

JEWISH AFFAIRS

50¢

July-August 1977

The October Revolution and the Struggle Against Zionism

Carter's Mideast Duplicity

Carter's Mideast Duplicity

In the past period imperialism has become intensely active in the Middle East, seeking to restore its position and weaken and overthrow those governments that are anti-imperialist. (Our readers are referred to an important statement on the Middle East by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A. that appears elsewhere in this issue.)

As a result of the changed economic, political and military conditions in the Middle East, the old U.S. policy of open one-sided support to Israeli ruling circles required revision. Kissinger's loudly trumpeted shuttle diplomacy and his "step by step" partial solutions, designed to exclude Soviet participation and impose a U.S. version of peace, failed to achieve the desired results. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's recent trip was a failure because he attempted to introduce a warmed over version of these tactics.

Now, under the Carter Administration we hear much talk about "substantial" return of the occupied territories, about a "Palestinian homeland," about a Geneva Conference, about evenhandedness, about U.S. pressure on Israel, etc. But so far it remains just that—mere talk designed to pacify the peace movement and to create illusions as to American policy on the part of the Arab liberation forces.

The reality of U.S. strategy lies in Washington's continued support to Israel's expansionist policy of retaining all or part of the occupied territories and in its efforts to frustrate or stall the establishment of a Palestinian nation under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), recognized by the majority of the world's governments as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Carter's decision to supply Israel's military with \$250,000,000 worth of advanced aircraft and weaponry, Begin's legalization of three West Bank settlements a few days after his meeting with Carter (who told him it would be easier for world opinion to accept the enlargement of existing settlements rather than the building of new ones), is adequate proof of U.S. imperialism's role in this area. While some tactical disagreements have emerged between Washington and Tel Aviv, the U.S. remains committed to preserving Israel as an agent of Wall

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1909

Hyman Lumer

1976

"In the darkest days of a storm, Hy was a man of confidence in the working class and in people once they know the truth. As a Jewish Communist, Hy Lumer was an outstanding fighter against anti-Semitism and Zionism and as a white Communist, he was among the many in the forefront of the fight against racism and for Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian liberation."

**Henry Winston, Chairman
Communist Party, U.S.A.
July 29, 1976**

Street in the Middle East.

A "New" Solution

At the present time Vance and the capitalist media are proclaiming a new solution to the Palestinian question—that of an Israeli "trusteeship" over the West Bank that will last for "several years" until a referendum or plebescite can be held to determine its status. This is yet another attempt to legitimize Israel's occupation of the West Bank and to deny Palestinian statehood. This proposal is hardly likely to be accepted by the PLO and the Arab people of Palestine and can only lead to the sharpening of tensions in the area.

As well, Israel's "extension of social benefits" to the Palestinians on the West Bank is seen as a thinly-veiled attempt to move from expansion to annexation. By its own act, then, the Begin government has admitted that the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories have never had the same rights as Israeli Jews. This exposes those who claim that the Israeli government is a "benign colonialist." We doubt, however, that the West Bank population will be able to enjoy these "benefits" under the continued military occupation.

Begin's admission of Israel's open armed intervention in southern Lebanon in support of the fascist forces against the Palestinian movement should put to rest any ideas about Tel Aviv's desire

for peace. Such a role is similar to South Africa's support of counterrevolutionary forces against the People's Republic of Angola and Washington's support to exile Cuban terrorist invasions of Cuba. It is a chauvinist policy designed to aggravate tensions and prevent peace.

Meanwhile, imperialism is striving to create new "Lebanons" in North Africa and the Middle East. It is taking advantage of rightward shifts in countries such as Egypt to attack the national liberation movement and anti-imperialist countries such as Libya and Ethiopia. The U.S., and its puppets in Israel and Saudi Arabia, are arming every reactionary movement and country in the area, trying to channel them onto an anti-Soviet course. Imperialism wants to split the Arab national liberation movement, particularly the PLO, by playing up to the rightwing elements within them, thereby undermining resistance to Israeli aggression and U.S. monopoly penetration.

Only the reconvening of the Geneva Conference—based on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and nationhood, strict international guarantees for the security of all states in the area, and full and equal participation by the PLO and the Soviet Union—can bring about a com-

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The October Revolution and the Struggle Against Zionism

by Emile Touma

The 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is not only an exhilarating moment of celebrating an epoch-making historic event, but another glowing landmark on the path of the dynamic world revolutionary process.

Progressive mankind will endorse fully the concept emphasized in the Resolution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) on the eve of the momentous occasion, which states: "The October Revolution is a social and political event whose greatness stands out still more clearly and boldly as mankind advances along the road of social progress."

The establishment of the Soviet Union, which was the outcome of the October Revolution, launched the process of the revolutionary transformation of society and the restructuring of the world on a socialist basis. No progressive development can be divorced from the October Revolution or isolated from the policies and actions of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the destruction of the fascist military state in the Second World War. This changed the world balance of forces and created the objective conditions for the tremendous upsurge of the national liberation movement and the consequent collapse of colonial-imperialist empires. The achievements of the Arab national liberation movements are closely linked with the October Revolution and the selfless massive aid and support of the Soviet Union.

Against Zionist Ideology

The Soviet Union and the October Revolution played and still play a particular role in the fight against Zionist ideology and practice.

Zionist ideology, as the reactionary ideology of the big Jewish bourgeoisie and of the Israeli ruling circles, has always considered the ideals of the October Revolution, and the Soviet Union which embodies them, as its strongest antagonists. Richard Crossman, the late British labor leader, writing on the tragedy of Palestine, noted that the negative character of the British Balfour Declaration arose from the fact that it was announced when a new

Emile Touma is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel. This is the first half of a speech presented to the International Conference on the Great October Revolution and the National Liberation Movement, held in Baku, USSR in May of this year. The second part will appear in the September-October issue of Jewish Affairs.

historical epoch began between 1917 and 1922, when two new secret weapons emerged: communism, which mushroomed into a great force with the triumph of the October Revolution, and the doctrine of self-determination. He added: "From 1920 onwards these two weapons—national self-determination and revolutionary Communism—began to corrode the European colonial empires" (*A Nation Reborn: The Israel of Weizman, Ben-Gurion*, H. Hamilton, London, 1960, p.56).

The basic contradiction between the October Revolution and Zionism was understood by the Zionist protagonists and leaders. In an article, "Communism *versus* Zionism," Y. Barzical noted that the 1917 Revolution and the Balfour Declaration—which expressed British imperialist adoption of Zionism—happened nearly at the same time. He added that "Communism and Zionism" got off the ground "together—only to clash at once!"

He further emphasized:

Men at the top of the Zionist organization, such as Dr. Weizman and Jabotinsky, felt that to realize the Zionist ideal they must throw [in] their lot with the Western powers combating communism.

Speaking of the labor group led by the foremost Zionist leader and first Israeli prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, he wrote:

They called for the mass migration of Jews to the ancestral land. Politically this group placed their hope in the British Mandate, in social-democratic parties everywhere that were [opposed] to the Soviet dictatorship! (*Israel Magazine*, No. 3, 1968.)

The truth is that Zionism's antagonist to the October Revolution and the Soviet Union stems from the fact that socialism negates completely Zionism's fundamental tenets.

Jewish Question Solved

Zionism claims that the solution of the Jewish question, that the liberation of the Jews from persecution and from anti-Semitism, lies in their leaving the countries in which they live and in emigrating to Israel. In this way it ignores the capitalist class roots of anti-Semitism—exposed by Lenin in his polemics with the Bund at the start of

this century—and denies that the sole correct and realistic solution is the change of system and the triumph of democracy and socialism.

In fact the Zionists cannot forgive the October Revolution for solving the national question in Czarist Russia, the "prisonhouse of nations," and for implementing the policy of national equality and eliminating anti-Semitism legally and in daily life.

Furthermore, the Zionists, with their policy of aggression and expansion at the expense of the Arab peoples, and especially the Palestinian Arab people, cannot forgive the USSR's principled adherence to one of the ideals of the October Revolution—the right of nations to self-determination.

Writing on the 28th anniversary of the death of the ultra-Right Zionist leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky, the widely-circulated Israeli evening daily *Ma'ariv* stated:

One thing is clear: Communism agitates and has to agitate to arouse the people of the East, and could only do so in the name of national liberation. This is its inevitable orientation and it has no alternative. It says, "Your country is yours, not for others."

