not suffer (except for those facing dismissal from positions as a result of their desire to go to Israel). Like the American Jew, the Soviet Jew is primarily in the upper middle class, heavily concentrated in the professions, administrative positions, the arts, sciences and culture. They are better educated than most citizens in the Soviet Union, live in better housing and have better jobs. They live better than most within the Soviet Union, and the jealousy thus aroused explains part of the antagonism directed towards them.

It should be noted that most of the Jews live as well as they do because they have the education required for positions which must be filled. There is a deep fear that educational restrictions increasingly being imposed on the next generation may well affect the very basis of Soviet Jewry in the future.

There are religious restrictions: few rabbis, few synagogues and those few threatened and harrassed; no provision for training rabbis (the one yeshiva which the Soviet government authorized as a result of pressure from abroad cannot function since the city of Moscow will not grant residence permits to any students.); no "machzor" has been printed since the revolution, etc. etc. etc. These restrictions must be understood within two contexts. First, the Soviet Union, as an officially proclaimed atheist country, is not obligated to encourage religion. The constitution authorizes freedom of religious "worship", but forbids religious "propoganda". All religions, then, suffer varying degrees of disabilities -- with the exception perhaps, of the Russian Orthodox Church which, for other reasons, has a semi-favored status. True, Judaism suffers more restrictions than almost any other religion. (Though, interestingly

enough, not the worst. Jehovah's Witnesses has that dubious distinction. Unlike Judaism, mere membership in Jehovah's Witnesses can be grounds for arrest.)

Even more important, however, is that the vast majority of Soviet Jewry do not identify with the religion. Products of an increasingly secular society, they reject religious beliefs in general and find little relevance in the kind of traditional forms of Jewish religion which were meaningful to their grandparents.

VARIOUS ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL RESTRICTIONS

There are economic restrictions, for certain jobs are closed to Jews. Foreign service and governmental positions on a higher, policy-making level, are almost completely restricted, except for one or two token "housed Jews". In the armed forces it is almost impossible for a Jew to rise in the upper ranks of the officer corps, again excepting the "token" Jews.

Educational restrictions are critical, for the unofficial "numerus clausus" -- informal quotas so prevalent in Tsarist Russia -- are returning. In any event, a Jewish student must have higher grades to get into the university, and maintain higher grades to assure his place within the university. Some Jewish families move to smaller cities in the interior in a frantic effort to gain entrance to the universities for their children. The entire position of Soviet Jewry rests on their educational background. Unless university degrees are attained, they will suffer when competing with non-Jews for the lesser positions in Soviet society, because of the antagonism which is still so blatant. The growing restriction in access to higher education holds within it the seeds of possible tragic consequences.

There are all kinds of social pressures with people not wanting to associate with Jews; social ostracism and even isolation during employment are not unusual. Blatant and vulgar anti-Semitic comments (like UN Ambassador Malik's vitriolic attack on Israel's Ambassador to the UN, Tekoah) are frequently heard, and become part of the "normal" life of Soviet Jews. And yet, all of these are not the major aspect of the dilemma which confronts the Soviet Jews. They are, in fact, merely more obvious and open expression of the kinds of pressures and restrictions which have always faced the Jews, throughout history.

THE JEWISH NATIONALITY

The core of the problem of Soviet Jewry is "national" discrimination. The United States, unlike the Soviet Union, accepts only two

distinctions among its citizens: geographic, (Citizen of the U.S., various states, cities, counties, etc. Similarly in the Soviet Union -- citizen of U.S.S.R., various republics, regions, districts, cities, etc.), and religious (The Soviet Union too, with some eleven officially recognized religions). The Soviet Union, however, has a third, and crucial distinction: nationality. The closest approximation in the United States, are the so-called ethnic groups: Polish-Americans, Irish-Americans, etc. In the United States, however, there are cultural groups, sharing a common national heritage and maintaining varying degrees of cohesion on a purely voluntary basis.

In the Soviet Union, however, nationality is a legal concept, and has great importance. The nationality determines the school one attends, the language one speaks, the history one learns, the heroes one recalls, the folk songs one sings, the jokes one tells -- the weltanschauung of the individual depends on the nationality group to which one belongs.

The Soviet Union is proud of the fact that it contains over one-hundred nationalities, each theoretically equal. The Soviet Constitution not only authorizes but requires that the government maintain whatever facilities necessary for each nationality to develop and perpetuate its culture, and transmit it to the next generation. Therefore, the government finances, for each nationality, a whole apparatus of schools in the various languages, theatres, folk-song and dance ensembles, newspapers, magazines, radio and TV stations, poetry centers, research centers, and so on.

Nationality, it should be emphasized, is not synonymous with geography. A Russian family moving to Riga does not become Latvian, they remain Russians living in Latvia. A Georgian family moving to Kiev remains Georgian living in the Ukraine. For this reason, schools are maintained in several languages in each of the cities of the Soviet Union. The German nationality, scattered throughout several Republics, still maintains a whole apparatus of cultural facilities to cater to the "national" needs of the German people.

Every nationality, then, major or minor, territorially concentrated or scattered, has the possibility of maintaining its culture and heritage and transmitting it to the next generation. Every generation - "kromye yereiev" (except the Jews). The Jew then knows he is a Jew - for he is not Russian, or Ukrainian. But he has no possibility of learning of his heritage, or of understanding his culture - or of knowing anything related to his Jewishness, except that it brings with it all kinds of restrictions and discrimination.

"DO SOMETHING JEWISH"

An example might make the situation clearer. While in the Soviet Union I befriended a teacher in a Russian school in Riga. I was invited to his fifth grade class, and was the first American these youngsters had ever met. Excited at the prospect, they had prepared an extensive program involving performances by each of the several nationality groups represented in the class. (Though they came from various nationalities, their parents chose to send them all to a "Russian" school, hopefully to assure them better positions within Soviet society.) As I sat in the front, each of the groups performed: the Russian youngsters sang folk songs; Latvian children recited Latvian poetry; some Georgian children did a folk-dance; and similar performances were given by the Ukrainians, Lithuanians and various other nationalities represented in the class. Finally, after each of the groups had performed, a little Jewish boy and girl only remained -- both shy and awkward. Pushed forward by their enthusiastic classmates, they were called upon to perform.

After several moments of silence while the others kept encouraging them (evidently thinking their reluctance stemmed from embarrassment) they began to sing a Russian song. Quickly their classmates yelled out, that since they were not Russians, they shouldn't be singing such a song. They stopped, while the others kept taunting - "do something". Finally, after some consultation, they began to recite a Latvian poem. Now their classmates were more volatile. "You're not Latvian. Don't you know who you are - you're Jewish, do something Jewish". The little boy and girl looked at one another in silence, as the cries kept on - "Do something Jewish". Finally, evidently unable to face the taunts, they began to weep and walked away. Of course they knew they were Jewish. They were neither Russian, nor Latvian, not anything but Jewish. But what did it mean? Where should they learn. There are no schools.

THE JEWISH ACTIVISTS

Previously, if Jewish schools were unavailable, at least education was maintained in the home. However, the parents of this generation were the ones who rejected their heritage in the frantic effort to become part of the hoped-for but elusive socialist utopia, and therefore cannot teach their children. It was from this younger generation, realizing the disabilities and no longer fearful of the government, that a new self-assertedness developed. Similar to the phenomenon of "Black Power" in the United States, the young Jews seemed to declare together with "Jew Power" that "Jew is Beautiful".

They went to great lengths, listening to broadcasts from Israel, surreptitiously learning Hebrew, paying great sums on the black market for anything tangible from Israel, studying Jewish history, printing

Hebrew texts and circulating them to one another. A whole underground developed; and with the encouragement of one another, they developed and maintained a generation of dedicated, committed and increasingly knowledgeable Jew. These youngsters within the Soviet Union, among the most determined Jews to be found anywhere in the world, are fighting against overwhelming odds to live as Jews. This renaissance is truly one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern Jewish history.

Religion does not have meaning for the majority of Soviet Jews: they are considered, and consider themselves as a "nationality", as part of the Jewish people. In the simplest terms, they are asking for the right to live as Jews, to go to Israel, the center of their people, where they can live a fully Jewish life. Israel is not only the center of the aspirations for the committed Soviet Jews, it is also the inspiration for their renaissance, the dream to which they strive, the force from which they take nurture through the long bitter years of struggle. The dream of Israel sustains them, and the call of "aliyah" is the basis of their very existence. The Six-Day War was the catalyst which brought forth the Jewish underground into open defiance of the government policy that prevents any meaningful Jewish existence.

The reaction and commitment of the Soviet Jew provides dramatic reaffirmation of the role which Israel plays, sustaining and strengthening Jews throughout the world. The phenomena of the Soviet Jew provides dramatic reaffirmation of the basic concept of Zionism: the unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of the State of Israel in Jewish life.

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWRY

While the Soviet Jew is battling courageously as a Jew, his battle is an act of faith in the world Jewish community. Knowing full well that the government may take violent action against them, they are convinced that world Jewry, united with liberal and humanitarian forces, will maintain such a vigorous campaign of protest, and so arouse public opinion as to prevent the Soviet government from suppressing them by force.

The campaign on behalf of Soviet Jewry provides the American Jewish community with a unique opportunity. The dramatic call-to-action which Soviet Jews are issuing, asks of the American Jew his aid in the struggle of one out of almost four Jews in the world today - their struggle to live as Jews, and for those who wish, to live in the land of the Jewish people. In the process they are also asking for the American Jewish community to reaffirm its own identity and strengthen its own commitment.

There are three major problems which face the American Jewish community. First, the survival and security of the State of Israel, the center of the Jewish People. Second, the dilemma of Soviet Jewry. And third, the building of a meaningful and viable Jewish community in the United States. The problems are all related. Through the struggle on behalf of Soviet Jewry, and on behalf of Israel, the American Jewish Community can strengthen its own commitment and reaffirm its own Jewishness. By assuring the survival of Israel, and the redemption of Soviet Jewry, it can assure its own meaningful survival.

The challenge then, is the survival of the Jewish people throughout the world. The opportunity is to participate in this challenge, and through such participation to build a stronger Jewish community and a more meaningful life for ourselves and our children. The American Jewish Community has before it an historic opportunity to meet this challenge. Let us rise to the task.



1972

Haaretz (Jan. 12) publishes an article by Amos Hadad, captioned "Newcomers Complain About Absorption." He says: "The unprecedented stream of immigration from Russia brings severe problems in its wake, not only in housing and employment, but also in social and educational areas. The authorities in Israel are somewhat unprepared for the various demands of Soviet newcomers. Dr. Yakov Ben-Israel, who came from Moscow on June 10th of last year, is a physician and lives in Kiryat Malachi, and works in the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem. He says: 'Already in 1941, when the war broke out, we knew that our place is in Israel, and if we have to fight, we should fight for ourselves and not for others. All this time we dreamed of coming to Eretz Israel. But here I was surprised to see that the Government doesn't know how to handle the Soviet newcomers. The Olim from Russia include both the religious and non-religious. There was no conflict between the religious and non-religious in Moscow. But in Israel we found this to be the case, and we don't like it. I have the feeling that the Government was not



prepared to absorb so many Olim from Russia, and some people speak against Aliya and the privileges ⁹ given newcomers. This irritates Soviet newcomers. We expected to be received warmly, by ¹⁰brothers, and sometimes we get a cold reception and even an anti-Aliya attitude. Israel is the country of all the Jews of the world, who should be ingathered there.'

"Elisha Ben-Gavriel, 34, came from Tibilisi to Israel in May 1971. He lives in the Absorption Center of Kiryat Malachi and is a leather specialist. His wife teaches piano. He could get neither housing nor a job either for himself or his wife. He was told to wait. Seven months have passed, and he has neither work nor money. He says: 'I do not want money from the Absorption Ministry or the Agency. I want work. How long should I wait? I want an apartment. I was promised one in Rehovot. In Tibilisi I was ready to give my life for Israel. Here I cannot find work. I am willing to learn another trade. The representatives of the Absorption Ministry in Kiryat Malachi would like to help me but can't.'

"David Zalakhshvili, an old Georgian Jew, with a family of 19, has no complaints against Israel. But he is angry at his son-in-law who wants to go back to Russia. He says: 'I and my daughter, his wife, tried to influence him not to go back. But he says that he wasn't treated right by the Absorption authorities.' Old David says further: 'We all have some complaints, but we should certainly never leave, because this doesn't solve the problem. The difficulty with the Georgian Jews is that they all are religious and live together, and they want to continue to do so.' Another Georgian newcomer, Daniel Chudetov, 35 says: 'Israel is a good country, very good. But not all its inhabitants are good, nor do they treat the newcomers right. There is no respect, especially to the newcomers.' Chudetov raises bees, and his wife is a midwife. They have ~~three~~ three children. He didn't come to Israel to enjoy a higher standard of living. He came to get a better education for his children. But he didn't find this. The moral standards of the youth in Israel are also not his liking. He is not influenced by this, but it may affect his children. He says: 'I am here. I do not regret that

I have come, but I am very disappointed. That's all I can say.' Daniel Tatrashvili, 23 years old, came to Israel ~~three~~^{two} years ago and got married two years ago. The young couple is content and have no complaints. Their only problem is that he would like to visit the Lubavitcher Rabbi in Brooklyn. He says that those who threaten to go back to Russia were sent for this purpose by the Soviets. But Israel should let them return anyway. Tatrashvili has a little truck and drives people to their jobs in Gaza and back. He earns IL. 1,500 net, and he finds this enough. But he would be satisfied even with \$500. At present he gives part of his earnings to charity, and part he puts in the bank. In Georgia, he would never be making such a good living, he says."

In another article about the Georgian newcomers, Eytan Lifshitz writes in Haaretz (Jan. 13) that a Georgian newcomer came to the Absorption Ministry's office ten days ago to see Minister Peled. He took out a knife and threatened to commit suicide if he and his family did not get an apartment. Scores of such Georgian newcomers demonstrated at the Absorption Ministry. They brought petitions but have not yet received a satisfactory answer. The reporter learned that all these people were offered apartments in Beersheba, Dimona, Or Akiva and Upper Nazareth. But they wanted to live somewhere else. One wanted to live in Or Yehuda, another ⁱⁿ Lod. Someone apparently told them that by making noise they will achieve results. There is also the difficulty of the Georgian language, which the officials there do not understand. There is no communication. Some police officers arrived and said they will clear the place if requested by the director of the Ministry. It is an unpleasant situation, but something had to be done. Ten of the newcomers went back to their allocated apartments. The others agreed to wait for a solution. The Georgian Jews are somewhat aggressive and very emotional. By handling them with greater warmth, much aggravation and conflict can be avoided in the future, concludes the reporter.

Amnon Rubinstein writes in Haaretz (Jan. 14) on the subject of Russian Aliya: "We are witnessing the Zionist drama right before our eyes. The heroes are Jews from the Soviet Union, who have achieved the impossible and opened gates which to us seemed to be closed forever. Now they are here, in the Absorption Centers, on their jobs, everywhere. The time is the present. The action seems fantastic: How can a people preserve such an internal strength, which suddenly erupts and sweeps along with it masses of Jews to Israel. Not only strangers and non-Jews, but even Jews, marvel at the unity of faith of the Georgian Jews. There are both tragic and heroic scenes. There is greatness and pettiness mixed together. The human comedy is part of the epic story of scores of thousands. Every Aliya brought difficulties, and the Soviet Aliya is no exception. There is the problem of adjusting to Israel's half permissive and democratic society. There is the story of adjusting from a northern climate to a semi-tropical one. The expectations of the newcomers are so great that one cannot avoid disappointment. Israel is full of ~~expectations~~ experiences and its inhabitants are already tired of the daily challenge of social and individual absorption. There is the problem of poverty in Israel among the underprivileged, and there is the problem of housing and making a living for scores of thousands of old-time Israelis. A certain resentment and disappointment have therefore developed. The miracle of Soviet Aliya has not always brought with it a lift to the morale, but rather sometimes complaints and ^denvy. The newcomers' requests were considered by some people to be exaggerated, especially by those who had not obtained three-room apartments. The social irritation caused by Soviet Aliya was unavoidable. Moreover, as this Aliya grows, this irritation, too, will grow. Conditions secured for those who have already arrived will be demanded by those who will come in the future. I am very doubtful whether Israel, despite the great support of Diaspora Jewry, will be able to carry this burden and to avoid communal tensions, unless we do something to liquidate the slums in Israel. The social and economic burden may be more severe

than we imagined before, because higher absorption costs will also require more active help for the poor of our cities and slums.

"But when we view the processes of Aliya and Absorption from a perspective, the difficulties become smaller and the problems are set aside. Every Aliya brought tensions, and the Aliya of Soviet Jews also brought problems which will pass in a short time. These are problems of acclimatization, and in this case there is no such gap as was created when the Oriental Jews came in the fifties, a gap which has not disappeared even after their children grew up. In the case of most Russian Jews, these are transitional difficulties which will disappear as soon as their children grow up.

"The contribution of Soviet Aliya should be measured not only by the influx of able and productive people. It is not only a matter of so many academic people and so many physicians. The Yishuv is growing not only quantitatively. Israel's society needs Aliya for many reasons and it becomes stronger and better developed in the process of meeting new people and adding new experiences. Such a fermentation in Israel's society has always been fruitful. In the years before 1967 we were depressed, among other things, by the feeling that the 'business is finished;' that there will almost be no further Aliya, while many people are emigrating, and that Israeli society has become set and molded. This feeling of a static society and a lack of movement made us depressed. The new Aliya brought us a feeling of growth and change, and also the additional hope that Israel's society will become more refined and cultured. This Aliya gives us the feeling that the society is still in a stage of growth and development. It can be improved because it is still moving ahead on the road. This Aliya also shows us the meaning of our road and why we march along this road. The happy and exhausted people who arrive in Lod from Soviet Russia with their bundles ~~are~~ reflect the humanitarian quality of Israel. It is not just a State. Its nationality does not express itself in sovereignty. This is not a country which was established for its own sake or for the purpose of ruling, for a flag and a

national hymn. But first and foremost -- for the purpose of fulfilling a simple humanistic goal, to serve as a home for the children of a persecuted people. In an era when nationalism and chauvinism have a negative connotation, the humanistic destiny of Israel has double importance. For this reason it is so ridiculous when the New Left denies the right of national Jewish existence and self-determination in its own land. If there is a place where there is a justification, both from the humanistic and individual point of view, for such a national existence, it is first and foremost in Israel. The drama of the Jewish exodus from Soviet Russia to Israel must bring home this simple truth to anyone who may have forgotten it."

AMERICAN JEWISH
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FACT SHEET ON IMMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION

AMERICAN JEWISH
IN 1972 AND COSTS OF ABSORPTION IN ISRAEL

ARCHIVES

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
JERUSALEM
JANUARY 16, 1972



1. Introduction

It is anticipated that Israel will receive 70,000 immigrants in 1972. This estimate is based on the experience of the past several months, and on current reports from key areas of immigration around the world. The most dramatic change is in immigration from the Soviet Union which is expected to reach at least 30,000 in 1972. Already in the first two weeks of January, 1,765 Russian Jews have arrived in Israel. This huge increase in Russian immigration poses tremendous economic and social challenges for the people of Israel. These challenges can not be met without the immediate and massive support of world Jewry.

A. Immigration from the Soviet Union 1967-1970: 5,675

1967	1,412
1968	231
1969	3,033
1970	999

*Sept. 1968 - Jews were told to re-apply
- arrests and trials*

B. Immigration from the Soviet Union in 1971: 12,923

January	108
February	71
March	636
April	1,578
May	1,049
June	1,138
July	661
August	524
September	995
October	1,328
November	1,835
December	3,000

*56 Jews in 1971, upon
arrival in Vienna asked not
to proceed to Israel and were
handled by VHS*

*12 actual arrivals in Israel
asked to return - and another
few dozen are hanging around
the Finnish Embassy in Tel Aviv
asking about "possibilities" of return*

C. Forecast of Total Immigration for year 1972:

Soviet Union	30,000
Other countries	<u>40,000</u>
Total:	<u>70,000</u>

*Jewish revolution of 1970 involved many letters and petitions signed openly by total of 1000 people.
Scheme is called "family re-union". Authorities don't care how genuine the affidavits are. There is a Jewish song called "My Tel Aviv Auntie". We in Israel receive requests for affidavits. In 1969 we sent out 25,000 affidavits. In 1970 we sent 40,000. In 1971 we sent 40,000. All together we sent 74,000 - and 17,000 have arrived. As of Jan, 1972 there are 54,000 Jews with affidavits in hand. In 1972 we will send 7-10,000 affidavits per month. This is the actual pressure. We send affidavits by registered mail. Sometimes the Russian post office doesn't deliver. Man burns bridge at his own - children are harassed in school. Russians keep the matter uncertain, by hinting that it won't continue - i.e. after Nixon's visit in May, then it will close.*

** Every immigrant arrives with a list of names and we send to everyone. ** as of Jan 1, 1973 - we hope to have 100,000 affidavits to distribute*

Doctor earns 100 ^{rupees} per month
Engineer " 120

Russians hint they will increase the 400 rupee cost, to cause people to delay applications.

It is not beyond reality that the Russians will teach us a lesson by "dumping". But at least the first challenge is to meet the current ¹⁹⁷² rate, which we believe will be at least 3000 per month.

Difficulties in absorption might ~~influence~~ ^{affect} the immigration. The activists (Khaibichegsky) don't care - they will accept any conditions in Israel. But the great mass are ordinary people - and bad absorption conditions might cause them to delay.

They are uncertain. They want the big cities. It is understandable. We will need lots of patience with them.

We broadcast 3 hours in Russian every day. No jamming. We smuggle in literature - send parcels - send help to families of prisoners. But the very best thing of all is a letter from a friend or relative. The tone of these letters (especially the one written in the first few months) will affect future migration.

We don't want to "cry wolf" too early. But we want to warn you. Maybe they want to open a "second front" against us. If so, we'll win it too.

2. Analysis of Anticipated Immigration from the Soviet Union in 1972:

The following breakdown is a projection based on the 1971 experience:

A. Immigration according to size of family

	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>
<u>Total number of immigrants</u>	30,000	
Individuals	2,200	
In families	27,800	7,940
2 persons in family	4,000	2,000
3 persons in family	6,900	2,300
4 persons in family	8,800	2,200
5 persons and more in family	8,100	1,440

B. Immigration according to age

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Total number of immigrants</u>	30,000	100.0
0 - 13 years	6,700	22
14 - 18 "	3,000	10
19 - 48 "	5,000	17
49 - 64 "	12,900	43
65+	2,400	8

C. Immigration according to profession

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
<u>Total number of immigrants</u>	30,000	100.0
<u>Non-working</u>	11,600	38.6
Housewives	2,800	9.3
Children to age 13	6,700	22.3
Pensioners	2,100	7.0
<u>University and highschool students</u>	5,000	16.7
<u>Skilled and Professional</u>	13,400	44.7

D. <u>Breakdown of Skilled and Professionals:</u>	<u>13,400</u>
<u>Academicians and free professionals</u>	<u>5,100</u>
Engineers and architects	1,100
Technicians	700
Physicians	500
Artists and writers	600
Teachers	600
Social scientists	600
Other academicians	1,000
<u>Managers and clerks</u>	<u>1,100</u>
<u>Transport and communication workers</u>	<u>600</u>
<u>Merchants, agents and salesmen</u>	<u>1,200</u>
<u>Craftsmen and factory workers</u>	<u>4,500</u>
<u>Service Personnel</u>	<u>900</u>

NOTE: Jews coming from the Soviet province of Georgia constitute a distinct demographic group when compared to other Russian immigrants. The immigrants from Georgia generally have larger-sized families, are younger, have comparatively limited educational background, and work at various trades.

3. Costs of Immigration and Absorption of Immigrants from the Soviet Union

It is estimated that the Jewish Agency will have to expend \$199,050,000 in 1972 (see breakdown below) for the immigration and absorption of at least 30,000 Russian immigrants. This means a direct and immediate increase of \$132,700,000 in the Jewish Agency budget for 1972, the increase representing the costs of bringing in and absorbing some 20,000 more Russian immigrants than originally anticipated and budgeted for by the Jewish Agency in September, 1971.

Breakdown of estimated Jewish Agency costs for the immigration and absorption of 30,000 Russian Jews in 1972

	\$ (thousands)
<u>Total</u>	<u>199,050</u>
Transportation of immigrants and freight	15,150
Initial care, absorption centers, hostels	18,500
Housing and community infrastructure	131,000
Vocational training and retraining	7,000
Health	8,900
Education	6,700
Higher Learning	7,600
Welfare and other assistance	3,000
Social integration	1,200

Actually, with increased governmental services and the investments necessary to create jobs for these immigrants, the total cost of absorbing a family of 3.5 persons is at least \$35,000. To meet its share of these costs, and with defense requirements continuing at high levels, the government may be forced to reduce its expenditures in other areas. The Jewish Agency, therefore, must also be prepared to increase in 1972 its budget for social needs (health, housing, welfare, education).

A. Transportation of Immigrants and Freight: \$15,150,000

The Soviet authorities have levied a special charge of 900 rubles, approximately \$1,100, for the exit visa required by adult Jews leaving the Soviet Union for Israel. As applications for immigration continue to mount, the Dutch Embassy in Moscow, which acts on behalf of Israel, is besieged with requests for this purpose. At least \$9 million will be required in 1972 for exit visas, taking into account that many immigrants are able to find their own money for the exit visa.

Facilities at the Jewish Agency transit camp in Vienna have been expanded in order to accommodate the sharply increasing numbers of Jews for the brief period the immigrant spends there prior to his final flight to Israel. The additional cost is \$400,000.

The cost of air transportation and freight from the point of origin to Vienna and from Vienna to Israel will amount to \$5,175,000.

B. Initial Care, Absorption Centers, Hostels: \$18,500,000

All immigrants receive initial financial assistance and the basic furniture for their dwellings. Many do not go directly to their apartments, but are placed first in absorption centers to learn Hebrew. Additional absorption centers and hostels will have to be built. In many cases, families and individuals will have to remain in these temporary facilities for longer periods than the usual six months, until permanent housing is ready.

C. Housing and Community Infra-structure: \$131,000,000

The Jewish Agency makes housing available to these immigrants at a low rental. These apartments average 65-75 square meters in size. A total of 8,000 family units will be required, at an average cost of \$12,500 per unit. In addition, housing arrangements must be made for some 2,000 single immigrants.

Other costs include development of the housing area, water facilities, sewerage, roads and streets, electricity, and the construction of public facilities for religious and cultural purposes.

D. Vocational Training and Retraining: \$7,000,000

At least half the breadwinners among the Russian immigrants require assistance in finding jobs. The Jewish Agency assists in training and retraining, especially for those academicians and members of the free professions who must take special courses to adapt to Israeli patterns of work.

E. Health: \$8,900,000

Israel has 7.5 hospital beds per 1,000 population (an already inadequate figure). For 30,000 immigrants an additional 225 beds are required in 1972, at an average cost of \$21,000, a total of \$4,700,000.

Health insurance and other costs for ambulatory and hospital services will amount to \$4,200,000.

F. Education: \$6,700,000

Approximately 7,800 (26%) of the Russian immigrants are of elementary and high school age. The Jewish Agency will provide assistance for those of high school age who number at least 3,000 of these students. Additional classrooms and other facilities will require \$2,800,000 in capital investment.

For operational costs \$3,900,000 will be required for secondary school scholarships, grants to vocational and agricultural schools, and special language assistance. Several hundred of these immigrant youth will be absorbed in the Youth Aliyah program.

G. Higher Education: \$7,600,000

In estimating this expenditure, only the cost of providing dormitories for the additional students is included as capital investment. It is estimated that half the 3,000 Russian immigrant students will require dormitories, at a cost of \$4,100,000.

Operational costs include stipends, free tuition and board, language assistance and other aids. Anticipated expenditure for 3,000 students for 1972 is \$3,500,000.

H. Welfare and Other Assistance: \$3,000,000

More than 2,000 immigrants from the Soviet Union will be pensioners. These individuals will have lost their pension rights and will require welfare payments. In addition, handicapped persons and immigrants who had been imprisoned for their "Zionist" activities will receive special support.

I. Social Integration: \$1,200,000

To integrate the new arrivals into Israeli society will require special programs in conjunction with other organizations and institutions in Israel.



RABBINICAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019
PLAZA 7-1500

January 21, 1972

Chairman
RABBI JOSEPH EHRENKRANZ
Stamford

Director
RABBI EARL A. JORDAN
Associate Director
RABBI HARLAN WECHSLER

TO: FEDERATION EXECUTIVES
FROM: RABBI EARL A. JORDAN

Within the next week, every rabbi will receive an invitation to participate in one of four meetings to be held February 14 through February 17, 1972.

Mr. Nathaniel Peled, Minister of Absorption, will come as the emissary of the Prime Minister to the American rabbinate, to describe in detail the current crisis in immigration. He will be accompanied by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman.

We hope that with these special meetings we will be able to increase both the rabbis' knowledge of the situation and their enthusiasm for the Campaign.

At each of the meetings, in addition to the briefings by Mr. Peled and Rabbi Friedman, we will present an action program for synagogues. We will also provide a package of resource materials to help in its implementation. (Copies of all these materials will be sent to you as soon as they are prepared.)

Monday, February 14 - New York City

Tuesday, February 15 - Chicago

Wednesday, February 16 - Los Angeles

Thursday, February 17 - Miami

We have never before called a meeting, or a series of meetings, for the entire rabbinate. This, together with the fact that Mr. Peled and Rabbi Friedman are coming especially for this purpose, should make our rabbis aware of the urgency of the situation and of the importance that we place on them.

I hope that you will encourage in every way the participation of the rabbis in your community.

Copies of our letter to the rabbis will be mailed to you at the same time.

Thank you for your help.

EAJ:er

כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה



HAF

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TO: RABBINICAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
FROM: RABBI EARL A. JORDAN

On January 4, 1972 Rabbi Joseph H. Ehrenkranz, Chairman of the R.A.C., convened a meeting of the Steering Committee in New York. The major item on his agenda was the appointment of men to serve on the Council. (Enclosed you will find a membership list which includes a designation of the rabbinical body of which each man is a member and the date of his concluding year of service.)

During the course of the meeting Mr. Irving Bernstein, Executive Vice-Chairman of the U.J.A., came in to say hello and to meet the men. He stayed longer than he had anticipated.

The burden of the current mass emigration from Russia was one that weighed heavily on him. He used the opportunity of meeting with several rabbis to share his load and to seek their counsel and help.

Since the beginning of December more than 100 Jews per day have been coming out of Russia. (In the first 18 days of January there were 2,100.) The facilities of the JDC in Europe and of the Jewish Agency in Israel are being taxed beyond their ability. The budget of the State of Israel, already pared beyond austerity, must now accommodate an anticipated immigration of at least 70,000 people in 1972. All of this is taking place against the background of Mr. Sadat's saber rattling and the growing discontent of Israel's poor.

Because of our negative experience in a similar situation not too long ago, the decision was made to refrain from using the media to publicize the crisis. In spite of the problems that this *aliya* creates, and the ones that it exacerbates, we want it to continue. (*Ha-mayveen yaveen.*)

None of the men present had known Irving Bernstein well. Each was touched by both his anguish and his total devotion to solving the problem. Irving ended his presentation by asking us to help.

The meeting continued for several hours with the following plan its outcome.

We would hold four meetings on consecutive days, in the major cities of the United States. Every rabbi in the country would be urged to attend one of the meetings. We would ask the Prime Minister to send her emissary to the rabbis of America to describe the situation and to ask for their help. At each of these meetings we would outline an action program to be undertaken in every synagogue of America. We would make an earnest, honest attempt to utilize the

כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

leadership of the American rabbi in our cause and we would recognize publicly the power for good which he commands.

In constant contact with Joe Ehrenkranz and several other men to whom we looked for critical judgments, I was to set up the program. I am pleased to report to you the results of our labors.

The meetings will be held as follows:

February 14	-	New York City
February 15	-	Chicago
February 16	-	Los Angeles
February 17	-	Miami

They will begin promptly at 1:00 p.m. and will end no later than 5:00 p.m. No food will be served other than a beverage.

We have arranged to have the Minister of Absorption, Mr. Nathaniel Peled, make a special trip for the sole purpose of addressing these meetings. Rabbi Herbert Friedman, when he learned of our plan, rearranged his schedule to be with us.

A packet of resource materials for a synagogue action program is now being prepared for distribution at these meetings. It will include bulletin articles, homiletic material, a fact sheet and a step-by-step description of how a UJA program should be implemented in the synagogue.

A letter has been written to every Federation Executive asking them to urge the participation of the rabbis in their communities. A memo was also sent to our own field staff asking their help in urging the rabbis in smaller communities to participate in our meetings.

The program itself is being reviewed to see how we can enrich it without making it too tedious or long.

In each city prior to the large meeting, we will have a small informal luncheon with Mr. Peled and Rabbi Friedman for the members of the R.A.C. who will be present. It will begin at 11:30 a.m. promptly and will conclude when we join the rest of our colleagues for the large meeting.

I write now to alert you to the mail that will be arriving so that you can clear your calendar for one day between February 14 and February 17.

I also want to urge you to prevail upon as many of our colleagues as possible to attend one of these meetings.

I hope that I will see you in February. If there are any new developments I will write again.

Thank you for bearing with such a long memo.

EAJ:er

analysis



מכון
מחקר
יהודי

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NO. 25

January 24, 1972

MEDITATIONS ON SOVIET JEWRY

I. EXPULSION?

The Israeli press devoted considerable space to an international conference of experts on the Soviet Union which was held in Tel Aviv early in January. Dr. Richard Pipes, Professor of History and Director of the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, suggested that the recently accelerated rate of emigration from the USSR to Israel may in fact be the beginning of a Soviet policy to rid the USSR of all Jews. Other Sovietologists at the conference appeared to concur in Professor Pipes' somber assessment.

NATURE OF EXPULSION

Undoubtedly what Professor Pipes meant was not that the Kremlin might issue formal orders expelling the Jews, but that conditions for the Jew might be made so insufferable that even those who had no such thoughts before would apply for emigration visas. The expulsion in recent years of the most assimilated Jews from Poland may well have been a test run for Moscow's own intended policy even as the Prague trials of 1952 had been designed as a curtain raiser for a medieval kind of "Jewish doctors' trial" in Moscow in 1953. That trial was cancelled by Stalin's successors who exposed the case as a mad and malicious frameup.

The Kremlin's primary motive for such expulsion would be domestic (See Analysis #16), as had been Poland's. But it might also have auxiliary international intent, such as taxing Israel's absorptive capacity (if emigration were crammed into a limited time period), impugning the credibility of the Jewish communities in the Western world which clamor for free emigration for Russian Jews, embarrassing Western governments who might not wish to admit those whom Israel may be unable to receive within a short period, and fomenting general impatience in an inward-turning America with a new Jewish refugee problem. There may also be the intent to divide the Jewish community.

LESSONS FROM THE PAST

The argument has recently been advanced that Jews must learn to accommodate to life under communism even as through the centuries they had adjusted themselves to many other societies and systems of government. This argument would no longer apply if the Soviet Government decided on expulsion. The fact is that since the revolution Soviet Jews have tried very hard to adjust themselves to the regime's demands upon them: the rate of assimilation was unusually high until thwarted by the regime. Furthermore, the new ethnic awareness, the new Zionism among young

Soviet Jews, is a response to their rejection by Soviet society. This does not necessarily mean that Jews can under no circumstances adjust to a communist society, or that communist societies are inherently under greater compulsion than others in history to force the assimilation of the Jew. However, there is sufficient evidence in history to cause one to wonder whether there is something inherent in the East European circumstance that has always caused the Jews of that region to live on the razor's edge, whatever the nature of the regime.

If the prognostication about expulsion is correct, some Jews from their safe havens in the United States might argue that world Jewry must not countenance expulsion. Yet, once a country has decided on expulsion, obliquely or overtly, it is a macabre index of the precariousness of the Jewish situation there, and the global Jewish community had better prepare even now for any eventuality.

Furthermore, should the Kremlin decide on expulsion and find that the world Jewish community is not prepared to receive all the Jewish emigres, Moscow might feel that it can with impunity resort to an alternative, which was first conceived by Stalin -- to remove Soviet Jews from the sensitive and restive Western regions and disperse them (Stalin thought of concentrating them in labor camps) in the underpopulated Asian area.

The Jews of this century had three experiences with similar situations before the establishment of Israel. Jewish division then contributed to disaster. In 1903, in precarious health, Zionism's founder, Dr. Theodore Herzl, traveled to Moscow for audiences with the powerful Russian Minister of the Interior. Herzl argued that since the Czar found the Jews "too numerous, unassimilated and burdensome," and since the Jews found their situation in Russia unbearable, emigration to Palestine would resolve a mutual Russian-Jewish dilemma. He obtained from the Minister two promises: One, that he would propose to the Czar that Russia assist Zionist efforts to obtain a charter from the Sultan permitting Jewish mass settlement in Palestine, and two, that he would recommend to the Czar that the area of residence in which the Russian Jews were confined and crammed, be extended to include the sea coast provinces Kurland and Riga, where their experience in foreign trade could be mutually beneficial, helping Russia extend that trade and offering the Jews more space and greater economic opportunity. The anti-Zionist Jewish Socialists found their golden opportunity. The Minister of the Interior was Wenzel von Plehve, the architect of the Kishinev pogrom. They ignored the second point of Herzl's petition and accused him of conspiring with the arch-enemy of the Jews to advance Zionism and betray Jewish interest.

At the advent of the Nazi regime, Dr. Hayim Arlosoroff, one of the most brilliant ideologists of Labor Zionism and at that time chief of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, worked out a proposal under which the German Government agreed to permit Jews to emigrate with their assets. However, a condition of this agreement was the barter of Palestine citrus products for German export goods. Many within and outside the Zionist movement denounced the plan as promoting German foreign trade. Executed in truncated form only, primarily because of British policies in Palestine, his plan nonetheless saved the lives of many thousands of German Jews.

Palestine became the major haven for German-Jewish refugees. In 1935 Vladimir Jabotinsky, the rightist Zionist leader who had then founded his own rival New

Zionist Organization, proposed a somewhat similar deal with Poland. He suggested that since Poland, like Czarist Russia, found the Jews "too burdensome and too numerous," she should be asked to financially facilitate the voluntary mass emigration of Polish Jews and to file with the League of Nations charges against Britain for violating the League of Nations' mandate by restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine. He was denounced within and outside the Zionist movement for "conspiring" with the anti-Semites to expel Jews from Poland.

In historic perspective, one realizes how much smaller the death toll of the Jews in the Nazi gas chambers might have been if Herzl, Arlosoroff and Jabotinsky had not been impeded, in the first instance, by segments of the Jewish community.

Of course, it would be outrageous to suggest that the situation of the Jews in the USSR is in the slightest analogous to their condition under the Nazis. However, looking ahead, Eastern Europe is a precarious territory, seething with subterranean ferment. It has been the Jew's classical experience that such situations place him in mortal danger.

II. AS THE OLIM FROM THE USSR SEE IT ⁽¹⁾

The newcomers from the USSR give no credence to the thesis of expulsion. They believe that the Kremlin will continue to fitfully handicap emigration. Boris Kochubiyevsky, the electronics engineer who was the first Zionist sentenced in the post-1967 persecutions, recently arrived in Israel after having served a full sentence under the most severe, punitive conditions. The prison authorities had deliberately placed him, as they do all Zionist prisoners, among the most savage felons who at first beat and tortured him. Eventually, they acquired a reverence for the Zionist martyr and gave him a farewell party on the eve of his release from prison.

