

THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION

Felicia Langer

Racism In Crown Heights

Editorial Statements

What NBC's "Holocaust" Left Out

Daniel Mason

Why Sadat Failed

Toufig Toubi

A New Soviet Jewish Theater

Ruvim Grojer

A Tribute to the Rosenbergs

Henry Winston

Editorials

An Important Anniversary

The progressive movement, and progressive Jews in particular, should take notice of the coming anniversary of an important event. On July 27, 1918, the Council of People's Commissars of the newborn socialist Russia issued a resolution on the elimination of anti-Semitism from national and social life.

On this 60th anniversary, we must point out that this was the first piece of legislation directed specifically against anti-Semitism. It is no coincidence that the resolution was passed and implemented by a socialist state.

Anti-Semitism in its modern form has existed since the development of capitalism. Whereas capitalism is unable (and unwilling) to solve this problem—and the problem of national and racial oppression in general, which the ruling class uses to maintain its power—socialism, by its very nature, is opposed to this poison, because socialism cannot be built, strengthened and defended on the basis of national oppression.

Those who clamor against the "repression of Soviet Jews" and against "Soviet anti-Semitism" would do well to ask themselves: why is there no such law against anti-Semitism and racism in the U.S., the site of increasing and open Nazi and Ku Klux Klan activity? From where does the danger to Jews emanate: the Soviet Union, which has eliminated the basis of national oppression—monopoly capitalism, or the center of world imperialism, the U.S., where Nazis and the KKK are protected and defended in the exercise of their "right" to preach genocide?

Such a resolution is needed now in Skokie, Illinois, in Marquette Park in Chicago, where the Nazis threaten to march on July 9, in Tupalo, Mississippi, where they are active, in the coalfields of Appalachia, where the KKK is polluting the air, in Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles, New York City, etc.

The working people of this country have made it clear that they are in favor of a law forbidding anti-Semitic and racist activities. The mass outpouring of anger and disgust whenever the Nazis and the KKK have appeared shows the willingness of Black

continued on page 20

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Vol. 8, No. 3

May-June 1978

Editorial Committee:

Herbert Aptheker, Editor Daniel Spector, Asst. Editor

Jack Kling Alex Kolkin

CONTENTS

Editorial An Important Anniversary

. . .

Articles			
The Israeli Occupation, Felicia Langer.	 		4
Why Sadat Failed, Toufiq Toubi			
What NBC's "Holocaust" Left Out.		•	••
Daniel Mason			

Special Features

A Tribute to the Rosenbergs, Henry Winston .	9
Letter from the GDR, Herbert Aptheker	

A New Soviet Jewish Theater, Ruvim Groier . 17

Documents

Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars on the Uprooting of the Anti-Semitic Movement

Poetry

AGAINST!, Alexander	Penn	٠.	 ٠.				18

Special Hy Lumer Supplement following page 12

Jewish Affairs is published bimonthly by the Communist Party, U.S.A. at 235 West 23 Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Editorial office — 5th floor (212-242-6030); administrative office — 7th floor (212-989-4994, ext. 209). Subscriptions: \$2.50 per year (six issues). Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, N.Y. ISSN: 0021-6305.

Racism in Crown Heights

Editorial Statement

3

As we go to press, we learn of the hideous beating of a 16-year-old Black youth, Victor Rhodes, by a racist vigilante squad of Hassidic Jews in Brooklyn's Crown Heights community.

The pogrom-like attack on a Black youth must be condemned by all people of conscience, Jewish and non-Jewish, as an affront to human decency. The gangsters responsible must suffer the swift hand of justice!

While Nazis and Ku Klux Klaners parade their genocidal racism and anti-Semitism in the streets of our cities, the Hassidic leadership of Crown Heights calls for and organizes racist vigilante attacks on Black people. Thus does racism blind those it affects to the real and common danger.

Interviewed on television, the leader of the Hassidic community, Rabbi Yisroel Rosenfeld, told reporters "We are going to show them that they cannot attack Jews and get away with it." This "chosen people" mentality is the justification behind Israel's aggression against its Arab neighbors, and most recently its murder of 2000 and uprooting of 300,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians in southern Lebanon. It is the justification behind the attacks of the "Jewish Defense League" on Blacks and other non-Jews in recent years. It is the racism inherent in Zionism, in Jewish bourgeois nationalism. It is the lynch-mob white supremacy inherent in the policies and ideology of the monopolies and their government in Washington, D.C.

Rabbi Rosenfeld labelled the attack an "unfortunate overreaction." Mayor Koch of New York City called it "tragic" and "disquieting." The mayor's virtual silence and inaction are nothing but token wrist-slapping. The major Jewish organizations have joined in the silence. President Carter, "Mr. Human Rights," has said nothing.

The problems of inadequate housing, a decaying education system and crime affect all residents of Crown Heights, regardless of race or religion, and are aggravated by Koch's racist policies of pitting white against Black, while all poor and working people suffer. Solution of these problems requires unity among the victims, Black-white unity in the first place.

The few Jews responsible for this crime do not represent the Jewish community of Crown Heights, much less the Jewish people as a whole. It is time now for Jewish Americans, particularly in New York City, to break the silence of their organizations and publicly condemn and repudiate the racist criminals.

To Our Subscribers: Due to production difficulties, this issue covers the months of May, June and July. Our next issue should be in your mailboxes by late September. We apologize for the delay.—The Editors

The Israeli Occupation

by Felicia Langer

After the Gauls conquered Rome in the fourth century B.C., a dispute arose between the victors and the vanquished as to the weight of gold which Rome had to put on the scale for its redemption. The leader of the Gauls, Brennus, put his sword on the scales and exclaimed, "Vae Victis" ("Woe to the Vanquished").

This has been the motto of Israeli power in the occupied territories from the moment the first Israeli soldier put his foot there in June 1967. Little Israel became an empire. The former Prime Minister, Levi Eshkol, called the vast occupied territories a wonderful dowry, but he was aware that with this dowry came the bride, the inhabitants of the occupied territories. The Israeli establishment was faced with a problem of how to deal with this bride, who was telling it by all means of expression, "You are unwanted."

The oppression started. The conqueror made sure to wrap it in a legal cloak, while his laws were regarded as supreme. The machinery of arrests and military trials commenced an era of institutionalized suppression of the will of the inhabitants, in order to persuade them to comply with the occupation.

Colonialist Laws

The laws on which the occupiers based their actions were the Emergency Defense Regulations (1945), inherited from the British Mandate. Those laws were bitterly attacked by Jewish lawyers during the mandate. Mr. Yakov Shimshon Shapiro, who became Israeli Attorney General and Minister of Justice, had the following remarks to make in 1946 about the same laws which the Israeli Government applies nowadays in the occupied Arab territories and inside Israel toward the Israeli Arabs:

Felicia Langer, an attorney and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel, is internationally known for her defense of Palestinian political prisoners and other victims of Israeli repression. She delivered this keynote speech at a recent Palestine Human Rights Campaign conference in Washington, D.C. Sami Esmail, an Arab American, was arrested in Israel last year and accused of being a member of a Palestinian organization. He was recently convicted and sentenced to 15 months in prison, 6 of which he has already served.

The system established in Palestine since the issue of the Defense Laws is unparalleled in any civilized country; there were no such laws even in Nazi Germany. It is our duty to tell the whole world that the Defense laws passed by the British mandatory government of Palestine destroy the very foundation of justice in this land.

Matters not covered by these regulations were legally defined as offenses by hundreds of orders and regulations enacted by military governors and commanders. In the Order for Security Regulations, the penal code for the occupied territories, every soldier has the right to arrest an inhabitant, if there is suspicion that he committed an offense. He does not need a warrant for 96 hours. A police officer has the right to extend this arrest for seven days, and then for another seven days, while a military judge has the right to extend the detention up to six months.

What are the offenses? Participating in a demonstration, contacting the enemy (generally a relative or a close friend whom the authorities claim is a member of one of the Palestinian organizations which are illegal in the occupied territories and in Israel. One of my clients, an old man in the Golan Heights, was imprisoned for contacting his son who was, in the eyes of the occupation, an enemy), distributing leaflets, writing slogans, raising a Palestinian flag, granting asylum to a son, daughter, brother and not reporting to the police that he or she may be involved in illegal activities. Training with arms in a crime. Although Israelis are highly trained militarily, such training is forbidden for Palestinians. Armed resistance is a criminal offense, although according to UN resolutions, fighters for freedom and against foreign occupation or oppression have to be treated as prisoners of

The most common offense is membership in an illegal organization. According to the Emergency Regulations, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, Prime Minister Begin's organization, was illegal until recently. The maximum penalty for membership, acting as a member, or rendering service to the organization,

possessing a newspaper, attending a meeting, etc., is 10 years imprisonment.

In 1973, the government enacted the "Law of Offenses Committed Abroad." Paragraph 2(a) reads:

The courts in Israel are competent to try, in accordance with Israeli law, anyone who committed abroad an offense, as if it had been committed in Israel, and the act harmed or was intended to harm the State of Israel, its security, its property or its transport links with other States.

Dozens of people have been tried under this law and now a new victim of it is Sami Esmail. This law violates the basic rights granted to every U.S. citizen by the U.S. Constitution. It is contrary to the law of nations, claiming a universal jurisdiction, a right to apply to the entire world the oppressive Israeli laws such as the Emergency Regulations.

Thousands convicted by these laws are scattered in Israeli prIsons. Together with them are those administratively detained, some of them for years, without any charge, extended from time to time for unlimited periods—a life imprisonment.

Political Prisoners

These thousands are prisoners of conscience, imprisoned for their beliefs and struggle for independence. They are the best proof of their deep-rooted culture and their Palestinian identity.

But despite these obvious facts, the occupier, who deprived them of their homes and families and who has denied them their liberty, wants also to deprive them of their identity, regarding them as the worst criminals and treating them accordingly.

The prison is a mirror of this chauvinistic society. Hatred and revenge dominate freely, are used against defenseless prisoners.

The prisons are terribly overcrowded. There are new prisoners every day: hundreds of demonstrators unable to pay the heavy fines imposed on them; brothers and sisters of the victims of the Israeli Lebanese aggression, showing solidarity with those slain by the cluster bombs, are beaten and imprisoned. The occupier does not want to recognize that this is one people, one body in the occupied territories and in Lebanon, that he cannot strike one part of it without a response from another part. There is no such force under the sun which is able to suppress the natural feeling of a mother for her son

and the love between brothers, no matter how far and for how long they have been dispersed and displaced.

The fresh air, the sunshine and water are very precious in prison: 23 hours a day in overcrowded cells, sleeping on the floor, sometimes sharing a mattress with another prisoner, as Sami Esmail does. A prisoner has just enough space to stretch his legs. This is his living space where he eats, reads and prays. When he dares to complain, as Sami did, there is solitary confinement. So, even the demand for the most elementary right to humane conditions in prison is punishable. A complaint is an offense.

The majority of prisoners are ill because of inadequate medical treatment. Sami Esmail was treated only as a result of my pressure and the help of the prosecutor during one session of the trial.