Communism had to say this to the Arabs of the land of Israel (Palestine) . . . thus it is clear that there is no place for reconciliation between Communism and Zionism, which clashed together from the beginning. The mere Communist call for the peoples' emancipation made it the enemy of Zionism and prompted Zionism to fight it. (July 25, 1968)

The Communist Party of Israel (CPI) stressed the reactionary nature of this Zionist characterization in the special resolution of its 17th Congress:

The Zionist movement is reactionary as always. Since the October Revolution, it engaged in activities to undermine the socialist order and worked for separating the Jewish workers from workers of other peoples in the socialist countries. One of the greatest expressions of Zionist activity in our days is the subversive activity in the service of imperialism against the governments of the socialist countries. In recent years, Zionist activity against the socialist countries is also carried out through the official channels of

the State of Israel. (*Information Bulletin*, special number, 1973, p.140.)

Against National Liberation

It is most paradoxical that Zionists today claim that Zionism is the Jewish national liberation movement, and try to substantiate this claim by drawing on statements of a few foreign public figures. This is a travesty of historical truth and was refuted by certain Zionist ideologists. One of them, Tzvi Lamm, wrote: "Zionism was not a movement of national liberation on the model of such movements in nineteenth century Europe or twentieth century Africa and Asia. Rather, it was a rescue movement" (*Dispersion and Unity*, No. 21/22, Jerusalem, 1973/74, p.48).

The fact is that Zionism, which emerged at the end of the 19th century, was conceived as a colonialist venture. Until the '20s of this century, its leaders looked on colonial settlements in Algeria and Tunisia as models to be improved upon.

The Zionists, led by their prophet Herzl, have worked consistently to integrate with imperialism. From the Balfour Declaration in 1917 until the '40s of this century the Zionists colluded with British imperialism. But since the establishment of the State of Israel—notwithstanding the West European imperialist countries (Britain, France, West Germany)—they have gravitated toward U.S. imperialism and fused their policy with its global strategy. They adopted the advice of Professor Louis Horowitz who wrote: "Israel must forge its own domestic and foreign policy to suit United States interests" (*New Outlook*, October 1972).

It is well known that the 1956 Sinai-Suez war launched by Israel, in collusion with British and French imperialism, was specifically designed to overthrow the anti-imperialist regime in Egypt headed by the late Gamal Abdul Nasser.

It is also a fact that the war of June 1967 was unleashed by the Israeli ruling circles with the full support of U.S. imperialism. Its aims were: to strike a decisive blow against the Arab national liberation movement by engineering the collapse of the progressive regimes in Egypt and Syria; to consolidate imperialist positions in the Arab world; to weaken the friendship and cooperation between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union, which has become a decisive factor in the revolutionary process of the Arab world; to annul the rights of the Palestinian Arab people; and to achieve territorial expansion.



David Ben-Gurion

Recently, Michael Bar Zohar, in his second volume of the biography of Ben-Gurion, revealed that in August 1958, after the 1956 debacle, Ben-Gurion concluded a secret pact with then Turkish prime minister A'dnan Menderes which was designed to arrest the spread of Soviet influence and overthrow the government of Nasser in Egypt. The author also stated that the emperors of Iran and Ethiopia were partners in this secret pact to oppose Soviet influence.

Moshe Dayan, foreign minister of Israel, recently revealed in his autobiography, *The Story of My Life*, the Zionist blueprint for the region. He wrote that on the eve of the tripartite war against Egypt in 1956, Ben-Gurion visited France and discussed with then prime minister G. Mollet a comprehensive arrangement for the Middle East involving partitioning Jordan and reorganizing Lebanon. Ben-Gurion thought Lebanon should give up some of its Moslem districts in order to gain stability based on its Christian areas.

It was clear that Ben-Gurion was thinking of annexing the West Bank (now occupied) and southern Lebanon to Israel. This basic Zionist ambition, which was formulated by decision of the Knesset and adopted on March 6, 1972, stated that the "right of Jews to the historic" land of Israel "is irrevocable." The historic land of Israel can comprise Jordan, southern Lebanon and parts of Syria. The important element here is that the Zionists conceived their plans in coordination with imperialism. This is the motivation of the policy of the Israeli ruling circles, which collude with imperialism in



Chaim Weizman and Lord Balfour

general and with U.S. imperialism in particular.

The American writer, J. Warburg, in his book, *Crosscurrents in the Middle East* (Atheneum, N.Y., 1968), explains the role of Israel in this "alliance." He writes that the U.S., unable to use its own military force to block Soviet penetration—i.e., the positive growing friendship between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries—and sustain the reactionary regimes, used Israel as "the supplier of the military muscle required to hold down social revolution in the Middle East" (p. 236).

Former Israeli prime minister Y. Rabin, speaking of the relations between Israel and the United States, stated that the "Americans cannot ignore the fact that the doors to the Arab world were opened to them precisely because of Israel's stance and power," and added in emphasis: "My belief is that the Americans are still convinced that strengthening Israel, particularly at this stage, is a condition for their continued hold in the Arab world." ■

To be concluded

On the Present Situation in the Middle East

Communist Party, U.S.A.

Increasingly the Middle East is becoming an arena of an uncontrolled arms race where the danger of war and possibly world war is ever-present. Contrary to those who would picture the source of the war danger as an "Arab-Israeli dispute," as a contention between states, the Middle East is a region where the international class struggle and national liberation struggle hold center stage. Fraught with war dangers, the Middle East demands the immediate attention of all peace forces.

The Arab liberation movement, an important component of the world national liberation movement, confronts imperialism—U.S. imperialism in the forefront—at a most critical point. The struggle for national independence, against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for democratic advance is ar-

rayed in the Middle East against imperialism seeking to maintain control over the extraction of petroleum, a most important energy resource and fundamental element of the world economy. Over 40 percent of the return on U.S. investment abroad comes from oil. The giant oil monopolies play a decisive role in the formulation and execution of U.S. imperialist foreign policy.

Imperialism is actively opposing economic independence and seeking to thwart the forces of socialism and revolutionary democracy from North Africa to the Arab Gulf. Moreover, the Middle East has now become a launching base for imperialism and its local gendarmes to intervene in and conduct aggression against progressive forces from the Red Sea to the Cape in Southern Africa. In every country of the area, imperialism meets resistance under different conditions and utilizing a full range of

This is the text of a resolution issued recently by the Central Committee, CPUSA.

methods of struggle. In each of these countries and movements a vanguard role is played by groups and parties based on Marxism-Leninism and representing the interest of the working class and revolutionary forces. All receive many-sided support and solidarity from the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, and all of progressive humanity.

The most critical point of conflict today between the forces of national liberation and imperialism operating in the Middle East is in the area of Palestine and neighboring countries. The most important instrument of U.S. imperialism in the area is Zionism and the power it wields as the dominant ideology and holder of power in Israel.

Over the past 30 years, the armies of the State of Israel have crossed the borders established in the 1947 United Nations partition of Palestine four times and occupied sizable territories belonging to nations and peoples living in the adjacent areas. The aggression is today the major source of tension in the Middle East and could lead to war.

Tactical Maneuvers

In the context of continued tension and arms build-up, the Carter Administration's pronouncements about "Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory" and the creation of a "Palestinian homeland" must be seen as tactical maneuvers to preserve the interests of U.S. oil imperialism. Washington is attempting to bolster the reactionary elements within the Arab national liberation movement, particularly within the Palestine Liberation Organization, and to lull the peace forces into believing its massive economic, political and military support to Tel Aviv and to reactionary Arab leaders, thus exposing the argument that the peace movement must wait because the Carter Administration is "pressuring Israel to make concessions."

Israeli aggression is supported and promoted by U.S. imperialism which benefits from perpetual tension and instability in the region and sows division between Arab countries and continually strives to subvert, weaken and overthrow progressive regimes. This aggression flows directly from the ideology of Zionism and its program.

But the designation "Zionist" must never be confused with Jewish people. In Israel and throughout the world, Jewish people (as nearly all peoples) are characterized by separation into all economic classes and adhere to the political ideologies of

those classes. Zionism is a nationalist movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie and an instrument of imperialism. It is capitalist, colonialist and anti-communist. Zionism is expansionist and proceeds on the premise of the denial of national rights of another people, and claims a divine blessing to seize the lands of others. Zionism is therefore racist and is recognized as such by the United Nations. Recent events in Israel underscore the Zionist danger.

