

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

Nov./Dec. 1983  
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## Open Letter From Soviet Jews To American Jews

We Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality have decided to address you, hoping that our sincere appeal will meet with a response from all honest people who cherish the cause of world peace.

A dreadful menace hangs over our planet. Mankind is threatened with a destructive thermonuclear conflict. Of special danger to peace are the arguments being heard ever more loudly that it is allegedly possible to win in a nuclear war and that a nuclear war can be of a limited nature.

The idea is to accustom people to the thought that the atom bomb is harmless, as if it were a conventional instrument of politics. These arguments are permeated with complete disregard for the destiny of millions of people who are expected to sacrifice their lives to the insane plans of unleashing a nuclear war.

*(Continued on Page 3)*

## 23rd National Convention, CPUSA

A spirited convention reflecting the growth of the CPUSA in numbers and in influence amongst our multi-national, multi-racial, male, female working class went on record to nominate candidates for President and Vice President in 1984 and to field candidates in the states for congressional and local offices.

For success in the all-out campaign to oust Reagan, the Convention called for a policy of industrial concentration, the strengthening of class unity and the building of a mass Communist Party of action.

In elaborating the political and historic necessity to oust Reagan, Gus Hall, General Secretary, noted: "We have always had the formulation that war is not inevitable. But there is a new element and that is: if the Reagan foreign policy is not stopped. . . we will reach a point of no return, a point where war will become inevitable."

Exuding confidence in the people Hall observed Reagan can be defeated by the growing people's coalitions with the greater and greater involvement of organized labor, Afro-Americans, other oppressed national minorities, the young people, women and the farmers.

Henry Winston, Chairman, reminded the delegates and convention guests that the cynical and diabolical promotion of anti-Communism led to the slaughter of 50,000,000 people in World War II. Today the promotion of anti-Communism has as its purpose the justification of Reagan's imperialist aggressive war policies which threaten a world nuclear conflagration. The struggle for peace calls for the fullest understanding of this truth and a sustained vigorous campaign to combat anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

Inspiring and of historic and political significance was the participation of delegates from the shops and work places across the land by young workers, men and women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and whites. They described their efforts as Party members in contract negotiations, work amongst the unemployed, in food lines, rent struggles and for the improvement of the lot of seniors. The importance of the Daily World in these efforts was stressed. These reports direct from the class battle-fronts made it crystal clear that our working class is determinedly participating in stepped-up struggles against Reaganomics, shouting, "No!" to take-backs and give-backs while intensifying fight-back.

A well attended workshop on work amongst Jewish Americans discussed the impact of Reaganism and Reaganomics on Jewish Americans. Also discussed was the

(Continued on Page 11)

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### Editorial Committee

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### TABLE OF CONTENTS

Open Letter from Soviet Jews	
To Jewish Americans	Frontpiece
23rd National Convention, CPUSA	2
Teskazet Condemn Western	
Political Speculators	
<i>Sol Flapan</i>	6
Ideas In Our Time	
<i>Herbert Aptheker</i>	9
National Problems—The Modern World	
<i>John Pittman</i>	10
The Centrality of the Palestine Problem	
<i>Mattiyahu Peled</i>	12
"The Silence is Broken"	
<i>Lewis M. Moroze</i>	15
South African Nazism	
<i>Norman Markowitz</i>	16
The New Wave of Anti-Semitism	
<i>Maurice Kurtzman</i>	17
Correspondence	19, 21
Press Roundup	
<i>Louis Kalb</i>	20
Yiddish Section	
<i>Davis Seltzer</i>	24
APOLOGIA: The picture of the New Jewish Agenda contingent at the August 27 March on Washington was taken by Sidney J. Gluck. Sorry we overlooked it.	

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## Open Letter continued

### For World Peace—

The stationing of warheads on land, under water and in the air already seems not enough to those who see our planet through a nuclear bomb sight. They are intoxicated by the space mirage of "star wars." Under the guise of false concern for "survival" they want to turn outer space into a launching site for aggression.

Hotbeds of international conflicts appear in different regions of the world through the fault of imperialism. Peoples of Central America have become victims of armed aggression. The brazen invasion of Grenada by US troops has aroused universal indignation. The South of Africa has become one of the planet's flash points. New efforts are being made to whip up tension in Southeast Asia. The dangerous situation in the Middle East arouses alarm among all honest people in the world.

No sensible person today can fail to understand that international problems must not be solved by force of arms. The vicious circle of violence that threatens life itself on Earth must be broken. It is only detente and the practical implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence that can avert the danger of the catastrophe looming over mankind. Otherwise the irreparable may happen, whether accidentally, or as a result of a chain reaction of events, or because of the malicious intent of those who do not believe in the people's ability to settle disputed problems and differences in a peaceful way.

We are confident that you Jewish Americans, like all Americans and all people on Earth, do not need war and do not need the destructive arms race. Who can feel safe knowing that ever new nuclear warheads are rolling off the conveyors of arms plants?

We Soviet people, more than any other people, experienced all the horrors of war. Twenty million Soviet people gave their lives in the struggle against German fascism. The Soviet and American peoples were then allies in the struggle against their common enemy, the plague of nazism, against those who nurtured plans of world domination, disguising them by demagogical talk about a "Jewish-Communist conspiracy".

#### A Common Enemy

Today we have a common enemy too, the threat of a world thermonuclear war. A nuclear catastrophe would turn our planet into a huge Auschwitz oven. Nazi genocide was directed against those nations the Nazis had declared "inferior", but nuclear genocide is directed against all the peoples of the world.

The multinational Soviet people unanimously speak

out against war. We want there always to be peaceful skies above our planet, we do not want the tragedy that befell mankind forty years ago ever to be repeated. We want future generations to be rid of the nuclear mushroom spectre, and we say with every right and a clear conscience: "Do not believe those who are today spreading the myth of a 'Soviet threat'! The Soviet people do not need war!"

#### Soviet Foreign Policy

The principle course of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, whose goal is the preservation and consolidation of peace and the expansion and deepening of cooperation between nations, was clearly expressed and confirmed in the recent Statement by Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. We fully support this position which expresses the political will of all the Soviet people.

Like all Soviet people, we believe that peace on Earth can only be ensured through talks whose goal is general and complete disarmament. As a first step towards a stable peace we are for halting the arms race as soon as possible, for immediately freezing the production of nuclear weapons. And we know that the idea of an arms freeze enjoys the support of most Americans, including influential circles of Jewish Americans. Understandably, an arms freeze is not a goal in itself, it is only the beginning of the road which should lead to disarmament.

The Soviet Union has unilaterally undertaken a commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and has tabled a draft declaration *The Censure of Nuclear War* at the United Nations.

We are for concluding an agreement on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms at the Soviet-US talks in Geneva as soon as possible. We believe that such an agreement should provide for a considerable reduction in the strategic forces of both sides with strict observance of the principle of equal security. Naturally the agreement on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms must provide for reliable measures to verify its implementation. We believe that such an agreement would meet the interests of both the Soviet and the American people and of all mankind.

It is also necessary to take effective measures against attempts to turn outer space into an arena of nuclear confrontation. The militarization of outer space and the new round of the arms race, which is fraught with most dangerous consequences, should be prevented as soon as possible. Besides, it would consume tremendous resources which could be used for the benefit of mankind.

We are convinced that implementation of the proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world would be of great benefit. Be it Northern Europe or the Balkans, the Middle East or the Indian Ocean, the proclaiming of any region of the world free of nuclear weapons would bring nearer the day when our planet would be rid of the nuclear menace.

We believe that the stationing of new nuclear missiles on the European continent, where the forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty directly confront each other, must not be permitted. On the contrary, our view is that it is necessary to reduce the number of medium-range nuclear weapons opposing each other in Europe. Any attempts to upset the existing balance of forces there could only lead to a heightening of international tension. It should be clear to all that the stationing of Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles would increase the danger to the security not only of the Soviet Union, because our country would be forced to take countermeasures.

We do not regard the menace hanging over mankind as unavoidable. The taking of specific measures against the arms race and aimed at bringing about a relaxation of international tension—that is the way out of the blind alley into which a return to the “cold war” can bring our planet. For a “cold war” could only too easily turn into a “shooting war”.

#### **“Concern for Soviet Jews”**

Meanwhile certain forces are seeking to prevent reason from triumphing. The present US Administration is conducting an unbridled propaganda campaign against the improvement of relations between the United States and the USSR, whipping up tension and slandering our country's domestic and foreign policies.

The attempts by certain quarters to explain their opposition to detente by hypocritical “concern for Soviet Jews” should especially be singled out. Under the false slogans of “protecting Soviet Jews” these quarters are coming out against any agreement between the United States and the USSR and in favor of the arms race.

We Soviet Jews do not need self-appointed “protectors” from across the ocean. We have no need to be protected from anyone or anything in our own country!

We understand that it may be difficult for some Jewish Americans whose fathers and grandfathers fled from tsarist Russia to escape pogroms, to realize that the roots of national discord have long been eliminated in the Soviet Union. The reality fully refutes the slanders of Western propaganda to the effect that “official anti-Semitism” exists in the USSR. Only people who know nothing at all about the situation in our country can believe that invention. Any honest and unbiased person

can easily see this. Our own lives also prove this.

Malicious slanders are being heaped upon our country to distract the attention of US citizens from the struggle for peace and disarmament, to make people forget it was the Soviet Union that frustrated Hitler's plans for a “final solution of the Jewish question”. The Soviet Army saved hundreds of thousands of Jews from extermination in Nazi death camps. Those waging the false campaign “in defense of Soviet Jews” are trying to erase this fact from human memory.

#### **USSR and the State of Israel**

As slanderous are attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union a desire “to destroy Israel”. It is well known that the USSR has supported the United Nations resolution on granting the right to self-determination to the Jewish and Arab population of Palestine and on establishing a Jewish and an Arab state on Palestinian soil. We object not to the existence of the state of Israel, but against the attempts of its ruling circles to deprive the Palestinian people of their right to existence and to seize lands belonging to neighboring Arab states. The Soviet Union is working for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East conflict. A stable peace in the Middle East can only be secured on the basis of taking account of the interests of all sides, including the people of the state of Israel and the Palestinian people.

The aggressive policy of the Israeli ruling elite arouses the indignation of the whole of world public opinion. It is opposed by democratic forces in Israel itself and by Jewish communities in many countries. The Israeli people can obtain lasting peace not through war but through negotiations with all the parties concerned, including the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. A continuation of the aggressive policy and the dangerous game around nuclear weapons the Israeli rulers are engaged in can only lead that state to catastrophe.

Jewish Americans and Jewish organizations should also think about the fate of Jews in Israel, since the policy of Israel's ruling circles, supported by the US Administration poses a threat to the very existence of that state. We consider essential the earliest possible resumption of collective efforts in search of peace in the Middle East. The struggle for a just settlement of the Middle East conflict is inseparable from the struggle for world peace.

#### **Jewish Americans and World Peace**

Today, when every person on our planet should be aware of the danger looming over the world, a clear-cut question arises: will American Jews allow themselves to be used by those who are pursuing a policy of sliding into

*Jewish Affairs*

a thermonuclear war in which mankind will perish, or will they make their contribution to the cause of lessening tension and preventing war, to the cause of international cooperation and friendship among nations?

We hope you will chose the second path, and, acting in the name of life and out of hatred for senseless death from a nuclear holocaust, you will speak out for peace, against the mounting danger of the extermination of mankind.

We urge you to do everything you can, to use you authority, to show goodwill and, lastly, not to lose your sense of reason, in order to help accomplish mankind's most important task, that of safeguarding peace on earth.

**D.N. Al**, playwright.

**Y.K. Arnapolina**, machine operator at the Birobidzhan hose factory, Hero of Socialist Labor.

**S. R. Aronov**, member of the Collegium of the State Planning Committee of the Uzbek SSR, Merited Economist of Uzbekistan.

**A.Z. Astrakhan**, Deputy Minister of the Coal Industry of the Ukrainian SSR, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

**Z.I. Azgur**, sculptor, Hero of Socialist Labor Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR.

**R.L. Barg**, engineer at the Quartz plant in Chernovtsy, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

**B.F. Berlin**, director of the interschool vocational training and occupational guidance center for school pupils in the Lenin district of Mogilev, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Byelorussian SSR.

