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POLAND'S JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

Sol Flapan

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Editorials

Our Third Annual Dinner

On January 12 Jewish Affairs held its third annual dinner at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York City. Attended by some 400 supporters of the magazine, the affair was an outstanding success politically, culturally and financially. It was a demonstration, once again, of the solid base of support which Jewish Affairs enjoys in progressive Jewish circles as the voice of the Communist Party in this field.

The main speakers were Dr. Herbert Aptheker, head of the American Institute of Marxist Studies, Ms. Helen Winter, who spoke on behalf of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, and Dr. Hyman Lumer, Jewish Affairs editor. Speeches of greetings were presented by Ms. Gertrude Decker of the Emma Lazarus Federation and James Steele, national chairman of the Young Workers Liberation League. William L. Patterson conveyed greetings from the Black Liberation Commission of the CPUSA.

Co-chairing the dinner were Alex Kolkin, chairman of the Party's National Jewish Commission and Philip Honor, a member of the Commission. The collection, amounting to about \$1,300, was taken up by Esther Carroll, also a member of the Commission.

Greetings were read from the Communist Party of Israel, signed by its general secretary Meir Vilner, from Aaron Vergelis, editor of Sovetish Heimland, and from the West Coast progressive weekly paper People's Voice.

A highlight of the dinner was a tribute to two eminent Jewish writers and charter members of the Communist Party, S. D. Levine and Sam Liptzin, presented on behalf of Jewish Affairs by Philip Honor.

Also a highlight was a program of Yiddish and other working-class and revolutionary songs, beautifully sung by Sylvia Newcomb, who was accompanied on the guitar by Roslyn Dlugin.

Our deepest thanks for the success of the dinner are due to the preparations committee, which worked hard and efficiently, particularly to Comrades Florence Pasternack, Alex Kolkin, Molly Miller, Esther Carroll and Philip Honor. Thanks are due also to the larger committee which helped in the promotion of the affair and the sale of tickets. And not least, thanks are due to the

many friends and supporters who attended the dinner and to the many more throughout the country who sent contributions and greetings.

The speeches and greetings presented at the dinner are published in full in this issue of Jewish Affairs.

* * *

On the Role of Sadat

Several of our readers have raised questions about the position expressed by Tom Foley on the role of Egypt's President Sadat in his letter appearing in our last issue. We wish, therefore, to make clear our own position on this question. We can only touch on it here, but hope to deal with it more fully in a coming issue.

We do not agree with Comrade Foley's views. To begin with, we do not consider his designation of Sadat as "a very intelligent Egyptian nationalist" an adequate political characterization. The issue is neither Sadat's intelligence nor his nationalism. Nor has anyone claimed that Sadat is a Marxist and must be judged accordingly. What is at issue is the character of the policies which he is currently pursuing. The question is whether these favor the forces of imperialism in the Middle East or the forces of national liberation, whether they contribute to the attainment of a just and durable peace or detract from it.

In this connection it is quite clear that Sadat has made a major shift in policy during the past few years, loosening Egypt's ties with the Soviet Union and seeking instead to tie Egypt primarily to the aid and support of the United States. This was demonstrated in his melodramatic expulsion of Soviet personnel, in his repeated sharp criticisms of the Soviet Union, in his closeness to such elements as King Faisal and the Shah of Iran, in his wooing of U.S. capital investments and in other actions and statements.

At this moment it is particularly evident in his reliance on Kissinger and his "step-by-step" negotiations as the path to peace. In this Sadat finds himself at odds with the Soviet Union, Syria and the PLO, who have jointly called for the immediate resumption of the Geneva negotiations. They have rejected the Kissinger diplomacy, which dovetails with the Rabin government's efforts to arrive at "partial solutions" with each Arab state separately. And justly so, for these policies are designed, in contradiction to the provisions of UN Resolution 242, to limit Israeli concessions to a minimum and to preserve essentially the status quo. But this, as is pointed out elsewhere in this issue, leads not to peace but to war.

By supporting Kissinger's efforts, Sadat weakens the struggle to resume the Geneva conference and contributes to the danger of a new outbreak of war. At the same time, this support is vital to Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy; without it he would be compelled to go to Geneva, where the full implementation of Resolution 242 and assurance of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs would be on the order of the day. Thus, Sadat's policies hinder the achievement of peace and give encouragement to U.S. imperialism and the Rabin government's expansionism.

To be sure, Sadat vacillates greatly in his statements from one day to the next. This reflects the conflicting pressures on him, both within Egypt and from other Arab sources. But what is important in such a situation is to intensify the pressures on Sadat to adopt a correct line, rather than to justify his present conduct on the grounds that he is "very intelligent." At the same time, we must emphatically disassociate ourselves from current ultra-Left attacks on Sadat which seek to portray him as a traitor to the Arab cause.

One final point: Foley states that "there are no longer any Egyptian Communists," since the Egyptian Communist Party had dissolved itself in 1965. It is true that there is no Communist Party in Egypt today, but there are Egyptian Communists who maintain certain forms of contact and organization. And they play a considerable role in the political struggles within Egypt--in opposition to Sadat's present line.

* * *

Poland's Jewish Historical Institute

By Sol Flapan

Poland's Jewish Historical Institute (JHI) is experiencing a "third stage" in its postwar existence. The watchwords are "revitalization" and "expansion."

This militant optimism was voiced by Jozef Barski, vice chairman of the Institute's Executive Board. He was addressing the Board which met towards the end of January at one of its regular report-to-the-active meetings.

Barski compared the present growth-oriented stage favorably with the previous two stages, of which he branded the first "liquidationist" and described the second as a "holding" period. Though he refrained from any periodization by dates, it was clear that the current "active" policy is the offspring on the new one year-old Board.

The four-point informational meeting dealt with organizational and administrative matters; also with a report on the Institute's academic activities last year and its program up to 1980. These two points comprised a joint state-of-the-Institute address.

A popular lecture on the Yiddish-language press in prewar Warsaw and a review of a book to be published later this year on the activities of social organizations in the Warsaw Ghetto under Nazi German occupation completed the evening.

Reviewing the Board's first year in office vice chairman Barski's wide-ranging report covered finances, upkeep of the JHI building, reorganization of the permanent exhibition on the Warsaw Ghetto into a full-fledged museum, and JHI publications.

As for finances, the JHI ended the year 1974 in the black. Much credit for this was given to the fraternal assistance by the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAS), of which the JHI is an esteemed branch. A helping hand was also repeatedly extended by the ministries of culture and finance.

One facet of PAS assistance was its picking up the tab for last year's external refacing of the JHI building. Now this five-story structure overlooking a busy midtown intersection will undergo a "cellar-to-ceiling renovation in 1975/76," Barski announced. Again, the PAS will foot the bill for this major operation, only this time jointly with City Hall.

Actually, the JHI building has become PAS property in the real-estate sense of the term. But the Institute carries on as manager and host of the premises as previously. Besides, the JHI's 1975 budget has been slightly upped over last year's. Thanks to all this, the scientific and ancillary staffs concentrate on their respective duties, being spared the burden of fund-raising campaigns.

At present the JHI building houses what is called a "permanent exhibition" on the Martyrology of the Jewish People in Nazi-Occupied Poland. Advertised (as a public service) in all guide books here and in the "What's On" columns of the daily Warsaw press, this exhibition displays some priceless Judaic gems which survived the Nazi holocaust.

But lack of trained personnel and unsuitable premises permit the showing of only a minimal fraction of this wealth of material. Hence, the JHI's efforts are aimed at restructuring some of its halls so as to transform the exhibition into a "real" museum, as Barski put it. And getting a "museum statute" from the Ministry of Culture and Art is one of these endeavors.

There is "no objection" to this project said Barski, quoting Deputy Premier Jozef Tejchma who is also the Minister of Culture and Art. But of paramount importance in this exercise, stressed Barski, is that Tejchma is a

member of the Political Bureau of the ruling Polish United Workers Party.

This news was enthusiastically received as was the account of a JHI delegation to Tejchma last year when it was suggested that a statute be drawn up along the general lines which apply to the Chopin Museum run by the Frederic Chopin Society in Zelazowa Wola, 53 kilometers west of Warsaw.

The point is, the future Jewish Museum is to be run also by a public organization. What comes to mind is the JHI, the PAS or the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, singly or jointly.

*

Barski's concluding remarks concerned JHI publications and personnel. He observed that the JHI quarterly Bulletin appears regularly and on time. But the 1973 promise to resume publication of the Yiddish language "Bleter Far Geshichte" (Pages for History) remains, unfortunately, a promise. Subjective difficulties have now been compounded by public concern for more rational use of newsprint. This has affected all printed media here.