The prisoners do not comply with this bitter fate, which they call a death sentence by installments. They are struggling for humane conditions with the only weapons they have-their bodies. There was a hunger strike at Ashkalon prison for months, but the stubbornness of the establishment was not shaken. The four strike leaders, including Mohammed Mahdi Bassiso, were banished to Shata prison, placed in an overcrowded cell with poor sanitary conditions, and isolated from all their friends. The heat in that area reaches 104 degrees. The four have to be broken as an intimidating example for whoever will try to achieve more humane conditions. But they are determined to preserve their human dignity and their right to struggle for better prison conditions.

The population in the prison, the political prisoners, have not given up their ideas and motivations. The authorities are mistaken in thinking that if they have the bodies of the prisoners, they have them entirely. Their ideas and beliefs are stronger than the bars. The prisoners know that they are not alone, that they are the sons and daughters of their people. The Ashkalen hunger strike sparked mass demonstrations in the West Bank and Gaza and a solidarity movement among the progressive and peace-loving Israeli population. The prisons and their inhabitants are in ferment and a signal that no oppression can break those who are determined to sacrifice their freedom and their lives for their homeland.

Collective Punishment

Personal responsibility is regarded as a corner-

stone of a democratic legal system. Every offense involves the simultaneous existence of two factors—a guilty mind (mens res) and a criminal act (actus res). Without proof of these two factors, no offense can be proven. This elementary principle is ignored by oppressors of all kinds. Maybe it is unsettling to remind them, but the Nazi leaders were tried in Nuremburg for their policy of collective punishment. They ignored the commandment of the Hague Convention of 1907, paragraph 50: "No collective punishment, monetary or otherwise, should be imposed on the population because of acts by individuals, because the population cannot be held responsible for them collectively."

The 11th Geneva Convention of August 1948 stressed once again this sacred maxim, strengthened by the horrors of World War II. In 1961, before Israel became an empire, the Israeli legislators thought fit to outline the authority of the occupying power in a publication entitled "Army Authority in Occupied Territory," published by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) headquarters:

The Hague Convention of 1907 is in practice observed by the whole civilized world and as the various courts for war criminals stated after World War II, these regulations must be considered bound to the rules stated in it to the same extent as they are bound to observe the rule of international law.

Nevertheless, the first legal act of the Israel Army in the occupied territories dealt with the imposition of collective punishment. Three peaceful villages in the Latroun area—Amwas, Beit Noube and Yalu—were erased completely and the inhabitants expelled without even their personal belongings. There is a recreation center in the area now.

During those long years, collective punishment became a trademark of the Israeli occupation. A house was demolished upon order of the Minister of Defense if one of its inhabitants was accused or even suspected of an illegal act against the authorities. Almost 20,000 such houses were destroyed. Thousands of women and children were made homeless. The maxim of the Geneva Convention prohibiting reprisals against protected persons and their property was and is ignored, arrogantly, with the silent compliance of the U.S.

The other instances of collective punishment are those imposed on whole cities. In 1969, an order

was issued by the Ramallah Military Governor forbidding the purchase of sheep meat. In the middle of the grape season, in August 1970, the harvesting and sale of grapes was forbidden, unless the notables of the area publicly denounced the actions of the Palestinian organizations and the PLO. During the demonstrations in 1976-77, many demonstrators were shot, mostly boys and girls. In 1976, the authorities imposed an eleven-day curfew in Ramallah; the inhabitants were forbidden to go to the East Bank of the Jordan and to receive guests from there. In April 1978 in Nablus a curfew was imposed for seven days because, according to Ma'ariv, the inhabitants did not collaborate with the police. They were prevented from selling their goods, as well. Bir Zeit College has been stormed by the police after almost every demonstration in this town, and students have been beaten and arrested.

Even such an innocent expression of protest as closing shops, which is legal in Israel, is considered a crime by the occupiers. Those daring to do so are endangering their livelihood. Many shops were closed for months as punishment; many doors were broken, thus not allowing even this peaceful way of protest against the wrongs of the occupation.

The children are the natural enemies of the occupiers. I have now many children clients, aged 13-14, who have been arrested for vandalism. They were harshly beaten in the Ramallah investigation center. How the bankruptcy of the occupiers is exposed when children, who were babies in 1967, are fighting the occupation today!

Time magazine (April 3), reported the following:

There were reports that soldiers harassed Palestinians in at least five villages near Ramallah, a large Arab town (pop. 20,000) north of Jerusalem. The troops would move into a village after dark and round up all males above the age of 13, then force them to stand in the street or do exercises for hours at a time. On at least one occasion, a group of 100 men were taken to the local military headquarters to pick weeds for most of the night. "If we didn't move fast enough," reported a 17-year-old student from Bir Zeit College, "they beat us with their fists and sticks. One soldier told me, 'Your hair is too long.' I said, 'Why do you say that? Don't Jews have long hair?' He said, 'We do, but you shouldn't because you are not human beings.' " The argument ended, said the student, when two

soldiers clipped off his hair with a pair of lawn shears. Several other students were given the same treatment.

We have known of such reports, supported by the testimony of eye witnesses, for years, but they were silenced and ignored because they were exposing the myth of a "benign" occupation.

There are other ways of punishing collectively the students, by closing schools, by imposing heavy fines and imprisonment on those who have exams, by trials which resemble courts-martial, sometimes without the slightest possibility for defense. Sometimes the fathers have to pay or to go to prison for their children, a specially vulnerable regulation for refugees or poor workers with large families.

Those are only a few examples of collective punishment imposed by the Israeli occupiers. If anyone still doubts that it is a system, our ex-chief of staff, General Mordechai Gur, in an interview with Al-Hamishmar, gave extremely valuable, first-hand testimony about his orders to the IDF to attack peaceful Arab populations over the years.

A Criminal Policy

He was asked about Israel's invasion of South Lebanon. The correspondent described his recent visit in that area and his astonishment at the behavior of the Israeli soldiers, pillaging, demolishing homes without any sign of "terrorists" inside, beating women and children, etc. The interviewer asked if the IDF changed its "moral policy." Mr. Gur must be praised for his frank answer: "When young people, who have been raised on the values of 'do not kill' are told to go to war and kill the enemy, everything is permitted."

When the interviewer said that first the enemy must be identified, Mr. Gur replied: "For the soldier, there is no such problem. The question for the soldier is to go or not to go to war."

Question: "Why must it be so?"

Answer: "This problem is a secondary one. First, the duty is to win the war. The officers must direct their attention to the success of the war campaign. You don't stop the attack in order to care for the wounded. Similarly, you don't stop the attack in order to supervise the behavior of the soldiers"

Q: "How come it took four days-four critical days-for the military police to enter

South Lebanon? Shouldn't they have been there earlier in order to overlook the soldiers' behavior?'

A: "The four days were not critical ones, for we didn't know if we were staying there or not."

Q: "When you consider the looting and the plundering, the four days were critical."

A: "This I knew."

Q: "Assuming this last war in Lebanon is not the last war for Israel, how are we to prepare the Israeli youth when they meet civilians again in a state of war, such as in southern Lebanon?"

A: "Those civilians you are talking about in southern Lebanon gave shelter to the terrorists for ten years. They are also known to have provided active support for the terrorists and this is an historical fact. It is not going to help any to be nice about this issue I was commander of the Northern front bombarded them for two and a half years. After the massacre near Avivim, I hit and bombarded four villages without any orders from above. You know how many villages and towns we hit in order to protect Beit Shan?"

Q: "Without any discrimination?"

A: "What discrimination? What did the population of Irbid do when I bombarded them? Oh, that was near Beit Shan, Maos Haim and Beit Alfa; then that looked natural to you....

Q: "In our IDF military communiques you always spoke of retaliations and of hitting the sources of the firing and the terrorist bases. Was that so?"

A: "Well, really . . . you don't know that all of the Jordan Valley was vacated during the war of attrition."

Q: When you talk of bombardment, we did it without discrimination?"

A: "I have no selective memory. I have been in the army for thirty years and I don't know what we did during these years. What did we do along the Suez canal? We caused a million and a half to become refugeees. Honestly, what is it with you, you knew this. You tend to see things according to your immediate needs. We demolished Ismailia, Suez City, Port Said and Port Fuad. One and a half million refugees we made. Suddenly, what happened? We are living near the Lebanese border in Kiryat Shmoneh and Menorah and for ten years we can't move at night. What happened that this population of southern Lebanon suddenly became sacred? This

population knows what the terrorists were planning and doing, they helped them before and after the invasions of the south and they admired them as if these terrorists were heroes."

Q: "What you are claiming then is that this population of the south is punishable?"

A: 'Absolutely. Not for a minute did I think otherwise"

Q: "In your instructions to the soldiers, you did not ask them to avoid civilians and strike at only those we want?"

A: "I am not a hypocrite. I don't want to lie to myself. I gave these above orders to all of the invading army. When I did so I knew what I was doing. In a population area the same instructions are valid, the doctrine of war is what we follow. I personally am against plundering and looting. The decision to enter Lebanon with such force was a political and strategic one. When I gave the order to bombard the targets by air, land and sea. I knew my goal. Do you think I did not know what I as doing when I ordered the hombardment of Maroon al-Ras as soon and as fast as possible, and before our troops get there and have to fight face to face with the enemy? I gave the order and it is not the first time I do such things. For thirty years we have been fighting against the population that lives in these towns and villages."

In the vocabulary of the law of nations, these are war crimes. Those giving such orders are against the Israeli people as well, because they corrupt its soul, soil its traditions, turn generations of young people into killers and killed, create an abyss of hatred between our people and the oppressed and tormented. Those are the enemies of our people. They ignore the prospects of peace, they cut the hands extended to them by the Arab countries and by the Palestinians. They ignore the voices coming from the PLO about peaceful coexistence between a Palestinian state and Israel, as was stated recently by Yassir Arafat in his interview with *The New York Times*, (May 4).

Only One Solution

The solution is withdrawal to the 1967 borders, creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, solving the refugee problem by recognizing their right to return or to receive indemnities, and the right of all nations and countries in the Middle East

to live in peace and security, guaranteed by the USSR and the U.S. and other powers. The other alternative, a permanent state of war, is a catastrophe for the Middle East and the whole world.

We are a nation which has suffered tremendously for ages, a nation of refugees and victims of fascism, indoctrinated for years by Zionist theory and practice to ignore and to despise the rights of the Arabs, especially those of the Palestinians, and to speak to them in the language of rifles, bombs and prison cells.

In a letter to Angela Davis, while she was in prison, James Baldwin wrote:

One might have hoped that, by this hour, the very sight of chains on Black flesh, or the very sight of chains, would be so intolerable a sight for the American people, and so unbearable a memory, that they would themselves spontaneously rise up and strike off the manacles. But no, they appear to glory in their chains; now, more than ever, they appear to measure their safety in chains and corpses.

The rulers of Israel are still measuring their safety by chains and corpses. But things are changing. Thousands of Israelis are coming to the conclusion that only a solution as I have outlined above is able to break once and forever the vicious circle of blood and tears. The thousands demanding PEACE NOW do not want any more chains and corpses, which the Begin government is offering us every day. They are struggling together with the progressive forces in Israel, against the disastrous policy of our government, isolated and ostracized by almost all the world, but still very dangerous in its blind stubbornness.