Of all the distinguished men and women, including scholars of international repute, who have recently arrived in Israel, none has defined the situation of the Soviet Jews with greater precision and virtually surgical detachment than Boris Kochubiyevsky. Yet all seem to concur in his conclusions. His thesis is Borochovist ⁽²⁾, although he identifies with the Herut Party as do some of his colleagues. The major reason for this may be that in the USSR in search of texts on Zionism in the Russian language, he had accidentally come across a pre-World War I collection of essays by Vladimir Jabotinsky and found his analysis of the Jewish condition then strikingly applicable to their own situation. Jabotinsky, at that time, was a distinguished liberal journalist and in later years launched the Zionist-Revisionist movement which parented Herut. According to Kochubiyevsky, Soviet Zionism is a consequence of irreversible historic processes. The Kremlin will be forced to permit continued emigration because of two parallel pressures, first and foremost, domestic pressures, related to indigenous anti-Semitism and other circumstances; second, continual protest and pressure from abroad about the Soviet Jewish condition. There may indeed be an attempt by the Kremlin to test the overseas pressure by suddenly and briefly turning off emigration. (See Analysis #20.) Western Jewry, he advises, should not panic, and instead accelerate the pressure. Paradoxically, the survival, as a distinctive ethnic community, of the Jews who would choose to emigrate depends largely on continual emigration. Emigration forges ethnic consciousness; if emigration ceased many would be running for cover in an hysterical effort to melt and vanish, to the extent to which Soviet authorities would permit them.

ORDINARY JEWS, SEEKING FREEDOM

Kochubiyevsky sets the potential olim at several hundred thousand. The majority of the present olim are from Georgia, whose Jews are messianically motivated, and from the Western territories annexed by the Soviet Union after World War II. Most of the emigrants from the latter territories have no particular ideological passion. They are ordinary people (perhaps not that ordinary, considering the tenaciousness with which they pressed for emigration), of middle class orientation who emigrated to achieve release from the general oppressiveness of Soviet society and particularly from its oppression of the Jews. They are impressed with, and prepared to copy the bourgeois style of Israel urban life. This need not be disconcerting, he says. That has always been the nature of immigration to Israel and to other countries, Kochubiyevsky and his fellow Soviet Zionists explain. Idealists are always a small, hard-core of pacesetters who have set themselves the task of redeeming an entire people or society. In this case, they consist of the Zionist activists who served prison sentences, or at least risked such sentences with their militant behavior. They are largely concentrated in the heart of Russia, in Moscow and Leningrad, and are generally thoroughly acculturated. The Soviet Government has been niggardly in granting them exit permits. It is these, and the children of the middle-class olim, who will supply Israel with new and rich Halutzic idealism. Kochubiyevsky proposed that the hard-core idealists and the young be offered some challenging project such as settling in frontier areas, even if this requires changing their occupations. They would respond enthusiastically to such an enterprise because at present they feel that everything has been done and achieved before their arrival, and that they have little or nothing to contribute beyond the martyrdom that is behind them.

PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

The Israel press consensus is that the newcomers present taxing problems, peculiar to their background and history, but none of an insurmountable nature, even as each of the previous tides of immigrants presented grave problems, none insurmountable, peculiar to their past experience. The government and all public institutions have received the newcomers from Russia with eagerness and warmth, which cannot be said, however, of Israel society. This is the major complaint of the newcomers.

The average Israeli apparently does not realize the tremendous sacrifices these people have made, that each of them, applying for emigration, lost his job and sometimes for several years had to live on his savings and on the charity of friends, before being granted his exit permit; that these people forfeited pensions, social security and other benefits; that their children were ostracized during the long period of waiting for an exit permit; that on the average, they pay the equivalent of 4,000 Israeli pounds for such a permit, which is a sizable amount for the average Soviet citizen (which may explain the reason why there are relatively few white collar and blue collar workers among the newcomers). When they are finally cleared for emigration, they are given several days, rarely more than two weeks, to pack up and leave, which means that they are forced to sell many of their household acquisitions at a third of their value, or to distribute them gratis. They are not permitted to take out silverware or anything made of gold. They are also forbidden to take new furniture with them, and each Soviet custom official arbitrarily determines what is new furniture.

There are among them eminent film directors, scenario writers, editors, actors, historians, sociologists, distinguished professors of Soviet law; many dentists, gynecologists and chemists have come out of the USSR. Most of these professions are over-subscribed in Israel, and at best it is difficult for people trained and experienced in the completely different Soviet tradition to adjust to the Western tradition and methods.

Younger men and women present no problem. However, the middle-aged, especially if they enjoyed high status in their professions, and had international eminence, do not readily submit to, nor are they capable of rapid re-training. Yet a poll undertaken among 1,000 olim from European USSR, two months after their arrival, revealed that 97 percent of them are certain or very nearly certain that they wish to remain in Israel and not emigrate to other Western countries; 85 percent expressed satisfaction with their life in Israel; 72 percent said they were very satisfied; 80 percent were satisfied with their treatment by old Russian olim to Israel, but only 60 percent were satisfied with their treatment by Israelis generally. The poll was conducted by the Central Statistical Bureau of the Israel Government in cooperation with the Institute for Social Research and the Ministry of Absorption.

The true absorption problems begin, however, after their first few months, when they leave the immigrant centers and are on their own. There seems to be general agreement in the press and in government circles that a total revision is required of present procedures and personnel dealing with the newcomers from the USSR. Minister of Labor Almogi has stated that never before has there been an immigration that has been professionally and intellectually superior to the officials that deal with them. Joshua Tadmor, in his series in Davar, says that, on the average, those officials are too jaded in their bureaucratic habits, and lack the professional skill and warm sympathy that these newcomers require.

The Israel Government grasps the complexity of the problem, and the olim are generally patient. They are also, however, much to the distress of Avodah, joining the opposition parties. Dr. Arie Lavron, an eminent neurologist who arrived in Israel three years ago and is strongly committed to Avodah, told a meeting of the Labor Alignment (January 19) that "the newcomers are for Golda but not for Avodah". The reason may be that conditioned by their anti-Establishment struggle before coming to Israel, they do not easily take to a party that is the essence of Establishment and necessarily, rightly or not, bears the blame for every bureaucratic blunder. However, they dissociate Mrs. Meir from her party and from the Establishment over which she presides. Since 1948 when she served as Israel's first ambassador to Moscow she has been to Soviet Jewry the great matriarch, the mythical Mother Rachel lamenting on the crossroads for her children. This image is confirmed again and again by her every contact with Russian Jews in Israel.

- (1) This summary of the views of recent arrivals from the USSR and of Israelis concerned with their problems, is drawn from many articles in the Israeli press and primarily from the following: A two-part interview by Geula Cohen with Boris Kochubiyevsky (Maariv, December 31 and January 7); a discussion -- the editors of Davar with Kochubiyevsky and others (Davar, January 7); interviews with Georgian immigrants by Amos Haddad (Ha'aretz, January 12); a series

analysis



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I. EXPULSION?

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LESSONS FROM THE PAST

The argument has recently been advanced that Jews must learn to accommodate to life under communism even as through the centuries they had adjusted themselves to many other societies and systems of government. This argument would no longer apply if the Soviet Government decided on expulsion. The fact is that since the revolution Soviet Jews have tried very hard to adjust themselves to the regime's demands upon them: the rate of assimilation was unusually high until thwarted by the regime. Furthermore, the new ethnic awareness, the new Zionism among young

UJAPPEAL62911

JANUARY 25

RABBI HERBERT A FRIEDMAN
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
JERUSALEM ISRAEL

WE HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH THE FOLLOWING AT OUR RABBINICAL MEETINGS:

1- RABBIS WILL SPREAD THE WORD TO THEIR CONGREGATIONS BEGINNING WITH THE BOARD MEETING DURING WEEK OF FEBRUARY TWENTIETH. THEY WILL USE BULLETINS MEETINGS AND SERVICES. WE WILL HIGHLIGHT 24/25 MARCH AS +THE GREAT SABBATH OF RUSSIAN JEWRY.+ THE THEME FOR PASSOVER WILL BE +THE EXODUS OF RUSSIAN JEWRY.+

2- AT FEBRUARY TWENTIETH BOARD MEETINGS RABBIS WILL SEE THAT ONE HUNDRED PERCENT PLAN IS PASSED AND COMMITTEE FORMED TO IMPLEMENT IT.

3- RABBI WILL ASSUME CHAIRMANSHIP OF CAMPAIGN IN CONGREGATIONS. HE WILL SEE TO IT THAT EVERY MEMBER IS SOLICITED. IF ONE HAS ALREADY GIVEN THE RABBI WILL WRITE A NOTE OF THANKS. EMPHASIS IN SYNAGOGUE CAMPAIGN WILL BE ON RELIGIOUS AND MORAL OBLIGATIONS TO GIVE.

4- RABBI WILL RELATE TO FEDERATION CAMPAIGN. AT CONCLUSION OF CAMPAIGN RABBI WILL CONTACT NON-GIVERS HIMSELF. IF THEY STILL REFUSE HE WILL WRITE A NOTE OF DISAPPOINTMENT. IF THEY GIVE HE WILL WRITE A NOTE OF THANKS.

5- WE WILL REFER TO OPERATION UPGRADE AND USE HURWITZ AND EHRENKRANTZ AS EXAMPLES OF ROLE RABBI CAN PLAY.

6- RABBI GIVING AS EXEMPLARY. WE WILL SUGGEST FIVE PERCENT OF GROSS SALARY AS MINIMUM GIFT.

DETAILS ABOUT MATERIALS BEING PREPARED TO FOLLOW WITHIN DAYS. ALSO OUTLINE OF PROGRAM. WHAT NEWS HAVE YOU ABOUT RUSSIANS SUGGESTED?

JORDAN#

2381 UJA IL.....

David Giladi reports in Maariv (Jan. 25) about a symposium at the Zionist Congress about the Aliya movement from Russia. Several Russian newcomers participated in the symposium. They spoke Russian and their statements were translated simultaneously. One of them, Vladimir Levine, told his personal story, how he returned to Judaism. Not until November 1970 did he become aware of his Jewishness. This was during the first Leningrad trial. Until then, he and his family were completely assimilated. In June 1967, he of course was very happy to hear about the victory of Israel, because this put the Russian Bear in ~~its~~ place, and the Jews proved that they were not only shopkeepers and merchants. In August 1968, during the Czechoslovak invasion, he was deeply ashamed. But at that time he didn't know that he was not just a Russian. But in November 1970 he suddenly became aware of a feeling of a new Jewish catastrophe threatening. Radio, television and the press in Russia incited violently against Israel. He saw the Russian Jews frightened by this organized campaign. Only then he began to ask himself, what is Israel?

This was anti-Semitic incitement of the old school. It was in a way an attempt to prepare public opinion for the destruction of the Jewish State and for pogroms within Russia. Vladimir Levine said to himself: We are preparing a new Holocaust for another six million Jews, 3½ million in Russia and 2½ million in Israel. Until then he personally knew very few Jews, and he asked himself, 'How come that I lost my Jewishness?' He understood that assimilation is the path to slavery. The fact that we Jews are keeping busy studying Russian philology is a big lie, fostered by people who could break through this circle of lies once they discover a national Jewish movement. When this happens, they know what to do and where to go, and where redemption lies. In his view, there are two illusions that have to be destroyed. One is that the democratic movement in Russia will bring salvation to the Jews, and the other is that a national Jewish life is still possible in Russia. Levine concluded: "I freed myself from these two illusions, and that's why I'm here."

Another participant in the symposium was the famous Professor Alexander Zand. He said: "Anti-Semitism is not new in Russia and it helped in reminding the Jews of their Jewishness. Then there was the Holocaust and the unceasing Soviet effort to assimilate the Jews and to destroy their culture. But all this wouldn't have pushed the Soviet Jews to action. The real catalyst which has driven the Jews in Russia to a national movement was the Six-Day War. The Jews of Russia considered the Six-Day War as a final attempt to destroy Jewry physically, and not only culturally. Until June 1967 there were some Russian Jews who nurtured illusions about co-existence with the regime, despite the intention of the Soviet regime to destroy ~~the~~ Jewry spiritually. But suddenly the Soviet Jews became convinced that the Soviet Government is identifying with the Arabs who want to destroy the Jewish State, the last and only hope of the Jewish people. Soviet Russia spit in the face of the Jewish people, ~~and we knew~~ and then we knew that we wouldn't be able to live under this regime."

Another Russian participant in this symposium described the situation in Russia from a general point of view. David Chavkin was a Zionist who suffered in prisons and concentration camps for his Zionism. He said: "There were always Zionists in Russia, especially in the areas ~~by~~ annexed by the Soviets after World War II. In some prisons there are still members of Betar and Hashomer Hatzair. Others are in Siberia. They never believed in the Soviet brotherhood of nations and they saw how neighbors of yesterday became executioners of today, and they believed that ~~that~~ the Jewish State was the only answer. They didn't have to wait for the Six-Day War and for miracles. One should also remember that the national Jewish movement in Russia is part of the general situation there. The regime is not as stable as it seems. There is a strong drive for democracy, and many minorities are struggling for their national revival. This also helped to bring about Jewish revival."

Most speakers from Russia emphasized the electrifying effect of the Six-Day War, But, of course, the Leningrad trials against the Jews in Russia also had an effect. Aliya itself has a chain effect, or chain reaction: Each Oleh brings another Oleh. This was the day of the Russian Jews in the Zionist Congress.

Adam Ackerman reports in Haaretz (Jan. 26) that there are too many Shlichim in Canada. Most of the Shlichim enjoy a high standard of living, because they get a good salary and expenses, as well as tuition for their children's schooling and partial rent payment. Therefore, some Shlichim prolong their stay in Canada longer than necessary. The correspondent knows ^Ione Shaliach in Toronto and one in Montreal who overstayed their welcome. One of the Shlichim, a director of the Culture Foundation in Toronto, by the name of Baruch Rand, also became a school principal and acquired a private home. The representatives of Israel, the Government, the Agency and the Shlichim, as well as the officials of El Al and the Tourist Office and some teachers, amount here altogether to 50 people. This is a large number, considering that the Jewish community is only 270,000 strong, of them 22,000 former Israelis. Most Shlichim are sent to Canada, according to a Party key and not according to the needs of the Jewish population in Canada. And for this reason most Shlichim concentrate in Toronto and Montreal. Several Shlichim admitted that better results could have been achieved by working in the provinces, and more candidates for Aliya could have been discovered.

The JNF is a well-established institution in Canada with a long tradition. Keren Hayesod decided to send a representative, a former Army officer, who raises funds in a manner similar to the JNF and thereby creates competition and duplication of work. There is a certain decentralization as a result of this, and the impression is created that some of the Shlichim are not really active in the areas for which they were sent to Canada.

FROM: Rabbi Earl A. Jordan

We have convened the rabbinate of the United States to deal with the challenge presented by the current huge immigration to Israel by Jews from the Soviet Union.

Mr. Peled and Rabbi Friedman have described in detail the nature of the immigration and the response of the people of the State of Israel to this *aliya*.

Rabbi Ehrenkranz has outlined our responsibilities as leaders in the synagogue community of American Jewry.

In the light of all that we know, there can be only one appropriate response.

We must accept as axiomatic that it is the responsibility of every Jew to make a gift to the U.J.A. as an expression of his sense of responsibility for the entire Jewish people.

The synagogue is the heart and mind of our people. We must begin with those Jews who have already expressed their sense of identity as Jews and who understand the meaning of *mitzvah*. We want each of them to now act in such a way as to give meaning to the prayers that he has uttered.

The "100 Per Cent Plan" calls for a commitment from rabbis and congregational Boards of Trustees to make certain that every member of every congregation contributes to the United Jewish Appeal through his local Federation or Welfare Fund. The United Jewish Appeal is the major and senior instrument of the American Jewish community for providing the means to absorb the new citizens of the State of Israel.

- (1) A resolution of the Board of Trustees which declares that every member of the congregation ought to be a contributor to the local drive of which the United Jewish Appeal is a beneficiary.
- (2) The compilation, with the aid of the local Federation or Welfare Fund office, of a list of members of the congregation who are non-contributors.
- (3) The organization by the Board of Trustees and with the help of the rabbis of a committee to solicit non-contributors who have previously not been successfully reached through the local drive.

The single factor that can insure the success of our project is the whole-hearted support of the American Rabbinate. It is not enough for the rabbi to see to it that a proper resolution is enacted by his synagogue Board. He must assume the major responsibility for insuring its successful implementation. Every member of the congregation must know that his rabbi knows whether or not he made a gift and that he cares.

I ask that you write a note of thanks to each congregant who has participated in the campaign. I think that you should also write to each non-contributor, after he has been unsuccessfully solicited by a member of your committee or by you yourself, expressing your disappointment and the hope that whatever circumstances prevented him from making a gift at this time will be altered soon.

We can no longer wait for the U.J.A.-Federation staff to seek our help. We must force ourselves on them if necessary, and insist that it is our right as rabbis and as leaders to participate in this *mitzvah*.



RABBINICAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019
PLAZA 7-1500

Hor
IB.

F.Y.L.

Chairman
RABBI JOSEPH EHRENKRANZ
Stamford

Director
RABBI EARL A. JORDAN
Associate Director
RABBI HARLAN WECHSLER

January 27, 1972

TO: FIELD STAFF
FROM: RABBI EARL A. JORDAN

Last week you received a memo from Irving Bernstein calling your attention to the four scheduled meetings of rabbis and synagogue presidents.

Enclosed you will find our letter to every rabbi in the country.

I can not tell you how important it is that these meetings be attended by large numbers of rabbis and presidents. Its impact will increase geometrically with the numbers attending.

In order to emphasize its importance, I have arranged for the major rabbinical organizations to write to their respective constituencies urging their participation and acknowledging the high priority that this should receive. I have also asked local boards of rabbis to urge their men to attend one of the meetings. We have arranged to contact hundreds of men by telephone.

I hope that you can add your encouragement with either a note or a telephone call. Your interest in the project would be a big plus.

I will keep you posted as the results come in. In the meantime, thank you.

EAJ:er
Encl.

כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

MR. NATHANIEL PELED, MINISTER OF IMMIGRANT
ABSORPTION, STATE OF ISRAEL, WILL COME TO THE RABBIS
OF THE UNITED STATES AS THE PERSONAL EMISSARY OF THE
PRIME MINISTER, MRS. GOLDA MEIR.

THE URGENT SITUATION CREATED BY THE MASS
IMMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS IS THE ONLY ITEM ON MR.
PELED'S AGENDA.

HE WILL MEET WITH THE AMERICAN RABBINATE AT
FOUR DIFFERENT PLACES ON CONSECUTIVE DATES.

YOU ARE URGED TO BE PRESENT AT ONE OF THESE
MEETINGS.

1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| Monday, February 14, 1972 | - New York City | - New York Hilton |
| Tuesday, February 15, 1972 | - Chicago | - O'Hare Inn (airport) |
| Wednesday, February 16, 1972 | - Los Angeles | - International Hotel (airport) |
| Thursday, February 17, 1972 | - Miami | - Dupont Plaza |



RABBINICAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

1290 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019
PLAZA 7-1500

SENT TO RABBINICAL MAILING LIST

January 26, 1972

Chairman
RABBI JOSEPH EHRENKRANZ
Stamford

Director
RABBI EARL A. JORDAN
Associate Director
RABBI HARLAN WECHSLER

Dear Colleague:

You are called upon to participate in an historic meeting. For the first time in American Jewish history, all of the rabbis in this country are being convened to confront a miracle.

Russian Jews are pouring out of the Soviet Union by the thousands each month. No one knows what 1972 will bring.

Their coming creates either the greatest occasion for rejoicing since 1948...or a major tragedy if their absorption into Israel is not effected.

The whole story can not be told in newspapers and yet every American Jew must be informed. You, as a rabbi in Israel, are the most dependable channel for reaching our people.

Mr. Nathaniel Peled, Minister of Immigrant Absorption, will be sent as the emissary of the Prime Minister to meet *panim el panim* with the rabbis of America. The word which he brings must then be transmitted through us to our people. The Minister will travel to four separate locations throughout the United States to make it as convenient as possible for you to meet with him. Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman will come from Israel to participate. These meetings will take place in New York on February 14, in Chicago on February 15, in Los Angeles on February 16 and in Miami on February 17.

We ask three things of you now.

1. Clear your calendar so that you can attend one of the meetings.
2. Invite your president to join you. He can be a vital ally. (If you wish, send us his name and we will invite him directly.)
3. Schedule a Board meeting during the week of February 20 to hear your report. If you have a regular meeting already scheduled anywhere near that date, please alter it - so that your Board meets that week. Why?

Because out of this convocation we hope will come another historic first...every Board of Trustees of every synagogue in America will be called to meet during the following week to lend its leadership and effort to the tasks outlined by its rabbi.

We would like to be able to report to the Prime Minister that the American rabbinate met with her representative and thereafter arranged for thousands of American Jewish synagogue leaders to sit down at one time to extend their hands to her and to worry with her about the best way in which to guarantee the continuing miracle.

ב' עזרתנו יתן לך ייבנה את עמנו ב'ש"פ

Joseph H. Ehrenkranz
Joseph H. Ehrenkranz
Rabbi

כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

DETAILS OF THE MEETINGS

1. Four meetings are being called although we would have preferred to hold only one. That is clearly impossible for financial and logistical reasons.
2. Each meeting is being held in a place convenient to the airport.
3. No food will be served.
4. The meetings will convene promptly at 1:00 p.m. and will conclude no later than 5:00 p.m.
5. Many will travel great distances to attend one of these meetings. We wish it were possible for UJA to bear part of the cost for transportation but that is clearly not possible.

* * * * *

RETURN TO:

Rabbinical Advisory Council
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, N. Y. 10019

I will be present at the meeting in _____
(city)

My congregation's president will join me.

Please write directly to the President of my congregation.

His name is: _____

I will call a meeting of the Board of Trustees of my
synagogue on _____
(date)

RABBI _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE # () _____

IB
HAF.

MEMORANDUM

Date February 1, 1972

To Mr. Irving Bernstein

From Rabbi Harlan Wechsler

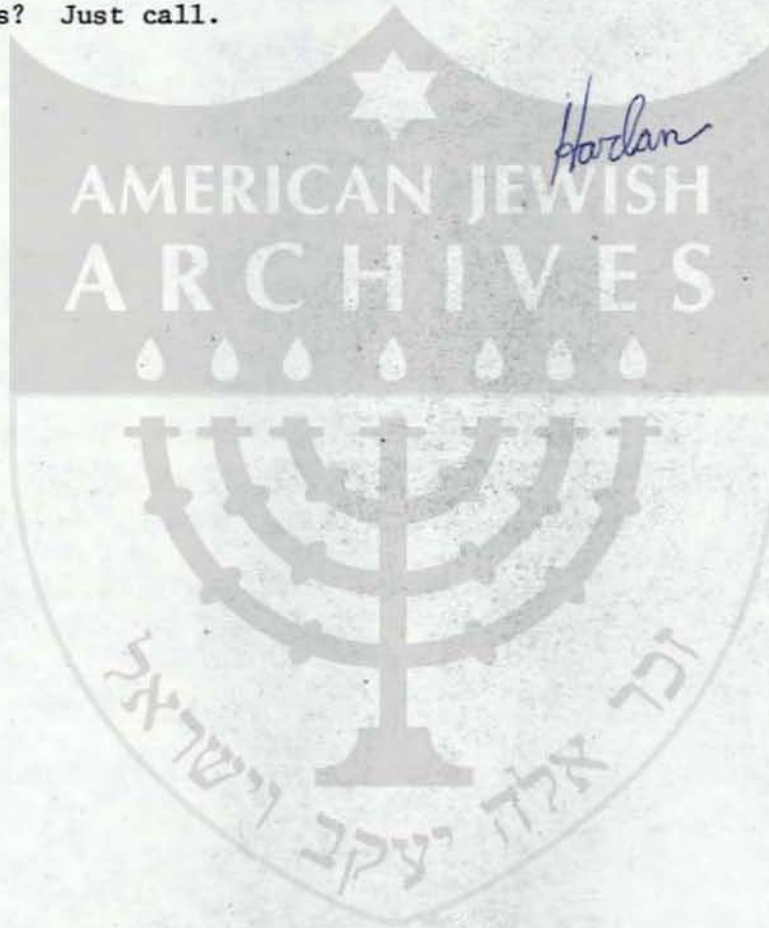
Subject Rabbis' Meetings - New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami

1. The entire American Rabbinate has received our invitation.
2. It arrived most places yesterday; we therefore expect responses to begin coming in on Wednesday.
3. We have begun to receive local New York response, which is good for the first trickle, but nothing can be said until at least Wednesday.
4. All the communities where the four meetings are to take place have given the force of their Board of Rabbis to our meetings. EAJ has met personally with New York, Chicago and Los Angeles leaders.
 - a. Each will send its own mailing.
 - b. Phoning key rabbis - those phoned are to phone their colleagues.
5. RAC members have been urged to contact their local colleagues.
6. Field department has received the rabbinical list to follow up.
7. Executives and field staff have received memos asking them to get their rabbis out.
8. The heads of each of the major rabbinical organizations (C.C.A.R. - Reform, R.A. - Conservative, R.C.A. - Orthodox) is sending his own special letter to alert and urge his colleagues to attend. This kind of letter is most unusual.
9. We are personally contacting the head of every Board of Rabbis in the country to solicit his aid in urging our colleagues to be present.
10. Based partially on the response received by Monday, we will man the phones next week to hit those areas most crucial to us.
11. EAJ currently in L.A. to address Conservative rabbis of the West Coast, urging them to attend. Meeting with West Coast RAC members and head of Los Angeles Board of Rabbis.
12. Hotel arrangements have been made in all four cities.

13. In New York, we are receiving the full cooperation and resources of Rabbi Charles Davidson, Ernie Michel and all of NYC UJA.
14. The luncheon in each city for Peled, HAF and the local RAC members has been scratched.
15. Sermon materials, synagogue bulletin articles, and bulletin publicity are all currently in the works.

Any questions? Just call.

HW:er



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For your use only.

THE PRICE OF DEFENCE

HISTORIC SURVEY AND FACT SHEET

Almost 15 months of cease fire have - apart from saving many lives on both sides of the Suez Canal - enabled both forces to become much stronger than they were at the beginning of August 1970. Furthermore, the sophistication, and therefore the price, of the additional equipment grow almost daily.

I. SOVIET SUPPORT TO EGYPT, in arms and men, on operational duties, as well advisory, has increased continuously since January 1970.

- 1) Soviet arms and equipment supplied to Egypt since the Six Day War - whether given as outright grants, as replacement for destroyed material, or sold on long term favorable credit terms - total at least \$2 billion, 300 million.
- 2) Soviet Personnel - nobody really knows exact numbers, but with full MIG operational squadrons, SA-2 and SA-3 missile sites, radar installations, plus all previously known advisors, there are at least 15,000 Russians in Egypt.
- 3) Soviet Missiles and Anti-Aircraft
 - (a) The Russians have become deeply involved in Egyptian air defence. They have brought about 40 SA-2 batteries (6 launchers each); also a number of SA-3 batteries (4 launchers each - with 2 missiles to each launcher) into the area close to the Canal. The missile sites are interspersed - SA-2 and SA-3 covering each other. They have also brought fighter squadrons to airfields close to the Canal.
 - (b) With the missiles in their present position the Russians pose a great threat to Israeli planes flying over the Canal. After inflicting serious losses upon the Israeli Air Force, they will move artillery forward and hammer Israeli ground defenses, make it hard to rebuild, cause many casualties, and finally try to cross. Even to take only a few kilometers on the east bank of the Canal would be worthwhile for them.

(c) Israel has some electronic and other defenses against the Russian missiles. Several Phantoms were lost last year owing to these missiles. Each missile costs approximately \$ 100,000 and the Russians have been known to fire as many as 60 on one day - or \$ 6 million worth.

II. EXPANSION OF ARAB MILITARY STRENGTH

- 1) The Israeli forces are vastly outmanned and outgunned by the Egyptians.
- 2) Syria maintains an army of 60,000 men in the area between Kuneitra and Damascus (approximately 40 miles) with more than 1,000 tanks, which was larger than the entire Egyptian force in the Sinai desert threatening Israel in May 1967.
- 3) Arab aircraft - fighters only:

	<u>At end of Six Day War</u>	<u>Today</u>
Egypt	50	600
Syria	45	260
Jordan	0	40
	<u>95</u>	<u>900</u>

- 4) Arab Tanks:

	<u>At end of Six Day War</u>	<u>Today</u>
Egypt	300	2000
Syria	350	1200
Jordan	100	500
	<u>750</u>	<u>3700</u>

III. ANALYSIS OF ISRAELI DEFENCE

- 1) The original defence budget for 1967 (year of actual war) was IL 1.25 billion (approx. \$ 300 million). The defence expenditure for 1970 was IL 5.55 billion (approx. \$ 1.32 billion) - or slightly more than 4 times as much as the year of the Six Day War.

The 1971 expenditure will be IL 7.04 billion (or \$ 1.68 billion) - or more than 5 times as much as the year of the Six Day War.

The 1972 budget is under discussion now.

2) History of the defence budget:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Defence budget</u>	<u>Indirect Expenditures</u>	<u>Total Defence Expenditures</u>	<u>Defence Expenditure as % of GNP</u>
	million IL	million IL	million IL	%
1966				11
1967	2,140			16
1968	2,910			19
1969	3,570			21
1970 (original)	4,160			23
1970 (final)	5,000	550	5,550	27
1971 (original)	6,400	640	7,040	27

3) The causes of the huge defence expenditures are:

(a) The rapid expansion of enemy forces:

	<u>Prior to Six Day War</u>	<u>At Present</u>	<u>Expected in 1973</u>
Armour	100 %	190 %	300 %
Air Force	100 %	220 %	395 %

In addition there has been an enormous growth of artillery and other sophisticated equipment.

(b) The rising cost of military hardware, as illustrated below:

<u>Tanks</u>	<u>Approximate</u>
	<u>\$</u>
Shermans	70,000
Centurion	165,000
Modern tank	340,000
<u>Aircraft</u>	
Ouragan	0.125 million
Mirage	1.3 million
Phantom	5.8 million

(c) Costs of activating the aircraft are tremendous. For instance, hourly costs of flight of the above mentioned planes are as follows:

Ouragan	IL 1,800 per hour (\$500)
Mirage	IL 3,800 per hour (\$1100)
Phantom	IL 7,200 per hour (\$2100)

- (d) Costs of training pilots to fly the above types of aircraft are considerable. As the planes become ever more sophisticated these costs rise steeply, as shown below:

<u>Aircraft</u>	<u>Pilot training cost</u> (million IL)
Ouragan	0.6 (\$170,000)
Mirage	0.8 (\$230,000)
Phantom (IL 1.6 million each for 2 pilots)	3.2 (\$900,000)

4) Current developments and their impact on defence costs.

The Arabs are arming very rapidly and continue voicing their threats almost daily. Egypt, Syria and Libya signed a Federation agreement and proclaimed a return to the policy of Khartoum, namely, "No peace, no negotiation and no recognition of Israel." In the face of this development Israel must be prepared more than ever for these contingencies.

It is therefore necessary to:

- (a) strengthen fortifications on all fronts;
 - (b) increase inventories of air bombs, heavy and light ammunition, spare parts, etc.;
 - (c) in general to build up Israel's strength, so that the Arabs will be deterred from breaking the cease-fire, or if attacked Israel must be capable of meeting the possibility of all out war.
- 5) The present 1971/72 budget calls for the import of approximately \$ 850 million worth of arms and supplies. This includes Phantom and Skyhawk planes, tanks, heavy guns, troop carriers, anti-aircraft, hawk batteries and other sophisticated equipment.
- 6) The arms must be paid for. The U.S. Congress did act affirmatively upon President Nixon's request and \$ 500 million were allocated for the fiscal year 1971 to provide credits to finance Israel arms purchases from the U.S. Government. The credits were fully utilized leaving an unpaid balance of about \$ 175 million. These are credits not grants and must be repaid by Israel.
- 7) In the face of the continuing Arab military build-up and because of increased indebtedness Israel has no choice but to ask for additional support from the U.S. including grants. For the fiscal year 1972 Israel has requested a loan of \$ 300 million and a grant-in-aid of \$ 200 million since, despite all assistance in dollars from our regular sources, we will still have a very substantial, unmanageable deficit. Israel's requests for 1972 are still under review.

In this connection it must be noted that Israel's foreign currency debt, which is a heavy mortgage on the next generation, will reach \$ 3.4 billion by December 31, 1971 and the debt per capita will be almost \$ 1,400, the highest in the world.

In 1971, \$ 300 million of principal as well as \$ 200 million of interest have to be paid to service the external debt alone.

IV. ISRAEL BUDGET

The government budget, currently in operation, covers the fiscal year 1971-72 (ending March 31, 1972).

EXPENDITURES

<u>Item</u>	<u>Amount in \$ Billion</u>
Defense	\$ 1,715
Welfare Service	428
Economic Development	452
Other Services, reserve	309
Debt Service	696
	<hr/> 3,600
<u>INCOME</u>	
Tax Revenue	2,100
Internal Loans (purchases of Bonds by individual Israelis and banks) and miscellaneous	715
External Loans (overseas banks and institutions; sales of Israel Bonds abroad)	785
	<hr/> 3,600



V. BALANCE OF TRADE (Goods and Services)

Calendar Year 1/1 - 12/31

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports</u>	<u>Exports</u>	<u>Negative Balance</u>
1966	\$1.3 Bil.	\$.9 Bil.	- .4 Bil.
1967	1.4 "	.9 "	- .5 "
1968	1.8 "	1.1 "	- .7 "
1969	2.2 "	1.3 "	- .9 "
1970	2.6 "	1.4 "	-1.2 "
1971	3.0 "	1.6 "	-1.4 "
1972	3.2 "	1.9 "	-1.3 "

Defense Share in Imports

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Imports</u>	<u>Defense Items</u>	<u>P.C. of Total</u>
1966	\$1.3 Bil.	\$.2 Bil.	15.4
1967	1.4 "	.4 "	28.6
1968	1.8 "	.4 "	22.2
1969	2.2 "	.5 "	22.7
1970	2.6 "	.8 "	30.8
1971	3.1 "	.9 "	29.0
1972	3.2 "	.9 "	28.1



VI. FINANCIAL FACTS

1971/72

- 1) Israel Government budget IL 15.1 billion (\$ 3.6 billion)
- 2) Defense costs, direct plus indirect IL 7.04 billion (\$ 1.68 billion)
- 3) Defense, as % of total budget: 47 %
- 4) Total income from taxes: IL 8.8 billion (\$ 2.1 billion)
- 5) Debt service (principal and interest), which was incurred primarily for defense reasons: IL 2.9 billion (\$ 690 million)
- 6) Defense costs plus debt service consume more than the entire tax income. No country in the world bears such a burden.

Defense costs	\$ 1.7 billion
Debt service	.69
	<hr/>
	\$ 2.39

Tax income	\$ 2.1
------------	--------



SUMMARY

- A. Expenditures. Total defense expenditures command 47% of the entire budget, 81% of tax revenue, and 27% of GNP. Defense expenses - \$ 1,715 Billion, are twice as large as the combined total expenses for Welfare Services (\$ 428 Billion) and Economic Development (\$ 452 Billion).
- B. Income. The burdensome heavy Israeli taxes (\$ 2.1 Billion) provide 58.3% of the income, whereas internal and external loans (\$ 1.5 Billion) - 41.7% of the total State revenue.
- C. Dollar Reserves. Israel's dollar reserves shrank (1971) to a dangerously low level of \$ 350-400 Million - equivalent to 6 weeks of imports costs.

CONCLUSION

In the fiscal year 1971/72 Israel's defence costs are five times more than they were during the year of the Six Day War.

If the de facto cease fire on the Suez Canal is maintained, defence expenditures will increase only marginally, because of the Arab arms build-up, and the need to purchase sophisticated equipment from the United States.

The Israeli citizen, bearing the heaviest tax burden in the entire world, will produce just enough revenue to cover the defence costs, and not enough to cover debt service. As immigration continues at an annual rate of 40,000 to 50,000, the full responsibility of the philanthropic burden as well as the financing of the economic development of Israel must be met by the free world Jewry.

To enable Israel to stand firm against Arab intransigence; to bolster Israel's economic growth; it is vital that higher goals be reached in 1972.

DECEMBER
~~October~~ 1971.

"Two Jews met this morning.

Two Jews met this morning at Lod Airport, outside of Tel Aviv, shortly after the sun came up.

One arrived on a luxury jet from Austria.

One arrived on an air conditioned bus from a luxury hotel, just days after he, too arrived on a luxury jet...from California.

Two Jews met in Israel, and for each it was the first time his feet had touched the land of his ancestors.

Two Jews met in Israel, and embraced, and shed tears without shame, and exchanged only one word:

'Shalom'

These two Jews embraced for several minutes, and wept together.

One was sixty and dressed in black and wore a hat and cried.

The other was fifty and dressed in double knit and cried.

The man dressed in black carried a small package...personal to him.

The man in double knit carried a small package...an expensive camera.

Both cried, and exchanged only the one word.

The man in black, three days before, left his home in Russia.

The man in double knit, three days before, left his home in California.

...these two Jews met this morning.

For the man in black, freedom became his, the dignity to live and worship (if he so desires) and work...and be free for the rest of his days.

For the other man, that which was his freedom--his personal, selfish freedom--was circumscribed, for the rest of his days, and his great treasure and his activities and his heart were no longer his alone.

I do not know the name of the man in black, nor did I see him again after the embrace and the tears, nor do I know from what city he came nor to what home he went.

I am the other man, and I say to you that when two Jews met this morning shortly after the sun came up, they met as brothers and as kinsmen and they exchanged freedom.

I now have less.

I wrote this to you, my children, because I want you to know what happened to your father this day, January 12, 1972."

written by Leonard Shane, Campaign Chairman, Orange County, California

I. HISTORIC DIMENSION

HISTORIC RETRIBUTION

CLOSING THE CIRCLE OF OUR GRANDPARENTS

MOST EXCITING EVENT SINCE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATE

DON'T TAKE MIRACLES FOR GRANTED

II. THREE SOVIET JEWRIES

1. CAUCASUS - CENTRAL ASIA - GEORGIA

2. POST-WAR-II ANNEXED TERRITORIES: LATVIA, LITHUANIA, ESTONIA

3. HEARTLAND: MOSCOW, LENINGRAD, KIEV, ODESSA

IN THREE GENERATIONS

1. PRE-REVOLUTION - now in 70's - YIDDISH

2. TRAGIC - now in 50's

3. YOUNG PEOPLE - now 20's, 30's - who experienced

The renaissance of Jewish identity; and
The militant dissent to give it expression.

IT 100 NOTE - WHO IS MAN WITH BEARD - HERZL - WHO?

They know nothing - want to come back to us.

III. TWO THEORIES

1. SLOW STEADY FLOW - $\frac{1}{2}$ million in 10-15 years

2. FAST GUSH - $\frac{1}{2}$ million in 3 years: dumping + drowning

3. OF COURSE, always possibility of CUT-OFF

IV. HOW THEY COME

1. <u>AFFIDAVITS</u>	-	1969	-	25,000
		1970	-	4,000
		1971	-	<u>40,000</u>
				69,000
same years -				<u>17,000</u> arrivals
1/1/72				52 in circulation
during 1972				<u>85</u> will be sent
		1972		137 arrivals
				<u>37</u>
1/1/73				100 in circulation

This represents pressure

2. INTERNAL SELF-HELP SYSTEM, up to now, to cover COSTS
3. NECESSITY OF SPREADING WORD THAT MONEY IS AVAILABLE TO ALL, FOR SUPPORT DURING WAITING PERIOD - THIS WILL ENCOURAGE APPLICATIONS
4. COST OF IMMIGRATION & ABSORPTION INTO ISRAEL - 10,000 per person
5. TOTAL ADDITIONAL 1972 COST - 250 million

V. STATE CARRIES OTHER BURDENS: DEFENSE GAP SOCIAL WELFARE

SAPR'S PHRASE: CRISIS OF DANGER (WAR)
CRISIS OF NEED (poverty)
CRISIS OF OPPORTUNITY (Russian dich)

VI. NOT ALL JEWS OF AMERICA ARE CARRYING THE BURDEN
(some are - read the letter)

VII. ISRAEL NEEDS YOU TO HELP OBTAIN TOTAL COMMITMENT.
EVERY JEW MUST CONTRIBUTE - AND MORE
PROTESTS HAVE GOTTEN THEM OUT - NOW WHO PAYS?

From HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

10 Feb (estimate 2000)

648 - to Vienna

short month
very cold in
morning
- 35°

January

3070

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

affidavits 90% out every day - 70,000
registrations at OVIC 50,000

average length of time in Vienna 2 days

250 beds ^{at Schoenau} - now being enlarged to 350
nearly another 80-100 = which makes
total beds in Vienna almost 450.

From HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Employment

- 1) no construction workers among Russians
lots of doctors, engineers, ~~bookkeepers~~ accountants
- 2) language
- 3) psychology - Russians don't want to look
for work - Gov't must provide
- 4) change vocations + professions - min. of labor
has 15 courses

Over-all: Paled estimate

80%	of immigrants of 1971	satisfied with housing
90%	"	and employed
76%	"	satisfied with their jobs
55%	"	" income

± 100 note - Russian ^{immigr} plan
Herzl picture
"who is man with beard?"

LEVANON
20 Jan 72

16,000 YEARLY
PARCELS, ARE SENT BY
JDC TO SMALLER CENTERS.

DURING LAST YEAR WE
SWITCHED TO ~~POSTAL~~ BANK MONEY
NARODNY BANK
ORDERS - TO FAMILIES OF
ARRESTED JEWS

~~SINCE IT~~

GEORGIAN JEWS HAVE ORGANIZED
SELF-HELP. THERE ARE 2 MILLIONAIRES.
WE AGREE TO REFUND THEM MONEY*
WHICH THEY ADVANCED TO JEWS IN
MOSCOW + KARKOV, AS WELL AS GEORGIANS.
NO GEORGIAN JEWS TAKE MONEY
FROM DUTCH EMBASSY.

A ONE POUND TO ONE RUBLE. ~~HAVE~~
ONE MILLION ALREADY REPAYED.

SOVIETS DONT CARE WHERE JEW
GOT MONEY.

SPIES PLANTED?

PROBABLY. BUT WE'LL RISK IT.

WE DON'T WANT TO CREATE AN
ATMOSPHERE OF SUSPICION BY MAKING
AN ELABORATE SCREENING SYSTEM.

WILL THEY BRING COMMUNISM TO
ISRAEL? NOT A CHANCE.
ON CONTRARY - THEY ARE REACTING
AGAINST SOCIALISM, OF ANY KIND.

DOCTORS - ENGINEERS OF RUSSIAN
TRAINING ARE LOWER LEVEL
THEY REQUIRE MUCH RETRAINING. WE
PAY A SCHOOL OR INSTITUTE ~~THE~~ HALF-
SALARY FOR A YEAR TO RETRAIN.

WILL THIS FLOW MAINTAIN?

ARAB REACTION IS BEGINNING. WE
WILL GET SETBACKS. BUT UNLESS THERE
IS BASIC CHANGE - FLOW SHOULD CONTINUE?

Peled - Rabli's meeting ^{N.Y.} 14 Feb 72

Asked Russian Jew - why did you leave?

1. Still anti-semitism in Eastern Europe
2. Learned there was Jewish community struggling for establishment of a Jewish state
3. Six-Day War created sense of how dear and important Israel was to him

Young people were most influenced by sense of pride which developed after Six-Day War.

Numbers from Russia work in a chain reaction. Five successful exits result in 50 more applications.

We must be prepared for a mass immigration.

Re absorption:

They come with a dream, and face reality.

The absorption of Russian Jews must become the central national problem of world Jewry.

(A)

I wanted to come to Palestine all my life. In 1946 my first husband and I tried to get a visa to Poland (he was born Polish citizen), thence to go to Palestine, to fight. We were refused. In 1948 he wrote to the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee saying he wanted to go to Palestine to fight for Jewish independence. He was refused. In 1950 he was arrested and received 10 years prison for writing that letter. He was released in 1955. In 1957 Poland agreed to accept its citizens from Russia. We tried and were refused. In 1959 he died.

In 1969 my boss told me he heard in Moscow Jews were getting exit visas for Israel. My whole family (six people) decided to try again. We went to Moscow, and were told by Jewish underground that if we had guts and created a fuss maybe we would get the visa. So we applied. They gave permission to my 81 year old father. We refused to accept it. They gave permission to my 22 year old son, because he was an activist and they wanted to get rid of him. The two went together to Israel in 1969.

Thereafter it took us two more years (half this time spent in Moscow) to get visas. We published articles in samizdat. I was detained twice - once in Moscow when we made a sit-down strike near the Supreme Soviet. My present husband was detained 5 days for signing a petition on behalf of Jewish exit.

When my son + father left in 1969 - 12 people accompanied them to airport. Most were friends.
When we left in 1971 - 40 accompanied us. Most had changed.

MR. MENEKER - MOSCOW

Story told
Oct 67

My family lived in Moscow 100 years.
My grandfather had the Order of St. George as a
Czarist soldier - hence permission to live in Moscow.

I had no Jewish background - was typical
Russian intellectual. After 1967 I returned to
Judaism. After 1968 Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia
I returned to Jewish national movement.

There is no Jewish organization in Russia
but there is a movement.

The number who want to go is increasing
from day to day.

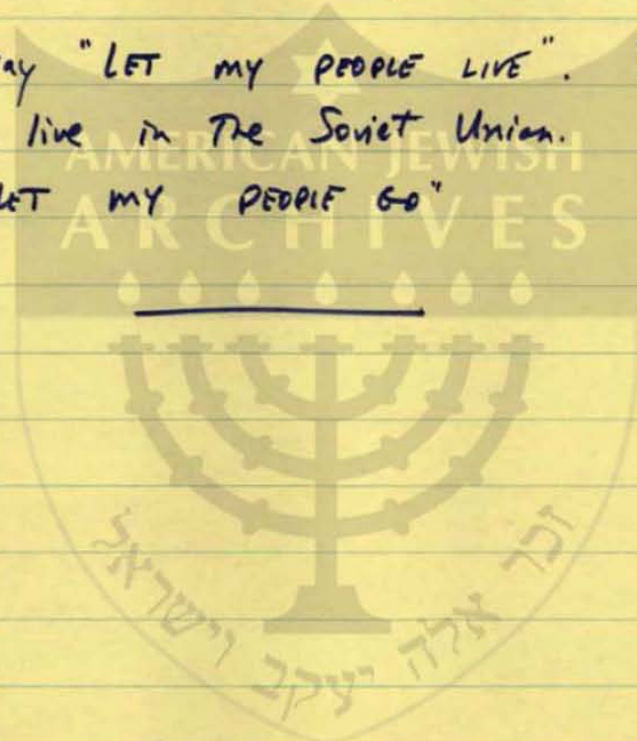
Number of activists is growing like mushrooms.
In 1969 we knew them all. Now we don't.

SEPT. 71

PROF. MIKHAIL ZAND

I had everything in The Soviet Union,
but I was a privileged slave, among slaves.
I was deprived of my human freedom (I was
arrested twice) and my Jewish identity.

Don't say "LET MY PEOPLE LIVE". They can't
live in The Soviet Union.
SAY "LET MY PEOPLE GO"



DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ISRAEL & USSR

1. Russians are used to idea that one gets a job, but can choose an apartment
2. In Israel, he is told that job he can choose, but an apartment he gets.

JOB

1. Russian doesn't know why he must run around from one possible employer to another.
2. He feels degraded (perhaps he is not personally suitable, or properly qualified) - and nervous (how will he eat?)
3. Vocational skills are not on high level.

Ha-aretz - 17 Dec 71

"There are Russian newcomers with vocations which do not exist in Israel at all. What kind of a job can you give to a Russian subway specialist, or to a 'chemist for shoe manufacturing'? In Israel such a worker is called a cobbler. In Russia he specialized in producing glue for shoes which were not stitched but glued together. In Russia he was famous as a highly skilled chemist with many inventions to his credit. In Israel he went to 26 places and he couldn't get a job until Hamegaper (rubber boots and tire repair plant) accepted him. When he showed them his inventions he was told that they were outdated and he was offended. It took him a while to adjust to the idea that he will have to work according to Israeli methods. Some Israeli employers are afraid to hire a former engineer and department manager to work as a simple technician and be subordinate to a department ^{even} manager who is not/an engineer. Others are afraid of competition. Then there are linguists and lawyers and artists who are experts in the Russian language, but cannot be utilized in Israel. Some of them can be retrained, and some cannot. Often it means a lower status and lower pay, and some of the newcomers feel deeply offended.

The kindergartens in the Soviet Union are from 8 A.M. to 4 P.M., so that the women can work. In Israel the hours of the kindergartens are shorter. But in view of the fact that 99% of the Soviet women newcomers are working-women, the short day in the kindergarten is a great handicap for them and some of them cannot go to work because of this. Being forced to stay home and unable to supplement the family income, they are resentful about it. There is also a similar situation in the lower classes of the public school, where the child still needs the mother's supervision in after-school hours. Another important point is discipline. In the U.S.S.R. discipline is very strict, while in Israel children get more freedom. The other day Russian newcomer children were asked what they think about Israeli children. They said: "They are wild and behave like street urchins."

But children adjust easily to new situations. Not so their parents. They are disappointed with the fact that in Israel, responsibility for discipline, good manners, etc, is left to the parents instead of to the school and the youth movement. This conflict between two educational methods causes worry to the parents from Russia, who are afraid that their children may become rebellious and difficult.

In the high schools there is a great difference in the level of studies between Israel and Russia. Mathematics, for example, which is popular in Russia, is not very popular with the Israeli students. Therefore, the Russian students sometimes say that in certain areas they know more than the Israeli students. They have great difficulties in studying literature and Bible, and their parents are afraid that because of these studies they will miss out in other fields.

In the university the situation is just the opposite. It seems that the Israeli university level is much higher than that of Russia. A high level of study is to be found in the academies in Russia, where one obtains a doctorate. Also, the Russian Jewish student has some difficulty in studying because most of the books that the Israelis use are in English. But in the third year of study, they overcome all these difficulties, and the professors say that they are not only serious students but also diligent. The students ~~is~~ administration has introduced a preparatory course for one year for the Russian students where they also study Hebrew. At the beginning they are disappointed because they feel that they are losing a year. But then they realize, that without this year of preparatory entrance examinations they could not pass the/examinations. This year the course was made compulsory for all candidates for the university.

However, it is regrettable that the Absorption Ministry and the Agency think that after transferring the newcomers to their permanent dwellings -- their task is finished. The local authorities do not demonstrate great absorption activity, apart from organizing a few holiday events. Therefore, the main burden of absorption falls on the local Workers Councils, which have only a small budget and sometimes no budget at all. The absorption institutions do not cooperate too closely with the Histadrut, although they praise the Histadrut.

The Association of Soviet Newcomers does wonderful work in absorption and has united many local organizations of Russian newcomers. But greater unity would have even a better effect. The Association has organized various holiday events, tours in the country, gatherings of young people, but it hasn't been successful in attracting many of the latest newcomers to its activities, and the main burden is still on the oldtimers. It is not the role of the Association to deal with absorption directly. It can only facilitate the process of absorption, especially as it has no branches everywhere.

Among the newcomers from Russia there are many artists because in Russia, too, the Jews take an important place among the artists, and they cannot be easily absorbed, because Israel has only one philharmonic orchestra, one opera, etc. The younger ones can choose another profession. But what should the older ones do? Only Histadrut can help them.

It is no secret that hardly any Soviet newcomers went into agriculture. The Kibbutz and the Moshav are considered by them as a "Kolhoz", and they know very little about the important role that agriculture has played in the development of the country, its economy and defense. As a result of a gathering of several hundred Russian newcomers in the Kibbutz Merom HaGolan, some of them decided to go to the Kibbutz. Some of them are ready to visit the Absorption Centers and to spread the word among the Russian newcomers, and also establish a nucleus of a Russian Kibbutz which would absorb additional Russian newcomers. They are trying to obtain a budget for their activities, but so far have been unsuccessful.

ABSORPTION PROBLEMS - Davar - 19 Dec 71

The Georgian Jews are a separate problem. They are Orthodox, they are not fluent in Russian, and have never been workers, but rather businessmen and merchants. If it is true that 30,000 out of the 80,000 Georgian Jews intend to come to Israel, then the problem of their absorption will become even more serious. It is important that active Jews from Georgia should organize now to handle this Aliya and it would be worthwhile to establish special Moshavim of Georgian Jews, after the fashion of Moshavim of Oriental Jews, which have been successfully organized in the past.

It is obvious that without Histadrut, absorption of Russian Jews will not be complete. The Absorption Department of Histadrut must mobilize funds and manpower to do this work and must cooperate closely with the absorption institutions of the Government and the Agency. It is regrettable that during 1971, when almost 15,000 Jews came from Russia, the Histadrut ~~has~~ ^{did} not publish even one brochure or paper in Russian. It is even more regrettable that the giant Avodah Party is doing very little for Russian Aliya. Meanwhile, the other parties try to frighten the newcomers by telling them that the Avodah Party and the Histadrut mean "socialism". The Avodah movement must become the main force in encouraging Aliya and in helping absorb the Russian newcomers.

ABSORPTION - al Hamishman - 26 Dec 71 - Interview with
Hillel Ashkenazi

The reporter asked Mr. Ashkenazi about the possible necessity to build Maabarot, tin and asbestos huts, for the newcomers, and he answered: "For this Aliya such an idea is not relevant at all. It is true, the newcomers leave because of oppression, but they are not persecuted in the sense that they could be called a 'catastrophic Aliya'. Those Jews come to us from a country where they lived under reasonable material conditions, and if the basic conditions here will not satisfy them they may postpone their Aliya. Even the present absorption conditions constitute for them a lowering of the standards of living. There will be no Maabarotst, because they simply will not come.

"It is true they suffer there, but not materially. They suffer mainly spiritually and from the national point of view. If it were not for their struggle for Aliya, as a result of this suffering, they wouldn't be arrested and fired from their jobs, and placed on trial. Therefore, it is very important that the absorption conditions here should be the proper ones, because they may have a strong influence on their readiness to come. I personally believe that the needs for housing can be satisfied, on condition that all unessential construction be stopped. I do not propose to stop construction for young couples or for slum dwellers. The budget for next year has not yet been fixed. I cannot imagine that a situation could arise, when changes in Aliya would not be reflected in the budget. The Absorption Ministry will have to enlarge its staff when necessary, and I hope we will find the right people.

(next ...)

Ashkenazi - continued

"There are, of course, disappointments among some of the newcomers. This is a result of a different way of life and also of a lack of contact between us in the past. But the disappointments are mainly in the first year of their arrival. In general one can say, the newcomers adjust well, and the central ~~question~~ question is whether the oldtimers in Israel will be ready to absorb them socially, in employment, in housing, in education, and in personal contacts. Our first contact with newcomers from Russia takes place in Vienna. There is no organized Aliya in Russia, and there is no Aliya of complete communities. This is an individual Aliya. Only in Israel will the newcomers learn to adjust, and I think it is very important that voluntary organization of Parties, youth, women, can do much in this area. The social absorption unit of the Absorption Ministry is ready to give information. Among the Russian Olim people with academic education amount to 30-40% (from the United States 60%). I do not think that they will constitute a special severe problem. As to the question whether they will go to the Kibbutzim or not -- this must be considered on a voluntary basis. We have to avoid any pressure, which may bring about opposite results. There will be no differences in the housing standards of the newcomers from the West and those from the U.S.S.R."

RATIONING

— Haaretz 31 Dec 71

According to the latest estimates about Aliya in 1972, prevailing in Government and Agency circles in Israel, as many as 70,000 newcomers may be expected, 50% of whom or more may come from Russia, says Haaretz (Dec. 31). The economic adviser of Minister Sapir, Ephraim Dovrat, said yesterday that mass-Aliya may under certain conditions lead to the necessity of rationing and control, as was done during the

Tzerna period of Dov Joseph. Speaking about the control of prices, at a meeting in Tel Aviv, Mr. Dovrat said: "There is no guaranteed that we will not have to again introduce control of prices in the manner of Dov Joseph. If there will be a limited war, or of there is a mass Aliya in 1972 — something which was a remote possibility a few months ago, but now looks very likely -- we may enter a situation where it will be impossible to provide the people with essential products at reasonable prices, unless we introduce far-reaching controls."

When the reporter asked Mr. Dovrat to elaborate, he said: "If mass Aliya comes, we will have to rely on increased capital imports. The United Jewish Appeal ^{leaders} campaign in the United States and in the European countries are making preparations for increased mobilization of funds for an increased Aliya from the U.S.S.R. But even if the resources available will not be sufficient -- we will not close the gates of Aliya. If the number of newcomers per year will be 100,000, we will surely not be able to provide for them housing and absorption conditions as we have done heretofore. We will give them a minimal absorption level and we will distribute the resources in a just manner by introducing rationing. Dov Joseph, despite all the criticism voiced against him, was an answer to the problems of his period!"

INCREASE of ALIYAH - Ha-aretz - 6 Jan 72

"The general impression is that not only a qualitative change, but also a quantitative change has taken place in Russian Aliya. In the area of natural sciences (as distinguished from other sciences), only engineers and academic people have come until now. But researchers of high standing were very rare. The story about Professor Lerner, one of the great computer experts in Russia, who asked for an exit permit and was dismissed from his job and from teaching responsibilities, and the story of similar well-known scientists, show that the ~~Sov~~ Soviet authorities are unable to curb even the first-rate scientists from leaving the country. Experts in Soviet matters feel that the authorities cannot successfully resist this pressure, because it is becoming widespread. They could use terror and suppression, but then they would have to confront hundreds of thousands of Russian Jews in many cities and towns. Soviet authorities wouldn't like to see a chain reaction and violent protest from abroad.

In a previous statement in Canada, Kosygin admitted that there are masses of young Jews who want to go to Israel. On this occasion he said that anyone who wants to emigrate can do so. In other words, he didn't ~~try~~ try to deny the existence of the 'Jewish question', and he didn't try to explain why the Jews shouldn't be permitted to leave. He tried rather to create the impression that the authorities are fulfilling these demands. This gives the Jews in Russia ~~x~~ an additional point to be used when they apply for exit permits.

"Reports from Russia say that the Jews are, indeed, standing on their rights promised to every Soviet citizen according to the Constitution and the Law. A Jew in Vilna submitted a complaint to the court about his dismissal from his job, because he had requested a letter of reference in order to obtain a passport. The court is still avoiding a decision in this matter. In Moscow, Kiev and Odessa Jews submitted a statement to the municipality that they intend to demonstrate and carry placards which will state in Russian and Hebrew: "Let Us Return to Our Historic Fatherland." They also promised not to disturb the public peace. The authorities denied their request, but the story was spread all over Russia.

(more...)

Ha-arely - Jan 72 (cont.)

"In Moscow seven Jewish engineers who were refused an exit permit, because of the confidential work they did, submitted a request stating that the obligation to secrecy does not annul their civil rights and their rights to emigrate, which is promised under Soviet law. The court rejected their appeal and they intend to take further legal steps. It is not true that the Soviet authorities stopped dismissing people from jobs for wanting to emigrate. Only laborers, salesmen and clerks are not harassed for this reason, but they were not harassed in the past either. Not so writers, teachers, and scientists and engineers, who continue to lose their jobs when they apply for exit permits. Moreover, now the problem is even more acute because of the increase in the number of people from the intelligentsia, who expressed their wish to go to Israel and are forced to leave their jobs and do menial work. It is still not clear what the Soviet guidelines are in approving or refusing exit permits. In some cases they have rejected for years the requests for exit permits, even where the applicant was an older person. In other cases young people were encouraged to submit their requests and to leave as early as possible. Witnesses in previous trials were given preference to leave, but people ~~xxx~~ who were sentenced were not given amnesty. The authorities are interested in creating the impression that people involved in the democratic movement in Russia are 'mainly Jews'. At the same time the Jews who asked for exit-permits and organized protest demonstrations point out that this is the only thing they want and that they are not striving to change the regime, or even criticize it.

"As to the coming year 1972 experts expressed the hope that the present liberal approach of the authorities in issuing exit-permits will continue, except in January when it may be 'somewhat limited,' as Victor Louis hinted. The authorities fix a certain quota of Jews to be let out in a certain period, and if they surpass this quota they try to lower the number temporarily. But the dynamics of Jewish pressure continue, and if there is no basic change in the Kremlin's approach it may be assumed that the authorities will adjust the quotas for 1972 to the demands which made themselves felt in the last few months of 1971."

HOUSING

Mr. Zeev Sharef, Minister of Housing, told the Economic Committee of the Knesset (Davar, Jan. 12) that in view of the increase in Aliya there will be a ~~definitive~~ shortage of 3,000 apartments beyond the construction possibilities of this year. It is estimated by the Housing Ministry that this year 44,500 housing units of all kinds can be provided, while the actual need is estimated to be 47,500. The increase in housing unit prices is a result of the higher demand over the supply, and the freezing of apartment prices will slow down the demand. The Ministry is now considering a proposal by contractors to supply them with land, and in exchange they will sell 50% of the apartments under the Ministry's supervision and the other 50% in the free market. The Ministry has today at its disposal 34,000 housing units in various stages of construction. Approximately half of these apartments is earmarked for newcomers.

The Director General of the Housing Minister Josef Sharon told a press conference in Jerusalem on Jan. 12 that the Housing Ministry will provide 19,500 housing solutions for 65,000 newcomers who will arrive in Israel. There will be 12,000 new apartments in cities and towns, 500 in agricultural settlements, 1,000 vacant apartments from former tenants, 1,500 housing facilities with the help of the Absorption Ministry in the form of loans^s and grants, and 4,500 mortgages to newcomers who bought their own apartments.

The Housing Ministry will supply apartments at the rate of 1,000-1,100 per month, as compared with 600-700 per month today. This will be accomplished by accelerating the construction of 17,000 newcomer apartments which are now being built. The Ministry will also begin to build 6,000 additional apartments. This will be done by various contractors and efforts have been made to help the contractors to obtain the plumbing supplies and to facilitate approval of blueprints by the city planners. All facilities for pre-fabricated houses will be made full use of. Construction workers are now asking the Treasury to alleviate their tax^mburden in the case of overtime, and negotiations are now going on with the Treasury to this effect. The contractors will also be given incentive awards to finish before the deadline. The possibility is also being considered of bringing to Israel pre-fabricated buildings and foreign construction workers, such as from Yugoslavia, in the event Aliya becomes even greater.

(more...)

HOUSING - (cont.)

In 1971, 37,500 new apartments were completed, or 21% more than in 1970, when ~~31,000~~ 31,000 were completed. In 1971, 23,000 were built by private contractors, 10% more than in 1970, and another 15,500 by the Housing Ministry, which is 40% more than in 1970 (11,000 apartments). In 1971 also, 9,300 rooms were added to existing apartments, against 7,000 in 1970. In 1972, 45,000 new apartments will be completed, of them 26,000 by private contractors and 18,500 by the Housing Ministry.

It is to be noted that in 1971 Israel began building 45,000 apartments, against 44,000 in 1970 and 36,000 in 1969. A beginning was also made to build

8,000 additional rooms to existing apartments. Other construction work was restricted in 1971 and was 10% less than in 1970, so that construction for newcomers and the socially needy could be increased. The average space in the housing units built by the Ministry in 1971 was 75 square meters, compared with 77 square meters in the two previous years (a decrease in area by 3%). The average size of an apartment in private construction was 105 square meters, compared with 103 square meters in the two previous years. The general average in size of apartments which began to be built in 1971 was 93 square meters.

Maariv reports (Jan. 12) that there is no unity of opinion between the Housing Ministry and the Ministry of Absorption with regard to the number of necessary housing solutions. The Absorption Ministry thinks that 24,000 solutions are needed for the 65,000 newcomers of 1972, while the Housing Ministry feels that the existing standards of 19,510 solutions are sufficient.

PELED

Three hundred members of Maarach, who are active in absorption, were told by Absorption Minister Nathan Peled (Davar, Jan. 14⁷²) that Maarach must establish a national staff for absorption. The day is near, he said, when hundreds of thousands of Soviet Olim will come to Israel. The problem must be considered in the light of its seriousness and its fatefulness, for Israel's national future. The Government and the Agency may be compelled to find special ways of financing absorption, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, and people of means will have to make special contributions. But even if the financing problem is solved, there will be a problem of housing in 1972. It is not easy to turn a housing budget into ready-made apartments. We must import from abroad prefabricated houses and also use various sanitariums and hotels for this purpose. There will also be a problem of employment, especially among academic people. Minister Peled accused the extreme Orthodox circles of exploiting the Georgian Jews, in order to attack the Labor movement. It is a lie to state that anybody in Israel is interested in preventing them from living a religious life. He said: "We will not permit the extremists to incite the Georgian Jews against Israel and Israeli society."

DULTZIN

Treasurer of the Agency Avieh Dulzin told the journalists' conference in Jerusalem on Jan. 13 that in 1972 Israel may be able to absorb 250,000 newcomers. He said: "This is our answer to the statement of the Soviet diplomat in Washington that the U.S.S.R. will permit so many Jews to go to Israel that they will flood the country and that Israel will be unable to absorb and employ them."

FRIDAY, JANUARY 14, 1972

DULZIN:

250,000 immigrants can be absorbed in 1972

TEL AVIV. — "Israel could absorb 250,000 immigrants in 1972. I believe that we would receive them with open arms and be able to plan for their complete absorption." This was stated by the treasurer of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Arye Dulzin, in a talk to the World Conference of Jewish Journalists here yesterday.

Mr. Dulzin said that this was his reply to reports that a Soviet diplomat in Washington said that Russia will allow so many Jews to emigrate to Israel that they will flood the Jewish State. "Nobody ever dreamed that we would receive and absorb 11,000 immigrants from the U.S. and another 13,000 from Soviet Russia last year," he said.

(Mr. Dulzin was referring to the lead story in yesterday's "Ha'aretz" which states that "several Soviet diplomats in Washington" had warned that Russia will allow so many Jews out of the country that Israel will be unable to absorb them — especially from the labour point of view.

(The paper's reporter says the (unnamed) diplomats told him that the Soviet authorities will allow those Jews who want to, to leave for Israel — apart from those who could add to Israel's military potential or who hold "delicate" positions. They are reported to have said the estimate of 35,000 persons this year could be far, far too modest.

(The Jerusalem Post reliably learns that no additional information on Soviet intentions to flood Israel with immigrants had reached Jerusalem. The report from the "Ha'aretz" correspondent has been the only hint, and the fact that it came from a comparatively low ranking diplomatic source indicated that it need not be taken too seriously.

NIXON VISIT

(Nevertheless, the Soviets might have a motive in letting the Jews go — to create a better atmosphere for President Nixon's projected visit to Moscow, as well as mollifying the European Communist parties, which have been pressing for liberalization in the Soviet emigration policy. But whether the "Ha'aretz" report is true or not, the fact is that large

numbers of Jews are continuing to come.)

Mr. Dulzin said that the spate of immigration from the Soviet Union had put an end to the argument between the Jews of the world on how to solve the Jewish problem. "Those revolutionary Jews who thought the Bolshevik Revolution had solved the Jewish problem are being proved incorrect by their grandchildren," he said.

"The problem can only be solved in Israel. A youngster in the Soviet Union does not say that he is emigrating to Israel, but claims that he is returning to his homeland," he added.

Mr. Dulzin said that if there is peace in the world there will be an estimated 25 million Jews by the end of the century. Of these only eight million are expected to live in Israel.

The reason for this, he said, was that only 20 per cent of Jewish youth today are receiving a Jewish education. He warned that if mass assimilation is to be prevented, serious efforts must be made to educate more Jewish children.

300 PAPERS

Mr. Avraham Shenkar, head of the World Zionist Organization's information department, told the journalists that information on Israel was being distributed through some 300 Jewish newspapers throughout the world. He said, however, that no longer were these newspapers just interested in promoting Israel's official image. They also wanted material on the country's problems — such as housing and the Panthers — and were publishing it.

He asked the assembled editors to "think again" about their relationship with Israel, since "Zionism was dependent on journalism."

Meanwhile Mr. Jim Vish, Chairman of the English-speaking Jewish Journalists Association, told the delegates in Jerusalem yesterday that Education Minister Yigal Alon is to attend the annual conference of the American Academy of Education, due to take place in Washington on May 5. Mr. Alon will open the conference with a lecture on the problems of education in Israel.

KOFER ALIYAH - FUND

#47

January 20, 1972

ISRAEL PRESS REVIEW

HAF

The Parliamentary correspondent of Haaretz reports (Jan. 12) that Minister of the Treasury Pinchas Sapir told the Finance Committee of the Knesset that an increase in the number of immigrants by 25,000 in 1972 over and above the 45,000 originally expected this year, will cost the economy an additional \$250 million, of which \$100, million will have to be spent during the first year. Out of this \$100 million the Jewish Agency will mobilize \$50 million abroad in loans -- over and above the ordinary Campaign funds -- and an additional \$50 million (or IL. 210 million) will be obtained in Israel. Half of this sum will be obtained from Israeli banks in loans and the other half approximately was assumed as an obligation by the Public Council which consists of various sectors of the economy and is headed by Mark Moshevitx (Manufacturers Association) and Kadish Luz. The Minister expressed the hope that by February 22 he will be able to submit to the Knesset a budget proposal of approximately IL. 16,500,000,000.

IL 100

of attacks. The crowd shouted "Burn, baby, burn!" when the roof caved in, and a placard read ADOLF HITLER IS ALIVE AND LIVING IN 10 DOWNING STREET. Lynch apologized for the incident, which he said had been carried out by "a small minority" of subversives. He offered to reimburse the British government for the \$255,000 in damages, but he could not promise to control the anti-British sentiment.

That feeling was running strong in the Republic all week long. A bomb damaged Dublin's monument to the Duke of Wellington. Airport workers refused to service British airplanes, forcing flight cancellations. Toward the end of the week a mob of more than 1,000 badly damaged the British Railways office in Cork with fire bombs.

Black Flags. To demonstrate Ireland's sense of solidarity with the Catholics in the North, five members of Lynch's Cabinet, as well as mayors of nine Eire cities, attended the mass funeral in Londonderry for the 13 victims of Bloody Sunday. Cardinal Conway presided over the hour-long service at St. Mary's Church. Outside, 10,000 mourners prayed in a bleak, icy rain. As the throng murmured in unison, "May the angels lead you into paradise, martyrs await your coming," a woman groaned, "No, no, no." "Jimmy, my lover boy," sobbed another woman, upon seeing one of the 13 identical hardwood coffins. "He was only 17," moaned a third.

In town, all shops were closed, and from almost every window in the Bogside and Creggan ghettos black flags were displayed. In Stewartstown, some 50 miles away, a Catholic pub that stayed open was bombed and one man was killed—thereby raising to 234 the number of dead in Ulster since the summer of 1969. Mourners also marked the spots where the victims had fallen and died with flags, crude crosses and rosaries.

Londonderry remained quiet that night; it was said that the I.R.A. was observing a truce until the obsequies were finished. But the violence did not stop completely. In Belfast, a sniper killed a British sentry. A 100-lb. gelignite bomb exploded in a downtown department store, wounding nine civilians and two policemen. Two soldiers were slightly injured by sniper fire in the Catholic Andersonstown district. After the funeral it was business as usual for the terrorists and their sympathizers. In the Lower Falls Road district of Belfast, Catholics rioted for more than four hours and pelted army patrols.

During the week there were more than 200 such incidents. Then came last Sunday and Newry. And next Sunday? One of the bleakest realities of Ulster now is that almost every weekend can produce yet another Bloody Sunday—as long as the marches go on and the troops are there and the gunmen are seeking revenge.

BANGLADESH

Recognizing Reality

Bangladesh is gaining recognition. Last week Britain, West Germany and ten other Western states formally recognized the new nation, bringing to 29 the number of countries that have established diplomatic relations with the government of Sheik Mujibur Rahman. Britain's decision, Foreign Secretary Sir Alec Douglas-Home told the House of Commons shortly before he left for a visit to India, "recognized the reality of what has happened in the area over the past month, and will be the beginning for us of a new era of friendship and cooperation with all the countries of the subcontinent."

Recognition by Britain, even

Commonwealth status, Pakistan was quitting it. Then Bhutto flew to Peking, where the Chinese agreed to convert \$110 million in loans to Pakistan into grants and to defer payment of a \$200 million loan made last year.

For all its diplomatic conquests, Bangladesh was still coping with internal turmoil. In two Dacca suburbs bitter fighting broke out between Bengalis and members of the hated pro-Pakistan Bihari minority. The incident apparently began when some Pakistani soldiers, who had escaped capture by hiding among Bihari sympathizers since the surrender in December, began firing at refugees returning to claim their homes. Troops of the Bangladesh army were sent in to flush them out. In the fighting, at least 100 Bengali troops were reported killed or wound-



SHEIK MUJIB RECEIVING ARMS FROM MUKTI BAHINI AT DACCA CEREMONY

Also a plea for tolerance and forgiveness.

though it had been expected for some time, was cause for jubilation in Dacca. Smiling, Mujib told newsmen that his country would join the Commonwealth. The alliance is expected to serve as a balance to Bangladesh ties with the Soviet Union, a staunch ally of the Bengalis in the nine-month civil war with West Pakistan.

Not the Last. An unanswered question is what Washington will do about Bangladesh. The State Department said last week that recognition "is not under active consideration," although Administration sources have suggested that the U.S. "would not be the last" to recognize Bangladesh. President Nixon is still angry at India for going to war with Pakistan. The Administration also wants to give Pakistani President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto time to establish some form of association with Mujib's government—unlikely as that link now seems.

While Bangladesh approached

ed, as well as an undisclosed number of civilians.

At a huge arms surrender ceremony in Dacca, Mujib pleaded for tolerance and forgiveness for the Biharis. The Mukti Bahini turned in at least 20,000 weapons at the ceremony, and government officials were satisfied that the number of arms yet to be collected from the guerrilla army was small.

Inevitably, however, Bengali passions were further inflamed by new discoveries of atrocities committed by the Pakistan army. No one was safe from the bloodbath; in the last days before the surrender, Pakistani troops killed Indian army prisoners and even their own wounded. In three sites near the city of Khulna, great piles of human skulls and skeletons led observers to estimate that 100,000 people died in that area alone. To determine the full extent of the carnage, Mujib has ordered a house-to-house census throughout the country.

Absorbing an Aliyah

Twelve years ago, David Ben-Gurion, who was then Israel's Premier, advised his countrymen to prepare for what would "possibly be the greatest event in our history." He was referring to the "great day" when the gates of Israel would be opened to accept masses of Soviet Jews. Ben-Gurion's prophecy is now coming true: the gates are indeed swinging wide for the largest wave of Russian Jews to leave their homeland since the days of the czarist pogroms. Last year 15,000 arrived, against only 1,000 in 1970; this year, 45,000 are expected. If the flow continues at this pace—something that depends on the mercurial emigration policies of Soviet authorities—500,000 Russian Jews will have landed in Israel by the end of the '70s.

Under the Law of Return, Israel offers citizenship and a new homeland to any Jew. Thus there is no question that the vast hordes of those leaving the Soviet Union will all be accepted. But the immigration for which Israelis and Jews elsewhere have so passionately agitated is beginning to pose serious problems for Israel. Taking care of the immigrants has put an almost impossible burden on Israel's already strained economic resources. This year the government has allotted \$650 million to pro-

DAVID RUBINGER



RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS WAITING FOR FLIGHT TO ISRAEL AT VIENNA AIRPORT

We have to forget what happened at Chop.

vide for newcomers; even the sacrosanct defense budget had to be slashed to help find the money. U.S. bond holders, Israel's biggest outside benefactors, have been asked for a record \$450 million this year. Last week both Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir were in the U.S. to do some fund-raising.

The new money is needed to transport the immigrants to Israel by air from Vienna (see box), teach them He-

brew, and retrain specialists whose Russian skills—dentistry and law, for instance—are inadequate by Israeli standards. New housing must also be provided, since Israel is chronically short of living space.

Crash spending, however, can do little to mitigate the psychological strains created by this latest *aliyah* (immigration wave). "These Russians," says Minister of Immigrant Absorption Nathan Peled, who came to Israel from

The Journey to Israel

The trip from Moscow to Israel for Russia's emigrating Jews includes a two-day train trip or three-hour flight to Vienna, a 24-hour layover there for processing by Israeli immigration officials, and finally another three-hour flight to Israel. For those who make the journey, often after months or years of waiting, it is very close to being a religious experience, as TIME Correspondent Marlin Levin discovered last week when he boarded a refugee train at the Austrian border village of Hohenau.

WE are going to Israel without a stop. We have to forget what happened at Chop." A rabbi at the Schönau processing center, in a 12th century castle outside Vienna, sometimes croons this and other homemade balalaika ditties to Russian wayfarers in order to ease the tension. Chop is a town on the Soviet-Hungarian border through which some of them passed by train. It was the scene of their last encounter with Russian officials, and one of the least pleasant.

"The Russian customs men—may their names be forgotten—tore the sable collar off my coat and kept it," complains a middle-aged woman from Odessa. Another woman protests that Soviet guards pried the stones from her rings; with a cold laugh, a companion says that they took her rings altogether. Still another woman describes an internal examination by a doctor searching for valuables or "papers." The departing Jews have already paid \$560 each in rubles in order to renounce Soviet citizenship and \$448 more for new travel documents. When they complain of delays, the guards snarl, "*Zhidovskaya morda* [kike face]. For us, you people are not even human beings."

After such treatment, the travelers are wary and withdrawn when they arrive in Austria. "They're easy to spot," says an Israeli official in Vienna. "They always ride the last

two cars. But if you have any doubts, just call out '*Shalom aleichem* [peace be with you].'"

The emigrants are there in the overheated rear coaches, smelling of the garlic, goat's cheese, cooked eggs and potatoes that nourished them through the 1,240-mile trip from Moscow. "The air in here is not too fresh," says David Fish, 45, building engineer from Vilna. "But now it is free, and it is good to breathe free air." The Soviet trainman sighs. "I don't understand why Jews must leave Russia," he says. "We live well together." Another traveler, a landscape architect, explains with mock seriousness: "You see, in Russia it is very cold. But in Israel it is very warm, and Jews like warmth."

When the processing in the old castle near Vienna is over, the groups are bused to Vienna's Schwechat Airport for a night flight to Israel. Every seat in the plane is quickly filled; as it rolls down the runway, some emigrants recite the traditional prayer for a safe journey. One man cries out, "*Shema, Yisrael, Adonay Eloheinu Adonay Ehad* [Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One]."

Aloft, only the children can sleep. German Mazin, 60, of Odessa, has waited 35 years for this night. "This is Israeli territory," he says. "So please now address me by my Hebrew name 'Gershon' instead of 'German.'"

As the sun comes up over Israel, the steward makes an announcement: "You are now over Tel Aviv. Blessed be your coming." The 707 wheels, dips and lands lightly; as it does, the passengers burst into applause and patriotic Hebrew songs. "God bless Golda Meir," shouts an exuberant Georgian. Gershon Mazin sings an old Zionist song, *Peace to you, O Jerusalem*.

Mazin studies a Lod Airport sign and says, "This is reality. This is not a dream. No, it cannot be true. This must be a film. It just isn't real. It just isn't real." Walking toward the desks where processing will be completed, he pauses and grabs his wife's arm. "Look, there," he says. "That man in uniform. He's a Jewish policeman."

Russia 39 years ago, "come with high potential. But before they realize it, they must come to terms with a new kind of society that has its rich and poor, primitive and highly cultured, socialist and capitalist, religious and secular." Most of the immigrants, for instance, are totally baffled by such routine fiscal necessities as checking accounts and bank loans. Accustomed to scarcity, they are suspicious of well-stocked supermarkets. Most of the Russians are obviously familiar with short-wave broadcasts by Israel's government radio; they complain that "Kol [meaning voice of] Israel" misled them by not mentioning crime in the Promised Land or the fact that not all Israelis are devoutly religious. A handful, disenchanting by it all, returned to Russia.

