

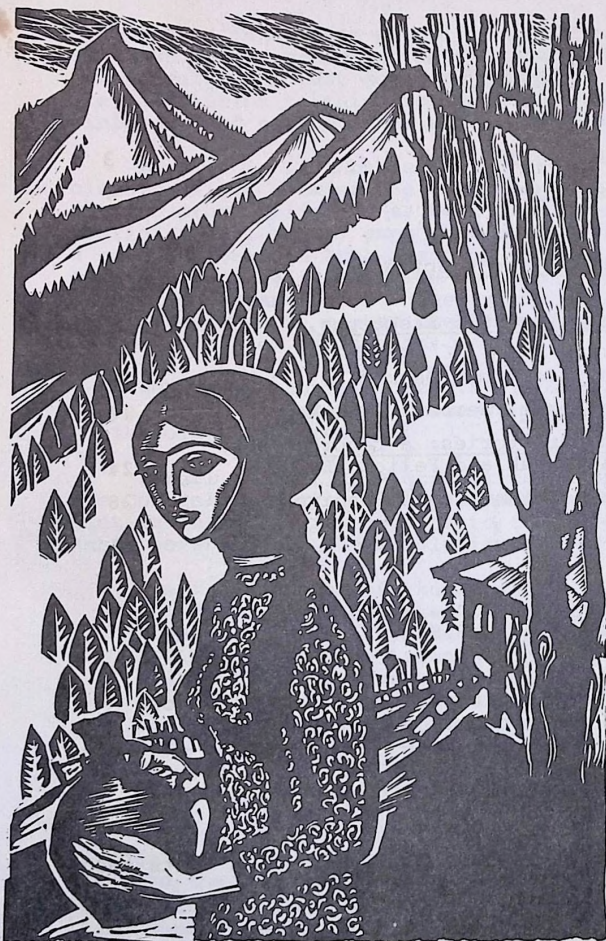
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

September-
October
1976

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Inside:

Lebanon . . .

. . . U.S. Nazis

Felicia Langer
Israel Shahak

Herbert Aptheker on
Israel, the Mideast
and Peace

. . . and

much

more . . .

Israel, Southern Africa and the Elections

by Jarvis Tyner

JEWISH AFFAIRS

A publication of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Vol. 6, No. 5

September-October, 1976

Editorial Committee:

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Editorials

U.S., Israel—Hands Off Lebanon!

Events in Lebanon prove the pressing need for a comprehensive and just peace settlement in the Mideast, for if Israel had agreed to recognize the just national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, a solution to this problem would have been found and the Palestinians would not be under attack in Lebanon.

The war in Lebanon began not as a religious conflict, but as a class conflict between the working people (mainly Moslem, but including other religions as well as non-believers) and the bureaucratic, feudal elite, supported by imperialism. It developed into a conflict between Arab reaction and the progressive elements of the Arab national liberation movement, particularly the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Syrian Ba'ath Party, which heads the Syrian government, played the role of an instrument of reaction in its intervention in Lebanon.

Behind the conflict is U.S. imperialism, which is using all means at its disposal to preserve the area as the private domain of the oil monopolies.

Israel is a willing accomplice of Washington in this endeavor. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel passed a resolution in August in response to the intervention in Lebanon by the Rabin government. The resolution stated in part:

The intervention of the Israeli government in the events in Lebanon is undertaken in collusion with the U.S. government. It is intended to cripple the independence and freedom of the Lebanese people, the anti-imperialist Arab national movement, and first and foremost, is aimed to strike at the Palestine Arab people and their recognized representative--the PLO. There exists an imperialist design for Lebanon's partition and disintegration. The expansionist circles in Israel, under these circumstances, are plotting to annex southern Lebanon to Israel.

Tel Aviv's aggression includes not only the hijacking of ships in international waters, under the pretext of "curbing terrorism", but also the arming and supplying of the Right wing in Lebanon across the "good fence." Reports of the presence of Israeli troops in southern Lebanon are further proof of the expansionist aims of the Rabin regime.

The war in Lebanon became a war by imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction to destroy, or at least to subjugate, the Palestinian Arab people and the PLO. In this, the former failed. The PLO and the democratic forces in Lebanon have retained their independent identity and influence.

At the time of this writing, the Arab countries involved and the PLO have reached an agreement on a ceasefire which affirms the authority of Lebanese President Elias Sarkis, provides for an Arab peace-keeping force (mainly Syrian and Saudi Arabian) under the authority of Sarkis, and reasserts the leading role of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people. Although it is too early to assess the results of the agreement, we hope that its implementation will resolve the conflict.

This agreement can only become effective if Washington and Tel Aviv are prevented, by mass pressure, from interfering with its implementation economically, politically, militarily or financially. Already, news reports indicate that the danger to the truce comes from the Lebanese fascist Falangists who, enjoying the full support of Israel and the U.S., are attempting to undermine the peace.

The basic problem of a just peace in the Middle East remains. The reconvening of the Geneva conference, with the full participation of the PLO, is more vital than ever, and will lay the groundwork for a comprehensive solution to the problems in that area.

* * *

Deport the Nazi Criminals Now!

In the October 8 issue of the Brooklyn *Jewish Journal*, an editorial states, under the bold-face title of "Anti-Semitism is at Our Doorstep",

The neo-Nazis, the Christian Fronters and other hate mongers are very much alive. Their venom is being poured over the populace in a number of ways. They are the roots of anti-Semitism that must be stopped.

The editorial calls on the leadership of the Jewish community to take the initiative in the fight to destroy this menace.

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, editor of *Jewish Affairs* and the 1976 Communist candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York, responded in a

letter to the editor, which was printed the following week, by agreeing with

...the urgency in your condemnation and the need for all who value human decency to unite in struggle against the poison of anti-Semitism. I question your assertion that the neo-Nazis and other such vermin are at the root of anti-Semitism. They are, rather, fanatical stormtroopers for vastly more powerful and wealthy classes and forces in the United States who value anti-Semitism for its divisive and destructive effect upon genuine popular organizations and struggles seeking social improvement.



"Recriminations will accomplish nothing... let us put World War II behind us!"

The increase in anti-Semitism accompanies an intensification in the chronic racism that has besmirched this country /and which is/ directed with special ferocity against our Puerto Rican and Afro-American citizens.

To fight effectively against anti-Semitism and racism it is necessary to fight against the economic monopolies that dominate the policies of this nation....

...To really get at "the roots of anti-Semitism" one must get at the roots of reaction. For that, an anti-monopoly, anti-Pentagon politics must come into effective existence. And that is the whole point of my candidacy, on the Communist Party line, for the United States Senate.

The correctness of this analysis has become all the more apparent in recent weeks with the revelations of the criminal conspiracy between the U.S. government and the scores of Nazi war criminals that have found a haven in our country.

Several newspapers have reported that at least 90 Nazis have been living in the U.S. for 31 years. The government has been claiming that it didn't know these criminals were in the country. This lie must be rejected and exposed, for how is it possible that the State Department can screen out Communists and other progressives from foreign countries and deny them visas to enter the U.S. for brief visits while claiming inability to detect fascist war crimin-

als who have been living here for years?

The same U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service that pleads innocence when confronted with this long list of war criminals is in the forefront of the racist campaign against "illegal aliens," claiming that those who came to this country seeking work --because U.S. imperialism made it impossible for them to work in their home countries--entered the country under false pretences. Yet all of the war criminals entered this country under false pretences.