**M.I. Blanter**, composer, People's Artist of the USSR, Hero of Socialist Labor.

**A.F. Blyuger**, pro-rector of the Riga Medical Institute, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Latvian SSR, Merited Scientist, Latvian State Prize winner.

**G.L. Bondarevsky**, Doctor of History, professor, Merited Scientist of the Russian Federation.

**A.Y. Braunshtein**, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, Hero of Socialist Labor, Lenin and State Prize winner.

**M.D. Dvitashvili**, editor of the newspaper *Soplis takhevreba*, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, Merited Journalist of Georgia.

**D.A. Dragunsky**, Colonel-General of the Armored Corps, twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

**Y.A. Dyskin**, Major-General of the Medical Corps, Hero of the Soviet Union.

**M.V. Fainshtein**, worker at the Frunze furniture factory

in Kishinev, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR.

**Y.I. Gabrilovich**, script writer, Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of State Prizes.

**P.V. Gelman**, Candidate of Economics, assistant professor, former pilot, Hero of the Soviet Union.

**G.B. Gofman**, writer, Hero of the Soviet Union.

**Y.I. Goldberg**, Lieutenant-General.

**S.A. Granovsky**, leading engineer at the Leningrad Metal Works, Lenin and State Prize winner.

**Y.G. Gurvich**, director of the State Information Agency of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Azerbaijan SSR.

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**I.D. Kapustin**, head of the Central Board of Statistics of the Tajik SSR, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR.

**A.F. Kats**, chief director of the Riga State Theatre of Russian Drama, People's Artist of the Latvian SSR.

**L.Y. Kerbel**, People's Artist of the USSR, member of the USSR Academy of Arts, Lenin and State Prize winner.

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**M.A. Levitsky**, captain of a TU-154 airliner of the Dushambe branch of Aeroflot, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR.

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**T.I. Oizerman**, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, professor, Lomonosov State University, Moscow.

# TESKAZET\* Condemns Western Political Speculators

By SOL FLAPAN

WARSAW—“We condemn with all our might those who are defaming our socialist homeland, those who would like to see Poland torn by internal strife, weak, easy prey for Western political speculators.”

That is underscored in a declaration by the Main Board of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland (TESKAZET is the Polish acronym).

But, continues the statement frontpaged in *Folks Shtime* the weekly journal of TESKAZET, as citizens of our socialist country we reply—and here in capital letters—“YOU WILL NOT SUCCEED.”

Featured on the Yiddish and Polish language pages, this document is the outcome of a wide-ranging review of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising by TESKAZET's Main Board enlarged by grassroots activists from across the nation.

Despite the difficult political and economic situation in the country, says TESKAZET, the Polish United Workers Party (of communists) and the People's Government considerably helped the Organizing Committee in translating into life the program to commemorate the memory of the Warsaw Ghetto heroes. We declare, continues TESKAZET, that the government of the Polish People's Republic was guided by the single thought to pay homage to the murdered Polish Jews and to remind the whole world of the Hitlerite crimes in

World War II; also, to illuminate the heroic struggle of the Polish Jews. That struggle, it is recalled, was an integral part of the entire Polish nation's resistance to nazi barbarism.

Some circles in the West and particularly those U.S. centers ill-disposed towards Poland, it is pointed out, have been waging an anti-Polish slander campaign through the mass media. They exhorted for a boycott of the Warsaw Ghetto memorial ceremonies. Through shameful propaganda fakery they thus tried to bake their bread on the graves of the murdered Jews, TESKAZET charges.

Nevertheless, some 1,200 Jews from nearly the whole world did come to Poland, it recalls. This they did to honor together with the Polish public the memory of their nearest and dearest tortured in the nazi engineered ghettos and in their genocidal death camps of Auschwitz, Treblinka and Majdanek.

According to TESKAZET, the impressive commemorative events so comprehensively covered by the print and electronic news media here, the broad participation in these ceremonies by the Polish people and the accounts of all this by the visiting Jews from around the world nailed the Western lies of “proverbial Polish anti-Semitism.”

“Western centers inimical towards Poland were unable to disturb our memorial services,” avers TESKAZET. To no avail was the Washington administration's pressure on World Jewish Congress officials to boycott the ceremonies, it points out. To no avail, it

(Continued on Page 11)

**B.I. Pinkhasov**, Doctor of Law, director of Forensics  
**M.I. Prudkin**, People's Artist of the USSR, winner of USSR State Prizes.

**A.I. Raikin**, People's Artist of the USSR, Hero of Socialist Labor.

**I.S. Ravich**, Deputy Minister of Communications of the USSR.

**B.Y. Reznik**, department head at the Pirogov medical Institute, Odessa, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

**L.B. Shapiro**, First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee of the Jewish Autonomous Region, Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

**L.B. Shkolnik**, editor of the newspaper *Birobidzhaner Shtern*.

**Y.A. Shnaiderman**, manager of the Birobidzhan shoe factory.

**T.S. Solodar**, writer, Leninist Komsomol prize winner.

**I.R. Tsubis**, engineer at the Borets production amalgamation, Moscow.

**B.K. Vainshtein**, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, director of the Crystallography Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

**A.L. Vergelis**, poet, editor of the journal *Sovietische Heimland*.

**Y.I. Vernikov**, Major-General of the Air Force, Hero of the Soviet Union, Merited Test Pilot of the USSR.

**B.Y. Yefimov**, People's Artist of the USSR, member of the USSR Academy of Arts.

**A.G. Zarkhi**, film director, people's Artist of the USSR, Hero of Socialist Labor, winner of State Prizes.

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In Re; Peace Appeal by  
50 Jewish Soviet Citizens to  
Jewish Americans

Dear Reader:

As one who has been fully aware for sometime of the significance of the message in the TV presentation, "The Day After," you appreciate the heavy responsibility of the editors and readers of Jewish Affairs to make it possible to bring this historically significant and moving appeal for peace made by the prominent Jewish Soviet citizens to Jewish Americans throughout the land. We know that you will agree that this appeal should reach the widest sectors of Jewish Americans in the scores of thousands.

A considerable sum of money will be required to produce reprints; to place the appeal in advertisements in the press; to distribute it to every Jewish American organization, every Jewish American periodical, every peace organization, etc.


We take full note of the nationwide yearning for peace as we participate in the discussions now going on amongst the one hundred million who viewed "The Day After" and as we assist in the various peace movements to step up campaigns for a halt to the placement of Pershing and Cruise missiles six minutes from the Soviet Union and call for the signing of a mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze by the US and the USSR.

BUT Ronald Reagan and the Reaganites in both parties, including their Jewish American collaborators, persist in spreading the monstrous lie that the Soviet Union is the "focus of evil" and rant about "Soviet anti-Semitism" to win blind acceptance of US aggressive policies worldwide.

The avoidance of a world nuclear holocaust must be fought for vigorously. In the next twelve fateful months every possible approach for peace must be pursued to stop the coming Armageddon.

Aware that we are asking, under separate cover, for a contribution to our regular end-of-the-year appeal to meet our annual budget, we are asking additionally, because of the extreme urgency of this special project, for a generous contribution for this special task. Please respond as soon as is possible.

Comradely yours,

  
Herbert Aptheker  
Editor

  
Lewis M. Moroze  
Managing Editor

Nov./Dec., 1983

# Ideas In Our Time

## By Herbert Aptheker

### No Crisis in The Soviet Union

Stephen F. Cohen, who writes the "Sovieticus" page in *The Nation*, contributes one of special consequence to the issue dated August 6-13.

Cohen's main point is that the widespread idea in the U.S. that the Soviet Union is in socio-economic crisis and borders on collapse, is both false and dangerous. He remarks that its "gross national product at least quadrupled between 1950 and 1980," that there exists "free secondary education, health care, pensions and subsidized housing and food for virtually all citizens" and that "ordinary citizens live better than ever before." Furthermore, "Between 1950 and 1980 per capita real consumption tripled."

But Cohn writes that the idea of the USSR being in "crisis" is "a new myth." This is false. On the contrary, ever since the 1917 Revolution, the propaganda of the bourgeoisie throughout the world, and not least in the U.S., has insisted that the society in the Soviet Union is teetering on the brink of collapse. Exceedingly rare and partial are the moments when any other impression comes from the press of the "free world." One such partial moment was from about 1942 to 1945 when the USSR held at bay and then defeated Hitler's hordes (with the resources of all Europe behind them), and again, briefly, when the launching of "Sputnik" set the imperialist pundits back on their heels.

But quite characteristic was the estimate of the General Staffs and political leaders of every capitalist (including fascist) country that the Nazi invaders would conquer "Russia" in a matter of weeks or, at most, a few months.

The Reagan Administration's caricatures of the "Empire of Evil" differs in no way from the depiction of the Soviet Union that was Goebbel's main theme. In the essence of their propaganda they are repeating—with somewhat extra vulgarity—the bourgeois garbage of 1917 vintage.

What is the point? Why is the above reality missing from Mr. Cohen's page and why is he left offering no explanation at all for the situation he observes?

The point is that "Russia" now is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The point is that **socialism** revolutionized the Czar's Empire; that **socialism** made possible successful resistance to repeated armed assaults

from the west and north, from south and east; that despite incalculable losses, this **socialist** society is "so stable"—again quoting Mr. Cohen—and leads the world not only in the production of iron and steel and oil and tractors and cement and milk, but also in literacy and security—and in the movements for national liberation and for peace.

This is the great "secret" that the Reagans of this earth dare not face, but nevertheless exists.

### What is Patriotism?

The modern nation is the creation of capitalism. The bourgeoisie, in its nature exploitative and oppressive, pursues a policy of aggrandizement; it divides and devastates its own population and imperils and assaults others. But, as the young Marx and Engels wrote: "In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanished, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

One main way the bourgeoisie seeks to rule is by inculcating hatred of others—internally by class, color, race, gender, national origins, and externally by the super-exploitation of colonial peoples, rationalized by racism. Aggrandizement is lauded, "manifest destiny" is hailed, the image of the "antagonist" is brutalized, all in the effort to develop an unreasoning, savage contempt which justifies sadistic behavior.

Through making identical, however, the popular interest with the national interest, one can overcome the invidiousness and chauvinism that characterize what is mis-called "patriotism." To become unitary while part of the universal, to be come independent while still part of the inter-dependence which in reality characterizes the condition of the globe's inhabitants; this is the need, never more urgent than today with the vast technical-scientific revolution and its unlimited creativity—and unlimited potential destructiveness.

Nationalism, insofar as it is exclusionary or dominating or aggressive, is the product and tool of the bourgeoisie. But love of one's own land, one's own culture, one's own language and humor need not be at the expense of another's similar feelings. On the contrary, the beauty and compelling quality appreciated by one people may be admired by another, if there is no exploitative relationship within there will be none without. Antagonism derives from exploitation and oppression; where there is no insult there will be no resentment.



The love of the Confederacy was **not** love of the South; on the contrary, the Confederacy, having been created to preserve and extend slavery, was the bane of the South—that is, of the welfare of the peoples of the South, Black and white.

The nazis and fascists made support of their anti-democratic and anti-Soviet policies the test of “patriotism,” but such support was the opposite of patriotism. Hitler and Mussolini brought shame and disaster to Germany and Italy; it was their opponents who represented the noblest in the traditions of both countries.

Patriotism is the love of the peoples of one's country, devotion to the highest, living interests of the people who make up this or that nation:

Patriotism is not bluster, it is not arrogance, it is not brutality and chauvinism. These are the components of jingoism and jingoism is to patriotism as idiocy is to reason.

A prime living illustration of the reality of patriotism is the Soviet Union. That reality is the more emphatic since the locale—Czarist Russia—was the prison-house of nations and since the historical period marking the transition from institutionalized fraternity has been so short and so marked by the displays of malignant hatred by surrounding exploitative states. But there has come into being a society of over 100 nationalities and yet one nationhood; a society of deep ancient hostilities and rivalries and of profound present amity and cooperation; a society tested in awful battle and emerging—despite staggering losses—triumphant in the immortal Great Patriotic War for the Motherland.

