

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Mar./Apr. 1984
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Reagan in Contempt of Congress and the Courts
By L.M.M.

Polish Saviors of Jews During WWII
By Sol Flapan

Social Advance: The Fruit of Struggle and Unity
By Herbert Aptheker

Confrontation and Prospects
By Meir Vilner

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Voices for Sanity
By Lewis M. Moroze

50th Anniversary of Birobidzhan

"God Cried"

Reagan on Decline of Rome and Greece
By Henry Klein

Sholem Aleichem's 125th Birthday Anniversary

Reagan in Contempt of Congress and the Courts

A fine aid in the mobilization of the broadcast sectors of our people in the historic task of ousting Reagan in 1984 is the publication: "In Contempt of Congress and the Courts: The Reagan Civil Rights Record," issued by the American Civil Liberties Union, Suite 301, 600 Pennsylvania Avenue, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 544-1681.

In the introduction we read: "This is a report about a radical and shameful assault on law enforcement in the United States. The assault is being led by President Reagan; directed by the White House advisors and carried out by the Attorney General and top officials in the Department of Justice. Its effect is a drastic curtailment of civil rights protection for millions of Americans and the undermining of our Constitution and the rule of law."

This report is worthy of careful study so that public pressure can be mounted to put an end to this all-out assault upon our hard won rights. The Reaganite plan comes down most heavily upon the rights of our Afro-American brothers and sisters. If these attacks are not countered by all advocates of civil liberties and civil rights and by the labor movement we could soon find ourselves the prisoners of a totalitarian state apparatus reminiscent of the Hitler era.

Reaganism would divide us and pick us off one at a time, a lesson bitterly learned by the recently departed Pastor Niemoller of Germany whose historic warning was: "First, they came for the Communists and I was not a Communist so I did nothing. Then they came for the trade unionists and I was not a trade unionist so I did nothing; Then they came for the Catholics and I was not a Catholic so I did nothing. When they came for the Protestants there was no one left to come to my defense."

In the introduction we read further that: "This report documents a series of official acts, many of which have not been widely reported, demonstrating the Reagan Administration's contempt of Congress, in the area of civil rights. The following pages show how Administration officials:

- Have aided defendants accused of subjecting institutionalized persons to abusive and inhumane conditions;
- Abandoned the use of an important legal principle that has been crucial to effective enforcement of the laws against housing discrimination;
- Impeded efforts of Black parents to participate in

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school desegregation lawsuits initiated in their behalf;

- Attacked voluntary efforts to end segregation in schools despite clear congressional endorsement of such voluntary measures;
- Opposed voluntary plans to end the effects of employment discrimination even though substantial judicial authority has endorsed similar plans;
- Attacked voluntary efforts to end segregation in schools despite clear congressional endorsement of such voluntary measures;
- Announced that a school district's "desegregation" plan would receive Justice Department approval even if it failed to end segregation — thus endorsing the long repudiated policy of "separate but equal";
- Publicly repudiated and refused to comply with a requirement that each federal agency develop goals for the hiring of minorities and women;
- Urged a federal court to interpret the Voting Rights Act in a manner clearly inconsistent with the intent of Congress;
- Recommended significant cuts in the resources of civil rights enforcement agencies; and
- Recommended the termination of funds for programs designed to foster educational opportunities for minorities and women."

Continuing the report states: "These actions illustrate that the President . . . (has) deliberately and systematically undermined civil rights statutes enacted by Congress. The statutes in question are: • The Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act; • The Voting Rights Act of 1965 • The Fair Housing Act of 1968; • Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 • Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and • Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Concluding the introduction, the ACLU report states: "Three themes are clear about the actions described in this report. First, the Reagan Administration seeks to weaken drastically the federal government's civil rights enforcement authority. . . . Second, the Administration has actively and repeatedly opposed voluntary efforts to remedy civil rights violations and undermined civil rights principles long-established by Congress and the courts. . . . Third, the federal structure for enforcing civil rights is severely imperiled by proposed budget cuts, regulatory notifications and political manipulation of the federal government's only independent fact-finding and investigatory civil rights agency."

The body of the report fully substantiates the ACLU charge that: "The actions described . . . reveal a pattern of disregard by the Executive Branch for the rule of law and the mandates of the legislature." This charge by

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Polish Saviors of Jews During WWII

By SOL FLAPAN

WARSAW — Anything goes when it comes to make a fast buck in the U.S. business world. And if it includes a slanderous swipe at socialism or one of the socialist countries, all the better.

In an advertisement in the *New York Times Book Review* section [8-21-83], *The New Republic* [9-12-83], for example, five "shocking statements" are marshalled to sell Abram L. Sachar's book *The Redemption of the Unwanted* which "re-creates the heroic story of those who survived the Holocaust. . . ." All are dated though all but one are attributed to some real person or document, the fifth, anonymous "statement" being an anti-Polish poison arrow.

And so, under 1945 we read "The Jews are lower than animals" — a quote from U.S. "General George S. Patton referring to the survivors of the Holocaust." This was probably one of that pistol-packing general's milder expletives.

Also under 1945, a "Report to President [Harry S.] Truman" states that "We appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them." That also rings true — just thumb through Arthur D. Morse's *While Six Million Died* or Professor Walter Laquer's *The Terrible Secret* revealing that the Western allies disregarded Polish underground dispatches on nazi genocide here.

In 1946, says the advertisement by St. Martin's Press, the British Foreign Minister [Ernest] Bevin said, "The Americans are so enthusiastic about opening Palestine to the refugees because they do not want to have many of them in New York." A case of the pot accusing the kettle.

Finally, on the eve of Israel's independence [1948], Sir Evelyn Barker, British Commander in Palestine, is recalled for his racist remark "We will punish the Jews in a way that the race dislikes, by striking at their pockets." Yes, indeed, each of these "shocking statements give you some idea of the attitudes faced by the

itself warrants all-out effort to dump Reagan in 1984.

The only candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the U.S. to place most sharply the attacks on our democratic structure by Reagan and the Reaganites are the candidates of the CPUSA, Gus Hall and Angela Davis. L.M.M. □

400,000 survivors of the Holocaust."

Then comes that inevitably required anti-socialist mind pollutant: "If only [Adolf] Hitler had finished the Final Solution" [of exterminating every single Jewish person] is attributed to some unnamed, undefined "Polish reaction to the returning Holocaust survivors" in 1946.

Who was this unknown "Polish reaction"? An individual — who? A group — which? The nation — itself the victim of racist genocide?

As Poles and Jews here delve deeper and deeper into the history of the Holocaust, ever more facts and examples emerge that Polish reaction — by individuals, groups and the nation — to Nazi persecution of Jews was that of militant solidarity. This ranged from the sheltering of Jews to armed assistance to Ghetto resistance fighters, and that not only as concerns the most famous and most revered — the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in the spring of 1943.

This is all the more stunning as nowhere else in Nazi occupied Europe other than in eastern and central Europe, in Poland and the Soviet Union especially did German fascism introduce collective responsibility and mete out collective punishment for even such passive encouragement to Jews as a sympathetic glance or a friendly word. This is not to mention sheltering them, arranging "Aryan" documents for them, or waging joint armed liberation struggle with them as in the Ghetto fighting and in partisan [guerrilla] activity.

Every week, *Folks-Shtime*, the press organ of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, features new, dramatic evidence of this Polish-Jewish connection during an over five year holocaust which smote both.

Recently, eminent historian Szymon Datner brought to light two hitherto unreported cases in what was headlined "From the History of the Rescue of Jews by Poles During the Hitlerite Occupation." He opens his account with a wartime quotation from the Polish writer Zofia Kossak that "Anyone who remains silent in the face of murder becomes an accomplice of the killer. Anyone who does not condemn murder, permits it."

These words by one of the finest persons in the history of humankind, says Professor Datner, was addressed to the nation and the world in the wake of one of the most heinous of crimes, the monstrous butchery of the Warsaw Ghetto in July-September 1942. That single operation wiped out 310,000 Jews. The heroic Ghetto Uprising and its fall were a year away.

Every rescue case, even the unsuccessful attempts, ought to be recorded for posterity all the more so that such assistance was punishable by death, exhorts Szy-

mon Datner.

"Our premise is," says this historian, "that [a] there were scores and hundreds of cases in which rescuing the life of one person, though not always crowned with success, involved the effort and hellish risk by hundreds of people of good will, and [b] there were scores and hundreds of cases in which a single person or family saved or attempted to save a dozen or more people in need."

The case of Israel ben Gedaliahu Warszawer known to this day as "Zygmunt," his alias during the occupation, belongs in the first category. The Holocaust robbed him of his wife, daughter and son.

While being transported to the Treblinka death camp, Warszawer-Zygmunt and a few other more daring fellow Jews managed to jump from the cattle car prison train. Then followed two years of wandering from village to village hiding here and there as the instinct of self-preservation dictated mobility. At one place he was given shelter for the day, at another for the night.

This food and lodging for shorter or longer periods were — Achtung! Punishable by death! — offered by complete strangers, also by prewar childhood friends.

And there were many of them as is evidenced by even the brief list of Poles who contributed to the rescuing of a single fellow human, which brings to mind the Talmud's "Whoever saves one life is as though he [she] preserved the existence of the entire world."

Among Warszawer-Zygmunt's rescuers were Zygmunt Wojdyga in a place called Laskarzew. Also the local station [precinct] police chief Kazimierz Smarzewski of the so-called "Blue" police of prewar and the occupation period — a much hated, reactionary, semi-fascistic outfit; this police officer, by the way, rescued three Jews during the Nazi nightmare!

In the village of Kolonia-Zygmunt the chain of good will included Bartek Lusnia, Jozef Talarek, Onufry Bartenski and his wife Onufruwa, among many others says Professor Datner.

"Yes, there were some bad people," recalls Warszawer-Zygmunt. "Where don't you have some rotten ones?" he reflects. "But it's everlasting glory to those who displayed their humanity," when the moment of truth demanded it, Warszawer-Zygmunt is quoted by Datner.

Now to Datner's category of individual Poles who "saved or attempted to save a dozen or more people."

Warsaw is the venue of this story which centers around the person of Professor Wenczeslaw Poniz and his family.

From the mid-1930s, Poniz was a highly esteemed
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lecturer at the Faculty of Architecture at the Warsaw Politechnic. During the Nazi occupation he conducted a course in the Clandestine Warsaw Politechnic — another "crime" punishable by being dispatched to a concentration camp. The point is that all high school and college education was banned. According to erstwhile fascist Berlin "Poles should be taught to count up to one hundred, and that's all."

In addition to risking life and limb with his underground educational activity, Professor Poniz compounded that danger by saving Jews. His home was a secret haven for the persecuted as former students, pre-war friends and complete strangers were solicitously sheltered for shorter or longer periods.

He was assisted in this by his wife, Janina, and their teenage daughter, Ewa, who is now an architect and married. All told, the Poniz family rescued Margrit Sielska, nee Reich; Olga Axer; the Pawlowskies, mother and daughter; Irena Włodarczyk; Henryk Reiss now in Australia; Czesław Nussbaum, a journalist who died in 1950; and Jerzy Puterman-Sadłowski, architect who died in 1955.

