

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Sept./Oct. 1983
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American Jewry and Today's World

By Herbert Aptheker

August 27th: A Glorious Day

By Lewis M. Moroze

Reaganism No More in '84

By Benjamin L. Hooks

Tell Reagan: There Will Be NO War For America

By Harry Belafonte

August 27th Benediction

Rabbi Alexander Schindler

The Witch-Hunters "Truth"

By Norman Markowitz

Israel: A Strategic Asset

Meir Vilner

Issam Sawarti's Last Address

By Jack Sampson

The Bitter Year

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The Scholarship of Cold-War Hate

By Ron Kent

Tributes to Abe Weiss

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American Jewry and Today's World

By Herbert Aptheker

1 — Rifts Widen in Jewish Community

The rising popular dissatisfaction with the Reagan Administration is manifesting itself among the Jewish people. The Lebanese atrocity, the support of fascist dictatorships in Latin America, and the economic depression — there are now one million Jews at or below the poverty level — has led not only to the rapid growth of the New Jewish Agenda, but also has produced splits within the American Jewish Committee — still dominated by the right — and expressions of deep discontent from the very influential American Jewish Congress.

The latter issued a report this June, "Inventory of Democracy — 1983" which is fiercely critical of Reagan's policies over the past years. The percentage of poor, noted the report, is now at the level of 1964, while soup kitchens and unemployment lines, it added, remind one of the days of the Great Depression.

The slowing of the inflation rate, said the AJC, has been achieved "at great social cost" while only "the wealthiest minority of Americans at the top of the economic ladder" have made gains. "Current policies," says the report, have hurt in particular, "working families, the elderly, poor, children from disadvantaged homes, women and members of minority groups."

The Reagan Administration, declares the AJC, has undermined agencies responsible for education, workers' health and safety, civil rights, and the environment. The report was inadequate in its analysis of Reagan's foreign policy and its connection with the domestic devastation it describes but coming from the AJC, this is a very significant development in the growing anti-Reagan movement.

That same month of June, Edgar Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, addressed the 32nd national congress of the South African Board of Jewish deputies in Johannesburg.

Mr. Bronfman here stated that the Zionist dream of having world Jewry take up residence in Israel is an illusion. He added that it also was absurd to believe "that three million Jews can prevail in hostile confrontation with 120 million Arabs." The logic of that observation would seem to be the need not for the Begin policy of confrontation and subjugation but rather a policy of mutual respect, recognition and peace, but Mr. Bronfman stopped short of drawing that conclusion.

Mr. Bronfman did ask his audience to "prove through our commitment to human betterment that existence as a

minority does not mandate a marginal role in human affairs." This was more than a strange remark for a Jewish leader to make to other Jews meeting in South Africa, where the vast *majority* of the population is forcibly restrained to "a marginal role in human affairs."

It is past time that the World Jewish Congress plainly condemn the racist and fascist South African regime, that it urge Jews in South Africa join the growing movement for an end to apartheid and, until South African Jewish organizations take such a stand, that they be expelled from the World Jewish Congress.

II — Washington's Employment of Nazis

A retired U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, one Eugene Kolb, has published a letter in *The New York Times* (July 26) which is the clearest affirmation in print that this writer has seen of the pro-fascist orientation adopted by Washington towards the close of World War II.

Col. Kolb is apologizing for the use of U.S. Counter-Intelligence of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief of Lyons; he declares it is not possible to conduct counter-intelligence "by adhering to some rigid puritanical moral code." One wonders who expected such adherence. The point at issue is that the U.S. Counter-Intelligence protected the mass murdering Nazi and *employed him in its own work.*

It is the latter horrendous act — taken while we in the combat forces were still burying our dead — that is not only confirmed in Col. Kolb's letter (and the Times identifies him as a CIC officer from 1943 to 1963) but is defended with the following sentence:

"To our knowledge, his (Barbie's) activities had been directed against the underground French Communist Party and Resistance, just as we in the postwar era were concerned with the German Communist Party and activities inimical to American policies in Germany."

Here is the most brazen and direct equating of Nazi activity, in the conquest and occupation of France, with U.S. activity after the liberation of France and the defeat of Hitler Germany. Besides the monstrous amorality of the sentence, it is false on its face for anyone who knew anything knew about the Nazis' institutionalized torturing of prisoners, their policy of slaughtering Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals and other "Untermenschen," as well as in general all members of the heroic Resistance. It is not possible that a CIC officer — or any other adult — on the spot in Nazi Germany did not know this reality.

The present writer was personally involved in the apprehension of a leading gestapo figure in the Ruhr.

Within a month after this monster was turned over to the Allied Military Government — as we were required to do — he was free and walking the streets of Dusseldorf.

I was too busy with other duties at the time to learn what became of him but no doubt he, along with Barbie and other sadists, became part of the cadre serving the likes of Col. Kolb while they protected "American Policies in Germany."

Col. Kolb is an honorable retired officer; the writer of this communication was a major in the Army of the United States, but his commission was stripped from him in 1947 by President Two-Bomb Truman because he retained the anti-fascist and anti-racist "biases" he held when he gladly joined the armed forces seeking the destruction of fascism.

Col. Kolb does confess in his letter that he "had pangs of conscience then and we have them now." So, he has his commission plus pangs; I have neither a commission nor pangs!

III — Racist Slanders or "Freedom of Expression"

The N.Y. Times (July 30) reports that leading publishers — Bantam, Ballantine, and Pocket Books — are issuing racist "joke books" whose point is to insult and sneer at Afro-Americans, Jews, Poles, and Irish; these "books" are being sold by leading stores, such as Dalton, and are on the best-seller lists.

The publishers and book-sellers think it is all in "good fun" and indeed, one offered the opinion that this development speaks well for the "freedom" and "sophistication" of our society.

Distinguished historians such as Barbara Tuchman and John Hope Franklin denounced this new display of "free-world" culture; the former said they displayed "tastlessness" and the latter also referred to "poor taste," adding that they were "swept up from the gutter."

Others, especially Nathan Perlmutter, director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, regretted the anti-Semitism, but added that he did not wish "to stifle freedom of speech."

Meanwhile, since there is money to be made, the aforementioned publishers and book sellers go right on profiting from the racist filth. Since even child pornography is a big business in the "free world," of course anything goes.

Such "freedom" in exploiting children, or women or in spreading racist hatred does not exist in Reagan's "empire of evil"; on the contrary, in socialist lands such behavior is considered barbaric and is strictly prohi-

bited. Should it appear it is severely punished.

Any alert viewer has noticed that racism in blatant forms has been reappearing on television. Now here it is in massive form in printed "books" marketed by leading corporations. This propaganda barrage naturally accompanies the political and social policy of the present Administration which is both racist and sexist. The propaganda appears, too, as part of the proliferation of physical assaults upon Afro-American people and upon Jews and their places of worship or community centers. Anything to divide and to confuse masses of people beset by poverty, by hunger, by unemployment, by awful insecurity — and by fear of renewed wars.

Racism is never merely an idea; racism always takes the form of idea and practice. The commercializing of racist propaganda has nothing to do with freedom of speech or the press; it has everything to do with deliberate defamation of whole peoples as part of the special oppression of such peoples and as part of the rationalization for the victimization of such peoples.

Progressive lawyers and social scientists should collectively work out the best possible suggested legislation which would establish criminal penalties for the commercial exploitation in any form of racist and anti-Semitic propaganda. Meanwhile, those companies and agencies which peddle the filth should hear from an outraged public and should feel the outrage in their pocketbooks, which is their only vital organ.

IV — The Resignation of Begin

The resignation of Menachim Begin as Israel's Prime Minister is being pictured in the commercial media as an act of an old, sad, tired man — as a basically subjective act. This is far from the fundamental reality — whatever Mr. Begin's personal woes.

The Prime Minister of Israel is resigning because the policy of his government is bankrupt. The "quick war" against Lebanon is now fifteen months old, some 520 Israeli soldiers have been killed and some 3,000 wounded and each week brings more casualties.

A year ago, 400,000 Israelis demonstrated for an end to the Begin-Sharon government, by far the greatest political demonstration, in proportion to population, in all history. In June, 1983, 150,000 demonstrators filled the central square in Tel Aviv with banners reading: "Bring the IDF Home" and "There Is An Alternative: Peace Now."

Hundreds of Israeli soldiers are refusing duty in Lebanon, and scores have been jailed for anti-war activities.

Begin's policies have produced hostility in Cairo and

(Continued on bottom of next page)

August 27: A Glorious Day

By Lewis M. Moroze

The glorious August 27th March on Washington, called by the Coalition of Conscience led by Coretta King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is already widely acknowledged as an historical landmark in the people's struggles for Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

The glorious August 27th March on Washington in commemorating the 20th Anniversary of the 1963 Washington Rally led by Martin Luther King Jr. marked the rising crescendo of struggle and the flourishing of people's coalitions to achieve their demands. We record and note Solidarity Day 1981, the June 12, 1982 Peace March and the reinstatement this year of Labor Day rallies and marches across the land.

By foot, car, bus, train and plane 400,000 men and women, many bringing their children, poured into Washington, D.C. and endured the sweltering heat. Blacks composed the greatest percentage of the rainbow coalition representative of the multi-racial, multi-national peoples of our nation. Included were trade unions, peace groups, civil rights and civil liberties organizations, youth groups, women's organizations, church groups, clergy and Jewish organizations about which more later. The outstanding political party contingent was that of the C.P.U.S.A.

The magnificent response of the working people and middle sectors is a tribute to the S.C.L.C., to the Black Congressional Caucus and the Black trade unionists in the Coalition of Conscience.

The magnificent response of the people is a tribute to the ever-growing stature of the martyred Martin Luther King Jr. In the history, of our country he stands out sharply as a leading spokesman articulating the aspirations, needs and demands of our working people and as leading mobilizer of the people to win their demands.

Martin Luther King Jr., like the brilliant Frederick Douglass, has impressed upon us the truth that without

struggle there can be no progress and that power concedes naught without a struggle.

John Brown was hanged by Virginia but very soon after the U.S. government was compelled to sing his praises in the Union armies in order to save the Republic from the clutches of the slavocracy.

Fifteen years after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. our people are drawn together by the Coalition of Conscience invoking his spirit to guarantee maximum participation and ongoing successes in the continuing struggles for Jobs, Peace and Freedom.

To make Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday a national holiday will validate the universal respect by the people of our land for this exemplar of the finest in U.S. leadership. The world has already acknowledged his universal worth in granting him the Nobel Prize.

At the Lincoln Monument, Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., indicated the road to be taken to win the struggle for Jobs, Peace and Freedom: "We serve notice on you, Mr. Reagan, that we are not here to live in the past and to leave singing, 'We Shall Overcome,' . . . We are here because we are committed to the elimination of Reaganism from the face of the earth. We've had enough of it. Reagan no more in '84."

In a similar vein the banner of the Communist Party contingent read: "End Reagan Nightmare — Make the Dream a Reality."

"Justice, Justice, Thou Shalt Pursue!," the cry of the prophets emblazoned the banner of the New Jewish Agenda.

The many trade union contingents gave the glorious March on Washington a special quality and is recognized as a key factor in the registering of a resounding defeat for Reagan Administration.

As we assess the numbers of millions girding for battle to dump Reagan and Reaganism, it is well to keep in mind that for every one of the 400,000 present in Washington are to be added 10 to 15 more ready for action, awaiting the next steps to be taken to carry out the mandate of the August 27th March on Washington.

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embarrassment in Washington; they have merited the world's condemnation, with fascist South Africa and murdering dictators in Latin America its sole "friends." Spending over one-third of its total budget on war induces an inflation of some 130%; unemployment is widespread; strikes are commonplace. Mass discontent is at a boiling point — *and the Likud Government has no solution*, now that the "solution" of war has failed.