The Palestinians have rights as human beings, as a people. They will not give them up. The have paid for them with a sea of blood and are ready to sacrifice more and more until they are recognized.

In our era, the policy of expansion at the expense of other peoples is condemned to death. The day it dies will be one of the happiest for all the peoples in the Middle East, who are so thirsty for peace.

Blessed are those who by their struggle are bringing near this promised day.

A Tribute to the Rosenbergs

by Henry Winston

We are joined here today to pay tribute to two martyrs of the cold war—Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, executed by the U.S. government 25 years ago tonight.

Let us say it bluntly: Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, two innocent people in the prime of their lives, were executed as an act of political terror by a cold war government. The equally innocent Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30 years as an act of terror.

These savage acts were carried out under a government-inspired hysteria of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, racism and anti-Semitism, to justify a wave of repression against the peace-loving and democratic forces of our nation.

And today we have forces in our country, headed by the despicable Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's national security advisor, who would revive the cold war, issue invitations to the funeral of detente and usher in a new period of repression. If we are to prevent a revival of the cold war, preserve detente and stop a new wave of repression—Brzezinski and his policies must go!

While the repression of the 1950's took many sacrifices, it could not destroy the resistance of the people who fought back in the indomitable spirit of the Rosenbergs. Those who fought the civil rights struggles of the 1960's, those who opposed the Korean War and those who mounted the resistance to the racist, aggressive war in Vietnam acted in the spirit of the Rosenbergs.

I know that many of you here today were also here 25 years ago—and many of you wept bitter tears that night.

But Ethel and Julius would not want us to weep today. They would want us to dedicate ourselves to the struggle against repression, against the danger of a nuclear war, against racism, against exploitation—in short, to act as they would be doing were they with us today.

Even though hounded and harassed, Communists fought on many fronts and in many ways to prevent the electrocution of the Rosenbergs.

1, too, wept with you that night in 1953, but in the underground. From that vantage point we were determined to help arouse world opinion.

For example, a leading member of our central committee, William L. Patterson, Mr. Civil Rights, the man who wrote, We Charge Genocide, led 3,000 people to Sing Sing, even at the eleventh hour, to prevent this act of political murder and to continue the legal and mass struggle for the Rosenbergs' freedom.

I could not be with you that evening 25 years ago in Union Square. I was one of those Smith Act victims who went underground to carry on the fight and help organize the Rosenberg defense, in which my party, the Communist Party, was most active.

For this a vindicative judge added three years to my sentence, and a callous, racist prison system caused the loss of my eyesight. I lost my sight—but not my vision.

Today as we gather here, we face new dangers—nuclear sabre-rattling, intervention in Africa, new repression, heightened racism and labor-baiting. We gather at a time when the courts permit nazis to march in a predominantly Jewish suburb even as the courts keep the Wilmington 10 imprisoned.

But we who honor the immortal spirit of the Rosenbergs know that reaction can and will be defeated by the united power of the people—the workers, the Black people, the Puerto Rican and Chicano people, the Native American and Asian American people, and all other democratic-minded people.

We know that history has already vindicated the Rosenbergs and honored their noble sons. History has covered with shame the vicious men who sent the Rosenbergs to their deaths.

We know that this case will never die and that the memory of the Rosenbergs will live forever so long as there are men and women who struggle for a better world—which was the vision of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Henry Winston is national chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Why Sadat Failed

by Toufiq Toubi

We are meeting five months after the Sadat visit to Israel, after the start of the new Sadat-Begin-Carter performance which shocked wide sections of world public opinion and confused the clear thinking of others. It is necessary to make some deductions for our continued struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The fiasco of such an adventure is now clear, but the negative effects of such a pro-imperialist adven-

ture were quick to unfold.

The harm done to the peace process in the Middle East—the undermining of the role of international organs such as the Geneva Conference, the wedge driven within Arab ranks, the prospect of strengthening Israel's militarist intransigence, the new plots hatched against the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people, and the PLO as their legitimate representative, and the new dangers emanating from the U.S. scheme for a new proimperialist alignment with Israel-Egypt-Saudi Arabia-Iran as its pivot to guarantee U.S. regional hegemony—of all these dangers we warned very seriously in time.

Events were quick to prove the correctness of our predictions. Instead of the peace which Sadat and Begin declared would be forthcoming, the Israeli ruling circles considered the political atmosphere created after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem to be convenient for a new aggression against Lebanon and

against the Palestinian Arab people.

Exploiting the attack of Palestinian armed elements on Israeli civilian travellers on March 11th, an attack which we condemned as immoral (and incompatable with the struggle of a just national movement) and in our opinion detrimental to the just cause and struggle of the Palestinian Arab people, the Israeli militarists launched their barbaric invasion of Lebanon, aiming at liquidating the Palestinian movement and its armed struggle and annexing more Arab land. We differentiate, of course, between the just struggle of the Palestinian Arab people and the unjust aggressive fight of the rulers of Israel who have been carrying on a terroristic war of attrition against the Palestinian Arab people for decades.

Invasion Planned

We also knew, as Begin later confirmed, that Is-

Tousiq Toubi, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, delivered this speech to an emergency session of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in Helsinki in April.

rael's invasion of Lebanon would have been carried out sooner or later irrespective of the Palestinian attack on civilians on March 11th.

The mass destruction of dozens of Lebanese villages by systematic air bombing, the criminal use against civilians of devastating cluster bombs and other destructive weapons, over two hundred thousand new refugees uprooted from their homes, the planned blitzkrieg by large land, air and sea forces, confirmed the plans of the Israeli government for new annexations and the physical elimination of the Palestinian Arab national existence.

Worldwide condemnation and the inability to liquidate the Palestinian people's heroic struggle, which has in fact gained new impetus, caused the new Israeli aggression to fail abominably, and sooner or later the Israeli army will have to withdraw. The bankruptcy of the policy of force is also causing second thoughts in Israel itself, where more people are recognising now the futility of such a policy and joining our condemnation and demand for immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon.

While the new U.S. imperialist-inspired adventure in Lebanon by the Begin government was encouraged by the Sadat-Begin honeymoon in Jerusalem and in Ismailia, at the same time it crystallized the consequences logically deduced from the Sadat-Begin-Carter performance.

The first important assertion from the impasse at which the Sadat-Begin-Carter efforts have arrived is that without a real change in the policy of the Israeli ruling circles, without their acceptance of the principle of total withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, without recognizing the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people, their right to self-determination and the formation of an independent state, alongside Israel, there can be no advance to a real, just settlement. Without such a basic change in Israel's policy toward the Palestinian people, there can only be capitulatory separate, temporary agreements finally detrimental to the cause of peace.

The obstacle to peace was never the lack of negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries as the Israeli ruling circles always alleged. Lately, King Hussein himself acknowledged that negotiations took place a number of times, but Israel's refusal to withdraw and to recognize the Palestinian's rights always caused such negotiations to fail.

It was proven that the obstacle was never lack of Arab recognition of Israel. Sadat came in person to Israel, asserted Egypt's recognition of Israel, eliminating, according to his assertion, 70 percent of the causes of the conflict (which are, he alleged, psychological). Egyptian delegations went to Israel and Israeli delegations went to Egypt and nonetheless no settlement was reached.

It was proven that the obstacle to peace is, in reality, Israel's non-recognition of the just rights of the Arabs and its refusal to recognize any right, even the very existence, of the Palestinian Arab people.

There were, to our sorrow, people who call themselves friends of the Palestinian Arab people and of Israel who helped to create the absurd image that Begin is the strongman who will strike a deal for peace. Begin's response to Sadat's humiliating overture was the very opposite—namely, adopting more extremist positions.

Begin's "Autonomy"

We witnessed the birth of Begin's grotesque autonomy plan for the Palestinian Arab people, his neocolonialist plan for continued negation of their right to self-determination, for continued Israeli occupation of the whole West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and continued provocative Jewish settlement, even in Sinai. Begin's response to the Sadat initiative was a new interpretation of Resolution 242 of the Security Council, asserting that the West Bank and Gaza Strip are not covered by the Resolution.

The second prominent consequence asserting itself during these five months is that without a common stand by the Arab countries, at least by the "confrontation states," no advance can be made towards a just peace with Israel; and those Israeli rulers gambling on disrupting unity among Arab countries are undermining every effort for a peaceful settlement.

The third outstanding consequence is that without the participation of the Palestinian Arab people and their legitimate representative, the PLO, there can be no future for any peace effort. Therefore, those Arab reactionary rulers who, together with Israeli ruling circles, plot against the just rights of the Palestinian Arab people and try to exclude the PLO from the arena of a peaceful settlement are practically undermining every effort for a just and lasting peace.

We would like to assert again that without the active participation of the PLO in the peace process, no progress can be made toward a peace settlement. It is significant to point out that [then] Israeli Chief

of Staff Mordechai Gur, in an interview in the Jerusalem Post, had to assert that one of the unexpected results of the Lebanese adventure is that the PLO was indirectly a party to the agreement that is being worked out for the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from Lebanon. More people are asking why the PLO cannot be a partner for making a just peace.

The last important consequence emanating from the failure of the Sadat-Begin-Carter performance is that every attempt to draw away the efforts for settling the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian problem from the international arena, away from the Geneva Conference, away from frameworks set by the UN, away from the participation of the Soviet Union, such "peace efforts" are also bound to fail.

It has been demonstrated how futile and illusory are the concepts that peace can be arrived at by placing the fate of peacemaking in the Middle East in the hands of U.S. imperialists who, if given "Arab goodwill," would force Israel to accept a just settlement.

It is true that there are now tactical differences between Carter and Begin and some wishful thinkers want to gamble on this. But those who expect that U.S. pressure on Israel's rulers for a just settlement could be brought about by kneeling before the U.S. patron would find themselves as betrayed lovers.

Source of Conflict

It has been demonstrated that under U.S. imperialist patronage, Israel and the Arab countries would never be reconciled. Imperialism, which is the source of the Middle East conflict, is not interested in a just, stable settlement, but in maintaining tension, in continuing the tragic conflict in order to continue to strike at the Arab national liberation movement and to utilize the conflict for its material and economic interest in the Middle East and the world.

We therefore can say now with more confidence what we said during Sadat's visit to Israel, that pulling away from Geneva is pulling away from a just peace. Now it is clear that only by returning to the Geneva peace conference, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, can the Middle East conflict progress on the path towards a just, stable and comprehensive peace.

The impasse facing the U.S.-sponsored efforts

for a settlement and the bankruptcy of Sadat-Begin-Carter maneuvers, the extremism demonstrated by the ultranationalist Begin government, the Lebanese adventure and the new difficulties it brought to Israel; the failure to beak up the PLO and the Palestinians' struggle for their just rights, the brave demonstrations by the Palestinian Arab people in the occupied territories in the thick of the aggression in Lebanon, prove the vitality of his people's just struggle. These elements, and the serious dangers engulfing the situation in our region, are helping more people in Israel to realize that peace and the continuation of the Begin government in office are incompatible, that peace and continued Israeli occupation of Arab territory and Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories are incompatible.