It is obvious that many, if not all, of these fascist criminals were allowed to immigrate and become citizens with the full knowledge of the authorities. To this day, Washington is working overtime to protect these Nazis from justice.

A case in point is Andrija Artukovic, a Yugoslav Nazi collaborator responsible for the death of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. When Yugoslavia appealed for his extradition to face charges stemming from these atrocities, the request was turned down because Washington felt he would be subject to "political persecution." Similarly, the U.S. has rejected a Soviet extradition request for an Estonian fascist, Karl Linna, who administered a concentration camp in Tartu, and who was sentenced to death in absentia by the Soviet Union in 1962.

The most vulgar example of Washington's complicity in harboring these Nazis is the case of Edgar Laipenieks, a Latvian fascist whom the *Jewish Journal* said is accused of "killings in the central prison in Riga in 1941," and whom *The New York Times* labeled an "intelligence officer and antipartisan fighter." This Nazi has been on the payroll of the CIA which, in return for his anti-Soviet activities, pressured the INS to drop its deportation case against him.

The most recent case to receive attention in the media is that of Vladimir Sokolov-Samarin, a Yale professor whom the Soviet Yiddish journal, *Sovietish Heimland*, exposed as an editor of *Rech*, a pro-Nazi newspaper in the then Nazi-occupied city of Orel. To quote the *Jewish Journal* of October 1, 1976:

Vladimir Sokolov-Samarin, 63, who admitted his Nazi writings, professes to be an ardent Zionist now because he believes that Jews and anti-Communists share the same goal, "to liquidate the Soviet system."

Samarin, who taught at Yale for 17 years, claimed that he wrote against the Jews on orders from the German censor and because he thought he was fighting Bolshevism. He said he had no knowledge of the Nazi extermination camps. He claimed his exposure in *Sovietish Heimland* was a KGB effort to discredit him because of his anti-Communist activities.

(The administration of Yale University, incidentally, which

questioned the credentials and qualifications of Dr. Herbert Aptheker to teach at the university, not only allowed a Nazi to teach for years, but lifted not a finger to get rid of him when the facts became known. Pressure from his colleagues forced Sokolov-Samarin to resign, with full pay through July 1977.

*

Washington can prevent deportation of these Nazis, Laipenieks can work for the CIA, and Sokolov-Samarin can "profess to be an ardent Zionist," because that which unites these elements is anti-Communism.

The only response from the major Jewish organizations has been a few articles in newspapers, a few telegrams or letters to Washington. Why have they not done more to combat this danger? Is it because they are infected by the virus of anti-Communism? The members of these organizations must move their leadership to take forthright, public stands in a way that will move masses of people into action.

Many of those individuals and organizations that profess concern about terrorism and hijackings uttered not a word of condemnation when the U.S. government turned down a Soviet extradition request for two Lithuanian fascists who hijacked a Soviet plane six years ago, killing a flight attendant in the process. There was no outcry when five Yugoslav fascists hijacked a plane and planted a bomb, which resulted in the death of a police officer, in Kennedy airport. There was no expression of outrage at the mass murder of 73 people aboard a Cuban airliner by Cuban fascists known to have connections with the CIA.

As far as our elected officials are concerned, the silence is deafening. The *Daily World* put it succinctly on October 19 when the editors wrote:

While President Ford and Jimmy Carter have tried to outdo each other in promising Israel more weapons for aggression, neither has uttered a word about those who, in Hitler's service, slaughtered masses of Jews. Neither have they said a word about deporting the World War II murderers to the scene of their crimes, to be judged and punished.

There is a direct relationship between the government's coddling of these fascist animals, and the rise of racist, anti-Semitic, fascist organizations and vigilante groups. The protective concern expressed by Washington for these foreign fascists is open encouragement to domestic Nazis. If the CIA finds it useful to employ a Latvian fascist, we need not wonder too much whether or not it has on its bankroll many of the goons responsible for stoning buses, beating and murdering Blacks, and bombing the homes of Black families. There is a direct relationship between the government's open support for the "rights" of these war criminals, and Washington's financing of Chilean, South Korean, Brazilian, South African, Span-

ish , Uruguayan and Paraguayan fascism. Equally important is the relationship between Washington's ties to these Nazi criminals, and its "quiet reprimand" of the vulgar anti-Semitism of General George Brown.

Racism and anti-Communism are breeding grounds for fascism. It is not a coincidence that, while the news about the World War II criminals was hitting front pages across the country, the Chicago *Jewish Sentinel* reported in its September 30 issue, "U.S. is source of Nazi literature send abroad," and the *Jewish Journal* reported the next day, "World Mailing Of Nazi Filth Is From U.S."

Democracy--and even the very lives of working people--is not safe as long as fascists and fascist acts, both the domestic and foreign brands, are allowed to flourish within our shores, or anywhere in the world. Any Nazi or Nazi collaborator must be immediately deported to the scene of the crime to face judgement and punishment. As well, those fascists who wrap themselves in the U.S. flag must be brought to justice. U.S. government funding of fascist dictatorships around the world must be stopped.

An essential task is to reject the ideological foundations of reaction--racism and anti-Communism--and to build the necessary antimonopoly, antiracist peoples' unity. This is the only guarantee of eliminating the danger of fascism and war once and for all.

We urge our readers to write, telegram and phone their congressmen and senators and call for a congressional investigation of government complicity in the cases of these Nazi criminals. We must demand that every one of these fugitives be deported immediately to the country in which their crimes were committed. All aid to fascist regimes, as in Chile and South Africa, should be cut off, and that money used here for the people's needs.

* * *

Welcome!

THE STAFF AND EDITORIAL BOARD OF JEWISH AFFAIRS TAKE GREAT PLEASURE IN WELCOMING TO OUR RANKS DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, THE NEW EDITOR OF OUR MAGAZINE, AND PLEDGE OUR FULLEST COOPERATION.

DR. APTHEKER IS WELL KNOWN TO OUR READERS AS A REGULAR CONTRIBUTOR TO THE MAGAZINE AND AS AN OUTSTANDING MARXIST THEORETICIAN, SCHOLAR AND WRITER.

Articles

Israel, Southern Africa and the Elections

(This article and the next three are adapted from speeches presented to the September 16, 1976 memorial to Hyman Lumer in New York City--The Editors.)

by Jarvis Tyner, vice-presidential candidate of the CPUSA

Hy Lumer's achievements and contributions span many decades and many areas of struggle. Theoretician, writer, lecturer, educator, editor, author, activist--he was all of these. But his most enduring quality, that which set him head and shoulders above others, was his internationalist outlook, for Hyman Lumer was above all else a profound fighter for the principles of proletarian, workingclass, internationalism.

Hy understood that this internationalism is to Marxist-Leninists as the earth is to all living things, the source of collective strength and nourishment, the source of a winning stance.

For Hy, this internationalism began at home in the struggle against racism and for the unity of the multinational working class, particularly for Black-Jewish unity.

Equally important, the rich legacy that Hy Lumer has bequeathed us belongs also to all those who are engaged in battle against imperialism, racism and neocolonialism. Hy made a unique contribution to the fight for a just peace in the Middle East, and his internationalism shone with a particular brightness in this area.

Hy took a special interest in the problems in the Middle East. He was an ardent champion of the struggles of the Arab peoples for national and social liberation, especially the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination. He fought equally as hard for the right of Israel to a sovereign, independent existence and exposed the dangers that the reactionary policies of Zionism represent for the Israeli people, the peoples of the Middle East and the peoples of the world.