The decision to leave Russia was traumatic for many emigrants. No other dissidents are allowed to leave the Soviet Union, and Russians consider Jewish departures an act of betrayal; thus anti-Semitism intensifies after they decide to go. An oil engineer recalls being hauled before a meeting of 300 fellow workers. "You should be sent to Siberia, not Israel," one of them told him angrily. As a result they tend to clannishness when they reach Israel. About 15% decline government offers to locate them and move in with relatives instead. "They usually find," says an absorption ministry worker, "that after the first five days the picnic is over and the relatives want them out. Then they come back to us."

Overly Pampered. Many Israelis, both natives and absorbed, resent the reclusive habits of the newcomers from Russia and the attention paid to them by the government. One widespread complaint is that they are overly pampered. Watching an El Al 747 jet arrive from Vienna recently with 326 immigrants aboard, a waitress at Lod Airport's restaurant summed up the mood. "These Russians should only be well and find their place in Israel," she said. "But why we have to give them such big apartments and spoil them the way we do, I don't know. When I came with my husband from Poland, we got nothing. We lived in a tent." University students protest that immigrants receive priority in admissions, on-campus jobs and housing over Israelis returning to school after compulsory military service.

The bitterest complaints come from Israel's 1,500,000 Sephardic (Oriental) Jews, many of them villagers from Africa, Asia and Arab nations, who constitute a minority in Israel. At least 20% of its population exist at or below poverty level; most of these are Sephardic Jews. "If the government spends \$35,000 to absorb a Russian family," asks David Sitton, leader of Israel's Sephardic community, "why does it not spend the same amount to help our people who were immigrants themselves 20 years ago and never got what the Russians are getting?" Adds

Charley Biton, Moroccan-born leader of a Sephardic youth gang that has consciously modeled itself on America's Black Panthers, "I don't care if Russian Jews come, but I don't want it at the expense of us Orientals."

Taking account of Sephardic resentment, the government, from the tight new budget adopted last month by the Cabinet, is also allocating funds to fight poverty. A total of \$250 million over the next five years will be used to improve or build housing for 47,000 families living below the poverty line; other funds will be spent on day-care centers and job-training for school dropouts like Charley Biton. But if a fiscal crunch comes, priorities are clear. "Defense and immigration must come first," Golda Meir has told the nation.



BREZHNEV WELCOMING SADAT AT MOSCOW AIRPORT

MIDDLE EAST

Rounding Up the Strays

In trying to achieve an interim Middle East peace agreement, the U.S. often resembles a sheep dog straining to keep its flock together: as fast as one errant lamb is maneuvered back into line, another one darts away. Last year Washington conceived the idea of "proximity discussions," in which the Egyptians, who refuse to negotiate directly with the Israelis, could do so through a third party, probably U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Joseph Sisco. When the idea was first proposed last year, Egypt agreed but Israel held out. Secretary of State William Rogers had proposed a six-point plan for the opening of the Suez Canal to serve as a possible blueprint for the talks; Israel protested that the U.S. was acting more like an arbiter than a mediator. Last week, after lengthy discussions the Israelis finally agreed to negotiate.

Israel received substantial benefits for agreeing to take part, so much so that Israeli-American relations have risen from an alltime low last fall to a new high. For one thing, the U.S. decided to deliver 40 or so Phantom jets that Premier Golda Meir had sought to buy for a year. The Administration has indicated that the planes will be shipped piecemeal and for only as long as Israel continues to be cooperative. In an election year, however, Nixon is not likely to hold back on jets that have become a symbol of American support for Israel.

Nonconsenting. In addition, Sisco and Israeli Ambassador Yitzhak Rabin have worked out certain "clarifications" of the U.S. role in the negotiations. Washington will be free to propose solutions if deadlocks arise or arrangements falter. Any new U.S. suggestions will be broached privately to Israel, instead of being sprung publicly as Rogers' six points were last fall. "We're happy with the arrangement," says one Israeli diplomat in Washington. "It provides a satisfactory link between two nonconsenting adults."

The timing of last week's announcement of agreement in Jerusalem was hardly accidental. It coincided with a trip to Moscow by Egypt's President Anwar Sadat, who angrily maintains that he has broken all contacts with the U.S. on any talks. Thus Sadat, instead of Golda Meir, could now be cast as the reluctant party. The U.S. is hopeful that Sadat, after he returns to Cairo, will decide to take part in the discussions, which have been dubbed "hotel talks" be-

cause, in one proposed formulation, all three parties would be housed in a single hotel.

Unfortunately, the Egyptian attitude toward the U.S. has cooled as that of the Israelis has grown warmer, and for the same reason: the agreement on the Phantoms. As one Cairo journalist puts it: "How can anyone depict Washington as an honest broker? The White House has already dealt the cards to the other side." Beyond that, Egypt's mood after four years of no peace, no war is one of frustration; demonstrating university students in Cairo three weeks ago demanded that the country go to war, even if it loses. Sadat, though he is no longer confident that he can recover Sinai, has promised war but he will not say when. To the despair of Egyptians, Russians and Americans, Sadat painted himself into a corner last year by proclaiming "a year of decision," then neatly got out of his predicament by telling countrymen that the India-Pakistan war had postponed Middle East

confrontations. Visiting troops at Aswan last week just before he left for Moscow, Sadat told them: "The decision for the battle has been taken and is not debatable." Then he added: "I will set the new zero hour after I have talked to the Soviet leaders."

Unofficial Visit. Since Sadat was in Moscow only four months ago and was lavishly received by Soviet Leader Leonid Brezhnev, his latest trip was simply billed as a "friendly unofficial visit." The Russians confined it to working sessions and laid on no banquets, although Brezhnev extended to Sadat the courtesy of an airport greeting. If Egypt's President had gone to Moscow to seek new offensive weapons for the war he hopes to wage against Israel, he was disappointed. A joint communiqué issued at meeting's end spoke vaguely of strengthening Egypt's military capability, but there was no hint of a promise of additional arms.

Actually, the Soviet view—particularly with Nixon due to visit Moscow in May—is that a political solution is the desired course. The Russians are not anxious to see Washington earn credit for it, however. Thus last week's communiqué made no mention of the hotel talks or Israel's readiness to negotiate. Instead the Soviets and Egyptians called for the resumption of other, broader peace talks under the aegis of United Nations Mediator Gunnar Jarring; these discussions have been stalled for a year. Israel dislikes Jarring's approach. He has shown himself more rigid than Rogers by pressing for commitments from Jerusalem on borders before real negotiations begin, and the Israelis are resisting his efforts. If they continue to do so, and if Sadat shies away from the hotel talks, the sheep dog will have to go to work again, rounding up the strays.

JOEY SMALLWOOD AS JOURNALIST



CANADA

No More Hurrahs

"Almighty God said, 'I think I'll raise him up to persuade Newfoundlanders to join Canada. If he persuades them, Newfoundland is going to need a Premier.'" And that, as Joey Smallwood liked to confide at political gatherings, was more or less how he came to be called, in one of his favorite phrases, "the Only Living Father of Confederation." Others prefer to describe him as the "Kwame Nkrumah of Newfoundland." Until he retired last week from the province's Liberal Party leadership after 23 years of almost absolute power, Smallwood was one of the Western Hemisphere's most benign demagogues and Canada's most

DICK GREEN



AND CAMPAIGNING (1971)
The only living father.

entertaining politician. As he often put it: "I'm sort of a tourist attraction."

Characteristically, Smallwood until the last minute had Canada's wintry, easternmost province in an uproar over whether, at 71, he might somehow hear a call to remain in politics, or even wangle his way back into office. Narrowly defeated by his Conservative opponents last October, he had challenged the results in court and held on to the premiership until mid-January. Newfoundland's Liberals named as party leader Smallwood's former executive assistant and onetime local health minister Ed Roberts, 31. Said Smallwood: "There's no future for me whatsoever. I'm through with politics."

A little man with the face of a thoughtful, testy owl, Smallwood ran his "poor, bald rock," as he once called Newfoundland, as a personal fiefdom. Nonetheless, he was dearly loved by most of the 500,000 Newfies—"a community of Irish mystics cut adrift in the

Atlantic," in the colorful phrase of Novelist Paul West—and his picture adorned the poorest living rooms in tiny fishing ports with names like Blowme-down and Come-by-Chance. Newfoundland admired Joey simply for being his outrageous self: he would sneer at the Tories for being the "waffle-iron salesmen" of the merchant classes, and once, at a political rally, he took off his shoes and wiggled his toes to prove that "I don't have hooves and horns."

Salesman. The son of a lumber surveyor who died of alcoholism, Joey was a school dropout at 15. His first full-time job was as a reporter for a newspaper in St. John's. Smitten with socialism, he emigrated to New York City, where he wrote inflammatory stories for the socialist daily *Call*. Returning to Newfoundland in 1925, Joey became a labor leader and at one point "walked myself down to skin and grief" over 600 miles of railroad track to organize the section men.

Newfoundland was a British dependency at the time. When Britain offered the islanders the choice of independence or union with Canada after World War II, Smallwood saw opportunity, rallied the proconfederation forces to win a hard-fought referendum and took over the premiership.

Smallwood promised to bring his people the "benefits that the rest of North America takes for granted"—meaning free public education, electricity and roads in the outports. The benefits also included jobs, and Joey was an able, almost irresistible salesman for his province on his frequent trips abroad. He personally badgered Winston Churchill into approving British support for the \$1 billion hydroelectric development now being built at Churchill Falls. In 1965 Smallwood visited Helsinki on an industry-scouting trip with Richard Nixon, then a corporate lawyer; Joey accompanied Nixon on a side trip to Moscow and proposed, at Moscow University, that the former Vice President and Nikita Khrushchev run for President of each other's country.

In Smallwood's time as Premier he brought to the province about 40 industrial projects worth nearly \$2 billion. Trouble was, Joey often did not much care where the money came from or how it was spent. He guaranteed loans of \$121 million for his crony John Doyle, a Chicago-born industrialist who once jumped bail in the U.S. rather than serve a jail term for violating Security and Exchange Commission regulations. (Joey's answer to criticism of Doyle: "Whoever became a millionaire by teaching Sunday school?") In recent years, Smallwood grew increasingly dogmatic. Once, when a minister rose in the legislature to answer an opposition question, Smallwood snapped, "Sit down—don't answer that." The minister sat.

In the end, the benefits Joey



The train from Chop arrives at Vienna's Suedbahnhof railway station. Sign at left shows train's route: Moscow, Kiev, Lwow, Chop, Kosice, Bratislava, Vienna.

Fourteen passenger trains and six airliners from the Soviet Union arrive in Vienna each week. Waiting for each of them is a Jewish Agency team, which cares for Jewish emigrants from the U.S.S.R. in the day or so before they move on to their final destination in Israel. Sometimes, the trains and planes are filled with immigrants; sometimes only a few "repatriates" are aboard. *POST* photo editor DAVID RUBINGER was in the Austrian capital two weeks ago to meet the Soviet Jews at the half-way point in their journey.

Half way home

THE Chopin Express was on time. Promptly at 5:18 a finger of light pierced the icy mist of the pre-dawn darkness; a few moments later the eight-carriage passenger train from Moscow chugged to a stop at Hohenau Village. Together with "Time" correspondent Marlin Levin, I had stood with my cameras ready for the last 15 minutes, half-frozen on the snow-covered platform. Hohenau, a village in north-east Austria, on the Czech border, was where Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union would have their first sweet taste of freedom; we wanted to meet them on their way to Israel.

We had left Vienna two hours before. "How shall we recognize the immigrants?" we had asked. "Where will we find them on the train?"

The Jewish Agency official smiled. "They are always in the last two coaches, and all you have to do is say 'Sholem Aleichem!'"

The overheated air of the coaches was heavy with the odours of passengers who had been on their way for 36 hours. Their compartments were piled high with bedding, pots filled with cooked food, unwashed clothing and strings of garlic. Some had brought every scrap they owned — brooms, used cooking utensils, rags. One boy brought a box of nails, because somehow a rumour had gone around that there were not enough nails in Israel. Another had bicycle tyres. But there were also possessions they did not bring. One woman from Riga had her piano confiscated; the wedding ring of a bride from Odessa was snatched from her by a border guard.

On each of the two coaches
(Continued on page 16)



And on to Israel: Immigrants board El Al airliner at snow-covered Schwechat airport in the Austrian capital.



Soviet Jewish children stand in passageway of Chopin Express at Hohenau Station on the Czech-Austrian border.

HALF WAY HOME

(Continued from previous page)

Russian conductor occupied the first compartment. The older one, with the grey crewcut, scowled as we passed. Indignant that we had entered his domain, he put out his arm to stop us from approaching the immigrants. He had apparently forgotten that we were now in Austria. He looked at my cameras and protested in Russian; we understood only "nyet, nyet, nyet." The immigrants looked on silently, waiting for our reaction. We smiled and pushed forward, leaving him dumbfounded and confused. "Sholem Aleichem, Sholem Aleichem," we called out. The reply came back, a muted, quizzical refrain: "Aleichem Sholem, Aleichem Hassholem."

They crowded around us in the narrow aisle. I told them I was from Jerusalem and their eyes brightened. One immigrant from Vilna, a building engineer, asked in perfect Hebrew: "I have a brother-in-law in Jerusalem? Ze'ev Birger. Do you know him?" Levin burst out laughing. "I was in his office in Jerusalem only 24 hours ago."

Anxious to talk

A worried Jew from Czernovitz spoke up in Yiddish. "Will anybody be waiting for us in Vienna? Do they know we are coming?" Anxious to talk, he went on: "I first made an application to come in 1956, but they did not let me go. I was ready to walk to Israel with only my shirt on my back. But they did not let me go."

We broke away and headed for the next carriage, with the man from Czernovitz following us. The Russian conductor in this coach was different. He had a half smile and it looked as though he wanted to talk. The man from Czernovitz translated for us.

He said that he did not under-

stand why the Jews were leaving the Soviet Union. After all, the Jews were living well. My interpreter tried to explain Israel as the national home of the Jews. The conductor nodded, "I understand. After all, a homeland is a homeland."

WE rode the Chopin Express for the last few hours of its 1,000-mile journey. At Vienna's Suedbahnhof, the immigrants busily assembled their baggage. A 17-year-old girl, who was traveling alone, was close to tears. She looked at me and asked: "Where do we go now? I feel so strange!" We assured her that someone was waiting outside. "They always are," I said.

Two trains arrive at Suedbahnhof daily from the Soviet Union. The Chopin Express, named for the Polish composer, gets in at 7:10 a.m., via Brest and Warsaw. Five hours later, another, unnamed, train arrives via Chop, Hungary.

"We never know how many immigrants — if any — are going to be on the train," said Benjamin Galewsky, in charge of the Jewish Agency mission in Vienna. "But we are on the platform for every one — just in case." The same holds true for Schwechat International Airport, where Aeroflot and Austrian Airlines fly from Moscow six times a week.

'Old hands'

Three of Galewsky's 20-man staff were waiting for the Chopin Express. One could feel they were old hands at this business. As the doors of the carriages opened, Israel Vilchinsky, of the Agency staff, beamed broadly. "Bruchim Habaim. Breakfast is waiting. Put your luggage on the trolleys, don't worry about it, your suitcases will go direct to the buses while you are eating."



Bus full of immigrants pulls up in front of Schoenau Castle. The transit camp's 240 beds handle thousands of immigrants a month, with most spending only one day or so before moving on to Israel.



Israel Vilchinsky of the Jewish Agency team in Vienna addresses immigrants at railway station restaurant.

A few Georgians were not convinced. They hung on to their bundles. "This always happens. This is their security," Israel explained. He went over to them and gently persuaded them that nothing would happen to their belongings. They moved on in the direction of the station restaurant, turning every once in a while to assure themselves that their things were still there. Israel cheerily waved them on.

The 60 immigrants were the only customers in the spotlessly clean restaurant. They sat at the tables silently, waiting. Jewish Agency staffers encouraged them to order breakfast. "Who pays?" one man asked me, with some embarrassment. It was all free, even to the schilling coins that lay in a basket on a table, for their use in the washrooms.

While they had their eggs, hot coffee and Viennese "semmeln" (poppy-seed rolls) — the first hot meal after several days of cold potatoes and black bread — Agency officials hurried from table to table filling out the first of a series of forms.

OUTSIDE the station, they boarded a blue Mercedes touring bus. The Agency man offered the children American chewing gum — a commodity which in the U.S.S.R. is regarded as a symbol of capitalist exploitation. The kids hesitated for a moment and then took the forbidden fruit with broad grins.

"Where are we going?" asked an immigrant.

"To Schoenau Castle."

The bus sped southward, through flat country. We reached the 12th-century castle, set in a forest of ancient oaks and crisp pines. The brown-and-white gabled building was once a nobleman's country house, then a hunting lodge, later a military headquarters for the Russian Army. Now it is a transit station for Soviet Jews on their way to Israel.

The immigrants stepped out of the bus warily, surveying the snowy landscape with one eye and looking for their baggage with the other. The man in charge of the manor, David Galili, welcomed them in three languages — Russian, Yiddish and Hebrew. "We were waiting for you," he said, "everything is ready." And so it was.

Inside the 240-bed castle all went smoothly. Heads of families were given Russian-language information on their rights as immigrants. Particulars of their professions or skills were meticulously recorded, to be telexed to Jerusalem. They were asked whether they had relatives in Israel, to be notified about their imminent arrival. Families were assigned rooms, which I found clean and tidy.

SCHOENAU would be their home for no more than a day or two. But nothing was overlooked by the staff to make them comfortable.

An observant Georgian woman confided to Riva, the house-



Soviet Aeroflot airliner stands on tarmac as cargo. Aeroflot and Austrian Airlines fly to

mother, a former head nurse at Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva, that it was time for her to visit the *mitva*. She was sent, by taxi, to the ritual bath in Vienna. A professional singer asked whether she could visit the Vienna State Opera. She was provided with a car and tickets for that evening's performance for herself and her husband. A Riga immigrant had brought along his dog — it was cared for in the castle's kennels.

"We had to build the kennels, because more and more immigrants were bringing their dogs," Galewsky told us. "Some even bring Great Danes."

No matter what immigrants bring with them, everything is shipped to Israel. "In the last two months," confided Galewsky, "we have been receiving the remains of relatives, all from Georgia, for reinterment in Israel."

In the evenings, films on Israel are shown, and when there is time, there are sightseeing tours. Schoenau's *mashgiach*, Alter Steinmetz, serves as the guide. Standing next to the driver, he

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sit camp's 240 beds handle thousands of moving on to Israel.



Georgian father and daughter look over some of the literature in kits El Al gives to all its passengers.



Father and son look out of window



Soviet Aeroflot airliner stands on tarmac at Vienna Airport after unloading a group of immigrants. Baggage trucks are about to pull up, to take off cargo. Aeroflot and Austrian Airlines fly to Vienna from Moscow six times a week.

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sings Hassidic tunes between Vienna's Rathaus and the Burgtheater on the Ringstrasse. He bellows into the mike: "*Mir fuhren kain Yissruel uhn a stop — mir miszen fargessen wus is geven in Chop.*" (We are going to Israel without a stop — we must forget what happened at Chop.)

Everyone applauds and cheers. They have good reason. Chop, located on the Russian-Hungarian border, was not a picnic. The immigrants told us a story of a 14-year-old boy, a child prodigy on the violin, who arrived at Chop. He passed through Russian customs with a violin under his arm, an instrument that had been in the family for more than a hundred years. It was not a Stradivarius, but it was a good violin. As he was about to get on the train, a Soviet official stepped in front of him, grabbed the violin and smashed it. "You'll have no need for that in Israel."

AT Schwachat Airport, the immigrants waited impatiently. Fog lay low that night over Vien-

na, obscuring the steeple of St. Stephen's Cathedral. El Al's Boeing circled continuously, waiting for a break in the overcast which would enable it to land. The break never came and the airliner was diverted to Munich. Galewsky and his staff hung on doggedly, hoping that the plane could be recalled, could land in Vienna.

The immigrants were tense and excited, but not complaining. "I have waited for this moment for 35 years, I can wait a few more hours," said a veteran Zionist from Odessa.

Galewsky mobilized all the *kasher* food he could find at the airport restaurant for the waiting immigrants. But the weather was king that night, and he alerted the staff at Schoenau to make ready to house the group for another 24 hours. In the meantime, more immigrants had arrived at Schoenau.

"The castle will be full tonight," Galewsky said cheerfully, in a tired voice. "We'll manage. They always do."

The overworked 20-man crew carries on on a 24-hour basis, seven days a week. They were understandably hurt by the unexpected criticism of a Tel Aviv journalist who visited the castle briefly one day last month. I was with Galewsky, waiting at the airport one night for three hours to meet an incoming Aeroflot flight. One solitary immigrant stepped off.

"One or a hundred, it makes no difference. It's part of the job to be here," said the 57-year-old Poland-born Galewsky, who has been working with the Agency for the past 20 years, three of them in Vienna. That night, after the immigrants were settled in at Schoenau, Galewsky called Jerusalem. "We are going to need a charter tomorrow."

At 2 a.m. next day charter flight 4683, a Boeing 707, took off from Schwachat Airport for Lod. There was not an empty seat. I saw a man whom I had met at Hohenau. He smiled at me and said: "Isn't it a beautiful plane?"



El Al. Father and son look out of window of El Al plane, craning necks for first sight of Israel coastline.



Planes are about to pull up, to take off

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El Al stewardess gives a helping hand to handicapped immigrant woman on the Vienna-Lod flight.



Journey's end. Immigrants come down the landing ramp at Lod.

Who are the Georgian Jews? Why are they coming — and why are they demonstrating? Below, LEONARD SCHROETER reports on one of Jewry's oldest and most clannish communities.

WHEN a stubborn, strong-willed, traditional, backward people clashes with the vagaries of a Government Ministry beset by bureaucratic rigidity, there is bound to be a hassle, full of sound and fury. Regrettably, it signifies something; something which was largely avoidable, given good will and an understanding of the history and sociology of the Jews of Soviet Georgia.

This geographically remote and culturally varied Oriental Jewish community, was, until very recently, one of the least known in the Jewish world, although it traces itself with chronological continuity to a single locale for more than 2,000 years. Yet the Soviet Republic of Georgia, by even the most conservative figures, contains many more Jews than can now be found in Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Turkey, Mexico, Chile, or Morocco, and by more liberal estimates, approximately the number found in Hungary, Iran or Australia.

The 1959 Soviet census claimed 52,000 Jews in Georgia, whereas the 1970 Soviet census (although not categorized to provide a final figure of Jews in Georgia) suggests a population in excess of 60,000. Some claim that there are as many as 100,000 Georgian Jews, but the most reliable estimates suggest that the correct figure is between 70,000-80,000.

What is more remarkable, however, is that almost no observers believe that less than 75 per cent of the total Jewish population would leave the Soviet Republic if permitted. Many estimate this figure at greater than 90 per cent. Indeed, roughly one third of the total number of Russian Jews arriving in Israel this year have been Georgians. The approximately 5,000 Georgian Jews arriving in 1971, given favourable conditions in the U.S.S.R., could be many times that figure in 1972. Thus, the importance of understanding and planning for this unique people can hardly be underestimated.

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THE Soviet Republic of Georgia lies along the Black Sea, with its eastern border being the Caspian Sea. For thousands of years, its people had been part of the civilization and empires of the ancient Near East (Babylonian, Persian, Parthian, Moslem) until swallowed up by the expanding Russian empire in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Soviet Georgians remain fiercely proud of their ancient civilization, which accepted Christianity long before the Russians, who are regarded by the Georgians as possessors of a more primitive culture.

The Georgian Jews claim to be descendants of the Ten Tribes exiled some 2,700 years ago. What little evidence exists, suggests that Jewish descendants of the Assyrian exiles wandered as far as Southern Caucasia and settled there. Jewish settlers in neighbouring Armenia are mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud, and Josephus refers to Jewish settlements in Armenia in the First Century C.E. Ancient documents and gravestones clearly confirm a Georgian Jewish presence in the early Middle Ages. Physically and culturally resembling the people in whose midst they live, from earliest times the Georgian nation absorbed its Jews with minimum difficulty, and the Jews in turn fought alongside their country's princes in Georgia's millennial efforts to maintain independence. Contact with other Oriental Jewish communities was maintained and had also been free of the religious fanaticism and during the Middle Ages Jewish centres in neighbour-



Immigrants from Georgia carry their children off the plane at Lydda airport this week. (Israel Sun)



Georgian Jews kissing the tarmac at Lydda airport.

(Israel Sun)

ing Turkey, Persia and Iraq heavily influenced Jewish liturgy, religious ritual and literature.

Contact with the Ashkenazi Jews of the Russian empire began in the 19th century and was accelerated by the early, enthusiastic acceptance of Zionism, which appealed strongly to the Georgians, with their simple, orthodox, messianic religious beliefs. Their strong Zionist commitment was even more remarkable because of their substantial freedom from anti-Semitism. Long accepted as indigenous by their neighbours, the Georgian Christian Church had also been free of the religious fanaticism and hatred that characterized much of the Russian Orthodox and Polish Catholic Churches. The Georgians are the only Oriental Jews without a dialect of their own; their language is Georgian. Only a small percentage of better educated Jews know Russian. Because of their orthodoxy, most know some Hebrew, but the level of religious and Hebrew learning is basic and unsophisticated. Their family names, like those of the Georgians, have name endings such as "shvili" or "adze." Economically, they were traditionally involved in the production and sale of the famous Georgian wines, and many were small traders or artisans. Under communism, some have tended to become "luftmensch" and, reputedly, smuggling and black marketeering have become commonplace in the more easy going, leisurely pace of Georgian communal and economic existence.

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SOCIOLOGICALLY, the family unit (patriarchal in character) has been a protective wall maintaining and transmitting their Jewish heritage and insulating them from assimilationist erosion. Georgian Jewish life has been characterized by large family groupings of three or four generations living in one house or adjoining ones. The grandfather heads the clan, and the tendency to large families of six or eight children has been pronounced. Ten to twenty people at an ordinary meal is customary, and Sabbath and holidays bring together the entire clan. Unlike the Ashkenazi Russian Jews, it is unthinkable for the male child not to be circumcised (even in the rare case where the father might be a communist); bar-mitzvah, wedding, and funeral ceremonies according to ancient religious traditions, have uniformly persisted and religious observances include young as well as old.

Each family contributes to the support of its synagogue (more than half of all synagogues in the U.S.S.R. are in Georgia) and the communities support kosher facilities and mikvehs — but rarely Hebrew schools or Torah study. Although the Soviet regime effectively repressed such institutions in Russia, the fierce insistence of the Georgians on maintaining their traditions and institutions, coupled with the lenient and generally friendly attitudes of the officials of Georgian nationality, permitted the transmission of the basic elements of the tradition.

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THIS is not to say that there was a total absence of persecution under the communist regime. Quite the contrary. There have been increasing pressures for the extinction of religious institutions. Anti-Zionist and anti-Israel propaganda has been widespread. The notorious "economic crime" trials in the early 1960s resulted in the execution, by shooting, of six Jews (the only executions in Georgia). There have even been sporadic revivals of the blood-libel accusation. But the highly nationalist Geor-

gian tends to sympathize with, and understand, the Zionism of the Jews. Having no tradition of anti-Semitism, it appears to be a Russian import, and thus rejected as part of the hated Russification process.

Like Jews all over the world, the Georgian Jews were emotionally mobilized by the Six Day War and quickly found themselves in the forefront of the Jewish repatriation movement. (Small numbers of them had begun to return to Palestine in the 19th century and there has been a continuous trickle since. Thus, there is an existing old-line Georgian Immigrant Association in Israel.) The first dramatic, public awareness of their protest came in the famous letter of 18 Georgian Jewish families of August 6, 1969. Poetically beautiful and stirring in its appeal to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights for the right to leave, the letter was followed by another, 100 days later, dramatically portraying the suffering its writers had borne; and then by a deluge of open letters and petitions with increasing numbers of signatories.

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AS early as January 30, 1969, Georgian Jews had begun requesting the grant of Israeli citizenship, while still detained in Georgia. Since passage of the Nationality Amendment Law in May, 1971, such requests have multiplied (36 families "demanded" citizenship grants in July), and Georgian Jews have been among those to whom citizenship has been granted. Many have renounced their Soviet citizenship. In early July, their militancy increased to the point where 300 went on a hunger strike in Tbilisi because OVIR authorities refused to explain denial of exit visas. On July 12, 1971, 33 of their number travelled to Moscow demanding exit visas of the Supreme Court. When this failed, they went on a sit-

(Continued on next page)

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THE JEWS OF GEORGIA

(Continued from page 3)

down hunger strike resulting in their arrest and transport back to their republic.

After a series of such strikes and demonstrations, the authorities reached an unprecedented agreement with Jewish leaders in August, permitting a committee of their community to decide the order in which families would leave, and allegedly guaranteeing a minimum of 60 families a month the right to leave. All of the original 18 families are now in Israel. The author of the Letter of the 18, Albert Michaelshvili, a 34-year-old engineer from Poti, now living in Lod, has reported that he wrote 270 letters to Soviet authorities and that for over two years he existed under intolerable conditions and was subjected to massive official pressures, until freed to depart.

Little wonder then, that, steeled by their militant resistance to Soviet authorities and their centuries of determined maintenance of their traditions and culture, the Georgians here should have little patience with what was a seeming repetition of official indifference. Early in the summer, the first group of Georgians staged a sit-down strike at Lod Airport in protest against housing allocated them because it was resulting in their removal from the rest of their community. Their sit-down strikes in Israel multiplied. Their protests to, and concerning, the Ministry of Absorption and the Jewish Agency, proliferated until finally, within the past few weeks, it assumed the proportions of a national controversy.

Sparked by the unconfirmed report that 40 persons sent a letter to the Finnish Embassy requesting to be returned to the U.S.S.R., the problem has resulted in hearings before the Knesset Interior Committee, explanations galore by harried officials, and promises of dramatic change in absorption procedures for the Georgian Jews.

SOME of the 12 basic demands made by the Association of Georgian Immigrants (Ichud Yotzei Gruzia b'Israel — the new unrecognized Georgian immigrant group) to the Knesset Interior Committee, involve requests such as their replacement of the old-line group as the "official representatives" (some are demands that families be permitted to meet new arrivals at the airport — denied because of fear of incitement and confusion; some simply request elementary sensitivity and courtesy.

But the really key demands, stripped of anger and verbiage are:

1) that the new immigrants be the subjects, not the objects, of the absorption process, by being consulted and involved in their own absorption, since generally they know more about their needs than do out-of-touch officials.

2) that they be assigned to communities where there can be a concentration of at least 200 Georgian families, since the maintenance of cultural and religious life and institutions demands their ability to live together in large units. As a corollary of this, they prefer to have families crowded into one or a few apartments to being geographically separated.

Recent immigrants from Georgia demonstrating outside U.N. headquarters in Jerusalem, protesting the treatment of Georgian hunger-strikers in Moscow. Below, an elderly and tired Georgian couple and their meagre belongings at Lydda airport this week. The man holds an envelope of instructions from the Ministry of Absorption.

(photos by Israel Sun)



3) that facilities for synagogues be made available. (After some initial buck passing, where Absorption claimed it only had apartments given by Housing, which forbids use for any purpose other than dwellings, there was agreement that exceptions would be made so that flats would be set aside for synagogues).

4) that work be found within the experience and tradition of the Georgians; that it should permit early dismissal on Friday afternoons, no work on Shabbat, and day care for children of working mothers.

5) that ulpan be religious and not secular and that children go to religious schools.

Quite obviously, these demands compromise on two unarticulated goals of absorption — integration into the general community and absorption into the existing Israel structure to prevent any real change. Thus they present fundamental and unresolved questions of philosophy, since they really involve a contention that instead of becoming a part of the system, individual (and group) preference should be overriding, and that a pluralistic society is to be preferred. Clearly, too, no one contemplated that the Georgian Jews should be permitted to remain a

'WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN JERUSALEM'



The following is an extract from the first dramatic appeal made by 18 Georgian Jews to the United Nations in 1969. One of the signatories, Rabbi Haim Michaelshvili, is shown above.

The Jews have given the world religion and revolutionaries, philosophers and scholars, rich men and sages, geniuses with the heart of a child and with the eyes of old men. There is no branch of knowledge, no branch of literature and art to which Jews had not given their contribution. There is no country that has given shelter to the Jews that they had not thanked by their work. And what did the Jews get in exchange?

When all lived bearably, the Jews in fear awaited other times. And when things became bad for all, the Jews knew: their mortal hour had come and then they either hid or fled from the country.

And whoever fled, began everything from the beginning.

And whoever could not flee, perished.

And whoever hid himself well, awaited other times.

Who had not oppressed the Jews? In their persecution all united.

Whenever untalented generals lost a war, at once it was among the Jews that the culprits for a defeat were looked for. Whenever a political adventurer failed to fulfil the heap of promises he had made, the reason for this was immediately found — the Jews. They perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition in Spain and in the fascist concentration camps in Germany. The anti-Semites brandished, like a bugaboo, the Dreyfus affair in enlightened France and the Beilis affair in illiterate Russia.

And the Jews had to bear it all.

At the same time they could have lived peacefully — like others, they only had to pass over to another faith. Some did so — everywhere there are people of little courage. But millions and millions preferred the life of martyrs, and often even death, to renunciation.

And even if they roamed the earth without a shelter — G-d had place for all.

And although their dust is dispersed throughout the world, their memory is alive.

Their blood is in our veins, our tears are their tears.

The prophecy has come true: Israel has arisen from the ashes, we have not forgotten Jerusalem and it needs our hands.

There are eighteen of us, of those who have signed this letter. But whoever thinks that there are only 18 of us, is mistaken.

patriarchal, religious society that might, if their numbers increased, become a permanent closed group.

DESPITE some concessions, the basic issues remain unresolved. It is, of course, nonsense to charge, as some have, that these events have been caused by "subversive" or political elements. The grievances are real and deep rooted. Undoubtedly all political groups involved — by their nature — have sought to make political capital, or to avoid political loss, from the supercharged circumstances. Some of the religious parties have hardly helped find resolution by their inflammatory charges against Mapam, and cries by officials of "communist provocateurs" are stale and even irresponsible. But in a larger sense, the failure has been fundamental — not because of ill intent — but because the requisite sensitivity to the problem of the new immigrant has been absent. Officials who fail to do their homework; to know the background and needs of the people they serve and fail to consult them, rather than direct them, do a basic disservice to the nation. This can be corrected and the changes are long overdue.

JEWISH

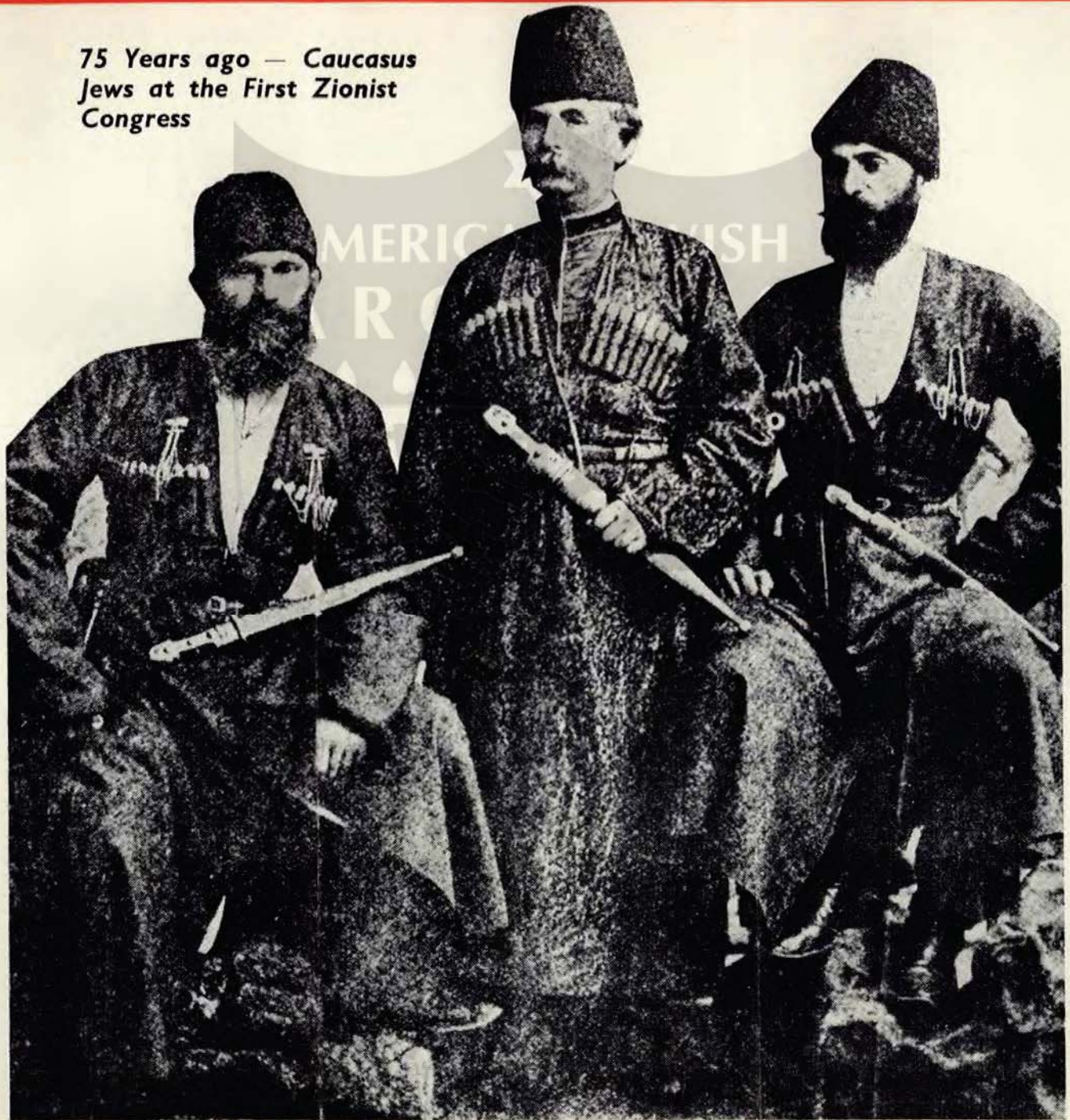
28th Zionist Congress

Observer

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*75 Years ago — Caucasus
Jews at the First Zionist
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SOVIET JEWRY'S HOUR OF TRIUMPH

page six

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DOORS TO PEACE AND BEYOND

President Sadat's speech last Thursday was most revealing about his position inside Egypt. But as far as the diplomatic scene is concerned, it contained nothing new. This year, as last, any progress towards a settlement continues to depend on two doors, through one of which the parties will have to pass in order to reach a negotiating table. One is marked "overall settlement" and the other "special settlement". Sadat's speech has not necessarily bricked up either of them. There is, at most, a change of emphasis in favour of the first "door".

Egypt obviously wants to revive the Jarring mission on the basis of the famous memorandum which the UN negotiator submitted last February. According to Jarring himself, Israel has not replied affirmatively to the enquiry as to whether she would return to the lines of June 1967. Since Israel cannot give such a reply, the Jarring mission can only proceed if Jarring himself, or perhaps the new Secretary-General of the United Nations, devises a fresh formula.

However, the other "door" to a settlement also has one or two padlocks on it. One is Egypt's apparent desire to see first if the Jarring mission can be reactivated. The other bolts were placed there by Israel. These are the "clarifications" which Israel sought on three of the six points mentioned by Secretary of State Rogers at the UN in the autumn. Israel does not agree that Egyptian troops—however few in number—should cross the Canal; she does not want the ceasefire to be limited in time; and she refuses to regard a Suez agreement as part of an "implementation" of the Security Council Resolution 242.

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There is, however, good reason to believe that the differences between Israel and America have melted on some of these points. Besides renewing Phantom supplies, and confirming that it will assist Israel's arms production programme, the United States appears to have shelved the Rogers Plan (calling for quasi-total withdrawal) and there is a hint of progress on the other points. For example, one proposal is that Egypt's military presence in Sinai should consist of only 750 lightly-armed police.