Out of many, one—this is, after all, the motto of the United States of America. Not one in sameness, not one by compulsion, but one in purpose, in unity of function and goal, in dedication to equality, justice, abundance and peace.

Such a United States of America will be a socialist nation—a nation of many peoples, many national origins, many tongues, many passions and still **One** nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all—not in myth but in fact. □

### Lutherans Condemn Anti-Semitism

In August, 1983, Lutheran and Jewish leaders met in Stockholm to consider the matter of Martin Luther's anti-Semitism. The outstanding figures of the worldwide Lutheran community acknowledged the severe damage caused for hundreds of years by the anti-Semitism present in many of the statements issued by Martin Luther. Their statement affirmed: “We cannot

Nov./Dec., 1983

accept or condone the violent verbal attacks that the Reformer made against the Jews. Lutherans and Jews interpret the Hebrew Bible differently. But we believe that a christo-logical reading of the Scriptures does not lead to anti-Judaism, let alone anti-Semitism.”

In a joint statement, the Jewish and Lutheran leaders pledged a common struggle against all forms of racial and religious prejudice, and agreed to strive for a peaceful, poverty-free world.

This development is perhaps as consequential as the earlier alterations in the Catholic attitude toward Judaism made during Vatican II.

### UN Conference on Palestine

An International Conference on the Question of Palestine sponsored by the United Nations, was held in Geneva August 29-September 7, 1983. It resulted from a call originally adopted by the General Assembly of the U.N. on December 10, 1981. All the nations of the earth—and of course the Palestine Liberation Organization—were present, with the exception of Israel, the United States and its NATO cohorts, although France did send a delegation in the status of “observers.”

Though Israel denounced the Conference, its organizers sent invitations to many Israeli organizations and several did participate. These included the Front for Peace and Equality, the Democratic Women of Israel, the Committee against the War in Lebanon, Women against Occupation, the Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace and the International Jewish Peace Union. These organizations ranged in viewpoint from Communist to Zionist but had in common a desire for peace in the Mid-East, an awareness of the central importance of the rights of the Palestinian people and the need for an end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

The “free press” of the Western world ignored this Conference; this included such newspapers as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and *Le Monde* (Paris).

The conference did achieve significant successes in moving towards unanimity on the realities in the Mid-East and in rejecting dominant Washington-Tel Aviv policy; this has played a part in the orchestrated anti-United Nations propaganda that has reached a crescendo in the United States.



# HAPPY NEW YEAR



# National Problems—the Modern World

By John Pittman

**ETHNOCULTURAL PROCESSES AND NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE MODERN WORLD**, edited by I. R. Grigulevich and S. Ya. Kozlov. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1981, 383 pages.

This book is a continuation of studies of ethnic aspects of national questions in the USSR and of certain racial and ethnic questions of today's world. Responses to an earlier work, *Races and Peoples—Contemporary Ethnic and Racial problems (1974)*—prompted the editors of that work to edit the more recent, updated studies of these questions by Soviet ethnographers, sociologists, historians and other specialists.

Both works present the studies in two sections: "The Soviet Union" and "Other Countries." The earlier volume has two additional sections: "Problems of Theory," and "Against Racialism." In chapters on developed capitalist countries both works offer studies of ethnic and racial questions in the United States of America.

The volume under review observes that the present-day U.S. population "can be considered ethnically the result—and the latest stage—of a long process of building a single nation from various ethnic components." (p. 252) Yet, despite a century of successful, though contradictory, assimilation processes, "the American nation is still a young ethnic formation." There are still a whole number of unassimilated ethnic groups in its structure. "The national consolidation of the US population is far from completed, although it is now nearly half a century since the ending of mass immigration in the 1920s, but it has deepened and accelerated." (p. 255)

This study notes further that "ethnic groups still continue to play a role in the social division of labor." It cites the "ethnic hierarchy" which contradicts the assertion of the "Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag," that the U.S.A. is "one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." On the contrary, as the study points out, Afro-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native American Indians, Chicanos-Mexicanos, Americans of Asian and Pacific Island origin, and other peoples of color are "the most destitute socially and economically and are at the bottom" of the ethnic hierarchy.

As for the Euro-ethnic components of the population, the position of immigrant groups on the ladder depends on how far they have been assimilated. "At the top is a

vague community—White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP)—that exists more as a standard of one hundred percent Americanism than as a reality." (p. 253)

None of this is new to readers of the U.S. Marxist-Leninist press, nor is the study's conclusion that "the multiplicity of ethnic groups has long served as one of American capitalism's important social mechanisms. Its function is to facilitate economic exploitation of the masses by setting some nationalities against others, by counterposing them in the political game, and by substituting ethnic concepts for class ones in social psychology." (p. 253)

Karl Marx, it is worth recalling, observed many decades ago that chauvinism is a means of hindering the international cooperation of the working class, which he characterized as the first condition of its emancipation.

The significant aspect of this particular study for U.S. readers is its adherence to the reality of U.S. conditions and the regularities of the development of ethnic processes. Its findings remind us that the abolition of the barriers to the consolidation of one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, is an unlikely prospect under the system of state-monopoly capitalism which the Reaganites like to call "free enterprise." The study points out at the beginning of its presentation of data that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin noted that "it is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism." It cites this observation as the springboard of its roundup of national relations in developed capitalist countries.

Focusing on the conditions of Afro-Americans, the study concludes that "a whole number of factors prevent their full ethnic assimilation. . . . The American monopolies need racial discrimination and segregation because (1) they yield them vast super-profits, and (2) they can be employed as a most important instrument for splitting the working class and bribing certain groups of white workers. The creation of residential areas for whites only and ghettos for Negroes has the objective of deepening the split along racial lines." (. 258)

In an appropriate conclusion of their introduction to this volume, the editors stress the importance of social scientists making a deep, profound study of ethno-national processes and phenomena today. Such studies would obviously have to take an historical and class approach to ethnic and racial questions in order to make a contribution of value toward the goal of national consolidation. This volume is a persuasive argument for such an approach.

Readers should also take note that in addition to the study of ethnic and national processes in the U.S.A., the

(Continued from Page 6)

adds, was the "without me" attitude by Marek Edleman (true a Warsaw Ghetto survivor) who has not taken an active part in annual April 19 celebrations since 1948 when, by coincidence, the Monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Heroes was unveiled marking the fifth anniversary of that gallant uprising.

The TESKAZET Main Board then expressed gratitude to those who assisted and cooperated with the Organizing Committee in solemnly commemorating the memory of Poles and Jews murdered by fascist thugs. On this "thank you" list are "the Polish United Workers Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic headed by General Wojciech Jaruzelski; also activists of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [an ex-combatants' organization], the United Peasants and the Democratic parties; the Polish Episcopate and the Ecumenical Council; the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal [a broad-based public oriented body cutting across party and other organizational lines], the Scouts and the entire Polish people." Gratitude is also addressed to Jewish organizations the world over.

At this point comes the condemnation of "those who are defaming our socialist homeland, those who would like to see Poland torn by internal strife, weak, easy prey for Western political speculators;" and it's "YOU WHO WILL NOT SUCCEED."

Then this conclusion: "Our country, despite the burdensome economic and political restrictions clamped down on it by Western powers, will, thanks to the considerable assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, extricate itself from the crisis. Then, as General Jaruzelski once said 'we will remember all our friends who assisted us in time of need'." □

**Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent for Jewish Affairs.**

book delves into these processes in Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. There is also a special chapter on the "National Aspect of the Negro Question in the USA." □

**John Pittman is US representative on the Editorial Board of the World Marxist Review.**

*Nov./Dec., 1983*

(Continued from Page 2)

significant role of Jewish Americans, in the struggles for jobs, peace and freedom.

There was the fullest discussion about the ideological and political debates raging among Jewish leaders and amongst the Jewish masses. These debates have been sharpened by the continuing probing and questioning and breakaways by the Jewish American masses from the positions of the entrenched Jewish Zionist leadership and/or of those leaders beholden to their Reaganite class brothers. Differences appear regarding the policies of the Israeli ruling circles, Zionism, assimilation, intermarriage, combatting anti-Semitism, aliyah, combatting racism and Reagan and Reaganism.

Note was taken of the progressive role of New Jewish Agenda, which came into existence since the last Convention, and its positive influence already on the established Jewish organizations and the Jewish youth.

Responding to Gus Hall's challenge that the Party raise its sights, the workshop unanimously approved a resolution for the convening of a National Conference on Jewish Work to further the involvement of Jewish American masses in the growing coalitions to oust Reagan and to explore and adopt a Party position on the significant issues now being discussed and debated amongst Jewish Americans.

A dramatic moment at the public rally was the pledge of the Chairman of the German Communist Party of the Federal Republic of Germany, Herbert Mies, that the Party and the German working class will bend every effort to see to it that another world war does not emanate from German soil. He concluded that together, the Communist Parties of Germany and the U.S.A. pledge their fullest cooperation to prevent a world nuclear conflagration.

A more complete report will be given in our next issue. —L.M.M.

**In Memory  
Of My Beloved  
Husband and Comrade  
Dave Milgram  
SARAH MILGRAM**

# The Centrality of the Palestinian Problem

By Mattityahu Peled

The article below consists of the speech, slightly abridged, by Dr. Mattityahu Peled, Major General (Res.) of the Israeli Defense Forces and Chairman of the Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, delivered at the International Conference on the Question of Palestine sponsored by the United Nations. It was held in Geneva August 29-September 7, 1983. The text was published in the Sept. 1983 issue of the *I & P* — the *Israel and Palestine Political Report* which contains the most complete report of this historic conference available in English.

I need hardly tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that your conference is probably one of the most controversial ever convened by the UN. The Israeli Government considers it as an affront to itself and denounced it as soon as it was proposed, and was supported in this, as in many other issues, by the USA. The opposition to this conference in Israel was practically universal, and even important groups of the peace forces in Israel took exception to it. It was felt by many Israelis whose dedication to the cause of peace cannot be doubted, that this conference would be no more than a massive anti-Israeli demonstration leading to no concrete steps towards peace.

My own evaluation of this conference was quite different, and the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace not only subscribed to my position but further decided to send a delegation to participate in the conference as a NGO. Our decision was severely criticized in my country, and we felt that we had to explain to the public our decision, which we did at a press conference in Tel Aviv a few days before leaving for the conference. We gave three reasons for our decision:

1. For a long time, we have been maintaining that the problems of the Middle East, and especially the Palestinian problem, have to be dealt with by the United Nations. Security Council Resolution 338 has not only laid down the principle, but had indeed provided the mechanism for dealing with the problems of that region. I consider it as one of the most unfortunate developments in the recent history of the Middle East that due to narrow-minded considerations the United States brought an end to the Geneva Peace Conference, and has assumed sole responsibility for the peace process. Since then, the situation in the Middle East is constantly deteriorating. Rather than search for a comprehensive peace, in cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the

active participation of all the parties involved, the USA preferred a series of bilateral negotiations conducted under its supervision. Apart from leading the Middle East from one crisis to another, this procedure enabled both Israel and the USA to ignore the Palestinian problem in an effort to work out a "pax americana," in which the Palestinian people would have no place. The futility of the effort is now all too obvious.

This conference certainly cannot revive the Geneva Peace Conference, but I believe that it can help in drawing the attention of the world to the need of handing over the responsibility for the peace process in the Middle East to the UN.

2. The second reason for coming to this conference, as we had explained before leaving, was that it would enable the PLO to present the Palestinian case in its full dimensions and impress world public opinion with the urgent need to recognize it as a full and legitimate partner to the peace process.

I have felt for a long time that the most dangerous illusion relating to the current situation in the Middle East is that peace could be achieved without admitting the centrality of the Palestinian problem. This illusion is responsible for the disappointing results of the Camp David Agreement, just as it is responsible for the disastrous invasion of Israel into Lebanon. Both these adventures had at their roots the assumption that the peace process could develop towards its final goal if only the Palestinian problem could be sidetracked. I hope that this conference would help persuade people all over the world that this assumption is fallacious.