Barski assured the meeting that the JHI's Board has not abandoned the re-appearance of the "Bleter."

The shortage of scientific personnel is another headache. Here vice chairman Barski related how the PAS came to the Institute's assistance by pulling rank and getting the JHI director an apartment in Warsaw. The story is that Professor Maurycy Horn had to commute to Warsaw several times a month from Wroclaw in the Southwest, as the Polish capital is a so-called closed city due to the still acute housing shortage.

But the PAS persuaded the various levels of government to permit Professor Horn to take up residence here. A special reserve pool apartment was made available by declaring his case "urgent." A number of important requests by other institutions were thus nosed out, Barski recalled.

These remarks introduced this new Varsovian, who delved into his report on his institute's academic endeavors.

The JHI's table of organization comprised the preface. The Institute employs 27 persons, eight of whom are scientific personnel. These include one professor, an associate professor and other ranking assistants. Also a number of outside scholars collaborate with the Institute.

In 1974, related Professor Horn, the JHI concentrated on three main studies: research on history of the Jews in gentry Poland up to 1795; between that year and 1939; and in the World War Two years of 1939-45. He augmented this outline with a comprehensive enumeration of the papers, monographs and other scientific reports on these subjects which have already been published, as well as those which

are in the process of being written or are being readied for print. Most of these are earmarked for the JHI's quarterly, but some of the larger works are brought out as separate books.

Docent Marian Fuks, for example, is continuing his research on "The Jewish Press in Warsaw from 1823-1943." A series of articles on the subject has already appeared in the JHI Bulletin and another three installments are at the printers. This entire work will be published in book form some time next year. It was this Fuks who gave the popular lecture on the Yiddish language press later in the evening.

Meanwhile, Professor Horn and Ms. Ruth Sakowska have concentrated on two major works in 1974 which are to be published as books this year. There is Horn's "Jews in Rus Czerwona until 1648" (Rus Czerwona--Red Rus, the south-eastern corner of present-day Poland and the western region of the Soviet Ukraine), and a several hundred-page doctoral dissertation by Sakowska about Jewish life in the Warsaw Ghetto. In a report on this book later in the meeting, Ms. Sakowska emphasized, among other things, that regardless of who puts out her book its title page will have the JHI imprint.

Among the long range plans (1976-80) the Institute envisages work on a multi-volume history of the Jews in Poland. But because of the Institute's modest personnel base, he said, "we are counting on the assistance of the Historical Institute of the PAS as well as on scientific workers in other institutions." The work of some of these scholars who are already cooperating with the JHI appears regularly in the Institute's quarterly.

The first volume of this prestigious undertaking is to cover the history of the Jews from the appearance of the first settlers on Polish soil up to the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. The second volume will continue this history up to the fall of the Second Republic (1939). The extermination of the Jews in the last war and their struggle with the Hitlerite occupiers will comprise the third volume.

At the same time the JHI will continue to sponsor other research work of more modest scope. For example, such monographs as Ms. Sakowska's "Warsaw's Jewish Proletariat, 1918-43" or Ms. L. Gamska's "The Jewish Question in the Programs and Activities of Political Parties, 1918-39."

Between now and 1980 a number of JHI employees will publicly defend their doctoral dissertations. This is viewed as part of an overall program of "consolidating the Institute's scientific cadre base."

Augmenting the previous speaker's Jewish Museum-related remarks, Professor Horn reported that the JHI "is now in possession of a scenario" for such an undertaking "thanks to the cooperation of employees from the Municipal Museum of History." This project is now being discussed and modified by JHI people.

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(Continued on page 27)

Greetings and Speeches, Third Annual Dinner

Greetings From Israel and the USSR

Comrade Hyman Lumer
Editor, Jewish Affairs

Dear Comrade:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel sends hearty greetings to the third annual dinner of Jewish Affairs which, through its clear ideological Marxist-Leninist approach, contributes significantly in the persistent efforts to rally the progressive forces within the U.S. Jewish community in the struggle for a just and stable peace in the Middle East.

Our Party, aware of the danger of a war conflagration in our region, due to the aggressive annexationist policy of the Israeli ruling circles in collusion with U.S. imperialists, is fighting resolutely for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the Palestine problem by the full implementation of the Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. These resolutions call for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab territories occupied in the June 1967 war, recognize the right of the Palestine Arab people to self-determination and establishment of their own independent state if they chose to do so and for assurance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the states in the region, including Israel.

To achieve this just and stable peace settlement our Party opposes the maneuvers of U.S. imperialism to perpetuate the war danger for political blackmail under the guise of "peace" by stages. It insists on the reconvention without delay of the Geneva Peace Conference with all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the Palestine Arab people, under the auspices of UN and the co-chairmanship of the USSR and the USA. The presence of the USSR delegation would contribute positively to the achievement of a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

Our Party has advanced towards instituting a front of all forces in our country struggling for a just peace, irrespective their ideological views.

Our Party highly appraises the substantial and important role of the Communist Party of the USA in this struggle against U.S. imperialism and for a just and stable peace in the Middle East. It appreciates the significant contribution

of Jewish Affairs which exposes the dangerous anti-national policy of the Israeli ruling circles and their U.S. Zionist colleagues and in this way defends the real interests of the Israeli people.

The Communist Party of Israel, all the members of our Party, Jews and Arabs, warmly congratulate Jewish Affairs on its achievements and wish it further success in its noble work.

Fraternally yours,
 Communist Party of Israel
 Central Committee
 Meir Vilner, General Secretary

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(Cable)

Dr. Hyman Lumer
 Editor, Jewish Affairs and Political Affairs

The editors and staff of Sovetish Heimland send heartfelt greetings to the third annual gathering of Jewish Affairs. Dear friends, we wish you success in your efforts to unite the broad masses of the Jewish-American community in your just struggle for peace and friendship.

Aaron Vergelis, editor

* * *

A Greeting From the People's World

(Telegram)

To Jewish Affairs:

With great pleasure and a sense of profound gratitude and appreciation, we join this salute to Jewish Affairs on the occasion of its third annual celebration. We pledge continued support to the publication in its struggle for a true internationalist policy, against misguided nationalism and opportunism. We stand shoulder to shoulder with Jewish Affairs in the struggle for peace, security for all states in the Middle East and realization of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

The Staff of the People's World

* * *

The Emma Lazarus Federation, Fighter for Progress

By Gertrude Decker

Good afternoon, sisters, brothers and honored guests.

It is a pleasure to greet you on behalf of myself and the many sisters in our Emma Lazarus Clubs who feel, as do we gathered here today, that peace and justice in the Middle East must and will come through negotiations, not annexation. Though there are differences of opinion as to how this is to be accomplished, we are all in support of UN Resolution 242.

This afternoon we have an opportunity to express our thanks and appreciation to the editor, the editorial staff and the many tireless workers of Jewish Affairs for their guidance, their clarity and their consistent struggles. As members of a progressive Jewish women's organization it behooves us all to establish new roots in the Jewish community as well as to strengthen those we now have, and to bring this clarity to the people.

While many women's organizations are numerically larger than ours, none can compare with our record of action. Among our members are many who were once suffragettes and are still marching. We are concerned with and involved in the movements for peace, amnesty, civil rights and civil liberties, women's rights, consumer interests, better schools and day care centers, housing, organization of farm workers, welfare of senior citizens, and so on. We are part of the struggles against racism and anti-Semitism and against all forms of racial and national discrimination.

We have collected thousands of signed cards protesting the high cost of living. We conducted a petition campaign in which 75,000 signatures were collected for ratification of the UN Convention against Genocide and for the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and anti-Semitism. In support of the farm workers' union, the Brooklyn Council held a luncheon on December 28 and raised \$400 plus a load of canned and other non-perishable foods and of linens. In addition to these and other activities in support of struggles in this country, we also support the Emma Lazarus Nursery for working mothers in Israel.

If Emma Lazarus were alive today, these are the things she would be concerned about. Most people know her, if at all, only for her poem "The New Colossus" which appears at the base of the Statue of Liberty and is in the American Museum of Immigration on Liberty Island (our Federation is one of the

museum's original sponsors). Most people do not know her as an activist. This brilliant American-Jewish woman is our namesake precisely because in her short lifetime she became known not only as a poet and author, but also as one who was concerned with the social problems of her day. Her interest and activity on behalf of the poor and oppressed and her struggle against anti-Semitism are reflected in her poems and articles. We in the Emma Lazarus Federation are proud to be responsible for bringing together her long forgotten work in a book of selections from her poetry and prose, still available and reaching an ever widening audience.