It is against this background that Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan made the startling assertion last week that there are now good prospects for negotiation and that Israel must be ready to make compromises. He was followed by Mrs. Golda Meir who said that Israel would not seek concessions

which work in Egypt's disfavour. The reopening of the Canal, she said, should constitute a formal end to the war between Egypt and Israel. This is not necessarily the same as genuine peace with normal relations, which Egypt still rejects. Finally, Foreign Minister Eban has stressed that Israel has still made no decision on how far her troops would be pulled back in Sinai.

Nevertheless, although Mr. Dayan spoke of good prospects for negotiations, this does not mean that President Sadat will take advantage of them. This is not the first time since the Six Day War that conditions have been favourable. But for four and a half years Egypt has firmly refused to negotiate with Israel. Last week, too, Sadat stressed that he had no time for negotiations with Israel and would deal only with her "patron", the U.S.

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The main weight of American diplomacy, therefore, must be directed at encouraging Egypt to negotiate, even if it is in secret. The Egyptian leader must understand that if he really wishes to regain a presence in Sinai, it is no use trying to coerce Israel through the medium of third parties, however many and mighty they may be.

In any case, it may well be that Sadat is resigned to the present *status quo* and prefers to fall back into a static posture of "confrontation", neither making peace nor war. If this situation can be preserved, it may not be entirely to his disadvantage. On the domestic front, Egypt could concentrate on industrialisation and expansion. On the foreign front, it would retain its prestige in the Arab world. And it would continue to exert heavy defence burdens on Israel at a time when its resources become increasingly needed to cope with Jewish immigration and social priorities.

Israel, therefore, must continue to be prepared for either or both these eventualities. In his important speech last week, Sadat said that the new Arab Federation had begun to lay the basis of a long-term strategy against Israel. This can only mean that whatever the outcome of current diplomatic activity, Israel is going to experience Arab animosity and distrust for as far as the eye can see. Israel will only be able to survive this pressure if it can draw on the support and resources of the Jewish people for generations ahead. This week's World Zionist Congress will stand or fall by whether it contributes to this goal.

EGYPT

SADAT PRESENTS HIS EXCUSE

"INDIAN WAR STOPPED SINAI ATTACK"

from our Middle East correspondent

"Under all circumstances and when any decisions are made, our plan has always called for talking to each other, being frank with each other, and for me personally to submit my thoughts to you."

So spoke President Anwar Sadat last Thursday as he went on the air to tell his people why his year of decision had finally subsided like a flat tyre.

To his audience in Egypt — as well as those who listened in overseas — the situation, the mood and the words were familiar. This was Sadat's greatest crisis of confidence since he succeeded Nasser in September, 1970. For months on end he had troubled his people with dire threats of war. But when 1971 ended, the President's prestige was in ruins.

Echoing Nasser: So the words with which he opened had a special significance. They were almost a verbatim repetition of the words with which President Nasser himself addressed the Egyptian people two days after the shattering defeat of 1967.

On that occasion, too, Nasser had only a few days previously been uttering wild and boastful threats of war. But now his stock was at its

lowest ebb. Nasser had promised his people victory, and had reaped defeat. In his explanation, Nasser had grovelled before his people, in an unaccustomed show of candour and contrition, before finally excusing himself with the best possible explanation.

Last Thursday, Sadat was fully conscious of Nasser's precedent. Before directly explaining why he had failed to carry out his threat of war, he told a little story about his predecessor. Only a month after the Six Day War, he said, Nasser had heard word that an Israeli armoured brigade was advancing towards East Kantarah amid news from various sources that it was going to cross the Suez Canal.

Military genius: After gaining Nasser's approval, the High Command had sent up the airforce (the Russians had already begun to rebuild it after the Israeli blitz) with orders to deal with the armoured brigade before it crossed the Canal.

But as it was a foggy day, the planes could not see their target. Nasser cancelled the decision to attack, on the assumption that the Israelis were merely reinforcing their East Kantarah position. "The President was a political and military genius", Sadat exclaimed.

He had told this story, he added, because in the last days of last November, he himself had faced a very similar situation. "Last October, I summoned the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces to a meeting . . . We made a decision and I issued my orders to prepare for action before the end of 1971."

Recalculation: Everything went according to plan, until the first days of December when the army was awaiting the final battle order. But then "a fog similar to that of Sunday, July 9, 1967, developed. A battle broke out between two friendly countries, India and Pakistan. The conflict attracted the attention of the whole world. Because it was a conflict between the major Powers, it actually affected our own battle.



SADAT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GHALEB
Fogging the issue

"At the last moment, just as President Gamal issued his decision at 13.00 on July 9, so I too issued my decision to General Sadeq and told him: wait, there must be a recalculation. My motive for this was that it was wrong to think that our battle was isolated from the existing international balance . . . I am not ready to involve my country or the armed forces in an operation for which I have not made complete calculations."

After this justification for holding his fire, Sadat proceeded more confidently to deal with the political situation, at home and abroad. Even so, the tone of his remarks remained subdued.

No negotiations: Talking about the United States initiative, he castigated Secretary of State Rogers, but showed respect and courtesy towards President Nixon. He expressed particular shock at Rogers' announcement about the renewal of Phantoms supplies to Israel, because Rogers had been previously saying that the balance of power was in Israel's favour.

As for Israel, Sadat said it was still living in the "illusion" of victory. It had indeed won a "military victory", but not a strategic victory. "It cannot win such a victory unless it defeats the will of the Arab nation." That was why Sadat himself still refused to enter into an argument with Israeli leaders. "I shall not enter into an argument or negotiations with them as they and the Americans want."

Turning to "the battle", Sadat repeated his oft-stated belief that Israel

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was following an aggressive plan laid down at the first Zionist Congress in 1897 for a "Greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates". Israel had already taken land from Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and the United States was a basic partner in this battle.

Hide and seek: Reviewing the diplomatic front, Sadat said that his own initiative last year had been a step towards a comprehensive solution covering all Arab territory.

"It was first turned into a separate solution with each Arab State. Then it was turned into a partial solution with Egypt, and then into a partial solution to the partial solution with Egypt. What does this mean? It means that I should be happy and satisfied when they tell me that they would open the Suez Canal and no more. They even named this solution the opening of the Suez Canal.

"I told them that was enough . . . I have ended all contacts with the United States and told them that the game of hide and seek is over. I know what you want and you know what I want. I want my land and the Arab land, nothing more." This did not mean that political action had finished. But in future it would have to be through Jarring. "Now it is everyone's duty to support Jarring."

Over to Jarring: Before concluding his talk Sadat addressed himself to the Arab masses. He assured them that he stood by two principles: never to relinquish a single inch of Arab territory and not to compromise on the rights of the Palestinian people. "There will be no negotiations," he went on. "The Americans may as well save their breath about finding a solution. Whoever wants to speak within the framework of these principles is welcome."

Lastly, Sadat spoke about the home front. Even though the Indian fog has lifted, he did not renew his threats of imminent battle. He contented himself instead with the less dramatic challenge of "confrontation". Every citizen, as well as the army, must be ready for it, he declared. "Egypt has given us everything. In return, we must give everything to Egypt, including life."

He made no mention of the lost province of Sinai. His emphasis was entirely on the home front. Two days later, he appointed a new Prime Minister and a new Foreign Minister.

TECHNOCRATS TAKE OVER

A new Egyptian Cabinet of technocrats, including five Vice-Premiers and 26 Ministers, assumed office this week under the Premiership of Dr. Aziz Sidky. The new Prime Minister, who is 51, is the man who led his country's move forward into the industrial age. He replaces Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, the 71-year-old diplomat who now assumes the titles of Vice-President and Presidential Adviser on Foreign Affairs.

Egypt also has a new Foreign Minister. Mahmoud Riad, who held the post for the past eight years, has been replaced by Dr. Murad Ghaleb, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs in the old Cabinet and previously Egyptian Ambassador in Moscow for ten years. Riad, like Fawzi, has been appointed a presidential adviser on foreign affairs.

The new 31-man Cabinet has five Deputy Premiers. They are Dr. ABDEL KADER HATEM, who is also Minister of Information and Culture, MOHAMMED ABDEL SALAM EL-ZAYYAT, MOHAMMED ABDULLAH MARZABAN, who is also Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade, MAMDOUH SALEM, Minister of the Interior, and GENERAL MOHAMMED AHMED SADEK, Minister of War and Military Production.

Seventeen Ministers are in the Cabinet for the first time. They include MOHAMMED HASSAN EL-ZAYYAT, his country's UN Ambassador, who now becomes Minister of State for Information and Culture. His successor in New York has not yet been named.

The portfolios of War, the Interior, Economy and Information have not changed hands. Egyptian sources claim that the main task of the new Cabinet is to achieve greater discipline and organisation on the domestic front.

It will introduce austerity measures, including a curb on domestic spending, and will place the domestic front on the same war footing as the armed forces in preparation for what the sources say is the "inevitable battle against Israel."

In recent speeches to the nation and to the Arab Socialist Union, President Sadat has stressed the importance of discipline and the "supremacy of law and duty" in the "coming stages of the confrontation." Explaining at a three-hour meeting of the central committee



SIDKY WITH OIL WORKERS
Energy and know-how

on Sunday why a younger man had been chosen as Premier—Fawzi is 20 years older than Sidky—Sadat declared:

"The coming stage requires greater work, greater efforts and greater changes with which to face the coming confrontation.

"All this was the subject of complete agreement between me and Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, who placed his resignation at my disposal to open the way for me to choose a person who can shoulder these responsibilities which require uninterrupted work."

Sidky, a former Harvard man, won Sadat's gratitude when he supported his bid for the presidency in 1970 following the death of Nasser and in last year's power struggle within the Government. Sidky was the first major figure to denounce the then Vice-President, Aly Sabry, and other Government leaders for treason and conspiracy, even before they were arrested.

Sidky has reached the top by guiding Egypt's industrialisation programme through its infancy. His handling of the Industry portfolio in the old Cabinet, his reputation as a good negotiator as well as his unswerving support for Sadat assured his promotion.

He helped to plan and supervise Egypt's first attempt at industrialisation and in the following years approved the construction of hundreds of factories. He laid the basis for the country's expanding oil industry. He also participated in negotiations for the first major industrial loan from the Soviet Union, which amounted to about £60 million.

THE 28th ZIONIST CONGRESS**SOVIET JEWRY'S HOUR OF TRIUMPH****PINCUS ANSWERS "BLACK PANTHERS"**

Ephraim Lahav reports from Jerusalem:

Tickets for the opening session of the 28th Zionist Congress on Tuesday night were so much in demand that they were traded on the black market. But the most interesting part of the opening night took place as a free side-show outside the Convention Centre. Black Panthers and pro-Communists of the Matzpen group tried to storm the building in protest against the Congress's avowed purpose of tackling mass immigration from the Soviet Union.

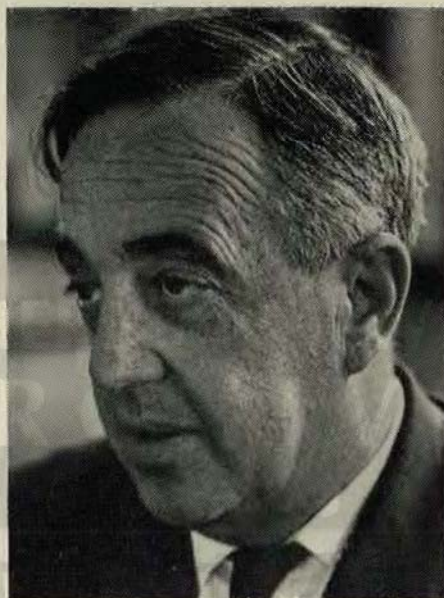
The Panthers complained that immigrants should be given preference over needy young couples born in Israel. And the Matzpen demonstrators found fault with the anti-Soviet line implicit in the Congress's call for increased Soviet immigration.

A demonstration by the other end of the spectrum—Rabbi Meir Kahane's Jewish Defence League, had been called off at the last minute, but the Panthers and Matzpen were quite enough.

Identity check: Anticipating trouble, the Jerusalem police had brought in 400 men as reinforcements from the southern district. They surrounded the convention centre with barriers and made a triple identity check of all people entering. This befuddled drivers and snarled up the traffic, but was effective. Two riots were checked as soon as they started. Thirty men were detained, including three Congress delegates.

The importance which the Israeli public attached to the Congress was also reflected on the platform. Practically the entire national leadership was there — President Shazar, Premier Golda Meir and other Ministers, the Chief of Staff, Supreme Court Justices, both Chief Rabbis and David Ben-Gurion.

In the first row of the stalls sat diplomatic representatives of 21 nations, but those of Britain and the United States were notably absent—I understand neither Embassy had answered the invitations. On the other hand, France and Communist Rumania were represented. There was prolonged applause when the Ruman-



LOUIS PINCUS
Remembering Uganda

ian diplomat was announced, and Chairman Louis Pincus interjected: "We hope the Rumanian *chargé d'affaires* can take a subtle hint."

Flag ceremony: The Congress opened with the ceremonial entry of flags borne by new immigrants from all their countries of origin, then by representatives of each new settlement established since the last Congress. The new immigrant flag-bearers included a recent Russian arrival, Professor Michael Heltzer.

The theme of Soviet immigration overshadowed all the greetings and speeches. Chairman Louis Pincus, in his keynote speech, answered the charges of the Black Panthers by defending the need for efficiently integrating the Soviet immigrants.

"No greater reward could the Soviet authorities imagine for their anti-Zionist efforts than our failure in integrating Soviet immigrants. This is precisely what they are waiting for."

Absorption, Pincus said, is going to strain Israel's society and economy to the utmost. That burden can be eased only by massive financial support. "Demonstrations on behalf of

Soviet Jewry without practical material consequences are barren".

Goldmann and Uganda: Pincus also reaffirmed his reason for withdrawing the invitation extended to Dr. Nahum Goldmann to deliver the keynote address:

"We were told recently that in addition to the demand for aliyah we should also insist on the right of each Jewish community to exist as a community. But what the Soviet Jews want is their right to emigrate to Israel. For this they have sacrificed many essential things in their lives . . . We must not blunt the edge of our struggle by combining the demand for emigration with a plea for equal rights within the Soviet Union . . . We are engaged in a life and death struggle for Russian Jews. No ivory tower, no long-term philosophy should deflect us from the path chosen by the Soviet Jews themselves."

Pincus recalled the analogy of the Uganda issue. "There, too, it was the Russian Jews themselves—those who most desperately needed an immediate solution — that determined the issue of Eretz Yisrael."

Name of the game: Similarly, Pincus rejected the "numbers game" implied in the question of whether or not all three million Soviet Jews would come, and — if not — what would happen to those who stayed behind. "I suggest we do not play this game. There is ample evidence that applications to leave the Soviet Union grow as the number of approvals increases. At the moment the proportion of approved applications is pitifully small . . . Also, exit permits are not being granted as of right.

"Applicants have to suffer untold hardship—dismissal from work, confiscation of property, pillorying in the press and social ostracism—culminating often in detention in a labour camp or a psychiatric hospital . . . The civilised world demands that Soviet Jewry be permitted to go in dignity and without fear of the consequences."

Pincus also sounded a warning note about the fate in store for the



POLICE GRAB "PANTHER"
Trying to say something

800,000 Jews of the South American continent: "Our history has shown that when a social or economic conflict arises in any country, the most vulnerable element is the Jewish minority . . . It is the classical picture

of Jabotinsky's anti-semitism of things".

Free world task: In conclusion, Pincus turned to the free world. He defined Zionism's main task there as preserving its Jewishness, arming it

against the ravages of assimilation and protecting it against the attacks of anti-semitism. "Without this there is no Jewish survival and no Jewish belonging."

Interesting as his remarks were, many of the delegates thought he should not have spoken for an hour and a half. His monotonous delivery turned an initially festive occasion into a dull outpouring of verbiage.

But that did not detract from the uniqueness of the event. Despite all the recent cynicism about the organized Zionist movement, the presence of Soviet Jews made it an hour of triumph for Zionism as the liberation movement of the Jewish people. And the dramatic airing of the poverty gap showed that, in a special sense, the Congress is still the Parliament of all the Jewish people.

The occasion was heightened as it went on. Wednesday's chief speakers were former Premier David Ben-Gurion and Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir. There were 551 delegates and 300 overseas observers from 26 countries.

MOSCOW RAGES AT CONGRESS

The Soviet Union is conducting a wild propaganda campaign to denounce the 28th Zionist Congress, meeting in Jerusalem. Newspaper editorials, as well as home service and overseas radio broadcasts, have been busy attacking the ideology of Zionism and the foreign policy of Israel.

In Moscow last Thursday, a public meeting of anti-Zionist Jews heard various speakers accuse Zionists of "creating anti-semitism". The meeting sent off a "letter to the peoples of all countries", and passed a resolution terming Zionism "as one of the more reactionary trends in modern racism". The present Congress, they said, was motivated by "anti-Sovietism and anti-communism".

The resolution also noted that this year was the 50th anniversary of the USSR, a jubilee which "reaffirms the wisdom of the Soviet Communist Party's Leninist nationalities policy. Like all Soviet people, citizens of Jewish nationality are preparing with enthusiasm to celebrate the jubilee of Soviet Government."

Prominent in the current cam-

paign is anti-Zionist writer Yevgeniy Yevseyev. His book "Zionism, Ideology and Policy", was reviewed last week in the newspaper "Sovietskaya Kultura". The reviewer said it "exposes the myths of a single Jewish nation".

Yevseyev himself denounced the Zionist Congress (in a home service broadcast) as designed to aggravate international tension. "The Zionists," he charged, "bank on the fanning of anti-Soviet hysteria and raising a provocative ballyhoo around the mythical Jewish question in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which they themselves invented."

The most vitriolic attack came in a Moscow home service radio talk on Saturday by Boris Bannov. "History knows quite a few examples of how merciless and unprincipled is the power of the Zionist bourgeoisie", Bannov said. "The leaders of the Zionists in Germany, Poland and Hungary helped the fascists to crush resistance movements and spread terror. This they did especially in order, as the Zionists cynically admit, to smoke the Jews out of the European countries and force

them to flee to Palestine where they would become submissive slaves of Zionist magnates."

Arab interest in the Congress was revealed by Egypt's President Sadat. In his major speech last Thursday, Sadat said "the battle is still exactly as it was started by the first Zionist Congress in 1897 — a greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates. They began to counteract this plan, starting with the Balfour Declaration, the establishment of Israel in 1948, and the battles of 1956 and 1967. The battle will continue."

Sadat added that there had been no Arab plan to counteract the Zionist plan. But at the Presidential Council of the new Arab Federation, Sadat and the leaders of Libya and Syria had for the first time formulated an Arab strategy.

Terrorist interest in the Congress was confirmed from Beirut where a spokesman for the British Overseas Airway Corporation said it had received a threatening letter warning BOAC not to carry any passengers to the Congress. The Dutch airline, KLM, also received threats. But the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—which carried out the 1970 triple hijackings — disclaimed responsibility for the letters.



WELCOMED WITH SMILES AND FLOWERS
Moment of arrival for two of the 350 Jumbo passengers

"ISRAEL CAN TAKE 250,000 A YEAR"

DULTZIN REPLIES TO SOVIET CHALLENGE

from our Tel Aviv correspondent

And suddenly there is talk of mass immigration again, after years of tiny trickles from under the Iron Curtain. *Ha'aretz* headlined its front page on Thursday with a story from its Washington correspondent quoting an unnamed Soviet diplomat: "We will flood Israel with Jews". The Russians predicted that Moscow would let out as many Jews as wish to leave, except for "those liable to enhance Israel's military potential and those Jews occupying sensitive places in the Soviet Union." According to the *Ha'aretz* story, the Russians hope thereby to break Israel economically by suddenly opening the floodgates of immigration.

There was an immediate reaction. Jewish Agency Treasurer Leon Dultzin told a meeting of diaspora Jewish journalists in Tel Aviv: "We will absorb 250,000 immigrants a year. We hope they will come and we will receive them with open arms." He noted that no one dreamt that American aliyah would reach 11,000 persons in 1971, and the figure for Soviet aliyah would be 13,000. He was sure that the Jewish people would rise to the challenge.

Naturally, people continue to ask

why do the Soviets let the Jews out? What is clear is that the demonstrations in Western capitals like London do help. Kosygin and Brezhnev do not like being bothered when they begin their "campaigns of smiles" in the outside world.

All that matters: Some well informed circles believe that the Soviets want to create a more amenable atmosphere in Europe for their Security Conference, and above all to improve their image in the US as their summit conference approaches with Nixon. As one source put it: "No one knows exactly why, but all that matters is that Jews are being let out."

But problems exist galore, and the fund drive organisers in the various Jewish communities are already starting their new campaigns. Yet there are important things which money cannot buy. A major one is the question of social absorption. As Premier Meir once put it: "The best Government department cannot invite an immigrant home to tea, that depends on the individual." The issue of social absorption exercises the country's leadership sufficiently for them to have convened a special

country-wide rally in Tel Aviv last week, in the presence of the Prime Minister and other leaders.

The Labour Party urged the Israelis to "open your hearts, open your homes", with Jewish Agency Chairman Louis Pincus speaking of "the dream of the immigrant confronted by the reality of Israel". Quoting from an international report on immigration, Pincus noted: "One has only to read about British immigrants to South Africa and how they were welcomed, to see that in comparison, we are angels."

Seeing red: No-one touched on the complaints of the immigrant associations at not being consulted by the official agencies when policy is being formulated. But one point which recurred frequently was the Labour Party's concern that over-reaction by Russian immigrants against the Soviet Union would drive them into the arms of Israel's right-wing parties.

One speaker mentioned that some young Soviet immigrants were so impressed by Rabbi Meir Kahane's publicity that they believed he was responsible for them leaving Russia.

Dr. David Shorch, of Beersheba, sought to reassure his Party colleagues that many Jews who admired Jabotinsky's ideas before leaving Russia admired Golda Meir and Defence Minister Moshe Dayan once they had come to Israel. After all, it is hardly surprising that a Russian immigrant who dislikes the Soviet regime should be suspicious of an Israel Labour Movement that still sports the red flag on festive occasions.



TUESDAY'S EARLY MORNING JUMBO
Dreams come true

THEY COME BY JUMBO

from a special correspondent

Lod Airport:

The largest single group of Soviet Jews ever to arrive in Israel landed here early on Tuesday morning. They arrived in an El Al Boeing 747 Jumbo Jetliner from Vienna.

This was the first time that a Jumbo had been pressed into service on the almost daily immigrant run from the Austrian capital, the staging point for Jews who have left Moscow en route to Tel Aviv. Censorship precluded the reportage of exactly how many immigrants were aboard, but an El Al Israel Airlines spokesman in Vienna put the total at 350.

Rarely since Israel's pioneer days following World War II and the War of Independence has there been such a large group of immigrants arriving to settle in this Jewish State. The use of the Jumbo to accommodate the group served to underscore the increase in the number of Jews being released by the Kremlin. Immigration officials here estimate 35,000 Soviet Jews will arrive during the coming year—more than twice the 14,000 who immigrated in 1971.

The Jumbo disgorged immigrants of all ages, from babes in their mothers' arms to bearded men, all dressed in heavy coats and hats that warmed them against the Soviet winter, but will be of little use in Israel. Flashing "V for Victory" signs for photog-

raphers at the planeside, the arrivals began shouting "shalom" to relatives who were waiting—some in tears—on the airport observation deck.

"I dreamed every night of the moment I would arrive in Israel. Now that I am here, I don't know what to say," said Brina Shlovo, who came with her husband and 28-year-old son, after a life in the USSR that included six years in Siberia. The Shlovo family and most of the other immigrants, among them men and women of varied professions, are to be settled in Arad and Dimona, development towns in the Negev.

"All my friends and professors at school knew I was going to Israel and one said 'I'm really jealous because you have a place to go to,'" said Maurice Slovas, 23. He learnt English by listening to the BBC and Voice of America, and added that today the Soviet Union is like a concentration camp.

The immigrants cleared their belongings through customs and then embraced their loved ones in tearful reunions. "In Moscow you heard anti-Semitic remarks everywhere—in the buses, subways . . . So I decided that the only place for me was the Jewish State," said 19-year-old Michael Sokovitch, who applied to leave for Israel 50 days ago.

BEIGIN FURORE PUZZLES ISRAEL

"MY THREE MOST
WONDERFUL DAYS"

from M. Ben-Zvi

Tel Aviv:

Most Israelis were somewhat bemused, and then a trifle annoyed at the reception accorded Herut Chairman Menachem Beigin on his first visit to the United Kingdom since he emerged from hiding as Commander of the Irgun Zvai Leumi. There were wide echoes in the Israeli press, even among those who do not care for Mr. Beigin most of the year, to the charge that anti-Semitism was a motivating force in the hostile reception accorded him by the British press. After all, it was argued, had they not welcomed Makarios, Kenyatta, the Germans and Hirohito? So why not Beigin?

To many Israelis, this evocation of the pre-Independence struggle was utterly irrelevant to the realities of the 1970s. For Beigin, though, it was a gift from heaven. No wonder he declared, all aglow on his return at Lod Airport: "They were the three most wonderful days in my life". Herut is now launching a series of public meetings featuring the "Returning Hero".

Cashing in: In a way, the visit to London has restored Beigin's waning fortunes in Gahal, which was champing under his bit. Now that the British press has raked up all the stuff about Beigin's role in the fight for Independence, the internal opposition in Gahal, and especially inside his own Herut party, will have to lie low for some time to come.

Beigin has not been at the centre of such attention for years. But due to the British reaction he made almost every newscast on the Israel Radio and TV for three days. He will undoubtedly try to cash in on the publicity, and he certainly needs it.

After all, by the 1973 Elections there will be even fewer voters for whom the names I.Z.L., Palmach and Haganah have any meaning as the justification for a viable political party. For most of the new voters they are merely the names of streets and districts.

GREETINGS FROM MOSCOW

The following cable was received by the World Zionist Congress on Tuesday:

To the participants of the World Zionist Congress, Jerusalem: Accept our congratulations on the occasion of the opening of the Congress. We wish you all successful work for the good of all Jews in the entire world.

Valentine Prusshakov
W. L. Shapiro
Vladimir Machlis

Moscow



THE BEIGINS DEPART

SPOTLIGHT

MR. JARRING'S BITTERNESS

SINCE THIS column reported how Dr. Gunnar Jarring, the UN Middle East peace envoy, had to be virtually kidnapped to get him to Jerusalem at the beginning of last year, there have been a spate of other disclosures about how Israeli diplomats regard him. One of the "leaks" supplied by controversial American columnist Jack Anderson quotes a secret Israeli message from Abba Eban to America's UN ambassador George Bush. In it Eban said that Israel could not accept certain American proposals regarding Jarring's mission since "Jarring has not been too helpful" and was "a negativistic individual".

I can add that Jarring himself is also regarded by close observers as a very bitter man. Although Israel has criticised him for submitting his February memorandum proposing Israel's total evacuation of Sinai, he

only did so at the specific and strong insistence of Washington which told him that any settlement would have to be on the basis of the Rogers Plan. Now he finds that President Nixon has also decided to go against all the things that Rogers stands for.

SADAT WOOS WEST GERMANY

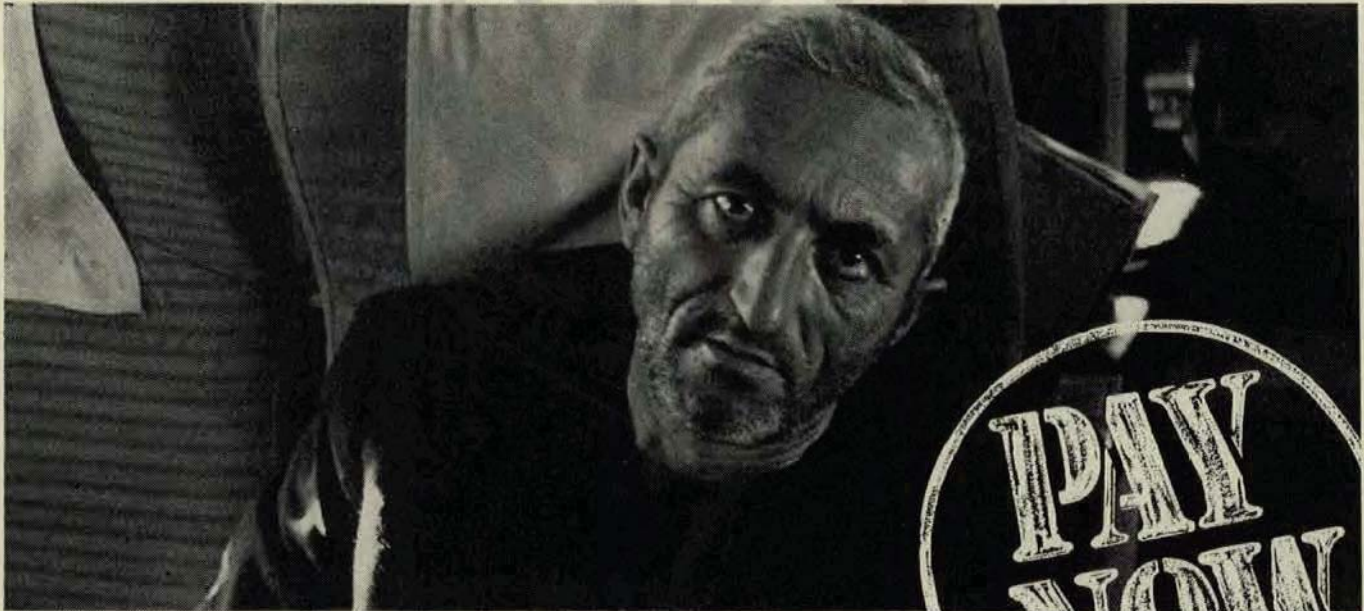
HAVING correctly forecast the dismissal of Egypt's Foreign Minister last week, our Middle East correspondent forecasts that the new Egyptian Government will shortly restore diplomatic relations with West Germany. According to Mr. Rudolf Werner, a prominent member of the Christian Democrat party, only a resolution of the Arab League council is now required before Egypt as well as Syria resume ties with Bonn.

Our Middle East correspondent expects that although Egypt will be the prime mover, President Sadat may ask another Arab State—probably Syria—to take the initiative in public. This would shield Cairo from

the wrath of the Russians and East Germans who are none too enthusiastic about a Cairo-Bonn connection. Ties were broken off in 1965 following Arab rage at the opening of a German embassy in Israel and the disclosures about German-Israeli military links.

ANYTHING TO DECLARE ?

HAVING FOR SO LONG applauded Arab terrorism against Israel, the Egyptians are now having a taste of their own medicine. Judging by reports from Cairo, security precautions are even more stringent than in some places in Israel's cities. At the Sheraton, both uniformed and plainclothes security police were recently seen inside and outside where only a handful previously stood guard. Movement through the hotel is closely observed and spot identity checks are made. At Cairo airport, incoming passengers go through the same ordeal as passengers boarding El Al planes. Body searches, taking up to an hour, have been initiated.



TOMORROW WILL BE TOO LATE FOR HIM

He can't wait. It took two years of waiting to get permission to leave for Israel. Imagine those two years. So when permission arrives you don't wait. You go. They might change their minds. Now it's up to us. When he arrives in Israel things must be ready. Homes. Schools. Food. Hospitals. Jobs. We can't wait till he steps off the plane. We need your help NOW. PLEASE, PAY NOW! Tomorrow will be too late.

JPA

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ISRAEL BORDER PATROL NEAR A LEBANESE VILLAGE
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LEBANON FIGHTING ESCALATES

ISRAEL TELLS BEIRUT: "COPY HUSSEIN"

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

By the beginning of this week, the Israeli army had made three strikes into Lebanese territory in five days, against Palestinian terror bases.

The flare-up began on December 20, when two Katyusha rockets of the long-range 130 mm. type were directed from across the Lebanese border to Nahariya, Israel's most famous sea resort town in the north. They caused no casualties, but were sufficient to alert Israel to the new danger from the north.

Then, in quick succession, there followed Katyusha, bazooka and mortar attacks on several other localities in the country's north: Kibbutz Yiftach, Kibbutz Misgav-Am, Kiryat She-mona, Kefar Giladi and the picturesque Galilee town of Safed, deep within Israel. The attack on the latter was made by a commando unit including volunteers from Libya. It ran into an Israeli ambush on its way back, and among three terrorists killed was one Syrian and one Libyan.

The same purpose: Israel struck back. Last Monday night's raids on Kafr Hammam and Binat al-Jebel about three miles inside Lebanon were followed by a five miles deep penetration and the blowing up of two houses serving as terrorist bases in Kafra village. The objective, as announced afterwards by Chief of

Staff Lt.-General Elazar, had been the same in all three cases: the blowing up of houses with the terrorists still inside. It had been achieved in all three operations, the third without Israeli losses.

The aim of these operations, as outlined by Elazar, was to make it quite clear to both the Lebanese authorities and to the Lebanese army that Israel will not tolerate terrorists' activities along the border. A firm decision had been taken in this respect: Israel would not take only defensive measures, but would seek out and smite the terrorists.

Judging from past experience, operations on such a scale require Cabinet approval. All factors and possible ramifications must have been weighed before the orders were given to the army commanders. The situation inside Lebanon had, doubtlessly, also been carefully assessed. However, just as pro-western Jordan could not escape the consequences of yielding to terrorist demands, so pro-western Lebanon will also have to weigh whether Israel or the Palestinians are more dangerous to it.

Mountain stronghold: Until just two years ago, Israel border with Lebanon used to be the quiet border. The war of attrition on the Suez Canal and the unceasing artillery

attacks on the Jordanian border settlements were not felt by the settlers in the north. Only on the slopes of Mount Hermon, on the previous border between Lebanon and Syria, did the Fatah strike.

Israel therefore built roads through this area of the Golan Heights and established a stronghold on Jebel Rouss, a mountain peak overlooking almost the whole territory.

But then the Fatah and the Syrian-organised *Saiqah* groups began sprouting up along the 60 miles of international boundary between Israel and Lebanon. Before long, the idyllic scenic ride along the "Northern Road" frequented by thousands of tourists each weekend, became a death-trap.

Israel retaliated by raids and incursions, by blowing up terrorist bases, and eventually by openly patrolling villages inside the Lebanon. Quiet returned, and the Lebanese army and police took over again, guarding civilian life and preventing the terrorists from turning their villages into targets for Israeli reprisals.

International gangs: But the peace did not last. After being forced out of Jordan last summer the terrorists re-grouped in South Lebanon and decided to assert themselves again. One method was to post letter bombs to Israel. The renewed attacks from Lebanon were another.

As is their habit, the terrorists did not operate from the countries which back them particularly. Most of the estimated 4,000 so-called Palestinians now in the Lebanon are, in fact,



GOLANI BRIGADE EXERCISE
Tackling difficult terrain



ARAFAT AND SAEB SALEM
Conflict of interests

Syrians, or at best doubtful Palestinians, from Kuneitra in the Golan Heights or from the former villages in the Heights which were evacuated by the Syrians long before the 1967 war, to make room for Syrian army camps. A few are volunteers from Libya, while Algeria has also claimed that it has men there.

The Israeli border with Lebanon winds its way from the Mediterranean coast to the Galilean mountains and follows no natural geographical feature. On Israel's Northern road the village just ahead will often be in Lebanon, and just before reaching it the road turns to the south to skirt it.

Friendly farmers: It is not easy to operate in the mountainous terrain, with its gullies, bush forests and undergrowth. However, the main difficulty is not the terrain. It is the fact that large Lebanese villages lie along the border.

Most of them are mixed, Christian and Moslem. The farmers are friendly and so are the Lebanese soldiers. This border is the only one where Israeli and Arab soldiers will light one another's cigarettes.

The difficulty lies in the Lebanese army's weakness. If it decides to wage an all-out war against the terrorists, as the Jordanians finally did, it may gain the upper hand. The 4,000 terrorists only have artillery suitable for sneak attacks, such as mortars and bazookas, and their main vehicles are Land-Rovers. The 15,000-strong Lebanese army which is motorised

and mechanised, can rout them without too much difficulty.

Political risks: But the political system inside Lebanon, based on a delicate balance of Christians and Moslems, may crack under the strain. France, Britain and the United States are aware of this.

Israel cannot be sure if the Lebanese system will hold out, as Jordan did when confronted with a similar position: half its population supporting the terrorists and the other half were loyal to their own Government. Therefore Israel must tread carefully.

On the other hand, it is clear that the Israeli Government will not toler-

ate attacks from Lebanese territory without massive retaliation. Already the policy of search and destroy — about 200 terrorist-held houses were blown up over the past year and the seven destroyed last week were also held by terrorists only, not villagers, — has boiled over into something else. Under attack by mortar fire, the Israeli army in the settlements returned fire, even when the mortars had been placed near Lebanese villages.

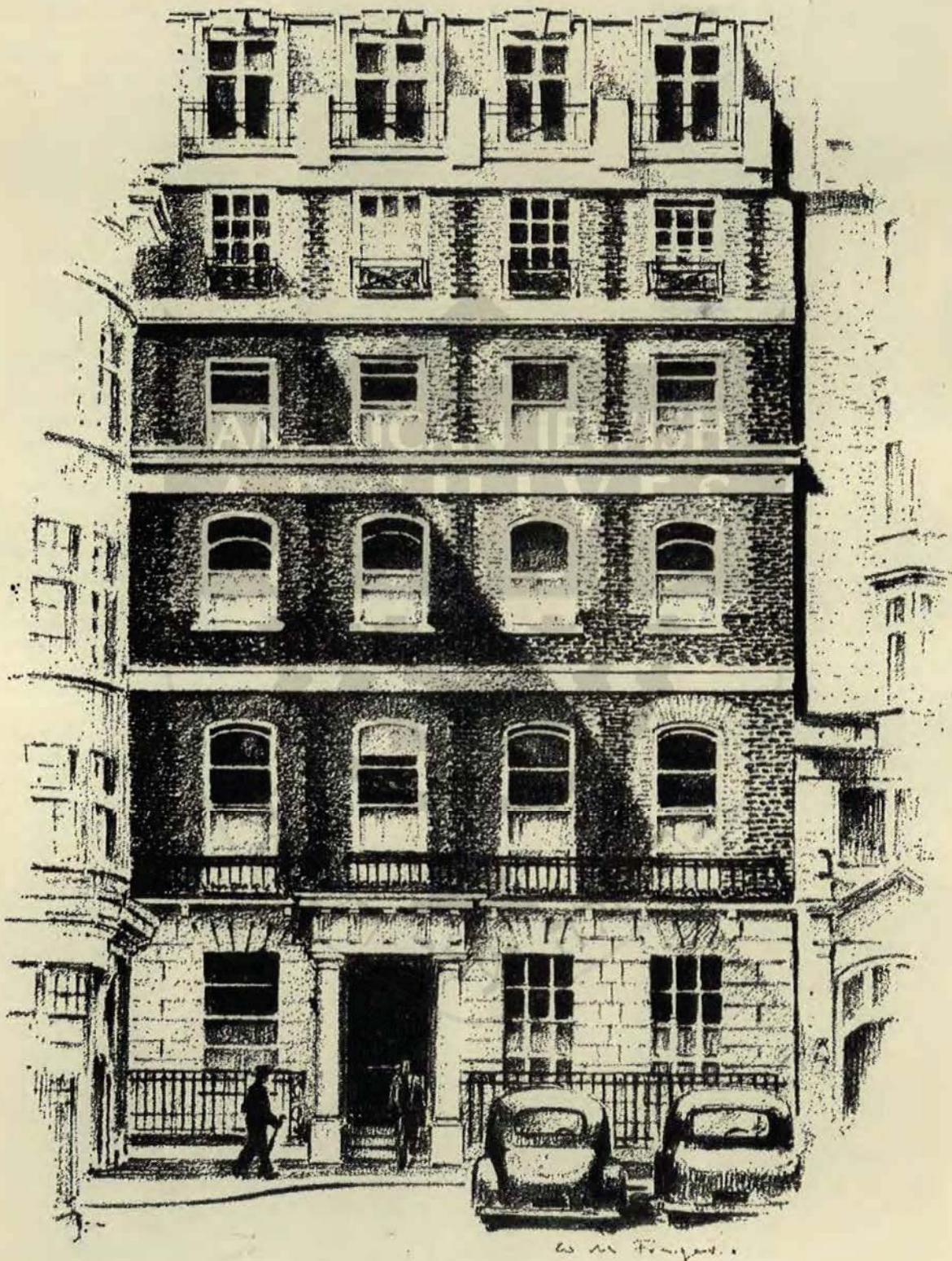
Western complaints: The Lebanese Government may have learnt the lesson of Jordan, where villagers had to leave the entire border area, as the villages came under retaliatory fire. The intensive talks by Lebanese Premier Saeb Salem with the Fatah leader Yasser Arafat, and the agreement announced between them, seem to point in this direction.