Petitions submitted by Israeli pupils to the Begin government, then by hundreds of university students, the developing movement of the reserve officers asserting that peace is more important than a bigger Israel, the mass demonstrations held recently under this slogan, all these developments encourage progress on the Israeli scene. While these developments weaken the Begin government, it threatens antidemocratic and repressive measures against the forces of peace.

But we are convinced that the main movement in Israel in favour of a just peace ensuring the rights of all peoples and states of the Middle East, including Israel and the Arab peoples, can be developed, and for this we, the forces of peace in Israel, are concentrating our main efforts. It is our opinion that the main directions of our actions on the world scale should be now:

*A worldwide campaign for a reconvening of the Geneva peace conference as the only road to a just peace in the Middle East;

*Mass world actions for immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon;

*Support for the proposal to convene an international conference in support of the Palestinian Arab people and for a just peace in the Middle East.

The Editors of Jewish Affairs thank Ralph Lefsky

for his outstanding contribution of \$1000 to his favorite magazine.

We wish Raiph and his family good health and long years of active work for a world of socialism. **SPECIAL**



1909

Hyman Lumer

1976

SUPPLEMENT

From the Editors:

July 22 will mark two years since the death of Hy Lumer, outstanding Communist and Jewish workingclass leader. His untimely death was a loss to the international workingclass movement.

Lumer was deeply respected in the U.S., among world trade unionists, and particularly among people fighting for national liberation from imperialism on all the world's continents.

His many articles, pamphlets and books brought a penetrating Marxist-Leninist class analysis to the basic questions of a just peace in the Middle East, Zionism, racism, anti-Semitism and a host of other questions.

Thoroughly imbued with workingclass internationalism, he never compromised with Israeli aggression against the Arab peoples, nor with apologists in the U.S. His writings were a clear theoretical contribution to combatting racism and anti-Arab chauvinism.

Lumer fought the anti-Sovietism of the Zionist leaders of the major U.S. Jewish organizations, and instead called upon the Jewish people to fight the real and growing meance of anti-Semitism in this country.

One of Hy's greatest contributions was the founding of Jewish Affairs of which he was editor till his death. This magazine is valiantly carrying on his work.

Many of Lumer's articles have great validity today. In remembering his contributions, we issue this special supplement, with a reprint of one of his Jewish Affairs articles from May-June 1975 on the struggle against anti-Semitism in the U.S.

The Fight Against Anti-Semitism

by Hyman Lumer

For some time now, bourgeois Jewish sources have been asserting that overt anti-Semitism of the traditional type has been declining—that Rightwing anti-Semitic organizations are dwindling in numbers and activity, that open discrimination against Jews has fallen off, that what persists is merely a body of latent anti-Semitism which, it is true, is capable of flaring up into open expression, but which is at present also falling off.

This is not to say, however, according to these spokesmen, that the menace of anti-Semitism has decreased; on the contrary, they say, it has grown but has simply changed its character. A "new anti-Semitism" has emerged. In a report to the ADL in November 1972, Lawrence Peirez, chairman of the ADL Fact Finding Committee, described it in these words:

Anti-Semitism is no longer largely limited to the far right of the political spectrum but now comes from the far left, from otherwise respectable sources, and from extremist segments of minority groups.

A major component is the heavily increasing flow of Arab and Soviet propaganda. A major trend is the use of the euphemisms such as the terms "anti-Zionist" and "anti-Zionism" when "anti-Jewish" and "anti-Judaism" are really meant.

These concepts are spelled out in great detail by Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein of the

ADL in their outrageous book The New Anti-Semitism (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1974), in which they portray the main enemies of the Jewish people not as monopolist reaction and the fascist ultra-Right but as the Arab world, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Black and other oppressed peoples, the Left, and sections of the Christian church. It is these, we are told, who, cloaking their hatred of Jews under a mantle of "anti-Zionism," are the real anti-Semites, the real foe.

The main danger comes not from the imperialist ruling circles, not from the ultra-Right forces, not from the Buckleys, Reagans, General Browns and George Wallaces, but from the Arab oil-producing countries whose rulers, we are warned in hysterical tones, are about to take over the world and to destroy Israel and the Jews, and who must be stopped by whatever means are necessary, including U.S. intervention by armed force. The main danger comes not from the John Birch Society, the Liberty Lobby or the Ku Klux Klan, but from the Left, not least from the Communist Party, and from pacificist clergymen such as Father Berrigan. And above all the main danger emanates from the Soviet Union.

This is truly standing things on their heads. This is truly embracing one's enemies and repudiating one's friends. This is truly falsifying reality.

Anti-Semitism Increasing

It is not true that anti-Semitism-real anti-

Semitism—is on the decline. On the contrary, with the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism, pro-fascist trends and activities are on the rise. Expressions of anti-Semitism are growing, and they are growing alarmingly. Not only is the outpouring of racist and anti-Semitic filth by the rabid ultra-Right increasing. The more sophisticated—and more dangerous—expressions which emanate from the "respectable" bourgeois circles are also becoming increasingly frequent.

Not so long ago we were treated to the "wisdom" of William Saxbe, then attorney general, to the effect that if intellectuals were mistrusted during the McCarthy period, it was because "the Jewish intellectual . . . was in those days very enamored of the Communist Party." Then came the revelation, on one of Nixon's famous tapes, of his advice to his daughters in campaigning for him that "the worst thing . . . is to go to anything that has to do with the arts," adding "the arts, you know-they're Jews, they're Left-wing-in other words stay away." And still more recently there were the infamous remarks of General George S. Brown that in the event of a new war in the Middle East, Americans must "get tough-minded enough to set down the Jewish influence in this country and break the lobby . . . They own, you know, the banks in this country, the newspapers. Just look at where the Jewish money is." Brown spoke of the alleged "divided loyalties" of Jews and suggested that all this supposed power is to be used for sinister ends. And now, to cap all this, we have the obscene declaration of the fascist demagogue George Wallace that the U.S. fought on the wrong side in World War II.

None of this is new. It all bears the familiar stench of the Nazi anti-Semitism whose ultimate result was the "final solution" of the gas chambers. Nor are such ideas confined to this handful of public figures. What distinguishes these individuals is simply that they spoke out where they could be heard. The anti-Semitic stereotypes which portray

Jews as unscrupulous money grubbers who have gained control of the country's wealth, it's communications media and its cultural life, of Communism as a "Jewish plot," of conspiracies of "international Jewish bankers" to seize control of the world in keeping with that notorious tsarist forgery, the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion—these and other familiar anti-Semitic concoctions are far from dead. On the contrary, they are widespread in "respectable" bourgeois circles. And the fact that they are finding increasingly open expression, within these circles as well as within the rabid ultra-Right, should be a cause of serious alarm.

In connection with the 1976 Presidential elections, various maneuvers are already under way to place in the field one or another Right-wing "Conservative" ticket, ranging from the activities of the fascist American Party to conferences of self-styled "Conservatives" hoping to oppose Ford and Rockefeller with a ticket headed by Reagan or Wallace, and there is talk of establishing a national Conservative Party patterned after that in New York, whose chief spokesman is Senator Buckley. In the Democratic Party there is serious talk of the possibility of a Jackson-Wallace ticket. And Wallace himself has already made it clear that, one way or another, his hat is in the ring.

All these are rabidly racist, anti-Semitic elements, however much they seek to cover themselves with a veneer of "democracy" and "Populism." These represent a real threat to the Jewish people in this country, a threat which calls for a most vehement reaction.

But how do the leading Jewish organizations, and in particular those self-appointed "guardians of the faith," the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, respond to these threats? First, as we have noted, they point the finger not at these sources but instead at the Arabs, the Blacks, the Left and other opponents of Zionism. And above all they profess to find the greatest threat to the Jewish people in

the Soviet Union, and against this non-existent menace of "Soviet anti-Semitism" they organize massive campaigns—demonstrations, mass meetings, delegations, full-page New York Times ads, expensive brochures, etc.

"Save Soviet Jews" is the watchword. But what about saving U.S. Jews? Here the watchword is not militance but caution. Demonstrations, we are told, will only stir up the anti-Semitic elements and make things worse. The road to settlement is private discussions in top circles where solutions can be worked out quietly and without fuss. And the ADL will, at the drop of a hat, cite you a long list of such "victories."

"Friends of Israel"

Furthermore, they say life is not so simple. Those who are being charged with anti-Semitism, it seems, are at the same time "friends of Israel." In the case of General Brown, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin referred to him as "one of Israel's strongest sympathizers" and added that "Israelis must beware of creating a situation in which the anti-Israel, anti-Semitic allegations such as Brown made recently become the rule rather than the exception." And in this country the Cleveland Jewish News announced at the time that the word from on top seemed to be "that the issue of Gen. Brown's virulent anti-Semitic remarks is best left-like old soldiers-to fade away, on the assumption that Brown has learned his lesson and the point of Jewish protest has been made." (Quoted in Chicago Sentinel, December 12, 1974.)

In short, go easy on Brown. Don't try to have him fired. He helped Israel get arms in its hour of need. Besides, you will only stir up the anti-Semites. And not least, if we should succeed in getting him fired it would only be used to prove that Brown was right in stating that the Jews are all-powerful. The ADL allowed the incident to pass with only a few murmurs of protest. More, neither the ADL nor

any other leading Jewish organization had anything to say about Wallace's recent outburst.

Indeed, far from fighting anti-Semitism from such sources, the Zionist organizations have drawn to their bosoms extreme Right-wing political elements of the stripe of Buckley, Reagan and Jackson, elements which are racist, anti-Soviet-and anti-Semitic-to the core. These are hailed as "friends of Israel" and as "friends of the Soviet Jews." That they are motivated solely by support of U.S. imperialist policy in the Middle East and by an undying hatred for the Soviet Union is apparently of no matter. These, along with the George Meanys and others of his kind, are the "allies" of the Zionists in their self-proclaimed role of defenders of the interests of the Jewish people. And it is not precluded that even a George Wallace, in his pursuit of the Presidency, may end up in this hallowed camp of "friends of Israel."

Thus do these Jewish bourgeois organizations, and in particular the ADL, discourage any real fight against anti-Semitism and instead seek to draw the Jewish masses into the camp of imperialism and anti-Sovietism—into the camp of the anti-Semites. And they serve the forces of reaction in other ways as well.

Anti-Semitism is not an isolated phenomenon; it is an intimate part of the whole pattern of racism and national chauvinism fostered by monopoly capital. To be fought effectively, the struggle against it must be treated as part of the joint struggle of all who are racially and nationally oppressed. It must be fought, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, as a struggle against the common rulingclass enemy. But the Zionists, motivated by their extreme Jewish nationalism, approach the fight against anti-Semitism rather as a fight of Jews against all non-Jews. The point is illustrated by an item in the May issue of the ADL Bulletin, which reads: "A Washington Federal Appeals Court decision prohibiting

the use of 'Anti-Defamation Committee' by a Mexican-American group marked the third successful effort by ADL to protect its name." On the two previous occasions, decrees had been obtained from the New York State Supreme Court in 1967 against the Italian-American Anti-Defamation League and in 1972 against the Arab Anti-Defamation League, prohibiting them from using these as corporate names. The Appeals Court in its ruling said the choice of name could lead the public to believe that the group is "a branch of the old and well-known Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith."

