JEWISH AFFAIRS

25¢

Vol. 3, Nos. 2-3

February-March 1972

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EDITORIALS

THE ISRAELI ATTACKS ON LEBANON

Israeli ruling circles have consistently pursued a policy of responding to raids by Arab guerrillas with massive attacks on neighboring Arab territories, resulting in casualties and property damage far out of proportion to any damage done by the Arab raiders. These attacks have been repeatedly condemned by the UN Security Council as unjustifiable assaults on civilian populations. Nevertheless they have continued, the most recent case in point being a series of raids by air and ground forces against Lebanon and Syria.

The Israeli government seeks to defend such large-scale raids as being necessary to discourage actions by Arab "terrorists." But their very magnitude belies this. Their real intention, particularly at this time when Israel is under growing pressure to accept the UN Security Council resolution of November 1967 and withdraw from the occupied territories, is to keep the pot boiling, to increase tensions and to create the impression that peace with Israel's Arab neighbors is impossible. The aim is to perpetuate a situation in which the process of de facto annexation of the occupied territories can continue.

But this is a self-defeating policy. These actions are isolating Israel in the eyes of world public opinion and winning it the condemnation of democratic, peace-loving peoples everywhere.

The Morning Freiheit, however, does not see the matter in this light. In its eyes the Security Council is being grossly unfair to Israel. An editorial appearing on March 1 states:

"We must say that the United Nations Security Council acted in a most one-sided manner when it condemned the Israeli Army's raid in Lebanon but had not even one word to say about the murder of an Israeli couple in Israel by these terrorists. Nor was any mention made of the hijacked West German plane (by Arab terrorists)."

The editorial does recognize that "peace will not be achieved by further raids on the Arab neighbors" but must be sought through other channels. It says: "Israel now has the opportunity to undertake its own peace initiative. Israel can declare before the entire world that it is prepared to withdraw from the occupied territories for a peace settlement which will secure its borders."

To be sure, such a declaration would further the cause of peace in the Middle East. But the Morning Freiheit views this as a noble concession on

the part of the Israeli leaders. It fails to see that it is the aggressive, annexationist policies of these leaders and their intention to hold on to the conquered territories that constitute the chief roadblock to peace. It fails to see that they have not only an opportunity but an obligation to evacuate these territories, which belong not to Israel but to the Arab states from which they were forcibly wrested. It fails to see that peace initiatives have already been taken by Egypt and Jordan, and that the Israeli government has refused to respond to them.

Instead, it looks upon Israel as being blameless, and it seeks to equate the efforts of Arabs to free their lands from Israeli occupation (even though we may not agree with the methods they choose) with the Israeli attacks whose aim is to incorporate these lands into the State of Israel.

In the eyes of those who fight for peace and freedom the rulers of Israel do indeed stand condemned. And it is necessary to join in this condemnation and in the fight for a reversal of Israeli policy if peace in the Middle East is to be won. This lesson the Morning Freiheit has yet to learn.

THE JDL AND ISRAEL

In the editorial columns of our last issue we took notice of the ties which the JDL has in Israel and of its toleration and even encouragement by the Israeli government. Now we encounter further disturbing evidence of such ties and support. The March 9 issue of Seawanhaka, the student newspaper of Long Island University's Brooklyn Center, contains the following ad:

WANTED:

Bright, Tough, Dedicated Young Jews
For Leadership Training in Israel
REGISTRATION IS NOW OPEN
FOR COLLEGE AGE YOUNG MEN
For the Jewish Defense League
Leadership Training School in Israel
Opening in September 1972
Applicants will be chosen for ability, aptitude and leadership
potential and will be expected to serve two years on a campus
somewhere in the United States upon completion of the course.
Courses will include traditional Jewish studies: Jewish philosophy;

Jewish History; Modern Jewish History: Zionism: The Holocaust: The revolt in Palestine: Organizational and Propaganda training.

REGISTRATION IS OPEN NOW UNTIL MARCH 30 ONLY

SCHOLARSHIPS ARE AVAILABLE

Undoubtedly this ad has appeared in other student newspapers. It is an open call for JDL stormtroopers to be trained in Israel and let loose on U.S. campuses. It prompts a number of questions: Who is providing the announced course of study in Israel? Who is paying for the scholarships? What is the attitude of the Israeli government to such a school for training additional bombers and murderers?

The demonstration before the Israeli UN Mission last November only opened up such questions. What is needed now is a deluge of protests to the Israeli Embassy against the encouragement of these fascist elements. What is needed now is more public actions to dramatize the menace of these gangsters and the role of the Meir regime in helping to train and organize them. We urge our readers to make themselves heard on these matters.

ANTI-SOVIETISM IN THE UFT

The United Federation of Teachers, the giant New York local of the American Federation of Teachers, has long been controlled by a clique of Right-wing social democrats and similar elements, headed by the local's president Albert Shanker. They are firm supporters of the U.S. aggression in Indochina. They are viciously anti-Soviet. They are out-and-out racists, as was demonstrated by the strike they led a few years ago against community control of schools in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Currently they are promoting a virulent campaign of anti-Soviet slander, conducted through the Jewish Labor Committee--UFT Committee on Soviet Jewry. The latest fruit of their efforts is an eight-page supplement in the United Teacher of March 5, entitled "Lesson Plans on Soviet Jewry," designed for classroom use. This is a collection of the vilest lies and distortions invented by professional anti-Sovieteers about the Soviet Jews. It is a crude concoction designed solely to imbue students with hatred of the Soviet Union. It is totally negative and has not one positive thing to say about the conditions of life of Soviet Jews. In the words of Celia Zitron, writing in the Daily World of March 17: "From the point of view of professional integrity and educational value, these lesson plans hit rock bottom."