Political bankruptcy, not personal despondency has

forced Begin to resign. All friends of Israel and of humanity in general, all partisans of peace must properly understand the meaning of Begin's resignation. They must intensify demands for Peace Now in the Mid-East and for withdrawal of Israeli-NATO forces from Lebanon.

Hands off Lebanon! Peace in the Mid-East! These are today's inter-locking slogans. They must be implemented if Israel is not to be destroyed by the fascist policies of the Likud government. □

The popular people's bard, Harry Belafonte, made an outstanding contribution at the Lincoln Monument in exposing and denouncing the fraudulent charge that it is the Soviet Union which is the focus of evil. Further, his appeal to the mass of American Jews to come on board the freedom train must be recognized as the highest order of statesmanship and forbearance. For here we must recall the horrendous pressures and attacks on the Coalition of Conscience by the American Jewish Committee, the B-Nai B'Rith and the Jewish War Veterans. We must also note the pressures of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the bureaucracy of the American Jewish Congress to remove any reference to Israel or the Middle East as the price of support. Belafonte made a moving appeal to the Jewish people to recognize that true self-interest calls for freely joining the Coalition of Conscience.

New Jewish Agenda was the first Jewish organization to offer support to the Coalition of Conscience in line with its basic policy of working in coalitions for Jobs, Peace and Freedom. N.J.A. national coordinator, Jeffrey Dekro, commenting on Jewish establishment opposition to the August 27 March, remarked: "I think that it is bitterly unfortunate that the Jewish community is not capable of seeing where the real issues lay and seeing that its support of the march would have been critical." A more accurate statement would have referred to "Jewish establishment" rather than "Jewish community."

At the initiative of the New Jewish Agenda, leaders in the Jewish community of Pittsburgh placed an ad in the *Jewish Chronicle* calling for community support of the march, indicating there would be a Pittsburgh contingent. Fifty signers of the appeal included Henry Dropkin, International V.P., of the A.C.T.W.U., AFL-CIO, State Representatives Ivan Itkin, City Council members Michelle Madoff and Sophie Masloff and Allegheny County Coroner Dr. Joshua Perper.

The support of the August 27th March by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Reform wing in the Jewish religious community, is in great measure an expression of the will of the membership. The UAHC demand that the Coalition drop reference to the Middle East is reflective of heavy pressure of the Zionist bureaucracy and the big contributors to the UAHC. It must be recalled that it was Rabbi Schindler, president of the UAHC, who rejected the concept that anti-Zionism is anti Semitism when he sharply attacked the equation: Zionism equals Israel equals Judaism. Though buffeted by Zionist pressure Rabbi Schindler delivered the closing benediction at the Lincoln Monument.

Declaring that any reference to the Middle East would be anti-Israel, the American Jewish Congress made the same demands on the Coalition. Though the demands were met the AJCongress leadership made public its support only after it was too late to mobilize the membership. Their president, Howard Squadron, is a hard-bitten arch reactionary Zionist far removed from the thinking of the rank and file membership. The AJCongress executive director, Henry Siegman, reflected the thinking of the bureaucratic leadership and not the membership when he stated AJCongress reservations about the March as flowing from "the positions that are . . . gratuitously adversarial to this administration." This obtuse way of saying that AJCongress opposed the anti-Reagan policies of the Coalition of Conscience was aimed to obfuscate and confuse the membership, most of whom are in the anti-Reagan camp.

The pressure of the Zionists and Zionist-entrapped Jewish leadership, exploiting past Jewish philanthropy for Black causes forced the dropping of references to the Middle East. While there is a growing appreciation nationwide of U.S. aggressive policies towards small independent nations and national liberation movements, the 400,000 present were able to hear the appeals of African National Congress and El Salvador spokespersons but not a Palestinian.

There is no question that the mass of American Jews reject the Jewish establishment characterization that the demands of the Coalition of Conscience are not in the best interests of the people of the U.S. and, therefore, of the Jews in particular. There is no doubt that the widest sectors of American Jews would agree with Benjamin Hook's observation that "Reaganism must be wiped out from the face of the earth."

What is called for is a review of the Zionist imposed decision to remove the Middle East from the agenda. The facts of life reveal the urgent need to address ourselves to the crisis in the Middle East. It is in the Middle East where U.S. blood is already flowing along with that of the Israelis, Lebanese, Palestinians and the French. It is in the Middle East where a Vietnam is in the making, where there are the combustibles for a world nuclear holocaust.

Facing these dangers a coalition of peace forces in Israel, including Knesseth members Shulamith Aloni and Aaron Hurall, and also General Mathieu Peled, Benny Barash of "Peace Now" and Uzi Burstein of the Communist Party of Israel are calling for the inclusion of the USSR in the peace process in the Middle East.

It is for us now to bring the agenda of the Coalition of

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Reaganism No More in '84

By Benjamin L. Hooks

We publish here excerpts from the address delivered by Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Freedom held in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, August 27th, 1983.

Twenty years ago Martin Luther King Jr. stood here transfixed between a weeping heaven and a wicked earth and declared, "I Have A Dream." We have returned not simply to reaffirm that dream but to: renew that hope; recharge that faith; rekindle that courage; reassert that demand.

We are not destroyed; we are not defeated. We are not discouraged. We still have a dream. A dream that every human being will enjoy not only freedom from slavery but deliverance from servitude, not only from ignorance but deliverance from indigence, not only the right to vote, but the money to pay the note. This is the dream that has propelled black Americans since their first arrival here on these alien shores.

Out of respect to the legendary W.E.B. DuBois and Whitney Young, Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Walter Reuther and Martin Luther King, let us bow our heads now in a moment of silent prayer and remembrance.

We break that silence to make the announcement that even in our quest for world peace we have come to declare war — political war, if you please, on the present policies of the Reagan Administration: policies that punish the poor and reward the rich; policies that talk about the trickle down theory but somehow the trickle never gets down; policies that provide a safety net for the truly greedy but nothing for the truly needy.

We serve notice on President Reagan that we are not here to live in the past and leave here singing: "We Shall Overcome." We are here because we are committed to the eliminatin of Reaganism in 1984. We've had enough of Reaganism. Reaganism no more in '84. Say it loud. Say it proud, Reaganism no more in '84.

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Conscience into our communities, into our civic organizations, into our trade unions. It is for us to strengthen the coalitions in our areas and to build them where none exist. There can be no waiting for '84. Let us build now to drive Reagan out the door in '84 by building labor and minority candidates for Congress.

We are called to struggle now! There is no alternative. □

Sept./Oct., 1983

We have come to declare war on unemployment. Unemployment is not just a word; it is a condition. It is a family that has lost its home. It is students forced to leave college because they cannot get a student loan. Unemployment is a family standing in line in the supermarket having to choose between ground beef or dog meat. It is a father forced to leave his family so they may qualify for welfare. It is a mother holding in her arms a sick child with no money to pay for the doctor or the medicine. It is the indignity of standing in cheese lines. It is seeing bills not being paid, utilities cut off. . . . Unemployment is more than a word, it is a killer of the dream. . . the robber of aspirations, the breeder of despair. It is the cancer that eats away at the heart and soul of otherwise healthy people.

There is a sickness sweeping across this nation. It is a virus of elitism cloaked in garments of fiscal austerity and wrapped in the trappings of patriotism. . . . It has created mass unemployment—20% in the black community—50% among black youth. It has created doubt, dismay and despair among the poor and increased the number of people living in poverty. No center for disease control will be able to identify it, but I can tell you that this infection is REAGANITIS.

America, our bridges are falling down, our roads and highways are crumbling, our subways are derailing because of neglect, our libraries are closing. *Provide jobs* and we shall rebuild our nation's decaying infrastructure.

America, our schools are failing while thousands of teachers are thrown out of work. *Provide jobs* and we can once again take our place as a nation that believes that our great resources are not MX missiles and B-1 bombers, not Trident Submarines and Tiger Tanks, but our children, black and white, brown and yellow. *Provide jobs* and teachers who have been fired and laid off can march back into the classrooms and teach those young black and white who hunger and thirst for knowledge.

America, the hour is late, the clocks of destiny are ticking, the time is not now to restore hope to more than 11 million of your citizens who walk the streets of our cities, towns villages and hamlets, day after day, yet can't find employment in the land of plenty. The time is now to bring to an end the sad saga of young men and women who have moved into their mid-twenties and early thirties yet have never had a job experience.

America, provide jobs and we shall help those whose aspirations have been mugged, those whose hopes have been lynched; those whose dreams have been blasted by

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Tell Reagan: There Will Be No War For America

By Harry Belafonte

We publish here the remarks of the world renowned people's bard, Harry Belafonte, delivered at the August 27th March on Washington.

Twenty years ago today, the Prince of Peace, Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke of the great dream. On that day, millions of Americans and millions more around the world felt that the birth of a new hope for all humankind had emerged. The world felt a new sense of confidence. In the face of that, there are those who would have history believe that our presence here today is either the result of some massive communist conspiracy or that we represent some small disgruntled group of malcontents who are perpetually dissatisfied in the wake of supposed great strides and progress being achieved by the vast majority of the people of this nation.

On both points, nothing could be further from the truth. Our presence here today is in no way the result of a communist conspiracy. Our pain requires no conspiracy. Nor are we malcontents. We, who stand here today—these 20 years later—are but a small part of millions upon millions of people from all over this world who have watched the great dream fall from confidence and turn into a twilight zone. Twenty years later, many

the bombs of double digit unemployment.

Provide jobs, and we shall rebuild our crumbling cities. *Provide jobs*, and we shall put dedication and determination in education. *Provide jobs*, and we will build houses where there are now slums, decay and rubble. *Provide jobs* and we shall deal with the root causes of crime born so often out of desperation and despair. *Provide jobs*, and we shall rebuild our family structure and halt the deterioration of the black family, over 40% headed by women who are the victims of the dual edge sword of racism and sexism, and whose children are destined to a life of poverty and degradation.

America, we are marching today—20 years later—for much more than we marched in 1963. The dream is bigger because the problems are more complex. The enemy is more subtle, racism is more sinister.

20 years ago we were marching for political freedom. Today we march for equity and total parity. 20 years ago we were marching for a seat on the bus. Now we are marching to drive the bus; to run the bus line; to own the

people in this nation . . . wallowing in a sea of despair . . . move about their daily lives more distrusting . . . more fearful . . . more conflicted than at any time in this century. For the Black family of this nation, it has been more than twenty years, it has been 364 years and racial injustice is still our crippling burden and America's shame. But racial injustice is not the only injustice. Injustice is everywhere. It is rampant. It is epidemic.

Ask the Native Americans

Ask the Chicano and Hispanic

Ask the women

Ask the millions of unemployed and hungry and the poor

Ask the gays

Our teachers and civil servants

Ask our students

Ask the 50,000 who died in Vietnam

Ask the people in our prisons

Ask the files of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. that bulge with their information unconstitutionally acquired through the powers that have been given them by the chief executive of this nation.

Thanks to Ronald Reagan, this nation is being skillfully and swiftly manipulated into adjusting this injustice. And in that adjustment, we are being asked to surrender to greed . . . avarice . . . deceit and arrogance . . . and to accept that the course on which this nation has embarked is in the best interest of humanity.

bus company. 20 years ago we were marching to eat in front of the counter; now we are marching to manage the counter. 20 years ago we marched for the right to vote. Today we are marching for the right to be elected and to serve. 20 years ago we were marching to participate in the political process. Today we are marching to change, to reform and to redress the entire society. Black people have already begun this modern crusade.

