

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

50¢

*September-October 1977*

Racism, Affirmative Action  
and the  
Bolshevik Revolution

also: Bakke and Anti-Semitism

## 60 Years of Freedom

Seventy-four years ago, 49 Jews were killed in a pogrom in Kishinev in Czarist Russia. Fourteen years later, a Jew was elected president of the country. What had happened to bring about such an extraordinary change was a social earthquake whose reverberations are still being felt today: the Great October Socialist Revolution, led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

The first decrees of the Bolshevik government established for the world to see the basic policies of living socialism: the Decree on Peace, which expressed the inseparable link between socialism and peace; the Decree on Land, which returned the soil to its tillers; the Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia, which outlawed national chauvinism and declared the right of all nations to self-determination; and the Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars on the Uprooting of the Anti-Semitic Movement, which called for a mass struggle to eliminate anti-Semitism.

This last Resolution was the first legislation in modern history to outlaw anti-Semitism. It decreed 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. (Hyman Lumer, ed., *Lenin on the Jewish Question*, International Publishers, N.Y., 1974, p. 141.)

A quarter of a century later, the young socialist state bore the onslaught of imperialism unmasked—fascism. The USSR gave priority to saving its Jews, and 20 million of its sons and daughters—including Jews—gave their lives to save humanity from the nightmare of Hitler.

The Soviet state was the prime mover in the international effort that led to the birth of the State of Israel. The USSR supported unconditionally the struggle of the Jews and Arabs of Palestine against British colonialism. For 30 years, the Soviet Union has championed the right of all nations in the area to sovereignty and independence, and has fought

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# Racism, Affirmative Action and the Bolshevik Revolution

by Herbert Aptheker

The Hitler cult is sweeping the "Free World." From "jokes" among officers of the *Wehrmacht* in West Germany—where paper Jews were consigned to flames while the "gentlemen" heiled Hitler—to desecrated synagogues in Brooklyn, from pogroms in Argentina to Nazi parades in Skokie, Illinois, from a book denying Nazi atrocities published by an obscure firm in the mid-West to a massive apologia for Hitler published by Viking in New York City, the justification of Nazism and the repudiation of the antifascist struggle is in full swing.

In San Jose, California, an enterprising reporter discovered that the City Council had granted a permit for a rally by the Nazis in a public park; the discovery was reported on October 1 and the rally was to be held on October 8.

In the intervening few days a magnificent groundswell of public opinion—Black and Chicano, synagogues and churches, and just individual citizens—forced that Council to reverse itself by October 4 and direct its attorney to "study" the question for 30 days and report back; meanwhile the permit to the Nazis was revoked.

Over three hundred people jammed the Council room. The Nazi feuhrer—a well-dressed man named Allen Vincent (who actually lives in San Francisco)—said he demanded the right to speak to his "white brothers and sisters." Reacting to the audience's indignation, he screamed "The swastika flies over San Jose" and then fled the chamber.

This Vincent creature is wrong, this time, but the swastika is flying once again in the United States; it finds no mast only in the lands of socialism—which as part of its totalitarianism, no doubt, denies "freedom" to the Nazis.

The argument in the Council chamber that had the most effect was exactly the point that freedom for the Nazis meant death and slavery for friends of equality, democracy and peace. Freedom for the wolf is death for the sheep; freedom is not an abstraction but an aspect of action, and whose action for what ends determines the social usefulness of "freedom."

## Nazism Forbidden

By the Potsdam Treaty ending World War II in Europe, the Allies—the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Great Britain—forbade the German people the "freedom" to flaunt the swastika, to create Nazi parties or organizations, to publish Nazi periodicals or newspapers. In a word Nazism was *forbidden*, because experience proved that



freedom for the Nazis meant disaster for humanity. Alas, as the history of the intervening generation shows, this aspect of the Treaty has been enforced only in the lands of socialism, and certainly not least in this respect, in the German Democratic Republic.

In Munich the swastika is again evident; in Leipzig it has disappeared forever.

This resurgence of Nazism is, of course, part of the rightward drift in the United States. The main indication of that drift is the massive racist campaign highlighted by the orchestrated assault upon affirmative action symbolized in the Bakke case. Always, in the United States, the weather vane of reaction is racism and the telling point of resistance to reaction is the struggle for white-Black unity.

Not least among the crimes of Jewish bourgeois nationalism—as personified in Zionist and social-democratic leadership—is the fact that this racism has permeated significant components of organized

Jewish life so that, for example, the American Jewish Congress and B'nai-B'rith find themselves allied with the Nazis and the KKK in support of the Bakke attack upon affirmative action.

## The October Revolution

These two central and related elements on the current scene in the United States—the resurgence of Nazism and the assault on affirmative action—vividly bring to mind the historic consequence of the great October Socialist Revolution, now celebrating its 60th anniversary. Because what was that Revolution if not affirmative action? What was that Revolution if not the first successful effort of “the last to be first,” of the coming to power of the most despised and most exploited—the workers and peasants, especially the women among them, of the vast Czarist empire?

The Bolshevik Revolution was affirmative action—to end exploitation, to end oppression, and

### *“The freedom of the wolf . . . is the death of the sheep”*

The Editor  
San Jose Mercury  
San Jose, California

#### Dear Sir:

Permit a few comments on the remarks by Mr. David Fishlow, Executive Director of the ACLU in Northern California, as quoted in your paper, relative to the question before the City Council of banning or permitting a demonstration by the Nazi party.

Mr. Fishlow holds that any banning of such a demonstration is clearly in violation of the First Amendment for it represents interference with the freedom of people, albeit in this case Nazis. Mr. Fishlow also is quoted as stating: “We’ve seen the futility of trying to control the growth of Nazism. They were illegal in Germany during the 1930s. These kinds of bans don’t work.”

First, he is simply in error when he affirms that Nazis were banned in Germany in the 1930s; on the contrary, they constituted a major political force by that time and actually took power by 1934. Nazis as such were not banned in Federal Germany; Hitler was jailed—for a very short time—in the 1920s but this

was because of his actual participation in an armed *coup* attempt in Munich. By the late 1920s the Nazis were well organized and, above all, well financed by great corporations interested in destroying the trade-union movement and powerful Socialist and Communist parties in Germany.

Second, it is only after the experiences of World War II, that the powers which defeated Hitler—the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Great Britain—agreed in the Potsdam Treaty to prohibit Nazism for the German people. That treaty was ratified by the U.S. Senate after being signed by President Truman and remains a legal commitment of Washington. That treaty affirms that the German people are not to be permitted nazi parties, insignias, publications, demonstrations, periodicals; that is, Nazism is prohibited in all forms and guises in Germany by the Potsdam Treaty. That the enforcement of this prohibition leaves much to be desired—especially in the German Federal Republic—is another matter, but the prohibition is a fact. I do not believe that that prohibition violated the freedom of the German people; I think it enhanced that freedom.

Third, we have many laws in the United

to do that in the only way it can be done, that is, by ending the private ownership of the means of production, by affirming the right of national self-determination; by actively assisting formerly oppressed peoples to make up for that special oppression, by actively eliminating the distinction between country and city, by terminating the enslavement of women, by wiping out the curse of illiteracy, by overcoming endemic and chronic sickness and, by superb organization and stupendous heroism, to push what was a most backward empire into what is today the most advanced civilization of equal peoples and nations on the globe.

Fundamental to this effort was the affirmative action against the anti-Semitism that had been so basic an aspect of Czarist policy. That practice was illegalized and a new society was created in which anti-Semitism was seen as the poison of reaction, the divisive tool of the landlords and bosses.

It was this Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which, therefore, earned the special hatred of Hitler. It was this Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which faced Hitler's Germany and all of Hitler-

States, based upon experience, which limit or curtail freedoms of this or that group in favor of greater freedoms of others. For example, racist advertisements are prohibited in most states in newspapers and periodicals; one may not now write in an ad—though you pay for it and want to so advertise—"No Irish Need Apply" or "White Help Only" or "Jews Keep Out" or, even, something as subtle as real estate ads which declare "Churches Nearby." These are limitations on what, previously, were considered the "freedom" of newspapers, or advertisers, or employers or landlords; society has ascertained through bitter experience that such racist practices are abhorrent and injurious. Therefore the freedoms hitherto had by certain groups in certain cases are prohibited. As Lincoln once remarked and as common sense confirms, "The freedom of the wolf is the death of the sheep."

Fourth, many resolutions and international agreements sponsored by the United Nations, as long ago as 1948, have not only denounced racism and advocacy of Nazi and racist ideas but have affirmed the duty of governments not only to actively educate their population against these poisons but also to act legislatively

subdued Europe and, despite losing over twenty millions dead, defeated the Nazi scourge. That accomplishment was possible only because of the actual unity in that Union; a unity which very much included the three million Soviet Jews.