It states that terrorist bases should be at least one kilometre away from Lebanese villages. However, Arafat has never been a stickler for keeping agreements. Nor has he authority over the *Saiqah* men who are directed from Damascus.

The Syrians, with their sinister designs, may have chosen the present moment for taking over in the Lebanon, after the "revolutionary forces" failed so dismally in Jordan. But Israel will not be impressed by Western complaints that she is hastening this process. For her, the duty to defend her citizens is the prime imperative. It will be carried out, whatever the pressures.



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Mountain stronghold



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Organisation. We are part of those Jews of the USSR who have tied their hopes and their future with the fate of the State of Israel, and whom the Authorities of the USSR unlawfully refuse permission to go to Israel. In the past we, (together with thousands of other Jews of the USSR), had repeatedly appealed to the UN with the request to help us in the realisation of the generally accepted right to leave one's country of residence. Until now we are being forcibly obliged to live outside the borders of our national Homeland.

"We express our hope that you, Mr. Secretary General, when facing in your high position the many problems standing before the UN, will not fail to take into consideration also the problem of the Soviet Jews who wish to go to Israel and that you will do everything you can to restore law and justice."

(Signed)

Viktor Polsky, Vladimir Makhlis, Elena Polskaya, Lev Libov, Vladimir Lerner, Aleksandr Lerner, Gavriel Shapiro, Pavel Abramovich, Marta Balashinskaya, Boris Orlov, Maria Orlova, Grigory Svehinsky, Sergey Gurvits, Marina Gurvits, Mikhail and Elena Musia Zaichik, Petr Lvovsky, Iosif Begun, Iliya and Lidiya and Ludmila Korenfeld, Isaak and Lina and Ludmila Dymshits, Ada Gershovich, Vladimir Gershovich, Vladimir Slepak, Maria and Aleksandr Slepak, Boris Kogan.



JAMES SCHEUER IN LONDON
Unpleasant experience

"CULTURAL GENOCIDE"

Describing conditions facing Jews in Russia today, Representative Scheuer said that although the harsh totalitarian régime of the

Stalin era was no longer in existence, the "hard-liners" were afraid of any deviation and were "paranoiac" when it came to conversations between Russian citizens and Westerners. He was speaking at a press conference in London after being the first US Congressman to be expelled from the Soviet Union.

During his talks with Soviet officials, Scheuer, a Jew, had called for a relaxation of the harsh measures taken against Jews who had expressed a desire to leave. He urged other visitors to take a similar line.

Scheuer, a New York Democrat, said that about 15,000 Jews had obtained exit visas last year — many more than in the previous year — but there had been a decline in the number of middle-class professionals allowed to leave. He understood that about 65,000 requests for exit visas had not been granted.

Another American Congressman who has just visited the Soviet Union is Representative Alphonzo Bell (Republican, California). Speaking in Israel, he accused the Soviet authorities of "cultural genocide".

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ZIONISM RECONSIDERED

WHERE HERZL WENT WRONG

BY DR. MEIR MICHAELIS

Zionism, as its name implies, is rooted in the age-old Jewish love of *Eretz Yisrael*: "May the All-merciful break the yoke from off our neck, and lead us upright to our land".

By a strange paradox, however, the founders of the Zionist movement were Jewish assimilationists to whom the "love of Zion" was very largely foreign. Leon (Judah Leib) Pinsker (1821-1891), the "father" of political Zionism in Russia, was a firm believer in the idea of Russification until the pogrom of 1881. Even after his conversion to Zionism he had doubts about a return to Palestine—what if there were to be another "Destruction of the Temple"?

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) hoped at one time to solve the Jewish problem by means of baptism and intermarriage. In his classic book *The Jewish State* (1896) he pointed out that Argentina had the advantage of vast, fertile areas, a mild climate and a sparse population over Palestine. As late as 1903 he was prepared to accept Uganda as at least a temporary haven of refuge, thus causing a split in the Zionist move-

ment.

Aid to assimilation: There are other paradoxes as well. Zionism grew out of Jewish messianism, yet it is predominantly a secular movement, the Jewish variant of modern nationalism. It is a counterblast to assimilation, yet the basic Zionist idea—the restoration of Jewish nationhood and statehood—has justly been described as "assimilationist" par excellence: Zionists hope to solve the Jewish problem by "assimilating" the Jewish status to the current social form of the nation-state.

Nor is this desire for normalisation—for a "Jewish Bulgaria" or a "Jewish Greece"—the only way in which Zionist assimilation finds expression: many supporters of the Zionist movement regard the establishment of a Jewish state as a means of improving their own status in the various Gentile societies which they have no intention of leaving. A leading American Zionist, Louis Brandeis, wrote in 1915:

"Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through

the ennobling effects of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in the future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors."

Spiritual centre: Herzl was right in assuming that *Judennot* (Jewish suffering) was the driving force which would enable the Jews to establish a State of their own within fifty years. But he was wrong in regarding the anti-Semites as people who shared his own desire for a "rational" solution of the age-old Jewish problem; hence, while correctly predicting the emergence of a *Judenstaat* in the near future, he was unable to foresee either the Holocaust or the use of "anti-Zionism" or "anti-Israelism" as a cloak for anti-Semitism.

Nor did he ever arrive at a positive appreciation of Hebrew culture and Jewish values; being estranged from the Jewish heritage and obsessed with the impact of anti-Semitism on the Jewish position in Gentile society, he failed to realise that Zionism is not in essence an answer to Jew-hatred which, being a purely negative force, cannot be creative of cultural or spiritual values. Herzl's failure to grasp the spiritual essence of Zionism gave rise to bitter polemics within the Zionist movement, his foremost critic being Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), known under his pen-name of Ahad-Ha-Am.

Writing in 1897 (a few months after the first Zionist Congress), Ahad Ha-Am warned the Zionists that the setting up of a Jewish State, though essential to the survival of the Jews as a people, was not a cure for anti-Semitism. The Zionist movement should aim not at solving the "material problem" of the Jews as individuals but at resolving the problem of Judaism as a historical national culture. The projected Jewish State



HERZL IN EGYPT EN ROUTE TO PALESTINE
Still considering Uganda

ought to be a national spiritual centre of Judaism "to which all Jews will turn with affection and which will bind all Jews together; a centre of study and learning, . . . of bodily work and spiritual purification; a true miniature of the people of Israel as it ought to be".

East and West: Russian Zionism, Ahad Ha-Am insisted, was utterly different from the Herzlian brand, being rooted in a Hebrew renaissance movement: "In the West, it is the problem of the Jews; in the East, the problem of Judaism . . . The one is a product of anti-Semitism and is dependent on anti-Semitism for its existence; the other is a natural product of a real link with a millennial culture, and it will remain unsolved and unaffected even if . . . the Jews all over the world attain comfortable economic positions, are on the best possible terms with their neighbours, and are admitted to the fullest social and political equality."

Fortunately for the future of Zionism, the foundations of the projected Jewish State were laid by the "spiritual" Zionists from Russia, not by the "political" Zionists from the West (though the assistance of the latter was indispensable). Seventy-five years after Ahad Ha-Am's attack on Herzl, the Jewish leadership in Israel is still predominantly Eastern European. And while it is true that the State of Israel falls far short of Ahad Ha-Am's "true miniature of the people of Israel", it is equally true that, but for the spiritual character of Russian Zionism, Israel would have been as ghastly a failure as Biro-Bidzhan.



RUSSIAN IMMIGRANTS, 1971
Where Leninism failed



HERZL AND COLLEAGUES IN 1901
Assimilationists par excellence?

Ahad Ha-Am was not the only early Zionist thinker whose warnings and criticisms are relevant to the current problems of the Zionist movement and of the State of Israel. Equally relevant are those of the early Labour Zionists who tried to put the Jews on their guard against the "Socialist" solution of the Jewish problem. Ber Borochov (1881-1917), the father of Marxist (Zionism, warmly welcomed the October revolution; but he had the wisdom to realise that Leninism was not a cure for Jewish ills.

Limits of socialism: Nahman Syrkin (1867-1924), writing in 1898, warned his fellow-Jews not to look to "pseudo-internationalism" for an answer to their problems, explaining that Jewish suffering "has a specific characteristic with which Socialism cannot deal. He also denounced the renegade Jews in the ranks of the revolutionary Socialist movement in a passage which is well worth quoting:

"The Jewish Socialists of Western Europe who sprang from the assimilationist bourgeoisie unfortunately inherited the tradition of assimilation and displayed the same lack of self-respect and spiritual poverty, except that the moral degeneration of the Socialist brand of assimilationism was more sharply apparent . . . The bearers of the idea of national emancipation among all oppressed nations are the Intelligentsia, the Socialists and the proletariat. Only in the case of the Jews, among whom everything is topsy-turvy, have the Socialists inherited assimilation from the bourgeoisie and made it their spiritual heritage".

In the light of the above, we may tentatively define three of the major

problems confronting the Zionist movement and the State of Israel in 1972:

- a) the decline of traditional right-wing anti-Semitism as a political force in the Western world and the consequent need of emancipating Zionism from any residual dependence on *Judennot* as a driving force;
- b) the failure of the "Socialist" solution of the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries and the need for reformulating the Socialist approach to Zionism in the light of that failure;
- c) the emergence of new forms of pseudo-progressive anti-Semitism, masquerading as "anti-Zionism" and the need for exposing the fallacies on which they are based. Given the temporary alliance between these new tendencies and various forms of Jewish assimilationism, the two have to be combated together. "Liberal" and "left-wing" anti-Semitism being currently more fashionable than the Fascist brand, the Zionist movement will be well advised to give its special attention.

It remains to add, however, that "anti-Zionism" has disparate roots, "philo-Semitic" as well as anti-Semitic. Liberal and left-wing philo-Semites, be it remembered, have always been hostile to the idea of Jewish nationhood. Zionists will be well advised, therefore, to abstain from charging all anti-Zionists with anti-Semitism.

[To be continued]

RELIGION

STRUGGLE RAGES OVER ISRAEL'S CHIEF RABBI

UNTERMAN, 90,
REFUSES TO RETIRE

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem :

Virtually all members of the Cabinet are determined that the next Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel must be the present Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv and former Military Chief Chaplain, Shlomo Goren. He is the only one in sight who has both the scholarly standing and a sufficiently tolerant attitude to devise solutions to some of the burning problems of "religion-and-state".

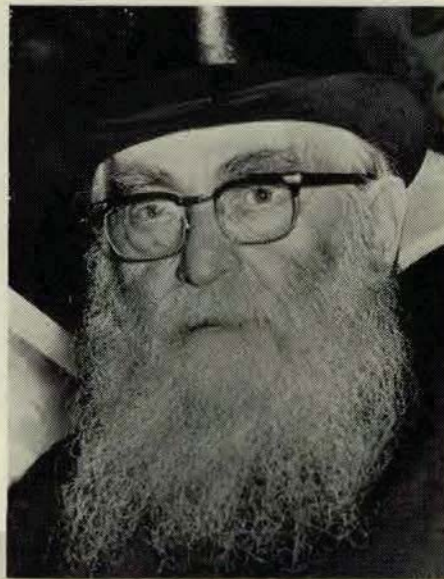
These include the famous case of the "bastards", the problem of "Agunot" (deserted wives who cannot remarry unless their husbands are located) and "Halitza" (the release of a widow from marrying her brother-in-law) — all these on top of numerous questions of Sabbath observance or non-observance in essential services.

Even the National Religious Party also supports the idea of making Goren Chief Rabbi, although some would also like him to head the Party's list at the next General Election.

The trouble is that the incumbent, Chief Rabbi Isser Unterman, does not want to retire although he is approaching the age of 90. On the contrary, he has indicated that he intends to be a candidate once more.

Changing the rules : In order to prevent his election, the Labour Alignment and the N.R.P. put their heads together and inserted a clause in the draft of the Chief Rabbi's Election Bill, fixing the maximum age of a candidate at 75. At first, the age of 70 was suggested, but this would also have disqualified Unterman's Sephardi counterpart Itzhak Nissim, who is now 75.

But it was feared that this alone would not suffice. Not only would the



UNTERMAN
Nearly 90—and still in the fight

Agudat Israel and other more conservative members of the Electoral College favour Unterman, but even some N.R.P. members might be deterred by the unashamedly tailor-made clauses of the Bill and the traditional Jewish reluctance to depose a rabbi from office.

To overcome such hesitations, an additional innovation was made in the Election Bill: The built-in rabbinical majority was to be turned around into a lay one — previously the Electoral College consisted of 75 rabbis and 50 laymen. Under the new rules this proportion was to be reversed, on the grounds that the Chief



GOREN
The popular candidate

Rabbinate by its own claim exists for the whole nation and not only for its religious sectors.

Deadline approaches : Therefore, the make-up of the whole nation should be reflected in the composition of the body that would elect its ecclesiastical leaders. After vehement protests, this proportion was changed to parity, 75 rabbis and 75 laymen. But the Chief Rabbinate insists on a return to the previous proportion, and is putting heavy pressure on the N.R.P.'s Minister of Religious Affairs, Dr. Zerah Warhaftig, who incidentally also favours restoration of the rabbinical majority.

The situation has now reached a deadlock which could go on for a long time were it not for the fact that the legal term of the Chief Rabbinate expires at the end of this month. The last elections took place eight years ago under a special law which contained a clause defining it as being valid for a one-time election only.

The term of the Chief Rabbinate elected under that law expired last March but has since been twice extended by special legislation because the parties were unable to reach agreement on a new Election Law. It seems most unlikely that such agreement can be reached before the end of January — and even if it can, it would be impossible to prepare and hold elections in time.

No Wolfson : Thus, unless the term of the Chief Rabbinate is again extended by legislation, its legal status will lapse on January 31. There was a similar situation eight years ago.

At that time the Accountant-General even stopped Rabbi Nissim's salary for two months, but later the law retroactively validated his position.

As long as Chief Rabbi Unterman refuses to retire, it seems that no solution will be reached. In Israel there is no-one as strong as Sir Isaac Wolfson who managed to induce a British Chief Rabbi to step down when he had reached retirement age, even before a new candidate had been elected.

The trouble is that the prestige of the Chief Rabbinate is already low in Israel. The current bickering does not raise it. On the other hand, if and when Goren gets the top job, many people will look to him to sweep away the cob-webs.

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PROFILE

THE AMAZING RACHEL BEN-ZVI

LAST OF THE PIONEER WOMEN

by Sophia Wyatt

When President Shazar moves into Israel's new White House, his present residence will be opened as *Yad Ben-Zvi*—a memorial centre to Yitzhak Ben-Zvi the second President of Israel.

The job of putting this together was inspired and carried out by his widow Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi. No one could be better qualified. Mrs. Ben-Zvi, one of the earliest members of *Poalei Zion*, is the last of the first Jewish armed guards, the *Hashomer*.

With her husband and the rest of the *chaverim* she was in it all the way, malaria and all. She has described the epic of these daring young people who came to the land of their fathers at the turn of the century in her book *Anu Olim* (beautifully translated as *Coming Home*). They conquered the swamps, made the land fruitful and laid the foundation of the State of Israel.

On first meeting Mrs. Ben Zvi in her temporary offices on Ibn Gavirol Street in Jerusalem, I found it difficult to think of this lady in a black straw hat peering mildly over her glasses, as the dashing young horsewoman who ranged the early Jewish settlements on equal pistol-packing terms with the men, in a *keffiyah* and *abaya*, on the look-out for marauding Arabs.

But the Old Guard was soon visible. "We must have 6,000,000 Jews here to defend ourselves," she said. Did she not think Israel was too small to absorb such numbers? "Certainly not. The whole desert is waiting for us. The land is good for our soul, for our historical survival."

Settlements, settlements, and more settlements. That was always the platform and so it is today. There are about nine settlements. Along the sensitive 50 mile sector stretching along the coast of the Dead Sea, from Jericho to Ein Gedi, there are Ein Gedi founded in 1949, Kallia and



RACHEL BEN-ZVI
"Not ashamed of tears"

Mitzpeh Shalem established after the Six Day War. "And there will be more," said Mrs. Ben-Zvi.

This is also the voice of the agriculturist. As a young woman she took time out in France to become an agricultural engineer, but she learned a principle from Aaron Aaronsohn, who founded an experimental station at Atlit: "If you really want to gain knowledge, put aside the books, walk across the length and breadth of the land, observe nature, test the quality of the soil, learn everything you can about plant species and varieties."

And she did. Afforestation and teaching agriculture to girls have been her twin life interests. "All these trees you will see on your way back to Tel Aviv are mine," she said. "They are my friends." So are the children. One of the many services of *Yad Ben-Zvi* is a library catering to 800 schools, clubs and new settlements. Books are selected from catalogues then delivered. Mrs. Ben Zvi makes the rounds in person to see how the project is going. She delights in the anecdote of the little Yemenite boy who compared one of the books on the return to The Land with the story of Robinson Crusoe. "Robinson Crusoe?" cried a little girl indignantly. "That was an accident. This is deliberate."

While putting a full day in at the office on her work for *Yad Ben Zvi*, Mrs. Ben-Zvi is writing a book on the Jerusalem *Haganah* and another

on her two farm schools which she founded in Jerusalem. She is completely concentrated on the inside task of defence and growth. Many outsiders are surprised to hear she's still around, but the insiders know it only too well.

"She's impossible! She's wonderful! She's so active!" said one of them. "And she's in her eighties."

Her talent is to hold fast to old principles but to ride them in modern armour. Of the *kibbutzim* she says, "They are the best of ours but we don't want a continuation. We want continuing creation."

Of course she welcomes aliyah "but we want our youth". She knows the problems, but first things first. "Of course we have to have our own revolution. I don't want Jerusalem to be Los Angeles or New York." And drugs? "I would like our American children to come here very young, before they are poisoned by drugs."

Women's Liberation? This is old stuff. She smiles as she recollects the fights she had on the subject in talks with Ben-Gurion in 1910. He thought women had no talent in science and didn't even excel in their "good" subjects, art and music. She argues today as she did then, that daughters inherit their fathers' talent too and can go forward if they will develop them.

"Women must qualify to deserve the right to be equal," she says. She is her own living example. Yet she has remained richly a woman. Her walls are lined with pictures of her late husband. In a corner there is a picture alone of a handsome youth. Next to it a sheaf of wheat. This is Eli, the loved son who fell at Beit Kishet his kibbutz in the War of Independence and in the week he was to marry.

Much later it was his mother who encouraged the fiancée to get married to someone else. "Her children call me grandmother."

She is not ashamed to remember with tears. Her humanity is her strength. When Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi first set foot in the Holy Land in 1908, she wrote, "My feet were standing on the soil of my Homeland and no force in the world could make me budge." When in 1971 I asked her, "How are you going to stop the Egyptians from coming into Sinai?" she answered "We will not move."



Vol. 19, No 3 (71), Autumn 1971

Major features in this issue include:

THE ISRAELIS: AS THEY SEE THEMSELVES

DUBNOWISM TODAY

JUDAISM IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Allegro's 'JEWS'

JOSEF HERMAN AT 60

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JERUSALEM BABY HOME EXPANSION

WOMEN ZIONISTS ASKED TO HELP

by Michael Kallenbach

London:

"The Jerusalem Baby Home is enlarging and increasing its services to cope with modern up-to-date needs", Mrs. Elaine Blond, president of the Federation of Women's Zionists of Great Britain and Ireland, announced last week. "In fact, the entire structure of the home is being replanned to house more young children."

Addressing a press conference, Mrs. Blond also spoke of the increased number of Jews from the Soviet Union who have young children to be housed at the home. "The flexibility of Wizo's workers in Israel has risen to every occasion to meet the present-day needs of the country. The women have been ready to help each aliyah as it comes in, and the different problems that go with it."

Reporting on her recent visit to Israel, Mrs. Blond talked about immigrants who were able to turn to Wizo workers and their families at all times, who were able to assist with problems and difficulties of all sorts and sizes. Diaspora Jewry coming to Israel are always relieved of certain major worries of settling down, knowing that Wizo women are always ready and eager to help wherever possible.

Birth explosion: The home was founded in 1955 in Beit Hakerem, and since then has continued to "move with the times". It has constantly been adapted to meet changing conditions — a population explosion following wave after wave of immigration; poverty and bad housing among the immigrants, especially those with large families; the stress of living under the constant threat of attack; and the sudden expansion of Jerusalem since the Six Day War. The home has readily shouldered every new responsibility, and any child — Jew, Arab or Christian — in need of love and care has a claim on its shelter.

Mrs. Blond said that at present the home houses about 200 children



MRS. BLOND
Call for action

in the three-five age group, who are classed as "social cases". While the external structure of the home is remaining the same, the internal walls are currently being altered to house several small day creches catering for the pre-kindergarten age groups, enabling mothers with young babies of three years old to leave their children at the home. There are presently three day creches, and with all changes complete, it is hoped there will be six, catering for 350.

Israel's Ministries of Education and Social Welfare have expressed their particular interest in the new home, and they will provide financial aid. Mrs. Blond also called on the British FWZ to assist this new venture in every possible way. With the new look, financial responsibilities have increased tremendously and much equipment will have to be purchased.

A completely differently orientated and much larger nursing staff will have to be engaged. "Educational" teachers will be needed more than nursery school nurses. Mrs. Blond thought that this should attract nurses from abroad.

COMMUNAL

BOARD REFLECTS ON GOLDMANN AND BEIGIN

SUPPORT FOR "FREEDOM OF SPEECH"

Jewish Observer Reporter

Israeli hostility to Dr. Nahum Goldmann and British hostility to Menachem Beigin were aired at Sunday's meeting of the Board of Deputies of British Jews.

Alderman Michael Fidler, MP, the Board's President, said:

"In connection with our distinguished visitor at our last meeting, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, it is a tragedy that the British press originally misreported him, and that these misreports were taken up in Israel, with gross distortion of what he actually said. His masterly and far-reaching survey impressed us all, and in relation to the USSR he actually restated what was the voice of world Jewry at the Brussels Conference last February, and what was endorsed by this Board."

The President went on: "It is a matter of intense regret that these distortions, though corrected by tapes which were made available, had the most unfortunate result in the revised decision of the Jewish Agency as to Dr. Goldmann's participation in the forthcoming Zionist Congress. We may not always agree with Dr. Goldmann but on this issue we feel injustice has been done to him".

Freedom of speech: Menachem Beigin's visit to this country was brought up at the Board meeting both by the President and several deputies. The President said of the visit: "Unfortunate publicity attached itself to the visit of Menachem Beigin to this country. It is regrettable that certain sections of the press sought to re-open old scars, and that violence interfered with freedom of expression. We condemn violence in any form, here or overseas, past, present and future."

ZALKIND STALBOW DIES AT 94

Zalkind Stalbow, veteran Zionist campaigner, coloniser in Israel, Hebrew scholar and philanthropist died in London last week at the age of 94.

Stalbow, who was one of the last of the survivors of the Balfour Declaration generation of British Zionists, was born in 1878 in the town of Widz, near Dvinsk, Western Russia, at the time and later Latvia. He came to this country at the end of the last century and made his fortune in industry and commerce. But he devoted a great deal of his time, energy and intellect to Zionist activity and scholarship. He was one of the founders of Rehovot, the seat of the Weizmann Institute and an important town in Israel, and made a decisive contribution to other projects in the upbuilding of Eretz Israel between the wars.

Zalkind Stalbow contributed over the years articles and essays, in Hebrew and English, to various publications in Israel and the Diaspora. His main interests in his writings were Jewish-Christian relations and non-sectarian Zionism. He published his autobiography in Hebrew some years ago. In his old age, he divided his time between Israel and Britain. Until his middle eighties, he was a participant in the annual Passover March to Jerusalem. He is survived by seven children, seventeen grandchildren and nineteen great grandchildren. He was buried in Rehovot on Monday.—J.T.A.

SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION ON ISRAEL

The Secretary of State for Education and Science, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P., spoke of Anglo-Israel relations and reported on her recent visit to Israel when she addressed the annual meeting of the Anglo-Israel Friendship League in Finchley.

Mrs. Thatcher said that there was a great deal of friendship as well as common interest between Britain and Israel. She noted the rapid progress of Israel and related her impressions of conversations with Mrs. Golda Meir and other Ministers. The Mayor of Barnet, Councillor Hughes, and Dr. Basil Bard, Director of the National Research Development Corporation, also attended the meeting.

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PERSONAL

NAROD — Lily Narod wishes to offer her heartfelt thanks to all friends, Clergy and organisations, for their gifts, flowers and get-well messages whilst in hospital. 44 Woodlands, Golders Green, N.W.11.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Saturday, January 22

THE SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF THE ZIONIST FEDERATION together with the **CLAPTON AND DISTRICT SOCIETY** cordially invite you and your friends to a Malava Malka. Guest Speaker: Dr. I. Levy, O.B.E., Director of the J.N.F. followed by a concert of Yiddish and Israeli songs given by the Granard Singers at the Abraham Leifer Hall, 47 Lea Bridge Road, E.5 at 7.45 p.m. in aid of the J.N.F. Admission 50p. No Appeal. Refreshments.

Monday, January 24

THEODOR HERZL SOCIETY, 57 Eton Avenue, N.W.3. In the 14th Lecture Course on Treasures and Places in Israel in conjunction with the London University, Dr. Arnon Sofer, Head of the Geographical Department, Tel Aviv, will speak on the planning and development of Israel's cities (with slides). 8.00 for 8.15 p.m. All welcome. Phone inquiries Mr. H. M. Hirsch 435-7221.

Tuesday, January 25

MUSWELL HILL ZIONIST SOCIETY cordially invite you and your friends to a discussion and debate on "The Problems of Israel 1972". There will be a guest speaker followed by the latest Israeli Films which will give visual aid to the above subject. All welcome. No Appeal. At the Muswell Hill Synagogue Hall, Tetherdown, N.10 at 8.30 p.m. In the Chair: Mr. M. Gilbert.

Thursday, January 27

ST. JOHN'S WOOD AND MAIDA VALE ZIONIST SOCIETY cordially invite you and your friends to meet and hear The Hon. Terence Prittie, a distinguished journalist and author who will speak on "Pressures on Israel" at the Florence Michael Reception Hall, St. John's Wood Synagogue, Grove End Road, N.W.8 at 8.15 p.m. In the Chair: Mr. M. Kelvin, LL.B. Refreshments. No Appeal.

Sunday, February 6

NORWICH ZIONIST AND SOCIAL SOCIETY. Presidential Dinner. Mr. & Mrs. Jack Stern. "Readings from Jewish Humourists" by Harry Levine. 7.30 p.m. at Synagogue House, 3A Earlham Road, Norwich.



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BOOKS

ISRAEL'S APPROACH TO GREATER EUROPE

ISRAEL AND THE COMMON MARKET, Editor: Pierre Uri, 680 pages (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Jerusalem) £10.50.

In a country as small as Israel and with a subsequently limited home market, exports are the only hope for a thriving economy, and with the added handicap of being unable in the foreseeable future to enjoy any sort of economic relationship with her immediate neighbours, Israel's anxiety to have some form of association with the Common Market is both sensible and natural.

Right from its birth the European Economic Community (to give it its official title) has attracted Israel's interests. That she was one of the first to grasp the full meaning and potential of the EEC is proved by the fact that — after America and Greece — Israel was the third country to appoint a special Common Market Ambassador.

The impending enlargement of the Common Market from six to ten member nations presents new problems, particularly as Britain — Israel's best customer — is one of the incoming members. So important are the implications for Israel of Britain's entry that it was the prime topic of discussion when Foreign Minister Abba Eban recently paid his first official visit to London.

This book was written in 1970 (though it has only just been published here) and therefore makes no reference to this and other more recent developments. While it consequently leaves unanswered a number of important questions, it does not really alter the book's basic purpose, which is simply to study the changes in economic structure and policy which association with the Common Market would require in Israel. The main subjects dealt with at length — all by Israeli experts in their own field — are exchange control, income tax, value added tax, the capital market and the labour market.

These five sections present a welter of deeply-researched information, with numerous easy-to-read tables and graphs comparing situations in Israel with those of the Common Market countries. Like its price, this book's information is more for the economic expert than the layman

who can, nevertheless, learn much from the conclusions drawn by these men.

What can be examined more critically, however, are the non-technical sections: the foreword by Baron Edmond de Rothschild and the general remarks in the introduction and summary of Pierre Uri, of the Sorbonne, the books editor.

Israel and the Common Market was published, in co-operation with the Israeli Government, on the initiative of the Geneva-based Middle East Peace Institute (MEPI), an international association formed to encourage research on social, economic and political matters concerning the Middle East. Its declared aim, Baron de Rothschild writes, "is to direct its studies so as to create a base for more peaceful relations in that troubled area."

Middle East countries, he continues, "should all be bent on development towards the benefits of co-operation and the exchange of experience" instead of being continuously at each other's throats. True, but does the Baron see this as a real possibility in the near future?

M. Uri, one of the founding theoreticians of the Common Market, presents a clear history of Israel's attempts to maintain and develop association with the EEC and his explanations of why she should want to do so make sense. He also adds that Europe has special responsibilities towards Israel because "incessant persecutions first in Eastern Europe and then in Germany forced the creation of a Jewish State".

Despite the force of this statement, bitter experience has long since taught Israel not to rely on the goodwill of others, for when it comes to the crunch, that goodwill has a frequent habit of disappearing. Israel's case for permanent association with the Common Market will, in the end, stand or fall on its own merits, and studies such as those which appear in this book will help the understanding of that case at home as well as abroad.

Charles Hyams

EDUCATION

THEOLOGY AND TECHNOLOGY

NEW COLLEGE OPENS IN JERUSALEM

Jewish Observer Reporter

London:

An unusual combination of applied technology and religious studies is being taught at a new college of technology being erected in Jerusalem. Dov Bet-El, a former Zionist youth emissary in London, has returned to Britain for a brief period to explain the aims of the new institution which is called the Jerusalem College of Technology—School of Applied Sciences.

He told the JEWISH OBSERVER that the college, which has the backing of the Israeli Government, is intended to fill a gap in current Israeli education. Whereas the Universities educate mainly towards research, there is a lack of personnel trained in the practicalities of science-based industries, who can understand the language of the engineer and who can anticipate the problems of the technician on the shop floor.

The college provides a three year course leading to the Degree of Practical Engineer. Successful students can then go to Bar Ilan university for a fourth year to gain a B.Sc. in Applied Sciences.

With theology: The College recruits students who have previously concentrated on Yeshiva learning and wish to gain technological skills. It also provides them with parallel courses in Judaic studies.

A £1 million campus is being built on a ten acre site at Giv'at Mordechai. By 1975, its current enrolment of 50 students should have reached 500. The college has received a £775,000 grant from the Kennedy Foundation through the US Government's AID programme to which the Israeli Government has added £2,500,000. But another £400,000 will be required for equipment as well as grants for individual student fees.

At present, the college teaches computer sciences, optics and electronics and solid state electronics and radar.

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LETTERS

THANK YOU MR. B.

Sir, — Your welcome comments on Menachem Beigin's visit show that after twenty-five years the wind of truth has begun to blow.

It comes as a relief that recognition of the Irgun's contribution to the creation of the State of Israel is at long last emerging.

I was particularly delighted that for the first time Beigin's critics have themselves been called "Fascists".

Kol Kavod!

Geoffrey H. Gelberg,

Ossulton Way, London, N.2.

BUT FOR BEIGIN . . .

Sir, — Not only is sarcasm a boomerang but it is also a treacherous weapon handled as it is by Anglo-Jewish scribes advertising their Anglicised Jewishness by joining the anti-Zionist mob at the very time when Farran (quoted by yourselves) admits that they were all soldiers doing the same job, and denies ill-feelings.

I despise both your sycophantic efforts to dissociate yourselves from Beigin and your boomerang of sarcasm which recoils on you. The suggestion that Beigin be awarded the George Cross for saving lives, both British and Jewish, happens to be the kind of wisdom which accidentally dribbles from pen-brandishing warriors like yourselves despite refusal to recognise that, but for Beigin's tactics the Haganah would remain futile, the Mandate and its soldiers still be making ineffectual but murderous gestures, and Jews be far from entry to the land, let alone organising its State.

Henry Adler

3 Roland Gardens, S.W.7.

"THE WORST TYPE OF POLITICS"

Sir, — The unilateral condemnation by the British national press of Menachem Beigin and what he represents should serve as an object lesson for three groups in the Jewish community.

1. The well-meaning members of Herut whose eyes may have been opened to the real meaning of right wing extremism.
2. The leaders of the Jewish community who remain silent or who attempted to put pressure on those who would not remain silent and who are now being judged as silent supporters of Beigin's views, and
3. The members of the community who have contributed funds to plaster Beigin's name and face over London may now have second thoughts

about which worthy cause needs their money.

It is fortunate that some Zionists and Jews had the courage to protest not only about Herut's distasteful past but their present policy in exploiting the worst aspect of Jewish chauvinism in its vision of an aggressive expansionist Jewish State.

Beigin's visit to this country was an attempt to bring the very worst type of reactionary politics and it is a sad reflection on our community leaders that none spoke up and it was left to the national press and a minority group of young students and Mapam to state that Beigin's and Herut's ideas are against the real interests of the Jewish people, the Zionist movement and of Israel.

S. Marcus
CHAIRMAN

Socialist Zionist Party—Mapam
of Great Britain and Ireland,
37 Broadhurst Gardens, N.W.6.

ZIONISM UNITED

Sir, — With reference to the report on Congress published in last week's JO it would appear that the United Zionist list was exclusively a General Zionist list. In this respect, I would like to point out that the United Zionist list, which secured 16 mandates, was composed of General Zionists, Poale Zion, Mapam and their affiliated bodies together with I.U.J.F. Within the United Zionist list the General Zionists secured nine mandates.

At the same time I should like to draw your attention to the fact that Mr. Colin Green, Mrs. R. Sherr, Mr. A. Kramer, Mr. I. J. Miller, Dr. S. J. Roth and Dr. L. Kopelowitz are going to Jerusalem as deputy delegates representing the General Zionist faction.

Norman Morris,
SECRETARY G.Z.A.C.

Rex House, S.W.1.

BASLE AND JERUSALEM

Sir, — I would assuredly agree with the contention of your last week's leader under the above heading that the 28th Congress needs to engage in frank self-criticism to arrive at a clear understanding of the role of the Zionist movement today. However, I certainly cannot accept your statement that since 1948 "in the West and in the East" fund-raising and aliyah gathered "momentum of their own independently of the Zionist organisations".

Speaking for the Zionist Federation in this country I can confidently assert that, up and down the country in local and trade J.P.A. committees and in support of JNF activities, large numbers of field-workers have come from within the ranks of the Federation societies and allied groups, stimulated by our insistence on this as a practical part of Zionist work.

Nor has aliyah increased of itself; our Aliyah committee, the work of our chutzic youth movements, the long-term influence of Shnat Sherut, our share in the British Aliyah Movement plus the widely-known factor of the constant help available to British Olim through the ZF Israel Office have all played their part—together with the added momentum of the Six Day War and increased numbers of special *shlichim* from Israel—to stimulate interest in aliyah.

At a time when both our society membership and our members of direct annual subscribers show an encouraging increase, it would be a pity if there were any suggestion that Zionist work in this country is abating. Jewish day schools, Hebrew adult education, public relations work and economic support for Israel, all form part of the Zionist Federation's regular programme in addition to aliyah and fund-raising. Self-criticism—yes, but self-effacement—no.

Beatrice J. Barwell,
HON. SECRETARY, ZIONIST FEDERATION
4-12, Regent St., S.W.1.

THE POSITION OF W.U.J.S.

Sir, — Your comment on the WUJS Arad Programme last week, (page 17), that it is sufficiently at variance with basic Zionist ideology as to disqualify us from membership in the Zionist movement, is incorrect. The Arad Programme, far from being anti- or non-Zionist, is in fact too Zionist for the WZO. By comparison, the Jerusalem Programme pales into ideological insignificance.

Your readers will remember that the Zionist Congress, taking place this week in Jerusalem, was designated by the WZO itself as the Congress to discuss future Zionist ideology of the Zionist Movement.

At Arad, in 1970, democratically elected student representatives from over 30 countries, embracing views from the JDL and Herut on the right to radical socialist Zionists on the left, met to formulate their ideological proposals to be discussed by the Zionist Congress.

In our naiveté, we actually thought that this would happen. However, the Arad Programme was seized upon by the press and others and, taken out of context, has been distorted to attack one of the few truly independent organisations within world Jewry.

The condition imposed upon us for participating in the Congress was either the abandonment of the Arad Programme or the acceptance of it plus the Jerusalem Programme. This we could not without calling another Congress, which we are constitutionally and financially unable to do until three years after the 1970 Congress.

Mike Whine,
POLITICAL OFFICER

World Union of
Jewish Students,
London, W.C.1.

JPA

NEWS

Produced by the
JPA Publicity Department

Rex House
4-12 Lower Regent Street
London SW1
01-930 5152

Middle Range Operation Under Way

THE message from the JPA National Key-men's Conference earlier this month has been taken to heart by committees up and down the country and Operation Middle Range is now in full swing.

Reports coming into Rex House during the past few days tell of committees sending out canvassing teams for face-to-face confrontations with donors in the £250 to £4,999 range. As outlined at the conference, it is this category of donor who holds the key to success in the 1972 Campaign.

So enthusiastic has the response been in some quarters, that a number of committees have taken the decision to cancel all functions, already in the pipeline, and to mobilise local forces for the face-to-face approach. A number of other committees are completing a major re-organisation of their structure to meet the challenge of the Middle Range Operation.

TRADES LEAD THE WAY

The JPA Furniture Trade Committee has already begun a full-scale canvassing operation. The Committee's former Chairman, **Ralph Gurka**, who is visiting Britain from Israel, is devoting almost his entire stay to canvassing with teams from the Committee. Reviewing the past ten days of activity, Mr. Gurka said that the results have been good, but there was still a long way to go.

Canvassing is being conducted by the Property, and Fashion Trades also with excellent results. Fashion Trade teams report outstanding instances of contributors responding to the drive; one contributor increased from £2,000 to £4,000 and another most magnificently from £2,000 to £5,000.

The results must be quite heartening for the Fashion Trade Committee's new Chairman, **Conrad Morris**, who has taken over in succession to **Louis Speelman**. Conrad Morris had been acting Chairman following his predecessor's resignation.

In London, district committees have not lagged behind in the approach to the middle range donor. Hampstead Garden Suburb went out on the road almost immediately following the National Conference, and to date reports a very encouraging response. Edgware has already obtained donations amounting to £8,000 and Stanmore is ready to begin its drive next week.

TRAINING SEMINARS

Almost without exception, provincial committees have swung into action. In the major cities canvassing has been stepped up to a new pitch and some of the smaller centres are restructuring their organisations.

In Bournemouth, the committee has taken advantage of the training programme introduced at the National Conference by **Dan Rosenberg**, of the American Welfare Federation. One training seminar for workers has already been held and a further seminar, at which new members of the committee will be welcomed, has been scheduled. There has also been a change in leadership at Bournemouth. **Geoffrey Feld** has taken over as Chairman from veteran worker, **Harry Ellis**, who becomes Honorary President.

To help with the canvassing drive a number of personalities from Israel are due in Britain within the next few weeks and will add a fine edge to the growing army of workers now engaged in Operation Middle Range.



RALPH GURKA



DAN ROSENBERG



CONRAD MORRIS

PROPERTY MISSION SETS OUT

THE JPA's first full-scale Property Mission left for Israel yesterday for a ten-day intensive tour and investigation of housing and property development in the State.