When Professor Poniz died in 1967, the aforementioned Henryk Reiss wrote to the bereaved widow and daughter: "The great name of Professor Poniz shines in golden letters in the hearts of all his students, especially we Jewish students. When anti-Semitism was rife in prewar [semi-fascist] Poland, we always found understanding, justice and friendship in the person of Professor Poniz. Glory to his sacred memory!"

The Jerusalem-based Yad Vashem Institute of National Remembrance honored that noble family in 1983 with its prestigious award and title "Righteous Among Nations." Unfortunately posthumously for two of the Poniz family died several days before the award arrived here. The weekly *Folks-Shime* features in every issue the names and deeds of Polish recipients of this Yad Vashem medal.

Summing up, Professor Szymon Datner returns to his point of departure: in the case of Warszawer it was scores of Poles, strictly, Polish peasants, who contributed to the rescuing of one Jewish fugitive, while in the Poniz case it was one Pole, actually one Polish family, that rescued many hunted Jews.

In the first instance, concludes Datner, peasant men and women were the silent heroes; in the second, intellectuals.

"What we've written here," he observes, "is an exemplification of this phenomenon."

Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of *Jewish Affairs*.

Mar./Apr., 1984

Social Advance: The Fruit of Struggle and Unity

By Herbert Aptheker

We publish below the address delivered by Dr. Herbert Aptheker at the Dinner on February 26, 1984, honoring him on completing 20 years as Founding Director, American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) and becoming Director Emeritus.

Reaction is in the saddle; meanness flourishes and disaster impends. What can be done to reverse this condition?

Particulars of the condition are unique, but the condition itself — triumphant reaction — is not unusual, not in world history and not in the history of the United States.

Our nation's birth was a victory, a revolutionary victory, over reaction. Our nation's rebirth, as a united land cleansed of slavery, was a victory, a revolutionary triumph, over reaction.

Every significant social advance was achieved in fierce and prolonged struggle against reaction: the achievement of universal white male suffrage, the enfranchisement of Black men, and that of women, the legalization of trade unions, the establishment of free, public education, the unionization of basic industry, a social security system, the illegalization of institutionalized Jim Crow, the forging of the Grand Alliance that finally vanquished the fascist powers, the massive anti-war movement which was indispensable to forcing an end to the atrocious U.S. military aggression in South-East Asia — all were accomplished despite powerful opposition from forces of reaction.

In this endless web of human endeavor, certain patterns reappear. Normally, those most directly involved in a particular effort pioneer in launching it and form its main force throughout its life — as Afro-American people in the struggle against slavery, working people seeking to unionize, women to gain suffrage. They also are the foremost experts in the tactics and strategy of such efforts. But in no case of successful resistance to reaction, has this been possible without allies. Black people *alone* could not have ended slavery, workers *alone* could not have forced the legality of trade unions, women *alone* could not have gained the vote.

Here is proof of the vital need for unity, such unity results from the reality and consciousness of the *mutual* benefit to be gained. Slavery impeded the entire development of the U.S.; it required increasing impairment of the rights of white people, it vitiated the democratic

possibilities of the entire South, and increasingly of the nation as a whole. And, as Marx stated; "Labor in a white skin cannot be free while labor in a black skin is branded." These realities made possible the kind of unity in opposition to slavocratic domination that finally had the strength to beat back the oligarchy's counter-revolutionary effort by eliminating that property relationship — slavery — basic to the power of that oligarchy.

These kinds of mutual inter-relationships, transcending gender and race and even, to a degree, class, are present in the history of every popular political-social success and every defeat of reaction. Present always in this history is an organized, innovative group of people determined upon achieving the particular progressive object or thwarting some design of reaction.

Where the effort is not to eliminate a particular grievance or obstacle or injustice or to move from one exploitative system to another less inhibiting, but rather to qualitatively transform society so that exploitation and oppression are extirpated and the human epoch of history may begin — to institute socialism — then the vanguard, having a much more difficult and complex task, must persist in its effort for a whole era. The era encompasses not only the revolutionary change but also its safeguarding and its nurturing so that socialism may give way to communism.

* * *

Of great consequence is the fact that reaction is anti-popular. Therefore its supporters are a minority — usually a small minority — while its opponents constitute a majority. Domination by reaction of the means of propaganda may, at times, obscure its fundamentally anti-popular character; further, reactionary forces may be better organized at particular periods than those in opposition. But the great truth is that the decisive weight of numbers is on the side of progress, not reaction. Furthermore, the needs of the masses of people are as lasting as they themselves are immortal; hence, in time, these needs will assert themselves.

To the degree that there is effective leadership, good organization, viable unity, ideological clarity, to that degree will be shortened the time of reaction's sway — but that its sway will be terminated is as certain as the movement of the stars. In these days of thermonuclear weapons, one proviso must be added; the defeat of reaction is certain, assuming human life and society persist.

History, then, is a superb teacher of confidence. To despair is absurd and self-defeating, and embracing cynicism is suicide. Optimism is a happier frame of mind, induces a more satisfying life, justifies social

activity and is fully warranted by the whole sweep of human history.

It must be observed that in the effort for social progress, achievement is not only partial but is subject to deterioration and requires constant defense. Thus, slavery abolished, peonage and jim crow follow; trade union legality affirmed, the scope and quality of the trade unions leave much for subsequent effort; the right of women to vote and to hold office is far from the end of the subordination of women. Again, this is not cause for despair; rather it is cause for vigilance, perseverance and the maintenance of organization.

* * *

In any case, while the successes of the past do not justify complacency in the present, they do lift today's efforts to high levels than those that characterized the past. Thus, eliminating slavery prepares the ground for the effort to achieve full legal equality and the latter sets the stage for obtaining full equality in actual living conditions.

With this thought, we are brought to our own time, for, happily, the achievements of past generations, while momentous and heroic, have not been so complete as to leave us and future generations with no compelling social tasks.

In the United States, the Right-ward drift in dominant politics has been clear not only with the Reagan victory of 1980, but with the Right-ward drift of the Carter Administration, especially in its last two years — a development with significant relationship to the Reagan triumph.

To minimize that Right victory would be quite wrong; but to exaggerate it or to make it identical with some massive movement to the Right of the U.S. population would also be wrong.

It is clear that the Big-Business two-party has induced mass abstention from politics, manifesting itself in growing proportions of non-voters — not to speak of the cynicism marking many of those who do vote.

In 1980 while 84 million people voted, 75 million eligible Americans did *not* vote. Abstention was especially marked in industrial working-class areas and in Afro-American and Hispanic-American neighborhoods; but in those areas most of those who did vote, voted against Reagan; in some cases, as that of the ghettos, the anti-Reagan vote came to over 90 percent.

Clearly, if the one-third of the potential electorate who do not register and if the nearly half of those who are registered but do not vote could be persuaded by a clear opportunity to become politically active, this country would experience a genuine landslide victory for the

forces of democracy, equality and peace. This prospect means that if a sound, active, positive, political force could be forged our nation would experience a healthy present preparatory to a splendid future.

* * *

The monopoly domination of the Reagan Administration is naked. The consequence in human terms was aptly summed up in the notorious statement of its Budget Director, David Stockman: "I don't think people are entitled to any services."

The Reagan Administration in domestic and foreign policy is back with the McKinley presidency and its economics is that of *laissez-faire* which brought the disasters of 1873, 1893, 1930 and 1982, mixed with a military Keynesism, appropriate to an expansionist foreign policy and feeding the endless greed for maximum profits of the military-industrial complex.

Illustrative domestically is the Reagan program of playing not Robin Hood but Hood Robin — taking from the poor to further enrich the rich. This is the line as regards education, health, housing, child care, welfare of the aged, scuttling affirmative action, negating the hard-won rights of women, and supporting anti-trade union developments.

While cutting appropriations for the urgent needs of scores of millions of our people, the aggressive foreign policy of the Reagan Administration and its desire to further enrich its rich creators produce the most vast military expenditures in all history.

The social cost of such a choice of expenditure is absolutely obscene. Mirroring this fiscal policy is foreign policy activity which not only forecloses SALT III, but scuttles SALT I and SALT II; supports racist gangsters in fascist South Africa; protects the genocidal Pol Pot maniacs; threatens Cuba and Nicaragua; invades Lebanon and Grenada; nurtures killer regimes as in Chile, Guatemala, Honduras, Pakistan and El Salvador; and makes explicit an anti-Soviet stance reminiscent of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance leading to the Second World War.

Globally there is a mounting popular opposition to the Reagan outlook and policy. A thousand developments, strikes, demonstrations and new organizational forms show the same phenomenon gathering in our own country — and the Congressional elections of 1982, the nuclear-freeze referenda, and more recent elections in cities like Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia confirm this trend.

As Gus Hall and Angela Davis are spelling out in detail, now as they begin reaching millions of Americans, needed for the safety and well being of our country

is a 180 degree turn in Washington's domestic and foreign policies. Hall & Davis are not only detailing such a program; they are also elucidating the *sources* of Reagan's policies and *explaining* the realities of today's world and fearful logical end of policies of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism. No one else in the political arena will do these indispensable and courageous tasks in the thorough way in which those stalwart comrades have done, are doing and will continue to do. For this they deserve the profoundest thanks of all democratic-minded Americans.

* * *

When a grade-B ignoramus occupies the Oval Office and a former CIA chief is a heart' beat away from that office, it is certainly time to ponder how to prevent disaster and assure peace. With the aforementioned hired hands of monopoly capitalism having their thinking done for them by Norman Podhoretz, Michael Novak, George Will and Jeane Kirkpatrick, the dominant propaganda befouling the air is indistinguishable from that concocted earlier by Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

The carefully-groomed, obscenely rich president, cabinet members and senators are honorable despoilers of the impoverished, heroic assaulters of the insulted, disgusting economizers at the expense of despairing elderly, aspiring youth and helpless children.

These Canutes see revolution as alien-concocted conspiracies seeking an end to so-called "civilization" on behalf of some devil or anti-Christ, thus in effect spitting upon the revolutionary activities of every people on earth and manifesting contempt for engineers of human emancipation from Jesus himself to Washington and Juarez, from Bolivar to Sun Yat-sen, from Frederick Douglass to José Martí, from Elizabeth Gurley Flynn to Ho Chi Minh, from Ernst Thaelman to W. E. B. Du Bois, from Marx to Lenin.

That Ronald Reagan and his cohorts will not succeed where Mussolini and Hitler failed is certain. But success against reaction takes unity of all anti-monopoly, all democratic and antiracist forces; it takes tireless activity and persuasive argumentation. Not least among those necessities is that argumentation. The struggle of ideas is a central focus of the present worldwide movement to defeat a Wall Street form of neofascism, to advance the cause of freedom and socialism, and, by securing peace in the world, bringing to its inhabitants the possibility of a fully human existence.

In that vital struggle of ideas the American Institute for Marxist Studies has played a modest but persistent role for the past two decades. It has helped accomplish

(Continued on Page 9)

12TH ANNUAL JEWISH AFFAIRS DINNER

**A Mobilization For The Defeat Of
Reagan and Reaganism**

GUS HALL

**General Secretary, C.P.U.S.A.
Communist Party Candidate for President of the U.S.A.**

Will Deliver

A MAJOR POLICY STATEMENT

SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1984

Anna Paidoussi, Vocalist

12:30 P.M.