The Jewish masses, Lenin taught, "are our brothers, who like us, are oppressed by capital; they are our comrades in the struggle for socialism." "Shame on accursed tsarism," Lenin continued, "which tortured and persecuted the Jews. Shame on those who foment hatred towards the Jews, who foment hatred towards other nations."\*

The USSR on this 60th Anniversary infuses us with enthusiasm and confidence, because this land, once of the ghetto, is now without ghettos. This land, once of the pogrom, is now without pogroms. This land of backwardness and national oppression is now humanity's beacon and the home of scores of equal and fraternal peoples. ■

\*From a recorded speech by Lenin made between 1918 and 1921 (published in Hyman Lumer, ed., *Lenin on the Jewish Question* International Publishers, N.Y., 1974, pp. 135-36).

and administratively against them.

Finally, when one is discussing Nazism he is discussing that which not only advocates but practices wherever it can systematic and awful violence against peoples. Nazism, with its insane racism and eugenics, slaughtered millions upon millions of people—Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, as well as politically defined "enemies" of all derivations.

Mr. Fishlow states that it is futile to try to control the growth of Nazism. That certainly is news to the millions of soldiers and sailors and airmen throughout the world who fought from 1939 through 1945—of whom scores of millions died. Those of us who fought in that war did so because we were told that only so could not only the growth of Nazism be prevented but only so could that atpcty be extirpated. In the latter hope we have been disappointed, but that war certainly did "control the growth of Nazism." It ill behooves something called the American Civil Liberties Union to come to the defense, in any way whatsoever, of the functioning of the progeny of Hitler.

Very truly yours,

Herbert Aptheker

# The October Revolution and the Struggle Against Zionism (II)

by Emile Touma

The service of the Zionist Israeli ruling circles to imperialism, and their anti-Soviet activities, stretched into Africa and Asia during the '60s. Describing this role in his book, *The New States in Asia* (Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1963), Michael Brecher wrote of Israel's unstated objectives:

One is the desire to serve as a bridge between the colonial powers of the West and former dependent territories. The possession of Western skills . . . fits Israel for a key role of channeling aid from the West which might be suspected if granted directly. (P. 147.)

In other words, Israel was to act as agent for the neocolonialist principals in Washington, London, Paris and Bonn.

D. R. Elston, one-time correspondent for the *Times* in Israel, was more emphatic when he wrote that Israel's role was to prevent the "new unstable sovereign states in Asia and Africa from falling into the Communist orbit," or more precisely, from instituting friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The CPI made clear the policy of Zionism in the Middle East when it stated in the resolution of its 17th Congress (*Information Bulletin*, special number, 1973):

Zionism in the Middle East serves as a military and political instrument in the hands of imperialism against the Arab national movement, against the anti-imperialist forces and states in the region. Anti-Arab chauvinism, expulsion of Arab peasants from their land, the "conquest of land" and the "conquest of labor," the aspiration to maximum territory with a minimum of Arabs on that territory—these characterize Zionist policy in the country before and after the establishment of the State of Israel. This was and remains a colonialist, anti-Arab and pro-imperialist policy. (P. 141.)

And it is because of this Zionist-oriented policy that the Israeli ruling circles have rejected all initiatives—regional and international—to settle the Emile Touma is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Israel. This is the second half of a speech delivered to the International Conference on the Great October Revolution and the National Liberation Movement, held in Baku, USSR in May 1977. The first part appeared in the July-August issue of Jewish Affairs.



Middle East crisis. They refuse to recognize that the Palestinian problem is the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. They blindly negate the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination and to the establishment of their sovereign, independent state alongside Israel. In fact, these ruling circles oppose the only conditions that will lead to a peaceful, just and stable settlement in the region, *i.e.*, withdrawal of all the Israeli forces from all the territories occupied in the June war of 1967, recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent, sovereign state.

## Loyal to Washington

It is significant to note here that Israel's movement toward a step-by-step settlement was inspired by loyalty to U.S. imperialist interests. Describing the principle which guided the government to conclude a second separation of forces agreement with Egypt, the information division of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs wrote that the government sought "to shape an agreement that would be in harmony with global American interests."

The clerical daily, *Hatzofe*, put it bluntly:

We are not sponging off the U.S., but rather are partners in securing the Middle East against Soviet erosion . . . . By its withdrawal in Sinai, Israel for its part assisted the U.S. in establishing closer ties with Egypt.

Emphasizing Israel's role in the anti-Soviet fight and calling for aid, the paper wrote: "The richest country of the world has it in its power to assist a friendly nation that is sacrificing its sons to this end."

It is this reactionary imperialist orientation which prompts the Zionist leaders, including their Israeli colleagues, vehemently to oppose detente and peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. They ally themselves with the ultra-reactionary imperialists who exert every effort to undermine the present trend of peaceful coexistence and to revert to the dangerous cold war period, which is always pregnant with the threat of a hot war.

## Anti-Soviet Incitement

The Zionists are afraid that the consolidation of detente and peaceful coexistence—achieved to a decisive measure by the principled Leninist policy

of the Soviet Union, outlined by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU—would deal a heavy blow to Zionist territorial expansion and ideology. Hence their wildly ferocious anticommunist and anti-Soviet incitement and slanders. They recognize that the Soviet Union is the bulwark of the struggle for a just peace in the Middle East and become enraged because the country of October supports the legitimate national rights of the Arab peoples, and foremost of the Palestinian Arab people.

The Zionists generate this anti-Soviet incitement notwithstanding the fact that the Soviet Union adheres to the principle of self-determination for all peoples, including the Israeli people, and calls for respect of the sovereignty and independence of all states in the region, including Israel.

The Middle East proposals of President Leonid Brezhnev, in his speech at the 16th Congress of the Soviet trade unions on March 21, 1977, were a great contribution to the process of attaining a peaceful, just and durable settlement in the Middle East. They took into consideration the legitimate national rights of all the parties to the conflict and provided adequate provisions for the security of all the peoples and states in the region.

In light of this, anti-Soviet incitement is directed against peace, and the Zionists who intensify it are acting against the most vital interests of the Israeli people and the Jewish communities in various countries.

At this juncture, it is necessary to emphasize that the Zionist concept of a world extraterritorial Jewish nation has been exploded by objective reality. The largest concentration of Jewish communities have refuted this abstract claim and insisted that they belong to the countries in which they live.

Under the circumstances, the Zionists in Israel intensify their agitation and incitement against the CPI—which has defused this blown-up claim—and accused it of nihilism. However, the CPI is both patriotic and internationalist when it denounces Zionist ideology and practice as reactionary, because Zionism contradicts the interests of Jewish workers everywhere and the national interests of the Israeli people.

## Against the Israeli People

The CPI is also correct in its resolution when it emphasizes:

Zionism not only gives no security to the

Israeli people, but endangers them. Zionist policy, which reigns supreme in the State of Israel, imperils the security and future of the State; puts the people living in Israel on top of a volcano; abandons the destinies of Israel to the tender mercies of imperialism; isolates Israel from the Arab world . . . the socialist world headed by the Soviet Union . . . [and] from the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who fight against imperialism and for their national and social liberation. (Pp. 141-142.)

At the same time, the World Zionist Organization, without any basis in reality, claims that it represents the Jews of the world. It is this irrational assumption that is being used by the Zionists to launch their anti-Soviet campaign under the banner of "defending Soviet Jews."

Moreover, the Zionist ideologues, as noted by the resolution of the 17th Congress of the CPI, exploit the fact of the emigration of several thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union in recent years in order to refute the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the national question, and to prove that socialism does not solve the Jewish question and that Zionism has stood the test. This is completely false and groundless.

First, only a negligible minority emigrated from the Soviet Union. The millions of Soviet Jews have integrated into Soviet life and, like other communities and nationalities, are contributing to socialist upbuilding in the material and cultural fields.

Second, a large number of Soviet Jews who emigrated from the Soviet Union discovered the reality of the exploitive, corrupting life of capitalist Israel, and many of these are besieging today the Soviet embassies in Vienna and New York, requesting repatriation to the Soviet Union.

Third, the myth has exploded that Soviet Jews who emigrated are imbued with Zionist ideology, i.e., that they wanted to live in a Jewish state. Not only has the number of Soviet Jewish emigrants dwindled, but over 50 percent of them have become "dropouts" and refuse after reaching Vienna to proceed to Israel. They try to reach other countries, mainly the U.S. Their "nationalist attachment" disappears.

This negligible minority of people who wish to emigrate from the Soviet Union does not detract from socialism. Either they have fallen victim to

reactionary and Zionist propaganda or they are negative, antisocial elements.

Fourth, the emigration from Israel of Israeli Jews is on the increase, conservatively estimated at about 20,000 a year. The Israeli press estimates that the present number of Israeli emigrants is over 300,000.

The 16th Congress of the CPI, held in 1969, refuted all allegations against the Soviet Union and stated in its resolution: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union intensifies its ideological struggle against all phenomena of nationalism in the Soviet Union, among them Zionism."