While we emphasize our concern about peace in the Middle East as a top priority, we want also to express our concern about the growing anti-Semitism and racism right here in the United States. Currently our clubs in Co-op City are working as part of an ad-hoc committee including the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League and others, to stop the program "This Is Liberty Lobby," broadcast by Station WVOX under the title "Focus on Co-op City," from spreading racist and anti-Semitic propaganda under the guise of "freedom of speech."

For example, a recent program stated that "only a few Americans are concerned about the niggerfication of America" and that "Jews and Blacks cannot be trusted; they are subversive and disloyal." This filth is now being aired over 100 stations and will soon be made available over the Mutual Broadcasting System to more than 600 stations. We are protesting to the Federal Communications Commission, to the owners of the Mutual Broadcasting Company, to Station WVOX and to all elected officials, and we urge you to do the same. We have much material available.

So, though we have come this afternoon to eat, drink and share in the pleasures of the occasion, we are ever mindful of our responsibilities. Our work is cut out for us. We must double our efforts for a just and lasting peace, for detente, for jobs and security, for a happy life for all.

* * *

The YWLL Greets Jewish Affairs

By James Steele

The present moment in the intensification of the general crisis of U.S. imperialism has placed tremendous tasks before the people, tasks whose fulfillment requires the multinational unity of the working class and all progressive forces. With the further shift in the world relationship of forces, at the center of which lies the continued strengthening of the Soviet Union and the other

socialist countries, and with the growing desperation of the U.S. imperialist forces, a higher level of solidarity on the part of the people of the United States is demanded. And today, when the most incredible and scandalous jingoism drips from the lips of Ford and Kissinger, such increased solidarity is especially necessary.

At a time when all of the bourgeois media are stirring up the most vicious great-power chauvinism against the Arab people's right to self-determination, independence and sovereignty over their natural resources, it is indeed an inspiration to the youth that there exists a publication like Jewish Affairs, which stands firmly on internationalist principles. Jewish Affairs states clearly and resolutely what must be done to achieve a durable and just peace in the Middle East. It fights for the full implementation of UN Resolution 242 and assurance of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people. In the face of the utter bankruptcy and corruption of the mass media, Jewish Affairs stands in the forefront of the battle against Zionism, anti-Semitism and racism.

At its recently concluded historic Third National Convention, the Young Workers Liberation League pledged itself also to continued struggle in behalf of these causes and to intensification, in unity with all progressives, of the struggle against Zionism and against war in the Middle East. In this connection, we adopted a resolution to strengthen our solidarity with the Arab and Jewish youth of Israel and with the Arab national liberation movements, especially that of the Palestinian Arab people.

The Young Communist League of Israel sent greetings to our Convention. Although we had extended an invitation to them to attend, they could not come because the State Department denied visas to their representatives. With all the slanderous talk of the Pentagon-Jackson-Meany-Zionist cabal about alleged suppression of Soviet Jewry, of so-called dissidents and the right of free speech in the USSR, the fact is that young Communists from Israel, Jewish and Arab, are prevented from coming to the United States to speak in the name of peace and friendship. This is a hoax against public opinion.

Just the other day, television treated us to the spectacle of the Panovs hugging and kissing Senator "Scoop" Jackson before a national audience, hailing him as "the hope of all Jews in the Soviet Union." Imagine Jackson being the hope of anyone but the cold-war gang! It is fortunate that we have Jewish Affairs, which tells the truth about the status of Jewish people in the Soviet Union. In fact, Jewish Affairs has led the way in exposing the anti-Semitic onslaught in this country, against which Jackson and many of the Zionist circles have said not one word.

The YWLL congratulates Jewish Affairs and the Jewish Commission of the Communist Party, USA for an outstanding contribution to the fight against Zionism, anti-Semitism and racism. We extend our best wishes to Comrade Hyman Lumer, especially for his timely books Zionism: Its Role in World Politics and Lenin on the Jewish Question.

We join with all of you in the task of bringing the progressive ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism to the Jewish community and especially to Jewish youth. Our aim must be to break the spell of Zionism, to help develop the understanding that the hand of Israeli aggression is attached to the arm of U.S. imperialism and that annexation and war can only bring harm to the people of Israel.

Forward with the struggle for detente, for peace and justice in the Middle East, for the national rights of all states and peoples in that region, and particularly of the Palestinian Arab people.

Forward with the fight against racism, Zionism and anti-Semitism.

* * *

Two Communist Veterans—A Tribute

By Philip Honor

Today we honor two Jewish writers--S. D. Levine and Sam Liptzin--who have made an outstanding contribution to Yiddish literature and have been in the forefront of the militant struggles of two generations of Jewish toilers in our country. As writers and organizers, they have inspired thousands of Jewish workers to stand up for their rights--to fight in the shops, on the picket line and in the union halls for decent conditions and a better life.

They are both charter members of the Communist Party. Steeled in struggle, they stand in the front ranks of the Marxist-Leninist working-class vanguard. Dedicated and courageous, they are consistent in their Communist internationalist views. They resolutely repudiate those elements who have become infatuated with Jewish nationalism and are courting certain Zionists and establishment figures in the Jewish community.

Last Wednesday S. D. Levine celebrated his 90th birthday. The years have been good to him. He is vigorous, energetic and full of life.

An immigrant, Comrade Levine came to Boston as a youth 15 years of age. He joined the Socialist Party and became an organizer and subsequently a functionary of the Massachusetts Jewish Socialist Federation. As a member of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party in the period following World War I, he participated in the fight which led to the founding of the Communist Party in 1919.

He took an active part in establishing the Morning Freiheit. In 1933 he

joined the Freiheit staff in New York. In those years the paper was edited by the unforgettable Communist leader, journalist and proletarian writer Moishe Olgin, who was revered in the progressive Jewish community.

In 1930 Levine was arrested in Newark while leading a march of unemployed workers to City Hall. He was charged with sedition and placed under \$10,000 bail. Thanks to mass protests and a broad movement in his defense, he was not imprisoned but was put on two years' probation.

He is the author of two books, numerous pamphlets and many hundreds of articles. His book Heroes of the People, published in 1956, presents biographies of Charles Ruthenberg, Ella Reeve Bloor, William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Peter Cacchione and other Communist leaders. His later book is entitled Chapters from my Life.

We wish him and his wife Molly many healthy and happy years.

Compared to Levine, Sam Liptzin is a mere youngster. He will be 82 in March. In Yiddish we would call him a zuzik. On his arrival in New York in 1909, three things happened to him: he went to work in a garment sweatshop; he became active in the Socialist Party; he discovered the wonderful world of books.

He became an intrepid fighter against the intolerable sweatshop conditions which then prevailed in the garment industry. Goons and gangsters couldn't stop him. After being on the receiving end of a number of severe beatings he went right back to the picket line each time, except when he landed in the hospital. But that did not stop him either.

Comrade Liptzin, too, was a participant in the struggles that culminated in the formation of the Communist Party. Needless to say, he was in our camp. In later years, during the McCarthy period, he was persecuted by the House Un-American Activities Committee with Nixon taking part in the inquisition.

Sam Liptzin is the author of 30 books, 28 in Yiddish and 2 in English. More are coming. His poems and essays appear frequently in Sovetish Heimland and in Yiddish publications in Israel, Poland and other countries. In an autobiographical essay he once stated that his books are "written more in blood than in ink." How true this is!

With his wife Annabelle at his side he remains steadfast and unshaken in his Communist convictions and his devotion to the working class, to the Jewish toiling masses.

Comrades and friends, it is a great pleasure to honor these two comrades and to present to you S. D. Levine and Sam Liptzin.

Some Answers to Questions

By Herbert Aptheker

One hears certain constantly repeated refrains in the arguments of those who support the policies of the Israeli government during the past twenty years. I would like to examine some of them very briefly.

The need for secure borders. On these grounds, it is said that the Israeli expansion was not really expansionism but merely the legitimate search for national security. Consider, however: the borders were extended in 1956 and again very significantly in 1967. No one will deny this, surely? Very well, what is the situation? Does Israel now have secure borders? Is its national security now at last assured? Is there not unanimity that this is not so, that Israel remains in a state of near-war emergency, that it is drained every day by the loss of lives, that it is certainly no more secure now with greatly extended borders than it was in 1955? Can anyone soberly deny this? Well, then, what does this mean? Does it not mean at least that expansionism as a way towards assuring the security of Israel must be re-examined? Is it not clear that a rational person must say to himself or herself that a policy pursued allegedly in the name of secure borders has brought territorial expansion and new borders but these new ones and this expansion have brought insecurity and not security, death and not life, war and imminent war and not peace, and that they have brought upon Israel the fierce condemnation of almost every nation in the world and of the vast majority of humanity?