Roosevelt Hotel, .N.Y.C.

Reservations: \$25.00

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235 West 23rd Street
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Please make () reservations at \$25.00 each

() Please make a table reservation of 10 at \$250.00

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ADDRESS _____

CITY, STATE, ZIP _____

I cannot attend but am enclosing a contribution of \$ _____

Please include names of those for whom reservations are made. Make checks payable to Jewish Affairs.

its main purpose — to bring Marxism into the marketplace of ideas, to make it an honored participant in intellectual discourse and a partner in the search for a decent present and a noble future.

Some details of AIMS' work may be offered, for while modesty is a virtue, bashfulness is not. AIMS has published 120 separate issues of the NEWSLETTER; this began with a circulation of 400, its circulation now is 4,000. AIMS has published sixteen bibliographies as varied as MARXISM AND PHYSICS, MARXISM AND AESTHETICS and MARXISM AND PSYCHOLOGY; it has issued 36 OCCASIONAL PAPERS, dealing with — to cite a few titles — Howard Parsons' ETHICS IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY; Gurley Flynn's MEMOIRS OF THE IWW; Foster's MORE PAGES FROM A WORKER'S LIFE; Lloyd Brown's PAUL ROBESON REDISCOVERED; Mindy Thompson's HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL, and Joseph Budish's study of the FEDERAL RESERVE BANK.

In its Monograph and Historical Series, AIMS — with Humanities Press — has issued fourteen full-length books treating such subjects as MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY, MARXISM AND ALIENATION, MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY, and others dealing with the Haymarket Martyrs, Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion, and MARXISM IN THE U.S. BEFORE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Most AIMS publications remain in print; if we had the money all would be kept in print, for all remain in demand. Several of these publications have sold many hundreds of copies; one, still in print, has sold about fifty thousand copies.

AIMS was host for thirty-two symposia — in New Hampshire (jointly with the late Willard Uphaus), in Pennsylvania, California and New York City, bringing speakers of varied views on subjects like Marxism and Christianity and Should the Nazis and KKK Be Outlawed?

When I say varied I mean *varied* for at the first named symposium speakers ranged from the Jesuit priest who headed Fordham's philosophy department to a member of the Central Committee of the CPUSA and at the second, the Executive Director of the ACLU and the Director of AIMS argued for opposite positions. Audiences for these symposia ranged from about 100 to as many as 1,200.

Meanwhile, in AIMS' first twenty years, its library and information service helped people from around the globe; more than one master's thesis and doctoral dissertation were based largely on AIMS' facilities.

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Still, over the twenty-years haul, this remains a modest contribution; hopefully, it can help make possible more notable contributions in the next twenty years. To be specific, there is no objective reason why in a country as populous as ours the AIMS Newsletter cannot again grow ten times so that at its Dinner in the year 2004, its circulation would be 40,000 rather than 4,000. In large part this depends on us, including very specifically those of us in this hall.

AIMS has, then, been something of a force in the quite remarkable renaissance of interest in Marxism that has marked the past decade among literate people — and not least in our country.

This extraordinary growth, despite constant efforts at repression, throws into sharpest doubt the finding repeatedly — not to say hysterically — announced by Professor Ronald Reagan, that Marxism is a corpse fit only for the trash-bin of history. But then the tenure of Professor Reagan is limited and is subject to abrupt termination in a few months.

Marxism has been damned incessantly and banned repeatedly, but it has not been refuted. It lives and spreads and thrives. As between Ronald Reagan and Karl Marx there is really no doubt at all as to who first and permanently will be consigned to history's trash-bin.

Herbert Aptheker



Confrontation and Prospects

By Meir Vilner

The following article consists of excerpts from an address delivered by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CommunistParty of Israel, to a meeting of Party activists in Tel Aviv, November, 1983.

Never since the second World War, has the international situation been so complicated and perilous as it is today. At first glance there is a contradiction in the situation. In the fifties, when the cold war was unleashed, the relation of forces in the world was different. The main imperialist power, the U.S.A., had then definitely military superiority over the Soviet Union, chiefly in nuclear weapons. In spite of this, even in the days of the Cuban crisis in 1962, I do not think that we reached such dangerous international tensions as exist today.

THE SHARPENING OF INTERNATIONAL CONFRONTATION

Today the relationship of forces is different. . . . From the military aspect, equality exists between the Soviet Union and the U.S.A. If we do not limit ourselves to the military relationship of forces, but also take into account the all-round ideological, political, social and moral power, one can say the Soviet Union enjoys superiority over the capitalist regime in the U.S.A.

But precisely at this time of the new balance of forces, the danger of a world war has intensified, as a result of the aggressive policy of the American Administration which has abandoned detente and strives with all its might to turn back by force of arms the wheel of historical development.

Despite this the situation is not as it was before the second world war, in numerous ways. Among the most important ones is the fact that within the chief imperialist power, the U.S.A., the internal situation differs from that which prevailed in nazi Germany before the second world war. In Germany at that time, the financial magnates succeeded in putting into power a fascist regime and in completely suppressing all opponents, first and foremost the Communists and Socialists. They succeeded in uniting around them, by lure and by terror, considerable sectors of the German people in preparation for an aggressive war for the domination of the world. Today there exists no such situation in the U.S.A. nor in Germany. The broadest masses are struggling against the ruling policy which endangers world peace, the very existence of mankind. . . .

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

As to the background of the international situation as I have tried to describe it, we must analyze the situation in the Middle East. First of all we must say that it is impossible to analyze the situation in the Middle East outside of the international situation. This error is committed by many who do not connect the wars and struggle for national liberation in this region with what is happening in the world. Moreover, there has not been any period as yet in which the problems of the Middle East were international problems to such a high degree. First, because is difficult to solve them in the present international situation — in the prevailing situation of relations between imperialism and socialism, and, in particular between the United States and the Soviet Union.

At the 19th Congress of our Party, in February 1981, we made the following assessment.

"Having suffered very significant defeats in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran and South Yemen, which weakened its positions, imperialism has proceeded to a counter-offensive with the help of the reactionary forces in the region, and especially so by the Sadat regime in Egypt. Imperialism frantically started setting up military bases to replace those lost and even to intensify its military presence and forging new military alliances. The Camp David deal is an important link in the chain of the imperialist strategy."

I wish to stress our estimate that "imperialism has passed on to a counter-offensive." This takes place when the relationship of forces in the world has changed to the detriment of imperialism and when many liberated countries have embarked on a road of progressive development with some on the road to socialism. Imperialism is attacking not because it has been strengthened. It is carrying out its counter-offensive after many defeats, from a position of weakness vis-a-vis socialism and the national liberation movements. The Camp David deal, an example of the strategy of imperialism, is recognized for what it is in reality. Those from among the peace forces who supported it or still support it, are closing their eyes to reality or do not want to face the fact that this deal has delayed a comprehensive and stable peace in our region and led to the war against Lebanon and another example of U.S. imperialism turning away from detente towards international power confrontation, thereby endangering world peace.

Our 19th Congress also dealt with the matter of Lebanon. The Lebanese problem did not start last year with the aggressive war unleashed by the U.S. and Israel. We accurately defined matters noting:

"In the framework of the universal struggle of U.S. imperialism and the ruling circles in Israel against the Palestinian Arab people and against the anti-imperialist national movement in general, one must assess the incessant aggressive actions of Israel against Lebanon. Their aims are: (1) To liquidate the national existence of the Palestinian people; (2) To assist the forces of the right and fascism in Lebanon in their struggle against the patriotic forces; to prevent stability in Lebanon, in order to prepare the soil for its division; (3) To seize power over Southern Lebanon by means of the Israeli mercenary Haddad (Haddad has died since this report was made — editor). Southern Lebanon has virtually been turned into a territory under Israeli occupation; (4) To bring pressure to bear upon Syria by provoking her army in Lebanon and direct provocation against Syria from time to time.

The largest and the cruellest aggressive action against Lebanon in the recent period was "Operation Litani," one of the most barbaric actions since the Israeli-Arab conflict. . . .

We do not always refer to the policy of the Likud government or to the extreme right or the policy or the Alignment — the Labor Party and Mapam. We sometimes use the expression, "The ruling Zionist circles," meaning by this both those who ruled for 29 years (the Alignment) and those who are ruling now. On July 29, 1937 David BenGurion said:

"Lebanon is the natural ally of Jewish Eretz-Israel (the whole territory of Palestine is here called "Eretz-Israel" — editor). The Christian nation in Lebanon has no opportunity to multiply by Aliya (immigration) from the outside. Lebanon is also surrounded by a Muslim sea; it also constitutes an enlightened island surrounded by a primitive desert population (this is how he referred to the Arabs — M.V.).

"Lebanon needs our friendship and support as we need theirs. Not all the inhabitants of Lebanon are Christians and not all Christians are members of one (religious) community. The ruling community is that of the Maronites and they are a minority and without a Jewish neighbor they have no independent future. The neighborhood of Lebanon guarantees the Jewish State (which was not as yet established — M.V.) a true ally from the first day of its establishment, and it is quite conceivable that on the northern side of the Lebanese southern frontier which borders on the Jewish State we will have the first opportunity of expansion with the full consent of our neighbors who need us." (D. BenGurion *Memoirs*, Vol. p. 367).

This is Zionism as it was and as it is now and not as *Mar./Apr., 1984*

persons like Yossi Sarid (Knesset member representing left wing of the Alignment — editor) describes it saying that once Zionism was allegedly different and even the acme of perfection.

At our 19th Congress we said: "In the Middle East, as in other regions of the world, it is impossible to understand the events without a class analysis, without seeing that the exploiting classes prefer quite often their narrow class interest to the national interests of their peoples. They are afraid of the workers and the fellahin, the sons of their own people, of the progressive social changes and more than once they have joined hands with imperialism, and sellout their homelands. With the help of imperialism from the outside and by the liquidation of democratic liberties inside, they strive for preserving the privileges of the exploiting classes."

In this analysis, we discussed the political meandering in various Arab countries. The exploiting classes, including also the anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie, are afraid of revolution and are not consistent. They are, as experience has proven, liable to cross over to reactionary positions in certain situations. At the same time we said then that in spite of this complex character of the bourgeoisie and of the land-owners strata we must see that:

"In all the internal struggles one must take into consideration that the main contradiction is that between the peoples and imperialism. An anti-imperialist national front on the broadest basis is in the national interest of the Arab peoples, with the exception of groups of capitalists, who are connected with foreign capital, of reactionary bureaucracy and army officers, who by means of oil and bribes from the foreigners have been induced to betray the interests of their people and country."