Space does not permit us to deal with the content here; we shall do so at a later time. We can only note that this is a gross perversion of the role of teachers.

It is significant that it is precisely this subject which is singled out for the issuing of a study plan. One finds no study plans on racial and national oppression in the United States, on anti-Semitism in the United States, or on defense of the interests of U.S. workers. Clearly those responsible for this "Lesson Plan" are not motivated by a concern about anti-Semitism, which they ignore in those parts of the world where it is real. They are motivated rather by a deep-going hostility to the Soviet Union.

Their hostility arises from the fact that they support the aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism, whereas the Soviet Union is its most powerful antagonist -- in Indochina, in the Middle East, everywhere. Hence their chief concern is to attack and undermine the U.S.S.R. in every possible way.

The publication of this scurrilous "Lesson Plan" should be protested as widely as possible. It should be made clear to Shanker and Company -- by members of the Teachers Union, by members of other unions, and by decent people generally -- that they strongly object to this misuse of the United Teacher to serve the cause of reaction. It must be asked, why does not the UFT employ its considerable resources and influence to fight against the Indochina aggression, against the Nixon assault on the economic conditions of the working class, against the dangerous rise of the fascist JDL?

We call upon our readers to make themselves heard on these issues.

DISCORD IN WORLD ZIONISM

By Hyman Lumer

The 28th World Zionist Congress, held in Jerusalem in January of this year, brought to the surface the growing differences within the world Zionist movement, particularly between its Israeli and U.S. sections.

The Congress was dominated by the Israeli delegation, which automatically received 40 per cent of the votes, or 210 out of a total of 525. The United States came next with 152 votes. The remaining votes were divided among a host of other countries.

The frictions within the movement came to light even before the Congress when the Executive canceled its invitation to Dr. Nahum Goldmann, former president of the World Zionist Organization, to deliver the keynote address. The reason given was that in a speech before the Board of Deputies of British Jews a month earlier, Goldmann had stated that the Zionist movement should not concentrate solely on fighting for the right of Soviet Jews to migrate to Israel but should also demand full religious and cultural rights for those Jews who chose to remain in the Soviet Union. For a Zionist leader to countenance any fate for Soviet Jews other than

migration to Israel was held to be "inappropriate." Goldmann subsequently refused to attend the Congress.

Outside the meeting hall police broke up demonstrations by members of the Black Panthers and the New Left, protesting the treatment of Sephardic Jews in Israel, and -- at the other extreme -- demonstrations by adherents of the Jewish Defense League demanding that Meir Kahane be permitted to speak. Inside the hall the sessions were marked by rancorous conflicts, with much name-calling, booing and heckling. Said Rose Halprin, a long-time Hadassah leader: "Here we were howled down and threatened with assault -- this in the land of justice and freedom."

The principal source of dissension was the question of migration of U.S. Jews to Israel. It reached a climax near the close of the Congress with the introduction by a group of younger representatives of the Israeli Labor Party of a resolution stating that "a Zionist leader who does not migrate within two years of holding office must be replaced." It was passed by a vote of 104-95, whereupon nearly the entire Hadassah delegation walked out.

Arye Pincus, chairman of both the Jewish Agency and the WZO, moved swiftly to try to undo the damage. Such a rift with Hadassah, with its 350,000 members and the huge sums of money it raises for Israel, simply could not be permitted. A way out was found by declaring the resolution unconstitutional and explaining that its youthful proponents were inexperienced and that this was for most of them their first Zionist congress. Thus relations were patched up, for the time being at least. But the differences remain; indeed, they have been sharpened.

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Such divisions within the world Zionist movement are not new. They have a considerable history and they came sharply to the fore with the establishment of the State of Israel.

To a Ben-Gurion, Zionism means literally "to Zion," and he charges every religious Jew who does not fulfill this injunction with violation of his religious precepts. This is the kind of view which prevails in Israeli Zionist circles, and with which the younger generation is incessantly indoctrinated. In the eyes of many of the Israeli youth, therefore, no one who does not make his home in Israel has the right to call himself a Zionist.

Since 1967 the demand for mass immigration has become a virtual obsession. This flows from the annexationist policies of Israeli ruling circles, whose aim is to retain all or most of the territories conquered in

their war of aggression. To settle these territories with Jews and to assure a Jewish majority in such an expanded Israeli state, large-scale immigration is considered vital. The late Israeli Premier Levi Eshkol told a U.S. study mission of the United Jewish Appeal in October 1967: "We must make sure of a large aliya to Israel. You know the problems involved: you know where the Jews are who want to come to Israel but can't; and where the Jews are who can come, but don't." (Jerusalem Post, October 10, 1967.) In its report to the 27th World Zionist Congress in 1968, the Jewish Agency was more explicit, expressing its concern over "how to populate with Jews the newly liberated areas" in the face of a general slowing down of immigration.

Here lie the roots of the infamous anti-Soviet crusade spearheaded by the Israeli rulers. And here lies the reason for their anger with Goldmann for daring to suggest that substantial numbers of Soviet Jews may not wish to leave the Soviet Union.

But Goldmann has long held views on these questions differing from those of the dominant Zionist forces in Israel. In his autobiography he wrote: "The situation of the Jews will never be normalized through a state alone, but only by creating a center in Palestine while at the same time retaining the great Diaspora, linked with the state in an enduring and mutually enriching relationship." (The Autobiography of Nahum Goldmann, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1969, p. 79.)

Moreover, it is this concept of an enduring coexistence of Israel and the Diaspora which is predominant in the U.S. Zionist circles. Thus, the New York Times of February 14 reports:

Leaders of the nation's largest Jewish organization emphasized today the need for a "continuing and independent-minded Diaspora" as a force for strengthening Jewish life.