The October Revolution enriches the world revolutionary process continually because it was never static but grew dynamically. This is due to the CPSU, which elaborated and developed creatively the ideals and concepts of the revolution and enabled the peoples to draw on them.

Today, the presence of the socialist community of nations, itself the outcome of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union's policies and actions, creates more favorable conditions for the growth of the national democratic revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Moreover, the quantitative change being transformed into qualitative material strength in the Soviet Union reduces the ability of imperialism and reaction to conspire successfully against patriotic progressive regimes in the three fighting continents, and thus reduces the possibilities of setbacks.

It is no mere slogan to hail the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a beacon for all revolutionaries. ■

### *quote . . . unquote*

Norman Melnick in the San Francisco Examiner, October 6, 1977:

*"There is not in the United States today a single legitimate Yiddish theater. Outside of Israel, one must go to the Communist countries of Europe to watch year-long performances from the vast and beautiful Yiddish stage literature. "Where there are so few Jews (Poland, Rumania), there is an abundance of Yiddish culture. The Communist editor of Warsaw's Yiddish newspaper chided me because so many Anglicisms had crept into The Daily Forward."*



# The True Face of Zionism

by John Pittman and  
Zahi Karkabi

Politically and ideologically, Zionism is the extreme right wing of Jewish bourgeois nationalism, closely linked with the monopoly capital of the imperialist powers. The main postulate of political Zionism is separatism, a trend counterposing Jews in any country to non-Jews. In line with it, the Zionists propound the idea that all Jews in the world form a separate nation—an idea described by Lenin as “absolutely false and essentially reactionary.”<sup>1</sup>

Zionist leaders and theoreticians formulate their ideology as pan-Jewish, transcending class structure, and preach class peace in capitalist society. In competing with their non-Jewish counterparts in various countries, the Jewish bourgeoisie stressed at one time the idea of Jewish separation in order to monopolize the exploitation of Jewish wage labor. Although the integration of the Jewish bourgeoisie has advanced greatly in capitalist countries, they still use this method.

Zionist ideologues attempt to identify political Zionism with Judaism, with the various Jewish communities and with Israel and the Israeli people. But as Israeli Communists point out, “Zionism must not be mixed up with the people of Israel or with the Jewish people,”<sup>2</sup> since most Jews are not Zionists. The 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel emphasized that

... the Zionist movement was a remains one current only, and not even the dominant one, among the Jews of the world. This current ex-

presses the class interests of the big Jewish bourgeoisie, which constitutes an inseparable part of the monopolist capital of the imperialist powers, and the interests of big Israeli capital connected with foreign capital—interests which contradict those of the great majority of Jews in the world.<sup>3</sup>

including those living in Israel.

The leaders of the Zionist movement affirm that the rationale for its existence is to defend Jews against anti-Semitism. Ignoring its capitalist class roots, they claim that anti-Semitism is universal, eternal and incorrigible.

It is true that anti-Semitism, imbued with the racist content which imperialism superimposed on its religious form, inherited from the Middle Ages, aided the Jewish bourgeoisie in developing Zionism as a political trend and an ideology. As far as their class and political nature is concerned, however, they are kindred phenomena, born out of and sustained by bourgeois nationalism in its—though different—extremist forms. In fact, the objectives of Zionism are identical with those of anti-Semitism: both aim at isolating Jews from non-Jews, maintaining among them a “ghetto mentality.” Moreover, the Zionists pin their hopes on anti-Semitism as a means of extending their “recruiting” opportunities. In fact, Zionism rose to resist the objectively progressive tendency of Jews to assimilate in the countries where they lived and struggled.

## Preaches Class Peace

Another objective process which Zionism sought in vain to reverse was the development, at the start of the 20th century, of the revolutionary movement of the European countries’ working class—in order to arrest the involvement of large numbers of

*John Pittman is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Zahi Karkabi is secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel. This is the first part of an article that appeared in the March 1977 issue of World Marxist Review. The second part will appear in the November-December Jewish Affairs.*

Jewish workers in it. Zionism urges the working people to renounce struggle in unity with non-Jewish workers for democratic social changes, calls for the unification of Jews—exploiters and exploited alike—in “national” political parties and other organizations.

Take, for example, Zionist activity in the U.S. labor movement. Their divisive and class collaborationist policies facilitate the exploitation of all U.S. working people by U.S. monopolies. This runs counter to the democratic and anticapitalist militancy of U.S. Jewish workers and determines their living standards (as the majority of U.S. Jews are wage earners). The Zionists objectively aid the ultraright forces in isolating the Jewish people from their natural allies in the struggle against anti-Semitism and discrimination.

Certain Zionist factions attempt to disguise the real class nature of Zionist policy and ideology by means of “socialist” slogans. Israeli Communists have rebutted them by stating that “there has never been and never can be a socialist Zionism or a Zionist socialism.”<sup>4</sup> History testifies that in all ideological and political battles between classes, the so-called “socialist Zionist” organizations sided with imperialism and opposed both socialism and national liberation movements. Present-day Zionism as a whole is characterized by outspoken anti-communism and anti-Soviet hysteria.

Intransigent hostility to existing and developing socialism as a reality, and recurrent campaigns against socialist countries, especially against the Soviet Union, have become a pillar of world Zionism. The Jewish big bourgeoisie stints no resources in waging a psychological war against the socialist community and the world communist and workers’ movement. The Zionists would like to plant their agents in the movement, substitute nationalism for proletarian internationalism, encourage revisionism inside the movement and rob it of its revolutionary class content on the plea of “regenerating” Marxism. Zionist organizations render imperialism the most important service in its struggle against communism through smear campaigns and other subversive actions against the Soviet Union under the false pretext of defending the rights of Soviet Jews. These actions are coordinated with the propaganda centers of Washington.

CPI documents stress that Zionism is being manipulated as a weapon of imperialism in its global struggle, in its ideological and political subversion

against the Soviet Union, and the world socialist systems as a whole.<sup>5</sup> Undermining the unity of the forces of socialism and progress, and splitting the world revolutionary movement are the objectives that unite the imperialists and Zionists. Therefore, the working class, led by communist parties, has always rejected Zionism and rejects it today.

## Organizational Origins

Zionism emerged as an organized movement at the turn of the century, when capitalism entered its monopoly stage. It was the advancing capitalist era that brought conditions favorable to Zionism. The advent of imperialism was precipitated by the rapid concentration of monopolies’ rush to form cartels and grab colonies overseas, by the intensification of national and racial oppression, and by reaction everywhere. Imperialism, using national chauvinism and racism as an instrument of division and oppression of the working people, was the progenitor of both anti-Semitism and political Zionism in their present-day forms.

Zionism as a political trend organized itself at its First World Congress (Basel, August 1897).<sup>6</sup> The congress announced the formation of the World Zionist Organization (WZO), defining its main purpose as the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, “ingathering” all Jews dispersed all over the world. Some big Jewish capitalists financed Zionist schemes. They also had the active support of non-Jewish monopoly capital and imperialism. From the movement’s inception, the Zionists sought assistance from the leading circles of counterrevolution and imperialism. For instance, Herzl himself visited and tried to make deals with the German Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898, with the Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid in 1901, and with Pleve, the Czarist minister and organizer of pogroms, in 1903. Later, Zionist leaders established contacts with Pilsudski in Poland, Mussolini in Italy, and Antonescu in Rumania. In exchange for permission for Zionist officials and rich pro-Zionists to go to Palestine, during the Second World War certain Zionist leaders cooperated with the Nazis at the time when they were annihilating Jews throughout Europe.<sup>7</sup>

Up to the ‘40s, the ruling circles of Britain were the Zionists’ mainstay.<sup>8</sup> The collaboration of British imperialism and world Zionism from 1917 up to 1948, which began with the Balfour Declaration,<sup>9</sup> was a long succession of crimes against the Arab population of Palestine. The colonizers skill-

fully fomented antagonisms and provoked clashes between Arabs and Jews. Armed Zionist groups operated against the Arab population under British supervision and stepped up their terror from year to year to sabotage the Arab national liberation movement.

In 1947, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution revoking the British mandate on Palestine and dividing the region into two independent states: Arab and Jewish. Zionist leaders nominally bowed to the UN decision but worked to carve a bigger Jewish state, while still hoping to turn the whole of Palestine into a purely Jewish state. They prevented the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State, seized the greater part of the territory assigned to it and helped drive the overwhelming majority of the Arabs inhabiting the area off their lands.<sup>10</sup> The State of Israel was founded on May 15, 1948, and its rulers made the Zionist doctrine their official ideology. They had already secured the support of U.S. imperialism which was challenging British and French imperialism and pushing its cold war program against socialism and the national liberation movement. David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, assured U.S. Secretary of State John F. Dulles of his readiness to help U.S. imperialism defend the "free world" against "international communism."<sup>11</sup> As a result, a "special relationship" developed between the Zionist rulers of Israel and the ruling circles of the United States that continues to this day. This convergence of the aims of Zionism and international imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, has been and still is the decisive factor in the development of the Zionist movement.

