

JEWISH AFFAIRS

October-November 1978

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No Freedom of Speech for Nazis and the KKK

Herbert Aptheker

Editorials

The Kats Hoax
An Important Event
The Basis for Unity

CPUSA

Camp David: Framework
for Conflict

Sol Flapan

Warsaw Ghetto Boy
Is Found

A. Konstantinov

Anti-Semitism in
the U.S.

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The Kats Hoax

It is a sad comment on Soviet emigration policy that human rights campaigners apparently decided that they had to bend the truth about a Soviet infant's health to win permission for her family to leave. (*New York Times*, December 3, 1978).

Well, to the Russians, our apologies. They seem to have cared well for Jessica . . . Perhaps the Soviet leaders will reflect on who so many people are always ready to believe the worst of them. If too many here cried wolf, it was because of the Soviet habit of passing off many a wolf as Little Red Riding Hood. (*New York Times*, December 6, 1978).

Thus did the *Times* attempt to blame the Soviet Union for the most recent anti-Soviet hoax.

About six months ago, the Zionist movement, and its cold-war, anti-Soviet friends in the media and government, began crying out their hearts over Jessica Kats, a year-old infant who supposedly had a mysterious ailment that couldn't be cured in her country. The problem was, according to these staunch defenders of human rights, the Soviet government was denying her family the right to emigrate to the U.S., where she could receive adequate medical care. A "humanitarian" campaign to win her release ensued. "Those damn Russians are so anti-Semitic," ran the Zionist argument, "that they'd rather let this poor, innocent, sick baby die than let her family emigrate."

It stank from the beginning. Especially after several Soviet doctors issued a statement saying that the infant was receiving the best medical treatment (which everyone in the Soviet Union receives as a right) and they were confident in her quick recovery. (It is well known that Soviet medicine is far in advance in many areas of its U.S. counterpart. In fact, more and more U.S. citizens, as in the recent case of the paralyzed Texas athlete, are seeking to take advantage of Soviet medicine for medical problems unsolvable in this country.)

But it all fell apart when the Kats family emigrated to Boston. The December 2 *New York Times* reported the news on the front page: *throughout the duration of the campaign, Jessica Kats wasn't at all*

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No Freedom of Speech for Nazis and the KKK

by Herbert Aptheker

Defending freedom of speech for nazis and Ku Kluxers is wrong. Many people hold, on the contrary, that the rights of all must be protected and that any exception to this is a violation of the Bill of Rights, which may have a dangerous and reactionary impact upon society in general and radical advocates in particular. Although many such people are perfectly straightforward and believe themselves to be as intensely antagonistic to the tenets of the nazis and Kluxers as those who oppose free speech for fascists, they are, however, in error.

Nazis and Kluxers have no rights—in terms of proposing and forwarding their objectives—that any decent person or society should respect. On the contrary, their proposals and aims are so repulsive, false and antihuman that allowing them freedom to promulgate those ideas is a disservice to real freedom and well-being. Certainly in terms of the intentions of the creators of the Bill of Rights, the historically demonstrated purposes and results of the nazis and Kluxers represent not their implementation but their termination.

If it is agreed—and it seems to be universally agreed—that the right to freedom of speech does not include the right to cry “fire” falsely in a crowded theatre, then how can there be a right of freedom of speech to declare all Jews implacable “aliens” to social order with foul motives, veritable Satanic agents fit only for burning, and to declare all colored peoples as immutably inferior mentally and morally to white people and fit only for servitude? The force of this question is intensified when one bears in mind that this is not a theoretical question but rather one posed on the basis of historical record—and recent record at that—within an evermore crowded “theater”—i.e., the globe.

It is as though one argued for the freedom of the wolf though it meant the death of the sheep, or argued for the freedom of the slaveowner to continue enjoying his peculiar property in the name of his freedom to do so (as many did some eleven decades ago)—or insisting upon his freedom—or anybody else’s freedom—to urge the enslavement of Black people. The XIII Amendment, which abol-

ished slavery and confiscated without compensation several billion dollars worth of private property, terminated the freedom of the slaveowner.

It is absurd to abolish slavery and allow its advocacy; it is not only absurd, it is vicious and dangerous to do so—and both nazis and Kluxers insist that servitude to whites is the only proper status for Black people.

The rationalization for slavery was racism. There is no more reason to tolerate racist argumentation in the name of freedom than to tolerate the enslavement of Black people in the name of freedom of others to possess slaves.

Racism is built upon falsehood and outright forgery—from the faked experiments of Robert Bean at Johns Hopkins at the beginning of this century to the forgeries in England of Sir Cyril Burt as recently as the 1960s and early 1970s.

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is, without doubt, a forgery. It is also one of the wellsprings of anti-semitism for which just fifty years ago Henry Ford devoted a fortune. Distributed in nazi Germany by the millions, it is printed in the scores of thousands today in the United States and is widely and systematically dispersed. It is a criminal publication, a proven lie. Its publication is not only an act of falsification but also of clear and deliberate provocation aimed not only at insulting but at annihilating an entire people. When I lectured recently under the auspices of the *Daily World* in Chicago, nazis picketed the lecture hall, carrying signs stating: “Kill a Jew Today” and “Gas all Communists.” Is that the meaning of freedom of speech? That they were protected in their picketing was not a manifestation of freedom but of a backward society in which such people come into existence and in which such messages are tolerated in the name of “freedom.”

All this is not a matter of theory or of some criminally insane grouplet picketing a meeting. It is a matter of an outlook, the racism and anti-Semitism of which resulted in oceans of blood and torment for hundreds of millions of people. What is being explicitly advocated is the repetition of such atroc-

ities. To permit the promulgation of such poison in the name of freedom is absurd and vicious.

In the U.S., the KKK was in power in a dozen states for almost a century after Reconstruction, including Colorado, Ohio and Indiana in addition to Southern states in the 1920s. The son-in-law of a president of the U.S. was an active KKK member at the same time that he was Secretary of the Treasury. He very nearly became the Democratic candidate for president of the U.S. only some fifty years ago.

The nazis conquered Germany and most of Europe only forty years ago. They rule today in Chile and South Africa. There is again a Hitler cult in West Germany and there is a rise of a nazi movement in this country. In connection with the latter fact, bear in mind the considerable strength of the nazi movement in the U.S. just before World War II when, under Fritz Kuhn, the Bund had scores of thousands of members and filled Madison Square Garden to its 20,000 capacity several times in New York City in the 1930s.

When we speak, therefore of freedom for nazis we are not speaking of some "miniscule" group—to quote the adjective the *New York Times* used when defending their right to freedom of speech. (By the way, when Hitler began in a Munich Beer Hall in the 1920s he had about seventeen followers.) We are defending, rather, the right to "freedom of speech" of those adhering to an outlook and a movement which led to the death of fifty million people and which almost conquered the world—just the other day, historically speaking—and which is in power right now in significant nations on two continents.

The revival of activity by the KKK has been so significant lately that on November 10, 1978, the NAACP called upon the attorney-general of California and the U.S. attorney for Northern California to open an investigation of "the rise of Ku Klux Klan activity in Northern California." Specifically named in this appeal were KKK provocations in Novato, Eureka, Gilroy and Stockton. In the latter city, late in October, the KKK held a "White Power" rally complete with a cross burning. When questioned about this by the *Stockton Record*, the city's fire marshall responded: "No fire permit is required for burning a cross since it is classified as a ceremonial or recreational-type fire. If it were something like a college or high school bonfire, a permit would be required."

Sometimes those demanding that nazis and

Kluxers be called criminals are called censors. The racists are the censors. It is they who have hidden from most people the truth about Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Native American Indian and Asian American history and culture. They are the censors who have made of our dominant texts and curricula displays of racism through sins of omission and of commission. Combatting racism is not censorship; it is one form of effective struggle against the dominant censorship which characterizes our society today.

Some declare that this idea of making criminal the advocacy of the view of nazis and Kluxers is unprecedented or something done only by socialist states—and so presumably on its face wrong or "totalitarian." Actually in our own society through experience and struggle we do have laws and regulations forbidding the expression of racist or anti-Semitic ideas or desires. For instance, in many areas the placing of advertisements which are racially exclusive or hostile to certain religious affiliations is forbidden. You may not advertise in the *New York Times*, for example, and that newspaper is forbidden to publish, an advertisement which states: "Only Whites Need Apply" or "No Irish Hired" or "Churches Nearby," etc. The freedom of landlords to so advertise or so control the use or renting of their properties also is denied by law. Not only do many political bodies in the U.S. have legislation banning racist and anti-Semitic writings or practices, but many nations, including non-socialist nations, have such legislation. This is true of Great Britain, which makes criminal, language which insults other peoples in racist terms. Noteworthy is the law in the Netherlands which has been effective for many years; Article 137c and d of the Penal Code of that nation states:

Any propaganda or organization based on the theory of the superiority of one race or group of persons of one color or ethnic origin with a view to justify or promote racial discrimination, hatred or abuse; or any act of violence or incitement against any person or group of persons by reason of or reference to religious, racial or ethnic affiliation shall be considered an offense against society and punishable under law. A warning shall be given the persons involved that prosecution is intended.