Philip M. Klutznick, who is prominent in Jewish affairs and a former international president of the 500,000-member B'nai B'rith organization, declared that there were "no assurances for Israel, no matter how strong her military, unless the Diaspora -- and particularly the American Jewish community -- is also strong."

These statements, it should be noted, were made in support of the stand taken by the Hadassah delegates at the World Zionist Congress.

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The existence of deep-going fissures within the world Zionist movement is only to be expected. These rifts are a consequence of the fact that, contrary to Zionist dogma, there is no such thing as a world Jewish nation. Rather, the Jewish people exist as national minorities in a considerable number of countries, varying widely in their language and cultural backgrounds, in class composition and in their economic, social and political status. Each member of this heterogeneous array of Jewish communities has its own particular problems and perspectives. We find, therefore, not a single, unified world Zionist organization but a collection of national Zionist organizations, each reflecting the state of affairs in the country in which it exists.

Few in this country who call themselves Zionists have any intention of ever making their homes in Israel. Even with the jump in migration since 1967, less than 35,000 U.S. Jews have settled in Israel, fewer than the number of Israelis who have come to the United States to live. But does this mean that U.S. Zionists are not really Zionist? Not at all.

They fully accept the basic Zionist tenets that the Jews of the world constitute one nation and that anti-Semitism is an ineradicable disease of non-Jews. Accordingly they likewise accept the idea that the solution of the Jewish question is possible only through the establishment of an exclusively Jewish state of which all Jews are potential citizens. They view the State of Israel as central in the lives of all Jews and raise enormous sums to keep it alive. They are in complete accord with the Israeli government's pro-imperialist, racist, aggressive, expansionist policies. They consider that the closest ties of the U.S. Jewish community are those with Israel, and they have made the leading Jewish organizations into agents of the Israeli government in the United States.

Despite all the acrimony at the World Zionist Congress, the U.S. and Israeli delegations were in agreement on such basic questions as Israeli foreign policy and the slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union.

Within this country the main forces of Zionism are loyal supporters of the reactionary, aggressive policies of U.S. imperialism. In their obscene campaign for the "liberation" of Soviet Jews they have become the spearhead of anti-Sovietism in the United States. They have allied themselves with extreme Right-wing politicians like Reagan, Jackson and Buckley. They have placed themselves increasingly on the side of the forces of racism and chauvinism -- and of anti-Semitism.

In short, U.S. Zionism is no less deadly an enemy of the Jewish people than its Israeli counterpart, notwithstanding the quarrels between them. It must be fought and exposed in the eyes of the Jewish masses who are being misled by it.

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RACISM IN FOREST HILLS

By Lee Carr

The disgraceful efforts to prevent the construction of a low-income housing project in the Forest Hills section of Queens, New York show the extent to which racism has poisoned certain sections of the Jewish people.

The 840-unit apartment project was designed to provide desperately needed housing at moderate rents for low-income families and elderly people in areas previously closed to them. That this project is not a fly-by-night affair is shown by the fact that it took years of going through the city and federal bureaucratic mazes before the approval of the Department of Housing And Urban Development was obtained.

But no sooner was it under way than reactionary elements in the community began to whip up a campaign of racist fear and hysteria aimed at scuttling it. This campaign was organized by a Forest Hills Residents Association, headed by one Jerry Birbach. He is a real estate operator who buys up slum housing in Harlem and other ghetto areas, "renovates" it and then rerents it at vastly inflated rents. He has, therefore, a vested economic interest in keeping Black people penned up in the ghettos where they will be forced to pay his extortionate rents. But the other residents of Forest Hills, having no such financial interests, had to be scared into opposing the project.

They were fed one racist lie after another. Black people and welfare families would bring crime, drugs and every other social evil in the book. More, the schools and subways would be greatly overcrowded. Forest Hills would go to pot. It is interesting to note that these arguments were never raised when much larger projects, with predominantly white occupancy were built in the area.

Reaction saw in this situation a golden opportunity to sow racism and discord among the people. Senator Buckley was called in. Bills were introduced in the Rockefeller-controlled state legislature, with strong support from all parties. Measures to kill the project are now before the Board of Estimate, and Judge Irving Saypol, of Smith Act notoriety, has halted construction.

Perhaps the most disgraceful aspect of the whole affair is the role of certain Jewish organizations and leaders. The opposition of such groups as the Queens County Jewish Community Council, Young Israel, the United Zionist Revisionists and -- most important -- the New York Board of Rabbis and its new president, Rabbi William Berkowitz, made it appear that it was the Jewish people who were the main obstacle to better housing for Black people, the elderly and other low income groups.

Even the Director of the Central Rabbinical Congress of the United States and Canada, in supposedly rebuking Rabbi Berkowitz's attack on Mayor Lindsay for supporting the project, stated that "with the planned public housing, the future of the entire Jewish community in the Forest Hills area is imperiled."

The racism which came to the surface in relation to the project has spilled over into opposition to the open admissions policy of the City University, which has enabled thousands of Black and Puerto Rican youth to attend the city colleges, previously closed to them.

But at the same time important sections of the Jewish community, to their credit, have backed the project, among them the American Jewish Congress, Bnai Brith, the Jewish Cultural Clubs, the Emma Lazarus Federation, the Workmen's Circle and a coalition of groups in Forest Hills itself. Meetings have been held and demands have been publicly voiced to go ahead with the project. The commercial media, characteristically, have ignored or underplayed this support, giving coverage mainly to Birbach, Buckley and the racist demonstrators.