Within Israel, the main, most principled and consistent force against Zionism is the Communist Party of Israel (CPI), heroic fighter for peace and national liberation, opponent of racism and discrimination, vanguard of the Israeli working class, Jewish and Arab, and upholder of the interests of the Jewish and Arab peoples. The CPI fights for and organizes international support for the Arab minority in Israel who suffer second-class citizenship and cruel confiscation of ancestral lands. It does likewise for the majority of Israel's citizens—the "Sephardic" Jews who suffer discrimination and super-exploitation. Our Party, the Communist Party of the United States of America, is proud of its firm, long-standing fraternal relations with the CPI, which strengthen still more with each passing year.

The recent elections in Israel, which showed a distinct and dangerous shift to the Right, underscore again the necessity and responsibility of peace-loving forces in the U.S. to step up their efforts to force a reordering of priorities by the Carter Administration. The victory of the ultra-Right Likud heightens the danger of another, possibly nuclear war in the Middle East. It is more apparent now than ever that the main obstacle to reconvening the Geneva Conference is Washington's political, economic and military support for the policies of the government of Israel—Labor or Likud.

In this light, the CPUSA, which greeted the CPI initiative to form a united electoral front, hails the success of the Jewish-Arab Democratic Front for Peace and Equality in the May 17 elections. The advance of this front strengthens the Israeli peace movement and the world movement for a Mideast peace. Likewise, the historic meeting of representatives of the CPI and the PLO in Prague earlier this year marked a new level of unity in struggle of the democratic and revolutionary forces in the Middle East.

As part of its overall support for the liberation movement of the Arab peoples, the CPUSA supports self-determination and the national rights, in-

cluding the right to a national state, of the Arab people of Palestine. We recognize without qualification the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The national rights and self-determination for the Palestinian people and recognition of the PLO are accepted by the vast majority of the nations of the world, and supported by the socialist community of nations, the non-aligned movement, the United Nations, the Organization of Arab States, the World Peace Council, many governments in Western Europe and the Communist and Workers Parties of the world. The CPUSA has established formal fraternal contact with the PLO. This has taken the form of exchanges of views and mutual expressions of solidarity between representatives of the CPUSA and the PLO leadership.

In addition, the CPUSA maintains special friendly relations with the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a component part of the Palestinian resistance movement and the PLO. Its policies developing along internationalist, class-struggle lines, the Democratic Front plays an important progressive role within the liberation movement.

Our Party continues to build its fraternal relations with all of the other Communist and Workers Parties and other democratic movements of the area, among them the Lebanese Communist Party and the Unified National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. We recognize as an increasingly important element in recent developments the sharpening class struggle throughout the area, not alone within Israel. The recent civil war in Lebanon and the demonstrations against the regime in Cairo represent only the most visible signs of this class struggle. The heightened class consciousness contributes greatly to the forward movement of the national liberation forces just as the national liberation movement sharpens the class consciousness. Using reactionary regimes in the area such as Saudi Arabia as its surrogates, U.S. imperialism seeks to divide the forces of national liberation in order to maintain its hegemony. It seeks to separate the peoples of the area from their natural allies, in the first place the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The ties of the Zionist leadership in Israel and of other reactionary governments to U.S. imperialism constitute the greatest threat to both the independence of the peoples and to peace. The CPUSA considers it to be its internationalist

responsibility to support the national liberation and workers' movements against imperialism in all its forms and guises.

A Basis for Peace

It is the position of the CPUSA (spelled out by the resolution of its 21st Convention, 1975, in Chicago) that the basis for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East should proceed along the following general principles:

- 1) Withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab lands seized in the 1967 war of aggression;
- 2) Recognition of the right of all displaced Palestinian people to return to their homeland or to receive just compensation;
- 3) Recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to set up their own state on lands recovered from the occupiers;
- 4) Guarantee of the borders and territorial integrity of all the states in the area.

The CPUSA supports the call for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference on Middle East Peace with full and equal representation by the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. We recognize however that the Geneva Conference cannot be reconvened without taking into account United Nations resolutions containing the principle of Palestinian national rights. The CPUSA believes that future relations between the Arab people of Palestine and the peoples of Israel must be based on self-determination and any formal change in relationships must hinge on the voluntary will of both peoples.

Our Party recognizes the critical character of its role as a working-class party inside the USA confronting the forces of imperialism and campaigns to win our country to a policy of peace and non-interference in the affairs of the people of the Middle East. In our country a critical aspect of the work for peace and justice in the Middle East must be to win the mass of Jewish people—particularly workers—away from the influence of Zionism and for a program of peace and justice.

Another crucial aspect of our work in the present period must be to intensify the struggle against anti-Arab chauvinism and racist attacks on Arab peoples. This is a major factor even among some progressive circles and is a chief stumbling block toward expanding the movement for a just peace. The CPUSA acts in solidarity with Arab workers in the U.S., recognizing the special problems facing

them, and calls attention to the necessity of struggling against the discrimination, super-exploitation, and repression faced by them.

The CPUSA is committed to building and supporting activities in solidarity with peace, liberation

and democratic movements in the Middle East, and especially, at this time, with the Palestinian resistance movement. This must be a signal task for our entire Party and for the trade union, peace and other democratic movements. ■

Israeli Emigrants: "The Israeli Diaspora"

by Tom Foley

"The Israeli Diaspora" is the title of a long, two-part article which appeared in a recent issue of the Paris daily newspaper, *Le Monde* (The World). Writer Amnon Kapeliouk's lead sentence is "Nearly 350,000 Israelis—around 10 percent of the population of Israel—live abroad, for the most part in the United States."

The article helps clarify a problem that is receiving a great deal of attention in Israel and from the Zionist movement generally, that is, the problem of growing emigration from the Zionist paradise.

The *Le Monde* writer states that entire districts of New York City and Los Angeles today have an Israeli atmosphere, where one can hear Ivrit (modern Israeli Hebrew) spoken on the streets. He says that today in the U.S. you can find Israeli emigrants everywhere, doing all kinds of jobs.

In New York City alone, there are more than 1,000 Israeli emigrants working as taxicab drivers. The chief of the taxicab station at the Waldorf-Astoria gives his orders in Hebrew. Also in New York City, a radio station called "Here is Israel," run by former employees of Radio Israel, broadcasts programs in Hebrew.

On his return from the United States, (Israeli) General Sharon said with anger: "Gradually, New York is becoming the first Israeli city in the world, in the place of Tel Aviv."

Kapeliouk points out that there are no exact figures on the number of Israelis who have emigrated from Israel, mainly because a permanent emigrant from Israel is only permitted to take \$10 with him. But those who have left Israel and have

Tom Foley is a writer on international affairs for the Daily World.

remained abroad for four years or more years are considered permanent emigrants. Someone who returns for a few days every three or four years, however, is not considered a permanent emigrant.

Three Reasons to Leave

Kapeliouk interviewed Israelis living in New York City, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, and found that "war" is the primary cause of the emigration, first and foremost the October 1973 war which caused such heavy casualties. People complained of the psychological tension and the long military service in the reserves at the disposal of the Israeli military command.

The second reason, which Kapeliouk says was related to the first, is the Israeli economic situation. The emigrants mentioned high prices, low wages, and heavy taxes. In taxes imposed on the population, Israel takes first place in the world. In 1967, before the war, it was in fourteenth place, and on the eve of the 1973 war, it was in seventh place.

Housing, or rather the lack of it, was mentioned by all the emigrants. They also said a young Israeli couple who are not financially aided by their parents must load themselves down with debts for years merely to survive. The emigrants all stressed that by living abroad, they could have a much higher living standard than in Israel.

The third reason for emigration, according to Kapeliouk, is "the quality of life in Israel, which leaves much to be desired, on the material level as well as in human relations." The Israeli emigrants mentioned in particular "the nature of society," bureaucracy, social alienation and discrimination. Israel is not a secular state and Orthodox rabbis

have complete control over all matters of personal law, such as marriage, divorce, and personal status. Many of the emigrants, above all those who originally came to Israel from Latin America and who hoped to find a more just and equal society in Israel, emigrated because of what they called "a reactionary and religious hysteria and a nationalist provincialism."