This is our dream and more. Not only do we have a dream but we have: A plan to register and vote like never before; A plan to redirect our resources in the interest of our freedom and power; A plan to spend our money and bank with those who spend their money with us; A plan not to bank or buy where we cannot get work, promotions, procurement contracts or management positions. *Yes, we have: A plan to form and reform the disinherited and dispossessed and discontented of this earth into an effective and meaningful coalition; A determination not to stop, a determination not to quit, a determination not to relent, a determination not to turn around til the dream comes true.* □

This play is unacceptable . . . The President is unacceptable. But it is not just the people of this nation that are being failed. It is people everywhere on the face of the earth. We are watching the only chance for all of humankind to flower and grow and fulfill its rightful place in the supreme design for all things, day by day and hour by hour become more elusive and soon all that may be left will be a vast nothingness. All this, our President would have us believe, is because of communism.

He would have us believe that the enemy of the peasants of El Salvador is not poverty or disease or American monied interests . . . but communism.

He would have us believe that the enemy of the nation of Nicaragua is not the massive American attempt with Samoza mercenaries to destabilize and massacre the people of that country . . . but communism.

That in this hemisphere the enemy is not hunger . . . oppression . . . illiteracy . . . poverty . . . malnutrition . . . military dictatorships . . . but the tens of thousands who have taken up arms in liberation struggles in the quest for human dignity and Cuba and communism.

He would have us believe that in Africa, it is not tyrants like Joseph Mobutu of the Congo, whom he wines and dines at the White House or the suffering and dehumanization of 25 million Black South Africans by a small, powerful white elite passionately supported by the business interests of this country that is the enemy of the people of that continent . . . but communism.

This gross distortion is disfiguring America and we are beginning to limp into an abyss created by this dying order.

Communism sits as a powerful judgment on us, not because we are a democracy, but because of our failure to make democracy work. And it cannot work because the Ronald Reagans of America—that powerful few—will not let it work.

But we cannot let America go that way. America is ours. America can be what we want it to be. We cannot let the world go that way. We share in it and must help shape it into what we gathered here today today know it must be. There is no other way.

And it will not be easy.

Dr. King once said, "He who starts behind in a race must forever remain behind or run faster than the person in front.

But it is hard to run a race when you are hungry.

It is hard to run when the road signs go in a circle.

It is hard to run when you run another man's race and don't know where the finish line is.

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August 27th Benediction **By Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler**

The closing prayer at the August 27th March on Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom was delivered by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler who is President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Reform wing of Judaism.

We turn to Thee in prayer, Oh God.

We stand before Thee as one community of faith and fate.

Though we differ in color and creed,

we carry common convictions and our destinies intertwined.

We are in a place endeared by sacred remembrance.

We think of the dreamer who dreamed here his daring dream.

His vision enthralled us, his words still haunt us.

Yet his dream remains but a dream.

He spoke of peace, but violence still rages

He spoke of freedom for his people, for a widening of their rights.

Yet twenty years later they are still imprisoned

in the bleak and airless dungeon of urban ghettos.

He envisaged an America whose bounty would be shared by everyone.

Yet poverty persists in this land of plenty.

Many go hungry and naked.

Countless feel the shame and ostracism of need.

It is because the few claim those blessings which should be held by all,

because the leaders of this nation have tightened its belt 'round the necks of the poor.

The noble dreamer was cut down, alas!

But his dream lives on — in our minds and souls.

Help us, Oh God, to act on its truths.

If we say we believe in equal opportunity,

give us the determination to make a full and creative life possible for all people.

If we say we believe in peace,

give us the courage to take those risks required for its attainment.

And if we say that we believe in liberty, then give us the strength

to loosen the fetters,

to break the bonds,

to shatter the chains,

until the freedom of all is secured.

Amen. □

The Witch-hunters "Truth"

By Norman Markowitz

Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton,
The Rosenberg File: A Search for Truth (New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983) 608 pp. \$22.50.

In the years immediately following World War II, U.S. monopoly capitalism faced both great opportunities and grave dangers. The opportunities came from the fact that the United States had emerged unscathed from the war — had in truth doubled its GNP — while its major capitalist rivals and the Soviet Union had suffered enormous losses of both productive capacity and human life. The dangers, ironically, derived from the same conditions, that is, the defeat of Fascism and the decisive weakening of the old colonial empires had made socialist revolutions and successful anti-imperialist liberation struggles a strong likelihood for vast areas of the globe. To prevent the latter and expand U.S. capital abroad, the Truman administration launched the cold war, creating a "permanent war economy" in the U.S., a nuclear arms race, and an interventionist and militarized U.S. foreign policy in the name of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

For most Americans, long used to a junk food diet of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, the return after World War II to this traditional "Red Scare" menu was challenged by previous positive experiences with the Communist-led labor and social reform struggles of the New Deal period and the Soviet-American alliance of World War II, experiences which offered a sort of health food alternative to the gassy red-baiters. For this reason, monopoly capital after the war was compelled to

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But, yet, there are times when life demands the perpetual doing of the impossible. We must embark upon this difficult, trying and sometimes bewildering course, knowing that with a dynamic will we can transform our minus into a plus . . . that we must move aggressively through the storms of injustice and the jostling winds of daily handicaps. Our dilemma is serious; our problem is real, but equally real is the power of a creative will and its ability to give us the courage to go on."

There can be no other way. We must use that creativity . . . we must use our power. The people of this nation must not be consumed by the poison of bitterness and impotence. The people of this nation must rise up and tell Ronald Reagan and his boys:

There will be no war for America

"clinch" its anti-Communist and anti-Soviet arguments with the general population through two great spy stories, the Alger Hiss case (which was used to discredit old New Dealers and establishment critics of cold war policies by linking a former state department functionary and advisor to President Roosevelt with "Soviet espionage") and the Rosenberg atomic spy case, in which two children of the Jewish working class of the United States were executed (much as the leaders of the Haymarket demonstration and Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, the workers at Republic Steel on Memorial Day, 1937, and the students at Kent State and Jackson State in 1970 were shot down as a warning to activists from the ruling circles that opposition to their policies would be met with bullets, ropes, and electric chairs.

For Jewish Americans, particularly, the Rosenberg case was an important turning point. In the U.S. anti-Communism had long been linked with anti-Semitism, as the ruling circles sought to mask their oppressive policies by portraying Jewish militants as alien outside agitators plotting against the "American Way of Life." In the Rosenberg case, the anti-Semitism flowered as establishment Jewish organizations refused to get involved in the case and Jewish prosecutors, a Jewish judge, and prominent Jewish cold war intellectuals in the media sought to use the case both to connect the Soviet Union and the CPUSA with atomic espionage and to bury the Jewish left.

Still, in the midst of these worst years of the cold war period, a courageous resistance was made, a resistance whose mass meeting in Union Square in 1953 as the hour of the political execution approached may one day be remembered as the finest moment of mass political pro-

There will be no MX missiles for America

There will be no dictator in America

There will be no police state in America

We must tell Ronald Reagan we intend to live in harmony with other nations and the universe.

We, from this day forward, must work and organize and believe in ourselves. Believe in our power. Believe in our nation.

We must go to the polls in 1984 and tell captain Reagan and his crew that the ship is in revolt.

Those whom they would render powerless are pouring out of the belly of the ship . . . and we say "This voyage cannot be permitted to go any further . . . this ship has been at sea too long . . . this ship has got to turn around . . . it must be put in dry-dock never to sail again."

We must tell the oppressive forces of this nation that once and for all we have had enough!!! □

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test in the 1950s. Many Jewish progressives and Communists were involved in that protest, and many progressive and Communist activists, Jews and non-Jews, have struggled for decades to expose the lies and barbarities of the Rosenberg case, to re-open the case in order to obtain justice for the Rosenbergs and give their death meaning in contributing to a re-assessment of the political climate of the cold war. Walter and Miriam Schneier's *Invitation to an Inquest* (Pantheon Press, N. Y. revised edition; 1983, \$8.95) remains the best and most comprehensive expression in writing of the case of the Rosenbergs' defenders.

Since the late 1970s, however, in the aftermath of its Vietnam and Watergate debacles and as a strategy both to defeat revolutionary movements and overcome its economic doldrums, U.S. monopoly capital has been engaged in a many faceted offensive to revive the cold war. This offensive has been left in scholarly, journalistic, and popular fiction accounts reviving suspicion of Soviet and Communist "conspiracies" and making the irrational fears provoked by both new and old spy stories serve as a roadblock to the advance of the movements for peace and international cooperation.

Capitalism is both racist and anti-Semitic and the Rosenberg case, while its targets were chosen primarily because they were CPUSA members, also had its anti-Semitic aspects, since traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes, *i.e.*, Jews as alien conspirators and subverters of a society by "boring from within," are similar in their character and, often in their intensity, to anti-Communism. Although decades of struggle around the Rosenberg case by the Schneiers, John Wexley, William Reuben, and many others have presented a mass of information to discredit both the testimonies of David and Ruth Greenglass and Harry Gold in the case and the scientific value of the "secrets" allegedly sent to the Soviet Union, the U.S. government has opposed re-opening the case as doggedly as it has resisted reparations for Vietnam. Now, the government, the FBI, and the capitalist class that both serve have in Ronald Radosh, an apostate New Leftist and Joyce Milton posing as disinterested proponents of "historical truth."

Although the *New York Times* has already hailed this work as a thorough examination of the evidence that will please "neither side," this is more an indication of the reviewers that the *Times* chooses than it is of work, which bases itself primarily on the FBI documents and interviews with the major government witnesses and informers in the case. First of all, the authors use every scrap of evidence fed them by FBI sources to discredit the Rosenbergs and their defenders, ignoring the well-
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documented, and massive examples of the FBI's use of distorted reports and forged and planted materials in its campaigns against the CPUSA and other left and progressive organizations. Also, Radosh and Milton's *The Rosenberg File* is filled with material that casts new doubts on the reliability of David Greenglass and Harry Gold as witnesses in the case, however much the authors seek to explain away the discrepancies with FBI cover stories. If David Greenglass was such an open Communist activist during World War II, for example, why did he conveniently end up at Los Alamos making lens molds in the atom bomb project? Why did he so quickly abandon his beliefs after World War II? If Harry Gold was an anti-Communist Norman Thomas Socialist, as he affirmed in private documents, why did he become an espionage courier out of love for the Soviet Union, a position hardly connected to the Norman Thomas Socialists? If Julius Rosenberg were the ruthless political operator, the disciplined "soldier of Stalin," that Greenglass, Radosh and Milton characterize him as being, why did he give the unbelievable prison informer, Jerry Tartakaw, detailed information about his espionage activities while in prison? If British double agent Kim Philby were really involved in "warning" individuals in the case, why did physicist Klaus Fuchs, much less Julius Rosenberg, fail to flee, since Philby was allegedly aware of the FBI's activities long before their arrests? These and many other questions come to mind as one looks at the FBI's gimmicky spy story, which they have sought to plant all over again through Radosh and Milton.

Jewish American progressives need to be especially aware of the anti-Semitic prejudices that the work may foster. First of all, Harry Gold is portrayed as becoming a Soviet spy largely because of his belief that the Soviet Union had abolished anti-Semitism and turning against the Soviets when he became "aware" of "Soviet anti-Semitism" after World War II. The work also attempts to show how a group of Jewish City College graduates and friends with engineering and scientific backgrounds formed an industrial "branch" within the Communist party that was dissolved during World War II to facilitate their involvement in espionage. The fact that there were no Jewish jurors in the New York city jury that convicted the Rosenbergs is seen as coincidental by the authors. Also, the portrayal of Julius Rosenberg as a clannish conspirator who promised his compatriots profits for their postwar business from AMTORG (the Soviet trading agency) as a reward for their espionage, conforms to age old anti-Semitic stereotypes of Jews as disloyal and greedy. Finally, the authors repeat anti-Communist

slanders that the CPUSA only involved itself in the case to detract attention from the anti-Semitic aspects of the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia and then preferred to have the Rosenbergs die and become political martyrs rather than gain a stay of execution!