3. Our third reason for wanting to participate in this conference was our hope to be able to reconstruct, during the 10 days of its duration, some kind of working relations with the PLO. I should perhaps explain that the main goal of our Council, indeed our *raison d'etre*, is taking the problem of relations between Israelis and the PLO from the mere verbal level into the practical level. Only a few months after our Council had come into being, we succeeded to establish contacts with the PLO, beginning in July 1976, which went on since then, developing all the time and encompassing an ever-growing number of individuals on both sides. The importance of this activity was that it helped humanize the other party in the eyes of its original opponent, as well as enable each side to better understand the problems and difficulties faced by the other. These contacts have a long and exciting history, some of which can already be read in books on the Middle East. The participants in these contacts were constantly harassed by extremists on both sides, with the Palestinians running the risk of death

*Jewish Affairs*

for their dedication to the cause of peace. Yet, despite all these difficulties, the links between Israelis and the PLO kept developing, until they have finally culminated in the meeting of a delegation of our Council with Chairman Arafat.

The story of our relation with the PLO cannot be told without mentioning the name of that great Palestinian patriot and indefatigable peace fighter, the late Dr. Issam Sartawi, a dear friend and trusted comrade who fell in the cause of peace. It was due to his courage and determination that over the years so many Israelis began to think of the PLO in terms of a great organization bearing a heavy responsibility for the destination of the Palestinian people. His death was received in Israel, by both friend and foe, as a tragic loss. And, soon after this tragedy, the sad developments inside the Fatah organization had taken place, making the continuation of our links with the PLO so much more difficult. We were happy to see the integrity of the PLO preserved in spite of all the difficulties and the leadership of Chairman Arafat emerging intact from the crisis. And by the time we received the invitation to come to this conference, we had hoped that the tremendously important work of building bridges over the chasm separating our two peoples, the Israeli and the Palestinian, could now be continued.

I feel I should at this point explain the urgency of the resumption of our disrupted contacts with the PLO. I believe this problem is the concern of all those who wish to see peace established in the Middle East.

As pointed out already by a number of distinguished speakers in this conference, the tragedy of the Palestinian people is rooted not only in the situation it is in, but also in the manner this situation is handled by both enemy and friend. The enemy, both Israel and USA, is trying to eliminate the Palestinian as a viable national entity in the most ruthless ways. The friends very frequently appear to be capable of administering no more than soothing words. Listening to some of these utterances, one cannot help recalling the famous lines written by the Palestinian poet Burhan al-din al-Abbushi:

*Shall we forever fool ourselves to trust,  
Each time a crook calls "long live Palestine",  
That he is moved by sincerity?*

The disparity between the aggression against the Palestinian people, on the one hand, and the support this people is getting, on the other, is one of the most glaring aspects of the Palestinian tragedy.

Very frequently the question is asked: how can one bring about an end to the hostility against the Palestinians and open up the road towards a settlement based on

Nov./Dec., 1983

justice? The answer is invariably to bring about a change in the attitude of the countries most directly responsible for this hostility. ... All those who really care for the fate of the Palestinian people should realize that there can be no more important target for them than winning over the sympathy of public opinion in the countries responsible for their miseries. A far-reaching change in public opinion will bring a change of policy. Public opinion in my country favors our government's anti-Palestinian policy because the Palestinians are seen as a mortal enemy. And let me, ladies and gentlemen, say immediately that I support wholeheartedly the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination on the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem, because I feel confident that there is no mortal enmity between our peoples. I wish you would believe me when I tell you that there are many Israelis who firmly believe that there can be no future for Israel without resolving equitably the Palestinian problem.

But these same Israelis are convinced that our government is right when it claims that the Palestinians under the leadership of the PLO are determined to destroy Israel. For years we have been arguing against this utterly stupid position, with only very limited success. Our main difficulty, please believe that, is that we can adduce only scant "hard evidence" to prove our claims. For every statement of a reconciliatory nature made by the PLO, our opponents adduce two stating the contrary. Sometimes the race for quotes assumes a theological nature, but in the process we lose the attention of the public. Winning over public opinion requires a far more sophisticated approach; this is a process which calls for very thorough thinking and a systematic approach.

We frequently hear the argument that such a campaign to win over public opinion should be put off until other very urgent problems are taken care of. This would be a convenient temporary solution if the situation of the Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories was static. But unfortunately this is not the case. Every day you postpone the campaign over public opinion in Israel, Palestine — your Palestine — is shrinking. I do not have to tell you the story in detail, I am sure you know it. But let me report to you what I have heard from a very admirable Palestinian living on the West Bank. He said to me only recently: Every day I get up in the morning and look out through the window, I realize that Palestine is in the process of disappearing. Ladies and gentlemen, it is up to you to determine how alarming is the situation and what should be your priorities. Many believe already, in Israel and elsewhere, that the situation in the Occupied Territories is nearing a point of no return. I am

not among them, but their numbers are increasing daily.

I know that there is a convenient way of running away from the difficulties of the present into the dreams of the future. In one of his last interviews given to an Arabic weekly, the late Dr. Sartawi gave a vivid description of the temptation to escape into the future in order to avoid the hard decisions of the present.

But if a decision to cope with the problems of the present is to be taken, then let me assure you: we of the peace camp in Israel are willing to do our utmost to help you to change public opinion in Israel. Some expression was uttered in this conference regarding the hope that the peace forces in Israel should increase. I think the likelihood for such an increase is considerable, but only if their existence will be recognized and appreciated.

What I found disturbing in the course of the conference was, for example, the lack of explicit realization that the struggle for peace is indivisible, and is being carried out on all sides simultaneously. Many addressed themselves to the atrocious massacres in Sabra and Chatila. I do not deny that Israel is directly responsible for this crime. But there are two facts which come to mind the moment this crime is mentioned and which were ignored until this morning. The one is that the Lebanese Falanges participated in the killing, and the other is that the largest demonstration protesting against the Israeli government on account of this crime was held in Israel. I am deeply grateful to Chairman Arafat for having acknowledged in such an open-hearted manner the role of the peace forces in Israel on that occasion, but I cannot help wondering what the silence over these two important facts during the conference up to this point has signified.

Let me bring in another example. A great deal has been said here about Israel's presence in Lebanon. I believe that Israel should pull out of Lebanon immediately and unconditionally. Many other Israelis take the same position. Young Israelis, in increasing numbers, prefer to go to jail rather than participate in an unjust war and fight the Palestinians whose rights we so haughtily deny. But the Israeli Army is not the only one that is fighting the Palestinians, yet we do not hear of soldiers serving in other armies choosing to go to prison rather than fight the Palestinians.

I do not mean to say that the Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in Lebanon do it in order to be recognized; they do it because they are convinced that the presence of Israel in Lebanon is immoral and illegal. But we could see many more Israeli soldiers refusing service in Lebanon, if only they could be persuaded that peace with a Palestinian state is possible.

I am convinced that the future well-being of Israel is tied to the future well-being of the Palestinian people, and this is the reason, or one of the reasons, I came here.

I hope that my presence at the conference will contribute in a small way to the attainment of the three goals I enumerated. But only the future will tell us to what extent this conference can contribute to that.

As to our work in Israel, I am pleased to say that Chairman Arafat's public acknowledgement of the importance of our activities shall considerably enhance our chances to win over many more Israelis to our position. But what is of the greatest importance, to my mind, is the unequivocal acceptance of the principle of international legitimacy by the leader of the PLO. It is this kind of assurance that many Israelis, peace-seeking Israelis, have always found lacking in major political statements of the PLO.

Having said that, I would like to add that a great deal more could have been achieved during this conference in terms of elaborating concrete measures aimed at increasing the support for peace in Israel. Far be it from me to level criticism. I realize the enormity of the task facing the Palestinian leadership, but on a practical level I must emphasize that a great deal remains to be done, and the sooner we get to concrete ideas and the steps to implement them, the better the cause of peace will be served. Unlike many others who are present here today, I am going back home to see the Palestinian suffering, and I know we can conduct a more energetic struggle supporting their resistance to aggression and oppression. But this cannot be effectively done so long as no direct links are established between us, Israelis and Palestinians.

In conclusion, let me say that we have all learned a great deal about each other over the years. I am sure that both the PLO and the peace groups in Israel have a better idea now as to the difficulties facing us and the possibilities open to us. The present situation seems very grim indeed, because the alliance between the USA and Israel against the Palestinian people seems so powerful. But with the kind of leadership given by Chairman Arafat to the Palestinians, and the determination of the peace forces to fight with all their strength for the liberation of the Palestinian people, I feel confident that we shall see peace and justice in our days. Let me quote my great Palestinian friend, Dr. Issam Sartawi, just once more and repeat what he had written to us on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of our Israeli-Palestinian Peace Council: *"Sooner than most of our enemies believe, we shall see our two nations, the Palestinian and the Israeli, living next to each other in peace and friendship."*

## **"The Silence is Broken"**

By Lewis M. Moroze

**Freedomways: Special Middle East Issues, Part 1, Vol. 23, No. 2; Part II, Vol. 23, No. 3 Published quarterly by Freedomways Associates, 799 Broadway, NYC 10003, \$2.00 each issue.**

"*The Silence is Broken*," the lead editorial in the special issue of *Freedomways* points up, at a minimum, the political and historic contribution made by the editors on the question of the Middle East.

Says the editor, J. H. O'Dell, "Public inquiry into this area has been roundly discouraged . . . nevertheless, a number of organizations in the peace, civil rights and religious activist communities have continued to look into this area of foreign policy. . . . Accumulated inquiry has now created a groundswell of public concern over US Middle East policy." We might add that a significant section of American Jews have become increasingly critical of US-Israeli aggressive policies in the era.

O'Dell reports that "Wide sections of the voting public do not trust the Reagan Administration to conduct a policy that will lead to peace, and rightfully so. Especially is this true of the Afro-American community." Serving their US imperialist masters, American Jewish reactionary leaders in the established organizations are equating criticism of US-Israeli policy by Afro-Americans as "Black anti-Semitism."

O'Dell concludes: "New voices must increasingly be raised, voices with an organized base of support . . . to redefine the national interest consistent with the goals of peace, justice and social progress for our nation and for the world."

The editors of *Freedomways* are to be highly commended for this special issue. We, of *Jewish Affairs*, are especially grateful for this contribution to bring the truth about the Middle East to our multinational, multi racial people. This issue is a contribution to the people of Israel and all the peoples of the Middle East striving for national liberation and for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Only those Israelis and their followers who are beholden to US imperialist interests can find fault with this outstanding study.

Damu Smith of Washington, DC, writes about "*The US Peace Movement and the Middle East*." He notes that "what is noticeably absent from the disarmament leaders' strategy is any serious attention to such international tensions and conflicts as the Middle East Crisis, which could lead to a US-Soviet military confrontation and possible nuclear war." "At the root of the Arab-Israeli conflict," says Smith, "has always been the  
Nov./Dec., 1983

continued denial of self-determination and statehood for the 4½ million Palestinians . . . Until this problem is solved, there will be no lasting peace in the Middle East."

An article worthy of special attention is: "*An Afro-American Perspective on the Middle East*," by Angela M. Gilliam, an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the State University of NY at Westbury. Her charges of racism against Israeli leadership are substantiated by words from their own mouths. Moshe Dayan said that the Sephardim (Jews from the Arab lands) are "Israel's biggest problem" because they outnumber the Ashkenazim (European Jews). Abba Eban warned against being drawn into an "unnatural Orientalism" and integration. Abba Eban is South African-born. Former Prime Minister Ben Gurion favorably compared the Zionists with the "Conquistadores" noting that Americans fought "wild nature and wilder redskins" just as the Israelis who fight the desert and the Arabs.

Her sensitivity and objectivity are reflected in her comment that "Regarding the matter of Israel, it is incumbent upon the Afro-Americans to realize that the Jewish community here, in Israel and elsewhere, is not monolithic—contrary to what the major US media and Zionists would have us believe. Counterposed to many of the forces sighted earlier (the racist remarks of Israeli leaders—LMM) are the constructive views and activities of those Jews who have long denounced racism wherever it existed and, in particular, have maintained that peace can only come to the Middle East through recognition of Palestinian rights."