As recently as 1972, France passed a law making

it a crime to incite race hatred or discrimination. In a recent article in *The Nation* (September 2, 1978) Carey McWilliams called attention to "The Militarization of Politics" with the uniformed nazis and Kluxers. He noted that in the 1930s, "Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Holland, Switzerland, Ireland, Finland and finally Great Britain had to impose restrictions on the wearing of uniforms". He added: "It is a matter of record that Sir Oswald Mosley's Black Shirt movement began to decline once uniforms were banned in marches and street demonstrations." Then, noting specifically the importance symptomatically of the resurgence of nazism and KKK activity in the United States, Mr. McWilliams urges "some hard critical thinking about the militarization of politics as a potential threat to a democratic order."

By the Potsdam Treaty of 1945, signed by the victorious Allies, including the United States, the German people were forbidden to disseminate nazi ideas. The Treaty specifically forbids them nazi newspapers, books, propaganda, uniforms, organizations, etc. Does this represent a deprivation of the freedom of the German people, or an enhancement of the actual dignity and rights and, therefore the actual freedom of humanity—including the German people—based on the lessons humanity has learned?

Is it not tragic that the provisions of the Potsdam Treaty have been enforced in only one of the two German states—the German Democratic Republic? Or is its enforcement in the GDR proof of Marxism's and socialism's lack of freedom? Is it not tragic that the German Federal Republic has what the Western press refers to as a Hitler boom or vogue, in which nazi organizations, parties and propaganda are again being financed and again are flourishing? Is it not characteristic that with the rise of an ultra-Right, one finds the government of the Federal Republic practicing a kind of McCarthyism?

Furthermore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the UN in December 1948, especially condemned discriminatory practices and urged that "by teaching and education" such ideas be overcome and such practices eliminated. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in December 1966, provides in Article 20: "Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that

constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law." And in the resolution adopted by the United Nations International Conference on Human Rights held in May 1968, paragraph 8 reads as follows:

The peoples of the world must be made fully aware of the evils of racial discrimination and must join in combatting them. The implementation of this principle of non-discrimination, embodied in the Charter of the UN, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other international instruments in the field of human rights, constitutes a most urgent task of mankind at the international as well as at the national level. All ideologies based on racial superiority and intolerance must be condemned and resisted.

Only ninety years ago an eminent U.S. physician, William A. Hammond, argued in one of the most prestigious journals of the time, the *North American Review* (July 1883) for the banning of women from politics.

The female brain is not only smaller than that of man, but it is different in structure . . . [there are] numerous and striking differences between them . . . [the woman's brain is one] from which emotion rather than intellect is evolved . . . the female brain besides being emotional is an imitative brain . . . woman cannot reason abstractly and cannot reason exactly . . . there is a peculiar neurotic condition called hysteria which is ingrafted in the organization of woman . . .

I suppose there are Hammonds in the United States today. Shall we offer them public facilities for expounding and promulgating these views?

As already noted, it is but fifty years since Henry Ford, spent, through his *Dearborn Independent*, millions of dollars publicizing the ideas and text of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion until public pressure forced him to cease and to promise to desist and indeed to publicly apologize for libelling an entire people. Shall we support a public debate as to the validity of the Protocols and their characterization of Jewish people? Were those who forced Ford to stop publishing these vicious libels foes of freedom? One might add that only a single generation ago through his "Social Justice" newspaper and his regular radio broadcasts, Charles

Coughlin was reaching tens of millions of Americans with the same kinds of lies and incitements. World War II made his propaganda treasonous and forced its cessation. Was stopping that fascist propaganda a blow against freedom of speech?

Are these matters of debate? Are these questions for scientific inquiry now as the 20th century comes to a close? Or are these not historical curiosities and monstrosities—testimonials to human ingenuity in the service of exploitative, rotten and obsolete social systems?

Racism is no more a matter of debate than are Dr. Hammond's views on women, or Ford's or Coughlin's views about Jews. Racism's every tenet has been refuted without a shred of doubt. Racism was created to justify exploitation and oppression and in its name children have been tormented, women assaulted, men butchered and entire peoples crucified. This is not a matter of debate of "free speech." This is a matter of outlawry.

The history and promulgation of racist ideology shows that it is never an *abstraction* or a mere *discussion*. Racism and its promulgation always have been part of a sustained campaign for intensified racist *practice*. One example—and examples could be multiplied by the hundreds—is the writings of Thomas Dixon, such as *The Clansman*, and the creation of the movie based upon its writings, *Birth of a Nation*, which appeared at a time when hundreds of Black people were being lynched each year, when the legalization and institutionalizing of jim crow triumphed and when the disfranchisement of the Black masses of the South was accomplished. *Birth of a Nation*, vile in its racism, was shown to tens of millions of people during and after World War I and played a part, without any doubt, in the slaughter of hundreds of Black people in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Washington, D.C., East St. Louis and Chicago, Illinois, Elaine, Arkansas and in Texas and Georgia. It played a part in the appearance of a mass KKK which by 1920 had about five million members and was a powerful political force in such states as Maine, Ohio, Colorado and Indiana as well as throughout the South.

Therefore, when the NAACP—and Dr. Du Bois in the first place—demanded the banning of *Birth of a Nation* and picketed theaters in an effort to prevent its showing, the NAACP was right. It was seeking to prevent a curbing of human rights, an intensification of oppression. The banning of *Birth of a Nation* would have been a blow for freedom.

We are witnessing an intensification of racist propaganda and racist actions highlighted in the resurgence of the nazis and the KKK and illustrated in the assault upon affirmative action.

Some state that making criminal nazi and KKK propaganda and activity would hurt the Left in the sense that such outlawing would be used to justify outlawing the Left. This is erroneous. The rising strength of racism and a resurgence of such organizations as the nazis and the KKK represent the real threat to the Left, to democracy. Outlawing racist propaganda and the nazis and the KKK would be a great triumph of the Left, and the very struggle for such an outcome would strengthen the Left.

Moreover, this kind of argument smacks of timidity and opportunism and reflects a lack of comprehension of the horror of racism and the threat it poses to a democratic society. In any case, the Left cannot operate in fear of "antagonizing" the powers that be; if such antagonism does not exist, the Left is highly suspect! The idea that raising the effort to illegalize nazis and the KKK threatens the Left is akin to the idea that protesting anti-Semitism imperils Jews. It is a counsel of paralysis and stems, basically, from a position of acquiescence to the status quo.

All the world agrees that chattel slavery is wrong and all the world has banned it. Most of the world agrees that racism is wrong and much of the world has banned it. In both cases, those who extirpated the evil and prohibited the poison represent the best of humanity; they are the real and effective friends of actual human freedom.

The poison of racism was important in making Germany fall prey to fascism; this brought disaster to the people of Germany and the world. Would that Hitler's propaganda had been effectively banned *before* he became Chancellor of Germany!

The poison of racism has infected the U.S., causing misery and suffering of untold dimensions. But its persistence makes the U.S. especially liable to fascism. A fascist Germany brought disaster to humanity; a fascist U.S., given its power, means catastrophe first for us and then for all the world. With the meaning of Watergate, the tendency toward fascism is clearly intense.

Nothing less than this is at stake as we consider how best to combat racism in our own country. Either it is extirpated or the extirpation of human life may well occur.

An effective element in that struggle is to

understand that nazis and Kluxers must not be free to spread their poisons. Progressive and democratic forces must work out together—with the careful help of attorneys and other trained people—a ballot proposition initiative which would provide the kind of legislation, now in effect in the Netherlands, Great Britain and France and recommended many

times by the UN, that would make criminal the kind of racist propaganda that flows from nazi and KKK organizations. The very effort to work out such a proposition and to get it on the ballot would be an important blow for freedom—let alone getting it on the ballot and then getting it approved by the majority of the electorate. ■

President Carter's Camp David summit is the culmination of U.S. imperialism's attempt to split and weaken the Arab national liberation movement and to impose a neocolonialist version of a peace settlement, initiated by Henry Kissinger's "step-by-step" diplomacy following the 1973 war. This policy has prolonged the conflict, enabled Israel to invade southern Lebanon — with the attendant genocidal results — caused increased oppression and bloodshed by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza, escalated the dangerous and costly arms race and undermined the quality of living and endangered the lives of all peoples in the area. The victors are the oil corporations; the losers are the peoples of the Middle East.