Accordingly it is possible to comprehend the character of the anti-imperialist national front which was set up in Syria years ago. In this front, the Syrian Bath Party is the first violin. The Syrian Communist Party and other political groups are also part of it. The present regime in Syria took steps against foreign capital. Certain social reforms were also carried out but the capitalist social system in Syria has not changed fundamentally. Moreover, it is the evaluation of the Syrian Communist Party that the authorities in Syria are not at all concerned about the socio-economic interests of the workers and fellahin. Their situation, then, is difficult; there is social exasperation. Inner democracy is quite restricted. One may add what the Syrian authorities — the Bath Party — did in 1976 in Lebanon at Tel Zater (the massacre of Palestinians — editor) with the military assistance of

Israel, according to the revelations of Begin in the Knesset. This intervention weakened the anti-imperialist positions of Syria and led to a confrontation between Syria and the Progressive Patriotic Front in Lebanon and the P.L.O. in 1976.

How can this be explained from the political and class aspects? The leadership of Bath in Syria took such steps because it feared that the forces of the left in Lebanon are liable to emerge victorious and constitute the regime in Lebanon. Syria, from its vantage point determined to "balance" the situation by attacking the P.L.O. and the patriotic forces.

The principal question then arises: If this is so, why do we, and not alone we, define the policy of Syria as anti-imperialist? Syria is the chief Arab country which before and since the Camp David Accords stood together with the national liberation movements in the region and, together with the Soviet Union, against the Camp David Accords, which were intended to advance the U.S. penetration into the region and to liquidate the right of self-determination of the Palestinian Arab people. In spite of all the military, political and economic pressures exerted by the rulers of the U.S.A. and Israel, in spite of all attempts to bring about internal reactionary upheavals in Syria, the Syrian Bath regime has not deviated from the anti-imperialist line. That the U.S.A. and Israel are now preparing for war against Syria has no other reason than the independent anti-imperialist policy of Syria. Syria, as is known, has an agreement for friendship and cooperation in all spheres with the Soviet Union. Soviet military personnel and Soviet modern arms are in Syria for its defense in case the U.S.A. and Israel attack it.

With reference to this issue the position of the Soviet Union towards the internal struggle within Fatah must be clarified. The Soviet government has informed the Syrian government that what its doing in Tripoli with the support of the rebels within Fatah — their attack on the elected bodies of the P.L.O. and Arafat's leadership — must not be done and helps objectively the rulers of the U.S.A. and Israel who are preparing a war against Syria. The rulers of Syria claim officially that they do not participate in the fight against the forces of Arafat. Then they were told: You do not prevent this, and without you, the attack upon the Arafat forces could not have been carried out. Also, at the last visit of the Syrian Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Khaddam, he certainly heard from the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, A. Gromyko, that the behavior of Syria in that matter brings enormous harm to Syria itself and contradicts the objective necessity of the unity of struggle against the common dangers.

In the joint statement of Syria and the Soviet Union, published at the end of Khaddam's visit, Nov. 11, 1983, we read:

"The two sides positively assess the beginning of the political dialogue between the rival Lebanese groups as a step which opens a prospect for an internal Lebanese settlement, on the basis of a national agreement. In the course of the talks, the importance of the unity and coordination of action of the Arab States was stressed, in order to frustrate the dark aggressive plans of the U.S.A. and Israel."

At the time of Khaddam's visit Gromyko in his speech said: "We see as an urgent and important task to overcome the quarrels and rebuild the unity in the ranks of the national liberation movement of the Palestinian Arab people, which must also in the future appear as an active factor in the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East."

In the Soviet press, various appeals were published, among them the official announcement of the government of India, calling for stopping the attacks against the P.L.O. leadership and Arafat. In his reply, Khaddam adopted clear anti-imperialist positions and condemned the intervention of the U.S.A. in Grenada. In the joint statement of Syria and the Soviet Union, they demand that the aggressive invading forces of the U.S.A. should leave Grenada immediately. They express solidarity with the people of Nicaragua against the aggressive threats of U.S. imperialism. Khaddam thanked the Soviet Union for the assistance given to Syria against the danger of an Israeli-U.S. aggression, for the assistance to all the Arab Peoples and also for the assistance to the Palestinian Arab People in their struggle for self-determination for an independent state of their own. The joint statement stated that the P.L.O. is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people and that the two sides conform their commitment to the Syrian-Soviet Agreement for Cooperation.

It is, then, completely clear that the Soviet Union is against the rebellion within Fatah and everybody who publishes anything else intentionally falsifies and incites against the Soviet Union as does Avneri.

It is, of course, possible to revoke everything with one stroke and say that the actions of Syria are reactionary and that all the rest is empty talk. This is not so. Two things exist: The anti-imperialist positions are a fact; they are expressed not only in talk but also in votes in the U.N., in the political confrontation with the U.S.A., in the rejection of the U.S. plans in the Middle East and in the international arena, in the all-around cooperation with the Soviet Union. It is true that the position of the

Syrian regime towards the happenings in Fatah stands in contradiction to its general position. This is a contradiction to its own position and behavior and not a contradiction in our evaluation. Syria today also conducts an anti-imperialist foreign policy and maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union, not because of proletarian or communist ideology but because of a correct understanding of its national interest. On the other hand, it does things which completely contradict its own interest and progress when it will have to face the reality of the threats of aggression by Israel and the U.S.A. . . .

The Tasks of the C.P.I.

What is the task of the Communist Party of Israel in the present circumstances? Our task is, first of all, to struggle against the occupation and oppression of the Israeli rulers; to struggle against the strategic partnership with the U.S.A. and against the preparations for an aggressive war. We must wage an ideological and political struggle. We must explain and emphasize the relation between the struggle for putting an end to the wars and for the establishment of peace in the Middle East and the struggle for peace in the world, against the dangers for the very existence of humanity, which stem from the policy of Washington.

We must struggle against the dangers of fascism, against the destructive economic and social policy of the government and for equality of rights. All this we must do out of class attitudes toward understanding Israeli and general developments. Therefore, what is very much needed is the strengthening of the ideological education of the party and sympathizers. Only the deepening of the ideological and Marxist-Leninist teachings enables one to comprehend any situation, however complicated it may be; it enables one to analyze matters with a warm heart and also with a cool head.

Our Party has proven that it is able in the most complicated situations to apply creatively the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and thus to serve in the best way the real interests of the two peoples in the country and the cause of peace and progress in our region and the world. We have guarded our independent considerations and correct tactics. . . .

Our ability to deal with the issues which have been presented by me, strengthens the rallying of our Party around the correct, well-considered and revolutionary policy of the Central Committee.

We have before us no easy times; we will face them honorably, despite the complications and difficulties, until we will, at long last, see the light at the end of the tunnel. □

Mar./Apr., 1984

Voices For Sanity: Response to "Open Letter From Soviet Jews"

By Lewis M. Moroze

Today Jewish American organizations and leadership are being called to account for their silence in the face of the unfolding of the "final solution" of the Jewish problem by German fascism during World War II. Today, most of these same organizations and leaders are exercising complete censorship over the moving historic appeal sent in an "Open Letter to Jewish Americans From Soviet Jews" pleading for support in the struggle for world peace.

Readers of *Jewish Affairs* nationwide are in a privileged position. They are all aware of the historic and moving peace appeal. We are grateful to our readers for obtaining extra copies of the magazine in order to bring the "Open Letter" to the attention of others.

Jewish Americans for World Peace, Box 465, 70 Greenwich Avenue, NYC 10011, placed the "Open Letter" as an advertisement in the *Anglo-Jewish Weekly*, the *Chicago Sentinel*, 2/16/84. In response to requests for same, the Jewish Americans for World Peace have printed copies of the ad for distribution. Amongst the letters-to-the-editor of the *Sentinel* approving the publication of the appeal was one from the internationally known businessman, Erwin Salk, whose letter follows:

'Letter from Soviet Jews provides a move toward a dialogue for peace'

Your "Open Letter to Jewish Americans from Jews of the Soviet Union" provides a positive move toward a dialogue for peace, avoiding a worldwide catastrophe (an Auschwitz oven). Build bridges between our two countries, not barriers to separate us. Concentrate on commonalities bringing us together: trade, cultural, scientific, and athletic exchanges.

Edgar M. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, stated (N.Y. *Times*, July 1, 1983): "The main principle underlying our dealings with the Soviet Union should be a desire to create a more favorable environment. And as a Jew who perforce is particularly concerned with the fate of Soviet Jews, I adhere to these same principles. . . . There is one overriding agenda . . . arms control, lessening of tensions, peaceful coexistence, world peace. . . . There is certainly something of the 'chicken or the egg' question . . . but . . . there isn't time to ask which comes first, our gesture or theirs."

Sectors of our Jewish establishment contribute to the

"cold war:" fomenting of the Jackson-Vanik trade act; the Stevenson Amendment to the Import-Export Act; the signs, "Save Soviet Jews" (why not add, "and Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, the poor?"); the constant harping on Soviet human rights when we are living in a country where the human rights of millions of people have been denied for generations. Remember Andrew Young's statement as to thousands of political prisoners in the U.S.; the UN meetings and petitions on "Indigenous Peoples of the Americas," "We Charge Genocide." The U.S. is the only major country that has not ratified any human rights treaties of the United Nations.

No one in the world can do anything as well as we can in the U.S. Rightwing military dictatorships only remain in power because of our support. We can match our human rights violations against anyone else.

George Kennan, former ambassador to Moscow, with 55 years of experience, remarked, "For all their historical and ideological differences . . . the Russians and the Americans complement each other . . . need each other . . . enrich each other . . . they can do more than any other two powers to assure world peace."

In Canada, our northern American neighbor, *The Canadian Jewish Outlook*, saw fit to publish the "Open Letter" accompanied by an article entitled, "An Important Call," by Sam Carr, national secretary of the United Jewish People's Order of Canada:

"In the face of the threatening policies of the Reagans and the Weinbergers, in the face of the disastrous actions of the heirs of Menachem Begin in Israel, we must welcome every voice calling for peace and understanding instead of confrontation. We cannot but share the hopes of Soviet Jews whose appeal declares:

"We hope that in the name of life and out of abhorrence of senseless death in a nuclear holocaust you will speak out for peace, against the mounting danger of the extermination of mankind."

The *U.S. Farm News* of the Midwest published the "Open Letter" in full.

In a letter to the editor in the *Chicago Sentinel*, 3/23/84, headed "*Better to Love than Hate*," Irving G. Steinberg, a sponsor of the ad on the "Open Letter to Jewish Americans from Soviet Jews," said the following:

"As an Illinois sponsor of the *Sentinel* ad presenting a plea from Soviet Jews to American Jews to 'help accomplish mankind's most important task, that of safeguarding peace on earth,' I submit the following in answer to critics of the open letter:

"In the town of Yavneh, someone asked Rabbi

Yochanan Ben Zakkai, 'Why was the Second Temple destroyed?' The rabbi responded, 'because of blind hatred.' Today, blind hatred can lead to the destruction of humanity. To prevent this, we must — as we recite from 'Maftir' on Yom Kippur morning — 'Make a path, clear the way, remove the stumbling block out of the way of My people' (Isaiah 57:14).

"The stumbling block is our clinging to outmoded, preconceived ideas, hard and fast and rigidly applied, writ in stone. We must not surrender or abandon the dialectic nature of classic Jewish thought. Our ancient heritage appreciates the complex, changing, paradoxical nature of reality, ideas and the truth. Jewish thought proceeds by constant probing and questioning. Jewish tradition forces us to see different factors at work in the constantly changing and fluid reality. Let us not discard these Jewish Jewels. This is the time for new tomorrows . . .

