

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

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LEWIS M. MOROZE



HERBERT APTHEKER



ANGELA DAVIS

## 15TH ANNUAL JEWISH AFFAIRS DINNER ISSUE

**A Privileged Moment in Our History**

*Angela Davis*

**U.S. Constitution and Reaganism**

*Herbert Aptheker*

**Changing Thought Patterns Among**

**Jewish Americans**

*Lewis M. Moroze*

## A Privileged Moment in Our History

By Angela Y. Davis

Main address delivered at *Jewish Affairs* 15th Annual Dinner, September 20, 1987 at the Penta Hotel, NYC.

I am honored to share the platform this afternoon with Herbert Aptheker, distinguished scholar and editor of *Jewish Affairs* and with Lewis Moroze, the managing editor of the journal, which represents the most forward-looking trends among Jewish-Americans today.

As an Afro-American Communist, I am proud to be participating in this event, further extending the historical connection between progressive forces in the Jewish community and their counterparts in the Black community. We have always been able to trace racism and anti-semitism to a common source. And it has always been in our interests to unite and to stand steadfastly together in our common quest for justice, peace, and equality.

More people than ever before in the history of our country are actively engaged in serious reflections on the future of the democratic process. Workers and students, Christian and Jewish religious activists, solidarity and peace activists, activists in the women's movement, the youth movement — increasing numbers of people are aware of the menacing assaults on democracy emanating from the Reagan Administration.

In a sense, this is a privileged moment in our history. It is a moment we must seize in order to forge the united movements capable of definitively pushing back the offensive of the ultra-right — in order to move on in the direction of true democracy which means, for the immediate future, the defeat of Reaganism and ultimately, the construction of a socialist basis for democracy in this country.

This is a privileged moment in our history, for precisely now as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States, we are being publicly presented with incontrovertible evidence of grave subversions of our constitutional rights and liberties. Although the scriptwriters for the military industrial complex may have attempted to elevate Oliver North to the status of a folk hero, his reign was as short as the brief television flashes we were offered of his performance during the Iran-Contra Hearings. Even the attempts to cash in on his fleeting popularity by would-be capitalists were utterly unsuccessful. *Time Magazine* pointed out

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this week that few Ollie North t-shirts were actually sold and that the originator of plans for an Ollie North doll cancelled them because he received so few orders. And, as *Time* confessed, "... the Old Man River Doghouse, [a sandwich joint in New York State], has replaced the Oliver North Sandwich [which was made of beef, bologna, shredded lettuce, and a 'secret, covert sauce'] with the Piggly Wiggly, a frankfurter topped with bacon and cheese. From hero to hot dog in just two months."

Jokes aside, what is the enduring meaning of Oliver North? He will remain a symbol of the Reagan Administration's efforts to create a police state structure within the government, an ultra-right junta, which not only trampled upon the rights of the people of Nicaragua, but which also turned up their noses at the rights and liberties of every citizen of the United States. People's awareness of this process has led to a passionate upsurge in their determination to defend what vestiges of democracy still remain in this country.

A coalition consisting of a vast diversity of individuals and organizations has emerged in response to yet another expose of the Reagan Administration's attack on the democratic process. Little more than a year before we will finally see Ronald Reagan depart from the White House, we are faced with what is no doubt the most critical domestic political issue to arise in recent years: Reagan's proclamation that the confirmation of Robert Bork as a Supreme Court Justice is his main domestic priority. Senator Kennedy has charged that the Bork nomination is Reagan's "plan for an ideological coup on the Supreme Court." In response to the Bork nomination — which has the potential of being the most lethal campaign against democratic rights in this country to come of the Reagan presidency — progressive forces are coming out in enormous numbers, serving notice that we are uniting and organizing to defend our rights, our trade unions, our communities, and our country. A People's Agenda for jobs, peace, and equality is the order of the day.

At a time when Ronald Reagan should be ducking out the back door of the White House, with his head hung low in the disgraceful wake of the scandalous Iran-Contra affair, instead, in a last gasp for ultra-conservative glory, he is waving the flag of the far right, which he hopes to plant firmly and lastingly in the heart of the Supreme Court. This move is especially audacious. As Michael Cowan, Executive Director of the National Lawyers' Guild, has pointed out, "Until the question of offenses which might be impeachable are decided, how can Reagan now appoint to the Supreme

Court?"

And, indeed, Robert Bork represents the undemocratic, fascist-leaning spirit which pervaded the Iran-Contra affair. As a matter of fact, on issues around which Reagan has often been made to sidestep due to the resistance mounted by people's movements — issues such as trade union rights, abortion rights, women's rights in general, freedom of speech, racism — Robert Bork has walked with a very heavy foot. Bork does not dance around the issues. He does not require a script, except his own interpretation of the so-called "original intent" of the "founding fathers." His is a script which was written by white men of the ruling class at a time when industrial capitalism was only beginning to emerge and thus prior to the rise of the trade union movement. It is a script which was written at a time when women were defined as either some man's daughter or wife, but by no means autonomous human beings deserving of basic human rights. It is a script which was written at a time when Black people were considered to be only partially human — in the eyes of the constitution, a Black person was only three-fifths of a human being. And the indigenous people of this land were not even acknowledged to exist at all.

While Bork's record proves him to be an unabashed advocate of right-wing politics, he is attempting to convey the impression that politically he is neutral — neither liberal nor conservative. Yet, his own recent attempts to recant many of his previously stated sentiments — specifically regarding privacy rights, the rights of women and of the racially oppressed — are sufficient evidence that even Bork himself believes that his political views are reason enough to block him from a lifetime position on the Supreme Court.

Furthermore, Bork supporters have accused the American Bar Association of "playing politics" after its non-unanimous vote on Bork's nomination — the ABA's first non-unanimous vote on a Supreme Court nominee since the 1971 Rehnquist nomination. This is a ludicrous accusation to say the least, for what could be more of a political play than Ronald Reagan's attempt to swing the balance of the Supreme Court to the far right well into the twenty-first century.???

Even as Bork attempts to camouflage his real stand on constitutional issues, he has revealed himself to be a man with regressive, anti-working class stands. When questioned by Sen. Howard Metzenbaum about a decision he wrote as a member of the Federal Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, he left no doubt in anyone's mind that he was partial toward the interests of

corporations. In his decision, he affirmed the right of American Cyanimid Company to require that women working in an unsafe environment face the alternative of submitting to sterilization or of being fired. Bork's justification was: at least they had a choice. A choice between joblessness or sterility!

What is most exciting, however, is not what is transpiring inside the Bork hearings, but rather the activist protest that has been generated in response to the effort to confirm this ultra-conservative. In Washington and throughout the country, hundreds and possibly thousands of organizations are joining together to block the confirmation of Bork. Trade Unions are working with Civil Rights Organizations and women's groups and Jewish organizations. Within this vast coalition of peace organizations, Central America, and South Africa solidarity organizations. There are gay organizations, seniors' groups, youth groups. Black people, Jews, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans are joining hands in this struggle. There is one thing we can say about Bork — he has brought us all out of our factories, our homes, and our classrooms.

The mobilization against Bork can not only be the pivotal factor in preventing his confirmation, it can spur us on toward greater efforts to build united movements around priority issues on our people's agenda for peace, jobs, and equality.

Bernard Goetz and the young lynch-mob members in Howard Beach are racist blights on the city of New York. But we must certainly congratulate New Yorkers for sponsoring the candlelight march this evening in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, where three young Black workers were attacked by a gang of white youths. Sixty organizations coalesced around the anti-racist action this evening.

Progressive New Yorkers must also expose the racist character of the defense in the Howard Beach case — specifically, the exclusion of Black jurors by the defense.

I invite you to attend or spread the word about the upcoming conference of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression in Birmingham, Alabama during the first weekend in November, and about our continuing struggle to free Johnny Imani Harris.

Yet another racist attack around which we must organize is the anti-democratic, repressive denial of tenure to Dr. Ernest Dube by the administration at State University of New York, Stony Brook. Dr. Dube is a South African, a member of the African National Con-

gress, who was imprisoned and then exiled because of his resistance to apartheid. As a professor of Africana studies at Stony Brook, he taught a course on the Politics of Race. One possible topic for a paper required in the course was on the relationship between Zionism and racism. In 1983, a visiting Israeli professor leveled the charge against Dr. Dube that he was anti-semitic, for no other reason than the allusion in his course to the connection between Zionism and racism.

However, when this charge was investigated by the Faculty Senate, the conclusion reached was that the charge had no merit. Nonetheless, the Anti-Defamation League launched a campaign against Ernest Dube which eventually took on national and international dimensions. The goal of the campaign, which was directed against the President of the University, was the removal of Dr. Dube. This campaign sparked the involvement of a group known as the Jewish Defense Organization, which, in their words, publicly threatened to "teach [Dube] a lesson in 'Jewish Justice'".

When this professor came up for tenure, even though two faculty committees made positive recommendations, the president rejected it. A review committee was formed, which unanimously recommended tenure, a recommendation which was turned down by the chancellor. When a second review committee unanimously recommended tenure, not only did the chancellor refuse to grant Dr. Dube tenure, but he terminated him from the university!

Dr. Dube is presently involved in litigation against the SUNY. Even the New York Times had editorialized against this repressive act. "Pending the outcome of that suit," the Times said, "the question lingers about academic freedom at Stony Brook: how free?"

This is an issue around which the Afro-American community and the Jewish community can build a solid alliance. The repressive assault on the right of a South African professor is shrouded with the false accusation of anti-semitism.

It also raises the larger issue of Israel's support for Apartheid South Africa. It is indeed hypocritical to condemn the atrocities committed against Black people in South Africa — and indeed to denounce the Reagan government and the US transnational corporations for the part they play in bolstering this regime, without at the same time issuing a strong censure against Israel for its continual support of apartheid. Even the mild sanctions recommended by a ministerial committee have been indefinitely postponed by the Israeli government.

The Jewish community must join the Afro-

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American community and its allies in vigorously condemning racism, in its domestic as well as international manifestations. The Afro-American community must, in turn, develop stronger stands against anti-semitism, recognizing that any expression of anti-Jewish bias or anti-Jewish violence inevitably strengthens the forces of racism. We must also take care to point out that Zionism — as powerful as it may be — does not represent the interests of the Jewish community.