The separate agreements signed by Carter, President Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel are not a step toward peace because they do not resolve any of the basic issues. Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, self-determination for the Palestinian Arab people and the establishment of secure and recognized boundaries within which all states can live in peace, remain to be realized.

Events over the last five years have proven conclusively that the conflict cannot be resolved outside the framework of the Geneva Conference, co-chaired by the Soviet Union and the U.S. In Security Council Resolution 338, which called for such a conference, the UN recognized that peace can be achieved only with the participation of all parties to the conflict — especially the Palestine Liberation Organization and Syria.

In the joint communique signed in October 1977 by the U.S. and the Soviet Union, both countries agreed on the basic principles that should govern

This statement was issued in September by Henry Winston, national chairman, and Gus Hall, general secretary on behalf of the Central Committee, CPUSA.

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the peace process: recognition of the central role of the UN, of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, and of the need for a comprehensive, as opposed to separate, solution of the conflict, that will address the interests of all parties. The Carter Administration's actions in defiance of the commune can only be characterized as hypocritical.

By excluding certain countries and the PLO, and by holding the meeting under the aegis of U.S. imperialism rather than of the UN, Carter and his disciples demonstrated their desire not for a just and lasting peace, but for a peace that would benefit imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction. And Carter has followed the usual pattern of reactionary politicians, including Hitler, by trying to cover his actions with anticommunism.

The agreements do not provide for Israeli withdrawal from occupied territory, but for a "legalized" occupation of the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. They do not call for removal of the colonialist Israeli settlements, even in Sinai. They do not provide for the security of any state in the region.

For years, Israel has established itself as U.S. imperialism's gendarme in the Middle East. The latest agreements are dangerous for the Israeli people because they legalize the occupation, keep Begin in power and maintain the war economy. Now, U.S. imperialism is using Egypt's economic and financial difficulties (including an \$18 billion foreign debt) — brought about by Sadat's "open door" policy — to force Egypt into submission to imperialism's plans. But Sadat's accommodation to imperialism and Zionism has met only rejection in the Arab world. The heroic people of the West Bank are demonstrating their rejection through a general strike. The PLO, Syria, Algeria, Libya and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen have severed their ties with Egypt.

The almost unanimous support from Democrats and Republicans for Carter's "victory" demonstrates even further the bankruptcy of the two-party system. When the basic interests of U.S. imperialism are at stake, the two parties of big business fall in line. U.S. imperialism is attempting to reverse the course of developments in the Middle East, to the advantage of the oil monopolies, the armaments industry and the Pentagon. It is fighting for strategic ground from which to attack the Soviet Union and split the anti-imperialist movement. The interests of the working people, however, are just the

opposite.

Although Administration officials have denied it, indications are that the U.S. has backed the summit agreements with provisions for increased U.S. military interference in the Middle East. Begin has already stated that the U.S. will build two military airfields at a cost of \$1 billion, and has invited the Pentagon to open naval bases in Israel. Congress has just passed a bill that allocates \$1.7 billion in mostly military aid to Egypt, Israel, and Jordan "to help promote peace in the Middle East," as some newspapers have reported.

The stationing of U.S. military technicians and personnel, not to speak of U.S. military bases, in the center of the conflict can only threaten world peace. Such actions are in direct opposition to detente and the relaxation of tensions, and reflect the cold-war influence of Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor on U.S. foreign policy. U.S. imperialism's historic objective of using the Middle East as a base for military aggression against the national liberation movements, the independent states and the Soviet Union is dramatically exposed in the summit agreements.

The \$1 billion price tag for the two airfields, and the added military aid package, are an outrage in the face of the high unemployment here at home and the dire financial needs of our cities. These plans must be met with the most resolute opposition by the working people of our country. We will have no more Vietnams!

Peace cannot be achieved without total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied territory. Occupation of "strategic pockets" on the West Bank — called for in the agreements — is still occupation and an obstacle to peace. Giving the Palestinians, in Carter's words, "the right to participate in determining their future" is not self-determination. Only the Palestinians themselves can determine their future, and only the PLO can speak for them. The imperative of peace through justice requires recognition of their right to self-determination, including their right to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza and their right to return to their homeland. Any other proposal leads only to conflict.

These agreements only heighten tension and will not lead to peace. The progressive forces in the Middle East, in the first place the Palestinians, will not stand for these agreements. Even Jordan and

Saudi Arabia have rejected them. The progressive forces in the world will not condone them. It is more urgent than ever for the progressive and peace-loving forces in the U.S. to expose Carter's maneuvering, to force him to abrogate these agreements, and to demand that the U.S. work with the Soviet Union for the immediate implementation of

the joint U.S.-Soviet communique of October 1977.

NO U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST!

IMPLEMENT THE U.S.-SOVIET COMMUNIQUE!

RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE!

The Personal

by Aaron Vergelis

**And even if. . . It makes no difference;
I've always been, always shall be.
What's mine's with me; to be myself
Everywhere — that's my destiny.**

**I've taken and I've rendered up
What's mine. My name has been my own.
Never have I concealed my essence;
In my own words I've made it known.**

**And even if. . . It makes no difference;
My soul cannot be duplicated.
My world and yours merged into one,
But mine's not been eliminated.**

**And should someone head through the
clouds
Towards my voice, even a hundred
years from now, he will be shaken —
My voice and I cannot be sundered.**

**Oh yes, he will be truly shaken,
For he's about to learn at last:
Heart won't surrender faith and con-
science
Even though a hundred years have passed.**

**Calling to mountains, fields and forests,
My friend will find me and be shaken:
Can my heart from the field of battle
After all that time by force be taken?**

**Man of the Universe, he'll learn
That life itself has joined and
Merged forever with all my poems,
Here in my earthly motherland.**

**I've taken and I've rendered up
What's mine. My name has been my own.
Never have I concealed my essence:
In my own words I've made it known.**

Aaron Vergelis, poet, writer and editor of Sovetish Heimland, a Soviet Yiddish monthly magazine, was recently awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labor by the Presidium of the USSR on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

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Interpress Photo

Warsaw Ghetto Boy Is Found

by Sol Flapan

He's alive! that Jewish boy from the Warsaw Ghetto being rounded up with his neighbors by Nazi Germans. And he's among the living today, thanks to Polish anti-Nazi freedom-fighters and Soviet people who foiled German fascism's "final solution to the Jewish question."

Whose eyes have not filled with tears, whose heart has not nervously skipped a beat when looking at a wartime photograph of a frightened child holding his hands up in surrender with a smirking Hitlerite in the background toting an automatic rifle at the ready? What happened to that terror-stricken youngster, probably already seeing himself crowded with other victims in a windowless chamber gasping for breath as gas hisses out of pipes installed along the ceiling like an innocent shower facility?

The "Ghetto Boy" has been traced by enterprising reporters to London where he now resides, a 43-year-old businessman and father of four children. The former lad from the Ghetto recently related to newsmen how he and his mother miraculously managed to escape from a Nazi transport (probably to the notorious Treblinka death camp,

which was the "last stop" for Ghetto inhabitants).

For many months they were cared for by a Polish partisan formation operating in the forests of eastern Poland.

In time, mother and son were assisted in making their way to Soviet territory. There, friendly and understanding authorities helped them find their husband and father.

Then typhus struck the youngster, whose eyesight was further threatened by total exhaustion and general debility. But Soviet doctors saved his life and his sight.

Thus, still another Polish-Jewish family was rescued and shielded from fascist genocide.

After the war the "Ghetto Boy" and his family repatriated to Poland, emigrating to relatives in London soon thereafter.

Meanwhile, the Jewish Historical Institute here has received a letter from Jadwiga Piasecka who declares under oath that the youngster "in the famous picture . . . is Arthur Semiatek . . . who was born in Lowicz in 1935." The JHI has forwarded Ms. Piasecka's letter to appropriate scholars and historians in Israel.

And in Israel, Sophia B'Nimini has informed newsmen that the lad in question is the son of

Sol Flapan is a regular contributor to *Jewish Affairs*, the *Daily World* and *Glos Ludowy*.

Sarah Semiatek, her sister. She also told Tel Aviv reporters that she, too, survived the Ghetto nightmare ". . . by escaping to the Polish side. . . ."