"This open letter from Soviet Jews puts us face to face with a new situation which could portend the beginning of a change that could usher in a brighter future for humanity. We must seize the moment. In this letter, honored, prominent, and distinguished Soviet Jews in the arts, sciences, education, politics, and the military are making an appeal for world peace. They call for cooperation, not confrontation. On the 'day before,' to prevent a nuclear catastrophe that would 'turn our planet into a huge Auschwitz oven.' Will we as Jews ignore and spurn the pleading hands of our fellow Jews and turn a deaf ear to their appeal?

"It is not our aim in this letter to defend the Soviet Union or its policies, but we do aim to set our country and the Jewish people on the path of peace, away from war, in the direction of tranquility, away from confrontation. Our Jewish tradition dictates this change by our devotion to 'Chai,' our respect for life . . .

"Perhaps if we respond appropriately, this letter can be a bridge of peace and hope in today's world. The late revered Chief Rabbi Kook of Israel was once asked how he was able to befriend and fraternize with non-believers. He replied, 'I would rather be guilty of unconditional love than of unconditional hate.'"

Irving G. Steinberg, sponsor

RECOMMENDED READING

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

The record reveals that New Jewish Agenda, to date, has still not acknowledged the existence of the "Open Letter." New Jewish Agenda mailed us a copy of a letter sent to a New Jewish Agenda supporter informing him that New Jewish Agenda would not make known the "Open Letter to Jewish Americans From Soviet Jews." In response I sent the following letter to Reena Bernards and Jeffrey Dekro, national co-directors of New Jewish Agenda.

"History records that from its very inception New Jewish Agenda has offered leadership to Jewish Americans and to the people at large on the burning question of nuclear weapons reduction and world peace.

"The most recent brochure of New Jewish Agenda, in the tradition of Isaiah declares: 'It is crucial that we be leaders in the movement to prevent the destruction of the entire planet.'

"It is troubling to note, therefore, that you have decided not to distribute or make known amongst the membership the 'Open Letter to Jewish Americans From Soviet Jews,' signed by over 50 prestigious Jewish leaders in the Soviet Union. The 'Open Letter' is in essence, an appeal to join hands in 'safeguarding peace on earth,' no matter what differences on other issues.

"Your decision to keep the contents of the 'Open Letter' from the membership is based on your rejection of the statement that the U.S.S.R. is devoted to peace and co-existence. You conclude that 'both the Soviet Union and the U.S. are involved in the dangerous arms race that each side pursues relentlessly.'

"As a leading force in the movement for a mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze, you are aware that the U.S.S.R. has endorsed it and furthermore, the U.S.S.R. has committed itself not to engage in a first strike.

"As for pursuing detente and co-existence the record reveals that the U.S. and the World War I allies attacked the newly created socialist state. U.S. General Graves participated and wrote about it. It was the western countries that egged-on Hitler against the U.S.S.R.; that the WWII allies delayed the opening of the second front to bleed the U.S.S.R. and, in the process were condemned by European Jewry for offering up more thousands of Jews to Hitler's 'final solution.' It was in Fulton, Missouri that the Cold War was unleashed and the Rosenbergs became its victims; it was a U.S. spy plane that was caught over the U.S.S.R.

"Despite all that, Soviet Jews, learning from history, are determined to exert all energies to work with all peoples seeking world peace. Certainly they are deserving of a hearing by all Jewish Americans advocating world peace.

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"A most important concern you express is that the Soviet Union is not forthright in its claim that the U.S.S.R. has wiped out anti-Semitism. It is truly unfortunate that you accept the cunningly contrived canard of Soviet anti-Semitism. Reflect for a moment on the significance of the status of the signers of the 'Open Letter.' Would not an exchange of views with Soviet Jews on how best to pursue the task of saving humanity and our planet be in the best interest of Jews no matter where they live?

"You assert that the Soviet people and the people of the U.S. both want peace. Will not knowledge of and discussion of the 'Open Letter' in the U.S. strengthen the bonds between our peoples?

"Your projected brochure on the nuclear disarmament issue is another fine initiative on the part of New Jewish Agenda. May I suggest that a symposium sponsored by NJA on the 'Open Letter' be held and that the essence of the discussion be included in the brochure. I would be happy to participate to discuss the political, historical and moral significance of the 'Open Letter.'

"In this fateful year of 1984 let it not be said that we did not take every step possible to effect a closer tie between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. to secure a peaceful world, free of want, racism and anti-Semitism."

The widest distribution and discussion of the 'Open Letter' can only strengthen the path to detente and world peace. □

Jewish Affairs

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Peoples of the Soviet Union To celebrate 50th Anniversary of Birobidzhan

May 1984 will mark the 50th Anniversary of the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region, Birobidzhan in the U.S.S.R.

On the 28th of March 1928, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. issued a decree stating in part: "to allot the free lands of the Amur area of the Far East territory, including the region of the Bira and Bidzhan rivers, for the needs of the Jewish working population . . ." Continuing the decree stated that: "On condition that favorable results were achieved and the indicated region fully populated with Jewish people the idea of organizing a Jewish national territorial-administration unit in this region would be borne in mind."

In reading the booklet, "People I know in Birobidzhan," by Y. Bugayenko, we are reminded of comments made by anti-Soviet Jewish leaders and others who spoke about the Jews being given a dismal place of hard frosts and rigorous climatic conditions in the wilds of Siberia.

As a matter of fact Birobidzhan which was then compared unfavorably with the climate of Kharkov and Rostov is situated in the same parallel as Kharkov, Rostov, Prague, Vienna, Munich and Paris.

Birobidzhan, rich in a wide variety of natural resources which had hardly been put to use. "Therefore," Bugayenko informs us, "the Soviet government considered it feasible to allot this land to the Jewish people. The first and main condition was voluntary migration, plus government help."

After two years with a significantly large increase in population and rapid economic development, the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR passed a decree forming the region of Birobidzhan as part of the Far East territory.

With the continuing growth in population and economic progress on May 7th, 1934, the Soviet government founded the Jewish autonomous region with all the rights provided for such regions by the Soviet Constitution.

Commenting on the decree, Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin, then Chairman of the Central Executive Committee said: "In deciding on the reorganization of the Birobidzhan region into an independent Jewish autonomous region of the Far East territory our government pursued no declarative aims. The reorganization of the Birobidzhan region into an independent region is of great economic significance for this rich, undeveloped territory,

so abundant in mineral ores, forests and everything else including gold."

Today as the Soviet peoples celebrate the Golden Jubilee of Birobidzhan, the autonomous region is economically developed and growing at great speed. The special attention given the region by the Soviet government is attested to in many ways, one of which is that the working-people of Birobidzhan receive salaries on an average of 20% higher than in the central areas of the U.S.S.R.

Birobidzhan is today the center of light industry in Eastern Siberia. Considered the most important agricultural region in the Far East. In fact the conditions for agriculture have proven to be extraordinarily good.

The cultural life in Birobidzhan is rich with Jewish and Russian theatres, cultural clubs for youths and adults, music schools, etc. There is a Yiddish newspaper published four times a week; radio broadcasts in Yiddish and publication of the works of Yiddish writers and poets.

Jews are in the leadership of the government apparatus as well as in the economic, social and cultural life of the region as are other nationalities working side by side.

Commenting on life in Birobidzhan, Yakov Kul, an active trade union leader remarked: "When I hear of the campaign of slander, carried on by the Zionists in Israel and the United States about the so-called anti-Semitism in our country, I want to shout out loud: Listen, I am Jewish! Listen to what I have to say! You and I know very well who helped to save hundreds of thousands of Jews from the fascist Wehrmacht. We didn't ask our saviours then what nationality they were, whether they were Russians, Ukrainians or Kazakhs. Neither do we ask our sons today whether their brides are Russians or Tartars! We have but one homeland — the Soviet Union."

Among the 52 signers of the "Open Letter to Jewish Americans From Soviet Jews" pleading for joint efforts for world peace were Jewish leaders in Birobidzhan.

Today as we salute the historically significant Golden Jubilee of the Birobidzhan Autonomous Region of the U.S.S.R., we are heartened to note the richness of life politically, socially, economically and culturally of the Jews and other nationalities with whom they live side by side in peace and friendship. Thanks to the nationalities policy of the U.S.S.R. Jews and other nationalities are living a life free of anti-Semitism and chauvinism, the hallmark of Czarist Russia — the prison house of nations. All the peoples of the U.S.S.R. live in a country free of want and war.

GOD CRIED. By Tony Clifton and Catherine LeRoy. Quartet Books, London, Melbourne, New York. 240 pages. Cloth: \$29.95.

Tony Clifton, a journalist and Catherine Leroy, a photographer, have produced a deeply moving written and pictorial report of the siege of West Beirut by the Israeli aggressors in August of 1982.

The work is printed on glossy paper in an art sized book with colored as well as black and white pictures. Sharply etched is the agony of Lebanon since the 1970s as told to Clifton, and captured in photos taken by Catherine Leroy. The true reporters are the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the fighters and the civilians, the women and children who fought, who endured the indescribable horrors inflicted by the marauding Israelis, and who persist in their efforts to create an independent Palestine and a free and independent Lebanon.

"Watan houwa alharyat" — "the homeland is life" is the cry and the motivating force of the Palestinian people. The battle cry of the fighters — aged 8 to 88 — is thaura, thaura, hatta un masr "revolution, revolution until victory".

How can one doubt that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people when the record reveals that eight year old Palestinians leave home for military training with the consent and blessings of their parents, and when a nineteen year old mother announces that she will have many children so that there will be "fighters for the homeland"?

The saturation bombing of West Beirut by the Israelis on August 1, 1982, labelled by Clifton as "Bloody Sunday," August 4th as "Bloody Wednesday," and August 12th as "Horrendous Thursday," brings to mind the worldwide revulsion at the fascist bombings of open cities in WWII, the bombing of the Warsaw Ghetto, and the bombing of Dresden with its resultant firestorms.

Four days after "Horrendous Thursday," Clifton wired his office, having in mind the Phalangist attack on Tal Zaatar in 1976, advising that the Israelis would let loose their Phalangist allies against the Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila.

Israel's disclaimer of responsibility for the massacres at Sabra and Shatila is comparable to the role of the fascists in occupied Ukraine. There they let loose the

anti-Semitic Ukrainian nationalists to butcher the Jews.

Clifton's humanism is exemplary and far deeper than his understanding of the forces at play in the Middle East which results in some grave error in judgment and in a mood of pessimism. By inference equating Israeli ruling circles with all Jews, Clifton cannot comprehend how Jews who suffered the Holocaust could now be conducting themselves like the fascists.

History records that from the moment the aggression against Lebanon was unleashed, voices of opposition appeared in Israel with ten members of the Knesset voting against the war. At first only the Communists and the Black panthers and some members of Mapam expressed their opposition to the war. Then followed the emergence of a number of anti-war groupings. 400,000 demonstrated against the war. Growing numbers of Israelis refused to serve in Lebanon and 110 of them were imprisoned for such refusal. They organized a group called "Yesh G'Vul" — "There's A Limit".