Harry Gold, of course, was a mentally disturbed person whose ramblings are as trustworthy as those of Marius Van der Lubbe, the insane former Dutch Communist whom the Nazis used to frame the German Communist party and the Comintern for the Reichstag fire. The friends and the sons of Julius Rosenberg stand (along with the Rosenberg's eloquent prison letters) as powerful testimony against the Greenglass, FBI stereotype of him. The absence of Jewish jurors can, however Radosh and Milton seek to twist the facts, be seen only as a device by which the government prosecutors sought to insure their case. Also, the authors conveniently ignore the fact that CPUSA activists were aiding the Rosenbergs from the beginning of the nightmare; that party and pro-party people on the *Guardian* helped develop the mass opposition to the case; and that known Communists like Herbert Aptheker and Lew Moroze played an active role in the defense mobilizations. The CPUSA's low profile in the early stages of the defense movement was a result of the fact that the Rosenbergs did not proclaim their CPUSA affiliations at the trial, and that the party itself was being driven underground in the early 1950s, its leaders in prison or in hiding, its members endlessly threatened and harassed by the very FBI whose evidence forms the basis of the Radosh-Milton work. Under these circumstances, it was believed that a much more open defense of the Rosenbergs by the CPUSA would have done them more damage than good and would have aided those forces who were attempting to use the hysteria of the period to carry out the mass arrests of Communists.

After the CPUSA took a bigger role in the defense campaign following the 1952 elections (in which anti-Communism and spy hysteria had played an important role) the enemies of the Rosenbergs sought to use the Slansky case to disrupt the defense campaign while others involved in the campaign sought to link the two cases. Although many people in the latter category were and are well meaning, just as many people in the peace movement today who attempt to "balance" criticisms of U.S. imperialism with attacks on Soviet policies are well meaning, one must note that such policies usually shatter united front coalitions and make effective mass action impossible. In this regard, one should note that the Coin-

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Israel: A U.S. Strategic Asset **By Meir Vilner**

Published below is part of a speech delivered by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, in the Israeli Knesseth on July 13, 1983. This was translated by David Fried from *Der Veg*, July 26 and August 2, 1983.

There is much talk about a top secret regarding Israel's foreign policy, its existence and the threat to its existence.

The strategic agreement between Israel and the U.S.A. that was signed in November 1981 in the U.S.A., with whose contents we are all familiar, declares the Soviet Union an enemy of Israel and Israel an enemy of the Soviet Union. The strategic agreement locks in military cooperation, as it is placed in the agreement, "against the drive in the region on the part of the Soviet Union." It obligates joint effort in the military sphere and in other areas that flow from this.

This agreement was never annulled, keeping in mind the temporary game play of anger and differences, demagogically exploited since the annexation of the Golan Heights. Specific sections may have been suspended and not yet fully enforced, for the purposes of maneuverability by both sides. The key sections are in force. For example, the war in Lebanon, the partnership with South Africa, involvement in the spread of atomic weapons, assistance to despotic regimes in Africa, as Zaire; military assistance to the fascist regimes in South America along with the United States; in addition, support of Honduras against Nicaragua; support of the despots of El Salvador and others; actions to undermine the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. All this is in the process of being furthered. Israel has become the key bridge for American penetration into the Middle East — Egypt, Lebanon and other regions of the world.

This foreign policy is horrendous, especially for Israel. It is not built on rational, reasoned deliberations in the interest of Israel. The foreign policy is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet. Israel's security is in danger, placing her very existence in danger.

There are capitalist regimes that espouse of course a capitalist ideology. However, they pursue an independent course to serve their real needs and not foreign interests; they do not ally themselves with the global plans of the big foreign powers. These include Sweden, India, Switzerland, Austria, Finland and other states.

The actual national interests of Israel reveal that Israel finds itself close to the Soviet borders. The national interests of Israel reveal that Israel finds itself in the Arab

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world. It reveals further that American support comes from a further distance and is very weak. Only a policy of national independence, a policy of peace, non-alliance and of neutrality further the highest national interests of the State of Israel.

What is really happening is that American military and economic help for Israel are for more wars, more blood letting, more sacrificing, And, as a result, the economy and living standards in Israel are getting worse and her political interest as well as her economic conditions are being circumscribed. We are approaching a condition of becoming completely an American vassal whose army is exploited for American interests.

Simcha Dinitz, a former ambassador to the U.S.A., stated in *Ha-Eretz*, 7/10/83: "The U.S. citizen understands that to strengthen Israel not only saves money for the U.S.A., but also U.S. lives. If you view Israel as employing American airplanes in the Middle East, then one must reflect on how much it would cost the U.S.A. to employ her own resources to pursue her aims against the Communists."

These are lucid words. Israel is not a state, in which are found American military bases. She is, rather, in toto, a military base, or as *Ha-Eretz* placed it, 7/1/83:

"Many have asked themselves why the American government offers help to Israel . . . The basic reason is American interests . . . Now has come the decision of the American military comptroller that without reservation he considers Israel a strategic asset for the United States. What this amounts to is that the U.S.A. has American wings in the Middle East to be employed against the Soviet Union. This being the case, the Americans have made a good deal.

"As for the bottom line — he acknowledges the role of American help compared with the security interests of Israel. There can be no confusion that we give up more than we receive in return from the U.S.A. The largest portion of the sum is given as a loan which we will have to repay."

U.S.S.R. Not An Enemy

From what we have said before, we are paying with money and blood to serve American interests.

Beyond the ideological aspects and the foreign policy interests there is an approach of a terrible illusion that with American help it will be possible to annex the Gaza Strip and the West Bank and tie them to Israel, to liquidate the Palestinian problem. This is absurd, political blindness lacking in historical perspective for what has transpired, for the present and what the morrow will bring. There is talk about driving away the Palestinian
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people. If we pursue such politics then we will place in jeopardy the very existence of the State of Israel.

Those who would face reality and the unfolding of History with an open mind must ask themselves: Which national interest is involved in declaring the Soviet Union an enemy of Israel and Israel an enemy of the Soviet Union? The Soviet position is not anti-Israel. It is essential to recall the last highly significant statement made at a press conference by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on 4/2/83: "We sympathize with the Arab struggle and we stand for peace in the Middle East. We are also for the existence of Israel as a state. No one can argue that we have changed our position regarding the existence of Israel as an independent state alongside the State of Palestine. This remains, to this date, our position. We do not side with the Arab extremists who pursue the liquidation of the State of Israel. This is neither realistic nor just. Israel, however, must be a peace-loving state; she must carry on proper relations with her neighbors. We are for that type of Israel. When we supported an independent Israel, we voted for a peaceful Israel and not for an aggressive Israeli state. We would like to see that the healthy and realistic forces assume the leadership in the political and general life of the community, those elements who are for peace with her neighbors."

This is the position and it has never changed. To declare such a country an enemy of Israel means to work against the interests of Israel. The Soviet Union has at all times differentiated between the people of Israel and the State of Israel, between her government and her politics. That which the Soviet Union proposes is correct and realistic. It is a terrible illusion that is drawn by the foreign minister, I Shamir, when he said in the Knesseth that everytime we occupied territory, we won thereby. These words are to be kept in mind when he identifies the State of Israel with all of Eretz Israel which involves the occupation and annexation of all of Palestine.

Since the Palestinians have agreed to recognize the State of Israel within its June 4, 1967 borders, then the die hard Israeli political leaders ought to accept it since full occupation and annexation can cause us to lose all.

The carrying out of the U.S.-Israeli strategic memorandum has cost us in Lebanon alone up to 506 deaths and 2750 wounded, not considering the fatal impact upon our politics, economy and morale.

All signs point to the fact that there will be a broadening and actualizing of the strategic memorandum to carry out the planned objectives — to prepare a war against Syria in the event that the political, economic and other pressures prove not to be effective. □

Issam Sawarti's Last Address

Sent by the Palestine Liberation Organization to the Socialist International Conference in Al Bufeira, Portugal, Issam Sawarti was originally accepted as an observer, but after Israeli objections, Sawarti attended as a guest of Socialist International Chairman Willy Brandt.

Issam Sawarti was refused permission to present the following address to the Socialist International. It was read in his honor following his assassination.

Dear Chairman Brandt,

It gives me great pleasure to communicate to the SI Congress, through you, the greetings and best wishes of the people of Palestine and their sole legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It is indeed an historic occasion of particular importance and significance that the PLO was invited to the SI Congress as an observer and that it has accepted to participate in the proceedings of the present Congress in this capacity. This auspicious event crowns the dedicated multilateral efforts which unfolded patiently, persistently, but with great commitment and dedication, over a period of several years. I will leave it to professional Historians to chronicle the enormous overt and covert activity which paved the way to this evolution, but permit myself to acknowledge with gratitude and appreciation your great contribution, Mr. Chairman, and those of the leadership of the SI, and particularly Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

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telpro files show that the agents of the FBI often introduced attacks on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries into progressive organizations in attempts to destroy the political effectiveness of those organizations. cointelpro documents also reveal that the FBI made a special campaign directed at Jewish Communists (many of whom were on its lists to be placed in political concentration camps) concerning "Soviet anti-Semitism" to get them to resign from the CPUSA.

In essence, Radosh and Milton, using the censored FBI documents, informers, slanderous gossip by embittered ex-Communists like John Gates have not so much analyzed the Rosenberg case as they have reproduced the political climate of the cold war that provided the background for their execution. Thus, they have produced an anti-Rosenberg polemic that "blames the victims" for their victimization, justifying anti-

Under your gifted leadership, Mr. Chairman, the Socialist International broke from its previous Eurocentric confines to the broad expanses of internationalism, Third World involvement, and North-South preoccupation. Its hallowed doors opened up, true to its historic vocation and philosophical commitments, to admit representatives of the suffering and needy peoples of the world, and to espouse their urgently pressing causes. The persecuted and underprivileged peoples of Africa, Central and South America, and even Asia, turned to the SI for help, and found in it refuge and succor.

One needy and suffering people seemed to be forgotten by the SI, Mr. Chairman, as they were forgotten by the rest of the world. Yes indeed, the Palestinians, my people, were forgotten. It may be claimed, in retroactive apology, that it is the manifest historic destiny of my people to suffer alone so that their tragic suffering might redeem the world and change it for the better.

The Socialist International, Mr. Chairman, is particularly qualified to play a constructive role in bringing to an end the martyrdom of the Palestinian people, by contribution to the establishment of a just and honorable peace in the Middle East. Success in such an undertaking calls for a number of requirements: even-handedness, courage and clear vision.

A constructive role cannot unfold without even-handedness. Recognizing one side of the conflict alone, or surrendering to one-sided pressure to exclude the other party, is counter-productive. It even harms the long-range interests of the side exerting pressure. The SI must dissociate itself from such attitudes and must deal with all parties in the conflict impartially.

Communism and anti-Sovietism while apologizing for the anti-Semitism that was central to the case with specious connections to the Slansky trial.

In conclusion, this work should inspire activists around the movement to Re-open the Rosenberg case to redouble their efforts, since only a major public investigation using *uncensored* and complete FBI files and following all leads can provide a real re-examination of the case. Those who seek to use anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism inside the Rosenberg defense movement, to revive old recriminations, are merely aiding Radosh, Milton and the FBI in both burying the case and using *The Rosenberg File* as a vehicle to advance the revival of the cold war. Additionally, one may again recommend the just-published expanded edition of the study by the Schneiers referred to earlier. □

Norman Markowitz is a professor of History at Rutgers University.