Prof. Gilliam concludes: "Lastly, we must share the understanding with all Americans of good will, that to oppose Reaganism in all its forms is to oppose anti-Semitism, an evil that assumed unspeakably monstrous proportions in this century." It would be well the membership of B'Nai-B'Rith and the American Jewish Congress would speak in such terms.

A nurse who served at Sabra and Shatila, Ellen Siegel, wrote an article, "*The Road to Jerusalem, Beirut September*.) She writes: "It is the duty of every human being—but above all, of every Jew—to see to it that the tragic historical events that ravaged the Jewish people do not befall *any people*."

James Zogby, Executive Director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee writes on: "*Palestine Identity and the Land of Palestine*" opening with a popular Palestinian proverb: "Who has no land has no honor."

To bring forth the truth about the PLO Zogby reports the remarks of Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, a member of



the Palestinian National Council (The Congress of the PLO-LMM) outlining the four major components of the Palestinian national consensus: (1) Palestinians, whether in exile or living under occupation, constitute one people with a defined national and cultural identity; (2) The Palestinian national identity is intimately and inextricably connected to the land of Palestine; (3) Palestinians have a legitimate right to a national state; (4) Palestinians have the right to representation by leaders of their own choosing in any deliberation concerning their future."

Zogby includes a poem by the Communist Mayor of Nazareth, Tawfiq Zayyad: "We shall Remain". In part it reads: "It would be easier for you to pass an elephant through a needle's eye, Or to catch fried fish in the galaxy, Or to plough the sea, Or force a crocodile to speak Than it is to destroy by persecution our conviction".

Israeli civil libertarian, Israel Shahak, contributed an article entitled: "Is Israel on the Road to Nazism?" Shahak makes an important contribution in his principled opposition to the ruling circles of Israel.

The publisher of the *Detroit Jewish News*, which published an article late in 1982 distorting the views of Congressman George Crockett, Jr., met with the congressman who clarified his views but the *Jewish News* did not carry that story. Crockett, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, then sent the paper a letter which it refused to print. *Freedomways* carries the letter, excerpts of which include the following:

"I continue to maintain . . . the right of the Israeli people to self-determination, to protection from attack and to peace. Up until the Lebanon invasion, I have consistently voted in Congress for economic assistance to Israel. I have come to seriously question, however, the Begin-Sharon policies of aggression and war . . .

"Our continued role as arms supplier—to Israel and to Arab nations—and the Administration's lack of control over the misuse of those weapons for offensive purposes place this country in the role of passive participant in the killing of thousands of innocent victims. . . .

"Peace for Israel, . . . cannot be achieved by increasing the level of weaponry. It cannot be won unless and until a way is found to live alongside and with the Palestinian people. . . .

"Let us work together for better understanding among our own people and for peace everywhere."

This exceptional issue is further enhanced by a background readings list. Readers would benefit from a reading of Hy Lumer's work on "Zionism: its Role in World Politics," which is not on the list.

## South African Nazism By Norman Markowitz

Sipo E. Mzimela, *Apartheid: South African Nazism* (New York, Vantage Press, 1983) 245 pp. \$8.95 hardcover.

**"We stand for Christian nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this antidemocratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy, it is called Fascism, in Germany, National Socialism, and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism." (John Vorster, 1942)**

The above quotation (by a politician who eventually rose to be Prime Minister of South Africa) is but one of the damning documents presented by Sipo E. Mzimela to show the historical connections between the German Nazi party and the ruling South African Nationalist party. For Jews in particular, to whom appeals based on memories of the Hitlerite genocide against the Jewish people are often used for reactionary Zionist tendencies and for anti-Sovietism, this cogently written and convincingly researched work is of special value.

First of all, the author, using the formal Nazi German and South African race laws, general laws, and official philosophy, shows how the present South African state and society reflects and is largely modelled after Nazi Germany. Furthermore, Mzimela presents a good deal of valuable factual material concerning both Nazi anti-Semitism and the South African people's resistance to the Apartheid regime's racist policies. Also, he clearly shows the link between the two racist regimes in their use of anti-Communism as an ideological cover, noting that "in liberation circles, nothing is more honorable than to be called a Communist by a Fascist." His conclusion is that "given a chance, the NATS (ruling South African Nationalists) are bent on doing to the Blacks what the Nazis did to the Jews. Despite their denials, the Western backers of Apartheid know this" and this is strongly supported by the evidence he presents.

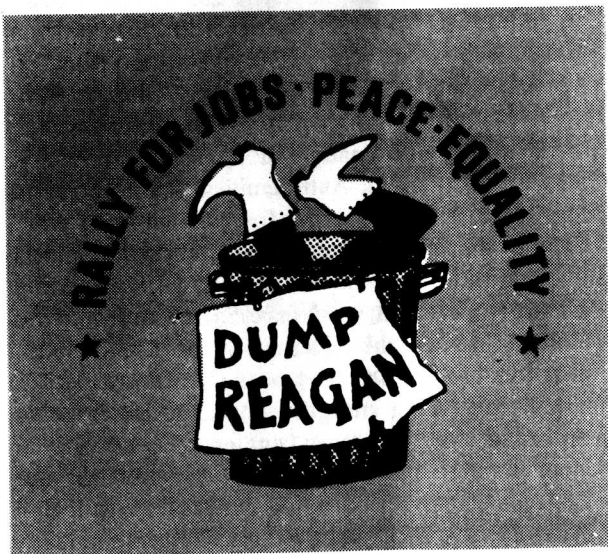
Mzimela, whose aim seems to be the development of greater clarity and consciousness among anti-Apartheid forces outside of South Africa, compares the responses of the various churches of Germany to the Nazi race policies with the response of South Africa's churches to Apartheid, showing how political and moral silence can be turned into effective support by Fascists and their allies. For Jews, the most significant and effective way to honor the victims of the Fascist genocide is to fight Fascism in the present, to actively oppose all expressions of Hitlerism rather than to lament the "Holocaust"



as a unique badge of Jewish suffering. It might be valuable for Jews, who often hear the justified slogan "Never Again" used for uncritical and unjustified support of the Israeli state, to apply that slogan to South Africa, where Hitlerism is indeed happening again and has been for decades. In this regard, one should note that Israel's economic and political relations with South Africa have long been a source of shame to progressive Jewish people, consternation among non-Jewish progressives, and quiet amusement among anti-Semites and reactionaries. Demands by Jewish progressives for "disinvestment" in an Israeli state that dishonors Jewish victims of the past and Jewish people of the present with such policies might be a way to encourage a saner Israeli policy toward South Africa.

What Mzimela's fine book does is to present Jewish progressives (most of whom have probably long known about the general similarities between Nazi Germany and Apartheid South Africa) with chilling and irrefutable documentation that makes these connections concrete. Jewish progressives can also learn from this work by a South African refugee scholar, rich both in its military and its anti-racist compassion, that the answer to the savage racism of both the Nazis and the South African NATS is not a counter chauvinism (which in its worst form is today represented by Menachem Begin) but fraternal support for national liberation struggles and for international cooperation based on an end to racism, imperialism, and all other forms of economic and social oppression of the peoples who make up the human family. □

**Norman Markowitz is a professor of history at Rutgers University.**



Nov./Dec., 1983

## The New Wave of Anti-Semitism By Maurice Kurzman

There has been an alarming upsurge in neo-Nazism and its concomitant anti-Semitism within the past two or three years both here and throughout the free world.

All across Western Europe violent incidents aimed at Jews are on the increase. In Paris, last summer six people were killed and twenty-two injured by gunfire in a Jewish restaurant—the worst anti-Jewish attack in France since WWII. It was still another attack in a series which had already claimed some eighteen lives that year.

In Paris, London, Rome and Munich, synagogues have been bombed in the recent past. Swastika-daubing on Jewish stores and homes and tombstones are now more frequent than at any time since World War II.

Police raids in West Germany uncovered stacks of Nazi propaganda which had been created and printed in Lincoln, Nebraska, the headquarters of the American Nazi Party.

This U.S.-originated hate literature that feeds the Nazi groups in Europe also sparks neo-Nazism in the U.S. Anti-Semitism is shockingly on the rise here too. The American Nazis are parading in public and spewing their poison against the Jews with the sanction of the ACLU which believes in free speech for all.

They are active on many fronts. The Anti-Defamation League reported that anti-Semitic violence and vandalism more than doubled in the past year. The League counted 974 incidents in 1981 involving acts of vandalism, the painting of swastikas, the desecration of cemeteries and the burning of crosses—but there were also attempts to bomb and set fire to synagogues and to homes of Jewish leaders.

For every recorded incident of anti-Semitism, many go unreported so the figures are considerably higher than those reflected by the ADL.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center in California reports the following atrocities which took place recently:

In California, Nazis were convicted of fire bombing a Temple City synagogue. In Oroville, the media report that Nazis are luring teenagers into their operation with drugs and alcohol. In other cities, storefronts, Jewish communal facilities—even the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles—were defaced with malicious Nazi slogans proclaiming "the Nazi party lives again" and urging "Jews die."

In *North Carolina*, five Nazis were convicted for conspiring to blow up buildings in Greensboro.

In *Illinois*, a Nazi in Chicago murdered an elderly

Jewish man by forcing him to inhale cyanide gas. Nazis marched in Jewish neighborhoods. And mass public distribution of hate literature is commonplace.

In *Pennsylvania*, a flyer passed out in a Philadelphia blue collar area proclaimed, "We hate Jews. They are the ones oppressing the White Man. We want fighters, marchers, those willing to give money and their time to the Movement."

In *Washington, D.C.*, the Washington-based, anti-Semitic Library Lobby ran a "scholarly" article in a recent issue of its widely read newspaper, *The Spotlight*. The article concluded that "the Hitler gas chambers never existed." *The Spotlight* has a paid circulation of more than 280,000!

The peace and quiet of West Hartford, Connecticut, a well-to-do suburban town, has recently been shaken by four arson attacks on the town's Jewish Community.

And in *New York City* there has been a series of shootings by a sniper armed with a rifle. On June 7th, the sniper fired on the main administration building of Yeshiva University. Two days later, six shots were fired at Jewish Memorial Hospital on upper Broadway. Then on June 22nd, twenty shots were fired at a luncheonette where some Yeshiva students were gathered. Three were wounded. Later, a car carrying five Yeshiva students on a Bronx expressway was fired upon wounding one of the passengers.

Samuel Hornstein, a spokesman for Yeshiva University said: "We have to accept that these are attacks by an anti-Semitic gang or individual."

The Anti-Defamation League has recently put out a booklet concerning the so-called "Identity Churches," a coalition movement preaching hatred of Jews and Blacks. The network includes

1. Posse Comitatus, a violent right-wing anti-Semitic and racist group.
2. The Christian Defense League, whose leader, James Warner, is an officer of the American Nazi Party. They publish the *Christian Vanguard* which includes such articles as: "New Research into Jewish Ritual Murder" and "Inequalities of the Negro Race."
3. Aryan Nations, Their ambassador-at-large, Louis Beam, is a Texas Ku Klux Klan leader. Another leader, Richard Butler, has close ties to the neo-Nazis in West Germany.
4. The Christian Patriots Defense League. Their aim is to "awaken and organize patriots contending against humanism, modernism, communism, Judaism and integration."

A group like the Institute for Historical Review

openly claim that the Holocaust never existed except as Jewish propaganda. They state that the bodies piled up in concentration camps were actually killed in Allied bombing raids and not by the Nazis! And the Institute is succeeding in convincing quite a number of people to believe in these insane lies.

Allied to the American Nazis is the Ku Klux Klan which has also become more active along the same lines. Along with them are a number of other hate groups and a growing number of their supporters. Federal authorities are uncovering links among them and other groups of heavily armed right-wing extremists. They have common ideological and theological threads which link them together—anti-Semitism, anti-Communism and racism. They appeal to people's basest fears and insecurities. Taking a page out of Hitler's book, they blame the country's present social and economic ills on the Jews, Blacks and other minorities.