At an international conference held recently in Jerusalem, leading Jewish figures from around the globe alongside Israelis, sharply criticized Israeli government policies. Participants in the conference attacked the U.S.-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance and held the Israel ruling clique responsible for current talk comparing Zionist practice to nazism. They demanded a change of course.

Clifton refers to "the bitterness of some Palestinians towards the Arabs and the Russians," knowing full well that the Palestinians would be bereft of arms without Soviet support and that the Soviets are the staunchest supporters of the Palestinian cause in the international arena. As for criticism of certain Arabs, was it to be expected that there would be consistent principled support of the Palestinians by the Arab potentates in league with the U.S. imperialists?

Clifton's pessimism accounts for the title of the book which is based on a story told him by a Palestinian.

According to the story, God called Reagan, Brezhnev and Arafat and informed them he would answer one question from each of them. Reagan wanted to know when an American would be President of the entire world. God answered, "in fifty years." Reagan cried because he would not be alive then. Brezhnev asked when the world would go Communist. God replied: "in 100 years." Brezhnev cried because he would not be alive then. Arafat asked when the Palestinians would have their homeland. Then God cried.

The story implies the acceptance of the theory of the two equally guilty super-powers despite all evidence of U.S. opposition to Palestinian independence and its

In tribute to the Golden Jubilee of Birobidzhan let us redouble our efforts to build the rainbow coalition to oust Reagan and Reaganism which threaten the peoples with world-wide nuclear annihilation. For a world of peace let us call for a new direction in U.S. foreign policy. □
Mar./Apr., 1984

In Memoriam: David Lerner

The following letter regarding the planning of and the conduct of the memorial meeting in honor of David Lerner, Brooklyn Communist and trade unionist was addressed to Lewis M. Moroze, managing editor of *Jewish Affairs*.

Your assistance in obtaining the Rabbi to conduct the memorial service for David was extremely helpful and deeply appreciated.

We found that the lovely young woman Rabbi, Emily Feigelson, of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, gave cause for great satisfaction to Dave's family, and for appreciation by everyone in attendance. The composition of those who came to pay their respects to Dave was multi-racial.

My brother and Dave's cousin, who was his physician, spoke. But Lou Kalb, a long-time friend and comrade, made the most significant contribution. He spoke so eloquently of Dave as a worker, trade unionist, a soldier in Europe in World War II, and as a Communist. It was a fine political statement which many present have not had the opportunity to hear.

Many people have experienced David's special worth as a person and as a comrade in struggle. I thank you now for your condolence message in the *Daily World*.

The enclosed contribution of \$500 for *Jewish Affairs* is sent in Dave's memory.

Thank you again for your helpful guidance.

For Peace and Socialism!

Virginia Lerner. □

wholehearted support by the USSR.

Concluding his work Clifton states: "The killing will go on because the Palestinians will not get a homeland this year; it will go on until they get one or until there are no Palestinians left".

Yet, in truth the struggle continues and the people's forces are gaining the ascendancy at great sacrifice and against enormous odds. Despite duplicitous intent, U.S. forces are now being removed from Lebanon. The national reconciliation front in Lebanon is determining policy in Lebanon. Fifty thousand Israelis demonstrated in Jerusalem calling for the resignation of the government and in opposition to Israeli ruling clique policies cried out: "yesh G'Vul" — "There's a limit". The peace movements worldwide grow in numbers and in strength very day.

It is now time for us in the U.S. to cry out: "Yesh G'Vul" — "There's A Limit". — "Reagan's got to go; out the door in '84."

— Lewis Moroze

Reagan on the Decline of Greece and Rome

By Henry Klein

This article originally appeared in the March 1984 issue of *The Churchman*.

That noted historian on antiquity, Professor Ronald Reagan, currently President of the United States, recently made a novel interpretation of the cause of the decline of ancient Greece and Rome.

According to a *New York Times* article of May 24, 1983, Professor Reagan, whose credentials as an historian may not be well known, is quoted as saying to a group of high school valedictorians: ". . . ancient Greece and Rome declined when they began to 'abandon their Gods' . . . That was the first sign of decline."

It would not be amiss to take a glance at the Gods whose loss he bemoans as causing the end of a slave empire. The religion of Rome was based on idolatry, myth and superstition. The geographer Strabo wrote in 30 B.C.: "No philosopher by means of reasoned exhortation can move a crowd of women or any random mob to reverence, piety and faith. He needs to play upon their superstition also, and this cannot be done without myths and marvels. . . ."

Would it be too cynical to say that Dr. Reagan seeks religion to serve his own political purpose? In the same speech in which he defended the ancient Gods, he stated: ". . . and I think that we have to keep in mind we are a nation under God, and if we ever forget that we'll just be a nation under." He went on to sustain his thesis by defending tuition tax credits for parents with children in parochial schools and prayer in the schools.

Professor Reagan's concern for the Gods of ancient Rome and Greece includes a serious omission — his failure to attribute rising Christianity as a cause of decline in the pagan faith. The Roman state authorities persecuted early Christians because this new religion was weakening faith in old Gods with which the fate of the Roman state was identified. Gibbon, in his classic *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, blames that event on Christianity.

The multiplicity of causes for the decline of the Roman and Greek states seem of no concern to Professor Reagan in order to make his argument for a religiously dominated society today. That argument may be good for making political hay, but his explanation as to the cause of the fall of those empires is bad history. It is this type of underpinning to which he appeals that is making for bad government today. Professor Reagan is on a par with President Reagan. □

Jewish Affairs

Sholem Aleichem's 125th Birthday Anniversary in the U.S.S.R.

In the daily press, in the literary journals, in the theatres in the constituent republics and in many languages of the U.S.S.R., the 125th Birthday Anniversary of the renowned Yiddish author, Sholem Aleichem is being celebrated.

We publish below an article from the Sovietish heimland, Number 3, 1984, devoted to the author and his works.

It will be the 125th birthday anniversary of the great Jewish writer, Sholem Aleichem, on March 2, 1984. Our current issue is almost entirely devoted to this occasion. We quote, in abridged form, an introductory note by Aron Vergelis of Moscow.

"Sholem Aleichem has reached his 125th birthday anniversary as our contemporary, as the author of works that are relevant even today in the 80s of the 20th century.

"His images teach us, the people of the 80s, that the stagnation of the Jewish people in the Pale of Settlement could not last forever, that the era of the "Pale" has receded into the past never to return, and that in the dark days of tsarism in Russia, which had become our home, the oppressed Jewish masses had true allies in their struggle for a better life — the Russian, Ukrainian and other fraternal peoples, the forces of the impending proletarian revolution.

"Sholem Aleichem can and must be spoken of as a great explorer of the soul of the people, a passionate poet of progress and of the friendship between peoples.

"In many respects, Sholem Aleichem was unique. The more deeply he delves into the details of the daily life, language and psychology of his own people, the more comprehensible and close he becomes to other peoples; the greater the interval of time that separates him from us, the more sharply does the reader appreciate the creative work that helps him to understand the past in the day-to-day struggle for the morrow; the louder his wise laughter rings, the harder it is for people to hold back tears of compassion for the humbled and the outraged; the more vividly the Jewish local color shines through his work, the more widespread are its international implications and worldwide reverberations.

"For our literature today, his work is a school of realism and social purpose. We learn from him to put literature at the service of the people, to bring it as close as possible to the problems that will still be relevant in

the distant future, in the 21st century."

In 1883, the newspaper "Idishe folksblat" published "Two Rocks", Sholem Aleichem's first story in Yiddish. It tells about the love story of a young man and a girl. The name of the hero, Shloime Rabovsky, is clearly reminiscent of the author's own name, Sholem Rabinovich.

This story has not been included in any of the writer's collected works. However, "Two Rocks" is of interest for the history of literature. The editors have decided to reprint it in this Sholem Aleichem commemoration issue.

There is in Sholem Aleichem's work a forgotten corner into which we glance very seldom, although in reality it deserves more attention. I refer to the "Poems in prose". So begins an article by a literary historian, the late A. Vorobeichik, who introduced the reader to the "forgotten corners," of the great writer's work. In this issue, "Sovietish Heimland" is also publishing Sholem Aleichem's "poems in prose" — short studies under the heading, "Flowers".

The creative contacts between Russian and Jewish literature are the subject of a study by Berl Roizen of Chernovtsy, "Sholem Aleichem. His correspondence and meetings with the great Russian writers". We are also publishing, for the first time, letters from Sholem Aleichem to V. G. Chertkov, who was Lev Tolstoy's publisher.

There are several items in the current issue under the heading, "The Roll-call of the Times". In his essay, "Seven autographs. The History of a Find", Chaim Beider of Moscow tells about first editions of Sholem Aleichem containing the writer's autograph. Rare books have been sent to the editorial offices of "Soviet Heimland" by Moscow collector I. P. Bastrykin.

In 1914, Sholem Aleichem toured towns and villages in Poland and Russia. On the basis of newspapers and letters, we are publishing an article, "The last literary journey of Sholem Aleichem". A note by Timur Kogan of Leningrad, "On a certain interesting plan", throws light on an unknown episode in the life of the distinguished Soviet choreographer, Leonid Yakobson — his work on the ballet "Kasrilovka", based on themes from the works of Sholem Aleichem. A review by People's Artist of the RSFSR, Yuri Levitin, "Sholem Aleichem's characters on the opera stage", is devoted to a new production by the Russian Moscow Musical Chamber Theatre of Moisei Vainberg's opera "Congratulations" (Mazltov"), after the lay of that name by Sholem Aleichem. An article by Leonid Yuniverg and Alexander Ratner of Moscow, "Brought out by 'Sovremennye

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Letter to the Editor

Many of our readers request data about the Middle East and for a variety of reasons. One such reader recently requested information and sent the following letter informing one of our editors how that data was used:

Dear David Seltzer
Editor, Yiddish Pages
Jewish Affairs

I would like to thank you very much for the information you forwarded to me and for the copies of *Jewish Affairs*.

The data you sent me was of great value in preparing me for participation with 35 other people in a contest sponsored by the Dale Carnegie Institute.

My speech was effective. I left a remarkable impression on the audience, so much so that I won first prize in the contest.

In my remarks I brought out that while news of the Palestinian People has vanished from most of the world's newspapers, the Palestinian question is not dead. One day they shall triumph and shall return to their homes.

The quest for justice is similar to a volcano seething from within and one day will erupt without war — at history's proper moment the Middle East will explode.

The present Israeli Zionist reactionary leadership is to its opponents a sinister form of arch reaction dressed in the robes of a national liberation movement. These reactionary forces in Israel have emerged temporarily to persecute Palestinians who wish to remain on their own land.

I hope that the forces like the Communist Party of Israel and the "Peace Now" movement will smash the right-wing reactionary forces of Shamir and Sharon.

Shamir and Sharon must understand that territorial expansion has plagued many nations in the past and has always caused grief to those who foolishly sinned against God and man.

Right wing Zionism should close out their history of this vile tendency.