It was in this spirit as a fighter for the best interests of the people of Israel that, in his last article for Jewish Affairs, Hy exposed the ideological, political, economic and military connections between the ruling class of Israel and the racist, fascist gangsters who rule over South Africa.

*

Nothing exposes the bankruptcy of the Israeli government more

than its support of apartheid and fascism in southern Africa. Nothing destroys the myth of Zionism as a "national liberation movement" as well as Israel's support for the archenemy of all African liberation movements.

Today, southern Africa has become a center for the sharpest clash between imperialism on the one hand and the national liberation movements and the socialist countries on the other. The victories of the people's forces in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have given new inspiration and strength to the millions of Black toilers of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. They are pressing forward. They have made it clear that the days of apartheid are over and they are determined that their liberation shall soon be achieved.

At their side stand all peace-loving, antiracist, anti-imperialist forces. The socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and Cuba, are in the vanguard of this support. The balance of forces is now decisively in favor of liberation, and imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, is very worried.

Washington knows that it cannot continue to rule in the old ways. It realizes it can no longer base its exploitation and oppression of Africa on the open barbarity of goon squad apartheid in South Africa. It must seek new forms for the extraction of superprofits, it must find new ways to protect the interests of GM, Ford and ITT.

This is the meaning of Kissinger's African shuttle. He is attempting the same thing as in the Middle East, where his shuttle diplomacy succeeded in buying a little time for the Israeli government and helped reinforce reactionary forces in Egypt and other Arab countries.

Washington is trying to buy time for Vorster and his henchmen. It is trying to prevent the liberation of southern Africa. It is trying to offer money and make deals with the white oppressors and those among the oppressed who will act as agents of neo-colonialism. It seeks to take the place of the white Rhodesians and South Africans as the principal exploiters and oppressors of the African peoples.

In all of this, Israel is a willing partner. While the rest of the world shuns the racist criminals of South Africa, Israel invites its prime minister, Vorster, his hands dripping with blood from the massacres at Soweto, on a state visit. Economic and military agreements are signed. In return for South Africa's capital investment in a railroad through the Negev, Israel will supply military attack boats and training officers to Johannesburg. Scientific cooperation is placed on an unofficial level. Trade is increased to \$100 million a year.

Has the Israeli government condemned the stormtrooper massa-

cles in South Africa, the killing of Black youth who fight for their own independence? How can it do so when the Israeli government is responsible for the murder of Palestinian Arabs?

How can the Israeli government protest the forced evictions of South African Blacks to "bantustans" while it continues to expropriate Arab land and raze Arab housing to make room for Jewish settlements?

Israel's role as the middleman between NATO and South Africa, and its support of and economic cooperation with that outpost of racism and colonialism on the continent deserve the strongest condemnation.

As citizens of this country, we must also expose and denounce our government's role in southern Africa. We must demand that Washington cut off all links with the Vorster regime and recognize the liberation movements in that area. This would be a major contribution to eliminating the threat to world peace emanating from Johannesburg.

One of the most effective ways of achieving this is a vote for the Communist candidates. We have stated clearly and emphatically that it is in the interests of working people in this country to give aid to all those who fight for freedom and dignity against imperialism, racism and neocolonialism. As Communists, we are committed to these freedom struggles all over the world.

Both Ford and Carter, on the other hand, are committed to those policies that serve the interests of big business and the multinational corporations that profit from the superexploitation of the peoples and resources of the African continent. Their racist policies in regard to the peoples of southern Africa are in keeping with their racist policies at home.

*

Hy understood this basic connection between the foreign and domestic policies of the political representatives of monopoly, and this was the basis of his internationalism. He saw in our support for the liberation movements of southern Africa, the Middle East and all other areas a weapon in our struggle for shifting the burden of the economic crisis to the backs of the monopolies.

To do that, we say: slash the military budget; stop all aid to fascist regimes in Chile, South Africa, Spain and South Korea; dismantle overseas military bases. Use these billions of dollars for people's needs, for creating jobs, for solving the crisis of our cities, for building schools, hospitals and housing.

Hy clearly saw that the racism inherent in the foreign policy of a Ford or Carter White House means cutbacks and unemployment for working people at home. This was one of the reasons for his support of the election campaigns of his party, for he saw in these

campaigns the only real solution to the crisis in everyday living for working people.

Hy took a special interest in bringing the Communist campaign to the Jewish community and made a special effort to expose the attempt of the Zionist organizations to line up Jewish support for such reactionary, racist cold-warriors as Henry Jackson and Daniel Moynihan. He condemned their endorsement of Jackson and then Carter for president and pointed out that their "friendliness" toward Israel was based on their support for bigger military budgets.

Carter and President Ford have been on the wrong side of every struggle for labor, civil or human rights. How is it possible for organizations that claim to represent Jewish Americans to endorse such candidates? How is it possible for such organizations to endorse a man who is shown on the front page of The New York Times in a fond embrace with that arch fascist, George Wallace?

The answer that is often heard is that Jimmy Carter represents the lesser of two evils. "All right, Carter is bad, but Ford is worse. Maybe we can influence Carter to take good positions."

Such illusions are extremely dangerous and can lead working people into passive submission to the monopoly con game of the two-party system. Such illusions are out of step with reality.

Carter's record equals that of Ford in its reactionary, racist, antidemocratic nature. Carter is for increasing the military budget. So is Ford. Carter is against busing. So is Ford. Carter is in favor of cutting back on government spending for education, welfare, and jobs. So is Ford. Carter supports right-to-work laws. So does Ford. Carter is for taking a "harder" position toward the Soviet Union. So is Ford. These two clowns are playing with nuclear war. Carter applauded Ford's provocation in Korea and supports Kissinger's maneuvers in Africa.

It is significant that the principal foreign policy advisor for Ford is Kissinger, and the principal foreign policy advisor for Carter is Brzezinski. Both come directly from the Rockefeller financial oligarchy. It is also significant that Kissinger stated during the primaries that Carter's foreign policy positions are "compatible and fairly consistent" with those of the Ford Administration. We are dealing with two candidates, but with the same foreign and domestic policy line, for the source and basic interest that shapes that line is the same for both of them--U.S. imperialism and monopoly capital.

Carter's acquiescent silence in the face of government inspired and supported racist vigilante mobs is deafening. Where are Ford's or Carter's denunciations of fascist gang attacks on Black and Puerto Ricans in the Village and elsewhere? Where is their outrage at the bombings of the homes of Black families in Rosedale, Queens and Park Slope, Brooklyn and Staten Island?

We hear none. Instead, Carter and Ford present a common racist front: both oppose busing, both back segregated neighborhoods and schools, and neither is for the elimination of the wretched conditions in the ghettos and barrios. Neither of them has spoken out against the rise of anti-Semitism in our nation, the open activities of the KKK and the Nazis. In fact, they are stumbling over each other, trying to win more and more ultra-Right support.

The common thread running through the platforms of Carter and Ford, and which unites all these elements, is their anticommunism, their anti-Sovietism. All have joined in a concerted attack on detente, on peaceful coexistence and peaceful relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. They have all hopped on the bandwagon of the hysterical campaign to "free Soviet Jews."

But all their anti-Soviet and anticommunist lies and hypocrisy will not rehire the 27,000 laid off teachers and other educational personnel. It will not win back the jobs of the thousands of city workers fired in the name of austerity. It will not stop the runaway inflation and unemployment. It will not stop the spread of racist and anti-Semitic attacks by fascist gangs. It will not bring peace to the peoples of the Middle East.