The forces of reaction have sought to mount a nationwide drive against the project. They see it as more than a local issue and hope that its death will deal a major blow to low-income public housing nationally. It was made an issue in the Florida presidential primaries with the picketing of Mayor Lindsay. Press reports stated that the pickets "are carrying signs accusing Lindsay of fomenting urban decay. Most of them are Jewish and object to a low-cost housing development they feel would depress values of their homes in Forest Hills, New York." Undoubtedly the Jewish Defense League, true to its anti-working class and racist character, has been actively involved in fomenting opposition to the project.

As this is written the project is in grave danger of being scrapped. Nor can Mayor Lindsay and his administration be relied on to save it. Instead of meeting the racists head-on and appealing to the people to rout them, he has been on the defensive and has given indications that he is willing to compromise. He has singled out a Black employee in the Housing Department, David Billings, for sharp rebuke for an alleged anti-Semitic statement, but he has not seen fit publicly to condemn Birbach and others for their vile racism.

If the project is to be saved and the racists defeated, it will require mass popular protest and pressure. Mayor Lindsay must be told by both Jews and non-Jews, not only in Forest Hills but throughout the country, that they expect him to see to it that the housing project goes through. We urge our readers to express themselves on this immediately.

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M. J. OLGIN: A GREAT COMMUNIST LEADER

By Daniel Mason

On November 13, 1939, Moissaye J. Olgin arose from a sick bed to which he had been confined for two years to come to Madison Square Garden in New York City to hail the Soviet Union on the 22nd anniversary of the Great October Revolution before an audience of 22,000 people.

If anyone was qualified to speak with authority about the Soviet Union, it certainly was Olgin. He was born March 24, 1878 in a small village near Kiev, Russia. Like almost all Jewish children in Russia, his early education was in Hebrew schools. But breaking away from this, he engaged in a period of self-study and entered the University of Kiev in 1900. It was while at the University of Kiev that Olgin became first involved in the underground revolutionary movement.

This was only natural for Olgin. The Jews of Russia were being persecuted. The threat of pogroms was constant. Anti-Semitism was spread over all of Russia to divert the Russian peasants and workers from their own sufferings and exploitation at the hands of the Czarist regime, the capitalists and landlords. Like so many young Jewish intellectuals, he turned to struggle against this oppression and to organization of the Jewish masses for this struggle.

Olgin took up his gifted pen in that struggle. But he did not limit himself to writing. He participated actively in the struggle and he allied himself with the Jewish workers as the key force for carrying it on. And he constantly sought unity with the advanced sections of the Russian working class and peasants, because he recognized that only through this unity could the struggle against oppression of the Jewish masses be carried on successfully.

He was one of the leaders of the Jewish masses in the heroic Revolution of 1905, which was the testing ground for the Socialist Revolution of 1917 that ushered in the Soviet Union.

Until the imperialist World War I, Olgin carried on revolutionary work among the Jewish masses in Russia. But at that time, finding himself in Germany and unable to return to Russia, he migrated to the United States. Shortly after his arrival here, he became a regular contributor to the Jewish Daily Forward, the organ of Jewish Socialists in the United States, where his writings became highly popular among Jewish workers and intellectuals.

Meanwhile, he taught himself the English language, continued his education at Columbia University, where he received his doctor of

philosophy degree in 1918. He lectured at the New School for Social Research in 1919.

Early in his life in the United States Olgin became involved in the Left wing in the Socialist Party, which sought to turn that party onto the revolutionary path. When the Soviet Union was born, he became a partisan of that first socialist country and a student and expounder of Marxism-Leninism.

In 1922, he was one of the founders of the Workers (Communist) Party, which united all the Communist trends in the U.S. and was the progenitor of the present Communist Party USA. He was one of the initiators of the Morning Freiheit, the organ of Jewish Communists and progressives, and was its editor from its inception until his death. He was a member of the Communist Party's National Committee for many years.

Olgin's activities were spread over the whole spectrum of revolutionary work. As an intellectual, he was a prime mover in the development of a Jewish progressive culture. As a Jewish revolutionary, he mobilized the Jewish masses for struggle against capitalist exploitation, against imperialist aggression, for a socialist society and for defense of the Soviet Union.

But Olgin's activities extended far beyond that. He was in the fore-front of the struggles for organization of the unorganized workers, for the unemployed, for Black liberation, for unity of the Jewish masses with the Black people. He lectured in every corner of the nation. He was a candidate of the Communist party in a number of elections. He fought against Socialist reformists, the Lovestonites, the Trotskyites, who sought to divert the masses from Marxism-Leninism.

Olgin was a prolific writer and translator -- both of Lenin's works and of progressive literary writings. One of the most popular pamphlets ever published by the Communist Party USA was his Why Communism, an exposition of what Communism would bring to the United States. Almost 500,000 copies of this pamphlet were sold and distributed.

In his columns in the Morning Freiheit and elsewhere, he conducted a vigorous struggle against anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, because he recognized that they diverted the Jewish masses from the real struggle against anti-Semitism in the United States. And he was vehement in his polemics against the petty-bourgeois nationalists and Zionists who sought to mislead the Jewish masses.

In one of his last writings, Olgin declared:

We are living in an atmosphere of anti-Red hysteria among the Jews. It so happens that three out of the four metropolitan Yiddish papers are playing a disproportionately large role in the public life of the Jews. From everyday experience we know that the Jewish population, organized and unorganized, is not in accord with these papers. Yet it is they that seem to give the tone to Jewish public life. It is their opinions that pass as Jewish public opinion generally. And they keep on abusing the Soviet Union, slandering its leadership, distorting every bit of information about Soviet activities, concealing from the masses the significance of the liberation of two million Jews, picturing it as an event fraught with danger if not as a calamity, denouncing everyone who happens to agree with the peace policy of the Soviet Union, and conducting a Red-baiting campaign of the most vociferous and unscrupulous kind.