Lately, these groups have entered the political arena. In Lansing, Michigan in 1980, an ex-Nazi won the Republican Congressional primary. In North Carolina, the leader of the American Nazi Party drew more than 50,000 votes for Attorney-General. These are not political flukes but just the tip of the iceberg. They are growing in numbers and gaining new converts and new strength.

The hate groups find a ready audience, for our country is undergoing a severe economic crisis which is undermining the morale and security of millions of people. The situation is analagous in some respects to what the German people were experiencing in the 1930's. Right wing capitalists are pouring money into reactionary movements just as the Thyssens and Krupps poured money into the Nazi party in the 30's. Big-Business Big-Government partnerships such as we are having now, were the main power structures of Fascism in the days of Mussolini, Hitler and Tojo. The essence of that system was a combination of domestic repression, militarism and racism. Anti-Semitism was a necessary ingredient by blaming the Jews for the ills of the country.

These well-financed groups have had some impressive successes on some major issues such as: the defeat of the ERA Amendment; the defeat of a national consumer protection agency; the undermining of Medicare payments for abortions; bringing back the death penalty in many states; killing anti-gun legislation; undermining affirmative action programs; banning many books from school libraries; pushing for more war spending and more militarist policies; opposing ratification of SALT II; defeating a number of liberal Congressmen and Senators in the 1980 elections.

To meet and combat the growing danger, it is of prime importance that the Jewish people and their organizations unite not only among themselves but with all other groups that are being discriminated against and threatened by the rise of reaction. For example, in the August 27th March in Washington for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom it was divisive and a disservice to the struggle for freedom for Jewish organizations like the American Jewish Committee or the Anti-Defamation League to oppose the historic event. The need now is for unity with all other oppressed groups—the Blacks, Hispanics, organized labor, left and other liberal and progressive political organizations. It was disunity which brought Fascism into power in the 30's and might again give rise to neo-Fascism in the 80's.

A hopeful and proper note was sounded by the New Jewish Agenda Organization which stated in part:

"The Agenda will firmly oppose all forms of anti-Semitism and racism and right-wing terror. In doing so we seek to unite with a broad-based anti-racist coalition including Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, native Americans and other ethnic minority groups. In building these coalitions we will seek to end Jewish isolation and challenge any anti-Jewish attitudes that arise. We are especially committed to recreating a relationship with the Black community in which we recognize similarities and differences and work for common goals. An atmosphere in which racist ideology is pervasive directly threatens Jewish well-being."

We have a big struggle ahead. We must fight not only against the Anti-Semites but also against the racists, the chauvinists, the militarists, the corporate criminals and a reactionary Administration. It may be a long struggle to make things better, but preferable to sitting idly by, waiting until they become worse. Then there may come a new democratic upsurge which will herald a new era and help avert a distinctly dangerous future.

**Maurice Kurzman is a retired High School Teacher.**

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### RECOMMENDED READING

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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## Jewish Affairs Correspondence

The following letter was addressed to David Seltzer as a member of our editorial committee.

This summer, my wife and I took a course on the Holocaust at an Elderhostel (college course for seniors) at the University of Maine at Fort Kent.

Most of the students were Jewish, including an Hungarian woman who was a concentration camp survivor. A Scotch-American historian, born in 1942, was our excellent teacher.

The two books we borrowed from you and our file of *Jewish Affairs* helped us to make valid contributions in discussions and to pose appropriate questions. We submitted the material to the instructor.

Towards the end of the week-long course, a classmate charged, "If one is anti-Zionist, then one is anti-Semitic." The teacher challenged this saying: "There are people who are anti-Zionist and not anti-Semitic," referring to my wife and me.

I then stated that Zionists are peddling this.\* My father and I have been anti-Zionists all of our lives. I was in Erie, Pa. when "Don't Buy Jewish" signs were posted on store windows. I asked the B'Nai B'Rith what they planned. They replied that they would go "hush-hush" to the mayor. They would not agree to distribute leaflets exposing anti-Semitism.

Later a classmate came to our room asking why I was "anti-Zionist." I explained that in pre-revolutionary Russia Lenin characterized Zionism as a bourgeois ideology. My father had been a member of the Bund. He escaped from a detention camp and came to the USA. Here he joined the Socialist and then the Communist Party.

I explained that I am anti-US imperialism, not anti-USA. I am anti-Zionist, not anti-Israel. This was a revelation to other classmates to whom he reported my position. They have strong feelings about Israel and had been misled by Zionist distortions.

In our discussions and statements, we should consider this and formulate as much as possible references to Begin forces, Begin policies, etc. rather than Israel.

We were given an award in recognition of our contributions as "Trail Blazers" at our graduation.

Comradely yours, Jonas Shiffman

\* Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, described the Zionist equation that "Zionism equals Judaism equals Israel" as a "sloppy equation" that has done much damage. LMM



## Press Roundup

The Chicago *Sentinel*, 9/8/83, carries an article by Trudy Rubin, of the *Christian Science Monitor* Selective Service, entitled: "Israeli Economy Becoming More Dependent on US Aid."

What is "most worrying" to the US General Accounting Office is that Israel is likely to face increasing difficulties in repaying its debt to the US. On a per capital basis Israel's foreign debt of \$21 billion is the world's largest and with a current debt of around \$7.8 billion to the US, Israel is the largest recipient of US foreign aid. The entire US economic aid grant of \$785 million in 1983 will not cover Israel's debt payment to Washington this year of more than \$1 billion.

Trudy Rubin points out that this year "the economy has sunk into worse shape" and that "some Israeli officials argue that increased US aid is fitting payment for the defense of US strategic aims in the Middle East. Others worry about increased dependence on the US."

Continued reliance on militarism and serving the plans of US imperialism in the Middle East has brought Israel to its present crisis.

The Shamir government's plan to "dollarize" the Israeli economy making of Israel a veritable colony of the US may yet lead to new elections though Shamir squeaked through on a vote of confidence..

On October 16th one million workers, at the call of the Histadruth, went out on a general strike for two hours. This represented about three quarters of the labor force of Israel.

In an editorial entitled: "Nation Needs Rescue," The *Jerusalem Post* observes that "Those who did not bemoan the misconceived war, and its cost in lives, should not now bemoan its costs for the economy. Those who did not stand up against the misconceived settlement in the West Bank and its burden on the economy, shouldn't cry now about looming unemployment. . . . There is only one way out and that is elections. The people must be asked to address themselves to the national policies

which have led the nation to its present circumstances. Such elections should mean political change and economic reform."

Indications are that sectors of the Labor Coalition are beginning to see the fruits of their support of the Lebanon invasion. The peace forces and the workingclass of Israel in coalition with the Communist Party of Israel and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality have it within their power to turn the Israeli government around from their suicidal alliance with US imperialism.

The *Palestine Human Rights Bulletin*, #36, Summer 1983, contains a report on the Palestinians in Lebanon. The introduction to this report was written by Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughed, a member of the Palestine National Council and a professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. The first paragraph of that report follows:

"Israel's invasion of Lebanon that began with massive air raids on Beirut June 4, 1982 reached its climax with the military occupation of Beirut itself on September 14, 1982. The subjugation of Beirut made it possible for Israel to sponsor its surrogate's wholesale massacre of the Palestinians and Lebanese residents of Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. The invasions and massacres were intended to destroy the Palestinian idea and the people who nourished that idea. The MacBride Commission's report as well as other reports by journalists and writers documented Israel's attempt to commit ethnocide against the Palestinian people in Lebanon. It is, of course, obvious that Israel did not succeed in exterminating the Palestinian though the casualties of the Israeli invasion approximate 100,000. In addition, close to three hundred thousand Palestinians and Lebanese were made homeless as a result of Israel's excessively destructive attacks."

The world must never forget the massive casualties and homelessness inflicted upon the Lebanese and the Palestinians by Israel from the air and on the ground. Nor will the world be unmindful of US complicity in this invasion.

Louis Kalb

# Every Reader Get A Reader

געהאלטן אין יאנואר 1982, האט ער געזאגט:

... "עס איז אומגערעכט, טויטלעך אומגערעכט צו גלויבן, אז די צוגרייטונגען פאר גענאסיד זיינען גוט פאר דער עקאנאמיע. פונקט פארקערט — אן עקאנאמיע וואס ווערט אויפגעבלאזן דורך מיליטערישע אויסגאבן איז א פארניכטנדיקע אויסברענגעריי, וואס פראדוצירט נישט און שאפט נישט קיין פארגרעסערטן עפעקט...  
... "אויס" איז עס "ליבעראלער משוגעת" פון יענע וואס ווילן ניט גלויבן אז צוגרייטונגען פאר טויט איז לעבן?"

### פראגרעסיווע יידישע ארגאניזאציעס האבן געשטיצט דעם מארש

"די נייע יידישע אגענדע", די "יידישע קלובן און סאסייעטיס", די "עמא לאזארוס פעדעראציע" פון יידישע פרויען און פיל לאקאלע יידישע גרופירונגען איבערן גאנצן לאנד האבן געשטיצט דעם מארש קיין וואשינגטאן און זיך אנגעזעצט מיט זייערע פלאקאטן אין די רייען פון די מארשירנדיקע יוניאנס, סאציאלע פארבאנדן און געגנט-לעכע קאאליציעס.

ביי אונז אין לאנד האט די רעאקציאנערע פירערשאפט פון די יידישע ארגאניזאציעס — די רעיגען-שטיצער זיך אנגעשלאסן אין דער בעיגין-ליכוד-קליקע אין ישראל און צוגאמען גערופן פאר א באיקאט. אבער אט-די אנט-סאוועטישע עלעמענטן זיינען פארדאמט געווארן סיי אין ישראל און סיי ביי אונז אין לאנד און גרויסע דעלעגאציעס פון ביידע לענדער זיינען געפארן קיין ווארשע.  
ראביי אלעקסאנדער שינדלער האט אנגעפירט מיט דער אמעריקאנער דעלעגאציע. ער איז אבער געשטרויכלט געווארן פון די רעאקציאנערע עלעמענטן און אריינגע-פלאנטערט אין זיין שלוס-רעדע פראוואקאטיווע אויסדרוקן. אט-די אומפאסיקע אויסדרוקן זיינען געצילט געווען צו איינשטילן די ישראל בעיגין-קליקע און זייערע העלפער אין דער יידישער אנפירערשאפט אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן.

### דער רוף פון דער אמעריקאנער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי אין קאמף קעגן ראסיזם און אנטמיסעמיטיזם

אין דעם "דרעפט בעסיק דאקומענט" ארויסגעגעבן פון דער אמעריקאנער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי אלס א פאר-קאנווענשאן דיסקוסיע צו דער 23סטער נאציאנאלער קאנווענשאן אין קליוולאנד, אהייא, פון דעם 10טן ביזן 13טן נאוועמבער 1983, איז פאראן א ספעציעלער טייל וואס רופט זיך, "דאס יידישע פאלק"

מיר ברענגען דא די שלוס-טיילן פון דעם:

... "אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן איז נישט פאראן קיין זיכערע פארטיידיקונג קעגן ראסיסטישע אדער אנט-סעמיטישע פארלוימדונגען. פארקערט, עס איז פאראן דער בורשוואזער אויסדרוק — "אז אזא האנדלונג דריקט

אויס "פרייע רעדע" און אז דאס וועלן פארבאטן, אפילו ווען דאס איז פארבונדן מיט ארגאניזירטע קרייזן ווי די נאציס און קו-קלוקס-קלען, איז דאס "אומדעמאקראטיש". יידישע אמעריקאנער ווערן ניט געגעבן קיין גלייכע רעכט אין פיל געביטן פון לעבן. אנטמיסעמיטיזם עקזיסט טירט נאך אין פיל געביטן, איבערהויפט אין דעם געביט פון ארבעט — דיסקרימינאציע אין שטעלע-אנעמונג און דערהויבונג צו א העכערער שטעלע.

אנטמיסעמיטישע דעמאגאגיע און גוואלדזאמקייט זיי-נען מוסטערן פון רעאקציאנערע און ראסיסטישע באווע-גונגען. עס זוכט צו אפציען דעם צאָרן פון פאלק קעגן רעיגעניזם, רעיגענאמיקס און דער קאפיטאליסטישער סיסטעם.