That is why we must convince people that it's time to vote for what we want and need and not for what we think we might get. This is why a Communist vote is the most meaningful vote you can cast. It is a vote for what we need and want so it is a vote for a real change, for a working people's program, for a real alternative. A mass turnout for the Communist candidates in November is the most meaningful fulfillment of Hy Lumer's lifework. A Communist vote is a vote against anti-Semitism and racism, for detente, against military spending, for democracy, jobs, equality, peace.

Here in New York, a Communist vote takes on even more meaning and a greater sense of urgency. With the nomination of James Buckley and Daniel Moynihan as the candidates of the Republican and Democrat parties, the reactionary nature of the two-party system becomes dramatically clear. A vote for the Communist candidate for Senator, Herbert Aptheker, becomes a burning necessity.

* * *

SAVE THE DATE!
5th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner
Sunday, January 23, 1977
Statler Hilton Hotel
N.Y.C.

Racism, Anti-Semitism and the 1976 Elections

by Daniel Spector

Recently, a gang of at least 20 armed white youth attacked every Black and Puerto Rican person in Washington Square Park in New York City, killing one and putting at least 13 in the hospital. Since then, due to outrage, the police have arrested several suspects ranging in age from 16 to 20. The media pictured the incident as an isolated act of revenge.

Anyone who did not feel a gut-like fear upon hearing of this incident does not understand its meaning. This was no mass mugging, but a deliberate, conscious, organized, fascist-like attack whose implications spread far beyond the confines of the park in which it took place.

This was just one in a series of such attacks:

Isaac Ray Corbin, a 19-year-old Black youth, was shot in the back of the head recently by Chicago police while kneeling with his hands behind his back.

Michael and Lita Hornsby, a young Black couple, were attacked by seven white youth in Lynn, Massachusetts on June 16. He almost lost an eye.

In California in recent months there was a rash of cross-burnings on the lawns of homes owned by Black, Chicano and Jewish families.

In July, a march for integration in Chicago's Marquette Park was attacked by white fascists. Thirty-eight people were hospitalized.

In Mobile, Alabama, eight drunk, white police officers tried to lynch two Black men, and almost succeeded.

On August 14, ten whites armed with axes invaded a Black family's home in Staten Island in pursuit of two Black youth. They wrecked the interior and terrorized the family and their guests. The police took three hours to respond.

On August 15, Russell Missick, a Black youth just returned from college, was shot in the inner thigh from a passing car carrying four whites, all strangers to him. He was waiting for a bus near his home in Queens.

On August 16, 40 whites armed with rifles, pistols and clubs, chased four Black youths into their homes in the longtime integrated Midwood section of Brooklyn. The whites were not from Midwood.

On August 15, Mr. Charles Chung, an Asian, was shot while walking on Lefferts Blvd., Queens from a passing car.

On August 16, Fletcher Green's body was found on Greene Avenue in Brooklyn. He had been stabbed to death by someone in a passing car.

In the same period, Juan Miranda was shot in the leg from a passing car, while walking near Baltic and Smith Streets in Brooklyn. All these cases are unsolved and considered closed.

(Daily World, September 11, 1976).

When a Black and white couple attempted to buy a house in an all-white section of the Bronx in September, local hoodlums threw rocks through the windows and hung a black doll in effigy. A local resident, when interviewed by a TV news reporter, said that the incident "has nothing to do with color." "We just want to keep our community white."

New York, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Chicago and Mobile are not unique in this respect. Incidents of this kind have been reported in New Orleans, Minneapolis, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Detroit, St. Louis, San Francisco and San Diego.

These attacks, this rise of racist and anti-Semitic vigilante groups and lynch mobs, are a direct result of the dangerous rightward shift of the ruling class, and are connected with the recent court rulings undoing much that was won during the civil rights struggles. They are part of Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" politics, James Buckley's racist campaigns against "illegal aliens" and Gerald Ford's "forced busing" hypocrisy. They are linked with the Zionist-inspired slander of "Black anti-Semitism," and are part of the attack on affirmative action.

In the final analysis, they are part of the attack on the living and working conditions of working people. The anger and frustration at the economic crisis, the crisis of our cities, the unemployment, the high prices, rents and taxes, the cutbacks in education, housing and welfare, the huge military spending and corporate profits--this is the anger that the ruling class fears. This

is the anger it seeks to bottle up, to channel into the blind alley of workingclass disunity, of racism, anti-Semitism and national oppression.

This wave of fascist, racist assaults is part of a conspiracy directed against all working people, but in the first place Black and other nationally oppressed people. With the revelations about the subversive activities of the CIA and the FBI, it is not too difficult to imagine what kind of role they are playing, in concert with the local police departments, in organizing and giving political leadership to these vigilante mobs.

"Forced-busing" Ford and "ethnic-purity" Carter are part and parcel of this ruling class shift to the right, of this rise of racism and anti-Semitism. Their programs differ not at all in this respect.

Jewish Americans have a particular stake in the fight against this rise of racism. To underestimate the danger is not to understand the interrelationship between racism and anti-Semitism. While the prime victims now are Black and other nationally oppressed people, there has been an alarming and dangerous rise of blatant anti-Semitism, from General Brown to those cross-burners in California. Swastikas are commonplace in New York City these days. More and more synagogues and homes are the targets of vandals and arsonists. Just recently in Hartford, Connecticut, the homes of five Jewish families were vandalized and their cars damaged.

The amount of anti-Semitic filth pouring from the presses of the extreme and fascist right is increasing. In fact, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA) reported in September that the U.S. has become the post office for fascist literature. The *Jewish Sentinel* (September 30, 1976) carried the story under the headline, "U.S. is source of Nazi literature sent abroad."

Encouraged by General Brown and Nixon, fascist organizations have become increasingly vocal. On the Bicentennial weekend in July, the National Socialist White People's Party marched in full regalia in front of the White House. When local organizations protested, the White House cited legal statutes that prevented it from banning the march.

At a recent antibusing rally called by the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, Jesse Jent, the local Grand Dragon, said the problem with America "is the Jews. Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger can take their Jewish programs and shove it..."

And the Zionist organizations respond by organizing campaigns against the "danger of anti-Semitism in the Black community" and against the "persecution of Soviet Jews." Not one of the major Jewish organizations has said as much as a word about the recent racist assault in the Village. But they are all quick to denounce "reverse discrimination" and "quotas." None of them have denounced

the rise of racist lynch mobs as part of a rulingclass conspiracy against working people, because these organizations are guilty of instigating and encouraging the growth of racism in the Jewish community. This is the meaning of their behind-the-scenes support for the fascist Jewish Defense League. This is the meaning of their support for Jackson, Moynihan and Carter.

The times call urgently for a mass campaign uniting Blacks and Jews, and all working people, to stem the tide of racism and reaction in this country. Yet, the Zionist organizations say, "No, no mass organizing. You'll jeopardize U.S. support for Israel." Is this in the interest of Jewish Americans?

Is it in the interest of Jewish Americans that Moynihan won the primary, much to the acclaim of the leading Jewish organizations? Is it in the interest of Jewish Americans to vote for Jimmy Carter, as these organizations would have us believe?

As Hy Lumer said many times, the only real vote is a Communist vote. The only candidates with a program to defeat racism and anti-Semitism and all forms of national oppression and discrimination are the Communist candidates. For 57 years, the only political party that has consistently maintained that the struggle against racism is the centerpiece of all democratic and revolutionary struggles has been the Communist Party.