This is a privileged moment in our history. Even as the trade union movement sustains devastating attacks emanating from the Reagan Administration, it is growing more politically independent and indeed more militant. 14 million workers have lost their jobs during the tenure of the Reagan Administration: 57% of all steelworkers, 39% of all factory workers, and 46% of all miners. All of us who are trade unionists must unite with our sisters and brothers who work, but are unorganized, with those who are homeless — with racially oppressed communities to raise stronger demand for jobs than at any other time in our history. During the 1988 election campaigns, this must be a pivotal demand in the effort to evict all the remnants of Reaganism from the White House.

If we wish to succeed in our struggle for jobs — and for housing, for better education, for free childcare, for women's reproductive rights, this will mean doubling our efforts to cut the spiraling military budget. And — at this moment in our history — the prospects of success are greater than ever before. An index of the mass comprehension of the need to prevent the insatiable monster of a military budget from consuming all the human resources our people need is the fact that virtually all the contenders for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination have gone on record in favor of cutting the military budget — Jesse Jackson, of course, Pat Schroeder, Paul Simon, Richard Gephardt, Joseph Biden, and Michael Dukakis. Only Bruce Babbitt and Albert Gore have failed to associate themselves with the mass sentiment.

A recent UN conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development pointed out the international ramifications of this issue. According to the Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister, the \$15.6 billion spent on intervention in Central America could have been used to build '21 development projects, 840 completely equipped hospitals, and 630,000 schools in Central America.' Needless to say, the Reagan Government refused to participate in this conference.

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## The U.S. Constitution and Reaganism

by Herbert Aptheker

Address delivered at 15th Annual Dinner of *Jewish Affairs*, New York City, September 20, 1987 at the Penta Hotel.

September, 1987 marks the official beginning of the celebration by the ruling class of the Bicentennial of the Constitution of the United States.

The National Bicentennial Commission is chaired by former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger. Several months ago, Mr. Burger told a group of one hundred business leaders: "There is a major role for the private sector in this celebration, in general funding of the commission, and in sponsoring various projects." Among the projects so far announced is the joint sponsorship by the Commission of the Bicentennial with the 15th anniversary of Walt Disney World, Inc., and a national contest by the Philip Morris Tobacco Company on the right of a tobacco company to advertise its benign products. Hilton Hotels plans to place a copy of the Constitution next to the Bible in its rooms, and the MCI Communications Corporation will sponsor a baseball game between the Philadelphia Phillies and the New York Mets to be played in Washington, D.C., thus honoring the sites of the Constitution's signing, of the first Congress convened in 1789 and of the present seat of Government — all this with one baseball game!

What State Bicentennial Commissions are likely to do became clear when the textbook for the celebration by California was unveiled. This turned out to be a study modestly entitled "The Making of America" by that renowned scholar, W. Cleon Skousen. Mr. Skousen is also the author of the McCarthy era classic called "The Naked Communist"; he recently retired as police chief of Salt Lake City and from an eminent post in the John Birch Society.

Forrest McDonald, a professor of history at the University of Alabama (now visiting at the College of William & Mary in Virginia), has been selected to give the 1987 Jefferson Lecture by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Professor McDonald is an outspoken adherent of Hamiltonianism, which was on the Right of the political spectrum in the 18th century; holding fast to this view as the 21st century looms, makes McDonald a fitting Jefferson lecturer in the era of Ronald Reagan!

The *New York Times*, reporting on some of Mr.

McDonald's current lecturers — preparatory to the Jefferson Lecture — managed to interview him. Its reporter, Irwin Molotsky, observed that Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall recently had suggested that the original Constitution was far from perfect and that intense public pressure, beginning with that which produced the Amendments known as the Bill of Rights and including those which terminated slavery, enfranchised Black men and then all women, had been necessary to make the document more commensurate with present social requirements. Marshall's view clearly suggested that the Constitution was not something to be embalmed but rather to be constantly examined so that it might be made even more helpful for current and future generations.

Mr. Molotsky asked Professor McDonald to comment especially on Justice Marshall's point that the constitution granted some freedoms "but denied them to slaves." To this Professor McDonald responded: "Slavery was a fact. It had simply not crossed many people's intellectual and moral horizons to question it." Of course, here McDonald meant white people; presumably he forgot that the slaves were people and presumably, also, he knows that *they* did question it!

Professor McDonald went on, quite gratuitously, to suggest that slaves in the United States lived in far superior conditions as compared with contemporary European peasants.

The latter comment shows a singular ignorance as to the realities of slavery in the United States. It also reminds one of some of today's Zionists who insist that the Palestinians lucky enough to be in the grasp of Israel are "better off" than Arabs living elsewhere in the Middle East, and of those partisans of apartheid who insist that Blacks in South Africa are "better off" than their counterparts elsewhere in Africa. The fools insist on fighting and dying in order to be "worse off"!

As to Professor McDonald's remark that slavery was a "fact" at the time, one is at a loss to plumb the intricacies of that cryptic remark. But his assertion that few (white) people had questioned it at the time reflects an ignorance of 18th century history that should embarrass beginners at the universities to which the professor is attached.

The fact is that the Revolutionary and Constitutional generations witnessed profound questioning by white people of slavery. This was true of entire religious denominations, as the Quakers, Baptists and Methodists, and it was true of many of the Fathers (and Mothers) of those generations. It was true, for example,

of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Abigail Adams and John Jay, all of whom were actively engaged in either anti-slavery organizational efforts and/or polemics — in the cases of Jefferson, Franklin and Paine, polemics whose sharpness was hardly exceeded later by William Lloyd Garrison.

It was in this era that hundreds of slaves were manumitted in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina for reasons of conscience, that slavery was forbidden in the Northwest Territory, that the international slave trade was outlawed as "piracy," and that emancipation acts swept Northern states so that all of them had provided for the termination of slavery by 1804.

Another reflection of this profound concern with slavery among many white people making up the Constitutional generation is the fact that its immediate drafters were so embarrassed by its existence that they deliberately omitted the cursed word from the finished document.

That a professor of history, selected to give the Jefferson Lecture by what is called the National Endowment for the Humanities, is ignorant of these basic facts in our history, suggests that as McDonald will be talking the ghost of Jefferson will be squirming. But then with Ronald Reagan occupying the same office as that once held by Abraham Lincoln, nothing absurd and even criminal that transpires in Washington these days is truly surprising.

\* \* \*

There is good reason *for us* to celebrate the bicentennial of the Constitution. That document, when created, was the most advanced charter of government in the world. It confirmed the main results of the Revolution: a republic replacing a monarchy, the elimination of feudal vestiges, the termination of special church privileges, the ending of religious requirements for the holding of federal office, and affirming not only the right to national self-determination but also, in ending colonial status, giving the first example of the achievement of that right with arms in hand.

The Constitution's Preamble — which is, of course, an integral part of the document as a whole — affirmed the revolutionary theory of popular sovereignty, as opposed to inherited sovereignty; that was something new and startling for the world of the 18th century. No wonder European States made possession of a copy of the U.S. Constitution a criminal offense, well into the 19th century!

With all its positive features, including the popu-

larly demanded Bill of Rights, the Constitution, however, was an 18th century document, drafted and confirmed by States dominated by private-property owners, including especially slaveowners. The result was not only the document's main weakness — recognizing slavery (albeit ashamed to use the word); it also meant limiting the concept of freedom — for others — to *political* only and even there very incompletely, especially as concerns the Native American peoples, people without significant property ownership, and all women.

Recognizing the positive features of the Constitution, *for its time*, and underlining the limitations of the document, *even for its time*, it is necessary also to insist, in tune with the forward-looking essence of the Constitution, that the 20th century and the 21st that looms just over the horizon demand a very great extension of the concept of freedom. This must mean now, in the first place, the full consideration of all the People, including the vast majority of the People, that is to say, all women, all minorities, and working people as a whole.

This must mean also the expansion of the definition of freedom, which to the bourgeoisie was concerned only with matters political and even there meant freedom *from*, not freedom *to*, meant what government might not do, and not what government *could* do and *must* do to make life really full and decent and creative for the entire population. This means specifically in our day the expansion of the concept of freedom so that it includes all the traditional freedoms — so nobly described in our Bill of Rights — but also includes basic socio-economic rights: the right to a life of sufficient economic and material requirements and a life free of indignities and insults. Freedom is a mockery when it is freedom to be hungry, to be unemployed, to be illiterate, to be ill-housed, to live in fear of illness, to live in fear of insecurity when elderly, to live with the burden of others being "free" to hurl racial and national and religious insults and to practice racist acts. Such "freedom" always was unjust but in this day and age, with its knowledge, its capacities, its experiences, to permit such conditions to exist is not to be an adherent of freedom but rather to be a sustainer of inhumanity and atrocious cruelty.

Our Constitution includes the right of revolution, our Constitution is itself a capstone of revolution. The amending process of our Constitution endured through the Second American Revolution, highlighted by the XIII and XIV Amendments which in the first place abolished without compensation almost four billion dollars worth of previously recognized private property and

which secondly sustained such confiscation — without due process, by the way — in that provision of the XIV Amendment which refused to hear suits by former slaveowners — including those who had been loyal to the Union — seeking compensation for property in slaves taken from them.

If our Constitution made possible through amendment the abolition of property in slaves because it was found to be anachronistic, socially harmful and economically regressive, might it not be possible for later generations to come to similar conclusions about other property held in private ownership for reasons of individual enrichment? If such generations do come to such conclusions, they might act with regard to such property as our ancestors did with regard to property in slaves. Let us hope that if that comes to pass it may reach implementation with less bloodshed than was required to put the XIIIth Amendment into our Constitution!

Permit an additional word on this matter of the Constitution and slavery. The relationship here was a momentous matter of debate among the Abolitionists. To put the question quite simply, Garrison held that the Constitution was basically and fatally pro-slavery and that therefore it was a "covenant with the devil" and fit only for burning — and he proceeded to burn it in public. Frederick Douglass, on the other hand — who, having felt the slaveowners lash on his own back and who when he spoke knew that his own relatives were in slavery — this Black genius thought differently. Yes, he agreed that slaveowners now dominated the government and used the Constitution as a legal shield for their damned institution. But, Douglass insisted, the Constitution's preamble was not pro-slavery but anti-slavery; and the Declaration of Independence which birthed the nation served by that Constitution certainly was no apologist for slavery and it was a fact, Douglass added, that the word *slavery* nowhere is in the document.