### דער ארויפרוף

וויאזוי צו זיין מער עפעקטיוו אין די קאמפן קעגן אלע פארמען פון אנטמיסעמיטיזם אין די עקאנאמישע, פאליטישע, סאציאלע און קולטורעלע ספערן פון לעבן.

### אונזערע ספעציעלע פאראנטווארטלעכקייטן

(1) צו זיין מער גרייט צו העלפן אין דעם קאמף קעגן די אידעאלאגיעס פון ראסיזם, נאציאנאלן-שאוויניזם, אנטמיסעמיטיזם און ציוניזם.

(2) צו זיין מער העלפבאר און שטיצן די יידישע פאלקסמאסן צו דערקענען זייערע געמיינזאמע אינטערעסן מיטן אמעריקאנער ארבעטער-קלאס און די קרעפטן פון אנט-מאנאפאליע, דעם אלע-פעלקער פראנט.

(3) צו זיין מער עפעקטיוו אין אויפדעקן דעם גרויסן ליגן פון אנט-סאוועטיזם, וועלכער איז דער הויפט-גיפט וואס די ציוניסטישע באוועגונג פארשפרייט.

(4) צו העלפן דערקלערן אז די צוקונפט און די באזישע אינטערעסן פון ישראל ווערן נישט דערגרייכט דורך זיין צוגעבונדן צום אמעריקאנער אימפעריאליזם.

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### Below we publish excerpts from a letter received from a young reader now studying in Israel:

I was astounded by how quickly the settlements are being established, how much money is being pumped into the region, how determined they are to make their presence irrevocable. We visited "Ariel," a sprawling pre-fabricated urban center being erected on a mountain. Huge private dwellings are grafted onto the barren landscape. Basketball courts, sophisticated industrial centers, schools, shopping malls, corrugated metal offices and little gardens make this environment hospitable.

A halt on building the settlements, prospects of a Palestinian State on the West Bank will have to be bitterly fought for.

Esther

דער וואקס פון אַנטיסעמיטישער פּראָפּאָגאַנדע, וואָס-  
דאַליזם און טעראָריסטישע אַטאַקעס איז אַ שוידערלעכער  
צייכן, וואָס וואָרנט די געפאַר פאַר אונזערע דעמאָקראַטי-  
שע רעכטן פון פּאַלק בכלל און ייִדיש-אַמעריקאַנער בפרט.  
דער דרוק איז איצט צו אונטערגראָבן דעם וואָקס  
פון פּיל-פּאַלקישן אַנטי-רעגיעזן פּראָגאַנאַ. עס איז דער  
אַמעריקאַנער אימפּעריאַליזם, עס איז די רעגירונג-אַדמיניס-  
טראַציע בפרט, וואָס איז דער קוואַל פון אַנטיסעמיטיזם  
און ראַסיזם. רעגירונגס חוצפהדיקער פּאַרבאַנד מיט די רעכ-  
טע עוואַנגעלישע קרעפטן און אַנדערע ראַסיסטישע און  
אַנטיסעמיטישע גרופּירונגען מוז אויפגעדעקט ווערן און  
באַקעמפט ווערן פון אַלע דעמאָקראַטישע כּוחות.

עס מוז דאָ ווידער ווערן אונטערשטראַכן, אַז די רע-  
אַקציאָנערע עלעמענטן אין דער פּירערשאַפט פון די  
אַמעריקאַנער ייִדישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס איז באַשיינפערלעך  
שטיל וועגן דעם קוואַל פון דעם געפערלעכן שטייגן פון  
אַנטיסעמיטיזם און אַן אַפּטייל אירער האָט געגעבן אַן  
אויסצייכענונג דעם ראַסיסט און אַנטיסעמיט דזשערי  
פּאַלוועל.

עס איז אונזער פליכט צו אויפדעקן אַט-די ראַל פון  
דער ייִדישער אַנפירערשאַפט, אַ פּאַל וואָס דערמאַנט  
זייער שווייגעניש אין צייט פון היטלערס אויפשטייגן. נאָך  
מער, מיר מוזן צוטראַגן אונזער הילף צו דער קאַמפּאַניע  
צו דערקלערן אויסער דעם געזעץ ראַסיזם און אַנטיסע-  
מיטיזם.

די אויסגעטראַכטע מעשה וועגן סאַוועטישן אַנטיסע-  
מיטיזם איז אַ שטערונג כדי צו פאַרשטעלן דעם וועג צו  
דעטאַנט און וועלט-שלום. עס קען און מוז באַזייטיקט ווערן  
דורך פאַרברענגען די אמתע פאַקטן פאַר די פאַראייניקטע  
פּאַלקס-פּראָגאַנאַ מיט וועלכע מיר אַרבעטן.

**די אַפּראָ-אַמעריקאַנער און ייִדישע קאַאָליציע  
קעגן ראַסיזם און אַנטיסעמיטיזם**

די אַפּראָ-אַמעריקאַנער און ייִדישע פּאַלקס-קאַאָליציע  
איז געצילט צו ווערן אַ פּאַליטישע קראַפט אויף דער אינ-  
טערנאַציאָנאַלער סצענע ווי אויך אין קאַמפּן פאַר פולער  
גלייכהייט אין דערהיים. דאָס אידענטיפיצירן און פאַר-  
וואַנדשאַפט פון די אַפּראָ-אַמעריקאַנער מיט די נייע באַ-  
פרייטע לענדער און די נאַציאָנאַלע באַפרייאונגס באַווע-  
גונגען מאַכן אַזאַ קאַאָליציע אַ קרעפטיק געווער אין די  
קאַמפּן פאַר אַ גערעכטן און דויערהאַפּטן שלום אין מיטל-  
מזרח.

בײַ אַ לאַנטשאַן אַראַנזשירט פון דעם אַמעריקאַנער  
ייִדישן קאַנגרעס האָט דר. האַשאַ דאַינער, אַן אַקאַדעמישע  
דירעקטאָרשע פון דעם אַמעריקאַנער אוניווערזיטעט אין  
וואַשינגטאָן און אויטאָרי פון אַ בוך וועגן „אַפּראָ-אַמע-  
ריקאַנער און ייִדישע באַציאונגען“ גערעדט וועגן דעם  
20סטן יוביליי פון היסטאָרישן מאַרש קייין וואַשינגטאָן אין  
1963 וואו דר. מאַרטין לוטער קינג האָט געהאַלטן זיין  
באַרימטער רעדע: „איך האָב אַ טרוים“. זי האָט געזאָגט:

*Jewish Affairs*

... „איך הענק, אַז אַ צענדליק טויזנט יידן האָבן  
אַנטיילגענומען אין דעם מאַרש. דער גאַנצער פאַר-  
נעם פון ייִדישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס איז געווען פאַר-  
טראַטן. יידן זיינען אויך געווען פאַרטראַטן אין דער  
אַרגאַניזאַציע פון מאַרש, די רעדעס און אַנדערע  
טיילן“...

... „עס איז געווען אַ געשעעניש פון גרויס  
וויכטיקייט פאַר יידן ווי אויך פאַר אַפּראָ-אַמעריקאַ-  
נער. עס איז געווען וויכטיק פאַר זיי נישט נאָר אַלס  
אַמעריקאַנער, נאָר עס האָט געהאַט אַ ספּעציפישן  
ייִדישן אויסדרוק“.

**אַפּשאַצונגען פון ייִדישע געזעלשאַפּטלעכע פירער**

אַלבערט וואַרספּאַן, וויצע-פּרעזידענט פון דער „יוניאָן  
און אַמעריקען היברו קאַנגרעגעישיאָנס“ האָט געשריבן:

... „די באַדייטונג פון ייִדישן אַנטייל אין דעם  
מאַרש קיין וואַשינגטאָן דריקט זיך אויס אין דאָס  
אַנהאַלטן פון שוואַרץ-ייִדישע קאַאָפּעראַציע אין די  
קאַאָליציעס פאַר מענטשלעכער רעכט און סאַציאַל-  
לער גערעכטיקייט. ווען דאָס וואַלט נישט פאַסירט,  
וואַלט עס געווען אַ באַשטימטע טראַגעדיע, אַ פּול-  
שטענדיקער ברוך צווישן דער ייִדישער געזעלשאַפט  
און די אַפּראָ-אַמעריקאַנער“.

אַ שאַד, וואָס די באַמערקבאַרע ייִדישע פאַרטרעטער-  
שאַפט איז געווען מינימאַל צוליב דעם טאָג שבת, אָבער  
ראַבּי אַלעקסאַנדער שינדלער האָט געגעבן זיין ברכה ביים  
סוף פון מאַרש. דאָס איז געווען אַ פּרעכטיקע און פאַע-  
טישע תּפילה.

ראַבערט ליפּשוין, געוועזענער פּרעזידענט פון די  
„היברו בענעוואַלענט קאַנגרעגעישיאָנס“ אין אַטלאַנטאַ און  
ווייס-הויז ראַטגעבער אין דער קאַרטער-אַדמיניסטראַציע,  
האַט געשפּילט אַ גרויסע ראַלע אין די פאַרהאַנדלונגען  
וואָס האָבן געפירט צו פאַרברידערונג און פאַראייניקונג  
פאַרן מאַרש.

ראַבּי לענאַרד בערמאַן פון לאַס-אַנדזשעלעס, האָט  
אין זיין רעדע בײַ דער סטעפּאַן ווייס פרייע סינאַגאָגע  
אין ניו יאָרק, דערקלערט:

„מיר האָבן דערלויבט די אַזוי-גערופענע ספּעציאַל-  
ליסטן אין פאַרטיידיקונג צו באַשטימען די נויטווענדיקייטן  
פאַר אונזער לאַנד און די וועלט... און מיר צאָלן אַ גע-  
פערלעכן פרייז פאַר דעם. פּרעזידענט איזענהאַוער האָט  
איינגעזען וועגן דעם ווען ער האָט געזאָגט: „יעדע ביקס  
וואָס ווערט געשאַפּן, יעדע קריג-שיף וואָס ווערט אַרויס-  
געלאָזן, יעדער ראַקעט וואָס וועט אַרויסגעשאַסן, באַדייט  
אַ רויבעריי פון יענע וואָס ליידן דאָנער און קריגן נישט  
קיין שפּייז, יענע וואָס פירן און ווערן נישט באַקליידעט“.  
אין אַ רעדע וואָס ראַבּי באַלפאַר בריקנער פון דער  
זעלבער סטעפּאַן ווייס פרייע סינאַגאָגע אין ניו יאָרק האָט

גילברט קלפערמאן, פּרעזידענט פון דעם "ראַבניקל קאָנסיל און אַמעריקע" (אַרטאָדאָקס) געשלאָסן די צוויי-טאָגיקע פּאַרזאַמלונג פון דעם קאָנסיל דעם 19טן יאַנואַר דערקלערנדיק: "מיר מוזן אָפּשטעלן דעם נוקלעאַרן גע-ווער-געיעג און מאַכן יעדן פּאַרווה צו שניידן דאָס פּאַר-גרעסערונג פון נוקלעאַרע געווער".

ביי איר 84טער נאַציאָנאַלער קאָנווענשאָן אין דעצעמ-בער 1982, האָט די "יוניאָן און אַרטאָדאָקס דזשוּאיש קאָנ-גרעגעיִשאַנס" גערופן צו "אַ צווייפּאַכער פּאַרקלענערונג אין דער גרויס און פּאַרשפּרייטונג פון נוקלעאַרע געווערן דורך די פּאַראייניקטע שטאַטן און דעם סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד". די גענעראַל אַסעמבלי פון דעם "קאָנסיל פון יידישע פעדעראַציעס און וועלפער פּאַנדם" האָט געשטיצט די נוקלעאַרע-פּאַרפירונג און האָט געראַטן די פּאַראייניקטע שטאַטן און סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד צוצושטימען צו אַ "טאָ-טאַלן און פּיליטיקן אָפּשטעל פון דעם נוקלעאַר-געווער-געיעג"...