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Without a clear vision and the correct identification of the necessary ingredients of a just and honorable peace, no progress can be made. At the center of the Middle Eastern conflict stand the Palestinian people with their legitimate claims to their inalienable right of self-determination, their right to establish a state of their own on part of their patrimony, their right to settle the Palestinian refugee problem through return or compensation in accordance with UN resolutions, and their uncontestated right to choose freely their own legitimate representative, the PLO. Recognition of these inalienable rights is the first pressing task which faces the SI and which, for all the obvious moral and political reasons, can no further be delayed.

The second task is the exertion of pressure to bring about the participation of the PLO in the search for peace in the Middle East. Without such participation, no such peace is possible.

A negotiated settlement of the Middle East conflict is the only civilized option facing all of us. In appreciation of this principle, the PLO promulgated a series of historically important resolutions, which, Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring to your attention, and through you, to the attention of all *concerned parties*.

As far back as 1977, the thirteenth Palestinian National Council passed a series of remarkable resolutions. First and foremost, it promulgated a resolution unprecedented in the annals of human conflict by authorizing dialogue with the progressive and democratic forces in Israel. The invitation was accepted by some forces, like the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, Sheli, and Rakakh, among others. I salute these Israeli democratic and progressive forces and acknowledge their contribution to peace. It is unfortunate that other Israeli forces which define themselves as progressive and democratic, and participate under these labels in international progressive and democratic bodies, have refused so far to participate in this peaceful dialogue!

The thirteenth PNC redefined formally the Palestinian National objective as the establishment of a Palestinian State in any part of Palestine from which Israeli forces withdraw, or which is liberated. The significance as such a resolution needs no comment.

The fourteenth PNC, which convened in 1979, endorsed the Baghdad Summit resolutions, which defined the collective Arab target as a "just and durable peace in the Middle East based upon the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories occupied in the war of 1967 and the implementation of Palestinian national rights as defined by UN resolution." *b3* By doing that, the Baghdad Summit revoked, incidentally, the three NOs of Sept./Oct., 1983

The Bitter Year: Arabs Under Israeli Occupation 1982

By Jack Sampson

"The Bitter Year: Arabs Under Israeli Occupation 1982," published by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, 1611 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009. 1983.

The Bitter Years sets itself the task of informing the world and especially the American people of the barbarities inflicted upon the Palestinian people by the Begin government and its supporters during the year of 1982. It obviously intends by exposing these crimes to pressure the Israeli authorities, to at least diminish their nefarious activities. But surely its primary thrust must be to reach the hearts of the American people who can, more than any other force, compel an end to this suffering. The necessity of such an appeal is sharply illustrated by the callousness of a Congressional committee which, within 24 hours of the Shatila and Sabra massacres, voted to increase aid to Israel by \$335,000,000.

This report by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee is a thoroughly convincing indictment. The evidence presented is not only voluminous but is so specific and so documented as to be beyond doubt; almost every charge is supported by more than one source including those of Israeli and American origins; further verification is provided by Amnesty In-

Khartoum. Again, the significance of this resolution is self-evident.

Going even further in affirming its will to peace, the PLO endorsed, in the fifteenth PNC, the Brezhnev peace plan, which, significantly enough, contained an explicit paragraph guaranteeing the right of all the states in the area, including Israel, to live in security and sovereignty.

Caping all these resolutions, the last PNC, in February of this year, re-endorsed the Brezhnev Plan and ratified the Fez Summit resolutions.

This impressive legislative record demonstrated beyond any shadow of a doubt that the PLO is committed to a just, honorable, and lasting peace in the Middle East, in word and deed.

It is now the moral duty of the world to recognize this impressive position and the duty of the other parties to reciprocate.

In this direction, Mr. Chairman, lies the role of the SI and its member parties.

Thank you,

Issam Sartawi

□

ternational and other independent agencies.

The reader is stunned first by the extent and scope of the cruelties being visited upon the Palestinians. Upwards of 15,000 people are being detained, some 7,000 without charges. No lists of prisoners have been issued, no visits are permitted, and no investigations of prison conditions, even by the Red Cross, are allowed. Add to this collective punishment of entire communities, such as the village of Bowika where the inhabitants were forbidden to leave thus preventing them from earning their living.

The reader is shocked also by the extent and the depth of the violence inflicted by the Israeli perpetrators. Almost 300 Palestinians were shot by Israeli security forces resulting in 25 deaths. Beating of prisoners is standard operating procedure. Particularly revolting was the beating and humiliation of a Palestinian physician, Dr. Nabl, discussed and attested to by Norwegian medical personnel. The violence included the blowing up of the homes of "suspects."

The denial of rights supposedly guaranteed by the "only democracy in the Middle East" is ubiquitous. It includes closed trials (often to conceal injuries received in prison), removal of elected officials, expulsion of teachers who refuse to sign loyalty oaths, the exiling of political activists and the banning of thousands of books. There is little or no recourse because all complaints must be heard in Israeli courts operating under Israeli laws with Palestinian lawyers barred from representing plaintiffs.

Other abuses reveal more overtly the intent of the oppression. The intent is to absorb the occupied Arab lands into Israel and to create and maintain a large pool of cheap Arab labor. The first step to achieve these objectives is to prevent Arab development of the land. For example, in the West Bank, 53% of the water is reserved for Israeli settlements. Restrictions are placed on Arab construction. More directly, Arab lands are appropriated by the military for "security reasons" and then are subsequently turned over to Israeli settlers.

The pool of cheap labor has already been created. This was accomplished by outlawing both strikes and unions. One instrumentality to facilitate this is the identity card without which, a la apartheid, one cannot work. This official aid for Israeli profiteers is supplemented by the wide-spread employment of children. The downgrading of Palestinian schools as well as the general poverty ensure a steady supply of juvenile laborers.

The imposition of brutalities inevitably brutalizes those who impose them. Such practices as settlers shooting from bus windows at Palestinians prompted an Is-

raeli major to observe: "In the West Bank we are losing our human image." When an Israeli officer, in another instance, came to a settlement in search of a colonist who had shot and killed a little boy, he was asked "Did you come to give him a medal?" Dragging prisoners by their hair and beating them to death are more than rare occurrences.

To wrap all of this in an impenetrable package, the Israelis have banned 3,000 books including works by Che Guevara and Arthur Miller; practically all modern Palestinian poetry is verboten. Not only are all Palestinian newspapers censored but they are forbidden to indicate that they have been censored!

But these injustices are not unknown to U.S. embassy officials who have received numerous complaints from U.S. citizens of Arab extraction for having been subjected to these inequities. Needless to say, they have failed absolutely in their obligation to protect these U.S. nationals. And well might one expect such failure from the representatives of a gov't which, in violation of its own laws, has, as the report relates, supplied Israel with cluster bombs, white phosphorus munitions and other death dealing weapons.

Though *The Bitter Year* is almost encyclopedic in its breadth, it leaves out a broad category of Begin-sponsored atrocities — those committed by the Christian Phalange who have been given carte blanche to do as they please with the defenseless Palestinians in southern Lebanon.

The Report errs when it says:

"The oppression of Jews anywhere . . . is viewed by the U.S. policy makers as a profound human tragedy. On the other hand, violation of the rights of Arabs, when viewed at all, are cautiously termed 'potential obstacles to the peace process.' "

U.S. Imperialism is no defender of the Jews or of any other people. Indeed it has aided and abetted anti-Semites in South Africa, Argentina, Chile, etc. Rather the Report might have deepened the understanding of its readers by tying the support given to the torturers in El Salvador, Guatemala, South Korea, and elsewhere.

Despite these shortcomings, *The Bitter Year* can be a valuable tool for those who seek a just and peaceful solution for the Middle East crisis. Its broad dissemination among the American people, including Jewish Americans, can not help but evoke feelings of indignation and a desire to alter the reactionary direction of the Reagan foreign policy in the region.

Jack Sampson is a retired N.Y. high school teacher.

The Scholarship of Cold War Hate By Ron Kent

On June 2, 1983 *The New York Review of Books* carried Abraham Brumberg's review of Michael Checinski's, "Poland: Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism." We are publishing below Ron Kent's critique of that review which was rejected by the NYRB.

Dear People:

In his review of the volume of Michael Checinski's "*Poland: Communism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism*" (NYRB, June 2, 1983), Abraham Brumberg trots out all the usual cold-war "hate-the-commies" rhetoric to substantiate his main thesis that you assure us socialism does not work (especially for Jews), communists are no better than fascists (Endecja = PUWP), and reformed capitalism, with an anarcho-syndicalist-Solidarity twist, is with a few corrections, the panacea for Polish (and Jewish) problems. As with other cold-war apparachiks, Mr. Brumberg apparently thinks that footnotes placed behind his wild charges would lend credibility to his charges. His and Checinski's approach tends more toward the hypostatization of cynicism than an accurate rendering of history. Charges framed in gossip characterize both the reviewer and the author throughout their respective works.

Mr. Brumberg believes that, "Some (Soviet and Polish) sic guerilla units killed Jews along with Nazis." Were these people who informed for the Nazis or acted with the local police rounding up victims for the camps? Brumberg never tells us. He doesn't perceive that Jews and Poles are people, possessive of good and bad elements. He also "believes" that the Communists of both Soviet and Polish varieties made anti-Semitism "an instrument" that in some way "benefited" the larger goals of socialism. Moreover, he then cites study after study supporting the above cold-war mythologies, using along the way a very select series of articles and histories written by professional cold warriors (e.g., Richard T. Davies, former ambassador to Poland, 1973-1978), a curious sample of dissidents (some of whom worked for CIA-funded Radio Free Europe) and distortions of official Polish archives. (Readers should also note parenthetically that Mr. Brumberg has recently edited a volume entitled *Poland: Genesis of a Revolution*, Vintage, 1983, where Radio Free Europe is used as a reliable source for article documentation and the entire volume is Sept./Oct., 1983

praised with a cover blurb by none other than Mr. Zbigniew Brezinski). Furthermore, Mr. Brumberg clumsily assumes that because protests occurred in Poland in 1968 and at other times, that no CIA involvement was present. Alas, CIA destabilization of Poland, as in Chile, is alien to deep thinkers. Such naivete in 1983 will not win logic awards.

However, what is most disturbing is what Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski *do not* tell us. Just as others have tried to trivialize Communists-Socialists-Left Zionists-Jewish Resistance against fascism and anti-Semitism in World War II, Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski also attempt this crude inversion of history, thereby covering for world capitalism's creation of the fascist war machines. Anyone who has studied in the YIVO archives and examined the full field of general and European resistance literature will quickly see that Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski are crude propagandists. While no one will deny that anti-Semitism existed in pre-World-War-II Poland and, to a far lesser degree, in post-war Poland, it is historically inaccurate to equate directly or indirectly the right wing rag *Polish Self-Defense* published by followers of the old anti-Semitic National Democratic Party, with the policies of the PUWP, or to imply that mimeo articles published by so-called "underground" anti-Semitic presses (which occasionally are paid for by other lumpen and fascist left-over elements and the CIA) are given "tacit" support by PUWP. This is pure historical invention. Do fascists (Nazis or otherwise) march "freely" in Poland or do they march in Milwaukee, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington . . . ? Where in the entire U.S.A., Federal Republic of Germany, England, or Canada is a memorial statue standing to the Warsaw ghetto fighters and other resistance fighters to remind us of their sacrifice? In People's Poland such memorials are common, honoring Jews, Righteous Gentiles, Communists, Socialists, Left-Zionists, and people of good will as equals. If Poland were truly "free" of CIA and other clandestine economic and political interference and sabotage, which is financed to the tune of millions, would Poland's economy prosper and perhaps many tensions including any residual anti-Semitism be significantly weakened if not destroyed? Serious scholars need to ponder the above questions. Scholars deserve access through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to all CIA, OSS, and Radio Free Europe files where scholars might find some handsome evidence of ex-Nazis/SS officers working a la Klaus Barbie to intensify not only anti-socialist hatred but anti-Semitism in Poland and the entire European theatre. However, Mr.