The ADL was, of course, established as an organization for the protection of Jews, not as an organization to fight national defamation and discrimination in general. Let other groups similarly look after themselves. God forbid that such disreputable elements as Chicanos, Italian-Americans and—above all—Arabs should take advantage of the good name of the ADL to conduct their struggles—groups which, presumably, are themselves anti-Semitic. Let them find their own trademarks!

Now, one might think that in this land so permeated with racism and chauvinism the formation of every added antidefamation organization ought to be greeted. And one might even think it a good idea to go a step further and to work to unite all such organizations into one single alliance to fight

all racial and national defamation among the oppressed groups themselves. But this, it is pain-

fully obvious, is not the outlook of the ADL.

Of paramount importance in the fight against anti-Semitism is the establishment of Black-Jewish unity. Black-Jewish relations have greatly deteriorated during the past several years, thanks above all to the alarming growth of racism which has taken place within the Jewish community. To rebuild these relations is, to be sure, a vital necessity, and there is much talk about it within Jewish circles. But it cannot be accomplished without a

serious effort to end current manifestations of racism such as the campaigns against "Black anti-Semitism" or the leading role of Jewish organizations against preferential hiring and enrollment, which they attack as "discrimination in reverse," and which was most shamefully exhibited in the De Funis case, in addition to others.

But the quest for unity conducted by Jewish organizations and leaders today has a quite different basis. What they seek is a phoney kind of unity-one based on winning the support of the Black people for the U.S.-Israeli policy of aggression against the Arab peoples and for the Zionist anti-Soviet campaign to "liberate Soviet Jews." Efforts to win such support have found reflections in the Black community itself. Recently the Amsterdam News published an ad signed by 21 prominent Black figures, headed "Their Fight Is Our Fight" and calling for "Black solidarity with the civil rights struggle of Russian Jews." This was followed by a full-column editorial in the next issue. headed "Our Time to Choose." The editorial recalls the participation of Jews in the civil rights struggles of past years and calls on the Black people to come to the support of the Jewish people in their struggles for civil rights today. Civil rights for whom? Why, for the Soviet Jews, of course, And the editorial ends by calling on Black people to participate in the April 13 "Solidarity Day" demonstration at the UN against the alleged persecution of Jews in the USSR.

Ted Bassett, in a series of articles in the Daily World of May 20, 21 and 22, has brilliantly exposed the phoney character of such unity and the danger to the Black people in permitting themselves to be drawn into support of pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet campaigns. The pro-Zionist forces in the Jewish community, needless to say, hailed the statements in the Amsterdam News. ADL national director Benjamin R. Epstein wrote a letter to the paper saying he hoped that "the Blacks who partici-

pated in Solidarity Day will cherish the memory as my wife and I do the March in Selma." But such a statement only profanes the memory of Selma.

If such things as the so-called "Solidarity Day" are not in the interests of Blacks, neither are they in the interests of Jews. Selma was symbolic of a real and bitter struggle for human rights by the Black people in this country, a struggle which called for all-out support from the Jewish people. "Solidarity Day" has no such significance whatever. There is no civil rights struggle among Soviet Jews. There is in fact no place for such a struggle. For the Soviet people have built a socialist land which has smashed, once and for all, every form of racial and national oppression, including anti-Semitism, and in which all peoples, without exception, enjoy the fullest equality and opportunity.

Black-Jewish Unity

What is really needed is unity in struggle to accomplish the same thing in this country. What is needed is unity of Blacks and Jews to wipe out the brutal oppression of Black and other minority peoples and the real anti-Semitism which exist here. What progressive and forward-looking Jews are called upon to do is to fight for an end to the whole scandalous anti-Soviet campaign and for the launching of a serious fight against the increasingly menacing anti-Semitism here—against the Birchites, the Ku Kluxers, the General Browns, the George Wallaces and all the others. It is against these that demonstrations should be held, that prohibitive legislation should be introduced and that punitive action should be taken. Here lies the basis for real Black-Jewish unity.

What is called for today is a well-organized mass campaign against anti-Semitism, a campaign which dovetails with the struggles of all oppressed peoples for full equality and democracy. The initiation of such a campaign is a prime responsibility of the progressive forces among the Jewish people.

In this connection, a word is necessary about the position of the Morning Freiheit and its supporters on these questions, a position we have found it necessary to condemn. For the Freiheit focuses its attacks increasingly on occasional expressions of anti-Semitism which occur in the Soviet Union rather than on the serious and growing menace of anti-Semitism in this country.

The most recent example is its almost hysterical reaction to the article of Dimitri Zhukov on Zionism which appeared in the popular Soviet magazine Ogonyok last October and its efforts to organize a campaign of public protest to the Soviet government against the article. Its reaction was one not of legitimate criticism but of anti-Soviet incitement, joining hands with the Zionist slanderers who seek to brand the socialist Soviet Union as the main source of anti-Semitism today.

The same trend is evident in the reaction of the Morning Freiheit to the Amsterdam News editorial. An article appearing on April 11 praises the editorial for calling on Black people to come to the support of the Jews in the face of rising anti-Semitism in this country. But it omits any reference to the editorial's stress on April 13 and it has nothing to say, moreover, about calls to support a non-existent "civil rights struggle of the Soviet Jews." True, the April 11 issue also carries an editorial condemning the demonstration, but again with no reference to the appeals to Black people to join in such actions.

True Black-Jewish unity can be built only on a firm foundation of struggle against racism and anti-Semitism in this country, a struggle which is incompatible with anti-Sovietism and which demands the most solid friendship with the Soviet Union, the world's most powerful bastion against national and racial oppression. By failing to emphasize this and by failing to mobilize its readers for a struggle among the Jewish people along these lines, the Morning Freiheit does a disservice to the cause of

Black-Jewish unity. It weakens the fight against anti-Semitism and gives comfort to the Zionist elements, the George Meanys and all other forces of anti-Sovietism, racism and reaction.

The burning need today is to open up a militant drive against the real fountainhead of anti-

Semitism-the giant monopolists and their supporters-who are likewise the fountainhead of the abominable racist persecution of Black and other oppressed minority peoples in this country. Let us devote ourselves to the fulfillment of this need.



Hyman Lumer 1976 "In the darkest days of a storm, Hy was a man of confidence in the working class and in people once they know the truth. As a Jewish Communist, Hy Lumer was an outstanding fighter against anti-Semitism and Zionism and as a white Communist, he was among the many in the forefront of the fight against racism and for Black. Chicano, Puerto Rican, Indian and Asian liberation."

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

What NBC's "Holocaust" Left Out

by Daniel Mason

The debate over NBC's "Holocaust" began even before the last flicker of the television screen on the night of April 19 and will undoubtedly continue as the shelves of bookstores, supermarkets and other stores are flooded with hundreds of thousands of copies of the paperback version. But what will be missing from the criticism, as it was from the program itself, is the presentation of the role of U.S. monopoly capital in building the Nazi movement in Germany and its responsibility for the extermination of six million Jews in Europe. Herewith you will find a partial record of big business's despicable role in this horrifying tragedy.

The New York Times of February 8, 1923, reported that Vice-President Auer of the Bavarian Diet (Parliament) had declared that "the Bavarian Diet has long had information that the Hitler movement was partly financed by an American anti-Semite chief, who is Henry Ford . . . Herr Hitler openly boasts of Mr. Ford's support . . . "

In March 1923, Hitler boasted: "We look on Heinrich Ford as the leader of the growing fascist movement in America. We admire particularly his anti-Jewish policy, which is the Bavarian fascist platform. We have just had his anti-Jewish articles translated and published. This book is being circulated to millions throughout Germany."

The leaders of the Nazi fifth column in the U.S., Heinz Spanknoebel, who organized the Friends of New Germany, and Fritz Kuhn, who set up the German-American Bund, were both on the payroll of the Ford Motor Company.

In 1938 Henry Ford became the first American to be given the Grand Cross of the German Eagle by the Hitler movement.

But Ford was not the only U.S. monopoly capitalist to support the Nazis. When William S. Knudsen, president of General Motors, returned from a trip to Europe in 1933, he told a *New York Times* reporter that Hitler's Germany was "the miracle of the twentieth century."

In their greedy quest for profits, U.S. monopoly capitalists joined hands with their German counterparts in supporting the Nazis. Early in 1939, reply-

Dan Mason is a writer for the Daily World and Political Affairs.

ing to a stockholder who protested GM's business relations with Nazi Germany, Alfred P. Sloan, GM's chairman, wrote:

General Motors is an international organization. It operates in practically every country in the world . . . many years ago, General Motors—before the present regime in Germany—invested a large amount of money in Adam Opel A.S. It has been a very profitable investment, and I think outside of the political phase, its future potentiality from the standpoint of development and profit is equal to, if not greater than many other investments which the Corporation has made. It enjoys about 50% of the business in Germany—a little less than that to be exact. It employs German workers and consumes German materials.

Having attained the position we have, through evolution, hard work and, I believe, intelligent management, of approaching 50% of one of the most important industries in Germany, I feel that we must conduct ourselves as a German organization involving German capital.

As a "German organization," GM helped finance the Nazi dictatorship's extermination of the Jews and of millions of antifascist workers. That was only natural; the destruction of the trade unions by the Nazis made it easier for GM to exploit the German working class. It should be noted that, through its Opel branch (which it still owns), GM helped the Nazis prepare for World War II. Opel produced the largest portion of the mobile equipment for Hitler's armed forces.

But GM and Ford were not alone in their support for Hitler. Other top U.S. corporations included Aluminum Company of America, American Cyanimid Co., Bell and Howell, Carbide and Chemical Corp., National Analine and Chemical Co., Dow Chemical, Eastman Kodak, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, ITT, Proctor and Gamble, Westinghouse and Standard Oil.



ie Transport- und Nachschubaufgaben der Wehrmacht stellen an Fahrer und Kraftwagen höchste Anforderungen. Ford-Wagen wurden schon im Frieden für stärkste Beanspruchung gebaut. Sie kamen während des Krieges an allen Fronten in grosser Zahl zum Einsatz. Ford-Wagen blieben zuverlässig auch unter den härtesten Bedingungen.

FORD-WERKE AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT, KÖLN

This advertisement appeared in Illustricte Zeitung, publication of the German Airforce, in March 1941. Koln is Cologne in the Rhineland, now part of the FRG. The ad says: Cologne FORD Trucks were there! The transport and supply tasks of the Wehrmacht place great demands on drivers and trucks. Ford trucks were built even in peacetime to meet the most severe demands. During the war they have been used in great numbers on all froits. Ford trucks remain reliable under the most severe conditions. Ford-Works Corporation, Cologne.