## World Zionist Network

The leading Zionist bodies today comprise the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency which directs WZO activities and the World Jewish Congress.<sup>12</sup>

The Jewish Agency holds a preeminent position among the World Zionist organizations. It has become an instrument of the State of Israel since its establishment. Its organs, now integrated with the state, control three quarters of all the farmland leased out in Israel, dozens of enterprises including land development, water supply, shipping and construction firms, as well as the El Al Airlines. It controls Radio Voice of Zion, and its functionaries hold posts in Israeli embassies and other missions abroad.

World Zionism's important bases of financial

support are located in a number of capitalist countries with sizeable Jewish populations—the U.S.A. (5,800,000), France (550,000), Argentina (475,000), Britain (450,000), Canada (308,000), Brazil (155,000), South Africa (120,000). Of course, Zionism considers present-day Israel as its material base. Unquestionably, the Zionist base in the U.S.A., which provides two thirds of the Jewish Agency's budget, is the mainstay of both world Zionism and the Zionist ruling circles of the State of Israel.

Besides the avowedly Zionist organizations, which claim a membership of about one million, *i.e.*, a minority among the Jewish communities, there are professedly non-Zionist Jewish organizations in the U.S.A. with a considerably large membership, whose leaders have a Zionist orientation and who are as active in support of Israel's Zionist policies as the explicitly Zionist affiliates. Hundreds of millions of dollars are annually contributed to Zionist causes by organizations such as the Women's Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah), the Jewish National Fund, the National Committee for Labor Israel, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith and the Religious Zionists of America. The movement has infiltrated the mass media, trade union and labor groups, youth organizations, interreligious associations, including Catholics and Protestants. It has formed a semifascist assault force (the so-called "Jewish Defense League"). But all this has been possible because the U.S. ruling circles subordinate Zionism to their imperialist strategy, both global and regional. Obviously, the influence of the Zionist political lobby is reflected in the pro-Zionist positions formulated in the platforms of both parties of monopoly capital, the Republicans and Democrats. But at the same time, Zionist influence is ultimately conditional on the interests of U.S. monopoly capital.

Zionism's global network is the main source of regular financing of Israel from the Jewish communities in the world, among whom big Jewish capitalists contribute the bulk. It is estimated that from 1948 up to 1974, various Jewish "philanthropic" organizations, mainly those of the U.S., contributed more than \$5 billion (although an estimated 800,000 U.S. Jews live below the poverty line). The network serves moreover, through the Israel Economic Corporation and similar agencies, as a conduit for channelling investment funds from



both Jewish and non-Jewish capitalist monopolies to Israel. The State of Israel Bonds, set up in 1951, is another source of funds, said to have brought the Israeli Zionists more than \$2.5 billion from the U.S. alone.<sup>13</sup>

The "special relationship" between the ruling circles of the United States and Israel expresses itself in continuous and lavish economic and especially military assistance to Israel from the U.S. government. Grants and credits in the form of aid from the U.S. government between 1948 and the early '70s exceeded \$1 billion. Military assistance in the 1970-75 period alone amounted to almost \$3.7 billion. For the period between July 1, 1975, and October 1, 1977, the U.S. government allocated Israel as much as \$4.4 billion, including about \$3 billion for military purposes. The allocation for the 1976 fiscal year alone amounts to \$2.3 billion (40 percent of the U.S. foreign aid budget). Out of this amount, \$1.5 billion (half of which is a grant) would be spent on arms. Besides, the Ford Administration in October 1976 decided to supply Israel with weapons that even the U.S. armed forces are not fully equipped with as yet. ■

# ... And the Children, Too

by Felicia Langer

1. V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol.7, p.99.
2. Sixteenth CPI Congress. Haifa, Al Ittihad Publishers, 1970, p.561 (in Arabic).
3. *Information Bulletin*. Communist Party of Israel, Special Issue, 1972, pp.143-144.
4. From resolution of the 16th CPI Congress. Slightly more than a year ago, the CC CPI held a conference on "Zionist socialism." The conference revealed that the Zionists invoke socialism to dissemble their nationalist, racist ideology and their policy of subordinating the working class to its class enemies.
5. See resolutions of the 16th CPI Congress.
6. The spiritual father of Zionism was Theodor Herzl, who worked out the fundamental tenets of Zionist ideology (they are set out in his book, *The Jewish State*, published in 1896).
7. See resolutions of the 16th CPI Congress. See also Hyman Lumer, *Zionism: Its Role in World Politics*. International Publishers, New York, 1973. The trial of the Hungarian Zionist leader, R. Kastner, in Israel proved that these leaders had cooperated with Eichmann, the Nazi hangman.
8. Chaim Weizmann, Zionist leader and first president of Israel, obtained British imperialism's backing by promising to guard the Suez Canal for British interests.
9. The Declaration, issued by British Foreign Minister Balfour in November 1917 with the previous approval of U.S. President Wilson, committed Britain to establish a "national home" for Jews in Palestine.
10. The number of Palestine refugees was close to 900,000 as early as 1948.
11. Michael Bar-Zohar, *Ben Gurion: The Armed Prophet*, Prentice Hall, New York, 1968, pp.241-242; cited in Lumer, *op. cit.*, p.38.
12. Every four years the WZO's highest authority, the World Zionist Congress, elects its General Council and Executive Committee. The Council represents the Zionist parties and organizations operating in capitalist countries where there are Jewish

communities. The EC has headquarters in New York and Jerusalem. It is made up of 12 sections, each responsible for a specific kind of WZO activity; their functions range from "religious cultural" education to the organization of subversion against world revolutionary forces.

The Jewish Agency 40-member Board of Directors has an equal number of members of the WZO and Jewish fund-collecting organizations abroad, and is guided by a 14-member group usually handpicked by leading Jewish capitalists.

The WZO encompasses over 20 international associations, with branches in countries having Jewish communities, a dozen regional organizations—in Latin America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa—and territorial organizations in more than 40 countries. The Jewish Agency has branches of its own.

In 1936, the Zionists set up another world organization, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), to attract Jews opposed to or unwilling to subscribe to political Zionism. Originally the WJC "criticized" Zionist concepts which, incidentally, did not prevent its leader, Nahum Goldmann, from being president of both the WJC and the WZO for a long time. But the Zionist character of the WJC was gradually made evident by its initiation of rabid anti-Soviet campaigns of slander and vilification.

13. Eighty per cent of Israel's enormous foreign debt, estimated at nearly \$9,000 billion at the end of 1976, is owed to the U.S. government and U.S. organizations and institutions. (See Lumer, *op. cit.*, pp.79-83, and *W/MR*, July 1971, February 1974 and June 1975.)

(To be concluded)

The tenth year of the occupation can be appropriately named the year of children's resistance. The generation that "did not know Joseph," consisting of children who in 1967 were three or five years old, has not become reconciled with the conquest and is determined to put up resistance to the Israeli presence in their land. Their resistance manifests itself in the form of demonstrations, graffiti, and improvised leaflets (sometimes scribbled in handwriting recognizable as coming from a school-child) on sheets torn from a school notebook. Occasionally, however, the manifestations of resistance can be more violent, like burning of tires or throwing of stones upon the bearers of the "presence", i.e., the Israeli Defense Forces soldiers or the Border Guards. The "shots in the air" with the purpose of killing, as well as the numerous casualties of the last year, have by and large failed to intimidate the youngsters.

Anybody familiar with the behavior of children and adolescents under any foreign occupation is bound to realize that attempts at their intimidation will not work, when their hurt national pride and their frustrations stemming from total denial of political rights are subject to a comparison with the news of liberation of other nations. What is going on is the ninth and hugest of all the tides; anybody with feeling and conscience, in particular anybody who still remembers Jewish children as they matured in the struggle against British imperialism, is bound to realize that there is no solution except to grant the legitimate rights for which the children are struggling.

In the course of the last year, I have followed this tide, as a professional and as a human being. I have been watching this generation brought *en masse* to courts and fined for hundreds of thousands of Israeli pounds. By law, it is the fathers, refugees themselves, who are responsible for delivery of the payments. But in the event of their failure, it is the children who go to jail.

On March 18, 1976, I saw a group of about 20 youths in the military court of Hebron. The bruises on their faces and arms bore testimony to the treatment they had received from the guardians of the law. One of them had his hand in a cast; another had a badly swollen eye which he could hardly open. The same day in the vicinity of the Tomb of

Felicia Langer is a well-known Israeli attorney and Communist. Israel Shahak is head of the Israeli League for Civil and Human Rights, which issued this report.

the Patriarchs, I extricated from the hands of IDF soldiers a boy who lost consciousness as a result of blows he received at his own home in the course of a meal. We accompanied him to a local hospital. In that hospital, I learned that in demonstrations of March 17, dogs were let loose against the demonstrators. The doctors told me, not only of having had to treat people bitten by the dogs, but also of having been themselves beaten by the soldiers while trying to provide medical care to the injured in the streets. About this they issued a special written statement.