What was Frederick Douglass' conclusion? It was, as he said, that the point was not to *burn* the Constitution but to *cleanse* it. Douglass knew that the power of the slaveholding class could be overcome only by superior power and where lay that superior power if not in the strength of an aroused populace? Could that populace be aroused by burning its Constitution? No, said Douglass, join us while we fight to purify our nation, to stop it from being a pariah in the world of civilized peoples, come with us as we together create such a political and ideological force as to overcome the domination of the slaveholding class and then amend the Constitution, cleanse it — and forever abolish the cursed institution of

slavery.

Douglass and Garrison were both immortals and both basically respected each other but in this debate Douglass was right and Garrison was wrong. Developments resulted in Garrison comprehending this and in joining the vast people's coalition which whipped the slaveocracy at the voting booths and then — when the slaveowners chose counter-revolutionary force and violence — whipped that class in the field of battle.

\* \* \*

The *New York Times* in a recent editorial expresses horror and surprise that the U.S. government seriously considered asking South Africa to join the Sultan of Brunei and the royal family of Saudi Arabia and other assorted gangsters in helping finance the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries.

The horror is appreciated, but the surprise is astonishing.

The contras are mercenary torturers akin to their Somoza forebears. They were originally trained by the Argentine police — under its former fascist dictatorship. Every contra officer and soldier receives monthly pay from Washington.

Yet the contras have never held a foot of Nicaraguan territory; they flee whenever in contact with armed opponents; and their only "successes" have been against civilians, especially women and children.

So why should such choice characters flinch from dealing with the Simon Legrees of the land of apartheid?

When the president of the United States chose to stand in mourning, in forgiveness, even in honor of the Wehrmacht and SS troops at Bitburg cemetery, in the Federal Republic of Germany — not far from the blood-drenched soil of the Battle of the Bulge, where those monsters met their long-delayed deaths — when that happened, it was clear to those with vision that "pawning a part of America's soul" (to quote the *Times*) precisely describes Reaganism.

The present period differs significantly from that when Hitlerism crucified humanity. Thanks to a global coalition of anti-fascist forces, Hitlerism was defeated.

In our era, the forces of peace and democracy are much stronger than forty-five years ago; hence Reagan's activities must be, as compared with Hitler's, less horrendous. But they have been awful enough and speaking *ideologically*, Reagan is as subservient to the monopolies as was Hitler. Reagan's anti-Communist paranoia is as intense as Hitler's.

Reagan is as subservient to the monopolies as was Hitler; Reagan's anti-Communist paranoia is as intense

as Hitler's; Reagan's anti-Communist paranoia is as intense as Hitler's; Reagan's anti-Sovietism is as wild as Hitler's. Reagan's anti-Marxism is as filled with fury and as marked by ignorance as was true of Hitler, and Reagan is as racist, as aggressive, as militarist, as enamored of war, as was Hitler.

Of course, Reagan spits on international law, as did Hitler, and of course Reagan is as compulsive a liar as was Hitler. Hitler began his political career as an informer for the Ultra-right components of the German army; Reagan began his public career as an FBI informer — while serving as an officer in a trade union under FBI surveillance!

Reagan is perfectly capable of a Reichstag fire; the bombing of Libya and the lynching of Grenada, morally, were as depraved. Perhaps Reagan's Reichstag fire is his effort to perpetuate his policies by elevating his fellow ideologue and Meese's lap-dog, Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

Reagan is now staggering against the ropes. He is hiding from Congress and hiding from the press — even the bourgeois press. His advisors try to provide him with hand-picked audiences — Birch Society members and Christian Fronters, and they laugh at his disgusting jokes.

This is the time for increased pressure: letters to Congress, to newspapers, activity among trade unions, peace organizations, and all groupings of Americans who are becoming increasingly conscious of the monstrosity in the Oval Office.

Reaganism can be utterly defeated. Now is the time for a knock-out campaign. First of all — **DEFEAT BORK!**

Permit an added word on yesterday's momentous news: I mean, of course, the preliminary agreements announced by the foreign secretaries of the USSR and the United States on both powers eliminating short-range and intermediate range nuclear missiles. This, if agreed to by both heads of state, in a later meeting, and then if ratified by the U.S. Senate, would represent an initial, and significant step in realizing the goal projected by Gorbachev — a world without nuclear weaponry by the year 2000!

But, such an accomplishment will only come if the world-wide pressures which brought about this step are maintained and intensified.

I call to your attention that when a reporter asked Reagan if the agreement suggested he reconsider his characterization of the USSR as an "evil empire," the

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## Changing Thought Patterns Among Jewish Americans

by Lewis M. Moroze

Address delivered at Jewish Affairs  
15th Annual Dinner, September 20, 1987

The preparations for the coming historic Summit Meeting between Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan were made possible by the firm peace policy of the Soviet Union and by the determined will of the peace constituencies throughout our land and across the face of the globe. The agreement to hold a Summit Meeting flows from the determination of the peoples worldwide to assert themselves as the movers of history and not merely to submit themselves as objects to be manipulated at will. It is the will of the peoples that there be detente between the USA and the USSR growing into permanent world peace and that with the establishment of detente efforts be exerted to breathe life into the UN proposal for a new economic order to bring about a life of plenty for all peoples of the world. There is not a corner of the globe in which this struggle is not being waged.

In these historic efforts Jewish Americans have not been found wanting. We cannot ignore, of course, the fact that, traumatized by the Holocaust of World War II, great numbers of Jewish Americans were led, for a time, into the swamp of chauvinism and the acceptance of the war-provoking policies of the Israeli ruling circles.

During that period there was much talk about rigid, unmovable thought patterns. During that period, Breira, the organization of Jewish American young people seeking an alternative policy for the Middle East, was smashed by the terrorists of the Jewish Defense League with the fullest support of the Zionist oriented Jewish American leadership.

Soon after the founding of New Jewish Agenda in January 1987 they were attacked for calling for the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian People and for their pursuit of a peace policy in the Middle East. There was, then, pessimistic thinking about unchangeable thought patterns.

However new thought patterns did evolve in the Jewish American community. Here we should note that the majority of the Jewish Americans are working people and members of their unions. Those in the unions are active members. Jewish Americans on or below the poverty level amount to some 15 to 20%. They consist of

the elderly and single parent families, a tragic phenomenon of current day life. The fact that Jewish Americans no longer dominate the needle trades and garment workers unions is not proof that they have become completely bourgeoisified.

The developing new thought patterns resulted in the publication of *Tikkun* magazine, *Tikkun* means "to repair" or "heal" in Hebrew. Its purpose is to counter the neoconservative position of *Commentary* magazine sponsored by the American Jewish Committee. Though eclectic *Tikkun* gives voice to writers championing world peace and detente with the USSR, for reordering our economic priorities and its editors have called for an International Conference on the Middle East.

The Israeli war of aggression against Lebanon, the Irangate-Contra Scandal, the Pollard Spy Case and the growing opposition to those policies by the people of Israel left a deep impression on Jewish American leadership as well as on the widest sectors of Jewish Americans resulting in more widespread and open, sharp criticism of the practices of the Israeli government circles.

The attempt to involve non-Zionist Jewish Americans in the elections for delegates to the World Zionist Congress to be held this December failed miserably. The last World Zionist Congress was described by the Jerusalem Post as a "fiasco." More of the same is expected for the coming Congress. The leadership consists of bankrupt bureaucrats struggling for control of funds.

In an embittered response to the widening and deepening criticism of Israeli policies by Jewish Americans, Shlomo Avineri, a leading Israeli Zionist ideologue, attacked Jewish Americans for daring to criticize Israeli policies. In an "Open Letter to an American friend" Avineri concluded that Jewish Americans do not "feel at home" in the USA.

Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Demafation League of the B'Nai B'Rith, responded: "You accuse us of behaving like 'trembling Israelites in the Shtetl' now when the going gets rough. How quickly you forget, Shlomo, how tough it was in the past defending the Suez invasion, coping with the attack on the Liberty, defending settlement policy, . . . and getting caught by surprise over the annexation of the Golan heights and East Jerusalem.

"Do you think it was easy making the case for Israel while the IDF bombardment of Beirut was driven home on television?

"Don't call upon American Jews to make a 'Cheshbon Hanefesh' (An accounting to the Lord) over

Pollard. If there is any soul searching to be done, it is in Israel."

Among others to answer Avineri was Henry Siegan, director of the American Jewish Congress, who said: "In the circumstances, it comes with singular ill-grace for Israelis to seize on our anger as evidence of our own insecurities rather than Israel's outrageous behavior.

"If ever the day should come when the Americans experiment in religious pluralism fails and six million American Jews get to feel as some Israelis believe they already do, that should offer scant comfort to Zionist ideologists.

"For in that kind of world, there would be little hope for the viability of the State of Israel and the security of its three million Jews, ideological pieties about Zionist redemption notwithstanding."

It is the insecurity of the 3 million Israeli Jews that is causing Jewish Americans, among other reasons, to differentiate themselves sharply from the practices of the Israeli government. Those practices and policies threaten a Holocaust for the Jewish people of Israel. In the war of aggression against Lebanon 650 Israeli soldiers were killed and a thousand more wounded along with the scores of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese who were killed or wounded with thousands more left homeless. The stark reality is the fact that proportionately speaking more Israelis were killed and wounded than US servicemen in the war against the Vietnamese People. How much longer can such blood-letting go on? If current policies continue Israel will become not a "light unto the nations," not the hope of the Jews who would settle there but a graveyard for those Jews. In 1986 only 67 Jewish Americans went to Israel on Aliyah while 367 corpses of Jewish Americans were sent there for burial.

Today, therefore, more serious attention is being paid to the call for an International Conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the UN Security Council including the participation of the PLO. Currently the leadership of the American Jewish Congress is engaged in thorough-going discussions on the endorsement of the call for such a conference. (On Sept. 21, a day following the dinner, AJC announced its call for an international conference.)

How much longer can the patently hypocritical cry of Palestinian "terrorists" go on while Israel continues to bomb Palestinian refugee camps, while the Reaganites close a PLO office yet do nothing to bring to justice the assassin of Alex Odeh, a leader of the Ameri-

can Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and threatens deportation of Arab Americans who do not cater to the line of the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance partners.