The *Le Monde* writer says that for many emigrants Israel has offered no hope of professional advancement, one reason why "there are 30,000 Israeli engineers working in the U.S. and Canada, compared to 18,000 in Israel itself. The salary of an engineer in Israel is one-third that of an engineer abroad." Highly-trained young people make up a huge percentage of the Israeli emigrants, Kapeliouk notes.

Many Youth Are Leaving

Public opinion polls taken by the Israeli daily newspaper Ha'Aretz (The Land) revealed that 16.8 percent of all Israeli young people hoped to emigrate (October 1974). About one-third of those emigrating are less than 29 years old. About one third also are *sabras*, people who were born in Israel.

Kapeliouk points out that among the emigrants from Israel are a growing number of those who just recently emigrated there. He states that among Soviet Jews who left the USSR, the percentage of those definitely refusing to go to Israel rose from 0.4 percent in 1971 to 49.3 percent in 1976. The Jewish Agency in Jerusalem said recently the number is presently over half.

The *Le Monde* article shows that the Communist Party of Israel and other progressive forces truly are fighting a patriotic struggle in Israel's national interests when they demand an end to Israel's war policy, a political solution to the Mideast conflict, and the use of funds now spent entirely on the military to be used to build a peaceful, democratic and prosperous society in Israel. The alternative is continuation of the policies forcing Israelis to emigrate abroad in order to live. ■

■

A Jewish Indentured Servant

by George W. Fishman

In the colonial period of New Jersey history, there were many runaways from bondage on the part of slaves and indentured laborers (i.e., people bonded to a master for a specified number of years, usually seven). Among such runaways were Black, Native American Indian and European descendants of various nationalities, including Jewish laborers. Often, the runaways fled in interracial groups.

The following advertisement for a Jewish runaway is worthy of note. It ties in the labor component of Jewish history to the history of laboring masses. Notice that seven years after the flight, the relentless master was still trying to catch his "prey" and was offering a monetary reward to anyone who would help him do that.

* * * "Eight Dollars Reward"

"Run away from Subscriber, living in Salem County, West Jersey, on the 23rd of August, 1756, A Servant Man, named Joseph David, born in Germany, a Jew by Profession, is now about 30 years of age, about five Feet, three Inches high, well set, a dark complexion, and three Scars on his Head. He was in Philadelphia in July, 1761, and said he had been inlisted in the Royal American Regiment, but had got his Discharge, and at that Time kept a Shop of Goods in Albany; it is likely he follows Peddling, as he has a great desire to follow that calling, and often talked about it. Whoever takes up said Servant, and secures him in any Goal, so his Master may have him again, or brings him Home, shall have the above Reward, and reasonable charges paid by Thomas Mayhew.

N.B. It is likely he will deny his being a Servant, and use many arguments to support it, being an Artful Fellow."

The Pennsylvania Gazette, May 5, 1763. Given in *The New Jersey Archives*, Series 1, Volume XXIV, pp. 175-176. ■

George W. Fishman is a high school social studies teacher and an active trade unionist in New Jersey.

The Ten (II)

by Felicia Langer

Now came the turn of the army prosecution, represented by attorney Dan Ben-Ner, who answered the defense's arguments. He based his arguments on the Eichmann trial, saying that the way in which a man was brought to court was not relevant to the issue of jurisdiction, since anyone who attacked a country could be tried there, even when he was from outside that country. "International law recognizes the principal of self-defense as an exception to all other territorial legislation."

At the end of the arguments the court remanded the defendants until the end of the judicial proceedings. The court adjourned until July 23. On that day the president read the court's resolution dismissing the preliminary arguments of the defense and stating that it had the necessary jurisdiction to try the defendants, on the basis of article 2(a) of the law (1972) amending the penal code offenses abroad, and that the defendants could not argue that the circumstances in which they had been brought to Israel deprived the court of any jurisdiction over them. In the following discussion we demanded that the trial be halted so that the defendants could appeal to the High Court of Justice, requesting it to order the court to stop its proceedings for lack of jurisdiction.

I also asked the court to disqualify itself "since I think that the court has already expressed its opinion concerning the defendants, and in fact had already passed judgment at the start of the session." My argument referred to what the president had said at the start of the session, that undoubtedly the terrorists in Lebanon knew the Israeli government could not ignore them when women and children were getting hurt. This was said as part of the grounds for the resolution stating that the court had jurisdiction for conducting the trial. I saw in it a statement that the defendants were terrorists, without any evidence to prove it.

After a recess, the court dismissed both requests, stating that it recognized the defendants' rights to appeal to the High Court of Justice in the course of the trial, but it could not see any need to stop the trial for that reason. My argument was dismissed on the grounds that the points on which I had founded my request did not relate to the defendants but had been raised as an interpretation of the law.

Felicia Langer is a prominent Israeli Communist and attorney. The first part of this article appeared in our May-June issue. Her book, With My Own Eyes, from which this story is taken, is available from Jewish Affairs for \$3.50.

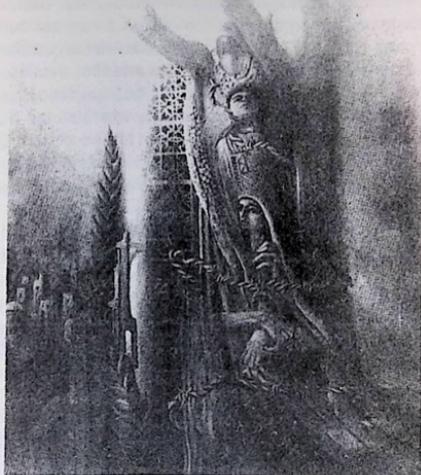
High Court Appeal

We appealed to the High Court of Justice, and asked it to issue an order nisi against the Lydda Military Court to come and explain why it should not abstain from judging the ten defendants. In the appeal they affirmed being citizens of Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Qatar caught by the Israeli army on September 16 in Lebanon, and brought to Israel against their will. Therefore, their trial ran counter to the nation's law (common law). The appellants remarked that, according to the charge-sheet against them, they had not caused any damage to the State of Israel, its security and property, or any other interest thereof, and that therefore Israel could not apply the self-defense recognised by international law. Their capture and their transference into Israel ran contrary to international law, and the justices should not be accomplices in it.

At the end of the appeal it was said that the items of accusation had not been published in Lebanon, where they had lived before being brought to Israel and that therefore the appellants had had no way of knowing of their existence.

The application of the principle of publicity to Lebanon creates a complex situation, for no one knew or could know what is permitted according to the laws made public in Israel, and therefore the appellants cannot be expected to behave according to Israeli law.

I spoke along the same lines and said that if no order nisi were issued, a grave miscarriage of justice would be done to the defendants.



Suleiman Mansour—*The Uprising*

I quoted cases to the Public International Court concerning the argument of the breach of the territorial principle, and attached the emendation of the law by which the defendants had been put on trial. Furthermore, I based myself on the Declaration of Independence, where it was said that Israel would observe the UN Charter. I quoted paragraph 4 of the UN Charter, by which it was prohibited to commit any breach of another country's territorial sovereignty. The kidnapping had clearly involved a breach of Lebanon's sovereignty. I warned that such a trial could bring about the passing of similar laws by the other side and the trial of Israeli citizens by those countries.

Justice Landau: "Is that a threat?"

"On the contrary, I think it's a warning based upon fear for the future."

In their resolution, the justices said, among other things, that "it would be better that all proceedings be exhausted by the military courts before the court considers the appeal." This resolution left the door open to an appeal again to the High Court of Justice if we were not satisfied at the end of the proceedings in the military court.

"Security" and Legality

The trial therefore continued at the military court, and in the session of August 20, prosecution witnesses testified while the defendants continued silent and uncooperative. One of the main witnesses was a young officer, who said that his name was Yaacov and refused to give his family name. He presented to the court documents he had captured, confirming that the defendants were members of Palestinian organizations. He said that he had caught the "terrorists," talked with the "terrorists," and so on; so much so that even the president asked him to find another term. The witness said that he had been a number of times in Lebanon, and he said it as simply as if he were talking of a walk in Tel Aviv.

When asked what had been his mission in the incursion, the prosecutor objected, and the court upheld him: "We will not allow questions concerning the planning of the incursion." And addressing me: "You just want to uncover army secrets!"

I answered: "But the incursion is no secret, everything about it has been published. You used 'security' and 'secrecy,' and that impedes my function as a lawyer."