The "Ghetto Boy" picture is in fact a nazi-made photo which was appended to a report by SS General Jurgen Stroop, the liquidator of the Ghetto, confirming the "final solution" to the Warsaw Ghetto. It was presented at the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, West Germany in 1945 as evidence of nazi crimes perpetrated in the Warsaw Ghetto. It was then passed on to the Main Commission Investigating Nazi Crimes in Poland here in Warsaw where it is on file. The original caption under the "Ghetto Boy" picture says "Mit Gewalt aus Bunkern hervorgeholt" ("Flushed out of the bunkers by force").

What a dramatic and true story! Worthy, indeed, of an NBC "Holocaust"-type nine-hour TV serial. Provided of course that the mouthpiece of U.S. monopoly sticks to the truth.

Like depicting the Ghetto-makers and destroyers and the executioners of the Jews in their nazi uniforms — and not as wearing the Polish four-cornered military cap with the Polish eagle as in "Holocaust," thus shamelessly imputing Polish collaboration in the murder of Jews here. Or by portraying the Polish antinazi underground as not only caring for the "Ghetto Boy" and his mother, but as sending officers, instructors and political activists into the Ghetto to help organize and to fight with their Jewish comrades against the common foe, whose genocidal frenzy was targeted at the entire Polish nation, gentile and Jew alike.

True to history, the Poles deserve to be shown risking their lives smuggling arms into the Ghetto and not allegedly shortchanging their Jewish compatriots, who have come to some fictitious shady character to "buy" weapons as is falsely shown in NBC's warped version of the holocaust. Such a transaction could only have been hatched in NBC's commercialized profit-oriented mind.

Truth cries out that the Poles be remembered as risking life and limb smuggling Jews out from behind the Wall and shepherding them to guerrilla units or to other good people who sheltered them and shared their meager rations with them, in many cases until liberation. So why not devote some suspense-filled sequences to showing Polish workers, peasants, intellectuals and clergy giving aid, comfort and protection to harassed Jews even though such "anti-aryan" audacity triggered the brutish

reply of "collective responsibility" and "collective punishment."

One part of a truthful serial of the real nazi Gehenna could be devoted to remembering that ". . . the Poles are the only people who have never produced a Quisling. All others had. . . . The Poles have suffered no less than we (Jews) did. Proportionately we suffered more, but the Poles have also been horribly affected by extermination. . . ." Thus recalled Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president emeritus of the World Jewish Congress to a Polish reporter during his participation here in the April 1978 memorial commemorations of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

Also worthy of retelling are the "endeavors to save European Jewry during World War II with the help of the Polish diplomatic service." Such a paper was read by Rabbi Issak Lewin from the U.S. at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw.

"We are anxious," he said, "that with the horrific picture of genocide carried out by the (nazi) Germans on European Jewry, there should not go forgotten a feature that stands out from this grisly background. In this period of inferno there were people who endangered their lives to help the nazi victims. Among them were not only those who gave food and shelter to Jews hounded by the German cutthroats, knowing that it could mean death, but also those Poles in the diplomatic service who at the risk of their position offered help in any action, often illegal, which might lead to the rescue of the doomed nazi victims."

Rabbi Lewin is a professor of history, Roman and Judaic law at a number of U.S. universities and a member of rabbinical organizations.

Indeed, the Polish underground and people of the diplomatic corps actually did compile and send reports to the allies on what the nazis were perpetrating here and were not silent about the Ghetto atrocity as is maliciously portrayed in a sequence in NBC's story of Hitler's occupation of this country.

Furthermore, in recreating the nazi holocaust here it would seem incumbent that veterans of Poland's wartime resistance movement, Poles and Jews alike, be consulted as historic and prop experts and not solicit "expertise" of former black-uniformed SS thugs as was the case in NBC's falsification of history.

As for the authorship and other credits for the film ". . . It was done on the basis of a book written by a man called (Gerald) Green — I have

never heard his name, based on a report of a Jew called (Joseph) Weiss — nobody knows him. . . ." (Dr. Goldman in the aforementioned interview.)

Finally, let it be remembered that Poles and their Jewish brothers and sisters together resisted the nazis. They rallied under an old Polish revolutionary slogan "For your freedom and ours." Shoulder

to shoulder they battled for their common liberty here in blood-drenched Poland as well as on all the far-flung fronts of World War II — and especially in the ranks of the reborn Polish People's Army, which fought side by side with the victorious Soviet Army right up to the final defeat of the engineers of the holocaust in Berlin. ■

Anti-Semitism in the U.S.

by A. Konstantinov

There are two main forms of anti-Semitism in the United States. One is open and extreme and is propagated by ultra-Right, fascist elements and organizations which also adopt extreme, anticommunist standpoints. The other form is more "respectable" and has come to be known as "grey anti-Semitism."

The adherents of the first form not only do not hide their views, but propagate them in countless periodicals and other printed matter. For instance, *White Power*, a rag published by the National Socialist White Peoples Party (the former American Nazi Party), features instructions on how to answer such questions as "Why are the national socialists anti-Semitic?" and "What they have against the Jews."¹ In the list of recommended reading, the top three places for many months were held by Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Henry Ford's *The International Jew*.

A frenzied anti-Semitic campaign is also being conducted in the U.S. by the Liberty Lobby with its 20 thousand members, the John Birch Society which, in the first half of the seventies, had four thousand local sections with tens of thousands of members, the Ku Klux Klan, the Christian Nationalist Crusade, the National States Rights Party, the American Party, whose candidate collected over a million votes in the 1972 presidential elections, and many other extreme Right-wing organizations. "We're not forgetting the Jews either," warned R. Frankhauser, one of the leaders of the Minutemen organization in Pennsylvania. "If only the Jews knew what was going to happen to them — believe

me, it will come as sure as the dawn tomorrow — they would realize that compared with what is going to happen in America, Hitler's Germany will look like a Sunday school picnic. We will build the best gas chambers, and in great numbers. And this time there won't be any refugees. . . ."

The blatant anti-Semites will stoop to any vile-ness to poison the lives of the Jews. Swastikas painted on houses, synagogues blown up and set on fire, Jewish cemeteries desecrated, humiliation and intimidation and acts of anti-Semitic vandalism have become part of daily life in the United States.

"Grey anti-Semitism" has become still more widespread in the U.S. Although "Jewish quotas" are no longer officially accepted in universities and colleges, certain higher educational establishments are, in fact, artificially putting restrictions in one way or another on the number of students of Jewish descent. Anti-Semitic stereotypes are a constant feature of films and TV broadcasts, comics and other mass publications. Expressions of anti-Semitic prejudice are often found in history books and other high school textbooks.

There is also widespread discrimination against Jews applying for jobs.

In many places, Jews cannot rent or acquire houses or apartments in the fashionable neighborhoods. There was a big scandal recently, for instance, over top film star Barbara Streisand, who was unable to rent an apartment to which she had taken a strong liking on Fifth Avenue in New York, solely because she was Jewish, although she was willing to pay the earth in rent. And this is not an unusual incident. The interest of the world press in the case was aroused not by the discrimination (a

This article is reprinted from the No. issue of Sovetish Heimland.

survey carried out several years ago revealed that even in New York, of 175 companies dealing in property, approximately one third do not rent apartments to Jews), but because a famous actress had been refused an apartment.

Even citizens of Jewish nationality who are very well off and hold important positions are faced with problems: how to get their children into the exclusive private schools, how to become members of an exclusive and privileged club (in 46 states, about 700 business clubs do not admit Jews) and so on. Here is another example. Distinguished physicist Harold Brown is well known in the U.S. as Secretary of Defense. Before his appointment as head of the Pentagon, he had been president of Caltech and several times had held highly responsible posts in Washington. Even to him, however, the doors of certain privileged clubs were closed. "Only recently," reported *Time* magazine in December 1976, "he became a sort of 'touchstone' by applying for admission to the exclusive Los Angeles California Club, none of whose members had previously been of Jewish descent."²

There are anti-Semites even at the higher level of state power. This is clear from the Watergate tapes, for instance, or from the anti-Semitic stereotypes frequently brought up by William Saxby, attorney-general, if you please, under Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Such are the day-to-day facts of life in the U.S. As was stressed in the Resolution adopted at the 21st Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., they provide convincing testimony that "the Jewish population of the United States is a victim of anti-Semitism which, like all other forms of racism and chauvinism, is a means by which monopoly capital disunites the working class and intensifies capitalist exploitation and oppression."³

The activities of the anti-Semites (and particular stress should be laid on this) are not usually rebuffed by Zionist leaders as they should be. One example of this is the Anti-Defamation League, which is more and more frequently replacing the battle against anti-Semitism and the defense of civil rights with the baiting of anti-Zionists and with flagrant anti-Sovietism in the spirit of the cold war. Thus, in their book, *The New Anti-Semitism*, Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein bring charges of anti-Semitism against all who do not fully and wholeheartedly support the expansionist policy of the Israeli government — from J. Fulbright, former

chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs, to the Communist Party. Moreover, Forster and Epstein try to create the impression that the chief threat to Jews comes from the progressive forces, including the radical wing of the civil rights movement. To this end, they use the fallacious method of identifying anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, it is by playing on this provocation that the Zionists and their patrons are deliberately firing a noisy barrage of words at the phony targets of "Left anti-Semitism," "Black anti-Semitism," and so forth. And this is far from accidental.