Yassir Arafat's dramatic address to the Conference of Non-Aligned Governmental Organizations of the UN coupled with his message to the heads of the Israeli government, Peres and Shamir, informing them that the PLO supports UN Resolutions 242 and 338 represent a qualitative step forward by the PLO in propelling the peace process forward. To date PLO's rejection of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 were cited by the Israeli rulers for refusal to deal with the PLO.

Arafat's dramatic message includes the following: (1) mutual cessation of hostilities; (2) a freeze on settlement activities and (3) *mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO.*

Jewish Americans along with all peace forces should wholeheartedly welcome this historic development and urge the Reagan Administration and the Israeli government to accelerate the process of calling for an international conference.

Today Jewish Americans are participants in the many people's coalitions calling for a People's Agenda for world peace, the reordering of our economy and for combatting racism and anti-Semitism.

In a recently published brochure by the American Jewish Congress entitled: "Assessing the Eighties," we read: "Unhappily, in the conduct of domestic policy, the Administration has earned poor grades, particularly in the areas of fiscal and economic responsibility, social reform, affirmative action — areas in which substantial progress continues to be a distant dream rather than a contemporary reality. . . . An Administration that attempts to circumvent court decisions on such fundamental issues as women's rights, prayer in the public schools and affirmative action does not enhance our nation's strength."

Hadassah with a membership of some 385,000 Jewish women and other leading Jewish American organizations are campaigning for the defeat of Reagan's proposal to place Bork on the US Supreme Court.

In light of the above we have more than ample reason to obligate ourselves, each and every one of us in this dining hall, at the 15th Annual Dinner of New Jewish Agenda, to pledge that we will not permit one day to pass without taking some step to involve, family, friends, fellow workers and organizations to call upon the Senate to reject Bork.

Representing both the big bourgeoisie and sections

of the middle strata, the American Jewish Committee publishes both the neo-conservative Commentary magazine as well as *Present Tense* whose July/August 1987 issue runs an editorial aimed at broader sectors of Jewish Americans characterizing the Reagan Administration stating: "In the name of defending freedom in Central America, they make a mockery of democracy at home by lying and making end runs around Congress and by redefining weapons and ammunition as 'humanitarian aid,' the contras as 'the moral equivalent of our Founding Fathers' and the Boland Amendment and the office of the Special Prosecutor as 'unconstitutional.'" Wouldn't it be interesting to witness a discussion of this editorial among Norman Podhoretz, Midge Decter and her son Elliot Abrams?

The editorial continues: "Whoever succeeds Reagan . . . can undo the damage . . . by rejecting the ideological fallacies that have driven this Administration over the brink into dishonor and disarray through obsessive anti-Communism, militarization of America's foreign policy and government by secrecy and duplicity."

Throughout the period of its existence New Jewish Agenda's position on all key questions are found, in the main, to be consistent with the various people's movements now calling for and attempting to organize a People's Agenda. At their last Convention held recently NJA delegates approved of resolutions whose content parallel the essential ingredients for a People's Agenda. One of the convention workshops was on: "Combating and Rebuffing Red-Baiting." It is currently grappling with the fraud of "Soviet anti-Semitism."

The Shalom Peace Center of the Reconstructionist Religious Movement, launched the Succoth Shalom peace promoting program which this year will be celebrated in hundreds of temples throughout the US.

The most consistent voice in the Jewish American community for world peace, for reordering our economic priorities and to wipe out racism and anti-Semitism is that of *Jewish Affairs*. Our working class orientation accounts for the principled, firm position of *Jewish Affairs*. Through the pages of the magazine, pamphlets, special bulletins and lectures by our editors *Jewish Affairs* continues to bring to the attention of Jewish Americans and other sectors of our multi-racial, multi-national people those facts of particular importance to Jewish Americans and all democratic forces seeking world peace and plenty, free of racism and anti-Semitism. You don't have to be Jewish to read and appreciate *Jewish Affairs*.

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On the subject of disarmament, we have great cause for celebration today — the first nuclear disarmament agreement in our history has been reached — and a summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan will take place this fall. But, Reagan deserves no kudos for this development. Indeed, we should applaud the Soviet Union for their forbearance, their perseverance, and their determination that we enter the twenty-first century without nuclear weapons.

And we should applaud our own peace movement for the relentless pressure we have placed on the Reagan Administration and for the work we have done toward the expansion of the peace settlement among our people. There are now 137 nuclear free zones in the US. At least 150 cities have passed Nuclear Test Ban resolutions.

As we move toward the 1988 presidential elections, we are stronger than ever before: the majority of our people want peace. We are, in our vast majority, opposed to the anti-working class assaults of the monopoly corporations. We are opposed to the police state maneuvers designed to overthrow the democratic revolution in Nicaragua. We are opposed to apartheid. We are opposed to sexism, to racism, and to anti-semitism. What remains for us to do is, to extend and consolidate our organizing efforts — as Communists, as trade unionists, as peace and solidarity activists — and to bring into ever stronger coalitions, our economic struggles, our quest for equality, our demand for political independence, and our unconditional demand for nuclear disarmament.

This is a privileged moment in our history — we can, indeed, evict Reaganism and all it stands for from the White House. We can indeed push back the usurpations of the monopolies. We can preserve democracy and we can rescue this planet from the nuclear danger and deliver it to coming generations as a place where peace and socialism will provide the human context for security and progress. □

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withstanding all differences of opinion, on other questions, putting an end to the regime of occupation is a task of paramount importance to save Israel. A growing number of joint symposia take place, where appeals are heard in favor of an international conference that will lead toward an Israeli-Arab peace, a future without wars, a future of development, building and peace. □  
J. Lipski is Israeli correspondent of *Jewish Affairs*

## A visit with Argentina's Progressive Jews

by Jon Weisberger

Buenos Aires, Argentina, is about as far away from Columbus, Ohio as Moscow is. Still, arriving at the international airport on Monday morning in April was an oddly familiar experience, as I was surrounded by the artifacts of U.S. culture. Coca-Cola, Marlboro, Mastercard and ITT signs were everywhere, even more prominent than in Columbus. It was a shock; while I had a political understanding of imperialism, I was not prepared for the almost physical effect of being surrounded by its visible signs.

I went to Argentina at the invitation of the ICUF — the Yiddish Cultural Federation — to join them in commemorating the 44th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The ICUF was founded in 1941 in the aftermath of the World Congress for Jewish Culture, held in 1937 in Paris. It is a federation of local organizations, about half of them in Buenos Aires, where 40% of Argentina's population lives. As a progressive organization, ICUF has participated since its founding in the popular movements for national independence, against fascism and for peace.

Apart from its general anti-imperialist orientation, which has placed it in the middle of the broader progressive movement, the ICUF is particularly notable for its outlook on the Middle East. ICUF supports the existence of the State of Israel, but calls for recognition of the Palestinian right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967. In today's circumstances, they especially emphasize the necessity of convening an international peace conference on the Middle East as proposed by the United Nations.

These principles of the ICUF's political work, and particularly its stand with regard to the Middle East, have earned it the enmity of Argentina's mainstream Jewish organizations. The political leadership of the mainstream is embodied in the DAIA, which is formally as the sole representative of Jewish opinion in Argentina. According to the leadership of the ICUF, their stand on Israel, their opposition to Zionism, and especially their insistence that Israel is not the center of Jewish life, led to their expulsion from the DAIA in the early 1950's. While there have been some exchanges of opinion with several organizations belonging to the DAIA since then, and especially in the recent past, the division between the mainstream and progressive sec-

tors of the Jewish community continues to be deep.

The highlight of my visit was the commemoration of the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. This event, which the ICUF has held each year since 1946, has come to be a gathering point for a large part of Argentina's progressive community, including many non-Jews. Jaime Kordon, Secretary-General of the ICUF, explained to me that during the period the Argentines called "el proceso", that is, the dictatorship of the generals in the 70's and early 80's, the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising event was one of the few progressive activities that the regime permitted in public. Its anti-fascist theme became a rallying point for Argentine democrats, who used its anti-Nazi commemoration to indirectly speak out against the military repression and disappearances.

This year, the commemoration was held in the city's cultural center named after General San Martin, a hero of Argentine independence. Over a thousand people attended and heard speeches by ICUF leaders, the Polish Ambassador to Argentina (who put the lie to claims of Polish neglect of the Jewish Holocaust), and a pointed address by Dr. Ricardo Molinas, the government figure responsible for the development of evidence to be used in the prosecution of torturers and murderers of the military dictatorship. Dr. Molinas' address focused on the parallels between the crimes of the Nazi butchers of the Warsaw Ghetto and the modern-day Nazis who created and carried out "el proceso."

As well as speaking at the commemoration, I was privileged to present signed kerchiefs from the speakers to representatives of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, whose heroic demonstrations demanding that the government account for their disappeared children won the hearts of millions in Argentina and throughout the world. These kerchiefs are patterned after those worn by the Mothers during their demonstrations, which were held during the height of the repression, and such presentations have become a feature of a wide variety of progressive events in Argentina.

I spent the week preceding the commemoration in Buenos Aires, visiting the various institutions of the ICUF and meeting participants in the full range of ICUF activities. These included the Sports and Culture Center "Sholom Aleichem", the Cultural, Educational and Sports Center "Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky", and two centers named for the renowned Yiddish writer I. L. Peretz. A fascinating stop was also made at the CER — a community center for culture, education and recreation that includes one of the finest day-care, pre-school and

after-school programs in all of Buenos Aires.

At the CER, I met Jorge David, the director of youth activities. David is a young architect, a soft-spoken, thoughtful activist who takes his responsibilities very seriously. As he described the activities at CER, which included arts and crafts as well as a summer program for young people in the countryside, I found myself wishing that such institutions still existed in the U.S. It was clear to me that the CER sought to imbue its young charges not with a reactionary, chauvinist view of Jewishness, but with the best progressive, internationalist traditions of the Jewish people.

It was at the CER that I first became aware of the carefully thought-out approach of the ICUF to questions of Jewish culture. In a country like Argentina, struggling against imperialism, I was told, the ICUF had decided that to lay its greatest emphasis upon Jewishness would be to isolate Jewish youth (and their parents) from the great struggle of the Argentine people as a whole against the forces of reaction. Thus, the CER is open to children of all backgrounds, though it continues to attract large numbers of Jewish children, especially those of mixed marriages whose Jewish "credentials" are denied by the mainstream institutions. The children are exposed to the contributions of Jews to Argentine progressive life, and the works of Yiddish writers in translation and adaptation, but this is offered to all children, not only those who are Jewish.