I will never forget the swollen and bruised face of Jamil Abu-Gharbiyah, with drops of blood falling from his eyes, as he came to my office right after having been released from detention at the site of a demonstration. Certainly, evidence was not missing when he made his appearance in court.

## Threat to Security

In juvenile court trials in Jerusalem I was defending several thirteen-year-old girl students from the Kalandia refugee camp, as well as a boy with a hand in a cast and head in bandage. The boy testified that his injuries had been caused by blows of the policemen. The police witness denied that any beatings had taken place. The boy was found guilty and fined, with a suspended sentence. The girls from the Kalandia camp looked downright grotesque in this setting of the court, as the judge pontificated about the threats they posed to security and about the necessity of deterrence. A boy tried on the same day, with whose family I am acquainted, was refused bail, due to which he could not see his gravely ill mother. She later died while he was still under lock and key. Finally, fined and with a suspended sentence, he went straight from jail to attend her funeral. There he saw her; she was no longer alive.

These were the lucky ones, entitled to the assistance of a legal counsel. But most of the youths are being brought to what could be aptly called "field trials" which take place at night, in the atmosphere of terror, with no counsel present. Not even the representatives of the International Red Cross are able to monitor such trials.

The youths are crowding the jails to capacity. When no room is left, they are being transferred to a recently erected lock-up in the village of Khawarash in the vicinity of Nablus. Thus we can see that all the jails combined together do not have sufficient space to accommodate all the protesters

against the conquest, in particular the juvenile ones.

About a month ago in Nablus, I met a boy by the name of Franjih EKL—Masri who left the jail after three months of confinement. He told me about beatings to which he was subjected. He also told me that he was arrested not during a demonstration but at home. From him I learned about his friends Hassan Othman and Mahed Abdo, each of which also got three months of confinement and a fine of IL 8,000 (\$800).

In Tul-Karem I defended two boys from Salfid accused of having pulled down the Israeli flag from the Salfid police station building, in retaliation against the desecration of the Koran in the Tomb of the Patriarchs by the settlers from Kiryat Arba during last year's Day of Atonement. The youths—Abd El-Fateh Nazmi, Abd El-Fateh and Muhammad Shahin—were lucky to find a considerate judge who sentenced each of them to two years of prison, thereof nine months effective, even though the prosecutor demanded three years. During the same session of the court, an orphan boy the name of Kheir Ghanem from the village of Dei El-Gabor was on trial for having raised, together with other boys from his village, the Palestinian flag during a demonstration. I submitted that the desire for a flag of one's own should be self evident for anyone who has ever gone through the experience of a struggle for independence and freedom. This boy got—from the above-mentioned considerate judge—"only" a IL 1,500 fine and a three-month suspended sentence. The prosecuting attorney commented that had the boy been tried by a strict judge, as the majority are, he would receive a particularly severe punishment, in conformity with the attitude of the authorities toward the Palestinian flag.

## Attack Any Arab

Often the soldiers or the Border Guards, some of whom may have been hit by stones, work off their bad tempers upon Arab passers-by, even though the latter may not have the faintest idea that a demonstration is taking place elsewhere. I saw something like this two months ago in Nablus. A Border Guard whom I met in the building of the military government complained that his leg had been struck by a stone while he was dispersing a demonstration on that day in Nablus. "I will smash the bones of anybody whom I see," he screamed. An opportunity was not slow in coming. I watched him as he went onto the main street, stopped two

young passers-by and escorted them to a small checkpoint cubicle. I was in the same cubicle, in the company of a Red Cross representative, awaiting the opening of court proceedings. The boys from a nearby village could not even understand what was demanded of them. He took their papers, and in response to their claim that they knew of no demonstration, yelled, "They are all filthy liars!" It was only due to my intervention and to the presence of the Red Cross representative that the boys were left alone.

Recently the authorities embarked upon new methods of repression designed to deter the refugee camp children and adolescents from participation in demonstrations and even from demonstrating in any manner whatsoever their emotions about the occupation. The soldiers are now coming to refugee camps, gathering the children and youngsters together, hitting them with sticks up to the point of making them bleed, threatening the small children with snakes, calling on families in the middle of the night, and often arresting the children without any charge. This is what happen in the Balatta refugee camp, renamed "Tel El-Za'atar," located in the Nablus region. The names of some youths who were thus beaten, some of whom were subsequently also brought to trial, are: Mahmud Abd-Alla, Khader Mahmoud, Abd El-Ghani Issah, all 16, sentenced to one year of prison and fined IL 10,000 and Ziyad Dajani who got nine months in prison or a IL 10,000 fine.

Included in the last wave of arrests that took place in the proximity of this camp were dozens of students. A delegation of mothers came to my office to request help from me personally and from the Human Rights League. They described to me their children's and their own sufferings. They told me about Subhi Mahmud Nimr Issah, arrested four times and badly beaten without being seen by a magistrate; about Mussa Halil Shariyeh, 12, arrested with a whole group of boys aged 11 to 13. The mothers also told me about how the students are being transferred from their schools to other schools in remote places, so as to intimidate and immobilize them.

The mothers' appeal to our hearts and consciences. They represent thousands of mothers in the conquered territories. The list of youngsters from Nablus and Ramallah who have been arrested, beaten and tried is appended. Even though the list is neither complete nor updated, it is indicative of the



scope of the problem. It is also indicative of the justice of the cause towards which nobody who is truly human can remain indifferent.

### Appendix

A list of some pupils, with their ages, who were arrested and put on trial in *only* two of the towns of the West Bank: Nablus and Ramallah. The first 47 pupils are from Nablus, the rest from Ramallah.

Abed Almanam Ra'ab Tibawi, 15 years old; Bal'al Alazizi, 15 years old; Samar Muhammad Samaru, 16 years old; Iman Jusuf Dahar, 15 years old; Nadal Hassan Zaki Asalan, 15 years old; Khalil Abed Allatif Sa'ad Aldin, 14 years old; Taisir Muhammad Qassem Shtubela, 16 years old; Samar Kamhiya, 15 years old; Jamal Istaniya, 16 years old; Nagi Muhammad Jusuf Khaliliya 16 years old; Balal Hiron, 15 years old; Maryan Makhluf, 16 years old; Majdi Alabar, 15 years old; Saher Khamdi Sakef Alkhatib, 16 years old; Ahmad Abed Alani Alafari, 16 years old; Ahmad Fa'iz Khader, 16 years old; Ibrahim Al'iwi, 15 years old; Umar Mafid Abed Alkarim Umar, 16 years old; Said Walid Mera'i, 16 years old; Sa'adi Walid Mera'i, 14 years old; Dawud Mustapha Alsaleibi, unknown; Zi'ad Khumad Alshami, 15 years old; Muhammad Nazar El Bazara, 15 years old; Khal Zaheir Tabila, 15 years old; Ju'ad Salim Alkhamad, 17 years old; Balal Bakr Alkhanbali, 15 years old; Khamdi Basal Kanafan, 1 years old; Qassem Suleiman Alshamar, 15 years old; Khalid Mera'i Ahmad Karkash, 15 years old; Khamad Ibrahim Alqusa, 16 years old; Maji Muhammad Jusuf, unknown; Khani Zaki Alsallan Alafari, 15 years old; Jamal Abed El-Ra'uf Ra'ab Fatian, 16 years old; A'ataf Mustafa Fatian, 15 years old; Jusuf Ahmad Jusuf Alasa, 15 years old; Naziya Adal Daruza, 16 years old; Bishar Bazi Alaskari, 17 years old; Zuheir Ahmad Albahash, 14 years old; Bassam Rashid Albahash, 16 years old; Ma'azan Umar Mahmud Fartaldin, 18 years old; Ahmad Abed Alani Alafari, 15 years old; Muhammad Na'ayuf Riad Faher Naif, 15 years old; Fathi Mahmud Ahmad, 16 years old; Mahmud Derwish Alshashtri, 16 years old; Mahdi Yatti Abed Alkhak, 16 years old; Jusuf Ahmad Hassan, 17 years old; Abed Alkarim Abed Aljalil, 17 years old; Nur Aldabukh Badawi Sanduka; nahada Badawi Sanduka; Fatkhiya Uda Shahada Muslakh; Ataf Umar Iakub Abu Atiyeh; Talal Abed Almalik

Muhammad Hassan Uda; Muhammad Iyub Iakub; Khamad Kamal Khalil Khamed; Anwar Munir Iakub Alkura; Nabil Ibrahim Khalil Abu Ila; Abed Alrahim Hassan Khamdan; Muhammad Umar Alkhatib; Khalil Jusuf Khalil Alsarati; Jamal Mahmud Alkhamus; Muhammad Iman Khasin Alkjamal; Jamal Hassan Ahmad Zaid; Bassam Sa'adi Ab Qweik; Ramadan Hassan Ibrahim; As'ad Muhammad Ahmad Mustafa; Abdalla Hassan Muhammad Sulama.