The question was allowed, and the witness said that he had to gather the defendants captured in the course of the operation and to transfer them to jail in this country. There were twenty-one of them. He did not know what had happened to the others or where they were.

"Do you know that the incursion was an illegal act?" The witness and the prosecutor burst into laughter. I said: "I want the cause of the laughter to be recorded in the protocol . . ."

The president: "Please do not ask such questions."

"All right, then I will first the court whether I'm allowed to ask a question or not."

"All right."

"Do you know, as an army officer who knows what international law is, that the above-mentioned incursion in which you took part was a crime?"

"No, no, we won't allow such questions!" And a resolution was issued saying that no political questions were to be asked in accordance with previous resolutions.

Another witness was an intelligence officer, "an expert on organizations." Attorney Barkey examined him extensively, and it very quickly became apparent that he was a very poor expert. In his

answer to Barkay the witness frequently became confused. Then came Rafis' turn to examine the witness. "Do you know what the mouthpiece of the Fatah organization is?"

"I don't know."

"Have you read Hawatma's articles on cooperation between Arabs and Jews?"

"I don't know, I haven't heard of them."

The judges intervened to save the "expert," who said, "I'm not an expert in political matters, only in military operations."

Answering Mr. Rafi' as regards the military operations, the witness did not reveal any special knowledge. I asked him: "Have you not heard that people like Arafat and Hawatma denounce the hijacking of planes?"

The witness: "I am not an expert in aircraft questions."

"That means you are an expert only as regards land, but not air or sea questions?"

"Right."

"That means that concerning the Israeli incursion you know only its land aspects, and you know nothing about what the sea commando unit did?"

"I don't know . . ."

The prosecutor's nervousness was evident while this unsuccessful witness testified, though the court helped him every time he could not answer or became confused.

International Support

During this session, as in the previous ones, a representative of the International Red Cross was present as an observer. This trial had much publicity throughout the world, especially among lawyers' circles, who saw in it a breach of international law. Many letters concerning the trial were sent from various countries to the League for Human and Civil Rights and to the defense lawyers.

In the last stages of the trial a Swiss lawyer arrived, representing the International Organization of Democratic Lawyers. The lawyer, Dr. Pierre Blanc, from the office of Louis Bay, was an expert on international law. Dr. Blanc was present at the Supreme Court session in Jerusalem. *Ma'ariv* wrote on August 21 that the Middle East Study Group, based in Geneva, had announced that it was about to send to Israel a Swiss lawyer to help the Israeli lawyers. In the meantime Dr. Blanc arrived revealing an enormous interest in the trial and its details.

The trial continued on September 17. This was the day fixed for the defense's case and the

summing-up by both sides. The defense lawyers announced in the name of the defendants that the latter were still boycotting the court, whose jurisdiction they did not recognize. When the time came to sum up the arguments, I said that I was not summing up, since I was convinced that the accusations had not been proved in the least and that the defendant I was representing had to be acquitted, in accordance with British procedures which stated that in such a case the accusation must not be answered.

After a short deliberation the court dismissed the argument and obliged me to answer the accusation, to sum up my arguments.

Mr. Barkay, who summed up first, said that the elements of the charge had not been proved, *i.e.* the emendation of the law by which the defendants had been put on trial, which demanded that a defendant has done an act damaging or intended to damage the State of Israel or its interests. He analyzed the defendants' declarations to the police. He said that the defendants' acts were lawful in Lebanon, and he also attacked the expertise of the prosecution witness, who had been presented as an "expert in terrorist organizations," but who knew very little.

Mr. Ali Rafi' summed up on behalf of his client, who was charged, among other things, with



Issam Badr—*Deir Yasin*

"possessing arms without permission of the army commander." The lawyer asked how anyone could invent such an absurdity as the demand that a Lebanese citizen should ask permission from the military command in Israel.

I said that the law, which I considered null and void, and contrary to international law, could not be applied to my client, whose only crime was the guarding of an Al-Fatah camp in Lebanon and nothing more. My words were not translated by the court's translator and I protested. President Alperin expressed anger and said that not everything could be translated; it was impossible, for the translator was no expert in law.

"According to the Geneva Convention the defendants have a right to a translation.

The president: "How is that? The Geneva Convention does not apply to them; they are not residents of territories occupied by Israel."

The U.S. Whitewash of the Israeli Occupation

NEW YORK—President Jimmy Carter's reaction to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin's legalization of three West Bank settlements was condemned as a "whitewash" by a nationwide bar group. The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) leveled the charge following the return to the United States July 29 of a ten-member fact-finding delegation that visited the West Bank. The NLG delegation also visited Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel during a three-week stay that included talks with many government officials.

Delegation member John Quigley said at a news conference here that while Carter criticized Begin's action he made it clear that he would do nothing to oppose it. Quigley, who is a professor of international law at Ohio State University, said that the Jewish settlements in the West Bank, which now number over 70, constitute a clear violation of the

This is the text of a press release issued by a NLG delegation upon its return from the Mideast.

"We 'tour' inside Lebanon, kidnap people, and then we deny them even the minimal protection of the Geneva Convention."

I also asked on behalf of all the defendants that they be declared prisoners of war, according to paragraph 4 of the Geneva Convention, and that they should not be tried. After the prosecution's summing-up, which asked for the conviction of all the defendants, the court adjourned for the verdict until October 9, 1973. As everybody knows the Lydda Military Court could not pass verdict on that day. After the October War a new date, January 21, was set for the verdict, but this was again postponed.

The date for the verdict was again set for February 6, 1974 at the Lydda Military Court, but again this was postponed and a new date was set to May 7. Finally, all the accused were convicted and sentenced to six years' imprisonment each. ■

National Lawyers Guild

1949 Geneva Convention on military occupation. He said that Carter's mild reaction is the more surprising since the U.S. State Department has long recognized the illegality of the settlements.

Quigley indicated that local villagers throughout the West Bank are organizing themselves to confront Jewish settlers. The NLG delegation was told last week by Karim Khalaf, mayor of the West Bank city of Ramallah, that self-defense groups are being formed following attempts by Jewish settlers to drive out Palestinian villagers. Khalaf told the visiting lawyers that last April and May, for a period of 45 days, Jewish settlers from a recent settlement went every night into the village of Deir Abu Mishal and fired shots, broke windows and door handles, and shouted obscenities at sleeping villagers, claiming the land is theirs and urging the villagers to leave.

Quigley charged that the Israeli settlement policy is an attempt to "create facts" that will make it difficult for there to be any resolution of the West

Bank situation other than its incorporation into Israel. He said that only strong pressure from the U.S. can prevent incorporation of the West Bank into Israel.

Quigley noted that while the Israeli government has attempted to picture the settlement process as the private activity of the ultranationalist Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful), in fact the Israeli government has backed settlement activity by providing funding and social services. Ramallah Mayor Khalaf told the NLG group that when Jewish settlers harassed Deir Abu Mishel they were accompanied by Israeli soldiers, who provided protection for them.

Israeli settlement policy is only one aspect of a broader Israeli policy to drive the Palestinians out of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Quigley said. He indicated that several West Bank mayors told the group that West Bank municipalities receive much less than Israeli towns though they pay the same taxes. The mayors indicated that the economic situation has deteriorated since 1967, citing high consumer prices and inflation.

A West Bank pediatrician who heads the West Bank Medical Association told the NLG that health care has worsened during the occupation. Dr. Samir Katbeh reported a West Bank infant mortality of 80 per 1000 live births, one of the highest in the world. He said that in 1967 the Israeli occupying army turned three West Bank hospitals into police stations.

Quigley said that another aspect of the Israeli policy of trying to convince West Bankers to evacuate is political repression enforced by military courts. He said that the NLG confirmed charges by Amnesty International and the London *Sunday Times* that Israeli military interrogators frequently use torture to extract confessions. The delegation interviewed five Palestinians who alleged they had been tortured, as well as two Israeli lawyers who represent Palestinians.

Quigley said that the NLG lawyers found the allegations credible, particularly when taken in conjunction with the fact that the Israeli system of military justice provides few safeguards that might ensure against torture in security cases. He cited the fact that no lawyer may be present until questioning has ended, that little evidence beyond a confession is required for conviction, that confessions are originally drafted in Hebrew (which most detainees do not know) and that there is no appeal from the

military court's decision. An Israel lawyer, Leah Tsemel of Jerusalem, told the delegation that 90% of the convictions are based on confessions with little corroboration. Tsemel also said that the "confessions" made by many of her clients read in language that no Palestinian would use, such as the phrase "I was a member of a terrorist organization."