Brumberg and Mr. Checinski in their rush to judgment do not carefully analyze such potential sources. Anonymous sources are substituted for solid research work.

In Poland and the Soviet Union, anti-Semitism is a *criminal act*, punishable with stiff sentences, while in "free" capitalism, Klaus Barbie and other fascist butchers of the Jews and their allies are allowed to adopt new identities and read radio broadcasts over Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Such horrors do not even enter the minds of the above authors. In 1982 alone, American Jewish organizations reported over 900 anti-Semitic attacks. Moreover, who have ever gone to jail in the United States for anti-Semitic crimes, and anti-Semitism is not a criminal act in the "free" world.

Jews, Righteous Gentiles, and all people of good will should be outraged by Mr. Brumberg's and Mr. Checinski's dogmatic, pious, and unsubstantiated historical invective. Readers may be interested to know that there are other histories on Poland and other lands that expose the tired, gray demagogic hate studies selectively cited by the above authors. Particularly significant is the study cited by Moshe Kaganowitch, *The War of the Jewish Partisans in Eastern Europe*, Central Union of the Polish Jews in Argentina, Buenos Aires, 1965; Yuri Suhl's work, *They Fought Back*, Crown Publishers, New York, 1967; the YIVO archives and works such as Max Weinreich's *Hitler's Professors*, *YIVO-Bleter*, Journal of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, Vol. 27, No. 2, 1946. The latter study shows that Jews were in the forefront along with Communists and others in the heroic Byelorussian resistance to Nazi-fascism. There are other significant works that Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski conveniently ignored that are written in Yiddish, Hebrew, Polish, German, Russian, and other languages. Especially relevant would be the *Bleter Far Geszichte*, Warsaw: Vol. XIV, 1961, wherein Professor Ber Mark, a leading holocaust historian and the late director of the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw, clearly documents the valiant efforts of Jews, Righteous Gentiles, Socialists, Communists and others to resist Hitler-fascism.

More outrageous, however, is the omission by Mr. Brumberg and the selective treatment by Mr. Checinski of the contributions of Emmanuel Ringelblum, world-famous historian of Polish Jewry. After the Warsaw ghetto uprising, Ringelblum was deported by the Nazis to the SS-camp Trawniki, near Lublin. And, as Suhl notes, "the (Polish) underground arranged for his rescue by two underground railway workers, an eighteen-year-old Jewish girl and a Polish railway man, and he

was reunited with his wife and son who were sheltered by a Pole in a bunker on the Aryan side, together with thirty-four other Jews. . . ." Ringelblum continued his work on the Archives and during the last months of 1943 wrote two important works: *Polish-Jewish Relationships During the Second World War* and a series of biographical sketches (of resisters and others) (Suhl, pp. 123-124). The above studies are now in the Jewish Historical Institute of Warsaw, Poland, and are invaluable to scholars who wish to research the historical relation between Jews, Poles, Socialists, Communists and others in a more balanced way than proposed by Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski.

The damage done by Mr. Brumberg and Company with such puerile studies is that they tend to keep millions of U.S. Jews and Jews throughout the world and their allies ignorant of all sides of the history of Polish-Jewish resistance to anti-Semitism.

Several other considerations also escape Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski. We know from the YIVO archives that the Land Army directed by the London Polish Provisional Government was permeated with anti-Semitic elements, while the left-wing People's Guard did not tolerate this kind of criminal activity. However, there were brave fighters who died fighting fascism in each of these groups as well. This is not discussed thoroughly by either author. Also, nothing is said about Polish Jews who were deported to Poland from the United States, Germany, or other nations in the 1920s and 1930s for political radicalism. These dissidents do not appear to interest our human rights activists. Only select pro-capitalist types or anarcho-syndicalists like Kuron figure in their scenario.

Similarly, in a particularly cynical historical disinformation blunder, Mr. Blumberg and Mr. Checinski covertly attempt to place the blame for the horrible anti-Semitic attack and murder of Jews in Kielce on July 4, 1946, upon Socialists and Communists by inference. However, the official government was a government of national unity made up mainly of the Socialist Party (PPS), Communists, and the Polish Peasant's Alliance. Many fascist and lumpen elements had also survived the war and lived in Poland with the victims of the repression. The Socialists and Communists fought these elements openly. Many persons of good will died in the clashes. It was not until 1947 that the PUWP gained a majority in national elections. While Mr. Brumberg et al. admit that some of the murderers were tried, sentenced, and executed, they do not provide any hard historical proof to substantiate their gross innuendo that either Socialist and/or Communists were involved and

officially or "tacitly" sanctioned the brutal actions.

Correspondingly, Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski fail to mention any of the many Anglo-American attempts to destabilize Poland in the 1944-1948 period. Their critique, therefore, is one-sided in the extreme. Mr. Brumberg stumbles again a la Catch 22 when he accused General Jaruzelski of a cynical move in honoring the Warsaw resistance fighters, when Jaruzelski was a resistance fighter himself as a youth in Poland! In the case of the Kielce massacre, the Communists are damned when they don't demonstrate and damned when they do. It is indeed sadly ironic that in this period, 1944-1948, the United States was hiring the likes of Klaus Barbie to help Anglo-American intelligence agencies undermine socialist movements after World War II.

Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski may want to look deep inside capitalism and its allied institutions, not within socialism, for the main actors in European and Polish anti-Semitism. Scholars will need to research primary sources in Poland not tainted by the CIA brush and all CIA, OSS, Radio Free Europe files to gain a truly historical perspective of Polish anti-Semitism, the role of covert action and the role of socialism in the lives of Jews and all people of Poland. Also, the U.S.-West Berlin archives are still closed to scholars — a fact that also could stand some research. Whether the U.S. government is ready for this scholarly POIA search may indeed be dubious. Attempts, nevertheless, need to be launched.

In spite of premature obituaries by expatriate pseudo-scholars and their admirers, the small Polish-Jewish community still *lives* and continues its rich traditions in art, music, theatre, literature, and struggle. Serious readers, Jews, and non-Jews, should *question the work of Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski and draw their own conclusions after reading all sides* of the issues raised herein. We may also learn from the wise hudibrastic verse of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663) as a cautionary tale for reading the histories of Mr. Brumberg and Mr. Checinski, to wit:

He was in Logick a great Critick,
Profoundly skill'd in Analytick.
He could distinguish, and divide
A Hair'twixt South and South-West side;
On either which he would dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute.
He'd undertake to prove by force
Of Argument, a Man's no Horse.

Tributes to Abe Wise

We publish below the remarks of Lewis M. Moroze, managing editor of Jewish Affairs and Chairman of the Jewish Commission of the CPUSA at the funeral services for Abe Wise, on June 27, 1983.

The noble but much ravaged heart of our beloved and highly respected comrade, Abe Wise, ceased to beat on Friday last.

This tragic blow has brought us together to pay our respects and to offer some words of solace to his wife and comrade Eva and the loved ones he left behind.

We are gathered here to pay tribute to a comrade in the struggle for socialism, an outstanding workingclass leader, an exemplar of the finest progressive traditions of the Jewish people and all peoples; a principled and courageous advocate of proletarian internationalism; relentless unbending in his opposition to national chauvinism, racism and anti-Semitism, staunch friend of the great Soviet Union and determined advocate of world peace and detente.

Our words for Eva are not words of mourning but of praise for a comrade who was a charter member of the Communist Party of Canada and of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. Abe's life was dedicated to unceasing struggle against the class enemy and the opportunists. His sights were clear and unbending in the struggle for the workingclass and for friendship amongst the peoples of the world.

Abe Wise made singular contributions over the years to the work of the Jewish Commission and to the Magazine, *Jewish Affairs*.

During my period of service with *Jewish Affairs* Abe was unable to participate fully in the work because of his protracted and debilitating illness. We did, however, communicate by phone about the work of the Jewish Commission and *Jewish Affairs*.

The horrendous pressures of reactionary nationalism found Abe firm in his internationalist outlook. Abe was cognizant of the new forces arising among American Jews and within Israel. Abe correctly assessed the sig-

He'd prove a Buzard is no Fowl,
And that a Lord may be an Owl;
A Calf an Alderman, a Goose a Justice,
And Rooks Committee-men and Trustees.

The scholarship of cold-war hate is no scholarship at all.

Ron Kent is a Milwaukee trade union official.

nificance of the rise of New Jewish Agenda with its outlook for broad people's coalitions.

It was Abe's longstanding confidence in the mass of American Jews, the young people in particular, based upon his experience in the trade unions, the Jewish People's Fraternal Order and in the Jewish Cultural Clubs that brought him into the work of the National Jewish Commission in the turbulent 60's.

During this stormy period Abe saw clearly the need for a rigorous principled struggle against ethnocentrism, against national chauvinism and national arrogance which was overtaking sections of American Jews and disorienting other sections of the people of the U.S.

It was with the support of such comrades as Abe Wise that Hy Lumer and Alex Kolkin fought to bring to life *Jewish Affairs* thirteen years ago. Abe's continuing political, organizational and financial support made it possible for *Jewish Affairs* to take solid root. Abe's work in the Jewish Commission was of great significance.

I spoke last with Abe a couple of weeks prior to our 11th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner. Abe proposed that he would set a date for us to meet soon after the Dinner and my cross-country tour with Wolf Ehrlich of the Communist Party of Israel. However, Abe's much weakened heart could not hold out, denying me the opportunity of meeting with this fine comrade in person.

Abe promoted progressive Jewish culture and exuded confidence in the future exemplified by Moissaye Olgin with whom he worked closely in the publication, "*Der Hamer*."

Today Abe would say that this is no time for tears but for drawing strength from the new that is arising, from the burgeoning peoples coalitions for an end to racism and anti-Semitism, for Jobs with Peace and for a world at peace

Today Abe would ask us to draw strength in the upsurge among our youth as exemplified in the program of New Jewish Agenda and in the birth of the Young Communist League. These youth are standing on the shoulders of the giants who went before, giants like Abe Wise.

Abe, we pledge you that the work will go on. The people's aspirations will not be denied at home and throughout the world.

●

Below we publish the remarks of Lou Kalb on behalf of the Communist Party of N.Y.

Abe Wise was truly a revolutionary. His entire life was spent fighting against the evils of capitalism —

exploitation of workers, unemployment, poverty, racism and anti-Semitism, war and fascism.

He saw in socialism and the first socialist state born during the Great October Revolution, the Soviet Union, the hope for mankind to lift itself from the morass of capitalism and imperialism.

From this vision Abe Wise never retreated, never capitulated even in the face of the most massive media and propaganda attacks ever directed against any state, as were and are being directed against the socialist Soviet Union.

Like many others, Abe left Europe and went to live in Canada, where because of his trade union activity he was soon blacklisted from employment. He found it necessary to leave Canada and seek work and a livelihood in the United States.

Once again he threw himself into trade union and socialist activity. In the course of this activity he came to see the newly formed Communist Party of the United States as the vehicle for his hopes and dreams for a better world. He became a charter member of the C.P.U.S.A.

In the 30's he joined other members of his Party in marching with tens of thousands of anti-fascists in demonstrations against Hitler and Nazi-fascist atrocities. He helped the Communist Party organize in the shops and Jewish communities the massive fight for social security and unemployment insurance during the "Great Depression" days of the 30's.