Only Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner have condemned the ruling class poison of racism as the main obstacle to the unity of all working people. Only they have called for a mass campaign to rid our country of this poison. Only the Communist candidates have called for outlawing racism and all racist, fascist and anti-Semitic organizations.

As Jarvis Tyner said in a speech in Buffalo, New York, "You don't have to be a Communist to support and work for our anti-racist program." A vote for the Communist candidates is a vote against racism and anti-Semitism, and is in the interest of every worker in this country; it is a vote for democracy, which cannot exist for some but not for others; it is a vote for a higher standard of living because racism is used to perpetuate unemployment and keep wages low for all working people.

* * *

In Memory of Hyman Lumer

by Gertrude Decker

For the past several years, it was my privilege to know and work with Dr. Hyman Lumer.

These have been years full of many complex problems. To un-

derstand thoroughly all of their implications, one had to be an historian, a political analyst and a Marxist thoroughly knowledgeable with the relationship of forces in the world. Without this, one could surely lose the way--and many did.

This is especially true of the situation in the Middle East. All of the nationalism within the Jewish community has come out into the open. In this area, among others, Dr. Lumer was one of the most important reasons why there was any clarity at all. Difficult as the struggle has been even with his help and guidance, imagining what it would have been like without him is almost impossible.

We in the progressive Jewish community feel a special personal loss now that Hy is gone. No longer will we be able to come into his office or call at home and get his everready calm, sure advice on complicated problems.

However, Hy has left a legacy which includes many articles, pamphlets and books, as well as his well-remembered example of how to work with people, his thoroughness in tackling any problem, and perhaps most of all his patience in working with and helping us.

We are at the height of the national elections. The two major parties, presenting almost identical programs and representing the interests of the ruling class, do not speak for us. It is not in our interest to support such candidates.

It is the tradition among progressive Jews to support working-class candidates. Today, we have this opportunity. The program presented by Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner is a program for all working people. This is the kind of program for which Hy Lumer worked all his adult life.

There could be no better tribute to Hy than for us in the progressive Jewish community to help turn out a record vote for Hall and Tyner on election day. This we should pledge.

* * *

Israel, the Mideast and Peace

by Herbert Aptheker

To help achieve peace in the Mideast, one must comprehend the three interrelated sources of the war danger: feudalism, Zionism and imperialism.

Until the revolutions in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Algeria, Yemen, Libya and the Sudan, which began in the 1950's and continued to the present, the dominant socio-economic system in the Mideast was

a feudal one; that system still predominates in those Arab countries where revolutions have not yet matured, as in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Tunisia. But, especially since World War II, the Arab masses have become persuaded that their misery and poverty are social phenomena, that they can be eliminated, and that their own strength is decisive in eliminating them.

This is a source of conflict in the Mideast because the local feudalists and burgeoning bourgeoisie suppress the masses and sell out the resources of their countries to metropolitan powers--Britain, France and especially the United States--which then actively intervene to maintain the status quo and to suppress or subvert anticolonial movements and governments.

Zionism began as an antisocialist and anti-Marxist movement. It accepted basic postulates of anti-Semitism and made alliances with reactionary forces, from the Kaiser of the 19th century to the British prime minister of World War I to President Ford of today. It began with the idea that because Palestine was a land without people and Jews were a people without land, the ordained solution was to turn over that land without people to the people without land. This was false geography and chauvinist historiography.

The Mideast has been a center of imperialist exploitation for more than one hundred years. Geographically, this area lies at the hub of three continents and astride several strategic bodies of water, affording an approach for aggression against the Soviet Union. It is economically strategic, especially in terms of oil, whose significance to the capitalist powers has been enhanced since the end of World War I.

Today in the United States, oil, not steel, is king. The oil companies in the U.S. have greater assets than those of all companies in the three next largest industries. Oil tycoons control vast reservoirs of credit and lead U.S. industry in foreign investments, which are responsible for more than half of the oil industry's total profits. In fact, in recent years, the rate of return from foreign investments in oil was six times greater than from domestic!

At present, total control of the petroleum resources of the Mideast is no longer in the hands of the cartel. The advance of the Arab liberation movements, especially since the early 1970's, has resulted in at least some portion of the resources of the Mideast remaining in the possession of the governments of the Arab countries. To the degree that the liberation movement advances--as in Algeria, Libya and South Yemen--does the actual expropriation of the international monopolies have some reality.

Nevertheless, despite all the propaganda of the Western press, effective control of most Mideastern resources, including oil, is still cartelized, and the monopoly control of refining, transporting, financing and marketing persists. Indeed, the profits of

the oil cartel, particularly from Mideastern oil, have reached an all-time high and investments in that region have continued to mount. In 1974, the rate of return on direct foreign investments by U.S. corporations in all countries was 22.7 percent; in the Mideast, the rate of return was 360.6 percent!

To preserve the geographical-naval position, to retain possession of these resources and to guard these colossal profits, the governments of the imperialist powers will do anything and have been guilty of every crime, including inciting, supporting and waging war.

These Mideastern realities--feudalism, Zionism, imperialism--are interpenetrating. Zionism prefers backward neighbors chained by feudal orders; feudal overlords sell their countries to imperialists who in turn help the feudalists stay in power; because they hate socialism and foster chauvinism, Zionists serve as fronts for their imperialist masters. Behind it all stands the system of imperialism, especially the oil cartel, dividing, distorting, corrupting and killing, prolonging its life and reaping its crop of gold from the tormented bodies of scores of millions of men, women and children.

*

Strategically, we must conclude that the way to a lasting peace in the Mideast is by struggle against the imperialist centerpin. The struggle for peace in the Mideast cannot be conducted with Tel Aviv-Washington against the Arab peoples but must be with the Arab peoples against imperialism.

When the ruling circles in Israel tie Tel Aviv's policy to Washington, they tie the future of Israel to a crisis-ridden and doomed partner. The biggest threat to the existence of Israel lies in the pro-imperialist, aggressive and expansionist policy of the Israeli government; if that policy is not substantially altered, Israel is doomed and quite possibly World War III is assured.

Tactically, one may conclude: The question before us is not one of Arabs against Jews. On the contrary, the question is one of imperialism, colonialism and feudalism against national liberation and social progress.

What is involved here is not anti-Semitism because the Arab peoples themselves are Semitic. But it is necessary also to affirm that it is not a matter of anti-Jewishness. This should be done with vigor, clearly denouncing anti-Jewishness as the poison it is and affirming our knowledge of the age-old use of that poison as the handmaiden of the worst forms of reaction. Simultaneously, denunciation must be made of all forms of chauvinism, and certainly of the chauvinism directed against the Arab peoples, which has reached scandalous proportions in the main communication media of the U.S.

Israel's right to existence is not in question; it has been affirmed repeatedly, especially by the Soviet Union, and by the UN Resolutions of 1967 and 1973. The greatest threat to the country's existence comes from the ruling circles in Israel itself, who have made of Israel a handmaiden of imperialism.

The U.S. government supports not only the reactionary government of Israel but also reactionary Arab governments. Thus, Washington has sold Saudi Arabia more arms than it has sold to Israel; thus, Washington stood ready in the fall of 1970 to intervene militarily on the side of King Hussein against the Palestine Liberation Organization. Demonstrating this helps to expose the imperialist essence of the Mideast question and proves the incorrectness of viewing the conflict as one of Arab against Jew.