Why is it so? What is back of this barrage? Is it conviction? There can be no question of adhering to honest convictions where falsification and distortion are the order of the day. Our paper has its hands full catching the journalists of these three papers red-handed. No words are strong enough to brand the ugly manipulations of these journalists, who keep mum about highly important events, present rumors as facts, and parade invention as news.

Do these people not realize that they are treading on dangerous ground? Why is it that this Red-baiting campaign is going on? Do they not understand that by doing the work of the worst reactionaries in the United States they are endangering civil liberties, and thereby the status of the Jews?

Unfortunately, "our paper," as it was in Olgin's time, does not exist today. His successors on the Morning Freiheit have departed from his path. These individuals, who seek to envelop themselves in the glory of Olgin's mantle, have taken a course which increasingly gives comfort to the very anti-Communists, the very anti-Sovieteers whom Olgin denounced.

When Olgin spoke at Madison Square Garden on November 13, 1939, the Soviet Union was under severe attack from the reactionary forces in the United States. But that did not stop Olgin, who knew better. Confidently, eloquently, he declared:

The Soviets are marching on. The light of the Soviets is illuminating the world. The actions of the Soviets have opened new sunlit vistas before the eyes of mankind. Let the enemies rage. Freedom is marching on. National liberation is making new gains.

Let those who now take Olgin's name in vain ponder these words of Olgin.

His last public utterance, delivered at that Madison Square Garden meeting, was: "Long live the Soviet Union, the liberator of oppressed nationalities!"

Nine days later, Olgin was dead. But the people remembered him. On November 26, 1939, when he was buried, a hundred thousand people marched in the funeral procession and lined the streets to give expression to their deep feeling of loss. As the Communist Party's National Committee declared:

"He wrote his name in the hearts of the masses."

THE SOVIET UNION AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

(Speech delivered by M. J. Olgin before 22,000 in Madison Square Garden, New York, November 13, 1939, in celebration of the twenty-second anniversary of the Socialist Revolution.)

On this twenty-second anniversary of the October Revolution we greet the people, the government, the leadership of that country in which exploitation of man by man is no more, and in which national oppression has been supplanted by unity and brotherly cooperation of scores of nationalities adhering to the principle that the well-being and the cultural growth of each is the guarantee of the happiness of all.

Well do I remember the time when tsarist Russia was "the prison of nations." Myself a member of one of the most oppressed and persecuted peoples of Russia, I witnessed ruthless suppression of Jews, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Tartars, Turkmen, Georgians, Armenians and other nationalities who were not even accorded the name of "people" but were contemptuously labelled "inorodtsy" ("those differently born"). The inorodtsy were treated as colonial peoples within the Russian Empire: they were subjected to a more severe economic exploitation and they were deprived of political rights even more brutally than were the Great-Russian people; their languages and cultures were not recognized and the use of the mother tongue often punished.

The Social-Democrats, the Socialist-Revolutionaries spoke of "self-determination" of nationalities. But when the February Revolution of 1917 came and the Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries gained power through the Kerensky government, they continued the oppression of over forty per cent of the populations of Russia -- in the interests of the Russian capitalists and landlords. There was only one party which as early as April, 1917, framed a program declaring the right of self-determination to mean

real freedom for all nationalities, including the right to secede if its people wished to do so. That party was the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin. The revolutionist who framed the April thesis about national liberation was Joseph Stalin.

National Oppression Banished

When the Bolsheviks seized power in October, 1917, when the Soviets became the government of Russia, one of the first acts of the new regime was to establish full freedom, full equality for the numerous peoples within the frontiers of the Soviet state.

By this a new principle was introduced in the interrelation of peoplesthe principle of peaceful and friendly co-existence and cooperation of various nationalities, not only not fighting each other, not only not oppressing each other, but on the contrary, aiding each other both culturally and economically. The Soviet Union has become a league of nations of its own. And while the League of Nations organized at Versailles suffered one ignominious defeat after the other, the family of nations established within the U.S.S.R. grew in strength, developed its members materially and spiritually and now holds out to the world an example of how it is possible to do away with national oppression, how it is possible to solve the national problem to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

This was possible only in consequence of the fact that economic exploitation was abolished by the October Revolution. Where there are no ruling classes there can be no ruling nations either. Where there is no capitalism there can be no imperialist tendencies, no desire for imperialist domination -- and no national oppression. Where the people, the toiling people, workers, farmers, intellectuals, are masters of their own destinies through a freely chosen government -- as is the case in the Soviet Union -- there the flourishing of the life of the toiling people is the major common aim, the raising of the economic status of everybody is the collective task, and this can be best achieved when the cultures of every nationality and the culture of every individual toiler within the nationality are developed, when every nationality is given the right to live its own cultural life.

The Development of National Cultures

"A culture national in form and socialist in substance" is the program formulated for all the nationalities within the Soviet Union by the leader of nations, Stalin. A culture national in form and socialist in substance could develop most vigorously only where the material well being was improved. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin, the Russian nationality, being more advanced

economically than many others within the framework of the U.S.S.R., has contributed of its financial and other resources to help the development of the formerly exploited and oppressed nationalities.

The new principle, the socialist principle in the inter-relation between nationalities, is that of friendship instead of hatred, mutual aid instead of suppression, equality of all races instead of the division into "superior" and "inferior" races insidiously preached by spokesmen of imperialism and made into an official dogma by fascism.