This struggle with issues of Jewish identity was something that became increasingly apparent to me as I visited the ICUF institutions, both in Buenos Aires and throughout the countryside. In Argentina, a country struggling to free itself from imperialist domination, questions of national identity take on an acuteness that is different than in the U.S. This is because the struggle in Argentina is for the creation of a national, Argentine culture, to assert Argentine identity against the dominance of imperialism, in opposition to a narrow, divisive focus on ethnic background. In the U.S., on the other hand, our struggle is a fight for the inclusion of different national and ethnic backgrounds and identities in the face of a mass, bourgeois culture that is oriented towards the eradication of national differences in favor of a bland, "classless" identity.

In Rosario, Cordoba and Mendoza particularly, three cities outside of the Capital Province, I spent much time discussing these questions with young Jews, many of whom were active in the Young Communist League and other left organizations. Repeatedly, the question that was asked was "why do Jewish work?" For these

young people, active in their student organizations and political youth groups, the question was not an abstract one, but of primary significance. In a way, they are indicators of the ICUF's success, because they reflect a degree of political involvement and the understanding of the importance of national unity that has been inculcated by the ICUF in its youth programs. Nevertheless, it poses a real problem for the future of the organization, since the danger exists that the young people will leave Jewish work behind. Obviously, there are no easy answers to these questions, but the ICUF is determined to find a solution that will both guarantee the existence of the organization and avoid an artificial separation of Jewish progressives from the broader left.

ICUF's immersion in the issues of the day was apparent to me due to the particular circumstances in which my visit took place. I arrived in Argentina in the immediate aftermath of the "Easter events," a series of military uprisings at various barracks around the country, led by officers who demanded an end to the prosecution of military personnel for crimes during "el proceso." The ICUF was one of dozens of organizations involved in mobilizing the masses of Argentinians to take to the streets in defense of democracy and against a coup. While these events were portrayed in the U.S. bourgeois media as a confrontation between President Alfonsín and the military, it was clear to me from my discussions with the ICUF that the situation was very different. Later events proved this accurate, for while Alfonsín denied that he had made any deals with the military at the time, he subsequently introduced legislation into the Parliament which would absolve all military personnel except those of the very highest ranks from prosecution, on the grounds that they had been obeying orders. The ICUF, an organization with particularly strong concern for the Nuremberg principles, has worked tirelessly in opposition to such legislation.

ICUF leaders stressed to me the complex political situation that has developed in Argentina, laying out both the weaknesses and the strengths of the progressive movement. Without going into great detail, these can be summarized with regard to both the internal political situation and Argentina's role in the community of nations.

There are a number of political parties and formations in Argentina today, but the political situation is in some ways very static. The two largest formations are the Radicals, the party of President Alfonsín, and the 'Renewal' bloc of the Peronist party. These two forces are engaged in a campaign to marginalize all other polit-

ical forces and create an essentially two-party system in which they would contend for power in a way similar to the Democratic and Republican parties in the U.S. The main opposition to this maneuver is led by the FREPU — the People's Front, which includes the Communist Party, sections of the Peronist and Radical movements, as well as a number of other Left organizations. The FREPU is based in the working class and the left unions, and has been growing in strength and consolidating its local organizations throughout the country. Its prospects for further development are good, but several FREPU leaders whom I met discussed the current state of affairs in terms of 'political stasis,' emphasizing that there are unlikely to be any sudden shifts in the near future.

With regard to external affairs, I was greatly interested to learn of the high level of anti-imperialist sentiment throughout the country. This is true even among sections of the bourgeois parties, because of the strong impact of U.S. (and to some extent British) imperialism on Argentina's economy and society. In Mendoza, I shared the speaker's platform with the head of the Radical Party's provincial legislative delegation; he spoke as strongly against U.S. domination of Argentina's economy as anyone there. The foreign debt situation is widely discussed, and there is agreement within very broad circles that the question of the debt must take high priority, and be solved in a way that does not place the burden upon the Argentinian working people. While this may change under pressure from the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund, it is clear that the battle for Argentine economic independence will be intensely fought.

In the midst of this situation, the work of the ICUF perseveres. As an activist from the progressive Jewish movement in the U.S., it was deeply encouraging to see the work of a friendly organization in such a faraway place. The Argentine situation, and the experience of Argentina's Jewish community are very different from ours. Yet with the same guiding principles, the same orientation toward peace, justice, anti-fascism and national liberation, the outlooks of Jewish progressives in these two different places turn out to be not so different after all. □

*Jon Weisberger is a member of the national council of New Jewish Agenda.*

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## Every Reader Got A Reader

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## Israelis Seek End of Occupation

By J. Lipski

The architect of the Lebanon war, Arik Sharon, has found it necessary to hold a public speech at the Tel Aviv University. He tried not only to refute the heavy accusations against him, but staged a sharp attack on the critics of his own party and against the criticism voiced among the Labor Party opposition. In his four hour speech he made an attempt to prove, that not only his own colleagues in the Begin government, confirmed all his steps during the war, but also the official Labor Party leaders have supported that war. It is known, that M. Begin was embittered when he left the government and the political arena and retreated into his lonely home. It is believe that he did so, because he felt that he was misled by A. Sharon.

M. Begin has so far not explained the real reasons for his withdrawal from political life. Sharon spoke at the "Center of Strategical Studies" of the Tel Aviv University, where a symposium took place some time ago on the Lebanon war, raising heavy complaints against the planners of that war and against Sharon in the first place.

At this opportunity, however, some interesting facts were revealed on the position of many personalities who today criticize the war in Lebanon. It will be remembered at the same time, that the Communist Party of Israel had warned against the war before the war broke out, The Party appealed to the Left Zionist parties to raise their voices against the war. The Communist faction in the Knesset, on the day the war started, proposed a vote of non-confidence in the government, calling for a withdrawal of the military forces from Lebanon. The publicist Teddy Preus calls in "Davar" (8.8.87) to "remember the voting of 8./6/82", pointing to the fact, that "the Knesset plenum discussed the non-confidence motion tabled by the Communist faction on the attack in Lebanon. The motion was rejected with a decisive majority, while the leaders from the Left and the Right competed with each other in patriotic speeches. Only 11 Knesset deputies dared to abstain. Only one Knesset faction had the courage and sense to vote against the government. This was the Communist Knesset faction of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. What would the leaders and the others who abstained from voting and many of those supported the war, do now, if they change their voting?" There were even some, including the Labor Party Knesset member Prof. Shevah Weiss, who declared openly, that he committed a mis-

take when he did not vote for the non-confidence motion of the Communist Party of Israel against the unhappy Lebanon war.

It is pointed out, however, that reasonable circles began recently to understand, that also the Sinai-Suez campaign of 1956 was also motivated by the necessity to react, to defend the country against the attacks by the Fedayeen, and that the Six Days War was motivated by the necessity to forestall the danger of the annihilation of Israel's existence, but in fact all wars have broken out as a result of the military option that dominates until today the Israeli government policy. Today it is remembered, that on the eve of the Six Days War, the Communist Party warned against the war and called for a withdrawal from the occupied territories and for taking political steps to abandon the military option that caused Israel so much trouble.

Many documents have recently appeared, that prove, that it was possible to avoid the Six Days War. One of the most respected experts on Arab affairs, Prof. Yehoshafat Harkavi, who was for many years governmental advisor on Arab questions and who wrote a series of books that justified the military approach of the government's policy, has changed after the Six Days War his position radically and in his last book "Fateful Decisions" he advocates negotiations with the P.L.O. on territories in return for peace. He holds, that if no Palestinian state is established within the framework of a peace settlement, the demographical developments in Israel that rules the land down to the Jordan river, will turn Israel into a Palestinian state and it will not be a Jewish state" ("Yediot Aharonot," 13.2.87). He asserts "I am concerned about Israel's future."

After the Six Days War, attempts were made to create the impression, that the State will be more secure. After the Lebanon war, one has tried again attempts are made to create the impression, that the peace of Galilee was secured. But the reality was different.

One recalls now the appeals by the Communist Party, to withdraw from the occupied territories. One recalls the prophetic warnings of the religious Professor Y. Leibovitz immediately after the Six Days War, that "a state that rules over a million and a half Palestinians will become a police state with everything involved in it, putting an end to the spirit of education, the freedom of expression, of thinking and to a democratic regime" ("Davar," 8.8.87)

It is, therefore encouraging, that among broad Israeli circles the consciousness is growing, that not-  
(Continued on page 11)

## Warsaw's "Wolnosc"

By Sol Flapan

WARSAW — It's a small street off midtown here but with a significant name. It's called "Wolnosc." That's "Liberty" or "Freedom" street in English.

For some reason historians and dilettantes of Warsaw's past are arguing and splitting hairs over something or other about it. But that's neither here nor there.

One thing is certain. During the Nazi German occupation this street actually lived up to its name though the Nazis had changed it to something in German. The story about "Wolnosc" follows:

When in 1940 the Nazis set up their infamous Warsaw Ghetto it was clear from the start that this prisonlike area would be systematically squeezed down in size. And indeed, in time, the Ghetto area was capsuled into an ever smaller area until, among other things, the back wall of a small workshop on this particular street became part of the overall Ghetto wall.

The point is that every Polish worker employed in this shop could, and did, reach out to hapless Ghetto victims. Something — food, medicine, in time, small arms — were smuggled in. Something or someone was smuggled out. For the isolated Jews in the Ghetto, it was a point of contact with the outside world.

Hence, the Nazis ordered a shortening of the wall. As a result, this workshop at 8 Wolnosc Street found itself on the "other side" of the Ghetto proper but its rear wall becoming part of The Wall.

During the historic Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April 1943 the roofs of stables adjoining The Wall there became a passageway whereby an unidentified unit of the AK (Home Army, the military wing of the wartime Polish government-in-exile in London) secretly entered the Ghetto to join the Jewish freedom fighters.

Workers of the shop and nearby residents surreptitiously reinforced with cement the AK's tenuous ladder-catwalk which also served as an emergency exit for the wounded and for Jews escaping to Wolnosc-Liberty.

Of course that "liberty" was something relative. It was escape from the Ghetto holocaust into the cauldron of "regular" Nazi occupation here with its mass round-ups, torture in cellar dungeons like the notorious ones at Szuca Avenue, street executions, and anti-Polish racist genocide generally.