The Associated Press reported from Washington on September 3, 1976, that President Ford's recent proposal of \$700 million in arms for Saudi Arabia included provisions for a new air base, improvement of another air base, and the construction of a naval training center on the Persian Gulf. As well, the "package" includes another \$18 million for armored cars for Kuwait, \$100 million for aircraft for Morocco, about \$60 million for missiles for Tunisia and almost \$200 million to Israel's airforce. These merchants of death are concocting a holocaust for the Mideast. *

In the days and weeks prior to the 1967 aggression, Israel solemnly affirmed the absence of any intention of territorial aggrandizement while Washington repeated its commitment to the unimpaired sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states in the Mideast. As events have demonstrated, both were lying. Tel Aviv has appropriated considerable territory from its neighbors and had pursued a policy of occupying and exploiting that territory, and Washington has done all in its powers to make possible the retention of that ravishment.

The "preventive war" argument of Israel must be exposed as the falsehood it is. In this age of thermonuclear weapons and the existence of the United Nations, such "justification" (which was exactly the "justification" of Washington for its atrocious war against the Vietnamese people) is absolutely impermissible. It returns us to the unimpeded power politics that produced both world wars and will, if not halted, produce World War III.

* The business section of The New York Times, September 26, 1976, reported that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers is taking a leading role in construction programs in Saudi Arabia. Agreements of ten years ago have resulted in 400 members of that Corps working on such projects while stationed in Saudi Arabia, supervising the building of a \$400 million military academy, a \$200 million headquarters for the national guard, two seaports worth \$800 million and a "military city" worth over \$3 billion. The Times disclosed that this U.S. Army Corps has in the past done similar work for Jordan, Iran and Kuwait. All of this did not appear in the news section of the Times, but in the business section.

When, in November 1969, then President Nixon made his main policy speech and in effect explained why the Vietnam war was to continue, only the Israeli Prime Minister among all the heads of state wired congratulations and said: "The President's speech contains much that encourages and strengthens freedom-loving small nations the world over, which are striving to maintain their independent existence looking to that great democracy, the United States of America." (*The New York Times*, November 17, 1969). A week earlier, the then-president of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Jacques Torczyner, told his executive committee "that the problems of Vietnam and the Middle East are connected," and that the leaders of Israel "hope that President Nixon, who has always understood the Communist menace in the world, will stand by his principles and policies." (*The New York Times*, November 9, 1969). One find precious little difference between such a pronouncement and the policies of that Jewish Horst Wessel, Meir Kahane.

The barbaric behavior of the Israeli occupiers--forced exile, destruction of homes, preventive arrests, clubbing of girls and women, torture of prisoners, wholesale punishment of districts and entire villages, prolonged incarceration of political prisoners--must be exposed and vigorously denounced.

*

Within Israel, war-weariness grows and the class struggle intensifies. The Communist Party of Israel increases its membership. Its vote increases, its YCL flourishes, and its Arab-Jewish unity is firmer than ever. That Party now is invited by many non-Party groups to present its case. Nationally, there are growing demands for an end to occupation and for a change in a government policy bringing over ten percent of the adult population into the army, spending over 40 percent of the budget for war, creating severe inflation and a national debt that is now astronomical, causing mounting casualties, and providing no vista for any decent life.

The near unanimity of nationalistic madness among the Jewish population in the United States is declining and will continue to decline. It is important that Jews in this country know that there is far from unanimity inside Israel, that on every hand, Tel Aviv's policy is being challenged and that opposition to the occupation policy is growing. To comprehend the world today, one must bear in mind that the mayor of Rome is a Communist and the mayor of Nazareth also is a Communist!

The worldwide isolation of the present Israeli government is a fact; its only allies are Iran and South Africa, and it remains a client of Washington, not an ally. It is a pariah in the world community of nations.

To depend upon disarray among the Arab peoples to bail Israel

out is to put one's faith in a temporary phenomena. The Arab revolution is new, but it is deep. Its societies are multistate, multiclass and multilevel, from extremely backward to significantly advanced. Because the stakes in that area are enormous, the efforts of U.S. imperialism will know no bounds. There have been and are, zigs and zags in that revolution, but the fundamental movement of the scores of millions of Arab peoples is in the direction of meeting their immutable demands for a good life, self-rule, advanced technique, a modern educational system, the emancipation of women and the building of socialist societies. These needs are permanent, and whatever the setbacks, the fulfillment of these needs is the course that history has and will pursue.

*

A change for the better is therefore altogether possible. The specifics of that change are before us in the UN Resolutions of 1967 and 1973, unanimously approved by the Security Council. To secure peace in the Mideast and the future of Israel, a reversal of the present Tel-Aviv policies is required. The Israeli government must accept the UN Resolutions in their entirety and must proceed on their basis. This means abandoning the phony idea of "direct negotiations" with particular Arab countries while parts of their territories are occupied by Israeli troops, while Tel Aviv intensifies the exploitation of the resources of the occupied territories, annexes all of Jerusalem and enlarges the borders of that city, as though somebody were to add Yonkers, White Plains and Greenwich, Connecticut to New York City and then insist that, after all, it was still New York City!

Israel must adopt, for its own sake, a policy of alliance with the Arab peoples against imperialism and not an alliance with imperialism against the Arab peoples.

The ultra-Left and ultra-Right always work together. Those who demand, in the name of a mythical radicalism or fanatical nationalism, an end to Israel, strengthen the extreme right forces in Israel, Saudi Arabia and the United States.

Adhering to the UN Resolutions and reconvening the Geneva convention, not depending upon Kissinger, will assure the existence of Israel and peace in the Mideast. Rejection of this path, as urged by Ford, Carter and Moynihan, will assure disaster for Israel and war in the Mideast.

Of all the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in this election, only the candidates of the Communist Party, Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, stand unequivocally for this policy. Hence a vote for Hall and Tyner is, among many other features, a vote for peace in general, peace in the Mideast in particular, and therefore a vote for the assured existence of a respected, democratic and progressive Israel.

* * *

Israel and the Occupied Territories: a record of brutality

The work of Communist attorney Felicia Langer is well known to the readers of Jewish Affairs. She is a leading defender of the rights of those subjected to political and racial repression in Israel and in the occupied territories. Her book, With My Own Eyes, was published in English translation in 1975 by Ithaca Press. We are pleased to reprint below the Foreward to the English edition, written by Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, and Comrade Langer's Epilogue. Future issues of Jewish Affairs will carry excerpts from the book, copies of which are available from Ithaca Press, 13 Southwark Street, London SE 1, England.--The Editors

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FOREWARD by *Israel Shahak*

Forewards are usually written either by neutral figures or by friends. This will be a forward written by a friend and admirer of Felicia Langer. In spite of our deep political differences--Felicia Langer is a Communist, while I oppose both Communism and Marxism--I have been working in the closest cooperation with Felicia Langer for several years, and I have no hesitation in saying that I completely believe her testimony and evidence. Nobody, in my opinion, whatever his political or philosophical opinions, can deny that the cases of persecution, oppression and torture described in this book are not only true in themselves, but are also characteristic of Israeli rule in the occupied territories.