Nationalism and nationality. My point here was made in a letter published in last Sunday's New York Times. Why, the letter-writer demanded, was the nationalism of Israel brought into question? He suggested that the Israelis should give up their sense of nationalism only when the Irish and the English do. Certainly where one has a nation and a nationality one will have a consciousness of these realities and this may be called nationalism. But just as there are nations and nations so there are nationalisms and nationalisms. For example, the letter-writer referred to the national feeling of the Irish and of the English. No one in his right mind would seek to deprive English people and Irish people of their sense of nationality. That is not the point; the point is that the English ruling class has been occupying Ireland for centuries and still does and so one has here an oppressed nation and an oppressing nation. When Pakistan made war upon Bangla Dosh--with U.S. and Chinese support--its rulers said they were merely affirming the right of Pakistan to maintain its borders, which happened to include--

1100 miles away--the land of the Bengali people. No one denies the right of the Pakistani people to their own nation and their consciousness of nationality; and no one must deny the Bengali people that same sense and same right. Hence the war by Pakistan against the Bengali people was an aggressive, oppressive, exploitative one and all progressive humanity rightly supported the liberation struggles of the people now forming Bangla Desh.

Similarly with Israel. Israel constitutes a nation and its existence is affirmed by the international community; it sits in the UN and its right to exist has been again confirmed in the UN Resolution of 1967 and repeatedly confirmed since then in actions and statements of the UN and, one must add, of the USSR. But the Israeli people are not a chosen people; they are not a superior people; they do not have rights over and above the rights of other peoples and certainly not rights to be exercised at the expense of their neighbors. Rights exercised at the expense of others are not rights; they are wrongs and this is true whether the people who are guilty are English or Portuguese or American or Japanese--or Israeli.

Israel is so small. One hears this, also, repeatedly. Again, I turn to last Sunday's New York Times. In the magazine section is another letter (such letters the Times prints) stating: "Israel is not an imperial power trying to hold on to colonies; it is a tiny country...struggling for its survival as the Jewish homeland." This argument is a variation on the "secure borders" argument and on the nationalist argument--it is an expression of reactionary nationalism. England also was and is "a tiny country" but this did not prevent it from expanding and in time dominating much of the world. The fact that England was tiny was small comfort to India, for example. Portugal also was and is a tiny country. But it dominated almost half of South America for centuries and about one-fifth of Africa for centuries. That Portugal was tiny was small comfort to Angola or Mozambique or Brazil. Holland was small but its holdings in Asia were vast. That Holland was tiny was small comfort to Indonesia. Belgium also was and is a tiny country but it dominated about one-fifth of Africa for generations; that Belgium was tiny was small comfort to those inhabiting what was then called the Belgian Congo.

So being small--even being tiny--is not at all the question; its use as an argument is a piece of demagoguery and nothing else. As for not being imperial; well, perhaps the extent of Israeli-occupied territories is not (yet) so great as to justify that grand word--but that is a matter of semantics and definition. Israel under its present government is an expansionist country, an aggressive country. Israel is the occupier of very considerable areas of land belonging indubitably to several of her neighbors. That is the point and all talk about tiny and security and nationality are forms of distortion and obfuscation; they are efforts to excuse that which is inexcusable--the forcible annexation, occupation and exploitation of territories belonging to other peoples.

By the way, is not Portugal better off since April 1974 when it began its great democratic revolutionary movement and shed itself of fascism, and so

moved necessarily towards shedding itself of colonies--of possessing and occupying other people's lands? Is Portugal now less secure than before? Are the Portuguese people worse off now than under Salazar and his great empire?

And this brings us to another repeated argument:

Israel is democratic. Is it, when almost one-fifth of its population are third-class citizens? Is it, when in fact it occupies and exploits the lands of other peoples? Is it, when its existence depends upon the financial and military support of the main remaining bastion of world imperialism? Is it when its only allies are the United States and South Africa and the Shah of Iran? There is a democratic alliance if I ever saw one! But when one says A he also must say B. If one is to support Israel in its aggression and its occupation because its own form of government is more democratic--or at least more representative and parliamentary in a bourgeois-democratic sense--then presumably those who supported the Alliance Powers in World War I against the Central Powers were right and not wrong? Surely the U.S., France, Great Britain and post-Czarist, Kerensky Russia were more "democratic" than imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Turkey? Then, must one conclude that the Second International was right and not wrong; that there should never have been a Bolshevik revolution which so weakened the "democratic" alliance; that there should never have been formed a Third International and that Kautsky was right all the time and Lenin was wrong?

This brings me to someone who now emphasizes this "democratic" argument and writes in the name of "Marxism." I mean Mr. Paul Novick of the Morning Freiheit. In its issue dated December 22, Mr. Novick writes: "However much those who speak in behalf of the Palestinian Arabs may pretend they are revolutionaries, even Marxists, they, in fact, desecrate these terms. Whoever takes part in shedding the blood of innocent people, of women and children, is not a revolutionary, but simply a murderer."

Palestinian Arabs fighting for the liberation of their peoples and homeland are revolutionaries and some of them are Marxists; and he who is fighting to prevent the Palestinian people from gaining their just demands is a colonialist, a chauvinist, an annexationist--even if in the past for half a century he bore the honored name Communist. Even Mr. Novick's last phrases about shedding innocent blood and hence being always and everywhere simply a murderer is demagoguery, for the napalm and bombs and shells and invasions and the occupying policy of the Israeli aggressors have taken the lives of ten times more innocent women and children than have even the misguided terrorists among the Arabs. One must add that there is also such a thing as simple insurrection, of slaves arising and rebelling. Nat Turner and those who fought with him, in rising against slavery, killed innocent people but Nat Turner and his fellow slave rebels were not "simply murderers"; they were heroic slaves in rebellion; they were men who had decided it was better to die than to live forever on your knees. The blood of Arab women and children is as red and as precious as that of Jewish women and children. The real murderers of both are the imperialists, the suppressors of national liberation movements, the lackeys and servitors of the

Ford-Rockefeller gang. Similarly the real killers of Turner's victims were the owners of slaves.

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I was a delegate to the 1957 convention of the Communist Party of the United States. Those were very difficult days--the 1956 French-British-Israeli invasion of Egypt had just ended and the Hungarian counter-revolutionary attempt had dis-oriented many people. One such, speaking at that convention, began his remarks by declaring: "First of all and before all I am a Jew!" I do not remember anything else of what he said--and he had had an honorable record of decades of struggle and even of imprisonment; I was so shocked and hurt that I think I did not listen anymore. A Communist speaking to Communists and saying "first of all I am a Jew"! Such is the impact of the poison of nationalism even on veteran class fighters!

A Communist is first of all and second of all and last of all a Communist--a Marxist-Leninist whose science and devotion and organizational understanding point the way towards the liberation of the working class and the oppressed peoples and therefore all humanity. This is ABC--the Communist Manifesto tells us, "Workers of the World, Unite." An essential point of Leninism, as Lenin suggested when he offered an amendment to that slogan--"Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples Unite"--is its struggle against imperialism and racism, its merging of the struggles against colonialism and for national liberation with the battle against imperialism and for socialism.

As for being a Jew--there are Jews and there are Jews--as with any other people. Mike Gold was a Jew and Henry Kissinger is a Jew. Rosa Luxemburg was a Jew and Golda Meir is a Jew. Moshe Dayan is a Jew and Hyman Lumer is a Jew. There are Jews without money and Jews with money; there are Jews who are workers and there are Jews who are bosses. If there is any real meaning to "I am a Jew" its meaning--at its best--is I am of the oppressed, of the insulted, of the injured, of the deprived, I am of that people who took in with their mother's milk the injunction "Let justice be done though the heavens fall." That injunction was never more needed than today.

Why never more needed than today? Because U.S. imperialism is openly threatening war over the Middle East and its neo-colonialist position there; it lusts to retain the oil there from which imperialism has sucked hundreds of billions of dollars, and from which Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, Texaco and Shell are still sucking billions as their obscene profit statements of last year make clear.