But on "this" side of the Ghetto wall there was a better chance of fighting back either in the ranks of the AK or in some contingent of the People's Army — armed detachment of the underground Polish Workers

(Communist) Party. There are also cases of such rescued Jews wending their way through something of an underground railroad to join up with Polish and/or Soviet partisans (guerrillas).

As the heroic Warsaw Ghetto fought its last, 8 Wolnosc Street, its neighboring stables and backyard, became a narrow funnel of retreat for AK and Ghetto fighters. After the defeat of the Ghetto Uprising, the nazis gutted the area with dynamite and flame-throwers — a fate which awaited all Warsaw following the crushing of the general Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, a tragic but gallant 60-odd day pitched battle against an overwhelming enemy, armed to the teeth.

But 8 Wolnosc Street, being outside the Ghetto proper, remained miraculously in tact. Today, the building's east wall is something historically unique being an original fragment of what once was the Ghetto wall. It survived — as it bravely contributed to the survival of others . . . . □

*Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs*

## Ben Linder, A Dreamer Who Dared

27 year old electrical engineer of Portland, Oregon, graduate of the University of Washington, was killed on April 28, 1987 along with two of his helpers by the U.S.-backed Contras while preparing a hydro- electric project in a remote rural area of Nicaragua. Ben Linder grew to manhood

beloved and loving,

a patriot, a Jew

who knew about fascism and death,

A dreamer who dared,

who cared about people,

who sought out the needy

to share his gifts with them,

To bring light

to Nicaragua's hamlets,

to open new paths

between people and people,

A dreamer who dared,

who cared about children,

who made them laugh

with his talent for clowning,

His dreams became deeds,

his life style, an art.

Ben Linder lives on

in humanity's heart.

EDITH SEGAL

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY JEWISH AFFAIRS

Edith Beck

Between the Fog  
and the Darkness

Midst the Lies  
and Confusions

Comes a Pause  
to our Sanity,  
a bit of Fresh Air

The Reality I find  
in the Pages of My Jewish Affairs

Friends:

I wish you the Best  
You, Thinkers, Writers, Printers

All working so hard  
I wish you Health

Freedom from cares  
Long Life

To You  
And — Our

“JEWISH AFFAIRS”

Edith Beck, L.A. poet is a regular contributor to *Jewish Affairs*

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President replied — “Well, it's not yet lily-white.” Clearly, chauvinism is a basic part of Reagan's make-up.

And simultaneous with the announcement of this preliminary arms agreement, Mr. Reagan bestowed this nation's highest civilian honor — the Medal of Freedom upon Judge Kaufman — the executioner of our immortal martyrs, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg!

So — Reagan is Reagan, and our work is cut out for us. Popular mobilization and action — the broader and bolder the better — alone will assure continuation of the process of disarmament and the realization in life of the theory of peaceful co-existence.

### EVERY READER GET A READER

# ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE UKRAINIAN 1933 FAMINE-GENOCIDE HOAX

By Douglas Tottle

This article originally appeared in the Canadian Outlook

Are current right-wing allegations of a 1932-1933 deliberate "famine-genocide" in the Ukraine attempts at covering up the wartime record of a national fascist movement which collaborated with Hitler? A host of books, and a film *Harvest of Despair* have recently been unloaded on Canadian school boards by Ukrainian Nationalists. Many of these books have been exposed as using fraudulent starvation photos taken from the earlier 1921-22 Russian famine. In fact, the largest single collection of "evidence" photos, some of which I have encountered in 1922 famine materials, were issued almost simultaneously in 1935 by the Hearst press in the U.S.<sup>1</sup> and an anti-semitic Nazi propaganda book published in Hitler's Germany.

However, the Hearst press series attributed its photos to a convicted swindler and jail escapee aliased "Thomas Walker" who claimed the photos were taken in "Spring of 1934," while the Nazi propaganda book *Und du Siehst die Sowjets Richtig* (1935, 1937)<sup>2</sup> claims the same pictures were taken by a Dr. Ditloff in the summer of "1933"! Technical details suggest that the photos were passed to Thomas Walker, probably early in 1934. Interestingly, "Walkers" material was exposed as fraudulent by Louis Fischer of *The Nation* on March 13, 1935 in "Hearst's Russian Famine." Walker was arrested upon his return to the U.S. in the summer of 1935. *The New York Times* [July 13, 16] reported Walker's real identity as Robert Green, an escaped Leavenworth convict, noting he was returned there to finish his sentence. This writer has seen number of the key Walker/Ditloff fakes in earlier 1920s publications bearing no relation to an alleged planned famine in the Ukraine in 1932-33. Interestingly, the Nazi book *Und du Siehst*, containing 16 Walker/Ditloff fakes, begins its Ukrainian famine section with a quote from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* warning of the Jewish threat to humanity.

The Ukrainian Nationalist-produced *Harvest of Despair* not only uses many of the above Hearst/Nazi fakes, but also photos stolen from Dr. F. Nansen's "International Committee for Russian Relief" bulletin No. 22 (Geneva, 1922); *La Famine En Russie* (Geneva, 1922); and even the Ukrainian Nationalist booklet *Holod*

*Na Ukrainyi* (Berlin, 1922). The film was challenged by this writer on Nov. 17, 1986 at a Toronto Board of Education film showing. The *Toronto Star* of Nov. 20, 1986 carried the following admission by a researcher from the film:

... Marco Carrynck, who says he originated the idea of the film, says his concerns about questionable photographs were ignored. Carrynck said that none of the archival footage used in the movie is of the Ukrainian famine and that "very few photos from '32-'33" appear that can be traced as authentic.

Thus the magnitude of the fraud was admitted under the pressure of factual exposure by one the film's own research staff. While the bulk of the stills are fraudulently used, the "1933" famine footage itself has been filched from various Soviet documentaries and films like *Czar Hunger*, 1921-22; *Arsenal*, 1929; and even World War II footage from the siege of Leningrad. Doubtless the Ukrainian Nationalists are claiming their "genocide" interpretations of the Soviet 1932-33 difficulties are true, even if their visual evidence is basically fraudulent. The film also shows evidence of tampered-with testimonies and contains prominent use of former German Nazi and Ukrainian fascist "witnesses."

## Anti-Semitism, War Criminals and the Famine Campaign

Ukrainian Nationalists appear to be resorting more and more frequently to anti-Semitism around the issues of "the famine" and "war criminals in Canada." This is not a new characteristic. Many older Jewish Canadians will recall the vile Jew-baiting of the Nationalists openly pro-fascist press of the 1930s. In February 1985, a Father Myron Stasiw — self-confessed former SS man and priest — used Radio CHIN's "Ukrainian of Hour" to slander Jews.<sup>3</sup> Stasiw not only claimed Jews held the keys to Christian churches, but had gotten peasants drunk to steal their land, turning them into serfs. In what amounted to a "radio program," he also blamed the Jew "Kaganovitch" for the "famine." No segment of the Ukrainian Nationalists community denounced Stasiw's program or apologized to Toronto's Jewish community. Nationalist publications often complain of "Jewish/Zionist political clout" or "Jewish influence peddling" as in the *Student*, which was condemned by students in the University of Winnipeg's *Uniter* in 1986. Other Nationalist published materials are even more vicious and Nazi-like.

During April 1987, a particularly vicious book, *Why*

*Is One Holocaust More Important Than Others,*<sup>4</sup> had been imported into Canada. It was published by the "Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (Bandera's OUN anti-partisan terrorists) and sold openly by Arka Books in Toronto. Arka's mentors are the OUN-Bandera group Canadian League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, a major affiliate of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Copies turned up among students in a number of schools. A word on the background on this book's publishers. The Jewish historian Reuben Ainsztein states in his authoritative study *Jewish Resistance in Nazi Occupied Eastern Europe* (London, 1974) that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was the deadly enemy of "surviving Jews," partisans; receiving when necessary open military support from the Nazis.

Written by a former "Insurgent Army" member who prefers to use the alias Yuriy Chumatskyj, this book follows a classic fascist outline of "history as a Jewish plot." His hatred of Jews is immediately apparent:

An unfortunate by-product of their wanderings was the antic-Jewish feeling that developed in each country in reaction to **Jewish obstinacy and arrogance.** (p. 2)

The book alleges that Jewish financiers backed the Russian revolution, Jews made up the leadership, and that they were responsible for 60-65 million gentile deaths. Hoping to blunt the edge of the search for Nazi war criminals, the book uses the formula of Jews + Communists = Nazism plus. Since Communists are worse than Nazis, why even look for Nazi war criminals when the real ones are Jew/Bolsheviks. It states:

... according to Zionist's statements Hitler killed six million Jews but Stalin, supported by the **Jewish State apparatus**, was able to kill ten times more Christians. . . (p. 104)

Taking his line of thought, it was necessary for the book's neo-fascist publishers to latch onto an event which could be magnified into the equivalent of the Jewish Holocaust. Hence the so-called "famine genocide" of 1932-33, based on incidents of breakdown and famine during the early 1930's in the USSR. Fascist and cold-war literature and "research" — with the help of faked evidence and unbalanced interpretations — have inflated such into a Hitler-plus example of Genocide. It only remains to blame the Jews for this mythical interpretation. The book relies on Kalenyk Lucyk's Nov. 25, 1963 article in the now-defunct Ukrainian Nationalist paper *Canadian Farmer* to answer its own question "Why was this terrible famine created?" It answers:

... having the majority in the USSR administration, the Jews were involved in all decision-making including the settlement of Jews in Ukraine and Crimea, plus the plan to build "Zion" in Ukraine. Planning of the Ukrainian famine was still a few years into the future. Disarming Ukraine with false promises of amnesty and further intimidating the populace by judicial process. Russia then took steps to implement the "famine plan." **The Jewish farmers were warned in advance and they left their homesteads moving to nearby cities and villages. The Jewish population did not starve as the warning enabled them to store food in anticipation.** (pp. 33-34).