There are many other similar cases which could have enlarged this book to truly monstrous proportions, both from the work of Felicia Langer herself and from the experiences of other Israeli lawyers, both Jews and Arabs. Indeed the original book in Hebrew as published in Israel was much longer, because for those of us who participated with Felicia Langer in her numerous struggles, her book served not only as Israel's *History of Modern Times*, but to a great extent as our own history, the history of our hopes in human nature. Perhaps this time or next time, we used to think, with better documentation, with more reliable testimony, with a "better case", those who had wilfully closed their eyes and ears would be convinced, at least to the extent of asking questions; that the voice of suffering humanity would at last be heard, and perhaps be answered. But up to now in Israel this has not happened, at least not among the majority of the Jewish community in Israel and among the Jews of the Diaspora. Even world opinion is only now beginning to see the

light. I will try to explain why this is so.

The first reason is that an "image" of Israel (and of the Zionist movement) was created which does not correspond at all to the reality of Israeli life. Exactly as in a commercial advertisement, words used about Israel do not correspond to the usual sense of the same words when used about other societies. Israel is widely described as a "democratic state". Nevertheless throughout its history, non-Jews* in that state have been expelled, put in prison, limited in their movements, have seen their property confiscated, and have suffered many other forms of oppression, without the fact even being noted except in the case of the most flagrant crimes. Indeed the very word "Israeli" is frequently used outside Israel as synonymous with the word "Jew", thus in effect making the Palestinians in Israel non-persons, exactly as was done to the Jews in earlier times. In fact just as Israeli practices in the conquered territories grew naturally from the discriminatory laws and practices of the State of Israel itself, so the practice of ignoring the discrimination against the Palestinians in the conquered territories grew out of the practice of ignoring the discrimination against the Palestinians in Israel proper. The same people who will ignore the indubitable fact that the Jewish kibbutz is a racist and discriminatory institution (insofar as all the kibbutzim forbid the acceptance of Israeli Palestinians as members), and who will at the same time praise it as "socialistic" or "progressive" or God knows what, will also refuse to grant a hearing to any claim concerning the torture of Palestinians if committed by Jews, no matter what the evidence may be.

So the reason that the evidence and testimony of Felician Langer have not been heard or accepted by those who favor discrimination in Israel does not lie in any pretended search for "hard evidence", for better testimony and witness, but in a hypocritical double standard on the part of the "searchers" themselves. After all, the evidence from many other countries--evidence which has led no reasonable man to doubt that torture is practiced there--is much weaker than the evidence from the Israeli-occupied territories. Moreover I have yet to find a man who disbelieves Felicia Langer and who does not at the same time believe that the Syrian Jews, for example, are severely treated and in some cases tortured. (I, too, believe that in some cases Syrian Jews and Israeli prisoners of war have been maltreated and tortured.) But on pursuing the matter, it will be found that such people invariably accept one standard of evidence for Syria and simultaneously demand another standard for Israel and for Jews generally. They consider Jews to be human beings against whose complaints are worthy of credence, while Palestinians are not considered to be human beings in this sense, or indeed in any sense, but at best a "Jewish problem", to be silenced if possible, or "dealt with" if necessary.

The inevitable effect of such an attitude upon Jewish society

* This is the official name for the Palestinians in Israel.

in Israel, and to some extent upon the Jews of the Diaspora, is by now apparent to all. The prevailing apathy of so many young Israelis, the widespread corruption, and even the fatalistic acceptance of a permanent state of war--these have not descended from heaven. They have resulted from very natural causes, which in the past have operated in other societies, too, and the foremost of these causes, in my opinion, is the self-imposed silence concerning the treatment of Palestinians in the occupied territories. The pretence, so often reiterated even by the most respected intellectuals in Israel (such as Professor Jacob Talmon), that the Israeli regime of conquest was the "most liberal regime of conquest in history"--this pretence, which was false and was known by most people to be false from the beginning, has now completely collapsed. Those who offered to the State of Israel (their modern God, or, rather, their idol) the sacrifice of their personal and intellectual integrity now stand empty-handed. They gave away their best part, and not only is the idol not satisfied, demanding more and more, but the sacrifice itself was in vain: the pretence begins to totter and will sooner or later fall. It is good that it is so, for it was an evil pretence from the beginning.

This book can be a beginning of a great and positive change, not only in Israel but in the whole world, but of course on condition that it is read and discussed. I very much hope that its fate in Britain and in English-speaking countries will not be like its fate in Israel. There, although published, every attempt was made to silence it. Of all the numerous bookshops in Israel, only three (in Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Nazareth) agreed to sell it, and naturally all the daily and evening papers and other media completely ignored it, and did not even try to answer the very grave charges made in the book--obviously because they thought them to be mainly true! But it is precisely devotion to truth which is the first--and worst--sacrifice in the worship of any idol, and particularly in the worship of the State of Israel and in the blind acceptance of everything done in its name. Quite apart from the enormous wrong that such a habit does to the people who actually suffer from practices condoned by such idolatry (in this case, mostly Palestinians), addiction to such a habit brings its own slow but sure punishment on the society and people who indulge in it; the punishment of increasing corruption, stupidity and degeneracy.

The only way, therefore, of helping both Arabs and Jews, of helping the people who suffer in and out of prison, in exile and in their own country, and also of helping the Jews (and not only those like Felicia Langer and myself and many of our friends, but even that majority of my people who have committed the grave sin of being silent and unconcerned for so long) is to take this book seriously as a great humane record of what has happened and is happening still. Only when we in Israel and public opinion in many countries of the world realize how we have been deceived for so long (with the help of various "experts" on Israeli affairs, and of the Israeli "experts" on Arab affairs) is there hope that following such a recognition there will come a change for the better. Let us

hope that it will come soon, and let us remember then that the heroic efforts of Felicia Langer played a great part in effecting such a change, and in establishing just and humane relations between Jews and Arabs, between Israelis and Palestinians.

*

EPILOGUE *by Felicia Langer*

In this book, I have presented what I have seen with my own eyes in the years of Israeli rule in the Arab territories conquered in the war of June 1967.

There are still some people who claim that the occupation is liberal and humane. Here are some official figures concerning the occupation that speak for themselves. Before the Israeli occupation there were about one and a half million people in the territories. In the course of the war, and immediately after it, about half a million fled or were expelled from the occupied territories. This includes the Golan Heights population. More than 50 Israeli settlements have been established in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, in northern Sinai and the Golan Heights, settlements which are prohibited by the Geneva Conventions. For instance, in the requisitioned land near Raffah, eight Jewish settlements have been established. They constitute a belt of land separating the Gaza Strip from the Sinai peninsula. This involved the expulsion of 1,200 Bedouin families from their homes. The total number of houses destroyed reached almost 18,000. Thousands of detainees are rotting in prisons, and of late there has been a new wave of arrests without charges or trial.

The progressive forces in Israel are convinced that a just and stable peace in the Middle East can be reached only through an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in the June 1967 war and by honoring the national rights of the Palestinian people. They are convinced that on this basis the independence and security of the State of Israel, in accordance with the true national interests of the people of Israel, would be ensured. The key for opening a new chapter in the Arab-Israeli relationship lies in a drastic change of the official Israeli policy.

The progressive forces in Israel are struggling against the occupation and are striving for peace. They are fighting the oppression in the occupied Arab territories, the trampling of human rights, and the violation of the UN Charter and the Geneva Conventions.

In this book I have described the experiences and the facts which I have encountered in the course of my work as a lawyer. I hope that this book will contribute in the struggle towards the opening of a new chapter in the Arab-Israeli relations on the basis of justice for all peoples.

* * *

The Jews of Bukhara, Uzbekistan

by *Iosif Shapiro* (Reprinted from a Novosti Press Agency release.)