Thank you, Afzal Ghani.

problemey' Publishers'' gives the history of the first collection of Sholem Aleichem's works in Russian.

Sholem Aleichem's work has long travelled beyond the national bounds of Jewish literature to become the property of world culture. This is discussed in his article, 'Sholem Aleichem in World Literature'', by L. Shumsky of Leningrad.

We are also printing the conclusion of the first part of documentary story "One Day and All His Life", by Yladimir Beider of Leningrad, an article, a verse sequence by Boris Mogilner of Moscow. □

Translated by Alex Miller

ראטן-פארבאנד און וועגן דער אויסברייטערונג פון אנדערע
יידישע קולטור-טעטיקייטן.

אין קאמוניקאט פון פאליטי-בירור פון דער סאוועטי-
שער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי אין איבערגעגעבן געווארן
וועגן די געשפרעכן צווישן די סאוועטישער און ישראלדי-
קער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי. אויך די סאוועטישע פרעסע,
ראדיא און טעלעוויזיע האבן איבערגעגעבן וועגן די גע-
שפרעכן. דאס זאגט עדות וועגן דעם. אז די סאוועטישע
רעגירונג ברענגט ארויס עפנטלעך איר פראגראם פאר לייזן
שלומדיק דעם ישראל-אראבישן סכסוך אין די אינטערעסן
און לטובת אלע פעלקער. איינגעשלאסן מדינת ישראל און
דער פאלעסטינער מדינה.

די דעלעגאציע פון דער ישראלדיקער קאמוניסטישער
פארטיי האט דערביי אונטערגעשטראכן, אז ס'איז פארויס-
צוזען אן אויסברייטערונג פון קעגנזייטיקע באזוכן פון
ישראלדיקע געזעלשאפטלעכע, קולטור-דעלעגאציעס אין
ביידע לענדער.

דער מיטגליד פון דער דעלעגאציע ענוו' בורשטיין
האט איבערגעגעבן וועגן זיין באווך אין „סאוועטיש היימ-
לאנד“. וואו ס'איז ארויסגעבראכט געווארן די שטרעבונג
ס'אר אויסברייטערן די קעגנזייטיקע באציאונגען צווישן
„סאוועטיש היימלאנד“ און ישראלדיקע צייטונגען און גע-
זעלשאפטלעכע און קולטור-ארגאניזאציעס. ער האט דערביי
איבערגעגעבן וועגן פאזיטיוון אפרוץ אויפן דערשינענעם
בוך „אלעמבייס“, פארן לערנען די יידישע שפראך אין

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וועגן דעם. אז דער ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד ליפערט וואָפּן פאַר די שונאים פון ישראל. בכדי אומצוברענגען ישראל.

דער ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד שטרייכט אונטער. אַז דער וואָפּן וואָס ווערט געליפערט פאַר סיריע איז בפרוש געריכט פאַר פאַרטיידיקן זיך און קעגן די אַמעריקאַנער-ישראלדיקע פּלענן איבערצופאַלן סיריע און שטעלן סיריע אונטער דער אַמעריקאַנער אַפּיטרופּסות. אַבער ניט קעגן ישראל. אַפילו געוויסע ישראלדיקע פּאליטישע פּערזענלעכקייטן וואָרפן אַפּ די פּאַלשע טענות, אַז סיריע באַדראַט די ישראלדיקע עקזיסטענץ. די סאַוועטן שטרייכן בפרוש אונטער. אַז זיי שטיצן סיריע קעגן אַן אַמעריקאַנער-ישראל-דיקער אַטאַקע. אַבער בשום אופּן ניט קיין אַטאַקע פון סיריע קעגן ישראל. ס'איז דערביי אינטערעסאַנט. אַז אין געוויסע ישראלדיקע קרייזן חלומט מען נאָך וועגן אַן אַנגריף קעגן סיריע. ערשט די טעג האָט דער גענעראַל-סעקרעטאַר פון אַמט פון פרעמיער-מיניסטער. מ. שמואלע-וויטש אַפּן דערקלערט וועגן דעם, אַז ישראל „באַטראַכט די מעגלעכקייט פון אַנווענדן אַ פּרעווענטיוע מלחמה“. דאָס איז אַ געפּערלעכע דערקלערונג. וואָס קען פאַרוואַנדלען אַ לאַקאַלן קאָנפּליקט אין אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלן קאָנפּליקט. קעגן דעם וואַרנט דער סאַוועטן-פאַרבאַנד, אַנזוינדיק, אַז ישראל דאַרף זיך אַפּזאָגן פון באַנקראַטירטע מיליטערישע לייזונגען און אַרויפגיין אויפן וועג פון פּאליטישע לייזונגען פון סכּסוכים. פאַר אַזאַ פּאליטישער לייזונג פון סכּסוך וועט אַדער ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד געבן די פּולע אונטערשטיצונג פון גאַראַנטירן די עקזיסטענץ פון מדינת ישראל צוזאַמען מיט די אַנדערע מדינות.

נאָך אַ מאַמענט איז זייער וויכטיק אונטערצושטרייכן, אַז אין דער דערקלערונג ווייזט זיך אַן אויף דער נייטיקייט פון „פאַרייניקן אַלע שלום-כוחות, אַן אונטערשייד פון אידעאָלאָגישע אַנשוואַנגען, פאַר אַ גערעכטן און סטאַבילן שלום אין ראיאָן“. דאָס איז אַ בפירושע אַנדייטונג. אַז פאַרן קאַמף פאַר שלום איז נייטיק אַ פאַרייניקונג פון אַלע שלום-כוחות, ניט קוקנדיק דערויף צו וועלכער פּאַרטיי זיי גע-הערן. די קריטעריום דאַרף זיין דאָס שטעלן זיך אויף דעם יסוד פון אַ ליניע פון שלום. פון אַפּזאָגן זיך פון די אַקט פּאַציע, קאַלאַנזאַציעס, די דאָזיקע דערקלערונג אַנטהאַלטן אין זיך אַ דירעקטע ווענדונג צום ישראלדיקן פּאַק, אַז ס'איז מעגלעך צו מאַכן אַ סוף צו מלחמות, איינשטעלן אַ גערעכטן און סטאַבילן שלום אין ראיאָן.

וועגן דער גרויסער וויכטיקייט פון די געשפרעכן, וואָס זיינען פאַרגעקומען אין מאַסקווע צווישן דער דעלע-וואַס פון דער ישראלדיקער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי און דער דעלעגאַציע פון דער סאַוועטישער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי האָט איבערגעגעבן אין בית סאַקאַלאָו. תּל-אַביב דעם 19טן יאַנואַר 1984, די דעלעגאַציע וואָס איז צוריק-געקומען פון די געשפרעכן.

דער כנסת-דעפּוטאַט מיר ווילנער האָט אַנגעוויזן דערויף, אַז בשעת די געשפרעכן איז אַרויסגעבראַכט גע-וואָרן די געפאַר אויך פאַרן מיטעלן מזרח פון אַן אַטאַם מלחמה, פון פאַרזעצן די ישראלדיקע אַנוועזנהייט אין לבנון. גלייכצייטיק איז אַבער בשעת די געשפרעכן אַרויס-געבראַכט געוואָרן די מעגלעכקייט פון אַ שלומדיקער ליי-זונג פון טראַגישן ישראל-ראַבישן סכּסוך.

דעפּוטאַט מ. ווילנער האָט דערציילט, אַז בשעת די געשפרעכן איז בולט אַנגעוויזן געוואָרן, אַז סיי די אַמע-ריקאַנער און סיי די ישראלדיקע רעגירער זיינען ביטער דורכגעפאַלן אין זייער פּלאַן איינצושטעלן זייער מאַכט און הערשאַפט אין לבנון און אין גאַנצן ראיאָן. דאָס האָט נאָך אַ מאל גאַנץ קלאַר באַוויזן, אַז ס'איז אומעגלעך צו לייזן וועלכע ס'איז פּראַבלעם מיטן כּוח פון געווער. דערביי איז ווידער אַנגעוויזן געוואָרן אויף אַ רעאַלער און קאַנ-קרטער מעגלעכקייט צו לייזן די פּראַבלעמען: „זיכערנ-דיק די רעכט פון אַלע פּערקער און פון אַלע מדינות אין ראיאָן, איינשליסלעך מדינת ישראל, אויף אַ פּרייער אַנט-וויקלונג און אויף עקזיסטענץ אין זיכערקייט“.

די דאָזיקע פעסטשטעלונג איז וויכטיק דערמיט, ווייל דורך דעם ווערט נאָך אַמאָל אַפּגעלייקנט די אַנטי-סאַווע-טישע העצע וועגן דער פּיינטלעכער פּאליטיק צו ישראל און אז אין סאַוועטן-פאַרבאַנד דערמאַנט מען ניט פענטלעך און אַפּציעל וועגן אַנערקענען די רעכט פון מדינת ישראל אויף עקזיסטענץ און זיכערקייט. נאָך אַ זאָך, אין דער בשותפותדיקער דערקלערונג פון די דעלעגאַציעס פון ביידע פּאַרטייען שטרייכט זיך אונטער בפירוש, אַז „דער סאַוועטן-פאַרבאַנד איז גרייט, צוזאַמען מיט אַנדערע מדינות, צו גאַראַנטירן פאַר דער פּרייער אַנטוויקלונג און זיכערקייט פון מדינת ישראל, פון דער פּאַלעסטינער מדינה, וואָס זאָל אַנטשטיין אין די גרענעצן פון 1967 און פון אַלע מדינות אין ראיאָן“. די דאָזיקע דערקלערונג מאַכט צונויט אויף אַ קלאַרן און בולטן אופּן די אַלע פּוסטע פּלידערייען

מיט פרעקייט די אינטערנאציאנאלע געזעצן און די טוא-
ווערעניטעס פון מדינות. א גוטער עדות פון דעם איז
די אמעריקאנער אינוואַזיע קיין גרענאַדע. די אינטערווענצן
אַקציעס פון פשיא אין צענטראַל-אַמעריקע, די מיליטע-
רישע אינטערווענצן אין לבנון און די שאַטאַש-אַקציע און
אַפּשטעלונג לבני סיריע, אויסברייטערנדיק איר מיליטע-
רישע אַנוועגהייט, אויפּשטעלנדיק מיליטערישע באַזעס
און אוועקשטעלנדיק מיליטער אויפן שטח פון סרעמדע
מדינות, שטרעבט פשיא אויסצונוצן דאָס פאַר אירע אַג-
רעסיווע פּלענער, וועלכע זיינען געווענדט קעגן ראַטן
פאַרבאַנד און קעגן אַנדערע לענדער פון דער סאַציאַליס-
טישער געמיינשאַפּט. קעגן דער נאַציאָנאַל באַפרייערישער
באַוואַגונג.

די פאַרשטייער פון ביידע פאַרטייען האָבן דערקלערט,
אַז דאָס אוועקשטעלן די נייע אמעריקאנער ראַקעסן אין
מערבֿ-איראָפּע טראַגט אין זיך אַ ממשולדיקע געפאַר
ניט נאַר פאַר די סאַציאַליסטישע לענדער, נאָר אויך פאַר
די פעלקער פון מיטלענדישן ים. מיטעלן מורח און צפּון-
אַפריקע.