There we have it: a "planned famine" deliberately made by Jewish-Bolsheviks to thin out the Ukraine for "Jewish colonization." The book states further that a Jewish conspiracy also suppressed news of this "famine-genocide":

In 1933 the majority of European and American press, controlled by **Jews**, were silent about the famine. If some newspapers reported on the famine it was immediately contradicted. . . (p. 34)

And further that:

The conspiracy of silence practiced by Russia and her **Jewish** sympathizers hides much more. In 1932 the **Jewish journalist Duranty** was sent from the U.S. to check up on the rumour that there was a colossal famine in the Ukraine. Duranty, later given one of the highest awards in journalism, falsely and deliberately denied the "rumour". . . (p. 41)vL The logic is immediately apparent to the reader. The Jews are deemed responsible for a mythical "deliberate" famine in 1932-33 which they claim killed more Ukrainians than Hitler, including his Ukrainian Nationalist auxiliaries killed Jews in the real Holocaust. Furthermore, the Jewish-run Bolshevik state has killed ten times as many people as Hitler. Who then dares to accuse post-war Ukrainian Nationalist exiles, via faked Moscow-Zionist evidence, of harbouring collaborators and war criminals! To play up their fabrication of a "deliberate" 1933 "famine-genocide," the real Holocaust against the Jews must be played down. A racist "revisionist" is cited to this effect:

The reason that there is so much control over the official version of the Holocaust is because the Holocaust, as **Zionist Jews assert**, is Israel's number one propaganda weapon. (p. 92)

The figure of six million Jews is also dismissed as an "allegation." The "revisionist" cited declares further, in sympathy with Keegstra and Zundel, that:

... revisionist historians who claim there was no plan to exterminate Jews, there were no mass gassings and that fewer than one million Jews died of all causes during WW II, are persecuted, and their books banned by trade boycott. They have been **persecuted** in the courts for their views in the USA, West Germany and Canada, they are subject to character assassinations in the media . . . (p. 93)

What is one to make of this book, not only published, but distributed by mainstream Ukrainian Nationalists, during the period of tension between justice-seeking Jewish and Gentile Canadians and an ultra-rightist minority hiding behind the proud name of Ukrainian Canadians. Nor are the book's racist-like characterizations limited to Jews; it is extended in similar fascist manner to Russians:

Today power is exercised by the Muscovite "sub-human." The flaccid West acts as if no one saw that the real "sub-human" is not the wrong [Ivan] Demjanniuk, but the creatures that occupy the Kremlin. (p. 84)

One concludes that this book, its publication and sale by certain so-called Nationalist notwithstanding, is in effect a provocation aimed at all decent people everywhere who can detect the stench and degeneracy of not so-"neo" fascism and hatred. As to certain ethnic right-wingers who incessantly protest the existence of war criminals in their midst, the continued dissemination of such materials from their movements 42 years after Hitler's defeat and the liberation of Nazis death-camp victims suggests something entirely different. □

1) For example, the *New York Evening Journal*, Feb. 18, 19, 21 and 27, 1935.

2) Dr. Alfred Laubenheimer, *Und du Siehst die So-vjets Richtig* . . . Berlin, Leipzig.

3) Text of Father Stasiw's CHIN 'Ukrainian Hour' speech in author's file.

4) Yurij Chumatskyj (an alias), *Why Is One Holocaust Worth More Than Others?*, Lidcombe, Australia, Veterans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1986.

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# 11-טע סעסיע פון פלענום פון צענטראַל קאָמיטעט פון ישראל קאָמוניסטישער פאַרטיי

אין די טעג פון 31-סטן יולי און 1-טן אויגוסט איז פאָרגעקומען די 11-טע סעסיע פון פלענום פון צ"ק פון דער ישראלדיקער קאָמוניסטישער פאַרטיי.

מיר ברענגען דאָ איין טייל פון די באַריכטן וואָס רופט צום קאָמף קעגן ראַסיסטיש-פאַשיסטישע פלענער קעגן דעם פאַלעסטינער פּאַלק.

לאַמיר קעמפן מיט אַלע כוחות קעגן די ראַסיסטיש-פאַשיסטישע פלענער צו פאַרטרייבן דאָס פאַלעסטינער פּאַלק פון זיין היימלאַנד.

ס'איז אין די לעבנסוויכטיקע אינטערעסן פון ישראל צו מאַכן אַ סוף צו דער אַקופאַציע. פאַר איינשטעלן אַן אַלגעמיינעם גערעכטן און סטאַבילן שלום טובת אַלע פעלקער.

אין דער רעזאָלוציע וועגן קאָמף פאַר אַרבעטס-אַפּמאַכן ווייזט זיך אָן, אַז אַזוי אַרום איז מעגלעך צו זיכערן די אינטערעסן און רעכטן פון די אַרבעטנדיקע.

\* \* \*

דער צ"ק רופט די אַרבעטס-פאַרטיי אַרױסצוגיין אויפן שליאָן פון אַן אמתדיקן גערעכטן און סטאַבילן שלום, אין צענטער פון וועלכן דער ישראל-פאַלעסטינער שלום אויפן יסוד פון קעגנזייטיקן אַנערקענען די רעכט צו זעלבסט-באַשטימונג, פון אויפשטעלן אַ זעלבשטענדיקע פאַלעסטינער מדינה ביי דער זייט פון מדינת ישראל אין די גרענעצן פאַר די אַקופאַציעס. זינט דער יוגנט-מלחמה פון 1967. אַן אמתדיקער שלום באַדייט אַ ישראלדיקער צוריקצוג פון די אַנדערע אַקופירטע שטחים: די סיריע רמת הגולן, און פון דרום לבנון.

אין די היינצטיטיקע אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע און ראַיאָנע באַדינגונגען איז ניט פאַראַן קיין אַנדער וועג צו שלום, ווי דורך צונויפּרופן אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנפערענץ אונטער פּראָטעקטאָראַט פון אונ"א, וואָס דאַרף ניט אויפצונונגען לייזונגען, זי דאַרף אָבער זיין אַ קאָנפערענץ אויף וועלכער, ביי דער זייט פון דירעקטע פאַרהאַנדלונגען אין די קאָמיסיעס און אין דעם אַ ישראל-פאַלעסטינער קאָמיסיע, וואָס וועט באַאיינפלוסן און געבן קאַלעקטיווע הילף, כבדי צו פאַרלעשן סוף-סוף דעם מלחמה-ברעך פונקט אין אונדזער ראַיאָן, מאכנדיק אַ סוף צום ישראל-אַראַבישן סכסוך און דערמעגלעכן די פעלקער און מדינות צו לעבן אין באַדינגונגען פון שלום און זיכערהייט, ווידמענדיק די רעסורסן ניט אויף מלחמות נאָר אויף לייזן עקאָנאָמישע און געזעלשאַפטלעכע פּראָבלעמען.

דער צ"ק טאַדלט די ראַסיסטיש-פאַשיסטישע פאַרשווערונגען צו פאַרטרייבן דאָס אַראַבישע פאַלעסטינער פּאַלק פון זיין פּאַטערלאַנד. דער פאַרשלאָג פון וויצע-זיכערהייטס-מיניסטער, מיכאל דעקעל וועגן דורכפירן אַ "טראַנספער" פון פאַלעסטינער פּאַלק פון דער מערבדיקער גדה און עזה-פּאַס קיין ירדן, דער רוף פון וויצע-פאַרזיצער פון כנסת, כהן אבידוב וועגן דורכפירן אַ "טראַנספער" אויך פון דער ישראלדיקער אַראַבישער באַפעלקערונג פון מדינת ישראל — באַווייזן וואָס פאַראַ געשפּענסט-פלענער מען שפּינט אַלע געוויסע נאַציאָנאַליסטיש-פאַשיסטישע קרייזן. די שטיצע פון דער כנ"ד גאולה כהן, פון די פירער פון "התחיה" און פון כנ"ד חיים דרוקמאַן פון די פירער פון מפר"ל פאַר די אַדיקע גריל-פלענער באַווייזט, אַז ס'זיינען פאַראַן ניט ווייניק קרייזן, וואָס ווילן רעאַליזירן דעם פּלאַן פון "גאַנץ ארץ ישראל" און צו "לייזן" אויף דעם וועג די "דעמאָגראַפיע" פּראַגע.

דער צ"ק אַלאָרמירט, רופנדיק ניט גרינשעצן די ראַסיסטיש-פאַשיסטישע פאַרשווערונגען, וואָס ווערן געשפּינט, וואָס ווערן איצט אַרויסגעבראַכט אָפן ניט בלויז דורך כהנא און זיין באַנדע, נאָר אויך דורך פירער פון דריי פאַלטישע פאַרטייען, וואָס זיינען רעפּרעזענטירט אין דער רעגירונג פון "נאַציאָנאַלער איינקייט".

דער המשך פון דער אַקופאַציע, דאָס ניט אַנערקענען דורך דער מפר"ד-אַנפירונג די נאַציאָנאַלע רעכט פון אַראַבישן פאַלעסטינער פּאַלק, דאָס אויספירן די פאַלטיק גען אכזריותדיקער אונטערדריקונג אויף די אַקופירטע געביטן דורכן זיכערהייטס-מיניסטער, פון די פירער פון דער אַרבעטס-פאַרטיי יצחק ראַבין — דאָס אַלץ איז אַ פּרוכטבאַר באַדן פאַר דער בליונג פון ראַסיסטיש-פאַשיסטישע כוחות, וואָס קענען כרענגען און אומגליק אויף ישראל.

אין גב, וואָס איז באַשטימט פאַר דער פּראָפּאָגאַנדע קעגן סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד? מיטן אַנשליסן זיך צום פּלאַן פון דער שטערן-מלחמה פון רייגען?

אין דער תקופה פון אַטאָם-וואָפּן טאָר מען נישט פאַרזען און זיך האַלטן ביי שטעלונגען, וואָס זיינען געווען אָנגענומען אין די 50-ער יאָרן, וואָס זיינען אויך געווען אַוואַנטוריסטישע. אַפילו אין ענגלאַנד קעמפט די לייבאַר פאַרטיי פאַר אַרויסנעמען די אַמעריקאַנער אַטאָם-וואָפּן פון ענגלאַנד און פאַר ליקווידירן די ענגלישע אַטאָם-וואָפּן. דאָס איז אַ מוסטער פון נאַציאָנאַלער אַחיות און פון אַ נייער אויסרעכענונג. לאַמיר לערנען פון דער דאָזיקער דערפאַרונג. לאַמיר זאָרגן פאַר ישראל און פאַרן שלום. ס'איז דאָך ניט פאַראַן קיין אַנדער וועג צו שלום, ווי דאָס אָנערקענען די רעכט פון אַלע צדיקים, פאַרמישע אין כּססוך, ווען דער אויסערן-מיניסטער שלאָגט אַבער פאַר שלום און איך באַצי זיך ניט צום פרעמיער-מיניסטער, מיט וועלכן ס'איז כּלל ניט פאַראַן וועגן וואָס צו שמועסן, ווייל ער שטויסט דירעקט צו נאָך מלחמות און צו אַן אומגליק פאַר ישראל און אין דער זעלבער צייט דערקלערט ער וועגן זיין קעגנערשאַפט צו זעלבסט-באַשטימונג פון צווייטן פּאַלק, פון פּאַלעסטינער פּאַלק. זיין שטעלונג איז אין פּולשטענדיקער סחירה צו שלום, ווי דער נייער וואָפּן געיעג איז אין סחירה צו די דערקלערונגען וועגן ווילן פון שלום.