By attacking the real allies of Jews in the struggle against racism and for democracy and progress, such enemies of peace are diverting the Jewish population from the struggle against their class enemy and against the cause of anti-Semitism; at the same time, they are attempting to steer Jews on to a course of racism and anti-Sovietism.

By taking an active part in the anti-Soviet campaign of provocation, the leaders of the "respectable" organizations are identifying themselves with such open pogrom makers from Zionism as Meir Kahane, ataman of the notorious Jewish Defense League, although from time to time they try to dissociate themselves verbally from its unbridled activities.

Such a standpoint can, of course, only hinder the fight against the virus of anti-Semitism in the U.S.

"The absence in the U.S. of a serious struggle against anti-Semitism, and also the concentration of Zionist forces on a smear campaign for the 'liberation' of Soviet Jews," stated the 21st Convention of the Communist Party, "can only encourage the forces of racism and anti-Semitism."⁴

We fully agree with this appraisal by the U.S. Communists, who have always been in the forefront of the struggle for the total eradication of anti-Semitism and who, at their last Party Convention, devoted special attention to the planning of practical and feasible measures for the struggle against this disgraceful aspect of internal political life in the U.S.⁵

1. *White Power*, Vol. 7, No. 7, p. 5.
2. *Time*, December 20, 1976, p. 18.
3. *Jewish Affairs*, May-June 1975, p. 5.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*

ill! The whole thing was a hoax, a fraud not only against the Soviet Union, but against those people who were duped by the anti-Sovieters.

Yet the *New York Times* has the *chutzpah* to blame this hoax on the Soviet Union. "We were forced to lie," it is saying. So much for "free speech" and "free press." Not only is this an example of the worst gutter-level journalism, but it is an outrage against those whose humanitarian concern was misused and abused, channeled into anti-Sovietism.

It seems that, where the Soviet Union is concerned, any form of attack is acceptable to the *New York Times* and the Zionist movement: lying, deceit, using babies and people for anti-Soviet ends. The end justifies the means.

Those who fell for this hoax, and those influenced by the anti-Sovietism of the Zionist movement, should give pause and consider their situation. The Kats case was a hoax because anti-Sovietism is a hoax.

One last note: the Kats family postponed their departure from the Soviet Union because the wife was pregnant. They wanted to have the baby in the Soviet Union to take advantage of the quality, free medical care.

An Important Event

The two-day National Conference on Work Among the Jewish People, held October 28 and 29 in New York City under the sponsorship of *Jewish Affairs*, was an important event in the history of the Jewish Section of the Nationalities Department of the CPUSA.

This was the first such conference in ten years and it brought together 70 leaders and activists of the progressive Jewish movement from New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New Jersey. A significant number of delegates were non-Party friends and sympathizers, and a large proportion of the delegates were women.

The conference met at a time of intense maneuvering by imperialism to frustrate the national liberation forces in the Middle East and in Africa, to impose a false "peace" with the help of reactionary forces and collaborators in these areas; at a time when U.S. monopoly capital, under the cover of anti-inflation demagoguery, is stepping up its offensive against U.S. workers and increasingly using racism to scuttle the gains won by Black people and

other minorities; and at a time when nazi, and fascist groups are strutting more boldly throughout the land.

The excellent and comprehensive keynote report by Alex Kolkin, chairman of the Jewish section, set the tone for the conference, which then divided into panels on the struggle against racism and anti-Semitism, on work in Jewish organizations, and on *Jewish Affairs*.

The panel discussions were lively and sharp, and centered on the problems of Jewish progressive organizations—how to make them more effective and how to enable them to reach out to broader Jewish organizations. At the same time recognition was given to the need to turn our attention to the younger, English-speaking second and third generation Jews if we are to challenge the policies of the Jewish bourgeois nationalist leadership.

Attention was also given to the economic and class questions facing Jewish workers, senior citizens and youth, and to the need to struggle on these as well as on the more directly national questions; to the increase of racism in the Jewish community and the danger of a new Bakke case in the steel industry; as well as to the dangerous rise of nazi and anti-Semitic groups. Ways to improve and expand *Jewish Affairs* were discussed, particularly the need for the organization of support committees in the local areas.

Resolutions proposed by the panels to the plenary sessions evoked considerable debate. They and evaluations of the conference will appear in future issues of *Jewish Affairs*.

A public meeting held Saturday night heard Jarvis Tyner, Communist Party candidate for Governor of New York State as well as Jack Kling, Illinois Communist leader, and Gertrude Decker, leader in the Jewish women's movement.

Mention must be made of those who made outstanding contributions to the conference—Alex Kolkin, for his work in organizing the conference, his keynote report and his excellent summary; Jack Kling, who played a dynamic part in the panels and plenary; Danny Spector, assistant editor of *Jewish Affairs*, who led the panel on racism and anti-Semitism; Thomas Dennis, representing the Political Bureau of the CPUSA and chairman of its Nationalities Department, who brought ideological clarity to difficult questions.

Particular note must be made of the very important role played in all the sessions by the out-of-town delegates. The plenary sessions were chaired by Sam Aronoff and Sophie Silver, leaders from the Los Angeles area.

The conference did not solve all problems nor

answer all questions, many of which were raised for the first time. This must be left to what we hope will be a very fruitful post-conference discussion.

Nevertheless, the conference was a step forward in strengthening the ideological unity, political mobilization and organizational cohesion of those comrades and friends involved in work in Jewish organizations and communities. ■

The Basis for Unity

The intensified monopoly attack on the quality of life of working people, exemplified in Carter's "anti-inflation," wage control demagoguery, has been accompanied by a new level of racism. In fact, for monopoly to succeed in driving up profits at the expense of the people, it *must* make increasing use of racism to undermine and defeat the opposition. The more direct role of the state as an instrument of monopoly profiteering has brought a new dimension to monopoly's racist offensive. Central to this offensive is the attack on affirmative action programs with quotas, signaled in the Supreme Court's Bakke decision, and continuing now with the Weber case, which is an attack on affirmative action programs in industry.

We must understand the new level of racism in this context. Those victims of monopoly's policies—the overwhelming majority of people—can repel this attack only through antimonopoly unity, which must be based on Black-white, workingclass unity. Given the nature and role of racism as a cornerstone of the monopoly offensive, Black-white unity can be developed and strengthened only on the basis of the struggle against racism.

The recent replies by some Jewish organizations and media to the call for Black-Jewish dialogue by the editors of the *Amsterdam News* are examples of the kind of self-serving, false-innocence attitudes that have been obstacles to Black-Jewish unity. Without exception the statements issued, from the *Morning Freiheit* to the American Jewish Congress, contained no recognition of the centrality of the struggle against racism, nor of the special responsibility of whites to take up this struggle. Instead, their approach was "there have been mistakes on both sides. Let us put the past behind us and look to the future." Not a word about affirmative action with quotas. Not a word about the intensification of racism in the Jewish community by the Zionist movement and the U.S. ruling class. Not a word

about the support of Bakke by the leading Jewish organizations and of the role of the ADL in the Weber case.

In a racist society, there can be no equalizing of the responsibility in the struggle against oppression. A *Morning Freiheit* editorial (September 20, 1978) said: "Our common sufferings through anti-Semitic and racist discrimination have naturally cemented this cooperation. . . ." But this cooperation was not a natural development, nor do Blacks and Jews suffer in common. Those in the Jewish community who understand the centrality of the struggle against racism make the greatest contribution not only to the Black liberation movement but to the struggle against anti-Semitism as well.

Racism is inherent in Zionism because Zionism is the ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which is an integral part of the capitalist system that spawned the ideology of white supremacy. The Jewish bourgeoisie, through its domination of organized Jewish life, willingly fulfills its part in the racist offensive of its class. Organized support for Bakke and for Brian Weber, virulent opposition to affirmative action with quotas, silence in the face of police and vigilante brutality and murder in the Black community, hysteria over "Black anti-Semitism" and "reverse discrimination," campaigns for the death penalty and against "Black crime," support for the chauvinist, aggressive policies of the Israeli ruling class and for Israeli-South African cooperation—all this testifies to the deep-rooted racism of the Jewish bourgeoisie, a racism which is no less and no more deep-rooted among other sections of the ruling class.