ביידע צדדים האָבן אָפּגעמערקט די וויכטיקייט פון
פאַרשטאַרקן די טעטיקייט פון די שלום-כּוחות אין די
באַדינגונגען געשאַפּן היינט צו טאָג; פון זיער געאייניק-
טער אַקטיוויטעט, כדי צו פאַרשטעלן דעם וועג פון דער
פאַרשטאַרקטער מלחמה-געפאַר און פאַר אומקערן די
אַנטוויקלונג אין דער ריכטונג פון געזונט מאַכן די אינ-
טערנאַציאָנאַלע אַטמאָספּער.

די פאַרשטייער פון דער קאָמפּאַרטיי פון ראַטן-פאַר-
באַנד און פון ישראל-קאָמפּאַרטיי האָבן אָפּגעמערקט, אַז
דער אַרעסיווער און אַגעסיווער-כאַראַקטער פון די ישראל-
אַמעריקאנער אַפּמאַכן וועגן „סטראַטעגישער צוזאַמענ-
אַרבעט“ איז שוין געקומען צום אויסדרוק אין קאָאַרדינירן
די מיליטערישע אינטערווענצן פון פשיא און ישראל אין
לבנון.

אין דער דערקלערונג זאָגט זיך, אַז ס'איז מעגלעך צו
דערגרייכן אַ גערעכטע רעגולירונג אין מיטעלן-מורח נאָר
מיטן באַדינג פון אַרויסציען די ישראלדיקע כּוחות פון
אַלע אַראַבישע געביטן אַקופּירטע זינט 1967. זיי האָבן
אויסגעדריקט זיער אונטערשטיצונג אין די געזעצליכע
נאַציאָנאַלע רעכט פון פּאַלעסטינער פּאַלק אויף זעלבסט-
באַשטימונג און אויף זיין אייגענער מדינה, פאַר נאַראַנטירן
די רעכט פון אַלע פעלקער און מדינות אין ריאַן איינ-
שליסלעך מדינת ישראל צו אַ פּרייע אַנטוויקלונג און צו
עקוויסטאנץ און יכּעריקייט, ווערביי שטאַלעך ביידע פאַר-
זיינען דעם סטראַטעגישן בונד צווישן די פּאַראַייניקטע-

שטאַטן און ישראל מיטן לינגערישן אויסרייד פון „סאַווע-
טישער דראַאָנג“, וואָס איז אין סתירה צו די אינטערעסן
פון ישראל פּאַלק, וועמענס טעריטאָריע ווערט פאַרוואַנדלט
אין אַ באַזע פאַר אַוועקשטעלן אמעריקאנער מיליטערישע
אויסשטאַטונג, דער דאָזיקער בונד איז געווענדט קעגן
דער סאַווערעניטעט און אינטערעסן פון די פעלקער אין
מיטעלן-מורח.

די פאַרשטייער פון ביידע פאַרטייען האָבן אַנטשלאָסן
געפאַדערט גלייך אַרויסציען די כּוחות פון ישראל און פון
פשיא פון לבנון און מאַכן אַ סוף צו די דראַאָנגען קעגן
סיריע.

דער איינציקער וועג פאַר דער לייזונג פון סכסוך און
פאַר שלום אין מיטעלן מורח — זאָגט זיך אין דער דער-
קלערונג, איז מאַכן געמיינזאַמע אַנשטרענגונגען דורך
צונויפּרופּן אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנסערווענצן מיטן אַג-
טייל פון ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד און די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן און
סוף אַלע צדדים פאַרמישען אין סכסוך איינשליסלעך די
„פּיר-על-אַ“ דער אויסשליסלעכער פאַרשטייער פון פּאַלעס-
טינער פּאַלק, זיי האָבן איבערגעזעצט און געטאַלעט די
פּאַליטיק, וואָס ווערט אַנגעווענדט דורך פשיא און ישראל
אַנצוואַוואַרפן איינזייטיקע סעפּאַראַטע טראַנזאַקציעס מיט
באַזונדערע אַראַבישע מדינות, וואָס דערלאַזט ניט צו דער-
גרייכן אַן אַלגעמיינעם אַפּמאַך און וואָס פאַרשאַרפט נאָך
מער די לאַגע אין מיטעלן-מורח.

די פאַרשטייער פון ביידע קאָמפּאַרטייען האָבן באַ-
טאָגט, אַז אין די באַדינגונגען פון אונדזערע טעג איז זיער
וויכטיק די פאַרייניקונג און געמיינזאַמע טעטיקייט פון די
קאָמוניסטישע און אַרבעטער-פאַרטייען, זיי האָבן אויסגע-
דריקט זיער מיינונג פאַר שטאַרצען די אַנטוויקלונג און
צוזאַמענאַרבעט צווישן די סאַוועטישע און ישראלדיקע
קאָמוניסטן אויפן פעסטן באַדן פון מאַרקסיזם, לעניניזם
און פּראַלעטאַרישן אינטערנאַציאָנאַליזם.



די טרעפונג איז דורכגעגאַנגען אין אַ וואַרעמער און
חברישער אַטמאָספּער.



די געשפּרעכן האָבן געדויערט ביי 4 שעה, די געמיינ-
זאַמע דערקלערונג איז פאַרעפּנטלעכט געוואָרן אין „פּראַוו-
דאָ“ דעם 2טן יאַנואַר 1984 און אין אַנדערע סאַוועטישע
צייטונגען, זי איז אויך איבערגעגעבן געוואָרן דורך דער
ראַדיאָ און אין דער טעלעוויזיע.



ווידרשע ענינים

אין דער בשותפותדיקער דערקלערונג פון דער סאוועטישער קאמפארטיי און פון דער ישראלדיקער קאמפארטיי

ס'איז מעגלעך דערגרייכן אן אלגעמיינעם און גערעכטן שלום

האט איבערגעגעבן וועגן קאמף פון דער פארטיי קעגן דער אגרעסיע-פאליטיק פון די הערשנדיקע קרייזן אין ישראל אין באצוג צו די אראבישע מדינות, קעגן דער קאלאניאל-זאציע און דער אכרויותדיקער אונטערדריקונג אויף די אקופירטע געביטן; פאר פארייניקן אלע שלום-כוחות אן אונטערשייד פון אידעאלאגישער וועלט-אנשוואונג, פאר דערגרייכן א גערעכטן און סטאבילן שלום אין מיטעלן-מזרח. די ישראלדיקע קאמניסטן קעמפן קעגן אגנריף אויף די רעכט פון די ארבעטנדיקע; זיי שטעלן זיך דע-ציירט קעגן דער דיסקרימינאציע פון דער אראבישער באפעלקערונג אין ישראל; קעגן דער וואקסנדיקער געפאר פון פאשיזאציע פון פאליטישן לעבן, קעגן דער אנט-סאוועטישער העצע וואס בושעוועט אין לאנד.

אין דער בשותפותדיקער דערקלערונג זאגט זיך, אז די קאמוניסטישע פארטיי פון ראטן-פארבאנד דריקט אויס איר סאלידאריטעט מיטן קאמף פון די ישראלדיקע קאמפ-ניסטן, יידן און אראבער, וועלכע טרעטן ארויס אלס פאטריאטן און אינטערנאציאנאליסטן קעגן דער אקופאציע-פאליטיק פון די רעגירנדיקע ציוניסטישע קרייזן; מיט אלע שטרעבנדיקע צו שלום אין ישראל, וועלכע זיינען אקטיוו אן אונטערשייד פון אידעאלאגישע אנשוואונגען פאר א גערעכטער רעגולירונג פון סכסוך אין מיטעלן-מזרח און פאר אן אלגעמיינעם גערעכטן און סטאבילן שלום; פאר שלום און פריינדשאפט צווישן די פעלקער.

די אנטשלינגעמער אין דער באגעגעניש האבן פסטע געשטעלט, אז די אגרעסיווע פאליטיק פון פאראייניקטע שטאטן, אמעריקע, די ערגסטע עסקאלאציע פון איר זייט פון דעם באוואפענונגס-געיע, האבן דערפירט צו אן ער-סטער פארשארפונג פון דער אינטערנאציאנאלער שפאנונג; האבן פארשטארקט די סכנה פון אן אטאמישן קאנפליקט. מיט חזופה דערקלערט פאראייניקטע שטאטן וועגן פארשיידענע ראיאנען אויף דער וועלט ווי ראיאנען פון „לעבנס-וויכטיקע אינטערעסן“ פאר איר; זי צעטרעט

דעם 18טן יאנואר 1984, זיינען סארגעקומען אין מאסקווע געשפרעכן פון גרויס וויכטיקייט צווישן די דע-לעגאציעס פון צ'יך פון דער קאמפארטיי פון ראטן-פאר-באנד אין צוזאמענשטעל פון קאנסטאנטין שטערנענקא, מיטגליד פון פאליט-בירא און סעקרעטאר פון צ'יך פון דער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי פון ראטן-פארבאנד; באריס פאנאמאראו, קאנדידאט אין פאליט-בירא און סעקרעטאר פון צ'יך; און פארטרעטער פון סארוואלטער פון דער אינטערנאציאנאלער אפטיילונג פון צענטראל-קאמיטעט, בוטאנץ ק.ג. מיט דער דעלעגאציע פון צענטראל-קאמ-טעט פון דער ישראלדיקער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי אין צוזאמענשטעל; גענעראל-סעקרעטאר מאיר ווילנער; מיט-גליד פון פאליט-בירא עוזי בורשטיין; מיטגליד פון סעק-רעטאריאט און סארויצער פון דער אפטיילונג פאר אוי-סערלעכע באציונגען דזשארדזש טובי; און קאנדידאט פון צ'יך לעאן הכהן.

די פארשיידענע פון דער קאמוניסטישער פארטיי פון ראטן-פארבאנד האבן איבערגעגעבן וועגן די דערגרייכונג-גע וואס זיינען געמאכט געווארן ביים אויספירן די בא-שלוסן און 26טן צוזאמענפאר פון קפר"פ און פון די פלענעס פון צ'יך נאך דעם; וועגן די שריט וואס דער ראטן-פארבאנד האט אנגעוואנדן אין זיין אויסערן-פאליטיק, וועלכע זיינען געריכט אפצוהיטן דעם שלום און קעגן דער אוואנטוריסטישער און מיליטאריסטישער פאליטיק פון אימפעריאליסטישע קרייזן פון די פארייניקטע שטאטן.

די דעלעגאציע פון דער ישראל-קאמפארטיי האט ארויסגעבראכט איר מולע אפשצונג פון דער קאנסעק-ווענטער שלומדיקער פאליטיק פון סאוועטן-פארבאנד, וועמענס שטעלונגען זיינען געבראכט געווארן אין דער דערקלערונג פון גענעראל-סעקרעטאר פון קפר"פ, פאר-זיערע פון העכסטן ראט פון ר"פ, יורי אנדראפאו פון 28טן סעפטעמבער און 24טן נאוועמבער 1983.

די דעלעגאציע פון דער ישראלדיקער קאמפארטיי