פעלקער. איצט פאַרשפּרייט מען קלאַנגען. אַז דער סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד ליפּערט ערפּלאַנען פון סאָרט "מיג 29" פאַר סויע. איך ווייס ניט צו די דאָזיקע יידע און אַ ריכטיקע. אַבער ווען זי איז אַפילו אַ ריכטיקע, זאָגט מען דאָך. אַז די דאָזיקע ערפּלאַנען זיינען ענלעך צו די אַמעריקאַנער ערפּלאַנען "15-5", וואָס זיינען שוין פון לאַנג אין די הענט פון ישראלדיקן לופט-פּלאַט.

מיר הערן ווידער די דערקלערונג, אַז ישראל וועט ניט זיין די ערשטע, וואָס וועט אַריינברענגען אַטאָם-געווער אין ראַיאָן. לאַמיר זיין ערנסט: די דאָזיקע דערקלערונג איז כּמעט אַ מאַקאַברישער וויץ. קיין שום פאַקטאָר אויף דער וועלט און אין ישראל באַציט זיך ניט ערנסט צו דער דאָזיקער דערקלערונג. אין די 50-ער יאָרן האָט שוין דער אַמעריקאַנער לופט-פּלאַט אַנטדעקט אַז ישראל האָט אַרײַנגעשטעלט אַ "אינדוסטריעלע אונטערנומען" אין דימונה און די "טעקסטיל" — סדרות זיינען אַזוי סדרותדיק, אַז די רעגירונג דערלאָזט נישט קיין מעגלעכקייט פון אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנטראָל פון אַטאָם-רעאַקטאָר אין דימונה. ס'איז קלאָר און ס'איז ניט קיין צופאַל, אַז אין דער צייט, ווען די אַראַבישע מדינות האָבן שוין פון לאַנג אונטערנעשריבן די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָווענען פאַר פאַרבאַטן די פאַרשפּרייטונג פון אַטאָם-וואָפּן זעצט ישראל פאַר צו זיין די איינציקע "ווידער שפּעניקע" אין ראַיאָן.

ס'איז ניט מעגלעך, אַז די כּנסח און די געזעלשאַפט זאָלן באַהאַנדלען וועגן אַלעם, אַבער ניט וועגן דער וויכטיקסטער פּראָגע, וואָס וועט אַנטשיידן אונדזער גורל, וואָס וועט אַנטשיידן אונדזער לעבן אין דער צוקונפּט. איך טראַכט ניט וועגן אַ דעבאַטע אַרום איינצליהיטן, אַבער וועגן עצם פּרינציפּ דאַרף מען באַהאַנדלען און באַשליסן: צי איז ישראל פאַראַנטווערסירט אַריינצוגיין אין דאָזיקן געביט פון פּראָדוצירן וואָפּן פון מאַסן-פאַרניכטונג, שאַפּנדיק ראַקעטעס אויף צו שיקן זיי.

דער אויסערן-מיניסטער ש. פרס האָט דערקלערט, אַז ישראל איז ניט פיניטלעך צום סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד, איך באַגרייס די דאָזיקע דערקלערונג. אַבער ווי אזוי פאַלט זיך דאָס צונויף מיטן סטראַטעגישן כּוונ, וואָס ישראל האָט אונטערנעשריבן מיט די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער און וואָס איז אָפּציעל געריכטעט קעגן סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד? מיטן אויפּשטעלן אַ טראַנסמיסיע-סטאַנציע פון "קול אַמעריקאַ"

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# וידוע ענינים

## ”ניט שפילן זיך מיט פייער”

שטעלט אָפּ שאַפּן אַטאַמישע-ראַקעטע ”ריחו 2”

פון דער רעדע פון דעם קאָמוניסטישן  
כנסת דעפוטאַט מאיר ווילנער

די אויסערן-מיניסטער, זיינען ניט נויטיק קיין שום ספעציעלע פארהאנדלונגען, אָדער ספעציעלע קאָנפערענצן. ס'איז גענוג, אַז די ישראל-רעגירונג זאל אַנשליסן איר אונטערשריפט אונטער דער אינטערנאַציאָנאַלער קאָנווענץ וועגן פאַרבאָטן דאָס פאַרשפּרייטן אַטאָם-וואַפּן. דאָן וועט זיין אַקטיוו די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע אַגענטור פון אַטאָם-ענערגיע, וואָס איז די קאָפּטעטעטע און אַנטוואַרטלעך פון אונז און די דאָזיקע פּראָגראַם און ס'זיינען אין איר רעפּרעזענטירט סיי די מערבֿ-און סיי די סאָציאַליסטישע מדינות. ס'פּעלט בלויז די ישראלדיקע אונטערשריפט, בכדי די דאָזיקע אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע אַגענטור זאל קאָנטראָלירן, אַז ס'זאל נישט זיין קיין אַטאָם-וואַפּן אין אונזערע ראַיאָן.

איך האָב געהערט די ערקלערונג פון אויסערן-מיניסטער, לויט וועלכער, מיר אין ישראל אַנטוויקלען ניט דעם וואַפּן געיעט אין דאָיאָן, נאָר נאָך דעם, ווי דער סאָוועטן-פאַרבאַנד האָט געליפּערט ראַקעטעס פאַר אונזערע שכנים און דאָס ”ווייל מיר דאַרפן זיך פאַרטיידיקן”.

דער אמת איז אַ פאַרקערטער: דער סאָוועטן-פאַרבאַנד האָט קיין מאָל ניט אָנגעהויבן אַ נייע פּאַזע פון וואַפּן-געיעג, ניט אויף דער וועלט און ניט אין מיטעלן מזרח. אירע שרײַט זיינען שטענדיק געווען אַ רעאָגירונג אויפן אָנהייבן נייע רונדעס פון וואַפּן-געיעג דורך די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער און אין אונזערע ראַיאָן דורך די ישראל-רעגירער. ס'האָט זיך אָנגעהויבן מיט דער קאָאָפּעראַציע מיט פּראָגרייק און דערנאָך מיט דער קאָאָפּעראַציע מיט די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער. דאָס ווער ס'הייבט אָן אַ נייע פּאַזע פון וואַפּן-געיעג אין מיטעלן מזרח, וואָס פאַרשטאַרקט נאָך מער די געפאַר פון נאָך אַ מלחמה. דאָס מאָל אַנטוויקלען די ראַקעטע ”ריחו 2”, באַווייזט נאָך אַמאָל איז דאָס נישט בלויז אַ דראָג קעגן די אַרַבישע שכנותדיקע מדינות, נאָר קעגן אַלע אַראַבישע

די פּראָגע פון דער ראַקעטע ”ריחו 2”, וואָס מיר הייבן אַרויס פאַרן פאַרענדיקן זיך פון דער איצטיקער כנסת-סעסיע באַטראַכטן מיר אַלס זייער וויכטיק און גורלדיק. אין די אויסלענדישע אינפּאַרמאַציע-קוואַלן ווערן שוין זינט יאָרן פאַרענטלעכט ידיעות, אַז ישראל אַנטוויקלט אַטאָם-וואַפּן און ראַקעטעס צום שיקן די וואַפּן. מיר און פיל אַנדערע אין ישראל באַטראַכטן דאָס אַלס אַן אַוואַנטוריסטישער אַזאַרד פאַר דער עצם עקזיסטענץ פון ישראל און פאַרן לעבן פון אונדז אַלעמען. פיל מאָל האָבן מיר געוואָרנט פון דער כנסת-טריבונע און אויסער איר, אַז אויף אַ לאַנגע מעטע וועט ישראל ניט קענען היטן אין אירע הענט דעם מאַנאַפּאָל אין ראַיאָן איבער וואַפּן פון מאַסן-פאַרניכטונג.

אין ליכט פון די נייע פובליקאַציעס וועגן עקספּערעמענטן מיט שיקן די ראַקעטע ”ריחו 2”, וואָס איז אַ ראַקעטע אויף אַ מיטעלע דיסטאַנץ, וואָס קען טרעפן אויף 1450 קילאָמעטער און וואָס קען טראָגן אַטאָם-קעפּ. האַלטן מיר פאַר לעבנסוויכטיק און דירנגענד דורכצופירן אַ דעבאַטע וועגן דעם אין כנסת און אויך אין דער געזעלשאַפט. כּדי צו מאַכן אַ סוף צום דאָזיקן אַוואַנטוריסטישן אַזאַרד וואָס איז אַ געפאַר פאַר אונזער עקזיסטענץ. ס'איז פולשטדיק קלאָר, אַז הינטער דער אַנטוויקלונג פון דער ראַקעטע ”ריחו 2”, שטייען די אַמעריקאַנער רעגירער. די ישראל-רעגירער זיינען פולשטענדיק אַפּהענגיק פון דער אַמעריקאַנער צושטימונג אין אַזעלכע פּראָגראַם.

ס'איז נישט קיין צופאַל דאָס, וואָס די רעגירונג זאָגט זיך עקספּונדירן אָפּ אונטערצושרייבן די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנווענץ פאַר פאַרבאָטן אַטאָם-וואַפּן, אויף וועלכער ס'האָבן זיך שוין פון לאַנג אונטערגעשריבן די אַראַבישע מדינות. אונזערע ראַיאָן דאַרף זיין דעמיליטאַריזירט פון אַטאָם-וואַפּן און אונטער דער גענויער אינטערנאַציאָנאַלער קאָנטראָל. אין דער דאָזיקער פּראָגע.