Black-Jewish unity can never be built on this basis, or on acquiescence to this. To speak of unity in such a context is to say, "We are for Black-Jewish unity, but only in opposition to affirmative action with quotas. We are for Black-Jewish unity against 'reverse discrimination.' We are for Black-Jewish unity in support of the Israeli government and its relations with South Africa." Not only is such unity unthinkable, but its propagation is itself racist.

The most important and lasting, in fact the most decisive contribution to Black-Jewish unity that we as Jewish Americans can make, is to fight the racism of "our own" bourgeoisie, which harms us as it harms Black people. It is instructive that the initiative for Black-Jewish dialogue came from the Black community, which historically has been the

first actively to seek allies in the struggle for equality and freedom, against all forms of national oppression.

We are for Black-Jewish unity, based on workingclass unity. But this must be a new level of unity, to meet the new challenges of today, the new forms of the racist offensive and their particular manifestations in the Jewish community. At the heart of such unity must be an ideological campaign to win the masses of Jewish working people to sup-

port for affirmative action programs with quotas. To do so requires a struggle against the harmful racist influence of Zionism among the Jewish people. Any other approach, although covered with fig leaf slogans of "the right to equality" and "unity against a common oppression," will lead inevitably to heightened levels of racism in the Jewish community and a further deterioration of Black-Jewish relations. ■



"While he lived my father had another dream. He lived for his dream, he worked for his dream and he fought for his dream. It is a dream of a better world, a happier world, a more just world." — from the eulogy by his son, Martin.

June 21, 1910 JACK ROSEN August 19, 1978

In memory of
Jack Schneider

died November 9, 1976

Editorial Board
Jewish Affairs

Our deepest condolences to Rose Sorkin on the death of her husband, Abe. He will be remembered as a fighter for a better world.

The Editors

The sudden death of

ABE SORKIN

on November 28 leaves us with deep grief. He was an uncompromising fighter against racism and anti-Semitism; a dedicated friend of the Soviet Union; a partisan for peace and justice in the Middle East and the world. Our heartfelt condolences to his wife, Rose, and family.

Florida Progressives

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Alex Kolkin, Managing Editor

Sarah & Harry Tobman!

Greetings on your 50th wedding anniversary. Many happy returns. Good luck to you and your family.

Ida Gaffin Fotinof

Congratulations to Sarah & Harry Tobman on your 50th wedding anniversary.

My dear friends, my heartiest congratulations and best wishes for many more happy and healthy years together.

**Muriel Rothblat
L.A.**

**Greetings to Jewish Affairs
Carl M. Levin**

**Dear Sarah & Harry—
Wishing you both the best of everything on your 50th wedding anniversary
Leo & Iola**

**Congratulations and best wishes to
Sarah & Harry Tobman
on your 50th wedding anniversary.**

**Editorial Bd.
Jewish Affairs**

**Our warmest greetings to Alex & Sonia Kolkin, with our fervent hope for their speediest recovery.
The Editors**

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FOR AN END TO EXPLOITATION AND RACISM
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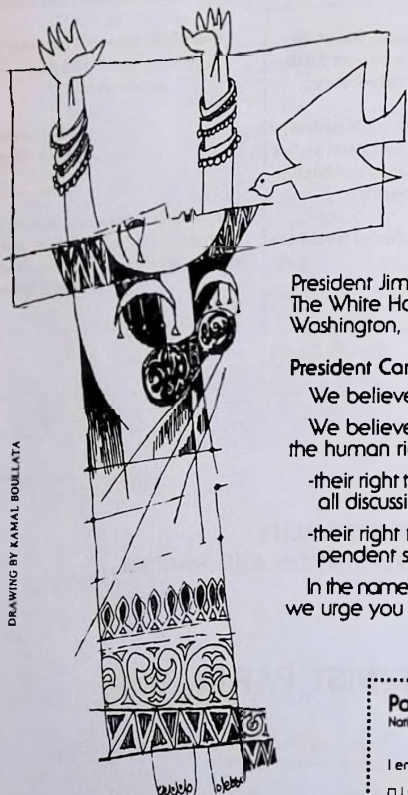
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in the name of peace... in the name of human rights...



DRAWING BY KAMAL BOULLATA

The Camp David Agreements failed to satisfy, in any meaningful way, the rights of the Palestinian people to live as a free people with full human rights.

After thirty years living as homeless and stateless refugees, and after eleven years of military occupation—the dispersed and oppressed Palestinians have waited too long.

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Please endorse our petition to President Carter and return it to us today.

President Jimmy Carter
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President Carter,

We believe that human rights belong to all people;

We believe that our government, ought to recognize the human rights of the Palestinians, including—

- their right to be fully represented by their leadership in all discussions that seek to determine their future; and
- their right to live as a free people in their own independent state.

In the name of peace and in the name of human rights—we urge you to act now.

Thank you

Palestine Human Rights Campaign

National Office, 1322 18th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036



I endorse your petition.

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Zossi: A Sketch

by David Seltzer

She was the best mathematic teacher in the government School for Girls. At home they called her Zossi, but at school the other teachers and the students knew her as Sofia Yakovlevna. For her pedagogic abilities and her extensive knowledge of higher mathematics her colleagues had only esteem, but of her talks on political economy and sociology they were frightened.

She was a fighter against every form of tyranny and despotic authority. Even in her childhood she opposed her father's patriarchal behavior. Inside her parents' large, white, solidly-constructed Traveller's Inn, not far from the City Hall, she very early began to exert her will. The three young stable boys and the five young cooks and servant girls were treated very domineeringly by her father and mother, but as Zossi grew up she carried out a domestic revolution. She challenged her father's authority and demanded humane treatment for the girls and better quarters than a stable for the boys.

David Seltzer has published four volumes of Yiddish poetry as well as the autobiographical work, *Bilder un Gestalten fun Soroki* (N.Y. 1961), from which this story was translated by Max Rosenfeld.

Her main interest, however, was in woman's rights. The "Feminist Movement" in America and Europe fascinated her and she began to organize the store clerks, the servant girls and the seamstresses. When the dressmakers at Lazer Gendler's, the biggest ladies tailor on Odessa Street, went out on strike and Lazer threatened to close his business rather than settle, Zossi appeared among the seamstresses and began to agitate: "March to Lazer's customers, the rich ladies, and demand justice!" After a number of these "public appearances" at which she made speeches in her ringing Russian, Lazer was forced to give in.

When the girls of Zisserman's candy-shop, only several doors from Lazer Gendler's store, saw how the seamstresses had won their wage increase, they went out into the street too and sent for Zossi.

Zisserman, with the little black beard and the round black derby, ran ahead of them to meet her and pleaded: "Dear Sofia Yakovlevna, tell the girls to go back to work! They'll ruin me!"

"Listen to their demands, Herr Zisserman, and make a concession."

"Good! Good! Let them first go back to work and then we'll talk!"

"No, Herr Zisserman, first we'll talk and settle a few things, and then they'll go back to work!"

Herr Zisserman invited Zossi and the two strike leaders into his office

and the dispute was negotiated to the advantage of the girls.

When the "Artisans Little Bank" — the Savings and Loan Society — was organized in our town, my father, as the elected representative of the *Artisans* had the difficult task of contending with the moneybags and the storekeepers who thought they could outwit the "needlepushers" (as they derisively called the tailors and shoemakers). It was really supposed to be a cooperative bank, but the bigshots tried to base their rights upon the invested capital and not on individual memberships, of which the artisans had the overwhelming majority. When the time came for writing the by-laws, the lawyers of the wealthy members spouted a lot of rhetoric about the "rights of capital," etc.

Some of the men advised my father to seek the counsel of Zossi the Innkeeper's Daughter regarding the formulation of the society's statutes. With her knowledge, they said, it would all be done quite legally but at the same time in the interests of the membership.

My father at first belittled the idea. "Go on! What does a woman know about such things? It's a matter for lawyers!"

But when the people insisted, he gave in. The next morning he went to call on Zossi at the inn and took me along to make a written record in Russian of what Zossi would say. She received us warmly in their spacious guest-room and served us tea. My father began to talk to her haltingly in his meagre Russian, hesitating often as he groped for the proper word. Zossi smilingly interrupted him.

"Reb Yosl, why don't you speak in Yiddish, it will be easier for you."

He breathed a sigh of relief and started over again in his usual quick and impulsive speech. He told her about the need for a cooperative artisan's society where a man could borrow money without paying exorbitant interest; then he explained the obstacles that were being set up by the few rich men of the town.