**Note:** The particular ages of the Ramallah pupils could not be ascertained, but they are all in the 14 to 17 year old age group. Most of the pupils mentioned in this list have been "sentenced" already, by the military courts (usually in batches of ten to twenty children at an hour session of the "court"). The usual "sentence" is IL 10,000 fine. Those suspected of being "agitators" receive prison sentences *in addition*. By comparison, the pay of a worker is about IL 1500-2000 *per month* in the West Bank. Until the "sentence" the children can spend several weeks, and even months, in prison in the most atrocious conditions—Israel Shahak. ■

## Safad

*A stranger am I, Safad,  
And you, a stranger, too:  
The houses smile at me  
But their dwellers  
Drive me out.  
Why are you roving,  
O Arab, why  
Will nobody answer your salute?  
Your kin had once been here  
But they took flight.  
I carry requiems between my lips,  
And in my eyes  
The lion's humiliation.  
Dear Safad,  
Adieu,  
Adieu.*

by Salem Jubran

## Editorials *continued from page 2*

consistently for a just peace based on equality.

The heirs of Lenin have carried on in his tradition, opposing implacably all forms of nationalism and national exclusiveness that disrupt the unity of the international movement of the oppressed and exploited. Zionism, that most reactionary form of Jewish bourgeois nationalism, found in the Soviet Union a formidable foe.

Zionism has never forgiven the Soviet Union for solving the Jewish question. Soviet Jews today enjoy the highest standards of education, job opportunities, cultural expression and development and general security—higher than their counterparts in Israel and the U.S. Nowhere is religious freedom more evident than in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Vilnius.

In 1953 the Soviet people cried out to save the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In 1973, the Soviet Union condemned the U.S.-inspired fascist Chilean junta, the junta that has introduced *Mein Kampf* into the public school curriculum. The Soviet Union has maintained a total boycott of the fascist apartheid Vorster regime of South Africa, whose leader was jailed in the 1940s as a Hitler

lover.

The more than 100 different Soviet peoples have earned the right to celebrate their 60th birthday. We, progressive and working people in the U.S. and around the world, take this opportunity to express profound appreciation for the Soviet Union's contributions to the cause of peace, equality and social progress. Jewish working people in the U.S. have a special reason to celebrate: the Soviet people have been a bulwark against anti-Semitism, Zionism and all forms of racism and nationalism. Living socialism has proven that it alone can fully satisfy the needs of all peoples. ■

## Bakke and Anti-Semitism

Two Jews have been killed, another wounded and still another severely beaten by Nazis in the past six months. Not in Leningrad, but in Los Angeles. Not in Sochi, but in St. Louis and Chicago. An attack on a Jew was also attempted in New Rochelle, N.Y. Historically, the killing of Jews for being Jews has a special meaning. The danger signs are up for all to see.

*Audience Services*

WNET-TV

356 W. 58 St.

New York, N. Y. 10019

### *How to make Hitlerism "acceptable"*

Dear Sirs:

*We write to express our revulsion at the airing of the Nazi film, "Triumph of the Will," by Leni Riefenstahl, Hitler's moviemaker, on Channel 13 on October 10, 1977. This film, commissioned by Hitler in connection with the 6th Congress of the National Socialist Party, is a propaganda film glorifying fascism.*

*It is difficult to understand the intention of Channel 13 in showing this film. You cannot claim free speech, because there can be no free speech for the builders of Dachau and Auschwitz. Neither can you claim to be culturally broadminded, because the only "culture" of fascism is violence, war and racism.*

*In West Germany, army officers are shouting "Heil Hitler" while burning pieces of paper with the word "Jew" written on them. In the U.S., two Jews have been murdered by Nazis in the last six months. Particularly in view of the resurgence of fascism in West Germany and the U.S., the showing of such a film can only contribute to making Hitlerism more "acceptable."*

*We are sure the viewers of Channel 13 do not want to see programs that distort or gloss over the history of the mass murderers of tens of millions of people. Your viewers deserve an apology for this crude insult.*

Sincerely,

**Editorial Board  
Jewish Affairs**

The 1977 American Jewish Yearbook says that last year there were "only" 55 incidents of anti-Semitic violence, which indicates that the danger to Jews has not increased because the statistic has "hardly risen" over the last few years. In general, this has been the response of the Zionist establishment to the wave of violence, arson, vandalism, and now murder and assault, that has hit the Jewish community. When Dr. Eric Ray of Los Angeles was beaten unconscious by two Nazi thugs (who told him, "We just feel like beating up a Jew"), the Zionist press refused to print his story. The news of the assassination of Gerald C. Gordon and the wounding of William L. Ash by a Nazi sniper in St. Louis was eclipsed in the national Zionist press, and the bourgeois media in general, by CIA-planted scare stories about the "plight of Soviet Jews."

At the same time, the Zionist establishment has joined in an unholy alliance with the Nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, Ronald Reagan, Daniel Moynihan, Henry Jackson, Albert Shanker, and others, in an effort to scrap affirmative action. The means is the Allan Bakke case; the target is the fight for equality and against racism.

The particular argument of B'nai B'rith and the like is that affirmative action is a quota system designed to exclude certain people from society. They hope in this way to appeal to the natural aversion of European Jews in particular to the historical practice of anti-Semitic quotas. But the equation of the affirmative action struggle with the racist and anti-Semitic quota system of eastern and central Europe before the advent of socialism is nauseating demagogy. The quota system was an anti-Semitic device of reaction designed to exclude Jews from certain professions, occupations and universities. The goals of the affirmative action programs are not only not quotas but are the opposite of quotas; they are designed not to keep anybody out, but to enable the victims of racism and discrimination to come in. The bourgeoisie, and particularly the Jewish bourgeoisie, uses the false equation of quotas and affirmative action to smear the anti-racist struggle, and to place obstacles in the path of achieving genuine progress.

The killing of Jews is very much linked to the fight over affirmative action because the struggle for equality is many-sided. It is no coincidence that these killings take place when scores of Black and other nationally oppressed people, particularly youth, are being gunned down and assaulted by

fascists, the police and racist mobs. The attack on affirmative action is an attempt to split the movement for full equality and against all forms of racism, and thus give encouragement to those who would impose a "final solution" on whoever demands justice and equality. Those who claim to oppose anti-Semitism and yet fight shoulder to shoulder with open fascists against the gains of the civil rights movement do the dirty work of the enemy.

The murder of Blacks, Jews and other sections of the working class cannot be halted while the victims fight among themselves for the "charity" of the ruling class. Racism and anti-Semitism must be fought together. Affirmative action, which is designed to achieve full equality for the victims of racism, sexism and discrimination, is a weapon of the multinational and multiracial working class in the fight for the needs of the whole class. ■

## Recognize the PLO!

The flurry of activity resulting from the recent Soviet-U.S. declaration on the requirements for a just Middle East settlement points to what has become the main obstacle to such a settlement: the refusal of the U.S. and Israel to recognize the PLO and the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination, including their right to an independent state.

Washington has given its support to Israel's arrogant refusal to have any dealings with the PLO. Both Carter and Begin have insisted that UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 are the only platforms for reconvening the Geneva Conference. (This in spite of small noises from the State Department about the need to take account of the "rights" of the Palestinians.) Since these resolutions make no mention of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians, or of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, it is clear that the aim here is to exclude the PLO from Geneva and impose a settlement that would deny the Palestinians their human rights.

But it is also clear that peace is not possible as long as the PLO is denied a seat at Geneva. This is understood by the UN and world public opinion which, together with pressure from the Soviet Union, forced Carter to sign the joint declaration. The declaration calls for withdrawal from occupied



territories, the need for an overall solution (as opposed to bilateral, "step-by-step" or partial solutions), the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people," and the sovereignty of all "parties" in the Middle East (which includes the Palestinians who are, as yet, stateless).

The Soviet-U.S. declaration was also a rude awakening for those who had hoped to close the door on Soviet participation in the peace process, in the hope of imposing a pro-imperialist solution.

Such an attempt is similar to trying to stop a tidal wave by building sand castles.