The confession of Dr. Gerhardt Westrick to U.S. occupation officials in Germany after the war reveals a part of this complicity. Westrick, a top

German attorney with connections to the biggest monopolies in Germany and the U.S., had come to the U.S. in 1940 as an emissary of Nazi Foreign Minister Joachim Ribbentrop. In his confession, he told the U.S. officials:

My most important connection with American business was with International Telephone and Telegraph Co., whose president was Colonel Apthenes Behn. Behn was also a director of Standard Elektrizitaets Gessellschaft, which was affiliated with International Telephone and Telegraph Co. . . .

Among those I saw in the United States were Torkild Rieber of the Texas Co., Eberhard Faber of the Faber Co., James Mooney of General Motors, and Edsel and Henry Ford. . . .

I paid Mooney a visit and one day he came to visit me in the Waldorf-Astoria, and on his own initiative he told me that he and a group of other people had the intention of seeing the President and trying to convince the President that he should insist on normal political relations between the United States and Germany. This was after Germany had invaded France, Belgium and Norway.

On June 3, 1942, Assistant U.S. Attorney General Thurman Arnold declared:

The small group of American businessmen who are parties to these international rings . . . still think of the war as a temporary recess from business as usual with a strong Germany. They expect to begin the game all over again after the war.

It is significant that these cartel leaders still talk and think as if the war would end in a stalemate, and that, therefore, they must be in a strong position to continue their arrangements with a strong Germany after the war. This is not shown by their speeches, but by the actual documents and memoranda of business policy which we find in their files.

On June 4, 1943, Homer T. Bone, chairman of the Senate Patents Committee, declared: "The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey directors were asked by certain stockholders to cut off all relations with Farben [I.G. Farbenindustries] after the war but it was refused. One official said such a request was 'an affront.'"

The direct responsibility of U.S. monopolies for the extermination of six million Jews in Europe is May-June 1978 shown in the two following examples:

After World War II, it was revealed that Siemens-Halske, one of the biggest German electrical equipment manufacturers, which had monopoly agreements with many U.S. corporations including Westinghouse and Bendix Aviation Co., had devised and manufactured the gas-chamber installations at Auschwitz and other Nazi death camps, and had a monopoly on gas-chamber electrical equipment. One of the devices patented by Siemens-Halske was a ventilating system for regulating the flow of gas in the chambers such that at Auschwitz, 10,000 persons could be killed within 24 hours.

At the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals, evidence was produced that I.G. Farbenindustrie, the Nazis's biggest financial backer, which had monopoly agreements with — among others — Standard Oil of New Jersey and DuPont, conducted many wartime experiments with chemicals and drugs, using concentration camp inmates as subjects.

In one instance, I.G. Farbenindustrie bought 150 women from the Auschwitz death camp at a price of \$70 each "in contemplation of experiments of a new soporific drug." Following the "experiment," an I.G. Farbenindustrie memorandum reported: "Received the order of 150 women. Despite their emaciated condition, they were found satisfactory. The tests were made. All subjects died. We shall contact you shortly on the subject of a new load."

NBC did not expose this in its version of the "Holocaust." Naturally not. After all, NBC is a subsidiary of Radio Corporation of America, one of the biggest of all U.S. monopolies!

Sources: The New York Times; Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council No. 10, Washington General Printing Office, 1950; Report of Kilgne Senate Investigations Committee.

Letter from the GDR

As a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., I had the privilege of participating in a scientific conference celebrating the 160th anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, sponsored by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Demoratic Republic and its Academy of Science; the site of the conference was Karl Marx Stadt—formerly Chemnitz, but bearing the name of the founder of scientific socialism for the past 25 years.

Representatives from Communist, Workers and, in a few cases, Socialist parties were present from 42 countries. The general theme was the relevance in today's world of the concepts of Marx; reality being what it is, the papers and discussions ranged over most major problems confronting humanity.

In this brief communication, however, I wish to focus not upon the conference itself, but rather upon the farewell party our generous hosts of the GDR provided for us on the conference's last evening on May 19. This very convivial evening was spent within Augustusburg, a castle dating from the 16th century and used by the rulers of Saxony. Here kings and dukes hunted and caroused; in the cellars, peasant prisoners were penned and put to forced labor. Beginning in 1939 and continuing until 1945, the castle was the site of a prison for political opponents of the Hitler regime; so it remained until Soviet troops liberated it.

Today it is a public recreation place and museum for the people. It happened that two of the comrades in charge of certain delegations were Jewish—Ursula Hoffman and Kurt Gutmann. Both had been through hell in World War II; they lost many in their families, became refugees and joined the Resistance. It was marvelous to see both of them in a socialist Germany, in a castle used to imprison peasants in a feudal Saxony and as a nazi slaughterhouse, dancing and singing and enjoying themselves with the rest of us.

With us, too, was Eoin Longuet, a great grandson of Karl Marx himself—there at the celebration of the genius's 160th birthday, in a city named for the inspirer of socialism and in a socialist Germany! Monsieur Longuet is approaching 80, but he is agile, keen, lively and danced with the youngest among us—and some of the delegates, as from Ireland and the Scandinavian countries, were still on the sunny side of 35.

The reality of the 20th century is the transition from capitalism to socialism. If one has any question as to the outcome of this development or as to the superiority of socialism, let such a one visit the German Democratic Republic, less than 30 years after its formation, arising out of the chaos of thilderism, and see now a society of mature socialism consciously engaged in the process whose culmination will be communism.

Herbert Aptheker Berlin, GDR May 21, 1978

A New Soviet Jewish Theater

by Ruvim Groier

The following article exposes the hypocrisy of those who rail against the "destruction of Yiddish culture" in the Soviet Union. While a prominent Yiddish theater has not existed in the U.S. for decades (and the few small ones that do exist are dying), the Soviet Union proudly announces the formation of a Jewish Cameo Music Theater. Ruvim Groier is a writer for Novosti Press Agency.

The USSR Ministry of Culture has announced a national competition of actors, singers, dancers and musicians for the recently founded company, the Jewish Cameo Music Theater (JCMT). The idea for such a theater was proposed by the Communist Party, government and public organizations of the Jewish Autonomous Region. All in all, the JCMT will have 39 actors and 14 musicians. With the object of attracting a wider audience, it has been conceived as a bilingual (Yiddish and Russian) theater.

Thirty-three-year-old Moscow choreographer Yuri Sherling has accepted the offer to become the

JCMT's art director. He is well known as a gifted innovator in direction and choreography. His original production of Cuban playwright Hector Quintero's musical Lean Prize, presented at the Mossovet Theater, and his equally original choreography in U.S. playwright Mitchell Lee's The Man From La Manche, at the Mayakovsky Drama Theater, elicited both a lively interest and discussion in the press.

As seen by Yuri Sherling, the new theater will present modern musical shows by Jewish playwrights. By modern the art director means new expressive devices that allow for closer contact with the audience. To Sherling the most important devices are performance style, music and play design.

"We," says Sherling, "intend to produce plays which are a synthesis of folk and modern elements. Equal importance will be given to the drama, song, choreography and, of course, instrumental music. Therefore, the actors will have to be highly skilled in all these areas, which is the biggest problem in training members of our company. However, I have no doubt in the results of the training. because I firmly believe that every actor has a hidden creative talent which must be given an outlet and proper guidance. This will be my job as art director in the formation of the ICMT."

The fact that Yuri Sherling graduated from the Bolshoi Theater Choreography School and the Higher Producers Training Course of the State Institute of Dramatic Art in Moscow and studied composition under the tutelage of Professor Mikhail Chulaki at the Moscow Conservatory explains the stiff requirements made of the actors and future productions of the theater. Sherling, also, is getting ready to work in a number of capacities simultaneously: producer, choreographer, librettist and music director.

The JCMT's first play is Freilachs
—Song Opera, with music by
Romuald Grinblat, a Lithuanian

State Prize winner. The libretto, based on Jewish folklore, is by Yuri Sherling. Additional musical productions in "song" and "rock" style are planned for the next two years, such as Arthur Miller's Incident at Vichy, an opera based on ancient Jewish folklore with a modern adaptation of Avrom Goldfaden's music, and Sunset, based on Isaak Babel's stories. This production will be by Galina Volchek, chief producer of the popular Sovremennik Theater of Moscow.

A panel of judges composed of many eminent people in drama and music will select the members of the JCMT company. Already several dozen actors in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Odessa and other cities have expressed their desire to join the company.

"We have had assistance and support not only from our patrons-the cultural department of the Regional Soviet of the Jewish Autonomous Region and the Khabarovsk Philharmonic Society (the JAR is part of the Khabarovsk Territory), but also from the Ministries of Culture of the Russian Federation and the USSR. A considerable amount of money has already been allocated for the purchase of musical instruments and the newest concert and theatrical equipment, and the competition and rehearsals will be held in one of Moscow's newest clubs," Yuri Sherling notes with satisfaction.

The Editors of Jewish Affairs congratulate
Sam Liptzin on his 85th birthday.
L'Chaim!

AGAINST!

He was a simple man—
And tens of thousands are like him:
His hand is rough and callous,
His heart—red-blooded,
His soul—alive,
An aged mother and a working wife,
A little daughter and a baby son.
He was a simple man . . .

And once upon a burning summer day,
A day in August, diaphonous as the sky,
A voice reverberated in the factory:
Stop the machines!
Block the steam!
Out to the yard, every man and boy!
What's the holiday?
Why suddenly stop? . . .

Then the simple worker came home:
A soldier for his country always ready.

--Where are ya goin', my man?

--Where are ya goin', Daddy?
Only his mother simply asks: Far?

--They won't be sendin' me far, I know.
Kids, help your mum,
I'll be back in a month or so.

And father was gone.

A year passed in anxiety

A lot did happen, a lot was done.

The nine-year-old son

Was called up to take his daddy's place

In the factory . . .

So he works,
And other sons,
As small and tired out as he is,
Helping to forge the big guns
And increase the chaos.

And father,

Somewhere,

Still strives in the leaden streams . . .

The crazy screams

Of the wounded taught him

To understand,

The dying torches.

These scorched limbs,

Have taught him to comprehend

That it was for him,

For his own self

That he made yawn

The big murderous gun! . . .

Today he is already old (Fifty, or even older!),

Armless and a wooden leg on his left side,

An invalid, veteran soldier.

But the workers listen to him

And he's the children's pride . . .

And at the demonstration,

This was the simple man's speech of his life:

-Comrades,

Listen with patience . . .

If one day

A war is forced upon us

That brings the workers death, no gains,

Stand together once more

And aim the big gun

Straight into the face of this war,

Fight

For

The Against!

He was a simple man.

-Alexander Penn

(The author, no longer alive, is considered one of the foremost figures in Israeli workingclass culture.)

Letters to the Editor

To The Editor:

We here in Miami Beach, which has a predominantly Jewish population, organized an anti-nazi committee. Our Jewish Cultural Center received a letter from B'nai B'rith of Skokie, asking us to help them and including a few copies of petitions to the President.

We made a few hundred copies of the petitions and collected about four thousand signatures and also had a mass meeting and collected about \$700. What I would like to find out from you is whether a coalition has been formed in Skokie and which organizations are participating in it.