Other Israeli policies cited that are directed against the Palestinians in the occupied territories include demolition of houses of persons suspected of resistance activity, confiscation of Palestinian land on trumped-up grounds of military security, and forced exile of Palestinian community leaders.

Quigley said that it was clear to the NLG delegation that the Palestinians are not prepared to submit to continued occupation. In addition to formation of local self-defense groups, the NLG found that the Palestinians are solidly behind the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), which espouses creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza.

Quigley said that the NLG delegation concluded that the Palestinian aspiration for an independent state is opposed not only by Israel but also by the reactionary governments of neighboring Arab states, which view the PLO as a left wing threat to their own existence.

The NLG delegation met with Yassir Arafat and other PLO leaders and came away with the impression that the PLO strongly prefers a negotiated settlement to a military solution. Quigley said that Palestinian leaders in the West Bank stated that no Palestinian participation in the upcoming Geneva Middle East talks is possible unless a direct invitation is sent to the PLO. ■

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prehensive and peaceful settlement.

The reconvening of the Geneva Conference is, however, not automatic. By rejecting the right of the PLO to equal participation, Begin and others are trying to torpedo the conference. They would like to resurrect the old policy of separate negotiations with each Arab country, at the expense of the Palestinians.

It has been 10 years since the 1967 war and almost four years since the 1973 war. All Middle East observers agree that if peace negotiations do not begin soon, another military conflagration will erupt. If the Geneva Conference is to be reconvened and is to be successful, we must not rely on the Carter Administration's word. Rather, we must build a broad and united movement for a just and lasting peace. ■

How to Revise Lenin

Those who attack Marxism-Leninism in the name of maintaining its purity always end up by revising its fundamental concepts, or by declaring these concepts "no longer valid." This is a law of opportunism.

An example of this revisionism is given by Paul Novick, editor of the *Morning Freiheit*, in the July-August issue of *Jewish Currents*, in an article entitled "Lumer vs. Lenin on the Jewish Question." To conceal his attack on the fundamental principles of the Communist view of the national question, Novick attacks Hyman Lumer's compilation of Lenin's writings on the Jewish question (*Lenin on the Jewish Question*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1974).

In effect, Novick centers his attack on the Marxist-Leninist concept of assimilation. His strategy is to counterpose Lenin's writings on the national question before World War I with his writings on the subject after the war. Thus Novick says (p. 24):

[Lenin sought] to illustrate the process of the amalgamation of nations and nationalities, which he considered an actual issue at *that time* [1913] . . . Lenin was mistaken, of course, which

only proves that in that period he was first *developing* his approach to the national question and that everything he wrote *then* cannot be taken as dogma.

Novick continues (p. 25) by saying that "Lenin, at *that time*, and *definitely not* in his later periods, was stressing the subject of assimilation." (Emphasis in original—The Eds.) Novick fails to mention that the late Comrade Lumer in his introduction anticipated and rejected precisely this criticism.

For anyone familiar with Lenin's writings, not only on the Jewish question, but on the national question in general, this is an obvious falsification. Lenin maintained that it was necessary to fight for the Communist goal of the "amalgamation of nations and nationalities." This has been the basis of the Soviet Union's national policy since 1917.

Novick bases his attack on Lumer through this revision of Lenin, which becomes a cover for the anticommunism, anti-Sovietism and bourgeois nationalism which permeate his article.

In an early issue of *Jewish Affairs*, we will return to this assault upon Comrade Lumer and this repudiation of Leninism. ■

Richard Yaffe, editor of *Israel Horizons* (publication of Americans for Progressive Israel—Hashomer Hatzair), in the June 1977 issue of that magazine:

"We hesitate to criticize the [Communist] party for its statement [on the current policies of the *Morning Freiheit*], or to defend [Paul] Novick [editor of the *Morning Freiheit*] and the paper—not because we fear the party or would like to see the paper go under. It is only because we are Zionists, and a defense from Zionists will merely prove that the party is right and harm Novick and the *Freiheit*.

"We will chance it. We wish Novick success in his fight to keep the paper afloat in the face of this intolerable attack, and to keep up the good work of defending Israel in particular and Jews in general no matter where they are, even in the Soviet Union." ■

Yes Jacob, There Was Resistance

by Carole Marks

Jacob the Liar, by Jurek Becker, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, N.Y. 1975, 206 pages, \$7.95.

Jurek Becker, a 40-year-old citizen of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), brings much sensitivity to his portrayal of a Jewish ghetto in the Poland of World War II. Born two years before that war broke out, he spent his childhood in the Polish ghetto of Lodz and in Nazi concentration camps, where his mother was killed. After the war he was reunited with his father in what was to become the GDR, and has lived there since. His novel was made into a film which had a brief run in this country.

This is the story of Jacob (the Liar) Heym, a cafe owner who becomes the improbable hero in an equally improbable situation. An unassuming, frightened, obedient, undistinguished, gentle, burdened soul—like all of the ghetto's inhabitants, Becker tells us—he is caught on the street after the 8 p.m. Carole Marks is a member of the editorial board of Cultural Reporter.

curfew. A sentry orders him to police headquarters to receive his punishment.

Through an open door in the station, he inadvertently hears a Nazi radio broadcast, which tells him that the Soviet Army is less than 14 miles from Bezanika, a neighboring town.

Jacob has to make a decision—whether or not to tell his friends. He tells his coworker Misha, to save him from getting into trouble, and within hours the ghetto's hopelessness and despair have been transformed into belief that "tomorrow is another day."

Knowing his friends will never believe how he actually heard the news, he tells the first lie upon which all the others are built—he has a radio. From this radio pour forth news reports and commentaries on Nazi losses and Red Army victories. Jacob goes through many sleepless nights trying to write believable scripts for his audience; he must be the bearer of hope, the curer of depression.

He has taken on a heavy respon-

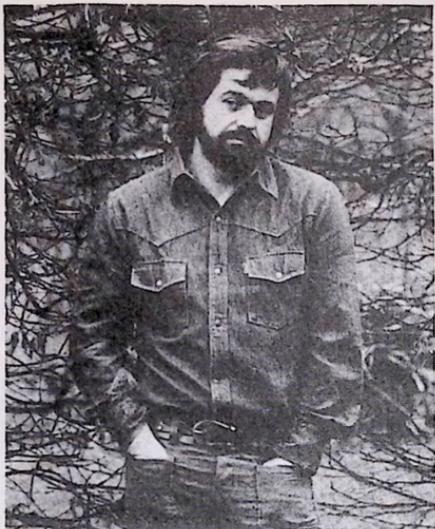
sibility and there are many times he decides it is too heavy and tries to get rid of it. When he tells the truth to his best friend Kowalski, the latter kills himself. Jacob realizes then that he has to keep inventing lies to satisfy the insatiable need for news of freedom and rebirth. In the end, it is to no avail. The ghetto's inhabitants are herded into a freight train destined for an extermination center.

No Resistance

It cannot be denied that Jacob's big lies, built upon a small truth, were a challenge to the Nazi beast and gave the community momentary hope. But the author explains the Holocaust by creating a character whose only resistance to the Nazi invaders is to create an illusory hope. There is no hint of resistance in this Polish ghetto, no organized underground, no plans, no revolts.

The narrator, the typical man in the ghetto, says:

Not a single solitary shot was fired. I must add, I don't think there was any resistance. . . . If



Jurek Becker

there had been something there, I would have surely had to notice it. I would have joined in. That I can assure you. They would have only needed to ask me, especially if it had been for Chana's sake [the narrator's wife who was murdered by the Nazis]. Unfortunately, I am not one of the exceptional kind who inspires others to struggle. I cannot sweep others along, but I would have joined in. And not only I. Why didn't that individual come forth who could cry out, "Follow me"?

It isn't that he doesn't know about the armed resistance:

... I must add, I have subconsciously read about Warsaw and Buchenwald. . . . Foolish envy has overwhelmed me. . . . I didn't move from the spot. I memorized the regulations . . . and asked poor Jacob what the latest developments were. Probably, I will never get over it. . . . Where I was, there was no resistance. (Pp. 88-89).