Most of the 100,000 Jews now living in Uzbekistan, one of of the USSR's central Asian republics, reside in the large cities of Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara. Nearly half of them (40,000-45,000) are European Jews. Some of them came to these parts in the wake of the 1917 socialist revolution which abolished the Jewish pale of settlement that had existed in tsarist Russia and gave rise to an extensive migration of Jews all over the country. Others had been evacuated to Uzbekistan during the Second World War.

During my recent trip to Uzbekistan, however, I was mostly concerned with central Asian Jews, or Bukhara Jews as they are often referred to, even though they live in places other than Bukhara as well.

The section on Bukhara Jews in the fifth volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia published in St. Petersburg in 1909 was illustrated with an intriguing picture of a woman with a ring thrust through her nose.

The history of Bukhara Jews in Uzbekistan goes back to the distant past and is not quite coherent at that. However, Jews have been living in Uzbekistan for many centuries, and they arrived there after living for a long time in Iran where they adopted the local language. Incidentally, there is practically no doubt that the "Chinese Jews" were natives of Bukhara, too, as evidenced by Persian titles in their liturgical texts, which also show the effect of the Bukhara dialect.

Until Soviet power was established, Bukhara Jews were suppressed as heterodox elements. They were restricted to special residential districts and generally discriminated against. For example, according to the law of the Bukhara Emirate, Jews could not own land and, hence, engage in agriculture. They could not even appear in the street without an identification sign, originally a rag attached to their clothes and then a rope used as a girdle. A Jew's dwelling had to be lower than that of a Moslem, his shop had to have at least one step less than that of a faithful, while a tax-collector was encouraged and even obliged to strike a Jew across his face after he had received his money. Despite all this, the native population was not anti-Semitic. In fact, relations

between Jews and their neighbors, Uzbeks and Tajiks, have been so good that they were in the habit of inviting each other for family celebrations,

Dyeing and trade were the basic occupations of Bukhara Jews. Naturally enough, their living conditions sustained religion and other customary ways of life. The father's role in the family was autocratic. Most Jews--and all women--were illiterate. Compared to their Moslem counterparts, however, Jewish women enjoyed more freedom in the family.

As citizens, Bukhara Jews today are absolutely equal. With the exception of some old men, almost all of them have a good command of Russian, though from time immemorial their native language has been Farsi.

Like European Jews, many Bukhara Jews are teachers, doctors and engineers, but most of them are traditionally employed in the services (barbers, tailors, etc.) and the trade. The educational level of this latter group is understandably lower than that of the first, but materially they are just as well-off as the others. Several homes that I visited had up-to-date furniture and modern appliances. The only tribute to tradition seems to be the abundance of carpets in these homes.

It is true though that some customs are preserved to this day. Thus, some Bukhara Jews still live in the Jewish districts while others, as well as European Jews, prefer to move into modern apartments. With the exception of Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent and Georgia, such districts are not to be found anywhere in the Soviet Union. Jewish quarters in Samarkand, for instance, have narrow streets and small yards often resembling vine arbors. The special "microclimate" there is propitious for religious and national traditions. Residents know everything about each other, sometimes down to the third or fourth generation.

Bukhara Jews are much more religious than their European counterparts. During the Passover festivities, four times as many Bukhara Jews went to their synagogues in Tashkent as did the European Jews. Although it is only the old people who go to the synagogue at all, Samarkand seems to be an exception, because I have seen several youth praying in the synagogue there. As far as the rites are concerned, including circumcision, Bukhara Jews, unlike European Jews, perform them almost to a man. More than 50 percent of young people's marriages are conducted in a religious ceremony.

Bukhara Jews wear European clothes and shave and cut their hair the European way. If one sees a bearded young Jew, one can practically be sure that the beard is a sign of mourning. Though the burial and commemoration rites are rather involved, Bukhara Jews are very particular about observing them.

I was surprised to find out that Bukhara Jews make their matzoth different from that which I tasted in Moscow. In Uzbekistan,

it is a big scone, no less than half a metre across, made from an egg-based dough. It is unlikely that old Moscow Jews would find this matzoth kosher,

As I found out during that trip, several hundred Bukhara Jews had emigrated to Israel over the past few years. The number of those wanting to leave is on the decrease, with only a few people going this year. It is noteworthy that a colony of Bukhara Jews was founded in Palestine as far back as the late 19th century. This spiritual center--a synagogue, two schools, etc.--used to have a certain influence upon Jews in Central Asia. Now, many of those who left for Israel are compelled to admit that they have made a mistake. In their letters to friends and relatives in Uzbekistan (some of them were read to me), they warn against emigrating to Israel. A large group of Bukhara Jews is asking the Soviet Embassy in Vienna to help them return to Soviet Uzbekistan. But the majority of Uzbekistan's Jews have no intention of going anywhere from their homeland--the USSR.

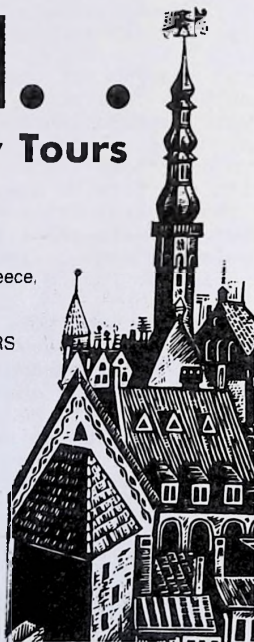
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 J. & S. Kling
 S. Kushner
 H. & B. Leider
 S. D. Levine
 S. Lipton
 B. & L. Lubenoff
 Max & Marion
 S. & S. Milgrim
 A. Neff
 P. Novick
 F. Pasternak
 A. & C. Paula
 L. Pearlman
 T. Rosenberg
 M. & M. Rubin
 D. Shapiro
 R. Sokolove
 F. Tichner
 S. Weinberg
 A. & E. Wise
 A. Zaroff
 R. Pell
 A. & G. Galinsky
 K. Font

The theory and analysis left to us by Hyman Lumer will always serve as a guide to the rank-and-file. We will always treasure the clarity he gave to our struggle for a better world for working people.

A. Dawson John Day
 Will Solomon Louis Weinstock

Officers of Southern California
 Trade Unionists for Action and
 Democracy.

We, the undersigned members of the Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Clubs, feel that the death of Dr. Lumer is a great loss to the progressive movement.

Sophie Silver
 Pearl Fagelson
 Belle Drooz
 Leah Nudell
 Dina Kugler
 Celia Schwartz

Los Angeles

The World Peace Council pays special tribute to Hyman Lumer for his outstanding contributions to the struggle for peace, national liberation and social progress, and for his unsurpassed efforts for a just peace in the Middle East.

Unfailingly, he helped expose the aggressive, racist policies of Israel, backed by U.S. imperialism, that endanger world peace and are detrimental to the Palestinian people, to all Arab peoples and to the people of Israel.

The rich legacy of ideological clarity, dedication and steadfastness that Hyman Lumer leaves inspires us to redouble our efforts for world peace and social progress.

Secretariat
World Peace Council
Helsinki, Finland

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party conveys its deep regret at the loss to the international workingclass movement and your party of editor Hyman Lumer, talented organizer and propagandist in the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory to U.S. conditions.

Central Committee
Socialist Unity Party
New Zealand

We have lost a great Communist-scholar, Condolences to Comrade Hy's family and to all his fellow workers. Let's raise a clenched-fist salute and carry on the struggle for world peace, socialism and friendship among all nations and peoples.

Sol Flapan
Warsaw, Poland