If there is an organization like this there we would like to work with them and not with one organization (B'nai B'rith) alone.

Lily Bydarian Miami Beach

Editors' Reply: There is a Coalition Against Nazism in Chicago, which includes religious Zionists, Baptists, Methodists, Unitarians, and some community groups, as well as elements from the ultra-Left and ultra-Right. The Communist Party of Illinois-Iowa considers it important for progressive individuals and groups to work with this coalition, although it does not agree with all its constituents on every issue. The coalition's address is 3137 West Lawrence, Chicago, Ill., 60625.

and white, Jewish and non-Jewish, to struggle together to eliminate these poisons from our life. Echoing the words of the Russian resolution, we call on Congress, the President and the people's organizations "to take uncompromising measures to tear the anti-Semitic movement out by the roots.

Pogromists and pogrom-agitators are to be placed outside the law."

Because this 60-year-old resolution marked a new stage in the struggle against the evil of anti-Semitism, we feel strongly that our readers should be familiar with it. To this end, we have reprinted it in its entirety.

RESOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS ON THE UPROOTING OF THE ANTI-SEMITIC MOVEMENT

According to reports received by the Council of People's Commissars, the counterrevolutionaries are carrying on agitation for pogroms in many cities especially in the frontier zone, as a result of which there have been sporadic outrages against the toiling Jewish population. The bourgeois counterrevolution has taken up the weapon which has slipped from the hands of the Tsar.

The absolutist government, each time when the need arose, turned the wrath of the peoples directed at itself against the Jews, at the same time telling the uneducated masses that all their misery comes from the Jews. The rich Jews, however, always found a way to protect themselves; only the Jewish poor always suffered and perished from instigation and violence.

The counterrevolutionaries have now renewed hatred against the Jews, using hunger, exhaustion and also the backwardness of the most retarded masses as well as the remnants of that hatred against the Jews which was planted among the people by absolutism.

In the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, where the principle of self-determination of the toiling masses of all peoples has been proclaimed, there is no room for national oppression. The Jewish bourgeois are our enemies, not as Jews but as bourgeois. The Jewish worker is our brother.

Any kind of hatred against any nation is inadmissible and shameful.

The Council of People's Commissars declares that the anti-Semitic movement and pogroms against the Jews are fatal to the interests of the workers' and peasants' revolution and calls upon the toiling people of Socialist Russia to fight this evil with all the means at their disposal.

National hostility weakens the ranks of our revolutionaries, disrupts the united front of the toilers without distinctions of nationality and helps only our enemies.

The Council of People's Commissars instructs all Soviet deputies to take uncompromising measures to tear the anti-Semitic movement out by the roots. Pogromists and pogrom-agitators are to be placed outside the law

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, ULYANOV (LENIN); Administrator of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissars. BONCHE-BUREVICH; Secretary of the Council, N. GORBUNOV. July 27, 1918.

ארום דעם געבוירן טאג פון אשה אלגין מער אלגין אין געווען דער גער ארגאנין אטאר פון דער און אלגין אין געווען דער גרינידער פו

מיד האבן דערהאלטן א בריוו פון צוויי לייענער מון דער "מארגן־פרייהיימי", פון לאס אנזשעלעס. פש"א. מאקס ניטי לין און לייזער משה קארעליץ, מיט א ביטע צו פארעפנטלעכן זייערן א בריוו צום רעדאקטאר מון "מ"מ", פ. נאר וויק.

מיר קומען אנטקעגן דער בקשה פון די אויבן דערמאנטע פריינד. רעד'

צו פסח נאוויק, הויפט רעדאקטאר סון "מארגן־פריי־ הייט".

חשובער רעדאקטאר, די "מארגן פרייהיים" פון 24טן מערק 1978 וועט פארבלייבן א שאנדפלעק אין דער געשיכטע פון דער צייטונג. דער 24טער מערק איז געווען דער הונדערט־ סטער געבורטס־טאג פון משה אָלגין. אזוי האט די "מארגן פרייהייט" אפגעשפיגלט אט די היסטארישע דאסע אין דער צייטונג ז וועלכע דערינערונ־ געו האט די "מ־פ" געגעבן די לייענער אין דעם נומער וועגן דעם גרויסן רעדנער, שרייבער, פאעט, פרייהייטס־קעמפער און גריגדער פון דער צייטונג - משה אלגין ז אויף דער ערשטער זייט פון דער ,,מארגן פרייהייט" אין דערשינען א גרויסער קאַם: "היינט מערץ 24 – הונדערטסטער געבוירן־טאַג סון מ. אלגין". אונטן גיט מען אַפּ געציילטע שורות ,מיט א בילד פון מ. אלגין, וועגן זיין הונדערטסטן געבורטס־ טאג. אט די שורות זיינען געשריבן קיי־ לעכדיק און שפיציק, אז דער לייענער כען ניט און זאל בשום אופן, ניט קריגן קיין אמתן, גענויעם באגריף וועגן דעם הערלעכן, ברויזנדיקן, קעמפערישן לעבן מון אט דעם מענטשלעכן גיגאנט - משה אלבין. אין די אייניקע שורות ווערט געזאַגט: "נאָך דער אַקטאַבער רעוואַלוי ציע, האָט ער פארנומען זיין ארט אין דעם אוואנגארד פון די קעמפער פאר פרינצים־פעסטן סאָציאַליזם". ווייסט איר וואם עס מיינען די ווערטער "פרינצים-מעסטן סאציאליזם" ז אין פשוטן יידיש וואלט מען געקענט שרייבן אט וואס: נאך דער אקטאבער רעוואלוציע, אין 1921 איז אלגין געווען פארוויקלט אין גרינדן די קאמוניסטישע פארטיי אין אמעריקע: אין 1922 איז אלגין געווארן

סעקציע פון דער קאמוניסטישער פאר־ טיי; פיל יארן איז אלגין געווען א מיטגליד פון נאציאנאלן קאמיטעט פון דער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי און איז געווען א פארטיי מיטגליד ביו דעם לעצ־ טן טאג פון זיין לעכן ! פארוואס האט איר בים די פשוטע אנשפענדיקייט, צו דער־ ציילן די לייענער או משה אלגין איו געווען דער גרינדער פון דער ,,מארגן־ פרייהייט" - אריגינעל די "פרייהייט"! אנשטאט צו שרייבן אין א קלארן פשוטן יידיש, דערקלערט איר די לייענער "אין געראנגל פאר סאציאליזם, פאר דער חשיבות פון מענטש, פאר קולטור איז אויפגעקומען די "פרייהייט" - די איצ־ טיקע "מארגן פרייהייט"... וואס מיינט איר מיט די ווערטער "איז אויפגעקו־ מעו" ז די צייטונג האט ארויסגעשפראצט פון דער ערד... אדער ארויסגעוואקסן פון א בוים... אדער אראפגעפאלן פון הימל ז... ווי קען מען פארגעסן, ווי מעג מען פארגעסן און ניט דערציילן צו זיין 100 יעריקו געבוירן־טאג, או משה אל־ גיין האט ליב געהאט דעם סאוועטן־ פארבאנד מיט לייב און לעבן, מיטן גאנצן ברען פון זיין פאעטישער נשמה; אז אלגין, אלס רעדאקטאר פון דער ,,פרייהייט", איז געווען דער אפאסטאל, דער אדוואקאט ,דער פארטיידיקער פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד קעגן אלע שונאים אין אונדוער לאנד - אויף דער יידי־ שער יידישער גאס און אפילו אויף דער נים יידישער גאס!!! פאר די אלע יארן וואס אלגין איז געווען רעדאקטאר פון דער צייטונג, איז ניט דערשינען סיין איין שורה, קיין איין ווארט אפילו, וואס זאל ווארפן שמוץ אויפן סאוועטן־ פארבאנד. אדער ארויסרופן שינאה אדער אומצוטרוי צו זיין באליבטער ערשטער סאציאליסטישער מלוכה אין דער וועלט!!! מיר גלייבן או דער הויפס רעדאקטאר, פסח נאוויק, און דער געהילפס רעדאק־ טאר, חיים סולער, טראגן די פאראנט־ יוארטלעכקיים און זיינען שולדיק די לייענער פון דער "מארגן פרייהייט", א דערקלערונג, פארוואס עס איז אין די אייניקע שורות אויף דער ערשטער זייט וועגו אלגינס 100סטן געבוירן־טאג, ניט דערמאנט געווארן דאס ווארט "קאמו־ ניסט", די ווערטער "קאָמוניסטישע פּאַר־ טיי": עס זיינען ניט דערמאַנט געוואָרן די ווערטער "סאוועטן פארבאנד" און

אז אלגין איז געווען דער גרינדער פון דער "פרייהייט" — שפעטער "מארגן פרייהייט"...

אין דער זעלבער צייטונג זיינען דער־ שינען נאך צוויי ארטיקלען, אין פאר־ בינדונג מיט אלגינס 100 יעריקן גע־ בורטס־טאנ און אין קיין איינעם פון די ארטיקלען ווערן ניט דערמאנט די ווערטער "קאמוניסט", "קאמוניסטישע פארטיי", "סאוועטן פארבאנד", אדער, או אלגיו איז געוועו דער גרינדער פון דער צייטונג! מען קען ויך כשום אוסן ניט פארשטעלן, ווי קען מען שרייבו וועגן אלגינען און ניט דערמאנען. או ער איז געווען א קאמפראמיסלאזער פארטיידיקער פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד; אז עם איז געווען זיין אידעאלע לעבנס־מי־ סיע צו פארטיידיקן זיין "ליב־קינד" דעם סאַוועטן־פאַרבאַנד מיט זיין גאונישן מוח, מיט זיין פערלדיקער שפראך און מיט זיין געשליפענעם צונג. ווי קען מען פארבייגיין, שרייבנדיק וועגן אלגיגען און דאס ניט דערמאנעו: צו באקעמפו די שונאים פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד מיט זיין מויל און מיט זיין פען האט אלגין פארעכנט די קרוין דערגרייכונג פון זיין. קעמפערישן גלארייכן לעבן! ווען אלגין וואלט איצט געלעבט, וואלט ער ווארשיינלעך ארונטערגעריסן די זעלבסט־ געזאלבטע נייע "טערארעטיקער", די פריידיקער פון פאלשע סאציאליסטישע פראועס, ווי ער האט עס געטאן אין די דרייסיקער יארן: "זיי פאוירן אפילו אלם פריינד פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד, א-בער זיי פירן אן א קאנטער־רעוואלא־ ציאנערע פראפאגאנדע קעגן סאוועסן-פארבאנד און דורכדעם העלפן זיי די שונאים, וועלכע ווילן פארניכטן דעם סאוועטן־פארבאנד"... "זיי מרעטענדירן צו זיין קעגנער פון קאפיטאליום, אבער זיי צילן זייערע גיפטיקע פיילן קעגן קא־ מוניסטן"...