Zossi listened attentively and then, in the manner of a teacher, began to expound clearly and concretely the uses of cooperatives, mutual help and workmen's unity, and that only a set of rules written explicitly, not ambiguously, in the interests of the artisans could serve its real purpose. The artisans' numerical majority must outweigh the money majority of invested capital. Not the dollar should run the organization, but the membership. (*Nit di maya zol hobn di daya . . .*)

My father left in much better spirits than he had come and immediately called a meeting of the artisans in the Tailors' Synagogue, of which he was the president. Zossi, who had of course been invited, mounted the rostrum in her yellow straw hat and spoke to the men. Some of the older members of the congregation shrugged mightily and turned up their noses.

"Who ever heard of a woman speaking from the rostrum?"

But the interest in her important subject was so great that most of the men forgot their old prejudices.

From the women's gallery, kerchiefs peeked down through the parted curtains as astonished and shining eyes followed the gestures of the young woman who stood upon the sacred rostrum and lectured to a congregation of men eagerly swallowing every word. . . .

A Review of the Book

BILDER UN GESHALTEN FUN SOROKI (Scenes and Images of Soroki). By David Seltzer.

Each individual story and portrait has a dramatic point—beautifully, skillfully and poetically brought out. The individual chapters thus become individual short stories, united by the frame of their relationship to the author and to Soroki. Each, exemplifying some significant human quality, some touching emotion, some tragic fate, could well be the subject of a full-sized novel or drama.

NATHAN SUSSKIND, professor, Yeshiva University and Metropolitan University of New York. The JWB Circle 1963

ציונים א 31

כאנע ווינערמאן

ווען ריין איז דיין געוויסן

ניט טרייסט זיך, פריינט, אז ריין איז דיין געוויסן, —
 צו פרעמדער טיר דו קלעבסט ניט צו קיין שליסל.
 אז דו באלאכסט ניט בייוויליק קיין שאַכן
 און צייסט זיך ניט צו פרעמד־פארדיינטע שוואַכים.
 אז פיינט דו האַסט דעם אומרעכט און דעם ליגן,
 אז דו פארניגסט דעם כאווערס רום און זיגן...
 מיט דעם אליין זיינט ריין נאָך דיין געוויסן, —
 דו רייסט ארויס פון גאנעווס האנט די שליסל.
 פארשעסט אָט דעם, וואָס לעסטערט בייו דעם שאַכן,
 דו שענד אָט דעם, וואָס לעבט מיט פרעמדע שוואַכים.
 צעטרעט די פעסט פון אמרעכט און פון ליגן
 און קרוין דעם העלד, וואָס שאפט דעם רום פון זיגן,
 דו שטעל איין קאָן זיין קויער און דיין וויסן —
 און דעמאָלט זאָג,
 אז ריין איז דיין געוויסן.

די האַנג פונעם דיכטער כאַנע ווינערמאן איז
 גיט באַקאנט דעם יודישן ליינער, זיין ערשטע ליר-
 דערזאָמלונג „אין באַהעמפונג“, אין וועלכער עס
 זינען „זינגשלאַסן לידער“ וועגן דער באַרטיטער
 ז, באַקייט מי, איז דערשיינען אין 1928 יאָר.
 אַר, יליחן פון העכער מופעץ יאָר האָט
 כ, חזון, אַן אַקטיוו זיך באַטייליק מיט זינע
 לידער און פאַכמאַס אין אלע יידישע אַיימאָנטע,
 חלכע זינען דערשינען באַ אונז און לאַנד,
 כאַנע ווינערמאָס לידער זינען איבערגעזעצט
 וויזאַרן אַף רוסיש און אוקראַניש.
 אין דער זאַמלונג „א גוטער רעגן“ זינען אינ-
 געשלאָסן לידער, וועלכע דער דיכטער האָט אמערסטן
 אָנגעשריבן אין זי לעצטע יאָרן, דאָס זיינען לירישע
 געזאַנגען וועגן מענטשן פון מי, פּילאָסאָפּיע באַ-
 טראַכטונגען, וועגן שיינקייט און ליבע, דאָס זיינען
 לידער, דורכשטרונגענע מיט איידעלן הומאָר און
 סאַלט־כאַכעס.

דאָס יידישע בוך אין סאָוועטנפאַרבאַנד

אַ ריטל סטאַטיסטיק

יידיש און אין דער איבערזעצונג 35 אף שפראכן.
 ל. קוויטקאס ביכער זינען דערשינען מיט א טיראזש
 פון 27,000,000 עקזעמפלארן.

אויך די ווערק פון אנדערע יידישע סאָוועטישע
 שרייבער זינען פיל מאל דערשינען אין פארשיידענע
 פארלאגן, אַסייגער, דער פּראָזאָיקער ה. פּאַליאָנקער
 פּאַרמאַגאַס 29 אויסגאַבעס פון זיינע ביכער, דער דיכ-
 טער א. גאַנטאַר — 20, דער פּאַעט און דראַמאַטורג
 ש. האַלקין — 17, אַוועלכע בישפּילן קאַנען געבראַכט
 ווערן נאָך און נאָך.

ביכער פון יידישע שרייבער ווערן ארויסגעגעבן
 באַ אונז און לאַנד אין מאַסקווע — אין די פּאַרלאַגן
 „סאָוועטסקי פּיסאַטעל“, „בּודאַשעססווענאָיאַ ליע-
 ראַטוראַ“, „דעטיגוי“, אין קיעוו — אין די פּאַרלאַגן
 „דניפּראַ“, „ראַדיאָאָנסקי פּיסטעניק“, „וועסעלאַק“, אין
 מינסק — אין מעליכיש וויטרוסישן פּאַרלאַג, אין
 קעשענעוו — אין פּאַרלאַג, קאַרטיאַ מאַלאַדאווענסקי,
 אין ריגע — אין מעליכישן לעסלענדישן סאַרלאַג, אין
 ווילנע — אין פּאַרלאַג, טאַוויאַ און אין אַנדערע
 שטעט.

דער מערסטער טייל ווערק פון די יידישע שרייבער,
 איידער זיי דערשיינען אין אַ בּודאַפּאַרט, דרוקן זיך
 אינעם זשורנאַל „סאָוועטיש הימלאַנד“, העכער 130
 אוואָרטן זינען הינטער-צו-טאָג פאַרבונדן מיטן זשור-
 נאַל, 34 פון זיי זינען מיטגילדער פונעם שרייבער-
 פּאַרזיין.

די אַלאַבאַרבידישע ביכער-פּאַלאַטע האָט אין צו-
 זאַמענהאַנג מיט דער ערשטער מאַסקווער צווישנפעל-
 קערלעכער ביכער־אויסשטעלונג (6—14 סענטיאַבער
 1927) איבערגעגעבן אין דערשט פון אונדזער רע-
 דאַקציע אייניקע יידישע וועגן דעם יידישן בוך אין
 מסר.

אי סאָוועטנפאַרבאַנד זינען פאַר די יאָרן
 1928 — 1976 דערשינען 5.614 ביכער און בראַשורן
 28.176.000. אין יידיש מיט אַן אלגעמיינעם טיראַזש
 עקזעמפלאַרן, אויאריום באַטרעפט באַ אונז אין
 לאַנד דער דורכשניטלעכער טיראַזש פון אַ יידישן
 בוך 5.000 עקזעמפלאַרן.

פאַר דער ועלכער צייט זינען 491 יידישע ביכער
 איבערגעזעצט געוואָרן אַף אנדערע שפּראַכן, זייער
 טיראַזש האָט דערגרייכט 48.180.000 עקזעמפלאַרן,
 בלויז פאַר פּינף יאָר — פונעם 1971 ביזן 1976 —
 זינען דערשיינען אין איבערזעצונגען 81 ביכער פון
 יידישע שרייבער מיט אַ טיראַזש פון 8.832.000 עק-
 זעמפלאַרן.