The Jews were among the most oppressed in tsarist Russia. The Jews were practically removed from most of the sources of making a living. The Jews were treated like pariahs. The Jews were subjected to pogroms. The Soviet government had to do a tremendous amount of reconstruction work in order to transform millions of Jews into productive elements of society. That work was accomplished with an immense amount of care and consideration. In order that the Jews may be able to develop statehood within the Soviet Union, a Jewish Autonomous Region was designated to them in one of the most fertile territories in the Far East. That region is known as Biro-Bidjan. In due time it will be transformed into the J.S.S.R. (Jewish Soviet Socialist Republic).

National Hatred is Gone

Every step of the Soviet Union was a hard blow at capitalism. The seizure of power over one-sixth of the surface of the earth was more than a slap. It eliminated capitalist rule, capitalist mismanagement, capitalist inefficiency, capitalist bloody brutality over one-sixth of the earth's surface. Every subsequent act was a new defeat for world capitalism.

Socialism is impossible, said the "best" minds among capitalist theoreticians. Socialism has been constructed and is a fact which even the blind must take notice of.

Industrial progress is impossible without the "master minds" of private owners, said the same and other theoreticians. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, has lifted Russia from the status of the most backward to that of the most advanced industrial country in Europe, second only to the United States of America.

Hate among nations is a principle of human nature, said bourgeois theoreticians. The Bolsheviks only laughed. The Bolsheviks said that human nature too could be changed, and they set out to change it. What seemed impossible in relation to nationalities is now a fact. National hatreds are a thing of the dark past in the U.S.S.R. National hatreds cannot be even comprehended by the new Soviet generations. National

cultures blossomed up in a manner unknown anywhere in the world.

Every step of the Soviet Union has been a challenge to imperialism. Every move of the socialist state has met with slander, abuse, intrigue and attempts at thwarting and weakening the challenger. Thus it has been during the twenty-two years of the existence of the U.S.S.R. Thus it is today. Out of the first World War emerged the Soviet Union. Out of the second World War there has emerged, so far, the establishment of Soviets in a territory inhabited by thirteen million formerly oppressed people.

"A Beacon for Bleeding Humanity"

What new advances the Soviet principle will make in the course of the present war the coming months will show. The Sovietization of Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia has thrown into the boldest relief the difference between capitalist rule and Soviet people's rule. There, oppression aggravated by war; here, liberation. There, the attempt to turn conquered nations into slaves; here, all resources of a powerful country set in motion to make the lives of the new citizens happier, to open before them the great opportunities that only a socialist system can offer. There, the lash, the bayonet, the concentration camp, the pogrom; here, a helping friendly hand, an upswing of cultural activities, encouragement to people to think, to develop, to govern themselves in their native tongue, to rise to the highest levels of art, science, education, creative thought.

Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Russia stand in a clear socialist light as a beacon for bleeding humanity. This is the way out. This is the solution for the problems which capitalism can only sharpen but never solve.

When we see capitalist propagandists raging; when we hear Social-Democratic, Trotskyite, Lovestoneite lackeys of imperialism barking at the new active policy of the Soviet Union in world affairs; when we see the press unloosing a barrage of hostile comment against the Soviet Union, when we are surrounded by poison-pen and poison-mouth befoulers of the Soviet Union of the Dies-Coughlin-Waldman-Krivitsky and other stool-pigeon and provocateur types, we only realize how deeply capitalism is hurt by the Soviet Union. These attacks, friends and fellow-workers, are the surest sign that the Soviet Union is marching ahead, that it is bringing to larger and larger numbers of millions the message of liberation, that by its acts of freeing the Ukrainians, the Byelo-Russians, the Jews, brought about by its immensely increased strength, it is bringing in a new life, a new vision, a new hope into a world which the imperialists have thrust into an abyss of blood and tears.

The Soviets are marching on. The light of the Soviets is illuminating the world. The actions of the Soviets have opened new sunlit vistas before the eyes of mankind. Let the enemies rage. Freedom is marching on. National liberation is making new gains.

We greet the Soviet Union. I am quite confident I am speaking not only in my own name but in the name of millions of those belonging to national groups in the United States when I say:

Long live the Soviet Union, the liberator of oppressed nationalities!

WE REMEMBER MOISSAYE OLGIN

By Alex Kolkin

Olgin's life and work bring memories of the turbulent past, of the days of the newly victorious Russian proletarian revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. In this period Olgin identified himself with the struggles of the revolutionary working class and gave leadership to the Jewish working masses in the ideological struggle against the Zionists and Bundists, against the Right wing in the trade union movement.

When the Left established the Morning Freiheit, Olgin became its editor and served in that post until his death in 1939. With great devotion he gave to it his talents as journalist, speaker and teacher, bringing to the Jewish workers the correct policies of Lenin and the Communist Party. Through the pages of the Morning Freiheit, the Daily Worker, the New Masses and The Communist he transmitted the spirit of the October Revolution to their readers.

He visited the Soviet Union in its early years and his writings from there are included in a book, <u>The Soviet Union</u>, published by the <u>Morning Freiheit</u> soon after his death and containing the articles he wrote on this subject from 1922 to 1929. The book was edited by his successor, Paul Novick.

Olgin writes: "The Soviet proletariat and the peasant population have toppled Tsarism. The joy of this historic explosion lives as an example to the oppressed peoples of the world." He says: "Soviet life is full of joy.... Joy is part of the revolution." He explains to his readers the great contributions of Lenin's leadership to the success of the revolution. "If the Russian proletarian revolution was victorious," he writes, "it was due to the leadership of the Communist Party. If the Russian Communist Party was able to lead the revolutionary working class to victory, it was due to

the principles of Bolshevism that Lenin advocated and instilled in the Party."