מיט דרך ארץ צו אלגינס 2000טון געבוירדיטאג. מאקס גיטלין מאקס גיטלין לייזער משה קארעליץ לייזער משה קארעליץ \$44.1978

דער פרימאָרגן פון 19־טן אַפריל . אָט זיך געשטעלט אַ זוניקער 1978 אבער עס האָט געבלאון אַ קיל ווינטל. לאנג פאַר דער באשטימטער צייט נע־ מען זיך זאָמלען ביים געטאַ־דענקמאָל פיל מענטשן. עם ציען פון אַלע זייטן שטאָט אויטאָקאָרן מיט די צאָלרייכע אויסלענדישע העלעגאטן. עס קומען דא אהער די וואַרשעווער יידן און פאָליאַקן. פארשטייער פון דער פאלקס־מלוכה. פון פאָליטישע און געזעלשאַפטלעכע אָרגאַ־ ניזאַציעס, גרופן ארבעטער פון די וואַר־ שעווער פאַבריקו. מען זעט דאָ מאַמעס פירן קליינע קינדער פאר די הענטלעך. א היבשע צאל שול־יוגנט. הארצערן. צווישן די פארזאמלטע זעט מען מענטשן מיט גרויסע מדוכהשע אויסצייכענונגען אויף זייערע ברוסטן. דאָס זענען די אָנ־ טיילנעמער אין דער ווידערשטאַנד־באַ־ וועגונג. געוו. פראָנט־קעמפער און פאַרטיזאַנער, לעבנגעבליבענע אויפ־ שטענדלער פון וואַרשעווער געטאָ.

אַנטקעגנאיבער רעם דענקמאַל פאַר־ מירט זיך אַ צוג פון די צאַלרייכע דע־ דעגאַציעס פון לאַנד און אויסלאַנד. אַלע מיט קרענץ.

אין דער אַרומיקער שטידקייט הילכט אפ דער מיליטערישער אפעל צו פרעזענטירן דאָס געווער. דער אַרקעס־ טער שפילט אויף דעם נאציאנאלן הימן. ביי די קלאנגען פון ווערבלען רירט דעם צוג צום מאנומענט. מיט גרויס יראת־הכבוד גייען מענער און פרויען. יוגנט און קינדער, מיליטערלייט אין ציווילע.

דעם ערשטן קראַנץ רויטע רויזן מיט אן אויפשריפט אויף דער שארף "די העלדן און מאַרטירער פון ווארשעווער געטא״, לייגט א דעלענאציע פון אל־ פוילישן קאָמיטעט פון פראָנט און פאלקס־איינהייט, דאן לייגן, לויט דער ריי, גרויסע קרענץ דעלעגאַציעס פון מיניסטעריום פון נאַציאָנאַלער פאַרטיי־ דיקונג, די הויפט־פאַרוואַלטונג פון פאַרבאנד פון די קעמפער פאר פרייהייט און דעמאָקראַטיע, דער הויפּטשטאָטי־ שער קאמיטעט פון פראנט פון פאלקט־ איינהיים, די ווארשעווער פאַרוואַלטונג פון פוילישן קאמבאטאנטן־פארבאנד, דאָס געזונטהייטס־מיניסטעריום. אַלע־ מענס אויפמערקזאַמקיים ציט צו די דע־ פעגאציע פון יידישן וועלט־קאָנגרעס בראש מיטן גרינדער - פרעזידענט

ד"ר נחוח גאַלדמאן. העלכע טראַגט אַ קראַנץ פון רויטע טוליפּאַנען מיט אן אויפשריפט ז'יף דער לענטע: "כבוד די רומפולע העלדן פון ווארשעווער גע־ טא". ביים מאנומענט פארנייגו אלע זייערע קעפ פארן פארשניטענעם יידישן פּאָדֹק. עס דערנענטערט זיך דאָס פּרע־ זידיום פון דער הויפט־פאַרוואַלטונג פון קולטור־געזעלשאפטלעכן פארבאנד פון די יידן אין פוילן. אויפן שאַרף פון דעם קראנץ לייענען מיר: "אייביק וועט לעבן דער אַנדענק פון די מאַרטירער און קעמפער פון וואַרשעווער געטאָו״.

דער ריזיקער צוג באוועגט זיך מיט געמאָסטענע טריט. עס קומט אָן צום דענקמאָל די דעלעגאַציע פונעם אינ־ טערנאַציאָנאָלן אוישוויצער קאָמיטעט בראש מיטן פרעזידענט ד״ר מארים גאַלדשטיין, צוואָמען מיט אים גייט אַ גאנצע גרופע געוו. אסירים פון אוישוויץ און אַנדערע געוו. נאַצישע אומקום־דּאַ־ גערן. צופוסנס פון מאנומענט לייגן זיי א גרויסן קראנץ פון ווייס־רויטע בלו־ מען.

ווייטער שפאנען, לויט דער ריי, מיט אַנטבלויזטע קעפ די מיטאַרבעטער פון יידישן היסטאָרישן אינסטיטוט, דער אנסאמבל פון יידישן מלוכה־טעאַטער א״נ פון א. ר. קאמינסקא. דער זשורנאר און ליסטישער אַדמיניסטראַטיווער פערסאָנאָל פון דער "פּאָלקס־שטימע״.

אַ שטאַרקן אײנדרוק מאַכט אַ גרופע יינגלעך און מיידלעך אָנגעטאָן אין האַר־ צער־איניפּאָרם. דאָס זענען די שילער פון דער שול נר. 211. וואָס טראָגט וויר־ דיק דעם נאָמען פון גרויסן פעדאָגאַג און קינדער־פריינד -- דעם קדוש ד״ר יאַנוש קאָרטשאַק. זיי לייגן אַ שיינעם בלומען־קראַנץ צום אָנדענק פון די וואַרשעווער געטאָ־העמדן.

אט גייט א דעלעגאציע פון די גרא־ פישע אָנשטאַלטן אויף טאָמקע־גאָס. נאַך אים טראָגן אַ קראָנץ בלומען די מיטאַר־ בעטער פון דער האָלענדישער אָמבאַ־ כאַדע אין וואַרשע, ווייטער זעען מיר די אַרבעטער פון דעם גרויסן בויונגס־ קאָמבינאָט "מיטלְשטאָט״. וואָס האָבן פון די רואינען אויפסניי אויפגעבוים דעם פרעכטיקן וווינונגס־קוואַרטאַל דאָס האַרץ פון וואַרשע. זיי דייגן צו־ פוסנס פון דענקמאל אַ גרויסן קראַנץ.

ווידער קומען אָן די אויס לעבדישע דעלעגאציעס. איצטער שפאנען מיט געבויגענע קעפ און געמאָסטענע טריט די אָנפירנדיקע טוער פון דער יידישער סעקציע פון דער קאָמוניסטישער פאַר־ טיי אין אַמעריקע אַלעקם קאָלקין, קוש־ ניר מאָרים דייווים א״אַנד. זיי טראָגן צוויי קרענץ: דערין איינער אין נאָמען פון דער רעדאַקציע "דושואיש אפער".

איינע נאָך ידער אַנדערער מאַרשירן די פארשטייער פון די יידישע ארגאני־ו ואציעס פון יוגאָסלאַװיע, טשעכאָסלאַ־ וואקיע, אונגאַרן, פון באן־דייטשלאנד און פון דער דייטשישער דעמאקראטיי שער רעפובליק. פון האָלאַנד און בעף־ גיע, די דעלעגאַציע פון דער יידישער

גמינע פון מאסקווע... עטלעכע גרויסע קרענץ טראגן די

פארשטייער פון די יידישע פּראָגרעסי־ ווע ארגאניזאציעס אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן נאמען פון דעם כמרבאנד פון. אַנַפֿי־נאַצי־קעמפער אין ישראל טראָגט אַ קראַנץ אברהם נוימאָן, אַקטיװער טוער פון דער ישראלדיקער קאָמונים׳ טישער פארטיי. עם דערנעענטערט זיך די פראַנצויזישע דעלעגאַציע. מיר זעען דאָ דעם סעקרעטאַר פון "אוניאָן" און מיטגליד פון דער דירעקציע פון דער נייער פרעסע" אין פאַריז שאַרל שטיינ" מאן, אין סוזאן קאליש

דער פייערלעכער צערעמאַניע־אַקט ווערט פארענדיקט מיט אויפשפילן דעם דורכן מיליטערישן נאציאנאלן־הימן ארקעסטער.

דערנאָך לאָזן זיך אַלע צום אַנדענק־ שטיין פונעם שטאַב פון דער יידישער קאמפס־אָרגאַניזאַציע אויף מילע 18 ווו מען לייגט קרענץ און בינטלעך בלומעו. אויך דא ווערט אפגעריכט אן "אל מלא רחמים". דער לעצטער פונקט פון מאַרשרוט איז צום געוו. אומשלאָג־ פלאץ. פון וראנען מ׳האָט די וואַרשע־ ווער יידן דעפּאַרטירט קיין טרעבלינקי, מאַידאַנעק, אוישוויץ. דאַ האָט מען אַנ־ געצינדן יארצייטליכט ביים ערן־טאָװלּ אין דריי שפראכן: יידיש, פויליש און העברעיש. און געלייגט בלומען.

די גרויסע פייערלעכקיים איז אויפ־ גענומען געווארן דורך ראדיא און טע־ לעוויזיע, וועלכע האבן דעם זעלבן אַונט איבערגעגעבן פאר מיליאָנען צו־ הערער ספעציעלע אוידיציעס.

Travel with Anniversary Tours

and meet our friends around the world...

GROUP TOURS

CUBA (10, 14, and 17 day tours)
USSR and worldwide

YOUTH TOURS

CUBA and USSR

INDIVIDUAL TRAVEL

Any advertised tour can be ordered through ANNIVERSARY

AIR TICKETS

Foreign or Domestic

TRAIN TICKETS

Foreign or Domestic

CRUISES

Near and Far

HEALTH RESORTS

Here and Abroad



Suite 1428 250 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019 (212) 245-7501 Cable Address: ANIVERSARY Telex Number 62313

May-June 1978

In loving memory of Teddy

died July 17, 1967.

A lifelong activist in her trade union and a fighter for world peace.

Eddy Stark

The Editorial Board of Jewish Affairs greets

Aaron Vergelis

editor of Sovietish Heimland, on his 60th birthday and congratulates him on receiving the

Order of the Red Banner of Labor

from the Presidium of the USSR.

Greetings to Jewish Affairs

> Max Gitlin Los Angeles

- Please enter my subscription for _____year(s) at \$2.50 per year (6 issues).
- Please send me the following book, plus a subscription for \$5.00:
 - Lenin on the Jewish Question.
 - ☐ The Seventh Well
- Please renew my subscription.
 (PLEASE PRINT)

Address____

State___Zip_

Send coupon to: Jewish Affairs, 235 W. 23 St., N.Y., N.Y., 10011.



- For progressive analyses of the major issues of our days the Middle East, Zionism, the Arab world, Israel; socialism and nationnal liberation vs. imperialism; the fight for peace and detente.
- For clarity in the struggle against racism, anti-Semitism and national chauvinism.
- For progressive, workingclass culture in the struggle for socialion and peace.