It is especially urgent today because Henry Kissinger has chosen Business Week--there is an organ of democracy that should tickle Mr. Novick's heart!--to announce that the Western world will stand only so much from the Arab up-starts and that then it will come to war--and President Ford has given his official blessing to this dastardly and nearly unprecedented threat of one people against other peoples, who are guilty only of acting to reclaim their own possessions.

We have not heard such brazen language since Goebbels and Hitler were making speeches about Poland and the Ukraine.

The crisis of world imperialism is at its most intense stage, and those of us who are principled opponents of imperialism have the urgent duty to fight for peace. The fight for peace is also a fight for the existence of Israel--an Israel with really secure borders, for the borders will enclose her own territory, will be in accordance with the UN Resolution of 1967, will have behind them the support of the nations of the world and will represent justice for itself and long-delayed justice for its neighbors and in the first place for the Palestinian Arab people. To fight for a just peace is to fight against imperialism.

If this is not accomplished, Israel faces certain destruction and the world a probable new war. We have, then, our work cut out for us. I am happy and proud to be here and to speak in support of Jewish Affairs because it fights for such a policy, such a solution and such a world.

* * *

The UN and the Changed Balance of Forces

By Helen Winter

It is my privilege to bring you greetings from the Central Committee and Political Committee of the Communist Party, USA and to wish you continued success in your work. Henry Winston and Gus Hall, both of whom are out of town, asked that their personal greetings be extended. They highly regard the accomplishments of your magazine.

Jewish Affairs serves not only Jewish Communists and progressives but our entire Party and its constituency, concentrating especially on political and ideological problems confronting the Jewish people and their relation to the struggles in the Middle East. These are complex matters, and there are no easy solutions. Firm roots need to be developed in the working class. These roots need to be nurtured with the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question and the struggles for national liberation of oppressed peoples.

As an organ of the Communist Party, Jewish Affairs can help and has played an important role in this ideological and political struggle. This is not an organ of one or another individual, but it rather expresses the line of our Party and the fight for that line on these questions. It also provides a forum for discussion and exchange of views in developing a correct position. It serves as an organizer and mobilizer in struggles. It clarifies issues so that larger numbers of all nationali-

ties and oppressed minorities can learn and participate in these struggles.

Jewish Affairs is a beacon light to search out clarity and help bring about a greater unity of all people in the struggle against Zionism and U.S. imperialism. It points the way to development of greater unity for support to the democratic aspirations of the Israeli and Palestinian Arab peoples.

Articles and editorials on many international developments--the situation in Israel, the role of its government; comparisons between policies of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany in relation to anti-Semitism; on Shankerism in the city school system and the labor movement; on the Palestine question and the role of the PLO; problems of racism and anti-Semitism; the role of the Soviet Union in the Middle East; the Soviet Union and the Jewish people; varied aspects of life in socialist countries; on the anti-Semitism of General George S. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; on the ideological crisis of Zionism--all this material, published during 1974 indicates the scope of coverage and depth of discussion which make this magazine must reading for not only progressive Jewish people, but for all workers in the leadership of the mass struggles of our day.

The ongoing struggle against racism in our country must be participated in by progressives everywhere. The extent to which there are successes in the struggles of Black people for full equality affects also the progress in struggles against white chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Positive action for equality in the Boston school situation elevates understanding concerning discriminatory practices elsewhere. Such material as in the article by Celia Zitron on the De Funis case in the March-April issue of Jewish Affairs is a noteworthy contribution.

The value of this periodical as the voice of the Communist Party on Jewish affairs and other matters cannot be overestimated. We must all read it, use it and contribute to it to make it an even greater expression of views and activities.

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Today it is important for us to discuss changes in the relationship of forces in the world. Despite the onslaught of the government and monopoly capital against the people, the rising inflation and unemployment, the crisis in everyday living, the picture on a world scale is brighter. Even though the government of the U.S. through the CIA and in other ways nurtures wars and helps to overturn democratically elected governments, the overall picture shows progressive developments. Democratic forces in Chile and Uruguay suffered defeats in the past period. But many more Latin American nations are beginning a struggle against U.S. imperialist oppression. The strength of the socialist community of nations and their influence, the strength of the rising liberation movements and those formerly oppressed nations held in colonial bondage that have attained independence, is reflected in recent happenings at the United Nations.

Twenty-five years ago the United Nations, dominated by U.S. imperialism,

voted to endorse the Korean war. Today the United States cannot obtain a majority vote for its positions. The recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the authentic representative of the Palestinian Arab people in their struggles is a case in point. This is a history-making development. To support this decision, it would be in order to develop among people in our country, including Arab workers and students--a support movement for the Palestinians in their just struggle for their rights and for land and peace.

I should like to remind you of other developments which confirm and bear out our assessment of changes in the relationship of forces.

Over a year ago the decolonization committee of the United Nations conducted hearings on the question of independence for Puerto Rico. At the end they declared that Puerto Rico was, in fact, a colony of the United States and prepared a resolution for the General Assembly for debate on this question. This resolution will probably come up for debate in the 1975 session and this should serve to aid anti-imperialist forces in the U.S. to conduct an intensive campaign for the independence of Puerto Rico as a sovereign nation.

Again, just over a year ago, UN Ambassador Yakov Malik of the USSR charged the Chilean junta with brutality, torture and terror against political prisoners in Chile. Particularly, an appeal was made in behalf of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, whose very life was threatened. The appeal by Ambassador Malik in the United Nations gave aid to a mass campaign to put a halt to the threatened execution of Luis Corvalan. Not only was his life saved, but eventually he and many other prisoners were removed from the concentration camp at Dawson Island to a place closer to Santiago, with less severe living conditions and where families may visit. Mrs. Hortensia Allende has appeared before the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations and subsequently a resolution was overwhelmingly passed urging Chile to restore human rights and free political prisoners. The vote was 90 to 8 with 26 abstentions by the General Assembly. Even the United States was forced to abstain because of mass pressures from large sections of the U.S. people. Popularizing and utilizing this resolution in our continuing solidarity activities on behalf of the anti-fascist forces in Chile will give courage to more governments to act.

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A recent visit of Gladys Marin, general secretary of the YCL of Chile, invited by the Young Workers Liberation League to attend their convention, gives a new dimension to possibilities in this area. Gladys Marin was the first Chilean Communist to obtain a visa for the United States. Immediately upon her arrival she was invited by the Cuban Ambassador to the delegates' lounge at the UN. For two days she had conferences and discussions with UN delegates about conditions in Chile and the rising resistance movement there, and urging them to influence their respective countries to give support and aid to the anti-fascist movement in a variety of ways. She met not only with representatives of socialist nations but with many other Asian, African, Latin American and European represen-

tatives under hostile glares from the Chilean junta delegates. She also met with President Bouteflika of the UN General Assembly and Secretary-General Waldheim. The Mission of the GDR gave an official reception for her at the UN. Representatives of all continents came to honor her and the movement she represents.

Together with this important activity at the UN which was spearheaded by representatives of socialist nations, there were important developments in the U.S. Congress. Gladys Marin also went to Washington for two days. There she met with 17 representatives and senators. She attended and spoke to the Senate Appropriations Committee, on aid to Latin America. Congress last year turned down the Administration's request for \$21.3 million in military aid to Chile and cut proposed economic aid from \$63.6 million to \$25 million.

Gladys' two week visit in the United States was history-making in charting new methods to fight reaction.

Representatives and senators have spoken out against aid, against the brutal terror and called for the release of political prisoners. Michael Harrington, congressman from Massachusetts, has now instituted a suit against the CIA. We will hear more about this in the coming days.

Our solidarity activities, petitions, protests, the raising funds for defense, for the resistance fighters, for refugees, resolutions in labor unions and other organizations protesting the dissolution of all democratic organizations in Chile--all this activity needs to be stepped up.

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This latest session of the General Assembly registered another important gain. The racist government of South Africa was suspended from the General Assembly. This is short of expulsion, but none the less registers a gain. Full support should be given to the petition campaign for a million signatures launched by the Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation for expulsion of South Africa from the UN. Success in this campaign may see stronger sanctions against racism in the next session of the General Assembly.

Consider the struggles in Spain against the fascist regime and the victories against fascism in Portugal and Greece. This all adds up to accomplishments that contribute to the changed balance of forces in the world, tipping the scales against imperialism and toward democratic movements and national liberation.