With his co-workers on the *Morning Freiheit*, Moissaye Olgin and others, he helped organize the magazine, "*Der Hamer*" to spread the ideas of class struggle trade unionism and socialism.

In later years he was appointed to the National Jewish Commission of the C.P.U.S.A. where he helped to struggle against the ideas of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism that were beginning to seep into the Jewish communities and that affected even the left Yiddish press.

We, his comrades in the Communist Party, will miss Abe Wise — his clarity of mind and purpose, his ability to articulate and organize.

The better world that he fought for will be won, but as Abe Wise knew, only with continuing and sharp struggle. □

To My Birthday By Eda Beck

Swift like the wind,
Go the days of our lives —
I count them . . .
I cherish them . . .
Those gone — those to come.

My contemporaries:
Let's evaluate!
Let's celebrate!

Each wrinkle,
Each shiny grey hair . . .
We look at our world —
And we know we were there!

With pride,
We recall
The days of our strife . . .
The battles we fought —
The victories won.

The forty-hour week,
Revolutionary in those days . . .
The labor movement, trade unions —
We built to stay.

Unemployment insurance
Social security — civil rights
To them we gave birth
Our contribution to history Americana
For all that it's worth

Know: our young
All this was not handed to us
On a platter of gold —
We struggled; we fought
A militant legacy
Many years old.

My friends through
Our land
You, who are growing older
I give you my hand.
Sept./Oct., 1983

Comrades, through our nation
Come, let's celebrate
The days of our living
The hardships, the joys —
The harvest of our giving . . .

I greet my
New birthday
With a cup of fulfillment
A nostalgic look
At my yesterdays.

Years of knowing
and Growing
Dreams woven of love
And the Romance of living.

How old am I
Ageless, I reply
Of this, I'm sure
I'll be young
'till I die.

Eda Beck, from Los Angeles, a frequent contributor of articles and poetry to Jewish Affairs, is a staunch supporter of the magazine.

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Special **MIDDLE EAST** Issue, **FREEDOM-WAYS** magazine, Volume 23, Numbers 2 and 3. The editors of **Jewish Affairs** salute the editors for this outstanding work.

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פאליטיק איז פאראן אן אויסרעכענונג אדער א געפערלעכע
אילווע, אז מיט דער אמעריקאנער הילף וועט מען קענען
אנעקסירן דעם מערב-ברעג און דעם עזה-פאס און אג-
שליסן צו ישראל, צו ליקווידירן די פאלעסטינער פראג-
לעם. דאס איז אן אבסורד, פאליטישע בלינדקייט און פעלן
פון יעדן היסטארישן געפיל פאר דער פארגאנגענהייט
און פאר דער איצטיקייט און דאס גיט זען דעם מארגן.
מען רעדט אפן וועגן פארטרייבן פון פאלעסטינער פאלק.
אויב מיר וועלן פארזעצן מיט דער דאזיקער פאליטיק
שטעלן מיר אין געפאר די עצם עקזיסטענץ פון מדינת
ישראל.

ווער ס'וויל זען די ווירקלעכקייט און די אנטוויקלונג
מיט אן אפן און פארגונפטיק אויג, דארף זיך פרעגן: וואס
פארא נאציאנאלער אינטערעס שטעקט אין דערקלערן דעם
ראטן-פארבאנד אלס שונא פון ישראל און ישראל אלס
שונא פון ראטן-פארבאנד? די סאָוועטישע שטעלונג איז
גיט קיין אַנטי-ישראלדיקע, ס'איז גייטיק איבערצוזוהרן
און דערמאנען די לעצטע קאמפּעטענטע דערקלערונג פון
סאָוועטישן אויסערן-מיניסטער און וויצע-פרעמיער א.
גראַמיקאָ דעם 2טן אַפּריל 1983, אויף אן עפנטלעכער
פרעסע-קאָנפּערענץ האָט ער געזאָגט:

„מיר סימפאטיזירן מיטן ענין פון אראבישן קאמף
און מיר זיינען פאר שלום אין מיטעלן מזרח; מיר זיינען
אויך פאר דער עקזיסטענץ פון ישראל אלס מדינה. קיינער
קען ניט טענהן לגבי אונדז, אז מיר האבן געענדערט די
שטעלונג לגבי ישראל אלס מדינה. ווען ס'איז באהאנדלט
געווארן די צוקונפט פון פאלעסטינער, האט דער ראטן-
פארבאנד געשטימט לטובת דער אנטשטייאונג פון דער
ישראל מדינה בנ דער זייט פון דער פאלעסטינער מדינה.
דאס איז אויך היינט אונדזער שטעלונג. מיר האלטן ניט
פון דער שטעלונג פון די אראבישע עקסטרעמע קרייזן,
וואס זיינען פאר ליקווידירן ישראל. דאס איז גיט קיין
רעאלע און גיט קיין ריכטיקע אנטוויאונג. ישראל אבער
דארף זיין א שלום-ליבנדיקע מדינה; זי דארף אנהאלטן
גוטע באציאונגען מיט אירע שכנים. מיר זיינען פאר אזא
מדינת ישראל. ווען מיר האבן געשטימט פאר אנטשטייאונג
פון ישראל, האבן מיר געשטימט פאר א שלום-שטרעבנדי-
קע ישראל און גיט פאר אן אגרעסארישע מדינת-ישראל.
מיר וואלטן געוואלט זען, אז די געזונטע און רעאליסטישע
שטעלונגען נעמען אן אויבערהאנט אין דער פאליטיק, אין
פאליטישן און געזעלשאפטלעכן לעבן אין ישראל, טעג-
דענצן וואס זיינען פאר שלום מיט אירע שכנים.“

דאס איז די שטעלונג און זי האט זיך קיין מאל גיט
געענדערט. דערקלערן אויף אזא מדינה אלס שונא פון
ישראל באדייט האנדלען קעגן ישראל גופא. דער ראטן-
פארבאנד האט שטענדיק אונטערשיידט צווישן פאלק פון
ישראל און מדינת-ישראל, צווישן איר רעגירונג און איר
פאליטיק. דאס וואס דער ראטן-פארבאנד שלאגט פאר איז
גערעכט און רעאל.

דאס איז א געפערלעכע אילווע, ווי ס'דריקט זיך

אויס דער אויסערן-מיניסטער י. שאַמיר, ווען ער איז
אויפגעטראטן אין כנסת, אז יעדעס מאל, ווען מיר האבן
אקופירט, האט מען דערמיט איינגעשטימט. ס'איז דערי-
בער לויט אים ניטאָ וועגן וואס זיך צו אַינלן, מען וועט
איינשטימען מיט אלץ. דאס איז די באדייטונג פון זיינע
ווערטער, ריינדיק וועגן דער אייגענטימע צווישן מדינת-
ישראל און ארץ-ישראל. דאס באדייט אקופירן און אנעק-
סירן דעם גאַנצן שטח פון פאלעסטינער.

אויב די פאלעסטינער זיינען איצט מסכים צו אָנער-
קענען מדינת ישראל אין די גרענעצן פון 1967, וואס
וואלטן פארגונפטיקע ישראלדיקע פאליטיקער געדארפט
זיך אנכאַפן אין דעם, ווייל פון פיל אַקופאַציעס, פון פיל
אַנעקסיעס, קענען מיר אין א געוויסן פרימאָרגן פארלירן
אלץ.

דאס אויספירן דעם סטראטעגישן הסכם מיט די פא-
רייניקטע שטאַטן האט אונדז אַפּגעקאַסט בלויז אין לבנון,
ביז איצט, 506 דערהרגעטע און 2,750 פארוואונדעטע,
אויסער אלע אַנדערע פאַטאַלע פאליטישע, עקאָנאָמישע און
מאַראַלישע רעזולטאַטן.

און נאך עפעס: ס'זיינען פאראן פיל פאקטן און
ידיעות וועגן דעם, וואס דער פרעמיער בעגין האט געזאָלט
רעזומירן אין וואַשינגטאָן, ווי אן אויסברייטערונג און
אַקטואַליזירונג פון סטראטעגישן הסכם: וויפל צייט און מיט
וואס פאראַ מיטלען מען זאל דריקן אויף סיריע, בכדי זי
זאל ענדערן איר אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע אַריענטאַציע און איר
באַציונג צום קעמפ-דעיוויד הסכם און צום לבנונער-
ישראלדיקן-אַמעריקאַנער הסכם. אויב סיריע וועט גיט
קאָפּיטולירן, פלאַנירט מען, ביז ווען וועלן ישראל און
די פארייניקטע שטאַטן וואַרטן מיט זייער דאָזיקן דרוק
און ווען וועט זיך אנהויבן דער מיליטערישער אַנגריף
קעגן סיריע אין לבנון און קעגן סיריע אלס מדינה.
כנסת דעפוטאַט רוני מילוא (ליכוד): הונדערט פרא-
צענט ריכטיק.

כנסת-דעפוטאַט מאיר ווילנער: אז די דאָזיקע הנחה
איז א ריכטיקע באַפעסטיקט און באַשטעטיקט דער באַריכט,
וואס ס'איז איצט פאַרעפנטלעכט געוואָרן דורכן אַלגעמיינעם
אַמעריקאַנער פלאַנירונגס-ביראָ וועגן דער אַמעריקאַנער
הילף פאַר ישראל. אין דעם באַריכט זאָגט זיך: „באַאַמטע
פון די ישראלדיקע מאַכט-אַרגאַנען האַלטן, אז ס'איז מעג-
לעך נאָך אַ מלחמה קעגן די אַראַבער.“ אויך אין דער
נייער איבערגרופירונג פון ישראל מיליטער אין לבנון,
וועגן וועלכער ס'גייט איצט די רייד, אַנטהאַלט גיט קיין
דערווייטערונג פון דער ישראל אַרמיי פון געביט, וואס
ווערט באַהערשט דורך דער סירישער אַרמיי אין לבנון.

אַלע צייכנס זאָגן עדות, אזוי אַרום, אז מען גייט אויס-
ברייטערן, אַקטואַליזירן און צופאַסן דעם סטראטעגישן
הסכם אין איינער פון די אַנטשיידנדיקע פונקטן — דאָס
צוגרייטן אַ מלחמה קעגן סיריע, אויב דער פאליטישער,
עקאָנאָמישער און אַנדערער דרוק וועט גיט העלפן.

(פון דער רעדע אין כנסת, דעם 13טן יולי, 1983)

וואָרן, ניט קוקנדיק אויף די צייטווייליקע „ברוגז“ שפילן, ווי דאָס כלומרשטע, פאַרמעלע פאַרהענגען אים, נאָך דער אַנעקסיע פון גולן, געוויסע פאַראַגראַפן זיינען אפּשן פאַר- האַנגען געוואָרן און זיינען נאָך ניט רעאַליזירט געוואָרן, ווי בשותפותדיקע מאַנעווערעס. די עיקר פאַראַגראַפן ווערן אָבער רעאַליזירט. אַלס ביישפּיל קען דינען, למשל, די מלחמה אין לבנון, די שותפות מיט דרום-אַפריקע, איינ- שליסלעך דאָס אַנטוויקלען אַטאָם-וואַפּן; די הילף פאַר דעספּאָטישע רעזשימען אין אַפריקע, ווי אין זאַאיר; מי- ליטערישע הילף פאַר די פאַשיסטישע רעזשימען אין דרום-אַמעריקע צוזאַמען מיט די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן, באַזונדערס פאַר האַנדוראַס קעגן ניקאַראַגוואַ; פאַרן דעס- פאַט פון אל-סאַלוואַדאָר און אַנדערע; די אַקציע פון אונטערגראַבונגען קעגן ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד און די אַנדערע סאַציאַליסטישע לענדער. דאָס אַלץ האַלט זיך ביים אויס- ברייטערן איצט נאָך מער. ישראל איז געוואָרן אַ הויפּט- בריק פון אַמעריקאַנער אַריינדריינגונג אין מיטעלן מזרח — עגיפּטן, לבנון און אַנדערע, ווי אויך אין אַנדערע ראַ- יאָנען אויף דער וועלט.