Twenty-five participants representing various spheres of the property and building industry make up the group which was invited to visit Israel by the Minister of Housing, **Ze'ev Sharef**, fol-

lowing his trip to Britain for the JPA late last year.

A hectic programme has been arranged for the party.

Looking at Israel's housing problems and the building industry will form, of course the major part of the tour, and includes a visit to the slum areas of Tel Aviv, housing re-development schemes, a meeting with the Chairman of the Israel Real Estate

Agent's Association and a symposium with Israeli experts on housing.

There will also be meetings with Prime Minister **Golda Meir**, Foreign Minister **Abba Eban**, the Mayor of Jerusalem **Teddy Kollek** and top officials of the Jewish Agency and the **Keren Hayesod**.

The Mission returns to London on January 30.

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PINHAS SAPIR



WALTER EYTAN



COMMANDER IGRA

ONE of the most impressive arrays of speakers ever to visit Britain for the JPA Campaign will begin arriving within the next week for an extended programme of functions and engagements planned between now and April.

Heading the 'invasion' will be Israel's Minister of Finance, Pinhas Sapir, who will be touring the smaller provincial centres at his own request. Among the figures already known to Anglo-Jewry will be Simcha Dinitz, Political Advisor to the Israel Prime Minister; Walter Eytan, Political Advisor to the Israel Foreign Ministry and former Israel Ambassador to France; Moshe Rivlin, the Director-General of the Jewish Agency

Returning again to Britain for the 1972 Campaign will be Mordechai Bar-On and Itzhak Keenan, who toured Britain in December and early this month. Mr. Keenan, a Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Defence, will concentrate on helping committees with the canvassing drive.

Making a special visit to London at the end of the month will be Israel's former Chief of Staff, Lt. General Haim Bar-Lev, who will be guest of honour at two London functions.

Among the newer faces will be two senior officials of Israel's Foreign Ministry: Nahum Astar, who is Director of the Department for Official Guests and a former Ambassador to the African Republic of Liberia; and, Hanan Bar-On, the Chef du Cabinet of the Israel Foreign Ministry and a former senior diplomat at the United Nations, Washington and in Africa.

An old friend who hasn't visited Britain for some time is Commander (Reserve) Yehuda Igra, who made a 'hit' on previous visits and is today working in the hotel and tourist industry.

There will also be a visit from one of America's top campaign professionals, Ernst W. Michel, Executive Vice-President of the UJA, New York, who will conduct a training seminar for JPA senior staff later this year.



SIMCHA DINITZ



MOSHE RIVLIN



NAHUM ASTAR



HANAN BAR-ON

PERSONAL CONTACT

WE have stressed over and over again the crucial importance of the personal approach to obtain the maximum results from canvassing — results which cannot be achieved by any other means.

In order to strengthen our forces in the field we have obtained the special services of Itzhak Keenan, the personal representative of Israel's Minister of Finance. In this role Mr. Keenan will accompany leaders and workers in personal contacts to obtain major gifts. He is an articulate, persuasive and able diplomat and as a Deputy Director-General of the Ministry of Defence has an unqualified knowledge of Israel's problems.

Should your committee need the services of Mr. Keenan, contact your organiser and he will advise on the most effective way you can utilise Mr. Keenan in your campaign.

2 PAGES**JNF NEWS****S.O.S. Galilee — A Grim Reminder**

The renewed outbreak of Arab terrorist activity along the Lebanese border, which led to last week's reprisal raids by Israeli soldiers, serves as a grim reminder of the importance of the JNF's current project, stated the Rev. Dr. I. Levy, JNF director in Britain, this week.

For "S.O.S. Galilee", the two-year project launched at the recent JNF conference, concentrates its attention precisely on that area. Situated there are 33 settlements, many of

them almost touching the border and their inhabitants live under the constant threat of attack.

In addition, the soil there is of poor quality — which is why the JNF in Britain has been asked to raise about £800,000 to ensure the economic survival of these settlements.

"While the Army is responsible for their security," Dr. Levy declared, "we in the JNF are concerned for their material well-being and assisting them to become self-supporting."



National Fellowships chairman Anthony Corre (extreme right) with members of the Arava '68 committee. From left to right: Leslie Gold, Norman Slater, Oliver Kenley, Douglas Sedley, Stephen Cohen, Rosemary Sedley, Paul Levinson and Anthony Abrahams

RECORD-BREAKING BALL BY ARAVA '68**NEWS IN BRIEF**

• Another Younger JNF Committee has been formed—this time in the Catford area. The chairman is Steve Rockman and the group is called "New Direction". The inaugural meeting is planned for February 20 at 8.30 p.m. at the Bromley Court Hotel, Bromley. A large turn-out is expected and further details can be obtained from the YJNF national secretary at Rex House (01-930 5152).

• Sir John Gielgud and John Mills are the stars of the play, "The Veterans," of which the Putney and Wimbledon JNF Commission are holding a special performance at the Royal Court on March 16.

• The Manchester Jewish Sportsmen's Committee,

which raised about £9,000 for the JNF at its 24th annual dinner and ball recently, is planning a tour to Israel, to be held from May 28 to June 11.

Christmas Gift

The JNF in Jerusalem distributed over 1,000 "Christmas trees" to Christian residents and institutions in Israel last month. Recipients included monks, nuns, members of the Diplomatic Corps and of the UN staff. As fir trees, traditionally used for the celebration, do not grow in Israel, the JNF used instead "horizontal" cypresses, the outline of which resembles firs.

The Arava '68 JNF Fellowship broke all its records by raising the tremendous total of £14,000 at its fourth annual dinner and ball at the Savoy Hotel on Sunday.

The treasurer, Howard Woolf, announced that with half the year still to go, the Fellowship, under the chairmanship of Douglas Sedley, had almost reached its target of £15,000.

The money will go towards the £116,250 which the National Council of JNF Fellowships have pledged themselves to raise for their "Galil 4" campaign. This involves the reclamation of huge areas of land for four Northern Galilee settlements.

The bulk of the money raised on Sunday — no less than £9,000 — came in as a result of a stirring

appeal made by Anthony Corre, national chairman of the Fellowships.

The brochure, under the chairmanship of Oliver Kenley and Stephen Cohen, the tombola, run by Paul Levinson, and the raffle organised by Anthony Abrahams, all raised 50 per cent more than last year.

Ticket chairman Norman Slater had an unusual problem — he had to stop selling three weeks before the event as all 400 tickets had been bought well in advance!

The function was a credit to Arava '68 and in particular to the ball chairman, Leslie Gold.

CHINN'S REMINDER OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility of British Jewry to help Israel at "this most difficult period in her history" was stressed by JNF President Mr. Rosser Chinn on Sunday.

Speaking at the annual dinner and ball of Ilford JNF, held at the Connaught Rooms, Mr. Chinn said that it was our responsibility to supply the new wave of Russian Jews now pouring into Israel

with their material needs.

It was anticipated that many thousands would arrive in 1972 — all of them penniless. They would need housing, hospital treatment, language instruction and jobs.

"Unless we do our part," Mr. Chinn declared, "unless the JNF prepares the land and creates new towns in places where nothing existed previously, all the efforts will fail. It



Mr. and Mrs. Alf Rosen (left) with Mr. and Mrs. Arlen

is your responsibility to help those who cry in the night."

Hosts for the function — which raised £1,600 — were Mr. & Mrs. Alf Rosen, two hard-working

members of the Ilford Commission. In appreciation of their efforts, they were presented with a certificate for 25 trees by the chairman, Mr. Sam Arlen.

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The recent wave of immigrants from the Soviet Union has had some special problems in employment placement, writes The Post's DAVID LENNON, after discussing the subject with Absorption and Labour Ministry officials. Photos, by Ilani, supplied by Israel Bonds, show some of the olim at

work, clockwise from upper left: Avraham Mosgri-Shvili, 19, wears earphones to drown out the noise of machine he operates at Cecil Textiles, Ashkelon; Ya'acov Hubela-Shvili, in carpentry shop of Yuval Gad factory, Ashkelon; Michael Papiya-Shvili, at Ambin Plastics plant; Dr.

Asher Blank of Leningrad and Dr. Shulamit Levin of Biga, at physiotherapy department of Hadassah Hospital; dental technician Avraham Levitt; nurse Tova Becker, from Stanislaw, checks eyes of patient at Hadassah Hospital, which she joined six months ago, after working 18

years in nursing. The Israel Bonds Organization, which held an "extraordinary conference" in Jerusalem this week, provides funds for development of many of the industries in which the Soviet immigrants work.



"IN Russia you don't have to look for work. Everyone naturally goes to work and there is no such thing as a person not having a job. Coming here to a free market, the fact that one has to search for somewhere to work is really quite a traumatic experience. I know that some immigrants find it very difficult to adjust to this. I wouldn't say that it would make any of them go back to Russia but the thought does arise with some of them."

These are the words of a young girl who immigrated from Russia about a year ago. I met her at the Tadmor Hotel Training School in Herzliya where she was studying to be a reception desk clerk. She spoke excellent English, passable Hebrew and a couple of other languages. She had studied languages at university in Russia and I asked her whether she didn't feel that being a hotel reception clerk was below her capabilities, but she said no, she thought she would like this work where she would meet people.

When the Russian newcomer arrives here he not only has to look for work, he also has to overcome a myriad of other interconnected problems. Like most immigrants he has to learn Hebrew. He has to adapt to the different terminology and work mores in force here. A considerable degree of reorientation or adjustment is generally required before the newcomer settles into his new work place.

In Russia there are fixed norms in most places of work, here much more is left to the initiative of each individual. Standards and work practices are different here too. The training which is given in Russia is different and varies from place to place.

Claims that the qualifications of the Russian immigrants are not in fact up to the standard given them on paper are rejected by the

officials concerned. The difference is not in standard but in the system. Gauging the exact meaning of qualifications possessed by the professionals among the immigrants take a little time. Because of this, the officials believe that the period the newcomer from Russia spends in an absorption centre is very important.

The special attitude of the Russians towards work led the Ministry of Labour to start appointing full-time employment officers in each absorption centre. As it is not possible to attract people with academic backgrounds to do this work on the salary paid by

Take for example an immigrant philologist. How many specialists in the Russian language can Israel absorb? Similarly with foresters or rubber engineers or people with skills in other fields with limited application in Israel.

In addition to learning Hebrew, many of the professional people also have to learn English which apparently few of them know. This is essential because otherwise they can't keep abreast of the latest developments in their fields as most of the professional literature used here is in English.

If these problems existed last

Absorption Ministry, Mr. Hillel Ashkenazi, made this point when addressing the Zionist Congress, reporting that only 57 per cent of the Russian immigrants declared themselves satisfied with their work after two months, compared to an average of 72 per cent among other immigrant groups.

Others cannot be placed at all until they undergo some form of vocational retraining. Mr. Cochavi estimates that 25 per cent of the Russians have qualifications not in demand in the labour market. About ten per cent of the professionals among these

an assured future demand for labour. "We have carefully studied the forecasts of the Economic Planning Centre and of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce to see which way the economy is going to develop. As for today, well, we know that there is a critical shortage of social workers, tax assessors and supermarket managers for example."

The retraining courses last from about six to 14 months. It is not possible that awarding an immigrant, say, a bachelor's degree after 14 months while his Israeli counterpart has to spend three years learning the same profession may mean that discrimination between immigrants and Israelis is being created?

No, says Mr. Ovadia. "Those taking the social work course already have a bachelor's degree in other subjects. You must also realize that their 14-month course is much more intensive than that given to Israelis. They don't have any of the holidays which are normal in the regular courses."

Speaking with officials of both the Labour and Absorption Ministries it became clear they had as yet no final figures on the absorption of immigrants from different countries. They were able to provide generalities about all immigrants and even some about the absorption of the Russian immigrants but it proved virtually impossible to obtain from them a specific breakdown of how many engineers, truck drivers, teachers and small businessmen were among the close to 13,000 Russian immigrants last year.

It can be estimated that about one-third of the number are actually breadwinners so that the numbers who had to be provided with work is still relatively small.

The Georgian immigrants, according to Mr. Ovadia, have settled in very well. Most of (Continued on next page)

Jobs for Soviet immigrants

By DAVID LENNON

the civil service, the Labour Ministry has been recruiting "semi-volunteers" in the professions from other offices who will do this work for their regular salaries for a period of some months. This way it is possible to ensure that the person providing the service is of the same educational background as the man being given the service.

The difference in scale between the Russian and the Israeli economies means that many people who learned a very specialized subject simply cannot be placed in work in their own field here. The prevalence of team work in Russia means that many people, even professionals, only handle limited specific operations. Here in Israel there just isn't room for more than one or two specialists in any particular job.

year when some 12,000 immigrants came from Russia, they will be multiplied greatly if the number expected this year materialize.

Mr. Dov Cochavi, Director of the Employment and Absorption Division of the Ministry of Labour, notes first and foremost that with the present labour shortage there is work for everyone who wants it. This at least is true in the macro-economic sense. The problems start when we come down to the micro — the individual case. The economy may need some thousands of additional hands but not necessarily with the skills which the Russian newcomer brings with him.

What this means in practice is that many of those placed in jobs are not very satisfied with their lot. The Director of the

newcomers have to take retraining programmes which equip them for other professions.

Baruch Ovadia, who is in charge of the Welfare Services Department of the Absorption Ministry, reports that at present 250 people are studying in nine retraining courses on such subjects as social work, supermarket management, bookkeeping, tax inspection and production engineering. The number of courses is to be increased to 16 in the coming academic year providing for close to 450 trainees, and planning for still further expansion is already under way in cooperation with the Ministry of Labour.

Mr. Ovadia denies that there is any fear that his Ministry might be paying for the training of people in fields which don't have

Ministry serves as film set

ELI Cohen. The perfect name for a young actor playing a member of the Israel intelligence service. Cool-headed, tough-minded, like his namesake, Eli Cohen, the Israeli spy, who radioed to Jerusalem all the information about the Golan fortifications.

We met Eli on his first day of shooting with Jason Robards in the feature film production of "Death of a Stranger." He was anything but cool. "When I went in there this morning with Jason Robards, I was shaking," he said. "Really shaking. I spent all my effort trying to keep my hands still."

Eli explained that he had been called only the night before, and knew nothing about his part in "Death of a Stranger" when he arrived at the Housing Ministry offices for filming that morning. The idea of immortalizing the Housing Ministry's offices on film intrigued us at the start, and it was explained that an office with a view of Jerusalem was needed. The Ministry — some might say undeservedly — has a splendid view of the entire north of the city, red-roofed, hugging the horizon, just the sort of place, apparently, that the intelligence services would want.

For Jason Robards is playing the role of a high *Shin Bet* (security) official in the movie, hot on the trail of an Arab terrorist ring. The film, also starring German actor Hardy Kruger and Israeli actress Gila Almagor, is the first Israel-German co-production of a feature film ever made. It is being shot both here and in Europe, and the crew, as well as the cast, is international.

The film is the creation of Austrian Paul Hengge, who both wrote the screenplay and is directing the movie. It is his first feature film, (although he has directed theatre, television and radio), and he has chosen for it an area of the world in which he has a great deal of interest.

"One of my first reports for the radio (RIAS Berlin — the American broadcasting station in Berlin) was about divided cities," Mr. Hengge explained during his lunch break, which consisted of a cup of Turkish coffee. "I was anxious to show that Berlin was not the only divided city in the world."

Although the trip for the film was Mr. Hengge's first visit to Israel, he noted, "Sometimes you know more about a country by reading about it than living in it. I've done quite a bit of reading about Israel; to me, it is one of the most interesting countries in the world."

Why? He paused a moment. "Because it is a country without ideology. I would say that I hate ideology because it pushes people into a narrow-minded world."

(The interviewer was so startled by this opinion that she failed to ask how he had arrived at it — Ed. J. P.)

Mr. Hengge, who subscribes to *The Jerusalem Post* Weekly Edition, has studied the U.N. resolutions on the Middle East, and several reports on the refugee situation. In his film, he has made neither side the hero; there is no winner.

Asked how he reacted to Israel on his first visit here, after so much reading, he replied, "It's neither a miracle nor an underdeveloped country. It's just a country with ordinary people." With a smile, he added that he imagined

The German-Israeli team filming 'Death of a Stranger' chose the Jerusalem offices of the Housing Ministry for its film set because of the view. The POST's MARY SELMAN reports.



Director Paul Hengge explains a point to Jason Robards on the set. Through the window is the view which brought about the choice of the Housing Ministry offices. (Hadar)



Gila Almagor, Hardy Kruger and Mrs. Kruger at informal gathering of film crew.

people were often disappointed with Israel because they were expecting something very special. Then they go to Italy, which they expect to be awful, and are happily surprised to find things aren't as bad as they thought."

Briefly, Mr. Hengge's plot concerns a German lawyer (Hardy Kruger) who inadvertently becomes embroiled in an Israeli intelligence plan to unearth a terrorist gang. In the course of the film, he falls in love with a terrorist girl (Gila Almagor), and she with him, but they find they cannot bridge the chasm between them in understanding. "The tragedy of the story — the conflict between extremism and logic — is an international conflict," said the Israeli co-producer, Willy Gattai. "It could happen in Northern Ireland or in Pakistan."

Director Hengge explains it this way: "Gila represents misled idealism, which is one of the worst things that can happen in the world. Hardy represents the

man of the 20th century. She tries to convince him she's right. He tries to convince her she's wrong. They never really try to reach an understanding.

"In fact," he added, "they understand each other only when they're not talking."

PLAYING an Arab terrorist "is a very delicate role for me as an Israeli actress," Gila Almagor admitted after a long day's shooting in Jericho. "But I'm not playing an ideology, I'm playing a person. That's my role as an actress, and I don't care if the person I'm playing comes from Palestine or Timbuctoo.

"In this movie, I have to show what this terrorist is like, how wrong she is, how stupid and absurd fanaticism is."

Miss Almagor said it was thrilling to star in a picture with "two fantastic actors," and said Hardy Kruger, who plays opposite her, was extremely professional and experienced and a very nice colleague as well.



Mr. Hengge and Mr. Robards (back to camera) get heads together again during filming at American Colony Hotel. In keffiyeh is Peter Cappel, who plays an Arab friend of the Shin Bet chief. (Hadar)



Make-up girl touches up Eli Cohen's hair between takes. (Hadar)

"Unfortunately," she added, "I don't have any scenes with Jason Robards, and it's impossible to arrange one, since he's — he's after me in the movie."

MR. Robards himself spent most of his free time inside a small office and studied his lines. Except to say that he "loved" the country and regretted that he didn't have more time to see it, he had few words for the press, and answered most questions in monosyllables. "Maybe I'll feel more like talking when I'm off the set," he said. "Call me at my hotel." We did, but he was never there.

(Director Hengge's only criti-

cism of Israel was the way the crew had been treated at their hotel. He reported that quite a bit of foreign currency had been stolen from the cameraman, Tomislav Pinter, and there had been various other smaller thefts. "The hotel didn't give a damn," he complained, "in fact, they treated us as though we were the criminals." He also reported that overseas calls for Mr. Kruger had been turned down with a curt, "We don't have anyone by that name," while Mr. Kruger was taking a rest in his room.

We went back the next day, to watch a scene at the American Colony Hotel, where Shin Betnik Robards confronts an Arab friend from before 1948 (played by Peter Cappel). We discovered that movie-making can be a tiresome and tiring business. We watched as time and again and again, the two men repeated their lines. By the time they were through, even we knew them by heart:

"A few days ago a little girl was injured by a grenade thrown from a passing car."

"I've heard."
"We caught the driver, but we're still looking for the man who threw the grenade (Turning to face the Arab fully). He is your son, Halil. He is hiding in this house... unless, of course, Herzog made a mistake."

We saw it done a dozen times. Over and over, so that we wondered how any feeling was left at all. "Very good, thank you," the director said after each take. "Very good. Once again, please." We gathered our things together and tiptoed out.

only a very limited number of people whose work demands that they work on Saturday, less than 10,000, he says.

The only just answer to the problem is that those who don't want to work on Shabbat shouldn't apply for work in a place where Saturday work is necessary. Any other solution would be unfair to the rest of the citizens, Mr. Almagor believes.

Another problem of Russian immigrants which can't be solved so easily is the demand of small artisans that they be supplied with customers.

One immigrant, a tailor, asked to be set up in business with a sewing machine. This was done. "Thank you for the room and machine, now give me the customers," he demanded. It took the officials some time before they realized that in Russia, every tradesman is supplied with his list of customers. It took them even longer to persuade the tailor that this is not the way things are done in Israel and that he has to go out and find his own customers.

JOBS

(Continued from previous page)

them were artisans and a few were taxi or truck drivers. They have settled down and are working in factories near their new homes. Their women, too, have settled into the labour market here without difficulty.

There has already been plenty of publicity about the difficulties of the Georgians with their demand to be settled in large groups rather than to be dispersed all over the country. Their objections to working on Shabbat as porters at Lod Airport has also hit the headlines. Answers were worked out for the first problem once sufficient pressure was applied.

The problem of Shabbat work is one that hasn't been solved in the more than 20 years of the State's existence. Labour Minister Yosef Almagor states that there is

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE CITY EDITION

Weather: Sunny, milder today; fair tonight. Cloudy and mild tomorrow. Temp. range: today 28-42; Monday 10-32. Full U.S. report on Page 62.

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NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1972

15 CENTS

Mujib Orders Guerrillas To Give Up All Weapons

Acts to Halt Disorder Among the Bengalis

He Tells Full Story of Arrest and Detention

By TILLMAN DURDIN
Special to The New York Times
Dacca, Pakistan, Jan. 17—Sheik Mujibur Rahman ordered all former Bengali guerrilla fighters today to surrender their arms to Government agents within 10 days.

The surrender order marked a decisive move to deal with what has become one of the most serious problems in East Pakistan, the presence of irregular armed bands of former guerrillas all over the country, members of which are increasingly engaging in lawlessness and exercising extensive administrative powers in some rural areas.

The guerrilla forces — called freedom fighters — sprang up everywhere during the last year in the struggle of the Bengalis in East Pakistan for independence from West Pakistan.

Guns From India

By the time independence was won with the aid of Indian troops, the guerrillas totaled some hundred thousand men in the newly proclaimed nation that the Bengalis call Bangladesh.

The guerrillas obtained a variety of guns from India and other sources, and ambushed Pakistani troops.

Ever since independence was proclaimed last month, the Government has been urging the former guerrillas to give up their weapons and return to civilian life and become part of the new nation's security forces, but so far not many have obeyed.

Incidents in which individual members of guerrilla bands use their weapons to engage in robbery have become more frequent. And in some districts north of Dacca, former guerrilla groups exercise de facto governing authority.

By SYDNEY H. SCHANBERG
Special to The New York Times
Dacca, Pakistan, Jan. 16—He kissed his weeping wife and children good-by, telling them what they knew too well—that he might never return. Then the West Pakistani soldiers prodded him down the stairs, hitting him from behind with their rifle butts. He reached their jeep and then, in a reflex of habit and defiance, said: "I have forgotten my pipe and tobacco. I must have my pipe and tobacco!"

The soldiers were taken aback, puzzled, but they escorted him back into the house, where his wife handed him the pipe and the tobacco pouch. He was then driven off to nine and a half months of imprisonment by the Pakistani Government for his leadership of the Bengali autonomy movement here in East Pakistan.

That was a piece of his narrative today as Sheik Mujibur Rahman related for the first time the full story of his arrest.

Continued on Page 6, Column 3



The New York Times/Jan. 18, 1972

RHODESIAN BLACKS BATTLE THE POLICE

Pact With Britain Appears to Be Target of Rampage —Inquiry on It Put Off

By Reuters
GWELO, Rhodesia, Jan. 17—Thousands of black Africans rampaged through the black townships fringing this central Rhodesian city last night and today, apparently in protest against the independence agreement recently reached with Britain.

After a night marked by violence, looting and arson, about 8,000 blacks—many of them chanting nationalist slogans and shouting "No! No!"—headed toward the predominantly white center of Gwelo. They were turned back by repeated tear-gas attacks launched by mobile police units and police reservists and backed by heavily armed troops.

Areas Quiet But Tense

Tonight two members of a British-appointed commission whose task is to assess whether a majority of Rhodesians of all races favor the settlement terms announced that they had agreed to postpone hearings they were to have started here tomorrow. They acted, they said, at the request of the Gov-

AIR CONTROLLERS STRIKE IN CANADA; ALL FIELDS CLOSED

International Flights Must Take Alternate Routes— Negotiations Go On

By LINDA CHARLTON
Air traffic controllers throughout Canada went on strike yesterday, closing the country's 116 airports to all but emergency flights and forcing the rerouting of hundreds of international flights that normally use Canadian airspace.

The walkout of the 1,450 air traffic controllers at 4 A.M. followed the failure of the Canadian Air Traffic Control Association, representing the controllers, and Government negotiators to reach agreement on a contract.

Negotiations resumed in Ottawa yesterday afternoon, but commercial air traffic was halted by the strike. Noel Hall, the professor of industrial relations at the University of British Columbia who is serving as the mediator in the contract dispute, met with each side separately and issued a statement saying that he doubted there would be a resolution yesterday.

Flights Off for 24 Hours

Air traffic controllers, using radar and other electronic equipment, assign altitudes and flight paths and keep a continuing check on planes aloft to make sure they are maintaining their assigned positions. They also control landings and take-offs at airports.

Canada's two airlines, Canadian Pacific Airlines and Air Canada, canceled all flights for at least 24 hours, keeping plans tentative, depending on the outcome of the negotiations.

All flights to and from Canada were terminating and starting at other airports within reasonable distance of the border—at Seattle, Burlington, Vt.,



Associated Press

COAST TALKS HALTED: Longshoremen in San Francisco, right, and other ports went back on strike when Harry Bridges, top, union head, gave order.



INDUSTRY OUTPUT UP IN DECEMBER

But Year's Rise Is Sluggish —Use of Plant Capacity in Quarter at a Low 74%

By EDWIN L. DALE Jr.

Special to The New York Times
WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—Industrial production ended 1971 on a strong upward note, though part of the reason was a resumption of work in the coal mines, the Federal Reserve Board reported today.

The rise in industrial production in December was seven-tenths of 1 per cent, following an increase of six-tenths in November. For 1971 as a whole, however, industrial output showed only sluggish growth, unusual for the first year of recovery from a re-

Dockers' Strike Resumes On Coast After Talks Fail

By The Associated Press

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 17—West Coast longshoremen went out on strike again this morning on the order of Harry Bridges, their leader, who acted in the face of threatened Federal intervention.

Pickets started marching again in the Pacific Coast ports closed down last year in a 100-day strike that was halted Oct. 6 by a Taft-Hartley injunction.

In Washington, the White House said that it would ask Congress for legislation to end the walkout.

Long weekend negotiations, with J. Curtis Counts, chief Federal mediator, taking part, broke off at 8 A.M., the strike deadline.

The break came on basic issues of cargo container handling and a work guarantee for

A PHONE RATE RISE OF 9% ON AVERAGE GRANTED IN STATE

P.S.C. Also Orders Rebate of \$1.50 a Month to Users With Worst Service

2D INCREASE SINCE JULY

Action Taken to Give Utility 8.23% Return on Capital— U.S. Price Review Due

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Special to The New York Times
ALBANY, Jan. 17—The Public Service Commission today approved a \$160-million increase in telephone rates, averaging about 9 per cent more statewide for the consumer.

Calling the increase "distressingly large," the commission sought to soften it by ordering the New York Telephone Company to pay \$1.50 monthly rebates to a minority of customers with the worst phone service. The commission described the rebate order as "historic."

The increase, which is subject to review by the Federal Price Commission, follows a "temporary" \$190-million rate rise last summer. That one will become permanent, like the one announced today, and the effect of the two rises, which total \$350-million, will be to lift the phone rates for most New York City users 29 per cent above what they were before last July 9.

\$391-Million Rise Sought

The sum of the two increases comes close to the \$391-million in rate rises originally sought by the company last February.

It means that a customer who was paying \$10.20 a month in New York City before the first increase and who now pays about \$12.33, will see his

Indian troops still stationed in some parts of the country
Continued on Page 6, Column 3

Jason Laurs/Raheem Guillemin
Sheik Mujibur Rahman

Britain and Market Reach Final Agreement on Entry

By The Associated Press

BRUSSELS, Tuesday, Jan. 18 — British and Common Market officials completed negotiations early today to make Britain a member of the six-nation European trade bloc and pave the way for entry by Denmark, Ireland and Norway.

The negotiators celebrated their agreement with champagne in a glass penthouse atop the 14-story Charlemagne Building, where talks have dragged on for 19 months.

Britain's admission makes entry by the other three candidate nations a foregone conclusion. The remaining details for Ireland and Norway were expected to be ironed out later today. Denmark has so few problems remaining that she had no representatives at the final sessions.

British membership in the trade alliance was gained after a decade of approaches, two rebuffs by President de Gaulle of France and a political storm in Parliament.

From 5 P.M. last night to 2:20 A.M. this morning the final points at issue were ironed out at a meeting between Sir Con O'Neill of Britain and Jean Dodelinger of Luxembourg, who represented the present members, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and his own country.

Ultimate agreement had been virtually certain since last June, when the major political issues were discussed in Luxembourg between Geoffrey Rippon, the British minister in charge of the negotiations, and the French Foreign Minister, Maurice Schumann.

But many other issues, important to the farmers and businessmen in Britain and on the continent, still remained to be settled. It took 13 Cabinet-level meetings and 38 other sessions.

The last points were concerned with agriculture, on

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Death Penalty Statute Is Voided By 6-1 Vote in Jersey High Court

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, Jan. 17 — The New Jersey Supreme Court struck down the state's death penalty today.

The state's highest court ruled that the capital punishment statute in New Jersey was unconstitutional, saying it coerced murder defendants into pleading no defense to escape the risk of ending up in the electric chair if they chose to stand trial before a jury on charges of first-degree murder.

[The United States Supreme Court began hearing arguments today on constitutionality of the death penalty, Page 15.]

The 6-to-1 New Jersey decision means that the 20 condemned men in the death house at State Prison here will have their sentences reduced to life

imprisonment. In fact, this was done today by the court in the cases of 10 of the 20 men who were parties to the appeal. Some of the prisoners will be eligible for parole in about four years.

Since the death-penalty statute was enacted in the late eighteen-hundreds, 160 prisoners have been executed. The most famous criminal to die in the state's electric chair, which replaced hanging as the means of execution early in this century, was Bruno Richard Hauptmann, the kidnapper of Charles A. Lindbergh's baby.

The court said that the statute violated a defendant's Fifth Amendment guarantee in the United States Constitution against self-incrimination be-

Continued on Page 15, Column 2

tomorrow. They acted, they said, at the request of the Government of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith.

The debris-strewn townships, the home of Gwelo's 40,000 or more blacks, were quiet but tense after the demonstrations ended.

The British-Rhodesian agreement, which critics say would continue minority white rule almost indefinitely, calls for a gradual increase in black representation in the 66-member Parliament, in which 16 blacks now hold seats. It would end the system of electing black Africans based on the amount

Continued on Page 5, Column 1

reasonable distance of the border—at Seattle, Burlington, Vt., Buffalo—with the airlines providing ground transportation, generally by bus, for the remaining legs of the trips, and making partial fare refunds.

Eastern Airlines, with 30 flights daily to and from Canada, canceled them all through 3 P.M. today.

But the shutdown also affected hundreds of flights that do not touch down at Canadian airports. According to Don Byers, an information specialist at the Federal Aviation Administration, "Any flight that normally goes through Cana-

Continued on Page 11, Column 5

growth, unusual for the first year of recovery from a recession. Output last month was only 3 per cent above December of 1970.

Furthermore, despite a steady though slow rise in production during 1971, industrial production finished the year still 3.7 per cent below the peak reached at the end of the boom in the late summer of 1969.

Industrial production is one of the two or three most important measures of the economy's activity. Its performance since mid-1969 has backed up

Continued on Page 39, Column 1

issues of cargo container handling and a work guarantee for the 13,000 dockers.

Mr. Bridges and officials of

wanted settlement... active to Nov. 14, the start of
Continued on Page 62, Column 7

23 Accused of Smuggling 1,500 Lbs. of Heroin Here

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

Twenty-three men were charged here yesterday with smuggling 1,500 pounds of heroin into the United States during the last two years in one of the largest narcotics operations ever uncovered.

Federal authorities estimated

that the smuggled heroin had an importation value of at least \$8-million and a street value of more than \$200-million, with some estimates of almost \$300-million, depending on conditions in the narcotics market.

American and French agents cooperated in the extensive investigation, which included months of surveillance in New York, Montreal, Paris and other cities.

United States Attorney Whitney North Seymour Jr. said that the 23 men were indicted by a Federal grand jury here on Jan. 4, but the indictment was not sealed until yesterday, after six of the defendants were arrested in France during the weekend.

Twenty of the defendants cited in the indictment were identified as Frenchmen, one as an Austrian national who was arrested in France and two as Bronx residents, identified as

Continued on Page 35, Column 3

first increase and who now pays about \$12.33, will see his phone bill rise to \$13.18.

[More than half of the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company's customers will have to pay minimum increases ranging from \$1.20 to \$22.40 a year, according to the rate schedule filed in Newark. The company has already won approval for the additional \$48.5 million in revenue that the new rates would produce. Page 37.]

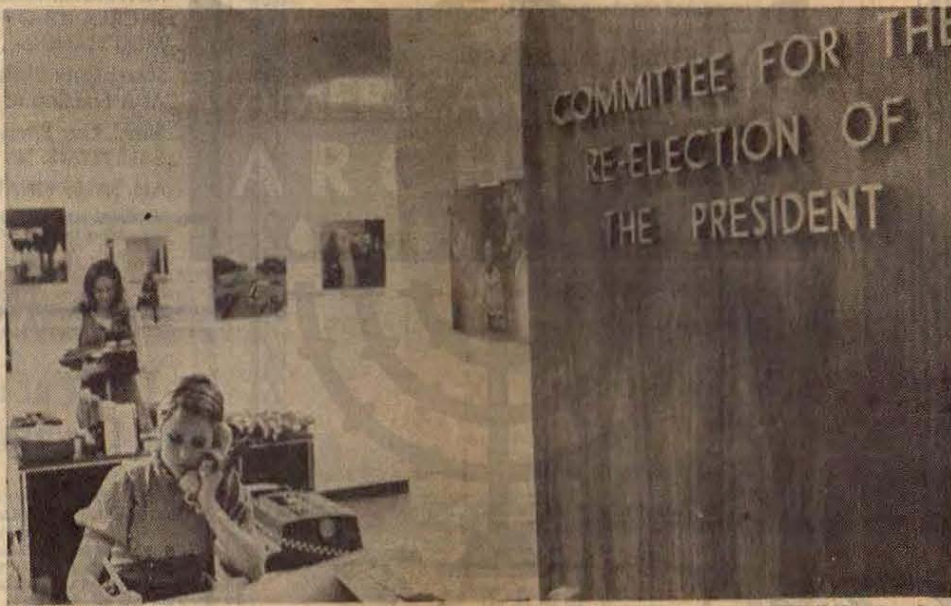
Rebates for 2 Million

The rebates in New York State are expected to affect about two million of the company's 11.5-million customers. These are phone users mainly in the New York City metropolitan area, particularly Brooklyn, who experience "chronic poor service." A total of \$15-million in annual rebates is anticipated.

The rebate procedure, known as the basic service index, will be extended by the company to entire exchanges on the basis of such factors as consumer trouble reports, promptness of dial tones and call-completion performance. A scale based on a three-month average of these factors will determine which areas qualify.

Thus it will be a matter not of individual customers applying but the company's deter-

Continued on Page 37, Column 1



NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE: Part of the headquarters at 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue for the Nixon campaign of 1972

Incumbent Nixon Still Faces a Difficult Campaign

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — President Nixon enters his campaign for re-election with all the advantages of incumbency but still burdened by the fact that he is a minority President leading a minority party.

His political position is clearly not what it was in 1968. A lonely figure then, with an even chance to win the nomination and only a handful of aides to help him,

he now controls not only the machinery of his party but also a personal campaign apparatus of impressive dimensions.

Yet, judging by recent polls, he commands the sympathies of less than half the voting population while his party holds the allegiance of less than a third. Once again — as Mr. Nixon himself privately concedes—he faces another difficult race.

In strictly institutional terms, the last four years

have made a vast difference to him. The rented limousines he used to campaign for votes in the bitter New Hampshire snows of 1968 have been replaced by sleek Presidential jets that can whisk him across the seas and will enable him, in the months ahead, to woo those same voters from Peking and Moscow.

The rag-tag loyalists of his comeback years—one recalls a shivering Pat Buchanan, now a speech writer, making

impromptu policy on a Concord street corner — have been superseded by a staff of 65 serious young men and earnest, pretty young girls who operate the present campaign machinery in comfortable offices across from the White House.

Men who had to be talked into helping him in 1968 are eager to get aboard in 1972; and the Republican National Committee, indifferent to his

Continued on Page 17, Column 1

30% Rise in Absenteeism Laid To Flu, Other Respiratory Ills

An upsurge of influenza and other respiratory diseases was blamed yesterday for a 30 per cent increase in absenteeism at the city's schools, offices and factories.

The absenteeism rate was reported by Dr. Aaron Chaves, the Health Department's expert on communicable diseases. At the same time, Dr. Chaves forecast a decline in the flu rate.

"We've already reached the peak," he said. "We've had a turnaround and it looks like we're on our way down."

Dr. Chaves noted that the apparent spread of influenza could not be attributed to the weekend cold snap, since the variety of flu prevalent now has an incubation period of three days.

Yesterday's absenteeism rate, Dr. Chaves said, was based on

reports from major employers, including the New York Telephone Company, the Chase Manhattan Bank, and three major city departments: the Police, Fire and Sanitation Departments.

"At this moment," Dr. Chaves said, "I would say this year's situation is about comparable to last year's. At this time of year, we always have a mix of things—upper respiratory infections, sore throats, strep,

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EGYPT CRITICIZES U.S. ARMS ACCORD

Plan to Help Israel Develop
Industries Denounced

By **RAYMOND H. ANDERSON**
Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Jan. 17—Egypt's official spokesman indicated a sharpening hostility toward the United States today as the country's new Premier, Dr. Aziz Sidky, put together a Cabinet for mobilization of the home front and intensive economic development.

The spokesman, Tahsin Bashir, declared in a statement that a United States agreement to assist Israel in developing military industries represented a "grave turn" in American-Arab relations.

The United States agreement, reported on Friday, was denounced by Mr. Bashir as part of an American endeavor to assure "weapons supremacy" for Israel and to impose a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Yesterday, President Anwar el-Sadat accused the United States of a "flagrant challenge" to the Arabs through a decision to resume the delivery of F-4 Phantom jet fighter-bombers to Israel.

The denunciations of the United States are related to Mr. Sadat's decision to appoint Dr. Sidky, who is 51 years old and a specialist in industrial development, as Premier to replace Dr. Mahmoud Fawzi, a 71-year-old diplomat.

The Egyptians have been warned to expect austerity measures as the new Government shifts priorities to basic industries and military-related production.

The orientation of the new Cabinet was emphasized by the appointment of five Deputy Premiers, including Gen. Mohammed Sadek, Minister of War and War Production; Mohammed Adullah Marzeban, Minister of Economy, and Mamdouh Salem, Interior Minister.

An important Cabinet change was the removal of Mahmoud Riad as Foreign Minister and his replacement by Dr. Murad Ghaleb, Ambassador to the Soviet Union for 10 years and Mr. Sadat's adviser on Soviet-Egyptian affairs.

Another change in a key diplomatic post involved the chief delegate to the United Nations Dr. Mohammed H. el-Zayyat, who was recalled to become a Minister of State for Information. Mr. Zayyat headed the State Information Service before his appointment to the United Nations in 1969.