"The Russian Communist Party," says Olgin, "has always believed in the revolutionary spirit of the working masses and has rejected the reformist policies of the Mensheviks. It stood for a party based on the principles of democratic centralism."

These were the guiding principles that Olgin conveyed in his written and spoken words to the readers of the Morning Freiheit and the Jewish working masses.

Today, sad to say, the Morning Freiheit is no longer the newspaper envisioned by Olgin. Under its present editor, Paul Novick, it is no longer the staunch defender of the socialist revolution and the Soviet Union that it was under Olgin. More and more, it is falling into the camp of the "critics" of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, an attempt is being made to picture Paul Novick as the heir of Olgin, as the Olgin of today.

In his speech at the 80th birthday dinner for Novick, Morris U. Schappes, editor of <u>Jewish Currents</u>, says of Novick that "he has made of Olgin not a fetish, and of Olginism not a dead ritual but an inspiration to bold thinking, bold self-criticism, bold creativity in exploring new aspects not faced by Olgin, particularly on the Holocaust and the new State of Israel. If Olgin lives in the <u>Morning Freiheit</u>, he lives in Novick's courageous creativity."

To speak of Olgin in this way is to downgrade him. We who knew him have little doubt that if he were alive today he would repudiate the political line of Novick and Schappes as anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet.

FROM THE 20th NATIONAL CONVENTION, C.P.U.S.A.

THE MIDDLE EAST

By Gus Hall

(Excerpt from the main political report to the Convention, presented on February 18, 1972.)

The Israel-U.S. imperialist aggression against the Arab people of Palestine and the anti-imperialist Arab states is also a war of aggression which the aggressors cannot win. It too has bogged down. Israel also is ready to do everything except to withdraw and to end the aggression. The Golda Meir-Dayan government also is not ready to set the date, because they are not going to withdraw until they are forced to.

In the Arab countries the crisis is giving rise to a higher level of anti-imperialist consciousness, leading to a firmer anti-imperialist unity. The popular forces are rejecting anti-Communism and the hit-and-run tactics of individual terror. This is the only path to victory over imperialism and Israel's aggression.

Many in Israel are beginning to have second thoughts about the wisdom of the policies of their leaders. The fog of nationalism is beginning to lift enough for some to see that the present policies will lead to the destruction of Israel. It is this awakening that will save Israel. To support Israel's policies of imperialist aggression is to support Israel's destruction. That is the ironical truth.

Many in the United States are also beginning to have second thoughts. But most still hang on to the old falsehood that Israel was motivated only by the needs of self-defense. In the past, one could even accept their sincerity when they added they were absolutely against anything that even looked like annexation. But this sincerity has turned sour. Life has proven it to be fakery and calculated demagogy -- for some, maybe self-deception, because now, when they are faced with the reality of setting a date for total withdrawal, they are for annexation -- and as might be expected, annexation because of Israel's defense needs. They are for annexation in the name of "border adjustment." The New York Times speaks about the need for Israel to "explore measures that do not involve outright annexation of substantial chunks of Arab territory." (Emphasis added.)

How benevolent for the New York Times to suggest only "unsubstantial chunks of Arab territory" be turned over to Israel. To see it in the New York Times is not surprising; it has always been a mouthpiece for U.S.-Israel aggression. But for others that is the logic of opportunism. One step follows another. First it was support for the aggression because it was a necessary step of defense. Now they are for annexation again because of defense needs. Imperialism has always cloaked its acts of aggression by saying it was in some way an act of defense.

The facts of life, of course, expose such fakery. It was the armed forces of Israel -- not the Arab armies -- that crossed the borders. It is Israel that has opened up new oil wells, built air fields, apartment complexes, permanent defense installations -- all on Arab lands. Every sector of the political spectrum representing the ruling class of Israel has openly come out for annexation and aggression. Only stooges continue to present Israel's policies as policies of self-defense. Only those who have lost all ability to reason, whose minds are emotionally foggy because of nationalism, continue to support the policies of Israel's imperialist aggression.

* * *

MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

It is with great pleasure and with a deep feeling of Communist solidarity, that we address our fraternal greetings to your national convention.

We regard it as of utmost importance for all the revolutionary forces in the world, that there is in the United States of America, the heartland of imperialism, a Communist Party worthy of its name.

We closely follow your difficult uphill struggle in gaining the confidence of the working people, and reaching militant unity in fighting for their rights and a bright future.

We wish you full success in your struggle to mobilize effective pressures on the administration to withdraw its support of the aggressive course of the Israeli ruling circles in the Middle East. We here are doing our utmost to convince growing parts of our people to struggle for full implementation of the November 1967 Security Council resolution, for withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Arab territory occupied in the June 1967 aggression, for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East; and we are glad to tell you that opposition to government policy is broadening.

Dear comrades, we shall continue the long tradition of close ties of brotherhood between our two parties, in our common struggle against imperialism, racism, Zionism, anti-Sovietism and aggression, for peace, national independence, friendship of people, social progress, democracy and socialism.

We wish your National Convention full success.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

Resolution adopted by the 20th National Convention, CPUSA

Anti-Semitism, like all other forms of racism and chauvinism, is an instrument of monopoly for dividing the working class in order to perpetuate and intensify class exploitation and national and racial oppression.

The Jewish people in the United States are subjected to various forms of discrimination in employment, housing, education and other aspects of life. Recent studies show that two-thirds of the non-Jewish people in this country express anti-Semitic prejudices, and half of these do so in pronounced form. The escalation of the racist aggression in Indochina, the growing reactionary drive by the Nixon Administration and the increasing

aggressiveness of the ultra-Right fascist elements have given a spur to the racists and anti-Semites in our midst. Recent years have witnessed a rise in the circulation of anti-Semitic filth, in the desecration of synagogues and in other anti-Semitic acts. And there exists a constant danger of a violent flareup of anti-Semitism.