Of course, Washington and Tel Aviv have their own interpretation of the Soviet-U.S. declaration. But the declaration gives a handle to the U.S. and world peace movement to force Carter to live up to his words. Now more than ever before, the demands must be raised: "Recognize the PLO! Reconvene the Geneva Conference!" ■

## A Journey to Peace

*In front of this scenery and the dew on the leafy dawn,*

*Do not say:*

*Why should I clear away the rubble*

*And ruins from my doorstep and whitewash the stairs*

*As if I were calling in passers-by . . . ?*

*And my love, a rose among thorns,*

*Atremble, embracing twin fledglings.*

*For tomorrow the steel birds will roar, will zoom*

*Will boom in the skies*

*And will turn my nest into ruins and rubble . . .*

*Say: Tomorrow shall be Peace!*

*Safely will the fledglings carry their bags on their backs,*

*They will go to school and their laughter will be like the bells in the  
pomegranate.*

*Leave neither stumbling block nor gin for their feet!*

*Say: Tomorrow shall be Peace!*

*Do not say, my poet, do not say:*

*Why should I play?*

*Tomorrow the bombs will destroy my lyre,*

*The cannons will deafen*

*The ears of my friends*

*And they won't hear my mellow melodies . . .*

*Say: Tomorrow shall be Peace!*

*For peace is the wish of my heart,  
and the will of my mind.*

**by Mordechai Avi-Shaul**

# Letters to the Editor

## To The Editor:

The following letter was sent by our organization to Congressman John Murphy. We would appreciate it if you can publish it in the "Letters to the Editor" column.

**Fannie Hechtman**  
Corresponding Secretary  
Staten Island  
Jewish Issues Committee

## Congressman John Murphy,

On October 19, 1977, Rep. John Conyers (D-Michigan) will hold a news briefing for members of Congress in an effort to get the Congress involved in securing all the files on the historic Rosenberg-Sobel case.

In light of the Watergate tapes and crimes, the publication of the Pentagon Papers which exposed over a decade of government lies, the limited disclosures arising out of the Congressional investigations into the illegal activity of the FBI and CIA, and the strengthening of the Freedom of Information Act, we ask you as our elected representative from

this congressional district, to support this effort and attend the briefing for the release of all the files by the FBI and other relevant government agencies in connection with the reopening of the Rosenberg-Sobel case.

It is now almost 25 years since the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and the imprisonment of Morton Sobel. We are of the belief that this case was one of the most significant events in recent American history; its impact is still felt. We, as U.S. Jews, have a particular interest in uncovering the truth regarding the Rosenberg-Sobel case. We can not wait another 25 years.

**Fannie Hechtman**  
corresponding secretary  
S.I.J.I.C.

## To the Editor:

On behalf of the June 17, 1977, meeting of over 60 Party leaders, rank-and-filers, and activists in the field of Jewish work, we wholeheartedly endorse the statement of the Central Committee in relation to the

current policies of the *Morning Freiheit*. We totally reject the current campaign of the *Freiheit* to provoke a split in the Party on the grounds that the Party rank-and-file disapproves of the Central Committee statement.

The Party membership is responding well to the consistent, principled, and internationalist position of the Central Committee in relation to the fight for a just peace in the Middle East and anti-Semitism and racism here at home, and against all varieties of opportunism and reaction, and is beginning to implement such approaches among broader masses. Together we will win.

**Bill Taylor**  
Chairman

**Arnold Lockshin**  
District Organizer

**Matty Berkelhammer**  
Organizational Secretary  
Southern California District  
C.P.U.S.A.

# סעם ליפציץ

## מיט איין וואָרט — דער קאָראַוואַן פּאַרט! צום 60 יאָרטיגן יובילי פון דער אַקטיבֿערֿערֿעוואַלוציע

### נייט פון דער ייִדישער אוּטאַנאַמער געגנט

דער ייִדישער  
פּאַלקס־טעאָטער — לאַוראַם  
פּונעם אַלפּאַראַבאָנדישן  
פענסיוואַל

אין וואַרשע האָט זיך  
פאַרענדיקט דער זאָנאלער קאַנ־  
קורס פון די פּאַלקס־טעאָטערן  
און טעאָטראַלע קאַלעקטיון, גע-  
ווידמעט דעם 60טן יאַרטיגן טר-  
געם גרויסן אַקטיבֿער. אינעם  
דורלעקן האָבן זיך באַטייליקט  
נעבן שטעמישע קאַלעקטיון  
פון באַראַדאָוואָסער און פּרימאַרי  
ער קאַנס, סאַבאַלינער און אמר  
דער בעגנעס.

דער ביראַבידזשאַנער ייִדישער  
פּאַלקס־טעאָטער האָט אַף דער  
בייגע מונעם וואַרשע פּאַלקס־  
קולטור־פּאַלאַץ און די לענינס  
קאַמען שאַריווין שאַלעם־אַליכעמס  
סעסעפּעניג — א סעפּעטאַקל,  
וועלכער האָט פּרירער באַקומען א  
היינע אַפּשאַטונג פון דער בעגנעס־  
לעבער זשורי, לויטן פּאַרלאָם פון  
זשורי אין דער טעאָטער געוואָרן  
א געוועזענע מונעם אַלמאַראַבאָ-  
דישן פענסיוואַל פון זעלבסטעס-  
קער קינעסלערישער שאַמונג. ער  
האָט באַקומען אַ דיפּלאָם און א  
גרויסע גאַלדענע מעדאַל. דאָס איז  
דער דריטער דיפּלאָם, מיט וועלכן  
דער קאַלעקטיוו אין אָפּגעבעריקס  
געוואָרן פאַר זיין אַנטייל אין  
פאַרשיידענע דורקוקן. יעדער  
אַנטיילנעמער אינעם סעפּעטאַקל  
זאָרן אין וואַרשע פּאַלקס־טעאָטער  
געווען מיט אַ קליינער גאַלדע-  
נער מעדאַל, כּוּך דעם. האָבן די  
פּאַלקס־טעאָטערן פון לאַראַטאַן באַקומען  
דער דעוטישער ג. שטאַטקע דער  
אַנטיילנעמער מונעם סאַנדקאַלעקטיוו  
ג. בלאַן, די אַרטיסטן מ. עפּ-  
שטיין און ב. עפּשטיין, די אַנטייל-  
נעמער מונעם סעפּעטאַקל אי. רויט  
פאַן ג. ליסקאַוויטש, ב. גערש-  
קוואַ און ג. דאַמאַוואָ זענען  
באַלוינט מיט דיפּלאָמען פון דער  
ערושטער און צווייטער שטופּעס  
מונעם אַרנאַקאַמיטעס פון דעם סע-  
סיוואַל.

פאַר דער בעסטער פּאַלקס־  
אויספאַרמירונג פון די סעפּעטאַקל  
לען אוי דער ביראַבידזשאַנער  
ייִדישער פּאַלקס־טעאָטער באַלוינט  
מיט א סעפּעטאַקל פּרוי פון דער  
פּרימאַריער פּילאַרמאַניע.

„ס'וועט ניט אַרבעטן, ניט גיין, ניט פאַרן“ —  
אַזוי האָט געשריען רעפּעטיט פּיל יאַרן;  
געקעמפט מיט געווער און מיט וואָרט;  
רוך שווינדלער־בלבלים אויסגעטראַכטע,  
העצעס אין דער לוינפאַבריק געמאַכטע —  
נאָר דער קאַראַוואַן! אַזוי אין שפּאַן — ער פּאַרט!

עס האָט געבושעוועט אַ קאַלטיטאַק, אַ דענימין, אַ מאַכאַן,  
אַ יודעניטי, אַ וואַנגל און אַ צאַרטיטשע מהנה.  
שוואַרצע מאַה, ווייסע נואַרדריע — צונויפּעפּאַרט.  
אינגעשפּאַנט, יעדע צרה און אַראַוע,  
וואו נאָר טעגלעך געמאַכט האָבן שונאים אַ בצוע —  
נאָר דער קאַראַוואַן אי זעפּאַרן — און פּאַרט!

שונאים האָבן געשטורעמט, געקערט וועלטן,  
ניט אויפּגעהערט העצן, יודלען, שעלטן,  
נעזעלן האָבן געשריבן וואָס נאָר אין קאַרט  
מ'האָט געהאַטן אין טרעביטערן און שאַלן;  
„ט־באַלד וועט זיין אויס — ס'וועט פאַלן!“ —  
נאָר דער קאַראַוואַן איז אין שפּאַן — אין פּאַרט!

מ'האָט געמאַכט פּאַרשוועוונען, גאַסעס און היטע,  
פּאַרפירט מלחמות גליינע און גרויסע;  
פּראָוואַקאַציעס געמאַכט פון יעדן פּאַרט;  
„ס'וועט ניט קאָנען דער מושיק, דער בויער,  
ווערן אַן אַרטיטשעס, אַ אינזשעניער, אַ בויער“ —  
נאָר דער קאַראַוואַן ליינט שפּאַן — ער פּאַרט!

„ווי האָבן קיין נאָט ניט, עס הערשט אַ נישט־גוטער;  
טאָ וואו וועלן זיי קריגן בריווע, מילך און פּוטער,  
שוין ניט־דערדיג פון קוואַס, בראָנפן און טאַרט“  
און אין דער שטיל געהאַלטן די „ווייסע־היילות,  
מיט געווער און מיט געלפן — פאַר די „רויטע“ מלות —  
נאָר דער קאַראַוואַן, לויט זיין פּאַן — פּאַרט!