I have attempted to give a bird's-eye view of just a few developments that reflect the changed character of the UN. We can see that the position of the U.S. government as expressed with respect to the PLO and Chile is out of tune with the times. As it lost the Vietnam war, so it will lose in other areas. But the continuing strength and successful fight against U.S. imperialism with its multinational corporations, its racism and brutality, will only be successful if there is a continued strengthening of the unity of the socialist nations, the newly independent

nations, the liberation forces and the working class and progressive forces of the capitalist world. Developing coalitions and united front movements are essential to building this strength. The beginnings of detente would be strengthened. In turn this would strengthen trade relations and cooperation between all countries, providing jobs and a future of peace for all humankind.

Jewish Affairs and the organizations that it influences can play an important role in these developments.

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The War Danger in the Middle East

By Hyman Lumer

I cannot tell you how happy I am to greet all of you on this notable occasion of our third annual dinner. Jewish Affairs is now in its fifth year; the first number appeared in June 1970. The fact that we are still in business, that we have a solid body of readers and supporters such as are represented in this gathering and in the many greetings we have received, demonstrates that Jewish Affairs is not a transitory publication but that it is here to stay.

True, we have had many difficulties. Our staff is inadequate--the magazine does not have a single full-time worker--and this has caused serious delays in publication and other problems. But we are continuing to appear and it is gratifying to know that each issue is eagerly awaited by our readers. For what we have accomplished I want to express my gratitude especially to Comrades Alex Kolkin and Phil Honor, who have worked unflinchingly on the editorial committee and have contributed importantly to the content of the magazine, as well as my thanks to the other members of the Jewish Commission, who have been most helpful in this endeavor. And not least, I want to express my appreciation to my wife Dorothy, who heroically continues to put up with me under these sometimes trying circumstances and at the same time to carry on her own mountainous burden of activities.

For our delays in publication and other shortcomings we offer our apologies. And since it is not too late for New Year's resolutions, I want to offer our resolve that in 1975 Jewish Affairs will be more regular in coming out--and better in fulfilling its political responsibilities.

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We meet at a crucial moment--at a time when the Middle East crisis has become extremely acute and the danger of a new outbreak of war has become very

grave. Such a war, if it comes, will not be a mere repetition of October 1973. Greater quantities and greater sophistication of weapons would be involved. Israel in particular is more heavily armed than ever before and is continuing to build its armed strength. Moreover, as President Ephraim Katzir recently disclosed, Israel has the know-how, the hardware and the raw materials for producing nuclear weapons. (U.S. News and World Report, December 23, 1974.)

There would be a threat of renewal of the oil embargo, with even more serious consequences than before. And the danger of the United States and the Soviet Union being drawn into the conflict would be greatly increased.

Why this alarming threat of war? Why, after the cease-fire, the opening of the Geneva negotiations and the promising initial steps of disengagement of troops, has the situation so greatly worsened? According to the Israeli leaders, the reason is that the Arabs do not really want peace but continue to be motivated solely by an insane passion for the destruction of Israel. Concerning the situation within Israel, Avraham Shapiro, a lecturer at the University of Haifa, writes:

There has been no change with regard to the estimate of the enemy's intentions: It is assumed that those intentions remain, as they have since Israel's creation, the destruction of the Jewish State. For this the address of Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, before the UN General Assembly, provides ample confirmation. ("Israel as Sparta," New York Times Magazine, December 22, 1974.)

This despite the fact that Egypt, Jordan and Syria have made it clear that if Israel agrees to give up the occupied territories they are prepared to negotiate peace with her; that, indeed, this is the purpose of the Geneva negotiations. And this despite the fact that the PLO has asked to participate in these negotiations.

What of Arafat's alleged call for the destruction of Israel? Seymour Topping writes in the New York Times (January 2, 1975):

...Mr. Arafat spoke of his "dream" of a secular state in Palestine in which Jews and Arabs would have equal political rights. His deputies insist privately that this was only a broad theoretical proposal designed to appeal to all Palestinian factions, not a practical proposal to eliminate Israel as a state.

Topping quotes Shafik al-Hout, a close adviser of Arafat, as saying:

We want to go home to Palestine, but we know that it is a practical impossibility to dismantle or liquidate Israel. I am sure that the coming generations in a Palestine partitioned between Israel and the Arabs will be able to live in peace and love. This is the historical trend. Jews and Arabs have had enough of racism and discrimination.

It is clear from this and other evidence that Arafat and the majority he commands

in the PLO are prepared for coexistence with Israel. Now, it would be expected that anyone sincerely seeking peaceful relationships between the Palestinian Arab and Israeli peoples would follow a policy designed to strengthen and encourage this trend in the PLO, and would welcome the opportunity to seek, through the Geneva negotiations, a political agreement based on such coexistence.

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But the Rabin government does the exact opposite. It refuses to deal with the PLO under any circumstances, on the ground that the PLO seeks to destroy Israel. It declares repeatedly that war is imminent and that Israel must be armed to the teeth and prepared to strike the first blow. Why such a policy? The reason is simply that the Israeli leaders do not want to see Palestinian Arab and Israeli states living side by side. What they are after is a single state encompassing all of Palestine, namely, the State of Israel. They do not intend to return more than a small fraction of the occupied territories; instead, they are openly pursuing their policy of de facto annexation.

Long-range plans for Israeli settlements in the occupied territories have been announced. In the Golan Heights a group of agricultural settlements and a town of some size are to be constructed in the next ten years. In the West Bank, halfway between Jerusalem and Jericho, an industrial center and a number of additional settlements have been approved by the Cabinet, likewise to be completed within the next ten years. And with this, plans have been announced to settle an additional 40,000 Jewish families in and around East Jerusalem. And there are many more examples.

The Israeli proposals for a disengagement agreement with Hussein offered nothing more than the restoration of Jordanian civil administration in parts of the West Bank with continuing Israeli military control, coupled with the maintenance of a series of Israeli settlements along the Jordan River as a "security border." Hussein rejected these proposals, describing them as "humiliating."

To Egypt, Foreign Minister Yigal Allon has offered the following proposals for a second-round disengagement: Israel will withdraw an additional 18-30 miles but will retain the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes and the Abu Rudeis oil fields. The new agreement will be not for six months but for five to six years. And in return, Egypt must make "political concessions"--that is, it must agree not to press its demand for the return of the rest of the Sinai peninsula. The Egyptian government, as might be expected, indignantly rejected this offer as unworthy of consideration.

Clearly, what Rabin is seeking is to sabotage the Geneva negotiations and instead to negotiate "partial settlements" with the individual Arab states--settlements which will in effect preserve the status quo. In this he has had the diligent assistance of Kissinger, who is now trying to capitalize on Sadat's new-found friendship with the United States. But it is equally clear that this path cannot lead to peace. There can be no peace with Syria without the return of the Golan

Heights, no peace with Egypt without the return of the Sinai peninsula, and no peace with the Palestinian Arabs without the return of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

To attempt to maintain the status quo means to go to war. And this is precisely what the Rabin government is preparing to do, again nursing delusions, despite the lessons of the October war, that a new war will be a military repetition of 1967. It is arming itself to the utmost for that purpose. It is telling the Israeli people that war is imminent and is preparing them to anticipate a pre-emptive attack on Syria, and possibly also an invasion of Lebanon.

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Here, and nowhere else, lies the source of the war danger. And the U.S. policy in the Middle East contributes in no small measure to this danger. Kissinger's insistence on "step-by-step" negotiations with individual Arab states and his opposition to reopening the Geneva negotiations dovetail with the Israeli policy. And now his statement in his recent interview in Business Week (January 13, 1975) gives further cause for concern.

The United States, said Kissinger, does not rule out the use of force against the Arab oil producing states. To be sure, he said that it would be considered only in the case of "actual strangulation of the industrialized world," only "in the gravest emergency." But the fact that the statement was made is highly significant. This was no casual or loosely formulated oral reply to a question, no slip of the tongue; it was on the contrary very deliberate, for Kissinger could readily have changed it or even deleted it in the printed text. It was intended to put the world on notice that such a possibility exists. Moreover, his statement was explicitly backed by both President Ford and Defense Secretary Schlesinger.

As might be expected, the statement aroused considerable alarm in other countries. The government of West Germany, which buys 70 per cent of its oil from the Middle East and has 200,000 U.S. troops stationed on its soil, found it particularly disturbing. The governments of several Arab states declared that in the event of an attack all oil installations would be destroyed. Pravda accused the U.S. monopoly interests of "military blackmail." Others spoke of the statement as expressing a return to gunboat diplomacy.

What does such a statement mean? Obviously, the most likely circumstances in which "strangulation" might occur are those of a renewed oil embargo, which would be apt to occur only in the event of renewed warfare. What we are presented with, therefore, is the frightening possibility of joint warfare, of an attempt to achieve the aims of both the Israeli ruling circles and U.S. imperialism in the Middle East by military means.