סאַלעס־אלייכעמס ווערק זינען ארויסגעגעבן גע-
 וואָרן 542 מאל אַף 24 שפּראַכן מיט אַן אלגעמיינעם
 טיראַזש 9.500.000 עקזעמפלאַרן, מעדנעלע מויכער-
 ספּאַריים 500 טענהאַט 33 אויסגאַבעס מיט אַ טיראַזש
 פון 982.000 עקזעמפלאַרן, י.ל. פּערעץ — 50 אויס-
 גאַבעס מיט אַ טיראַזש פון 900.000 עקזעמפלאַרן,
 דעם יידישן סאָוועטישן דיכטער לייב קוויטקאָ
 האָבן אונדזערע פּאַרלאַגן געדרוקט 188 מאל — אַף



התאחדות (אגודת) חסידי אשכנזים

ווערבעלעס. ארן (1918)

פריידן, דראמאטישע גאָועלע, זשורנאל, סאַוועטיש היימלאנד, גומ. 2, 1970. א. כאַלעם בא די קוראנטן, פיעסע, זשורנאל, סאַוועטיש היימלאנד, גומ. 4, 1970. די צייט, ראָמאן, זשורנאל, סאַוועטיש היימלאנד, גומ. 4. 8, 12, 1974, גומ. 12, 1975. ווערבעלעס האָט אויך פאַרעפנטלעכט א גרוי-סע צאָל עסייען וועגן דער שאַ-מונג פון די יידישע סאַוועטישע שרייבער כ. שוואַרצמאן, מאַריק, האַמשיטיין, קושנירצוו, כאַריק, פּיי-ניבערג, קולבאַק, אַקסעלאַד, כאַססעשוואַצקי, ראָסין, טייף און אַנד, אייניקע טעאַרעטישע אַר-בעטן וועגן פּראָבלעמען פון דער סאַוועטישער יידישער ליטעראַטור, ווי אויך פאַלעמישע אַרטיקלען, וועלכע פרעגן אָפּ די פאַלשע קאַנצעפּציעס פון אויסלענדישע ליטעראַטורפּאַרשער און ספּאַרע-טיקער (ש. ניגער, ג. מייזל, מ. שולמאַן, כ. שמערק און אַנד.) איבער שראַנג פון דער יידישער סאַוועטישער ליטעראַטור.

הויפּט־רעדאַקטאָר פונעם ליטעראַ-רישקונסטלערישן כוידע־שוור-נאַל. סאַוועטיש היימלאנד. ווער-געליס דרוקט דאָ זיינע דיכטערי-טע, פּראָזאַשע, דראַמאַטישע, ליי-טעראַריש־קריטישע, פּובליציסטי-שע ווערק. אין אָט די יאָרן האָט ער באַזוכט א ריי לענדער אין מער-ווער־איראָפּע און אין אמערי-קע, וואָס עס האָט אויך געמונגען אָן אָפּשפּיגלונג אין זיין שאַמונג. ווערבעלעססע שאַמונג לאָזט זיך אַנטטיילן אין סאָלנגדיקע עסאַסן. ביזן דער מילכאַמע סרעסע דער אַרויס-אַלס ליריקער, וועלכער מאַרקער-פּערס דעם בערייטיש פון אַ ניעם טונג־קאַנס און די אַוסטונן פון זיינע ערשטע בויער. דער צוויי-טער ערע סעאַ ווערט באַצייכנט מיט דער העראַזשער טעמע. עס דאַמיר גירט די דאָ ליריק פון די מיל-ען די 50-ער יאָרן פאַרעפּרענט דער דיכטער אין אַ מילאַקמיש־ראַיינישער מאַגרי די קאַמפּליצירטע פּראָבלעמען פון דער נאַכמילכאַמע צייט. אין די 60-ער און 70-ער יאָרן צייכנט זיך אויס ווערבעלעססע דיכטונג מיט אַ סטאַריק געוועלשאַטלעכן טעם פּעראַמענט, זי איז פּובליציסטיש אַראַטראַפּט. קעמפּעריש און אָפּ-לעמטיטיש. ווערבעלעססע ווערק זענען אַבערגעזעצט אין רוסיש. אין אַ ריי פּערעוואַיראַטאַנציע שפּאַרן.

דיכטער, פּראָזאַקער, מובליי-ציסט. געבוירן אין סטעטל ליר-באַר (אָקראַנע). אין דער קינד-הייט איבערגעוואַנדערט מיט די עלטערן קיין ביראַבידזשאַן, גע-ענדיקט די דאָרטיקע צענאַריקע מאַקולטעס פונעם מאַקווער פּע-דאַגאַגישן אינסטיטוט א.ו. אי. לענינס נאַמען. אין יאָר 1936 רעדוירטערט מיט אַ ליר איז ווער-נאַל. פּאַפּראָסט. ספּעטער זיך געדרוקט אין די צייטונגען "דער עמעס", "ביראַבידזשאַנער שטערן", "אייניקסט", אין די אַלמאַנאַכן. סאַוועטיש, "היימ-לאַנד" א.א. אַלע יאָרן פון דער גרויסער פּאַסערלענדישער מיל-קאַמע געווען אין די פּראָנטן. גאָך דער מילכאַמע געווען פּאַראַנט-וואַרטלעכער רעדאַקטאָר פון דער יידישער ראַדיאָ־אַנסמבליציע אין אַלפּאַרבאַנישן ראַדיאָ־קאַמיטע-פּאַרעטער פונעם הויפּט־רע-דאַקטאָר פון דעם אַלמאַנאַך "היימ-לאַנד", סעקרעטאַר פון ביראָ פון דער יידישער סעקציע באַם שרייבער־טאַרבאַנד פון פּוסט, זיין ערשטע לידער־אַלמונג, באַם קוואַל" דערשיינט אין 1940, די צווייטע — ביראַבידזשאַנער דאַ" — נאָכ קריג. אין די פּופ-צייקער יאָרן האָט ווערבעלעס אין די פּאַרלאַנג, גאַסליטיוואַט און אַקטועסטי פּיאַטעל" צוגעגרייט צום דרוק די ווערק פון שאַלעם אַלייכעם, דאַווד בערעזלעס, אָשער שוואַרצמאַן, ארן קושני-רוז, אויך כאַריק, איציק ספּעסע, פּרושע טייף א.א. אין 1956 אין דערשיינען זיין לידער־אַלמונג — אין רוסיש, דאָרשט, אין 1961 — די צווייטע באַגעגעניש. אָב הייבנדיק פונעם 1961. אין ער דער

רבי־גאַנראַפּע: ש. קליסעניק, זשורנאל, פּאַפּראָסט, גומ. 1, בי-ראַבידזשאַן, 1936. מ. גאַטקוויש, צייטונג "אייניקסט", סאַוועטיש, 1945. י. דאַברושיין, "אייניקסט" מאַקסווע, 1946. אי. ספּעסער, פּאַלקסיטימע, 1949. י. גלאַט-שטיין, טאַג־מאַרגן־זשורנאַל, ניר־יאָרק, 1955. ג. מייזל, דאָס יידישע שאַפן און דער יידישער שרייבער אין ראַטנפּאַרבאַנד, ניר־יאָרק, 1959. מ. ווינער, בלעטלע פון אַ קריטיקערס נאָך "קינד", אַלמאַנאַך, סאַוועטיש, גומ. 13, ש. האַלקין, צום קוואַל פון פּריידן (וועגן ארן ווערבעלעססע ביראַבידזשאַנער דאַר), אַלמאַנאַך, היימלאַנד, גומ. 6, פּאַקטווע, 1948. ה. רעפּעניק, ווערבעלעססע דער דיכטער אין בוך "עפּוידן און פּאַרסערטן" פּאַקטווע, 1975 (רוסיש);

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Call to the 7th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner Sunday, January 28, 1979

Dear Comrade and Friend:

The National Conference on Work Among the Jewish People called by *Jewish Affairs* this past October resolved to make the Seventh Annual *Jewish Affairs* Dinner the most successful political and financial mobilization in the history of our magazine.

The Dinner this year will be held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City on Sunday, January 28, 1979.

This year's Dinner takes place at a time when United States imperialism is intensifying its efforts to impose a pro-imperialist "peace" in the Middle East and Africa; when the forces of reaction, racism, and anti-Semitism are becoming ever more stident and aggressive in our land; and when the bourgeois Jewish and Zionist leaders and organizations are continuing their attempts to enlist the Jewish people in support of the aims of the U.S. ruling circles.

Almost alone among Jewish magazines and periodicals, *Jewish Affairs* is a voice speaking to the Jewish people for a real peace in the Middle East, for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, for support to peoples struggling against imperialism, and for militant class struggle policies to advance the interests of U.S. workers.

Jewish Affairs does not have the unlimited funds, personnel and equipment that the bourgeois Jewish journals have, but *Jewish Affairs* enjoys the devoted support of its readers, friends and sympathizers who, by their participation at our dinners and by their contributions, provide us with the funds to publish our magazine.

It is this support which we are once again asking you to demonstrate on behalf of our Seventh Annual Dinner and its Appeal.

Please get together with your friends and comrades and reserve a table. Please send and solicit greetings to the dinner. All greetings and contributions will be published in future issues of *Jewish Affairs*.

We ask that you do not wait but send in all reservations and greetings promptly. We are confident that with your help we will make this affair an effective political demonstration in the interests of our people.

Herbert Aptheker, *Editor*
Daniel Spector, *Asst. Editor*
Alex Kolkin, *Chairman, Jewish Section,*
Nationalities Dept., CPUSA