איצט האַלט די וועלט אַלץ אין איבערשאַפּן;  
אַ פּאַסי פאַר שלום, פאַר גלייכהייט — אַן אַפּאַפּן.  
פאַר ראַסיסטן, פּאַשיסטן, ניט זיין וואָל קיין אַרט.  
און דערגרייכט מיט'ן „סאָטניק“ אין היפּל די לבנה,  
אויך פאַרפּאַרן צום ווענסן אַ שום סכּנה —  
און דער קאַראַוואַן פּאַרט ווייטער — אַן פּאַרט!

אויב אַמאָל געברענגעט אויב שווערע וועגן,  
געפירט אַ קאַפּה מיט די שונאים אַנטעקן,  
דאָס וואַכזאָם געהיט היעט אַרט.  
איצט רעכענען זיך בעלעכער מיט דער סאַנזשעטישער וואַרעמער האַנט  
צו דערגרייכן אַ שלום מיט יושר, דורך דעטאַל —  
און דער קאַראַוואַן איז 60 יאָר — פּאַרט אין פּאַרט!



## „דושוויש אפערס“ — א טריבונע פון די פראַגרעסיווע יידישע פּאָלקס-מאָסן



ווי מיר האָבן שוין ניס איין מאל מיטגע-  
טיילט אין „סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד“, גייט ארויס  
אין ניו-יאָרק אין דער ענגלישער שפראך א  
וויכטיקע פּערזאָנליכע אויסגאבע פון דער קאָ-  
מוניסטישער פּאַרטיי פון אמעריקע „דושוויש  
אפערס“.

דער זשורנאל איז פּאָפּולער צווישן די  
ברייטע שיכטן פראַגרעסיווע לייענער א דאנק  
דעם ערנסטן צוגאנג צום באהאנדלען די לעבנס-  
פראגן פון דער הינטערצייטיקייט.

די שטעלונג פון „דושוויש אפערס“ צו אק-  
טועלע פראַבלעמען פונעם אמעריקאנער יידישן  
לעבן, ווי אויך צום אָפּהיטן די קאמפּס-טראדי-  
ציעס פון דער פראַגרעסיווער יידישער באווע-  
גונג, אנטשפּרעכט פולשטענדיק די אינטערעסן  
פון די פּאָלקס-מאָסן.

דערציענדיק די לייענער אין גייסט פון  
אינטערנאַציאָנאַלער פּרינציפּשאפט מיט די סאָ-  
ציאליסטישע לענדער, מיטן גרויסן סאָוועטני-  
פּאַרלאַנד, טרעט דער זשורנאל ארויס קאָנסעק-  
ווענט עפּגן די נאַציאָנאַליסטישע פּראָצעסיסטי-  
שע טעאָריעס פון די רענעגאטן פ. גאָויק,  
כ. סוליער און אנד., וועלכע האָבן אראָפּגעפירט

פון די פּרינציפּעלע פראַגרעסיווע פּאָזיציעס די  
ציטונג „מאַרגן-פּרייהייט“.

אין די לעצטע נומערן פון „דושוויש  
אפערס“, וועלכע מיר האָבן באקומען, ווערן  
אייניקע מאטעריאלן געדרוקט אין יידיש. די  
לייענער וועלן דאָס אָן סאַפּעק אונפּעמען מיט  
אינטערעס.

וויטער ברענגען מיר א פּאַטאַסטאט פון  
צוויי זייטן פון דער צייטשריפט און דאָס פּאַטאַ-  
בילד פונעם באוויסטן מארקסיסטישן פובליציסט  
הערבערט אפּטעקער, וועלכע איז לעצטנס בא-  
שטעטיקט געוואָרן אלס הויפּט-רעדאַקטאָר פון  
„דושוויש אפערס“.

## פּאָלקס-טיימע

IX. 1977

### אַ באַגעגעניש

### מיטן מאַסקווער יידישן דראַמאַטישן אַנסאַמבל

דער אָרדנלעכער ליטעראַריש-סוויקאלישער דאָנערשטיק אין  
דער רעדאַקציע „סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד“ האָט מיט זיך פּאַרנעשטעלט  
אַ סיך עפּנטלעכע רעפּעטיציע פונעם רעפּערטואַר, וועלכן עס גרייט  
איצט דער מאַסקווער יידישער דראַמאַטישער קאָלעקטיוו.

אין דער אָנוועזנהייט פון אַ גרויסן עולם שרייבער, אַרטיסטן,  
סעאַטער-ליבהאַבער האָט דער קאָלעקטיוו כאַוויין סצענעס פון דער  
קוסמנדיקער שטעלונג פון ס. נערשענזאָנס קאָמעדיע „הערשלע  
אַסמראָפּאָליער“ און פּראָנסענמן פון אַ קאַנצערט, נעכויט אויף די  
ווערק פון יידישע סאָוועטישע שרייבער.

די בייווענדע אויף דער באַגעגעניש האָבן כאַזונדערס אויס-  
געצייכנט די שפּיל פון די אַרטיסטן, ס. קאַטליאַראָוואַ, ז. קאַמיני-  
סקי, ר. קורין, כ. סאַראָקאַ.

<p>We greet the recovery of</p> <p><b>Sam Liptzin</b></p> <p>and wish him many years of good health and activity.</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p>	<p><b>Greetings to Jewish Affairs</b></p> <p>\$10</p> <p>Michael Ziebel Miami Beach</p>	<p>In honor of our son, Dennis, on his recovery from illness.</p> <p>\$25</p> <p><b>Joseph &amp; Rasha Shapiro</b></p>				
<p>We greet the recovery of</p> <p><b>Ida Granofsky</b></p> <p>and thank her for her contribution.</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p>	<p>With warmest appreciation to</p> <p><b>Bessie &amp; Ralph Lefsky</b></p> <p>for your many years of struggle on behalf of the working class.</p> <p><b>Henry Winston, National Chairman Gus Hall, General Secretary Communist Party, U.S.A.</b></p>					
<p><b>Greetings to Jewish Affairs</b></p> <p>\$25</p> <p>Ida Granofsky</p>	<p>Dave Milgram celebrated his 75th birthday last month. Among the many comrades and friends who greeted him were Beryl and Jean Gittleman, Maria Gittleman and Lea Boehm of Atlantic City, Tony Monteiro of the National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, Diane Mohny of Women for Racial and Economic Equality and Phil Novick of the Progressive Cultural Club of Philadelphia. Personal greetings were extended by Alex Kolkin, chairman of the Jewish Commission of the CPUSA, and Daniel Spector, assistant editor of Jewish Affairs. Dave's wife and lifetime comrade, Sarah, helped ensure the affair's success.</p> <p><b>Progressive Cultural Club of Philadelphia</b></p>					
<p><b>Greetings to Jewish Affairs</b></p> <p>\$100</p> <p>May Helfgoth N.Y.</p>						
<p><b>Greetings to Jewish Affairs</b></p> <p>\$25</p> <p>Uncle Miami Beach</p>						
<p><b>Greetings to Jewish Affairs</b></p> <p>\$15</p> <p>Abe Rosen N.J.</p>	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2" data-bbox="366 865 982 932"><b>In Memoriam</b></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td data-bbox="366 932 656 1201"> <p>In memory of</p> <p><b>Jack Schneider</b></p> <p>died Nov. 9, 1976</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p> </td> <td data-bbox="656 932 982 1201"> <p>We mourn the passing of</p> <p><b>Freda Honor</b></p> <p>A lifelong fighter for trade unionism and for peace and friendship. Our deepest sympathy to her husband—our coworker—Phil.</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p> </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<b>In Memoriam</b>		<p>In memory of</p> <p><b>Jack Schneider</b></p> <p>died Nov. 9, 1976</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p>	<p>We mourn the passing of</p> <p><b>Freda Honor</b></p> <p>A lifelong fighter for trade unionism and for peace and friendship. Our deepest sympathy to her husband—our coworker—Phil.</p> <p><b>Editorial Board Jewish Affairs</b></p>
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<p><i>Our condolences to Sonia Schwartz on the loss of her father, Nathan--Editors, Jewish Affairs</i></p>						

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Subscriptions	400	440
C. Total Paid Circulation	1,840	1,840
D. Free Distribution (including samples) by Mail, Carrier delivery or other means	none	none
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	1,840	1,840
F. Copies Not Distributed		
1. Office use, leftover, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	60	60
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G. Total (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)	1,900	1,900

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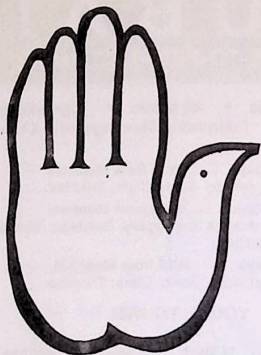
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