An ideological character was given to the new Cabinet by

350 Soviet Jews Arrive in Israel on El Al 747 Jet



United Press International

Jews from the Soviet Union leaving El Al 747 jumbo jetliner in Tel Aviv this morning

TEL AVIV, Jan. 17 (UPI)—An El Al jet ferried 350 Soviet Jews to Israel today. It was the biggest single group of Soviet Jewish immigrants ever to fly to what they consider to be their homeland. Debarking, the arrivals shouted, "Shalom" to waiting relatives, some of them in tears.

"I dreamed every night of the moment I would arrive

in Israel," said Brina Shlovo, who came with her husband and 28-year-old son. "Now that I am here, I don't know what to say."

The Boeing 747, the first El Al jumbo jet to fly from Vienna to Tel Aviv, landed in darkness at Lod International Airport and discharged immigrants of all ages—from infants cradled in their mothers' arms to bearded old men.

All were dressed in heavy coats and hats for protection against the Soviet winter. They will be of little use in Israel where winter daytime temperatures commonly are in the sixties.

Most of the immigrants, among them doctors, engineers and taxi drivers, are to be settled in the Negev Desert towns of Arab and Dimona.

the appointment of Mohammed Abdul Salam el-Zayyat, who was First Secretary of the Arab Socialist Union, as Deputy Premier. He was replaced as First Secretary by Sayed Marei, former Deputy Premier and Minister of Agriculture.

The fifth Deputy Premier, a carryover from the former Cabinet, is Abdel Kader Hatem, Minister of Information and Culture.

Zayyat Sees Jarring

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Jan. 17—Dr. Mohammed H. el-Zay-

yat, who is returning to Cairo to become Minister of State for Information, spent 35 minutes here today with Dr. Gunnar V. Jarring, the United Nations special representative for the Middle East. He told newsmen that there were no new developments.

Dr. Jarring had a meeting last week with Yosef Tekoah, the Israeli delegate, who said his Government continued to refuse to give prior commitments to withdraw from all Egyptian territory before peace negotiations began.

THE NEXT BEST
IS A
PRE-DEVALU
SALE

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Chance of showers today;
clearing tonight, Cooler tomorrow.
Temp. range: today 36-45; Tuesday
29-46. Full U.S. report on Page 74.

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15 CENTS

NEW DRUG AGENCY TO FIGHT PUSHERS ON LOWER LEVELS

Nixon to Announce Project,
Headed by Customs Chief,
in Justice Department

AREA CALLED NEGLECTED

New York Among 24 Initial
Targets—Cities That Aid
Will Get Federal Funds

By ROBERT M. SMITH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18—The Administration is preparing a new program to cope with traffickers on the intermediate level and in the street retail trade in narcotic drugs, according to Government sources. It will be headed by Myles J. Ambrose, now the Commissioner of Customs.

The program, which will be centered in a new Office of Drug Enforcement in the Justice Department, will be announced by President Nixon Thursday in his State of the Union Message, with the details to be provided next weekend, the Government informants say.

The aim of the program, according to the sources, is to focus sharply on an area of the drug problem that the Administration believes has been neglected—the lower levels of suppliers. The tools that will be used are investigations and grand juries, with close links among the Federal, state and local authorities.

24 Target Areas

Initially at least, Mr. Ambrose will have 24 target areas in his program. These include New York City, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and Washington. The informants in-



The New York Times/Gorson Tames

AS SENATE RECONVENED: Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, left, minority leader, and Mike Mansfield of Montana, majority leader, telephone President Nixon from Mr. Scott's office about Senate session. Details, Page 19.

U.S. Craft Was Set to Fire To Halt Soviet Fishing Boat

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18—A United States Coast Guard icebreaker obtained permission to fire warning shots to stop a Soviet vessel from escaping capture in the Bering Sea this morning, the Coast Guard said today.

U.S. PLANS RESCUE OF \$1-BILLION BANK

Trvinn Rare Tactic to Avert

The Soviet vessel, the Lamut, flagship of an 80-boat fishing fleet, had been accused along with a second vessel of having violated United States fishing regulations. A Coast Guard boarding party was on the vessel when the reported attempt

I.R.S. OPENS DRIVE TO CITE VIOLATORS ON PRICE POSTING

Agents Checking Retailers
Find 173 Who May Face
Suits for Noncompliance

By WALTER RUGABER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18—The Internal Revenue Service is conducting a full-scale campaign this week against violators of retail price-posting requirements and intends to seek legal action against the "bulk" of them, it was announced today.

The Cost of Living Council reported that about 1,000 revenue service agents inspected 1,144 establishments throughout the country yesterday and that 173 of these had been found in "potential" violation of the rules.

A spokesman for the council, which oversees the Nixon Administration's economic stabilization program, said most of the 173 would be referred to United States Attorneys and that civil cases would be filed beginning tomorrow.

Justice Department officials disclosed, however, that the Federal prosecutors had been instructed to file no more than five suits in any one district without "specific authority" from Washington.

Conditions for Suits

A department memorandum authorized the United States Attorneys to sue only if retailers had been warned by the I.R.S. agents at least once previously and only if the stores had failed to post any base price list at all.

The Phase Two administrators clearly hope to improve compliance with the posting regulations by quickly mounting a nationwide enforcement drive. The long-range dimen-

GOVERNOR ASSAILS LINDSAY REGIME; ASKS STATE TO TAKE OVER CITY U.; MAYOR CALLS HIM A TOOL OF NIXON



The New York Times/Neal Bounzi

Mayor Lindsay at City Hall



Associated Press

Governor Rockefeller at State Capitol

& INDICTED BY CITY IN LOAN SCANDALS

\$9,300 Extortion and Fraud
Totaling \$842,500 Alleged
in Municipal Program

By EDITH EVANS ASBURY

The former director of the Municipal Loan Fund and seven borrowers have been indicted by a New York County grand jury.

The former director, Louis A. Ritter, is accused of extor-

Angered Lindsay Decries 'False, Unworthy Attack'

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Mayor Lindsay assailed Governor Rockefeller yesterday as "a tool of the White House in the politics of 1972" and accused the Governor of using his distaste of the State message to open President Nixon's reelection campaign with "a false and unworthy attack" on the city and himself.

Mr. Lindsay, in a scathing attack, was joined at a City Hall news conference by seven

Mr. Lindsay, who campaigned with the Governor in November in support of the ill-fated transportation bond issue, has in the past minimized his differences with Mr. Rockefeller. Yesterday, he mounted a bitter counterattack against his long-standing political and personal foe.

"The Governor should have spoken today to the challenges facing the state government," Mr. Lindsay said.

PRESIDENT HAILED

Rockefeller's Message
Called More Political
Than Governmental

By JAMES F. CLARITY
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Jan. 18—Governor Rockefeller proposed today "a new structure and government for New York City" in a State of the State message that also suggested that an old-line political machine could run the city better than Mayor Lindsay.

The Governor, in an unusual political message that included frequent words of praise

Excerpts from the Rockefeller
message are on Page 20.

for President Nixon, also appeared to answer Lindsay administration complaints about meager state funding for the City University by proposing that the university be taken over by the State University.

Many of the legislators, sitting in joint sessions in the Assembly chamber to hear the message, said the Governor's half-hour speech was more political than governmental.

Tuition Rise Urged

Among the other major proposals made by the Governor in the message were the following:

As suggested, but unspecified, increase in tuition at the State University, where the annual tuition is \$550.

San Francisco, Chicago and Washington. The informants indicate that funds will be made available to the cities by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to cooperate in the program.

Meanwhile, in an effort to curb the heavy return flow of amphetamines from Mexico into this country, the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs took action against the largest exporter of the drug. It ordered Straesburgh Prescription Products of Rochester, a division of the Pennwalt Corporation of Philadelphia, to show why its export license should not be revoked. The legal action was the first step toward revoking the license.

Some Funds Available
In the projected drive against the lower levels of narcotic suppliers, it was not known how much money would be spent on the program. Some of the money, according to Government sources, will come from funds already appropriated for the Justice Department—for the Criminal Division, for example—but the Administration may have to ask Congress for more money for this specific project.

In a sense, those familiar with the program report, it is an outgrowth of a cooperative effort already under way in New York City, where agents of the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, the New York Police Department and the United States Attorney's

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

Trying Rare Tactic to Avert Detroit Failure—Approval by Stockholders Needed

By EILEEN SHANAHAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18—The Government announced today a plan of financial assistance to keep in operation a large Detroit bank that was otherwise facing the possibility of failure.

The bank is the Bank of the Commonwealth, which has \$1.2-billion in assets. It is by far the largest bank that has required Government assistance since the creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation 38 years ago. Commonwealth is the fourth largest bank in Detroit and is about 50th in the nation.

Stockholder approval of the rescue plan will be required. Under the plan, it is the bank's stockholders who will bear the losses resulting from the poor investment policies and other errors that the F.D.I.C., said had led to the threatened insolvency of the bank.

In announcing the decision to make loans of up to \$60-million to the bank to keep it going, the F.D.I.C. gave several reasons why it had decided to rescue the bank rather to close it and pay off the insured depositors or to arrange an emergency merger. One of the

Continued on Page 57, Column 1

boarding party was on the vessel when the reported attempt to flee in the ice-filled waters took place, according to a Coast Guard spokesman, Lieut. Cmdr. Gilbert Shaw.

But no shots had to be fired because the icebreaker Storis was able to block the escape route of the Lamut, the spokesman said.

The Coast Guard said that the other Soviet vessel, the Kolyvan, had not sought to flee from custody. At last report, the spokesman said, the Storis, the Lamut, and the Kolyvan were stationary at a point east of Saint Matthew Island. There were reports that the Soviet crews were balking at orders to continue south to Adak in the Aleutian Islands.

The incident was the latest in a series in recent days that has attracted publicity and cast a shadow on United States-Soviet relations. But the White House said neither the fishing boat chase nor the expulsion

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

drive a nationwide enforcement drive. The long-range dimensions of the program were not entirely clear, however.

The rules require merchants with revenues of \$200,000 a year or more to display base prices—the amounts charged during the 90-day freeze that began Aug. 15—on all food items covered by the anti-inflation program.

The stores must also post the freeze prices either on the 40 items in each department that sold best during their most recent fiscal years or on the items in each department that account for 50 per cent of their sales, whichever is less.

These requirements technically took effect on Jan. 1, but the revenue service, which found widespread noncompliance with the sales in about 36,000 outlets checked during the first two weeks of the year, did not enforce them until yesterday.

The Cot of Living Council

Continued on Page 22, Column 6

The former director, Louis A. Reiter, is accused of extorting \$9,300 from a contractor. The seven borrowers are charged with defrauding the city of a total of \$842,500.

Two of the borrowers, Gerald and Melvin Weintraub, who are brothers, were the largest borrowers from the \$135-million Municipal Loan Program, which was set up almost 10 years ago to provide long-term, low-cost loans to owners of slum buildings unable to obtain money to rehabilitate their buildings through ordinary commercial channels. The Weintraub brothers obtained 21 loans totaling \$15,100,500.

The indictments were announced yesterday by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan.

The loan fund, which is administered by the city's Housing and Development Administration, has been the target of several investigations re-

Continued on Page 41, Column 3

Hall news conference by seven

Text of Lindsay's statement will be found on Page 21.

aides. They variously described the Governor's criticism of the Lindsay administration as "demagoguery," the big lie technique," "a cruel misstatement of the facts" and "de-meaning to the office of Governor and an insult to the State Legislature."

The Mayor, a newly converted Democrat, was asked how he could hope to work with the Republican Governor after making such an attack. He replied:

"All the gains the City of New York has made have been done by exerting substance, political power and the coalition of the Big Six Mayors."

Lack of 'Graciousness'

"None of it has been done with any sense of graciousness on the Albany end, and certainly none of it has been done by any sense of willingness to see the city achieve," he added.

The Democratic leaders of the Legislature shared the Mayor's view that the Governor's criticism was politically inspired.

Joseph Zaretzki, Senate minority leader, said:

"As I followed the speech as the Governor was reading it I put down next to that particular paragraph on page 27 [in which the Governor catalogued the city's ills], 'Lindsay for President.'"

facing the state government, Mr. Lindsay said.

These include, he said, "why the state failed in its handling of Attica and unnecessarily took 43 lives, why the state squandered away \$1.5-billion on the Albany Mall while pleading bankruptcy to citizens in every town and city, why the state has wasted hundreds of millions of dollars on a disastrous narcotics program."

Mr Lindsay also cited the closing of state mental hospitals, the "deterioration" of

Continued on Page 21, Column 3

Knapp Unit Witness Indicted for Perjury

By ARNOLD H. LUBASCH

A tow-truck operator who was acclaimed last October for his testimony before the Knapp Commission about police corruption was indicted on perjury charges here yesterday for his accusations against two patrolmen.

The Federal indictment of George C. Burkert concerned a highly publicized incident described in his commission testimony; much of his remaining testimony about police pay-offs was corroborated by tape recordings, according to United States Attorney Whitney North Seymour Jr.

Besides Mr. Burkert, who is

Continued on Page 41, Column 6

State University, where the annual tuition is \$550.

Placement of the University of the City of New York under the State University.

A state take-over of collection of real property taxes to be used for schools in local districts.

No-fault automobile insurance.

Crime - control through court reform.

A plan for increasing electrical power, particularly that available to the city.

The number of proposals was smaller than made by the Governor in last year's message. And in the shortened version of the message read to the lawmakers and before the television cameras and radio microphones, the Governor omitted some potentially abrasive items, such as the tax increases he proposed, and the Legislature approved two weeks ago, to help balance his

Continued on Page 21, Column 4

Key Proposals

New York City — Governor Rockefeller proposed "new structure and government" for the city, alleging that "as things now stand there is no actual control over the functioning of city government despite the almost total centralization of power in City Hall."

Education—Increased tuition of unspecified amount at State University. Take-over of administration and financing of City University by State University. State take-over of collection of real property tax for local schools.

Insurance—No-fault program for automobile accidents, avoiding court action and hastening compensation.

Courts—Accelerated processing of criminal cases to unclog court calendars.

Power—Consideration of a separate plant to supply power for the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

Prisons—Increased hiring of minority-group guards, prison citizen-observers, and home furloughs for "selected" prisoners.

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Auschwitz Gas Chambers' Designer on Trial in Vienna



Walter Dejaco, left, and Fritz Karl Ertl, his former aide, with guard at Vienna court

Special to The New York Times

VIENNA, Jan. 18—Walter Dejaco, who designed and built the gas chambers and cremation furnaces in Auschwitz-Birkenau, the largest Nazi death camp in occupied Poland, went on trial before an Austrian jury here today. The 63-year-old former SS

officer, an architect by profession, was first denounced to the Austrian authorities in June, 1961, but continued to live in Reutte, in the Tyrol, where he worked in his fields for almost 10 years before being taken into custody. Dejaco and his former aide, Fritz Karl Ertl, 64, are ac-

cused of direct complicity in the premeditated and "vicious" murder of three million European Jews between 1941 and 1945. In addition, Dejaco is said to have committed several individual murders. The maximum sentence

Continued on Page 13, Column 3

Army Tightens Training; Jogging Is In, Beer Is Out

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.
Special to The New York Times

FORT MONROE, Va., Jan. 18—After a brief experiment in liberalization, the Army has decided to tighten up again on its eight-week basic training course, that once-hidebound device used to transform soft, sloppy civilians into hardened, disciplined warriors.

The barracks beer machine that so pleasantly quenched the thirst of dusty recruits and so thoroughly irked crusty drill sergeants will be removed.

The barracks themselves will no longer be divided into private cubicles, complete with colorful curtains, but instead will revert to big, open olive drab dormitories familiar to millions of old soldiers everywhere.

Finally, in a change that future recruits will long remember, the basic physical training program will be made tougher, with a return to such punishing habits as jogging from one drill area to the next and with reinstatement of the "daily dozen," those highly stylized exercises done every morning, en masse, by the numbers and with much grunting and groaning.

"We've taken a long look at things, experimented around, and now we've decided that the relatively Spartan environment is the best for recruits," says Brig. Gen. Ira Hunt, the man in charge of the Army's

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

College Seniors' Prospects For Jobs Turning Brighter

The worst decline in job openings for college graduates since the Depression of the nineteen-thirties appears to have ended.

After two years of sharp declines in the job market, "a 5 per cent increase in hiring, across the board, in all disciplines at all degree levels is anticipated," a major survey of employers released yesterday said.

Despite the general upturn, however, some graduates in some areas of the country may be faced with even bleaker prospects than last year.

The survey, conducted by the College Placement Council, Inc., covered 835 employing organizations in 20 employing categories.

For Ph.D.'s, who have been

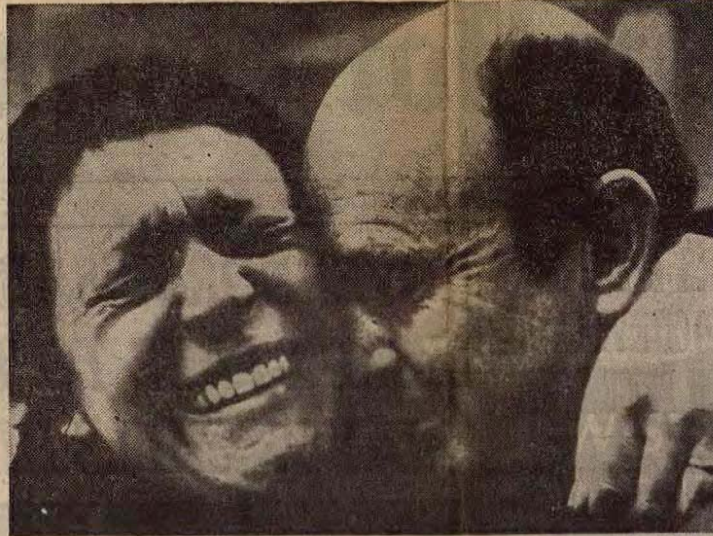
severely hurt by the job decline, a 30 per cent increase in job openings is foreseen. Graduates in technical fields—such as engineering, business and accounting—are expected to have the best job prospects. Majors in nontechnical disciplines—liberal arts—will be worse off than last year, the survey found.

"Even with the increases, the number of anticipated hires is still considerably below" the peaks of the job boom years in the late nineteen sixties, the report said.

College placement officers across the country confirmed the council's report and voiced cautious optimism about the June job market, according to

Continued on Page 44, Column 6

PREDICTIONS '72



RELATIVES REUNITED: Woman who was one of the 326 immigrant Jews from Soviet Union being embraced yesterday in Tel Aviv airport. Largest group ever to leave Soviet Union for Israel arrived on an El Al 747 jet. Israel said they would settle in Negev.

Zionists Divided as Parley Opens

By PETER GROSE
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Jan. 18—Seventy-five years after Theodor Herzl assembled a band of Jewish idealists in Switzerland for the first Zionist congress, Zionism has become many things to many people.

Some of Israel's most fervent supporters shun the label "Zionist." Some self-styled Zionists, on the other hand, are disillusioned and discouraged with present-day Israel.

This week in Jerusalem 800 official delegates—"card-carrying Zionists," an Israeli called them—have assembled for the 28th World Zionist Congress, a convocation now held every four years in direct line from Herzl's modest beginning in Basel.

They are to chart the activities of the movement, which has modernized its terminology to call itself "the national liberation struggle of the Jewish people" in Israel and abroad.

Proud or Pejorative

Depending on where the word "Zionist" is used and who is using it, it can be a proud term for a revolutionary activist or a pejorative term offensive to Jews and non-Jews alike.

In the Arab and Communist

Dr. Goldmann, the 77-year-old former president of the World Zionist Organization, has informed his former colleagues that he will not attend in view of the leadership's decision keynote address, as originally planned.

Dr. Goldmann has long been a source of controversy and



Arye Pincus

ing some leading figures, the presence of Rabbi Kahane, head of the militant Jewish Defense League in New York, is likely to be more bothersome. He has warned that he will be heard even if he and his followers have to fight their way into the hall—which they might have to do.

In this case as well, Mr. Pincus demonstrated the firm control he intends to exercise over the 10-day congress. "Rabbi Kahane apparently wants to warn that American Jews are about to be engulfed in a new holocaust," he said. "We do not agree with this view. Rabbi Kahane has not been duly elected as a delegate. We see no reason why we should put him on the program."

By its own rules the congress has come to represent a disciplined body that seems to accept the Israeli leadership's predominance. The main agenda items are to be the problems of absorbing Soviet Jews into Israel, the needs of Jewish education overseas and the social problems Israel is facing.

U. S. Group Is Second

Israeli representatives have been assigned an automatic 40 per cent of the 525 votes. The 5.9 million Jews in the United

Shifting of 8 U.S. Hospitals Is Scheduled for June, 1973

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18 (UPI)—The Government said today that it hoped to transfer eight Public Health Service Hospitals, including one on Staten Island, and 30 clinics to local control by June 30, 1973.

Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Health, Education and

Welfare, said that President Nixon's forthcoming budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1 "assumes that these facilities will be converted to community use by June 30, 1973."

The hospitals, with a total of 2,484 beds, are in Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Boston, Norfolk, Va., a Galveston, Tex., besides Staten Island.

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DEVALUATION AND INCREASED COSTS OF

Jews alike. In the Arab and Communist worlds "anti-Zionism" is a fashionable political ideology that often seems to be a euphemism for attitudes, unacceptable nowadays, of anti-Semitism.

Of the world's eight million Jews—excluding Israel and the Soviet Union, where Zionist recruiters do not operate—only 900,000 have formally joined the World Zionist Organization. Even among the official Zionists there is controversy about the role and outlook of Zionism?

The leadership finds itself at odds with two of the best-known Jewish spokesmen: Dr. Nahum Goldmann, who is refusing to attend though he is eligible, and Rabbi Meir Kahane, who is determined to attend and speak though he has been declared unwelcome. Both consider themselves Zionists, but their views have been declared out of step with what the leadership says Zionism now represents.



Camera Press
Dr. Nahum Goldmann

Police Halt 2 Protests Against Zionist Parley

JERUSALEM, Jan. 18 (UPI)—Police broke up two demonstrations and arrested 30 persons today before the opening of the 28th Zionist Congress here.

Police spokesmen said that mounted and club-wielding policemen had charged into a crowd of demonstrators outside the meeting halls while others dispersed another group of demonstrators on their way to the site of the congress.

The spokesmen said that the demonstrators were mostly members of Israel's small Black Panther and New Left movements and of the Jewish Defense League, headed by Rabbi Meir Kahane of New York.

The Black Panthers were demonstrating to dramatize their demands for better opportunities for Sephardic Jews in Israel. The Jewish Defense League members were protesting the exclusion of Rabbi Kahane from the Congress.

MOSCOW, Jan. 18 (AP)—Denying that there is a "Soviet Jewish problem," Russia's controlled press stepped up its campaign today against the 28th Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. Tass, the Soviet press agency, called the conference a "provocation" against the Soviet state.

embarrassment to present-day Israeli leaders, largely because of his outspoken criticism of their policies. The last straw came in a speech he delivered in London last month in which he called on Jews to campaign for the betterment of Jewish status and life in the Soviet Union as well as for the right of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel if they chose.

His attitude stirred a storm among Israeli leaders, who have been promoting world campaigns to get Jews out of the Soviet Union to settle in Israel. Dr. Goldmann's scheduled address was promptly erased from the program.

His sympathizers argued that the Zionist Organization's own credo, adopted in 1968, calls for both migration to Israel and "the protection of Jewish rights everywhere." Why, they ask, should Dr. Goldmann in effect be drummed out of the congress because he chooses an emphasis different from that of current Israeli policy?

The Israeli Zionist chairman, Arye Pincus, yielded no ground in criticizing Dr. Goldmann, calling the London speech "a political blunder of the first order."

In an interview Mr. Pincus offered this addition to the 1968 credo to justify his organization's stand: "Zionists today believe that where Jews are living in countries of distress and discrimination, the only answer for them is emigration to Israel. The Soviet Union is one of those countries."

If Dr. Goldmann's absence is troubling and disappoint-

per cent of the 525 votes. The 5.9 million Jews in the United States, of whom 645,600 have joined the Zionist Organization, are the next largest national contingent, with 152 votes. The communities of France, Britain, Canada, South Africa and Argentina trail far behind, with a dozen or two votes each.

The leaders resent the characterization of the movement as "a wholly owned subsidiary of the Israeli Government," in the words of a prominent American, but its top officers are openly identified with the various Israeli political parties, according to agreed-upon formulas of representations, and the organization's disputes often reflect those in the Israeli Parliament.

In recognition of the fact that the officially enrolled Zionists no longer represent the full measure of Israel's supporters, the Zionist operating arm, the Jewish Agency, expanded its leadership last year to include prominent leaders who are not technically Zionists.

For example, Max M. Fisher, one of the most influential American Jewish leaders and fund-raisers for Israel, has become a member of the Executive Board of the Jewish Agency though he has never enrolled himself as a Zionist.

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Associated Press

Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union kiss the ground of Israel upon arrival at Tel Aviv. But the stepped-up inflow of Soviet Jews has brought problems and anxieties as well as joy.

Israel:

23/1/72

The Russians Are Coming And So Are Problems

JERUSALEM—When the El Al 747 landed at Lydda Airport here last Tuesday morning, it seemed to symbolize what the Israelis see as an exciting new stage in their 23-year modern history. The 330 passengers on that particular flight were Jews from the Soviet Union—a record number for any one flight—arriving to start new lives in the Jewish homeland.

As local chroniclers put it, Israel has entered the era of "The Great Russian Immigration."

Day after day, for many weeks past and with no sign of diminishing, other airliners loaded with hundreds of Soviet Jews have touched down on Israeli soil. More than 13,000 came here last year, or one-third the total number of immigrants to Israel in all of 1971. The influx of Soviet Jews in 1972 is expected to rise to at least 35,000, or half the total inflow for the year. Years of campaigning to "Let My People Go" are bearing fruit.

One theory is that the Soviet Government has decided to subject the Israeli economy and society, already under strain, to a new test, for the absorption process is fraught with problems for the Israelis.

With a tinge of irony, Pinhas Sapir, the Israeli Minister of Finance, said last Wednesday that "never has such a mighty state confronted such a tiny nation with such a threat—a threat which we receive with only the earnest hope that it will be realized."

Actually, the financial side of the challenge may be relatively easy to meet; wealthy Jews both in Israel and abroad are responding to the needs that are so dramatically evident. It is the physical, professional, social and

political problems that appear to be so imposing.

Crash programs were introduced this month to provide enough housing for the new arrivals, whose demands and expectations are far higher than were those of the immigrants from North Africa and the Middle Eastern countries a decade or so ago. Whatever their spiritual and emotional condition, many of the Soviet immigrants claim to have enjoyed housing—apartments, sometimes even villas—far more spacious and welcoming than the cramped and jerry-built immigrant housing available in Israel. Newcomers have frequently staged sitdown strikes at Lydda Airport when assigned to homes in new towns far from Jerusalem or Tel Aviv.

The Ministry of Housing has announced that 13,000 new dwellings will be provided this year. This may just meet the demands of the new arrivals, but will do little to improve the overcrowded conditions of the people already here and hoping for better living.

Even before the current inflow materialized, the rallying cry of the so-

called "Black Panthers" and other activists for the urban poor in Israel was to demand better housing and let new immigrants put up with hardship conditions for their first years. "Why should they move right into the flats we've been waiting years for?" Panther leaders argued in their frequent confrontations with Israeli officials.

Once the Russians have a place to live, they will need work—and this is far more vexing. Most of the Soviet immigrants are middle class, often highly educated. Manual labor in the building or service industries—in which Israel is desperately short—is out of the question for this group, but the openings for professionals in Israeli society are limited.

Lately, a few of the political party organizers have sensed another, unexpected, problem. At least it is a problem to the dominant Labor party, which has governed Israel since 1948.

It seems that large numbers of the politically sensitive immigrants are rejecting the traditional appeals of the labor movement in Israel, this country's watered-down socialism, and are turning instead to two other political

movements—the religious parties (since many of the Soviet immigrants take the Jewish Orthodox way of life far more seriously than Israeli public life has accepted) and, alternatively, the hard-line Gahal movement, with its strong Israeli nationalism and militancy. Years of Zionist activism in Russia, plus the old habits of protest and agitation, make this opposition hard-line movement far more attractive to new Soviet arrivals than the entrenched and cautious Labor party.

Successful recruiting efforts by these opposition political parties could have a significant effect on the national party spectrum by the elections of 1973, or so the political organizers are beginning to suspect.

In the long run, these considerations pale before the epic fact of emancipation for Soviet Zionists, the enrichment of Israeli society with a treasured new source of immigration. The country is far from overpopulated; whatever the dislocations involved, it is difficult to find any Israeli ready to argue that immigration should be held down or discouraged.

—PETER GROSE

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Businessmen to provide IL100m. fund for absorption

The establishment of an IL100m. fund for immigrant absorption was announced by the Prime Minister's Office in Jerusalem yesterday.

Mrs. Golda Meir told assembled ministers, Knesset Members and civic leaders that the Government is confident that it can rely, not only on taxes and imposts, but also on the spirit of self-sacrifice of the people.

Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir said that the voluntary campaign in Israel would strengthen his hand in his forthcoming fund-raising tour of 140 Jewish communities in the U.S.

The fund will make its appeal to groups and to individuals. Industry, agriculture, business and the professions will organize to canvass their members. The campaign slogan is: "Let each man give as much as he can to support the absorption of the present mass aliya."

Speakers at the meeting included Mr. Mark Mosevics, president of the Manufacturers Association and chairman of the new fund's Public

Council; former Knesset Speaker Kadish Luz; Hevrat Ovdim Secretary Asher Yadin; the representative of the Chamber of Advocates, Mr. N. Lifshitz, and Mr. Aharon Saharov, of the Association of Insurance Companies.

The declaration regarding the fund was also signed by Messrs. S. Aliman, D. Recanati, A. Rubinstein, G. Rosov and others, who all undertook to work on its behalf.

2 Feb 72

Sapir: we face crises of danger, opportunity

Jerusalem Post Reporter

"I have just come from a session in the Prime Minister's office, where 25 Israeli businessmen agreed to help raise IL100m. for the absorption of immigration," Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir told the Bond conference over lunch at the King David Hotel.

He outlined three main reasons why Israel must look for substantially increased economic support from outside its borders. "There is the crisis of danger, the crisis of need, and the crisis of opportunity," he said. "Today we face all three at once. The crisis of danger stems from the all-but-war situation, and the crisis of need from the demands of thousands of families who have been waiting for years for improved housing and living conditions. Finally," he said, "we are faced with the crisis of opportunity, created by the growing influx of Jews from the Soviet Union."

Mr. Harry Zekelman of Windsor, Canada, said he was "happy that Jews are coming from Russia, because I migrated from there too." (He was a colonel in the Soviet Army until 1945, when he left for Canada.)

"We'll give the money Israel needs; what we need from Israel is spiritual salvation," he said. "In 10 years' time, we in North America will all be assimilated, unless we get this help from you in Israel."

Mr. Sapir parried questions from all corners of the room bravely, in his halting English:

"We aim to reach \$2,000m. of exports this year — double the amount

four years ago and 60 times the amount in 1949," he said.

"Some immigrants take over a generation to absorb, others bring their absorption in their briefcase," he quipped in answer to another query.

"Nobody goes back to Russia. Perhaps 10 families left last year, that's all. The rest is Soviet propaganda. This is a Messianic time," he concluded, quoting the phrase in Yiddish.

The conference was also addressed by Foreign Minister Abba Eban.

In passing, the executive vice-president of Bonds, Mr. Leo Bernstein, said that "the next Minister of Commerce and Industry will address the Bonds leaders' conference on February 11. His name is Haim Bar-Lev," Mr. Bernstein said.

Mr. Bar-Lev has been rumoured as the man who will take over the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, but he was "installed" in his job yesterday in a very matter-of-fact manner.

3,000 Soviets emigrated to Israel in Jan.

VIENNA (Reuter). — The exodus of Jews from the Soviet Union continued unabated in January, and an estimated 50,000 were in the process of trying to complete their Soviet emigration formalities, informed Jewish sources said yesterday.

Last month, an estimated 2,800 to 3,000 Jews emigrated to Israel from the Soviet Union, just about matching the December figure — an all-time high — which brought the overall 1971 total to 13,000.

TV producer tells what it costs to get out of Lithuania

By GEORGE LEONOF
Jerusalem Post Reporter

THEY are known in Lithuania as the *regimniki* — people who work for the regime. In a country where the entire work force may be said to be employed by the state, the term has a special connotation. It refers to those holding jobs of particular responsibility, doing classified work, or serving in the armed forces.

A Jewish *regimnik* seeking permission to emigrate to Israel knows that, in the present situation, this means loss of his work, and a subsequent wait of three to five years. Those demobbed from the armed forces face something like a three-year "cooling off" period, and this refers to all ranks.

None of these restrictions has any basis in Soviet law, according to Avraham Levin, journalist and television producer who immigrated with his family from Vilna last week. But the process is public knowledge. Mr. Levin himself, fortunately, was not a *regimnik*. His TV programmes enjoyed wide popularity and earned him a state prize, but he evidently had no access to information considered "secret" and had no particular difficulty in leaving the Soviet Union. The family applied last May, and received permission in December. By July, he had lost his job and was also automatically expelled from the journalists union — "an altogether unusual occurrence," he noted.

Mr. Levin, his wife Tsila, and two daughters aged 16 and 14, did not experience financial difficulty in the six months before their departure because non-Jewish friends provided him with work (not in his

line) for which he received 160 rubles (about \$145 at the official rate of exchange) a month — "without having to work too hard." The sum sufficed for living essentials.

The journalist, fortyish, stocky and vivacious despite the 4 a.m. arrival at Lod after an overnight flight from Vienna, said he may have been especially fortunate because of his wide circle of friends. He had worked earlier for a newspaper and radio, then went on to television, where he won an all-Union prize for his economic shows which included various competitions and quizzes. According to a Vilna TV magazine these had contributed to a savings of several million rubles in industrial processes.

"The Lithuanians—and this is true of practically all levels — are generally sympathetic toward Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate," the producer said. Maybe for the wrong reasons, he added: "Not that they like Jews or Israel especially, but because they dislike — even hate — the Russians. They see the desire of Jews to emigrate as a sign of protest against the regime — and they support the protest."

Latvia is worse

There was no anti-Semitism to speak of in Lithuania, he said, although the situation was completely different in neighbouring Latvia. "The Latvians are Russified," he explains, "and their leaders were drawn from members of the Latvian Brigade formed in the Soviet Union during the Second World War."

Mr. Levin does not come from a notably Zionist background, although his mother, widowed in the war, came to Israel from Vilna in 1945, soon after Germany's defeat. She died the next year.

His father, Moshe Levin, was head of the resistance in the Kovno ghetto, and was killed during the Nazi roundup of concealed Jewish children.

He himself ran off to the partisans in the forest, and in 1944 joined up with the advancing Red Army.

Mr. Levin believes most of the remaining Jews in Lithuania want to

go to Israel (there is no reliable estimate of their number, and the nearest the Jewish Agency can come up with is "probably tens of thousands"). He divides them into three categories: those who have decided to leave and have applied, those who are on the verge of applying, and those who wish to go but have not yet decided for various reasons — health, studies, a member of the family in the armed forces, etc.

Departure is costly. Each person of 16 and over must pay 900 rubles for a passport and another 100 for the trip to Vienna. *En route* expenses amount to several hundred rubles per person.

But families are permitted to take most of their belongings with them, including furniture — provided they have had it for not less than a year. The same applies to a piano, although a special tax must be paid for imported instruments. Other articles of value may be taken along, provided they cost no more than 250 rubles each — a TV set worth 250 rubles would not be cleared, for example.

But existing regulations were such that the Levin family had to leave behind nothing they wished to take with them.

Mr. Levin spoke with indignation about a report in "Pravda" about conditions in Schoenau *schloss* in Austria, where Israel officials process arrivals from the Soviet Union. The article claimed the castle was surrounded with barbed wire, and that the immigrants were kept there by armed guards who patrol the grounds with police dogs. "Needless to say, it was all falsification. Our family arrived in Vienna, were cleared the same day, and on our way to Israel the next."

Mr. Levin who speaks German and a self-taught English that is remarkably fluent considering he "picked it up from B.B.C. broadcasts," was with his family assigned to the Ashkelon absorption centre, where he is attending an ulpan. "The first thing is to learn the language," he says. His future plans? "To find work in my profession, of course."

'The paper work involved is still staggering'

Jewish exodus from Georgia

THE SMALL Jewish community of Kulashi in Soviet Georgia is fast becoming a ghost town. Its entire population has either left for Israel or is preparing to go, according to reports reaching Moscow. The London "Sunday Times" correspondent in Moscow, Edmund Stevens, reports that the people of Kulashi are only a tiny part of the great Jewish exodus from Russia.

MOSCOW. — **K**ULASHI is typical of the kind of fever which is now sweeping the 50,000 Jews in Georgia. According to reliable estimates, they are leaving at an average rate of 120 families a month, the largest contingent in the current exodus of Soviet Jews.

Like many Georgians, the people of Kulashi were mainly engaged in private business thinly camouflaged as socialist enterprise. Kulashi traders were famed as capable of providing even the scarcest imported items.

They are comparatively prosperous, though they lack the skills and education which would be valuable assets in Israel, and their motives for leaving this prosperity are obscure. Culturally

and ethnically, Georgian Jews are hard to distinguish from other Georgians and there is no anti-Semitism in Georgia.

Less mystery is attached to the reasons behind Russia's second largest exodus, that from the Baltic republics of Latvia and Lithuania, where Jews number 26,000 and anti-Semitism is rife. According to eye-witnesses in Vilnius, Lithuania's capital, removal vans and crates line the pavements of the Jewish quarter.

Unlike their Georgian counterparts, the Baltic Jews are in the main well-educated and their presence in intellectual circles is out of all proportion to their number. Their departure is welcomed and even spurred on by nationalist-minded Latvians and Lithuanians, who resent their competition and are envious of their jobs and homes.

The third major source of emigration is the Ukraine, mainly from the cities of Odessa and Kiev. The Ukrainian Jews got going late but appear to be gathering momentum, unlike Moscow's 50,000 Jews who, though they provide drive and leadership, lag behind in numbers. This is partly because Moscow Jews feel more secure, but also because, until recently, the authorities made things more difficult.

Since Brezhnev's visit to France and Kosygin's trip to Canada detailed rules on emigration procedure have been issued to local party branches, trade unions and government organizations — with instructions to refrain from harassment and to treat applicants courteously.

* * *

THE paper work involved is still fairly staggering. The initial requirement is a formal invitation to Israel, preferably from a relative. Then the prospective emigrant makes out his written application and obtains a character reference from his employer or trade union.

These documents must then be submitted to the consular section of the Foreign Ministry, and the hopeful emigrant sits back to wait for action. If he is lucky and the application is approved, the emigrant takes his papers to the visa office, which is run by the state security committee (KGB) and not the Foreign Ministry.

There he pays two fees: 500 roubles (IL2,400) for renunciation of Soviet citizenship and 360 roubles (IL1,725) for his exit visa.

Then he repairs to the Netherlands Embassy, which issues his Israeli visa, and to the Austrian Embassy, for a transit visa.

The final hurdle is clearing customs. Each emigrant is limited to about £40 in foreign currency. Roubles may not be taken out, though the emigrant can convert extra cash into goods. Each emigrant is entitled to take out clothing, 10 lengths of cloth for suits or dresses, two furs, two raincoats and a litre of alcohol. Each family may have three rugs, one radio, tape recorder, refrigerator, sewing machine, vacuum cleaner, piano, accordion, motorcycle, outboard motor and — with special customs authorization — one car.

Valuables are limited to one engagement ring, one ring with a precious stone, one pair of earrings and not more than 400 grams of silver ornaments. A duty of 100 per cent is levied on all books published before 1945 and on all pictures. All antiques are on the forbidden list, along with firearms, industrial equipment, and lottery tickets.

Despite these difficulties and restrictions, planeloads of Jewish emigrants are leaving Moscow airport every day. And though no figures have been released it is believed about 35,000 applications are now in the pipeline. Jewish sources forecast that at the current rate another 100,000 of Russia's three million Jews will leave by the end of 1972.