די דאָזיקע אויסערן-פּאָליטיק איז געפערלעך, קודם- כל פאַר ישראל; זי איז ניט געבויט אויף ראַציאָנעלער רעאַליסטישער אויסרעכענונג פון די ישראלדיקע אינטע- רעסן. דאָס איז אַן אויסערן-פּאָליטיק פון אַן אַנטי-קאָמו- ניסטישער און אַנטי-סאָוועטישער אידעאָלאָגיע. זי איז אָבער אין סתירה צו די ישראלדיקע אינטערעסן, שטעלט אין געפאַר איר זיכערקייט און קען זי פאַרפלאַנטערן אַזוי, אַז איר עקזיסטענץ וועט געשטעלט ווערן אין געפאַר.

ס'זיינען פאַראַן קאַפיטאַליסטישע מדינות, וואָס האַבן די זעלבע אידעאָלאָגיע, זיי פירן אָבער אַ זעלבשטענדיקע פּאָליטיק, לויט זייערע רעאַלע ממשותדיקע אינטערעסן און דינען ניט פרעמדע אינטערעסן, שליסן זיך ניט איין אין גלאַבאַלע פּלענער פון פרעמדע גרויסמאַכטן; אַזעלכע זיינען: שוועדן, אינדיע, שווייצאַריע, עסטרייך, פינלאַנד און אַנדערע מדינות.

מען דאַרף אונטערשיידן צווישן דער אידעאָלאָגיע אין דער אויסערן-פּאָליטיק און דער פּאָליטיק אין איינקלאַנג מיט די נאַציאָנאַלע קאַנקרעטע אינטערעסן. די קאַנקרעטע נאַציאָנאַלע אינטערעסן פון ישראל ווייזן, אַז ישראל גע- פינט זיך נאַענט צו די סאָוועטישע גרענעצן. די קאַנקרעטע נאַציאָנאַלע אינטערעסן פון ישראל ווייזן, אַז ישראל גע- פינט זיך אין דער אַראַבישער וועלט. ער ווייזט נאָך אַן, אַז דער אַמעריקאַנער אַנשפאַר איז אויף אַ לענגערער דיס- טאַנץ זייער אַ שוואַכער אַנשפאַר. בלויז אַ פּאָליטיק פון נאַציאָנאַלער אומאַפהענגיקייט, אַ פּאָליטיק פון שלום, פון ניט-אידענטיפיצירן זיך און פון נייטראַליטעט אַנטשפּרעכט די העכסטע נאַציאָנאַלע אינטערעסן פון מדינת ישראל.

וואָס ס'געשעט איז, אַז אין דער מאַס, ווי ס'שטייגט די אַמעריקאַנער מיליטערישע און עקאָנאָמישע הילף פאַר ישראל, זיינען פאַראַן מער מלחמות, מער בלוט-פאַרגיסונג- גען, מער קרבנות. אַזוי ווערט אויך די עקאָנאָמישע און

געזעלשאַפּטלעכע לאַגע פון ישראל אַלץ ערגער און איר פּאָליטישע אומאַפהענגיקייט און ניט בלויז די עקאָנאָמישע אומאַפהענגיקייט פון ישראל ווערט אַלץ קלענער. מיר דערנענטערן זיך צו אַ לאַגע פון פאַרוואַנדלען זיך פול- שטענדיק אין אַן אַמעריקאַנער וואַסאַל, עפעס ענלעכס צו אַ באַנאַנען-מדינה, די אַרמיי פון וועלכער ווערט אויס- גענוצט פאַר אַמעריקאַנער צילן.

איך קען היינט דאָ ניט ברענגען די פיל ענלעכע אַפּשאַצונגען אין די אינפאַרמאַציע-מיטלען און אין די געזעלשאַפּטלעכע קרייזן. איך וועל ברענגען בלויז צוויי; איינע פון דעם, וועלכער איז געווען ישראל-אַמבאַסאַדאָר אין די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן, שמחה דיניץ, וועלכער האָט געזאָגט פאַרן „האַרץ“ (10.7.83):

„דער אַמעריקאַנער בירגער פאַרשטייט, אַז דאָס שטאַרקן ישראל שפּאַרט איין פאַר אַמעריקע ניט בלויז געלט, נאָר אויך מענטשלעכע לעבנס. אויב איר זעט ישראל אַלס טרעגערין פון אַמעריקאַנער עראַפלאַנען אין מיטעלן מזרח, דאַרף מען נעמען אין באַטראַכט, וויפל עס וואַלט געקאָסט אַמעריקע אויפצושטעלן אַן אייגענעם כח, וואָס זאָל האַמעווען די קאַמוניסטישע אַריינדריינגונג.“

דאָס זיינען קלאַרע ווערטער. ישראל איז ניט קיין מדינה, אין וועלכער עס זיינען פאַראַן אַמעריקאַנער מילי- טערישע באַזעס. זי איז אָבער אין גאַנצן אַן אַמעריקאַנער מיליטערישע באַזע, אַדער ווי ס'האַט געשריבן דער „האַרץ“, דעם 1טן יולי 1983:

„פיל האַבן זיך געפרעגט צוליב וואָס העלפן די אַמע- ריקאַנער רעגירער ישראל... די הויפּט-סיבה זיינען די אַמעריקאַנער אינטערעסן... איצט איז געקומען דער באַ- ריכט פון אַמעריקאַנער מיליטערישן קאַנטראַלער, וואָס זאָגט אונדז מיט אַ פול מויל, אַז ישראל איז טאַקע אַ טראַ- טעגישער פאַרמעגן פאַר די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן. דאָס באַדייט, אַז צה"ל (ישראל אַרמיי) איז דער המשך פון אַמעריקאַנער מיליטערישן פליגל אויף דער זייט פון מי- טעלן מזרח קעגן סאָוועטן-פאַרבאַנד. אויב דאָס איז די סיבה פאַר דער הילף, דאַן מאַכן די אַמעריקאַנער אַ גוטע טראַנזאַקציע.“

„אין דער אונטערשטער שורה — גיט ער צו — וואָס איז דער פאַרנעם פון דער אַמעריקאַנער הילף אין פאַר- גלייך מיט די זיכערהייטס-הוצאות פון ישראל... ס'איז ניטאָ קיין צווייפל, אַז מיר גיבן אויס פילפאַכיק מער אויף צה"ל פון דעם, וואָס מיר באַקומען פון די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן. דער גרעסטער טייל פון דער דאָזיקער סומע ווערט געגעבן אַלס הלוואה, וואָס מען וועט דאַרפן צוריקצאָלן.“

דער סאָוועטן-פאַרבאַנד איז ניט קיין שונא

פון דעם וואָס ס'איז געזאָגט אין פריערדיקן טייל איז קלאַר, אַז מיר צאָלן מיט געלט און אויך מיט בלוט פאַר די אַמעריקאַנער אינטערעסן. אויסער דער אידעאָלאָגישער זייט אין דער אויסערן-

ווידישע ענינים

ישראל אַלס „סטראַטעגישער פאַרמעגן“ פאַר די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן



מאיר ווילנער

פון מאיר ווילנער
(קאָמוניסטישער דעפּוטאַט אין כנסת)

אַרויסטרעטונג דעם 13טן יולי פון דעפּוטאַט
מאיר ווילנער אין כנסת אין ראָס פון אַ פאַרשלאַג
צום טאַג-אַרדענונג, ווען עס איז נאָך ניט געווען
באַוואוסט אַז בעגין וועט אַליין ניט פאַרן קיין וואַ-
שינגטאָן. דערווייל האָט רעגירען גערופן צו זיך דעם
מלחמה-מיניסטער אַרענאס און דעם אויסערן-מיניסט-
טער שמיר. דאָס בייט אָבער ניט די לאַגע פון אַ
מלחמה-געפאַר. פאַרקערט, דאָס פאַרגרעסערט נאָך
מער דעם פאַרדאַכט.

סוף חודש האָט דער פרעמיער-מיניסטער מ. בעגין
געדאַרפט פאַרן אין די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן, בכדי צו פירן
דאָרטן געשפרעכן מיט די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער. אין די
אינפאַרמאַציע-מיטלען און אין דער פרעסע האָט מען
פאַרעפנטלעכט, אַז דער הויפט-פאַראַגראַף אין די גע-
שפרעכן האָט געדאַרפט זיין דאָס פעסטשטעלן און אויס-
ברייטערן דעם סטראַטעגישן הסכם, וואָס איז אונטערגע-
שריבן געוואָרן אין נאַוועמבער 1981.

אין „הארץ“ פון 4טן יולי איז דערשינען אין אַרטיקל
פון יואל מאַרקוס אַ ידיעה, אין וועלכער ס'האָט זיך גע-
זאָגט: „ס'איז מיר באַוואוסט געוואָרן, אַז אין די קאַנטאַקטן,
וואָס זיינען פאַרגעקומען אין וואַשינגטאָן אין פאַרבינדונג
מיטן באַזוך פון מ. בעגין איז אַרויסגעבראַכט געוואָרן דער
ישראלדיקער פאַרשלאַג, אַז ביידע מדינות זאלן מסכים-
זיין וועגן אַ ספּעקטאַקולאַרן שריט פון דער סטראַטעגיש-
שער קאָאָפּעראַציע, וואָס זאל זיין אַ געוויסע דערגרייכונג,
סײַ פאַר דער בעגין-רעגירונג און סײַ פאַר דער רעגירען-
רעגירונג פאַר די וואַלן“.

נאָך פריער האָט דער „דבר“ (15.6.83) איבערגעגעבן,
אַז ווי ס'ווייזט אויס, אַז די פאַרהאַנדלונגען וועגן אויפ-
לעבן דעם סטראַטעגישן מעמאָראַנדום וועלן זיך באַניצען
ערב דעם באַזוך פון פרעמיער-מיניסטער מ. בעגין אין
וואַשינגטאָן“.

זיין אַ „סטראַטעגישער פאַרמעגן“

ס'גייט דאָ די רייד וועגן יסוד פון די יסודות פון דער
ישראלדיקער אויסערן-פּאָליטיק. ס'האַנדלט זיך וועגן דער
עקזיסטענץ-פּראַגע און וועגן שטעלן אין געפאַר די עצם
עקזיסטענץ פון מדינת ישראל.

דער סטראַטעגישער הסכם צווישן ישראל און די
פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן, וואָס איז אונטערגעשריבן געוואָרן
אין די פאַרייניקטע שטאַטן אין נאַוועמבער 1981, וועמענס
נוסח מיר אַלע קענען, אין וועלכן דער ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד
ווערט דאָרטן דערקלערט אַלס שונא פון מדינת ישראל
און ישראל אַלס שונא פון ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד. דער דאָזיקער
סטראַטעגישער הסכם שליסט אינן מיליטערישע קאָאָפּע-
ראַציע קעגן דעם, ווי עס ווערט געזאָגט אין הסכם: „קעגן
דער דראָונג פאַרן ראַיאָן מצד דעם ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד“. ער
פאַרפליכט אויך צוזאַמענאַרבעט אין מיליטערישן האַנדל
און אין אַלץ, וואָס דרינגט דערפון אַרויס.

דער דאָזיקער הסכם איז קיין מאָל ניט אַנולירט גע-