Why did he choose to write his novel about a ghetto in which Jews did not resist, when organized Jewish resistance to the fascist terror was an integral part of World War II? Every ghetto, every labor and concentration camp had an underground organization that kept up the prisoners' morale, reduced their physical sufferings, committed acts of sabotage, organized escapes, collected arms and planned and executed revolts. Every occupied country had its underground. In Poland, where Becker was born and spent his ghetto childhood, Jewish resistance to Nazism was part of the resistance of the whole people.

One of the most stirring chapters in the history of the war is the story of the Jewish partisans in the forests of Eastern Europe; they numbered in the thousands, escapes from ghettos and camps.

Those who made it to the forest exchanged "the rifle, cartridge belt and hand grenade for the yellow badge that stung the body and violated the soul . . . The once humiliated ghetto Jew now struck fear in the enemy's ranks" (*They Fought Back*, Yuri Suhl, ed., Schocken Books, N.Y., p. 2).

Becker ends his novel on a death note, yet *he* was liberated, together with millions of fellow Jews, Poles, Germans, Czechs, Hungarians, and others by the sacrifices of the Soviet Army and Soviet people in the first place and, at the very end, by the combined might of the anti-fascist front.

The Whole Truth

For us in the U.S., it is vital that we understand what happened in the Second World War. We are still confused by the fog of lies and distortions about the war and about the world that arose from its devastation. We are still being bombarded with the Big Lie of anticommunism, racism and anti-Semitism. In order to wage a truly effective struggle for peace, against imperialism, racism and anti-Semitism, we must be told

the truth about that war so that we can learn the lessons for today's world.

Jacob the Liar does not help dispel the Big Lie. It does not tell the truth about World War II. As beautifully humanistic and full of wry humor as it is, the novel fails to reflect the full reality of history.

Artistic truth is the truth about people, about their relationships with each other and with the world. Because the artist cannot convey the world in its totality in a novel, he must reflect on certain parts of it, he must select material. His criterion for selection should be that which is typical—not what he sees in general, but the important side of reality. The typical is the expression of the essence of a particular phenomenon in its individual and concrete being. In the case of the Jewish ghetto, Jacob was not a typical expression of the general population; the partisan, the armed resistance fighter, was typical.

For Becker, as with all artists, his ideology is his evaluation of reality from a particular point of view. But Becker lacks a workingclass perspective and this is where his novel fails.

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Letters to the Editor

[These letters were sent to Jewish Affairs by the Staten Island Jewish Issues Committee. We congratulate them on their initiative and urge others to take similar actions—The Eds.]

To the Editor:

The following letter was sent to Congressman John M. Murphy:

"We would like to call your attention to a bill introduced by Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn, which provides for the deportation of foreign Nazi war criminals who are residing in the United States. It also bars the further entry of persons guilty of war crimes.

"The present immigration laws would allow such criminals as Adolf Hitler to enter this country because there is no bar on Nazi war criminals.

"The bill has been introduced several times during the current session of Congress and at present it has more than 50 cosponsors. We ask you, as our elected representative from this congressional district, to add your support to this bill.

"It is hard for us to understand how our country, which was founded on the highest principal of human dignity, can possibly be a haven for those guilty of the most heinous

crimes in the history of humanity."

Fannie Hechtman
Corresponding Secretary
S.I.J.I.C.

Dear Ms. Hechtman:

Thank you very much for your recent correspondence in which you express your support for H.R. 412, a bill introduced by the Honorable Elizabeth Holtzman to authorize the deportation of aliens who engaged in war crimes under the Nazis.

As you know, Nazi war criminals who have been coming to this country since 1952 have not been questioned about their activities, have not had to answer falsely, and thus have not been subject to deportation. H.R. 412 would give the Immigration Service direct legislative authority to act against Nazi war criminals. It is my understanding that such authority will aid the Immigration Service in its present investigation of alleged Nazis, and will allow INS officials to proceed against those who would otherwise be protected.

With your views in mind, I will act favorably to pass this legislation when it comes before the full House.

John M. Murphy
Member of Congress

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is the written response from Rep. John M. Murphy which expresses his support for H.R. 412 now pending in Congress.

This bill, introduced by Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman, provides for the deportation of Nazi war criminals who have found refuge in this country.

The importance of Representative Murphy's support cannot be underestimated. His personal response to our open letter, which had appeared in our local newspaper (circulation of over 100,000) shows his acknowledgement of our influence in the community.

We hope that your publication can publicize this victory, in the hope that other organizations will take similar action on this important anti-Nazi legislation.

Our organization focuses on three main issues: the fight against racism and anti-Semitism in our community; a just peace in the Middle East for both the people of Israel and the people of Palestine; and the reality of life for Soviet Jewry.

Fannie Hechtman
Corresponding Secretary
S.I.J.I.C.

**יידישע פראַגרעסיווע אַרגאַניזאַציעס פון לאַטײַן-אַמעריקע
אין קאַמף קעגן דעם צײַעניש**

קיאַס אין יעדן לאַטײַן-אַמעריקאַנישן ייִדישן ייִשעו זײַנען פאַראַן פראַגרעסיווע אַרגאַ-
ניזאַציעס. אײניקע פון זײ עקזיסטירן שוין יאָרצענדליקער. א פירנדיקע לאַגע פאַרנעמען
צווישן זײ די אַרטיקע פעדעראַציעס פון די ייִדישע קולטור־געזעלשאַפטן („אַיקוף“). אַרגאַ-
ניזאַציעס פון „אַיקוף“ זײַנען פאַראַן אין אַרגענטינע, בראַזיליע, אורוגוועי.
דער „אַיקוף“ איז אומגעקומען אין 1937 אפן פאַרוישר קאָנגרעס. ער איז געשאפן גע-
וואָרן מיטן ציל צו פאַרטידיקן און אַנטוויקלען די ייִדישע קולטור אף דער באַזע פון קאַמף
קעגן פאַרטייטן און מילכאַמע. קעגן אַבסעקוראַנטיזם, פאַר הומאַניזם, פאַר שאַפן א „נייע פּרײַע
וועלט פון סאַצנאַלן ייִשער“.

פון די דריי לאַטײַן-אַמעריקאַנישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס פון „אַיקוף“ איז די גרעסטע און
אַקטיווסע די אַרגענטינער, וועלכע האלט אונטער ענגע פאַרבינדונגען מיט די דעמאָקראַ-
טישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס פונעם לאַנד— מיט דער קאָמוניסטישער פּונעם אַרגענטינע, מיט
דער סאַלעם־באַוועגונג, מיט דער ליבע פון מענטשן־רעכט, מיטן פאַרבאַנד פון אַרגענטינער
פרויען און פיל אנדערע. ער טרעט אַרויס קאָנסעקווענט פאַר א ייִשערדיקן שאַלעם אפן
נאַענטן מיווער, מאַביליזירט די ייִדישע מאַסן צום קאַמף פאַר פראַגרעס און סאַצנאַלער
גערעכטיקייט.

דער אַרגענטינער „אַיקוף“ גיט אַרויס דעם כוידע־זשורנאַל „טיעמפּאַ“ אין שפּאַניש
און די וואַכנצײַטונג אין ייִדיש „אונדזער לעבן“ (מיט א זעטל אף שפּאַניש).
אין מאַל אין פיר יאָר ווערט צונויפגערופן א צוואַמעפאַר פונעם אַרגענטינער „אַיקוף“.
אין אים באַטייליקן זײ אויך פאַרשטייער פונעם בראַזילישן און אורוגוועישן „אַיקוף“.
אַנהייבדיק פונעם 1912 פּונקט־אַגירט די „ייִדישע קולטור־געזעלשאַפט אפן נאַמען פון
י.ל. פּערעץ“ (אין דער פּראַווינץ סאַנטאַפּע), דער ליטעראַטור־ און ביבליאָטעק־זעטער
אין בּוּע־אַיִרעס־פּראַווינץ. סײַז אויך באַוווּסט דער טעאַטער „אַיפּט“, דער פראַגרעסיווער
ייִדישער פּאַרלאַג „הײַמלאַנד“.

וואָס איז שײַנע דער „אַיקוף“־טעטיקייט אין אַזא לאַנד, לעמאַש, ווי אורוגוועי, וווּ
ערסט ניט לאַנג צוריק האָט די ייִדישע פראַגרעסיווע באַוועגונג דערגרייכט א גאָר ברייטן
פאַרנעם. איז זי אַיצט אף אויפֿיל אונטערדריקט מיצאַד דער פאַשיסטישער דיקטאַטור, אַז עס
איז איבערגעריסן געוואָרן יטעוידע פאַרבינדונג מיט איר.