די וואַקסנדיקע שטימונג ביי אונז אין לאַנד און איבער דער גאַנצער וועלט פאַר דעטאַנט און וועלט-שלום געפינט איר אויסדרוק אין דער וואַקסנדיקער שלום-באַוועגונג איבערן גאַנצן לאַנד.

די רעגירונג פּראָוואַקאַטיווע שפּיאַן-מיסיע פון דעם קאַרעיער עראַפּלאַן 007 האָט ניט דערפירט צו דער פּלאַ-נירטער דזשינגאַאייסטישער היסטעריע, נאָר פּאַרקערט, צו אַ באַשטימטער זאַרג צו דריקן פאַר אַ געמיינזאַמער באַ-שטעטיקטער נוקלעאַרער געווער-פּאַרפירונג און נוקלעאַר-געווער-רעדוקציע.

### יידישער קאָנגרעס און טעמפל בית-שלום אין קווינס פירן דורך אַנטי-נוקלעאַרע קאָנפּערענץ

די אַנטי-נוקלעאַרע באַוועגונג אין קווינס און פּלאַ-שינג, אין לאַנג-איילאַנד, ניו יאָרק האָט געשאַפן אַ קאַא-ליציע פאַר שלום און פּאַרפירן נוקלעאַרן-געווער.

די קווינס דיזיזיע פון אַמעריקאַנער יידישן קאָנגרעס און טעמפל בית-שלום אין פּלאַשינג האָבן באַווירן צו אַר-גאַניזירן אַ קאָנפּערענץ אונטער דעם טיטל: "די יידישע קהילה און די געפאַר פון נוקלעאַרע געווער" פאַר זונטיק דעם 16טן אַקטאָבער, 1983, פון איינס ביז 6 אין אָונט, אין טעמפל בית-שלום, 171טע גאַס און נאָרטערן בולע-וואַרד, פּלאַשינג, ניו יאָרק.

די הויפּט-רעדנער: טענעלי לאַוועל, געוועזענער וויצע-פּרעזידענט פון אַמעריקאַנער יידישן קאָנגרעס און דעלעגאַט צו דער מאַדרידער קאָנפּערענץ וועגן העלסינקי-אַקט און קאָנגרעסמאַן טאַמאַס דאָנויו.

### דער רוף פון די פּראָגרעסיווע יידיש-אַמעריקאַנער שלום-קעמפער

אין זייער רוף פאַר דעטאַנט, קעגן מיליטאַריזם און נוקלעאַרן געווער-געיעג האָבן די פּראָגרעסיווע יידיש-

אַמעריקאַנער שלום-קעמפער דערקלערט:

... "מיר רופן אַלע פעלקער צו פאַרדאַמען דעם באַ-גריף פון אַ באַגרענעצטער נוקלעאַרער מלחמה, וועלכע דינט צו באַרעכטיקן דאָס אַנטוויקלען פון "ערשטער קלאַפּ" ("פּורסט-סטריק") געווערן. מיר שטיצן די פּאַרשלאַגן צו שאַפן נוקלעאַר-געווער-פּרייע זאַנעס, איבערהויפּט אין מיטל-מזרח.

... "מיר שטיצן קרעפטיק די באַמאונגען פון יענע וואָס אַרבעטן פאַר נוקלעאַרער אַנטוואַפּענונג אין די פּאַר-אייניקטע שטאַטן, סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד און איבער דער גאַנ-צער וועלט. מיר רופן די גאַנצע יידישע געזעלשאַפט זיך אַנשליסן מיט אונז אין דער קאַמפּאַניע צו אומדרייען דעם געווער-געיעג, אַזוי אַז מענטשלעכע באַדערפענישן קענען אויסגעפילט ווערן, און מיר קענען רעאַליזירן דעם ציל, אַז "קיינ פּאַלק זאָל נישט הויבן אַ שווערד קעגן אַ צווייטן פּאַלק און קיינער זאָל נישט לערנען מלחמה מער".

### סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד אין ייען רופט צו אַ נוקלעאַרער געווער-איינפירונג

דינסטיק, דעם 14טן אַקטאָבער, איז אין דער ייען אַסעמבלי פּאַרגעבראַכט געוואָרן אַ געשריבענע דערקלע-רונג פון סאָוועטישן אויסערן-מיניסטער אַנדדעי גראַמיקאָ צום גענעראַל-סעקרעטאַר דזשאָוואַר פּערעו דע קעלאַר און אַ רעדע פון דעם הויפּט-סאָוועטישן ייען דעלעגאַט אַלעג טראַיאַנאָוסקי.

גראַמיקאָ האָט פּאַרגעשלאַגן אַז די גענעראַל אַסעמבלי פון 15 פעלקער זאָל אַננעמען אַ רעזאָלוציע וואָס רופט די נוקלעאַרע הויפּט-לענדער איינצושטימען צו אַן איינ-פירונג וואָס זאָל זיין אין איינקלאַנג פון אַ באַשטימטער באַשטעטיקונג ("אַפּראַפּריעט וועריפיקעישאַן").

### דער וואַקס פון אַנטיסעמיטישע אַקטן פאַר די לעצטע עפּלעכע יאָר

לעצטן יאָר האָט די אַנטי-דעפּעמעישאַן ליג פון בני-ברית דערקלערט, אַז אין 1981 זיינען די אַנטיסעמיטישע אַטאַקעס אין די פּאַרייניקטע שטאַטן מער ווי פּאַרצוויי-פּאַכט אין פּאַרגלייך מיט 1980. די אַנטי-דעפּעמעישאַן ליג האָט פּאַרצייכנט 974 אינצידענטן פון אַנטיסעמיטישן וואַנדאַליזם אין 1981 אין 31 שטאַטן און דעם דיסטריקט פון קאַלאַמביאַ (וואַשינגטאָן). אין 1980 זיינען געווען בלויז 377 אינצידענטן אין 28 שטאַטן און וואַשינגטאָן. אַחוץ די 974, האָט די אויפדעקונג אויך צוגעגעבן אַ גוואַלדיקע פּאַרגרעסערונג אין קערפּערלעכע אַנגריפן און פּאַסט-טעלעפּאָן סטראַשווקעס קעגן יידן אַלס יידן. 350 אין פּאַר-גלייך מיט 112 אין 1980.

ניו יאָרק האָט פאַר צוויי יאָר צייט באַריכטעט 326 אינצידענטן; קאַליפּאָרניע, 150; ניו דזשורזי, 94; מאַ-סאַטשוסעטס, 59; מערילענד, 51; און אַנדערע שטאַטן האָבן געהאַט פון 50 ביז 24 אינצידענטן.



# ווידעשע ענינים

## די פראַגרעסיווע באַוועגונג אין דער אַמעריקאַנער יידישער געזעלשאַפט אין 1983

צו דער געלעגנהייט פון דער 23סטער יוביליי קאָנווענשאַן  
פון דער קאָמוניסטישער פאַרטיי

פון דוד סעלצער

דאָס אויפשטייגן אין די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן פון דער יוגנט-אַרגאַניזאַציע „נייע יידישע אַגענדע“, אין אַ באַוועגונג וואָס גייט פאַראַלעל מיט די צילן פון דער „שלום איצט באַוועגונג“ אין ישראל, האָט אַ גוואַלדיקע ווירקונג אויף דער אַמעריקאַנער יידישער געזעלשאַפט, וואָס פּרעגט אַפּ און צווייפלט אין ישראלס צוועקן און אַקציעס, ווי אויך אין ציוניזם, וואָס שטיצט די אַמעריקאַנער אימפעריאַליסטישע פּאָליטיק און די פּאָליטיק פון דער בעיגין-רעגירונג פון פאַרכאַפּן אַראַבישע טעריטאָריעס און זיי באַזעצן מיט אַנטי-פּאַלעסטינער טעראָריסטישע עלעמענטן.

די „נוקלעאַר-פּריז“ באַוועגונג צווישן  
אַמעריקאַנער יידן

די גרויסע באַוועגונג קעגן נוקלעאַר-געווער און פאַראיינפירן די נוקלעאַרע אַמוניציע אין די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן האָט שטאַרק געריט די יידישע מאַסן און די פּאַלקס-אַרגאַניזאַציעס.

די לעצטע דערקלערונגען פון דעם „סינאַגאָגע קאָונ-סיל אָו אַמעריקע“, דער „אַמעריקאַנער יידישער קאָונ-גרעס“ און די „יוניאָן אָו אַמעריקען היברו קאָנגרעגעי-שאַנס“ צוזאַמען מיט די פּאָזיציעס פון דער „נייער יידישער אַגענדע“ גיבן גרויס שטיצע צו דער נוקלעאַרער פאַר-פּריירונג באַוועגונג און אַנדערע שלום-אַרגאַניזאַציעס.

די לעצטע דערקלערונג פון 120 יידישע לאַיער-סטודענטן פון באַרימטע אַמעריקאַנער אוניווערזיטעטן, וואָס פאַרדאַמט די בעיגין-רעגירונג, גיט צו גרויס גע-וויכט און שפּיגלט אַפּ די באַוועגונג פאַר ענדערונג און די געדאַנק-מוסטערן פון דער יידישער געזעלשאַפט.

דער באַרימטער ראַבבי אַלעקסאַנדער שינדלער שפּיגלט אַפּ די זאַרג צווישן אַמעריקאַנער יידן פאַר דער געפאַר פון אַ „וועלטלעכן נוקלעאַרן האַלאָקאַסט“.

רופּנדיק צו אַ נוקלעאַרער געווער-פאַרפּריירונג דורך די אַמעריקאַנער און סאָוועטישע רעגירונגען, האָט ראַבבי

דער פּאַלגנדיקער אַרטיקל איז מערסטנס באַ-זירט אויף דער „דזעפּטרעוואַלוציע“ פון דער פאַרטיי און דעם מעמאָראַנדום פון דער יידישער קאָמיטע פון דער פאַרטיי.

די אַמעריקאַנער יידישע מאַסן וואָס פאַרטרעטן די גרעסטע יידישע באַפעלקערונג פון וועלכן ניט איז לאַנד אין דער וועלט, געפינען זיך אין אַ צושטאַנד פון גרויס נויט צוליב דער עקאָנאָמישער דעפּרעסיע. אַרום 22 פּראָצענט פון זיי לעבן אין אַרעמשאַפט, מערסטנס צווישן עלטערע. 90 פּראָצענט פון יידישע אַמעריקאַנער אין דער עקאָנאָמיע האָבן „ווייסע-קאַלנער“ דזשאַבס. הונדערט טויזנט יידן אין דער שטאַט ניו יאָרק אַליין זיינען אַרבעט-לאָז אָדער צייטווייליק באַשעפּטיקט.

אַט-די שוידערלעכע עקאָנאָמישע סיטואַציע און טאַג-טעגלעכע שווערע לעבנס-באַדינגונגען צווינגען די מאַסן יידישע-אַמעריקאַנער צו באַמערקן און זיך אַנשליסן אין די וואַקסנדיקע פּאַלקס-קאָאָליציעס איבערן לאַנד פאַר אַרבעט, שלום און פּרייהייט.

אַמעריקאַנער יידן אויפגערודערט פון דער בעגין-רעגירונג מיליטערישער אַוואַנטורע אין לבנון

די אַמעריקאַנער יידישע מאַסן און די פּאַלקס-אַרגאַ-ניזאַציעס איבערן לאַנד זיינען זייער שטאַרק צערודערט געוואָרן פון דעם בלוטיקן רעזולטאַט פון דער מיליטע-רישער אַוואַנטורע פון די בעגין-רעגירונג אין לבנון.

זייערע חוצפּהדיקע אימפעריאַליסטישע אַקטן וואָס האָבן געפירט צו די בלוטיקע שחיטות אויף די פּאַלעס-טינער מענער, פרויען און קינדער האָבן געצוואונגען אַמעריקאַנער יידן צו איבערטראַכטן זייערע מיינונגען וועגן דער בעגין-רעגירונג און די טראַגישע רעזולטאַטן פון דער בלוטיקער מלחמה.