Now, sensible people will be inclined to argue that such a course of action would throw wide open the doors to a nuclear confrontation and that no responsible government would commit such lunacy. Yet it is only too clear that the Rabin

government is prepared to launch a war that can only bring disaster to the Israeli people. And during the October war Nixon was quite capable--with the blessings of Kissinger--of calling a nuclear alert purely on the basis of rumor.

There are, moreover, people in this country, particularly in Zionist circles, who are not averse to the use of military force against the Arab oil producing states. It is not entirely coincidental, I think, that Commentary, the publication of the American Jewish Committee, carried in its January issue an article by Robert W. Tucker, professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins University, arguing the technical feasibility of such an invasion and the possibility of getting away with it. It should be noted that Schlesinger has likewise declared that "it is indeed feasible to conduct military operations in the Persian Gulf."

And at the annual meeting of the Anti-Defamation League in December, Hans J. Morgenthau stated that it was "imperative for the survival of the U.S." to counteract the "enormous lethal power" of the Arabs "before they overwhelm us." (ADL Bulletin, December 1974.) The implication in these remarks is that the situation might well become serious enough to justify the use of armed force.

In sum, the danger of war is very real and the need to oppose the suicidal Rabin policy and the no less suicidal ideas expressed by Kissinger is very great. More sensible voices in the Jewish community are beginning to be heard. Noteworthy is the letter to the New York Times (January 11, 1975) by Rabbi Joachim Prinz, chairman of the governing council of the World Jewish Congress, commending the Times for warning against pre-emptive war by Israel but adding that "the warning should come not merely from important newspapers and powerful governments but, most importantly, from the organized Jewish community of the United States, which has established an intimate relationship of partnership with Israel and which has provided substantial material support for Israel." With this we can well agree.

What is required is the development of a broad movement for resumption of the Geneva negotiations with the inclusion of the PLO and for the full implementation of the cease-fire resolution (which means fully carrying out UN Resolution 242) and the assurance of the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs.

For these measures, which offer the only real road to peace in the Middle East, the Soviet Union has fought unceasingly. What is needed is U.S.-Soviet cooperation for their achievement. This is of key importance for the attainment of detente and the securing of world peace.

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Finally, these international developments are accompanied by a not unrelated rise in manifestations of anti-Semitism in this country. Among other things, we were recently treated to an anti-Semitic display by Nixon on one of his tapes. Now we have an even more glaring display by General George S. Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But what is no less disturbing than the General's

anti-Semitic remarks is the embarrassment--not indignation but embarrassment--they have caused in certain Zionist quarters. For Brown is looked upon as a "friend of Israel" and therefore, it is maintained, we should go easy on him. But Brown is not the only anti-Semitic "friend of Israel." There are also such specimens as Senator Buckley and Governor Reagan, among others.

General Brown richly deserves to be summarily dismissed and made an example of. But it is also necessary to raise serious questions about the kind of Israeli government policy which makes it dependent on such "friends." One must question, too, the Zionist soft-peddling of the fight against the real anti-Semites here while a hue and cry is raised against a non-existent "Soviet anti-Semitism."

The struggles against the growing menace of anti-Semitism in this country, against the disgraceful campaign of anti-Soviet slander and for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East are all interrelated. To give guidance and leadership in these struggles is the task of the Communist Party and specifically of Jewish Affairs. And to this task we dedicate ourselves.

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(Continued from page 6)

One discordant note was sounded in an otherwise creative and optimistic atmosphere when the question of renovating the Warsaw synagogue was raised in the discussion period.

A JHI Executive Board official replied with chagrin that the leadership of the minuscule religious community here adamantly refuses to permit any renovation of its house of worship. All initiatives towards this end by the JHI and municipal authorities have been brusquely cut short, he complained. Besides, the vibrations of matzo-making machines installed on synagogue premises are simply accelerating the deterioration of an already neglected building.

There was an angry shaking of heads when he said the Warsaw synagogue has become a mecca "for a certain group of foreign Jews visiting Poland" for whom the JHI, the Jewish State Theater, the weekly Folks Shtime and the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland are of little or no interest. Sadly, too, this house of prayer has become a place for some dubious financial goings-on.

Of course this applies to only a tiny fraction of the faithful not to mention the larger lay Jewish community which is an integral part of the political, social and cultural life of the nation. The Barski-Horn reports and the Fuks-Sakowska lectures confirm this.

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Haaretz Publishes Solzhenitsyn's Anti-Semitism

(Reprinted from Der Veg, January 8, 1975)

Mr. Shocken, publisher of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, has acquired the right to reprint some chapters of Solzhenitsyn's book Gulag 2. The first chapter appeared in the paper's Saturday supplement, dated December 13, 1974.

In that chapter Solzhenitsyn contends that it was quite unnecessary to build the White Sea canal system.... He claims that more than 180,000 of the workers who were employed in this construction project perished. Solzhenitsyn writes: "[The killers were] six hired assassins, each of whom had on his conscience the deaths of 30,000 people. They were: Firin, Berman, Frankel, Cagan, Rapoport and Shuck...." To make it still more explicit, Solzhenitsyn spells out for his readers that these six were assisted by an additional Jew named Aaron Saltz.

As if this were not enough, he concocts an anti-Semitic story about a Jewish "millionaire Frankel." He writes venomously: "The Jew Naftali Aaronowitz Frankel was born in Istanbul.... He founded a business establishment in Mariupol and soon became a millionaire...the king of the Black Sea lumber trade...the owner of many vessels.... During the First World War (when Turkey was at war with Tsarist Russia) he profited from illicit transactions, smuggling weapons through Gallipoli.... After the February (1917) revolution he transferred his fortune to Turkey and subsequently settled there."

Solzhenitsyn's anti-Semitic vilifications go on and on. In still another place in this obscene novel, which is being presented to the public as "creative writing," we find the following defamatory depiction of a Jew: "The old, fat, dirty proprietor Isaac Berchard forced a pretty young girl to sleep with him."

Emulating anti-Semitic agitators throughout the "free world," Solzhenitsyn links Jewish names to heinous crimes. Presumably the copyright on the abominable anti-Semitic vilification "Jewish Communist capitalists" belongs to none other than Adolph Hitler--Solzhenitsyn's teacher and mentor. However, Solzhenitsyn finds it much more difficult to use this anti-Semitic technique now than Hitler and Goebbels did in 1933. He is therefore compelled to veil his hatred of Jews in a literary cloak.

Obviously, he is not permitted to publish his anti-Semitic filth in the Soviet Union, but he can freely do so in Israel. Mr. Shocken has opened wide the pages of

his newspaper Haaretz to Solzhenitsyn's writings.

It should be noted that the West German publication Der Spiegel has quite appropriately brought Solzhenitsyn's anti-Semitic tone to the attention of its readers and has taken exception to it, while Mr. Shocken has not hesitated to re-print Solzhenitsyn's full text without reservations.

(Translated by Philip Honor)

* * *

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Communications

Jews in Soviet Asia

By David Fried

The following are a few incidents from my latest trip to the Soviet Union which I think will be of interest to Jewish Affairs readers. On this trip we spent considerable time in Soviet Asia.

In Tashkent, in a park across from my hotel, I met a group of European Jews who had been removed from the path of the Hitler war machine during World War II and had stayed on. All but one (a Red Army man who was involved in the capture of Berlin) said that they were synagogue members. They all felt that since Israel had been created by the UN she should abide by the 1967 UN resolution and return the occupied lands.

In the park that same evening (it was the eve of Yom Kippur) we met a 91 year-old Jewish man. When a member of our group asked him why he wasn't at the synagogue, he replied: "I didn't go when I was young; why now?" It turned out that he was one of the Soviet Union's greatest stamp collectors. He showed us photos of his large, comfortable room and of displays of his stamps that collectors come to see from all over the USSR.

In Dushanbe, Tadjikistan we visited a synagogue, whose members were all Asian Jews. We passed through an archway marked in large Hebrew characters "Synagogue of Dushanbe." We learned that Asian Jews stem from a long lineage of workers and farmers. When we asked them about Israel, the reply was: "We're here since the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and when Cyrus the Great offered our ancestors a chance to return, they chose to remain here. Why, then, should we leave our homeland now?"

It was Succoth and the synagogue, a large one, was filled to capacity. When we went through the archway the building was on our right. On the left was a succah and in the center a courtyard.