Clearly, anti-Semitism in the United States is not a trivial matter. It must be fought, no less than any other form of racism or chauvinism. Moreover, the struggle must involve not only the Jewish people but all the democratic people's forces in the United States.

A serious obstacle to effectively fighting anti-Semitism is presented by the forces of Zionism, which in practice consistently downgrade its dangers and resist any real struggle against it. Furthermore, they have allied themselves with Right-wing, racist forces in a most vicious campaign of slander against the Soviet Union--a campaign which gives encouragement and strength to the anti-Semitic elements in this country. To add to this, the major Zionist organizations are increasingly building political alliances with the Jacksons, Reagans, Buckleys and others of their ilk.

The fight against anti-Semitism is therefore closely associated with that against the poisonous influence of the racist ideology of Zionism and against the anti-Soviet drive which Zionism spearheads. In particular, it calls for an all-out campaign to put an end to the existence of the criminal fascist gang calling itself the Jewish Defense League.

Further, the fight against anti-Semitism must be conducted on the basis of proletarian internationalism -- of the closest alliance with the struggles of all oppressed peoples for freedom and equality, and especially those of the Black people. It must be based on an all-out struggle against racism among the Jewish masses. It is particularly necessary to combat the racist falsehood of "Black anti-Semitism" as a device for turning the Jewish people against the Black liberation struggle and cloaking the real perpetrators of anti-Semitism.

Our Party urgently needs to correct the inadequate attention it has given to the struggle against anti-Semitism. It must give leadership in developing this struggle, in mobilizing the Jewish masses and all the people of our country actively to combat anti-Semitism in all its forms.

* * *

JEWISH AFFAIRS is published monthly by the Communist Party, U.S.A. Price per copy 25¢. Subscriptions: one year \$2.50, six months \$1.25. Address all correspondence to JEWISH AFFAIRS, 23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y. 10010.

JEWISH CULTURAL NEWS FROM THE SOVIET UNION

From Sovetish Heimland

From the Moscow River to the shores of the Amur. One can allow oneself such a trip thanks to modern means of transportation.

Omsk, Tomsk, Barnaul, Novosibirsk, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk, Birobidjan, Chaverovsk -- all these cities were visited by the Moscow Yiddish Dramatic Ensemble. In each place theatrical posters invited the populace to see our spectacular repertoire: "Tevye the Milkman," "The Witch," "Over the Ocean."

The plays were presented in the largest halls available. The press reviews were magnificent and we received many personal letters of thanks from the theatergoers.

In Birobidjan, which the ensemble visited for the second time, we were received like old friends. The performances took place in packed halls. Concerning them a review in the Birobidjaner Shtern says:

"At our new meeting with the ensemble it is a pleasure to note its growth. It has enriched itself with talented young actors and has been transformed into an artistically endowed theatrical collective which is widely known in our country."

New Yiddish Books

At the close of last year two books by Soviet Yiddish writers were issued by the Sovietsky Pisatel publishing house: Hershel Polianker's novel The Baker from Kolomaya and Shlomo Roitman's The Mother's Song (songs and poems). The books are beautifully illustrated by the well-known artists H. Levinson and V. Lokshin.

A Catalogue of Meyer Axelrod's Creations

The Moscow section of the Artists Union and the Rostov Community Museum of Plastic Arts have issued a catalogue for a personal exhibition of the works of Meyer Axelrod.

The catalogue presents a listing of the artist's creations under four headings: paintings, graphics, illustrations and theater design. In articles by V. Rudnitskaya and R. Riazanov we find a broad panorama of Meyer Axelrod's creations.

* * *

EVENTS AND VIEWS

"Accomplished facts" department:

An article in the Israeli newspaper <u>Davar</u> (December 28, 1971) reports Abba Eban as saying in relation to Israeli settlements in the occupied territories that the peace arrived at by agreement between the two parties will be based on new borders. "Israel hopes," he said, "that in boundary negotiations it will succeed in including these settlements within the peace boundaries." But of course, as Eban has said on other occasions, Israel has no desire to annex any of the occupied territories.

Matityahu Peled, writing in Ma'ariv (February 4, 1972), reports the following concerning Golda Meir:

"At a convention of 12th graders in Tel Aviv, the Prime Minister was asked whether holdings in the territories do not constitute creating a priori facts in contradiction to Israel's policy of entering negotiations without any preconditions. The Prime Minister replied: 'When we participate in negotiations to determine boundaries, we shall see whether or not we exceeded the boundaries we thought we should have.'"

Peled goes on to say: "If the settlements in the territories do not transcend the borders 'that we thought should be ours,' they will include the Golan Heights, the entire length of the Jordan Valley, East Jerusalem and Mount Hebron, the Gaza Strip and the eastern part of the Sinai Peninsula (apparently the line El-Arish--Sharm-e-Sheikh and the territory east of it). We see, therefore, that there are very few territories which the Government thinks can be returned. It is strange that, nevertheless, the Prime Minister thinks that Israel plans to participate in negotiations without any preconditions."

A news item in the <u>Jerusalem Post Weekly</u> (February 15, 1972) reports that some 200 Georgian immigrants demonstrated at the Lod Airport of Tel Aviv in protest against the dismissal of a number of Georgian Jews from their jobs at the airport because they refused to work on the Sabbath. Knesset Member Rabbi Shlomo Lorincz of the religious party Poale Aguda charged, in a motion calling for no confidence in the government, that after generations of strict observation in Georgia, these immigrants were being compelled to violate the Sabbath in Israel.

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