וויטער ברענגען מיר אײניקע אויסצוגן פון מאַטעריאַלן אין דער ייִדישער פּרעסע, וווּ
עס ווערן געגעבן נייע יעדעס און אַפּשאַצונגען פון דעם מאַצעו אַרבעטן־ייִדישן ייִשעו אין
אַרגענטינע.

**קולטור־אָוונט אין רעדאַקציע
פון „סאַוועטיש־הײַמלאַנד“**

לעאַציע האָט איבערגעגעבן דעם פּרע-
זידענט זאָנט זײַר צווישן אנדערן:
דער ליכער האָט זײַר טאַקע פאַרוואַנדלט
אין דער גרעסטער פּראַקציע אין כּנסת;
ער איז אָבער גיט קיין מערהייט. סײַז
גיט קיין טום מליכט אַרײַספּוילינג די
אויסגאַבע פון פּאַרמירן אַ נייע רעגירונג
אויסן פּרײַע פון ליכער דווקאַ.

דער־ליכער שלאָגן מיר פאַר, אין נאַמען
פון איבער 80 טויזנט אונדזערע וויילער,
ייִדן און אַראַבער, אַרײַספּוילינג די אויפֿ-
זאָגע פון פּאַרמירן אַ נייע רעגירונג
אויף אײַנעם פון די דעפּוטאַטן, וועל-
כער רעקעזענטירט אַ רעאַלע און פּאַר-
גונפטיקע פּאַרליטיק אויף דער פּראַגע פון
שלום און מלחמה.

סאַלעקאַיאַ, מיט ייִדישע און רוסישע ליי-
דער. ביים קלאַוויר האָט איר באַגלייט
איר לערערין, מ. אַסטאַווסקאַיאַ. עס
האַבן געלייענט זײַערע שאַפונגען די דיכ-
טער ח. בייִדער, ב. מאַגילנאָו און א.
ווערגעליס.

**מאַסעקווער
קאַרעספּאַנאַרענט**

עטל קלינגער,

דער שלום וועט געבן ישראל זיכער
קייט. דער שלום איז אויך דער שליסל
פאַר לייזן די האַרבע עקאָנאָמישע און
אין אַ טאָל פון זעלבסטקריטיק האָט
ער געזאָגט, אַז זײַ רעדאַקציע האָט אַ
ברייַזן פאַרנעם פון דער טעטיקייט, אַז
אַז סײַז נאָך גיט אויסגענוצט געוואָרן
ווי געהעריק ביים אויסרעקן נייע טאַ-
לאַנטן. דאַס וועט אין גיכן פאַריכט ווע-
ן — האָט ער געזאָגט.

א. ווערגעליס האָט אויך גערעדט וועגן
דער מעגלעכקייט צו אַרגאַניזירן אַ סעס-
טיוואַל, וועלכער זאָל דעמאָנסטרירן דעם
כוח און די בליינג פון דער ייִדישער
קולטור אין ראַטן־פאַרבאַנד.

דעם אָוונט האָט באַשיינט און געמאַכט
אײַנגענעם די יונגע יוגערין, מ. קראַ-

קאמיוניסטישע פארטיי פון יאר 1977

קאמיוניסטישע פארטיי פון יאר 1977
"מארגן פרייהייט"
מער ווי
באדייערנסווערט

דראונגס-בריוו פון מארד קעגן מאיר ווילנער

אין דער צייטונג, "הרות", ווי אויך אין דער צייטונג, "היום", וואס האט געהערט צו חירות.

פון איצטיקן בריוו ווערט קלאר, אז אויך דער איצטיקער שרייבער פון בריוו איז פארבונדן מיט די זעלבע קרייזן (אויך בין פון די, וועלכע האבן גע- שטימט סאך מח"ל...).

נאך מער, דער שרייבער אדער די וועלכע האבן אים געשיקט - וויסן וועגן אומפון פון טרעפן אין דעם מאיר ווילנער דאן מיט 10 יאר צוריק. צו דעם איז נאך מעגלעך צוצוגעבן, אז דער קאנווערט פון בריוו איז געשטעמפלט געווארן מיט א מאשין-מארקעס - פון א בירא, וואס געפינט זיך אין אלגעמיין גענומען, בלויז אין גרויסע ביראען.

אויפן בריוו איז פאראן די דאטע 1977 מאי 18, וואס איז אויך געמאכט געווארן מיט א בירא שטעמפל. דעם מ. ווילנער האט איבערגעגעבן דעם בריוו דער פאליציי, וואס ווערט אויפגעפירט אויפצודעקן דעם שרייבער פון בריוו און צו שטעלן אים פאר א געריכט.

אן אנאמיער בריוו מיט דראונגען וואס איז געשריבן געווארן מיט דער הינט איז אנגעקומען מיט דער פאסט, וונטיק דעם 22.5.77, אויפן אדרעס פון דעם מאיר ווילנער גענסקע פון דער ישראליקער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי. דער שרייבער פון בריוו דראס מ. ווילנער פון פאלגנדיקער שפראך: "אויך בין פון די, וועלכע האבן גע- שטימט מח"ל און איך קען איך מעלדן, אז דער מעסער פאר אייך איז שוין גוט אנגעשארפט, און דאס מאל וועלן מיר אייך אים גיט אריינגעצו אין פלייצע, נאך גלייך אין הארצן".

פראצעדנדיק, שרייבט דער מחבר פון בריוו, דראנדיק: "איר וועט גיט בא- ווייזן צו פארשקלאפן אונדו אונטערן סאוועטישן שטיול און מיר וועלן צו- זאמענשטעלן א נאציאנאליסטיש-פאשיסטישע רעגירונג".

ווי באווסט, איז מ. ווילנער געווען א קרבן פון אן אטענטאט אין חודש אקטאבער 1967, ווען ער איז געשטאכן גע- ווארן אין גאס, לעבן זיין הויז. דער דעמאלטיקער אטענטאטער איז געווען אברהם בן משה, וועלכער האט געקאכט

מיר האבן אין דער "נייע פרע" סע"ן 18-טן יוני אויסגעדריקט אונזער באדייער צוליב דער אלץ שארפערער פארס, וואס עס האט אנגענומען די פאלעמס ציווישן "סאוועטיש היימלאנד" און דער ניו-יארקער "מארגן-פריי- הייט", און מיר האבן געוואלט האפן, אז די עסקאלאדע וועט צענדלעך אויפהערן.

אינצווישן האבן מיר אבער פאנומען די "מארגן-פרייהייט" פון 19-טן יוני און האבן דארט געפרובן אן ארטיקל, וואס שטעלט מיט זיך פאר א נייע, נאך פריי- ער נישט דערגרייכטע שטופע אין דער עסקאלאדע. דאס איז אן אר- טיקל (אונטערשעריבן דורך דער רעדאקציע און פארוואל- טונג "מארגן-פרייהייט"), וואס איז פול נישט בלויז מיט עפיטע- טען, נאר מיט פערזענלעכע זיד- לערייגען אויפן אדרעס פון א. ווערגעליס, וועלכער ווערט בא- צייכנט צוראף אלס "המפרייזונג", אלס מענטש פון "שקר און שונד און שאנטיאזש" אא"וו.

מיר פארשטייען נישט וויאזוי די "מארגן-פרייהייט" - וועלכע עס זאלן נישט זיין אירע טענות - האט געקאנט פועלן ביי זיך צו באנוצן אזא שפראך, און מיר זיינען באאומרוואיקט וועגן די קאנסעקוענצען. מיר האלטן פאר אומדער חוב - קחדם - לגבי אונדזערן גלייענער - נישט צו בלייבן גלייכגילטיק אין אנבליק פון אזא פאלעמיק און אויסצו- דריקן אונדזער טיפסטן באדייער און אימרו צוליב איר עוואלוציע.

וואס פאר א "יהודי-אגע" איז סאוועטן-פארבאנד
באמאיראטיב" די "מארגן-פרייהייט"? זען נאכער

די "מארגן-פרייהייט" אויף פרעמדע וועגן פון
אנטיסאמיזעם און פראציאנאם

1977

סטיימענט פון דער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי, פ.ש.א.
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