In Baku, Azerbaidjan we saw the enormous oil complex. We met Jewish oil men and discovered that the management staff of our hotel were Soviet Jews, as well as the manager of the foreign currency store. We found Jews in all areas and levels of employment, in full equality with others. This is the story which repeats itself throughout the USSR.

* * *

Events and Views

The syndicated column of Evans and Novak appearing in the New York Post of January 15 states: "A letter-writing campaign now under way to editors of newspapers that publish our column, accusing us of distorted reporting on the Arab-Israeli struggle, is based on a wholly false report that we acknowledge having an 'anti-Israel bias.' In fact no such bias exists." They go on to argue that they have never acknowledged any such bias, but readily admit that they have frequently been critical of the Israeli government's policies and that this is the real source of the attacks. They conclude by saying:

"If Israel ever does return, more or less, to a negotiated version of the pre-1967 borders, we would support all efforts at airtight American guarantees of the military security of Israel. Such an underwriting of the Jewish national state is scarcely indicative of an anti-Israel bias. But in truth, there has been very little movement back to the old borders in the seven years since 1967. The fact that we have criticized this makes us neither 'anti-Israel' nor 'pro-Arab'--the facile charge so often levelled against those who displease Israel's political friends in this country."

Here is a graphic illustration of the efforts of the Zionist establishment to smear and to muzzle anyone who opposes U.S. support to the policy of aggression and annexation pursued by the Israeli ruling clique.

*

Pinhas Sapir, chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency, announced recently that more Israelis had left Israel in 1974 than in any previous year, because they were worried about the threat of war. Moshe Sikron, the chief government statistician, estimates that the number of those who left Israel permanently was between 15,000 and 20,000, more than double the annual average since 1948. Sapir also noted that immigration from the Soviet Union fell 60 per cent in 1974 and that immigration from the U.S., also down, was less than 2,000. (From The Sentinel, January 23, 1975.)

*

<p>Greetings John Varga Alliance, Ohio</p>	<p>Best Wishes for a Year of Renewed Vigor and Unity in the struggle against all enemies of proletarian internationalism.</p>	
<p>Greetings Ida and Chas. Wilson</p>	<p>Prof. and Ms. Marvin and Candice Berlowitz Cincinnati, Ohio</p>	
<p>Chicago, Ill. Greetings from St. Paul Club Communist Party Minnesota</p>	<p>James Reid Club of Rhode Island greets <u>Jewish Affairs</u></p>	
<p>Greetings to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> from Sid Ravden Herbert Hyson Boston, Mass.</p>	<p>Greetings <u>Jewish Affairs</u> Abram Bernstein Winthrop, Mass.</p>	<p>In Memory of Sam Davis Greetings - <u>Jewish Affairs</u> A. E. McDonald Minneapolis, Minnesota</p>
<p>Greetings from Gertrude Kowal Rochester, N.Y.</p>	<p>Comradely Greetings to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> Edward Teixeira - Anne Timpson for the New England District of the Communist Party</p>	

Greetings

Robert Klonsky
Los Angeles, Calif.

Greetings to:

The Most Determined Force
For a Just Peace in the Middle East

Best Wishes

L. Kanter
Huntington
New York

from Jewish People's Forum
Boston, Mass.

Greetin
Greetings

Ed & Bernice Linton
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Heartiest Greetings to a

Wonderful and Informative Publication

Dora H. Shapiro
Victor Arkin
Rose Lapani
Libbie & Hy Chait
Anna Shiffer
Sonia Airoff
Freida King
Jessie Berland

Los Angeles, California

Greetings -

Jewish Affairs

Abe & Celia Zitron

To Our Family - Love

Greetings

from

Robert Simons
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Greetings from

Sara & John Randolph

<p>Greeting and Best Wishes to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> Jessica & John Abt New York</p>	<p>Our Whole Hearted Support to <u>Jewish Affairs'</u> Efforts for a Just Peace in the Middle East <u>On to Geneva</u> Gertrude R. & Robt. E. Decker New York</p>
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To Jewish Affairs

Best Wishes

Sam Neuberger

New York

<p>Greetings to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> Irving & Elaine Peress New York</p>	<p>For Continued Success to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> Ben & Sonia Itzkowitz Brooklyn, N.Y.</p>
<p>Greetings from Pauline Rosen New York</p>	<p>Greetings from Retirees Local 1199 Dave Kaufman New York</p>

<p>Val G. Burtan - N.Y.</p> <p>Greets</p> <p><u>Jewish Affairs</u></p>	<p>Greetings from</p> <p>Allerton Avenue Club</p> <p>Chas. Strongwater</p> <p>Bronx, New York</p>	
<p>With Best Wishes</p> <p>to</p> <p><u>Jewish Affairs</u></p> <p>Aurora Zona, N.Y.</p>	<p>Heartiest Greetings</p> <p>to</p> <p>A Fighting Paper</p> <p>Margaret & Rebecca</p> <p>New York</p>	
<p>Coney Island Club of</p> <p>Communist Party</p> <p>Greets</p> <p>Dr. H. J. Lumer and</p> <p><u>Jewish Affairs</u> for</p> <p>Tireless Efforts For a</p> <p>Just Peace</p>	<p>Greetings to</p> <p><u>Jewish Affairs</u></p> <p>from</p> <p>M. & I. Levine</p> <p>Bronx</p>	<p>Best Wishes</p> <p><u>Jewish Affairs</u></p> <p>J. Simkin</p> <p>Brooklyn, N.Y.</p>
<p>Yours for Peace</p> <p>and Justice</p> <p>Lena Ulasky</p> <p>Spring Valley, N.Y.</p>	<p>For Peace and Detente</p> <p>Molly & Jerry</p> <p>Pearl Albert</p> <p>Rose Cohen</p> <p>Brooklyn, N.Y.</p>	

Further Greetings and Best Wishes

to Jewish Affairs

from

Jacob Epstein

With Our Best
Wishes for Peace
in the Mid-East
Philadelphia Friends

For Rosa Bena Newcomb's
First Birthday
Greetings
Dora Elson, New York

Greetings from
Erling Olsen
for Peace in
Middle East and World

Greetings
to Jewish Affairs
from
Dr. Ethel S. Brook

Greetings
from
Anna Leibowitz
Garment - N.Y.

Greetings
from
Mary Lea & Oakley Johnson
New York

In Appreciation of Hy Lumer
For Contributing Clarity and Enlightenment
on Jewish Affairs
Communists of Nassau County

<p style="text-align: center;">Greetings and Success</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Jewish Affairs</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Edith & Gibby Needleman</p> <p style="text-align: center;">New York</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Greetings to Jewish Affairs</p> <p style="text-align: center;">from Long-Time Fighter</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Tom Sullivan.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Brooklyn, New York</p>
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Greetings - Jewish Affairs -

Ed Stark -

Garment - New York

GREETINGS FROM DINNER

Ethel Rechtman	Frances Popowitz	Louis & Rose Schnitzer
Mr. & Mrs. Turkin	Mary Fleischman	Mollie Ullman
Phil & Freida Honor	J. Aronow	Mary Courmand
Frank & Vera Vizoso	Mark Alzin	Sarah Tannenbaum
Simon Zhukowsky	Irene Nack	Frieda Weisberg
Katherine Puskavich	Anna Hirsh	Nina Perrin
Sonya Meltzer	Abe Stafinsky	Anna Bagdansky
Fannie Hechtman	Mania & C. Radzie	A. Friedlander
Goldie & Louis Braverman	Eva Horowitz	Curtis Belmont
Merrano & Mike	N. Simil	Ted Reich
Sonia & Paul Stevens	Bertha Stachel	

GREETINGS FROM DINNER

Paul Goldberg
Ann Matlin
Polin Alexanderson
David Watkins
Anna Crystal
Joseph Small
Jimmie Weiss

Louis J. Shador
Sonia
Sarah Brod
Mr. Davis
Aurora Varan
Mania Kohn
Rose Mayers

M. Lugovoy
Leon, Louis & Ida Granofsky
Mr. & Mrs. P. Schreiber
Albert Paula
Eli Keller
Emil & Rose Shaw
Marian Wallace

<p>Annabelle Liptzin Greets <u>Jewish Affairs</u> in Honor of Husband Sam Liptzin</p>	<p>Greetings to <u>Jewish Affairs</u> from Writer, Activist S. D. Levine</p>
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Greetings and Best Wishes

Jewish Affairs

H. M. Justiz

New York

<p>Greetings from A Friend Philadelphia, Pa.</p>	<p>Greetings Sophie Chelsea, N. Y.</p>	<p>Greetings from Robert Pollack Boston, Mass.</p>
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