

# **Meir Kahane**

## **Never again!**

### **Preface to the 2nd Edition**

Rabbi Meir Kahane was born in 1932 in New York. His mother arrived in America in 1919; her parents had fled from Dvinsk (now Daugavpils, Latvia) to escape the Bolshevik regime. Rabbi Meir Kahane's father, who passed away a few years ago, was originally from the Israeli city of Safed.

M. Kahane grew up in New York and spent thirteen years studying at the renowned Mir Yeshiva, where he received smicha (rabbinical ordination). In addition to his religious studies, he graduated from the International Law School at New York University and obtained a law degree.

In 1968, Rabbi M. Kahane founded the "Jewish Defense League," with the aim of ensuring the physical security of American Jews and revitalizing their sense of dignity and national pride. In 1969, Rabbi M. Kahane and the Jewish Defense League were the first to openly and uncompromisingly campaign for the liberation of Soviet Jewry. In September 1971, Rabbi M. Kahane, along with his wife and their four children and their families, made aliyah to Israel and settled in Jerusalem. He led the "Kach" movement that he founded and ran for Knesset elections in 1973, 1977, and 1981 but failed to garner the necessary number of votes.

From almost the first day of his arrival in Israel, Rabbi Meir Kahane became the target of harsh attacks, slander, and persecution from both authorities and "left-wing" circles. He was the first Jew in Israel to undergo what is known as "administrative" detention without trial or investigation and was imprisoned for several months.

In the 11th Knesset elections held on July 23, 1984, 25,907 Israelis voted for the "Kach" movement, and Rabbi M. Kahane became a Knesset member. His election to the Knesset triggered a wave of hysterical

reactions from all "left-wing" and many "right-wing" political parties and public organizations in Israel. It did not go unnoticed beyond Israel's borders either: communist, Arab, and Muslim states, almost all "Third World" countries, and most Western political leaders launched sharp attacks on Rabbi M. Kahane and his movement, often using a style that resembled public abuse.

Rabbi M. Kahane fought for Israel to become a truly Jewish state, based on Jewish laws, free from the presence of hostile Arab populations and the corrupting influence of socialism.

The second edition of this book is being published ten years after the first edition and eight years after Rabbi Meir Kahane was killed.

In the preface to the first edition ("About the Author of This Book"), we wrote: "His election to the Knesset triggered a wave of hysterical reactions from all 'left-wing' and many 'right-wing' political parties and public organizations in Israel." These hysterical reactions quickly turned into an operational task to eliminate the phenomenon called Rabbi Kahane and the "Kach" movement at any cost. Leaders of the state that calls itself Jewish did everything imaginable—silencing, slander, the most unfounded accusations. Yet, the phenomenon did not disappear; instead, more and more people were convinced of the correctness of Rabbi Kahane's ideas.

Israeli "democrats" decided to pass a special law whose sole purpose was to prevent Rabbi Kahane from running for Knesset elections. They passed it, and it was banned. But the phenomenon did not disappear. What to do?

On the evening of November 6, 1990, after finishing a lecture, Rabbi Kahane was talking to a group of Jews in the lobby of a New York hotel. Suddenly, gunshots rang out, and Rabbi Kahane fell, covered in blood. The murderer was an Arab. The hitman. Who was behind him? The American court did not investigate this. Or perhaps they were subtly discouraged from doing so.

Three and a half years later, after Dr. Baruch Goldstein, a disciple of Rabbi Kahane and a former activist of the "Kach" movement, killed 29 Arabs and wounded nearly 125 more in the Cave of the Patriarchs in

Hebron, the authorities of the State of Israel declared the "Kach" movement and the splinter movement "Kahane Chai" illegal.

The leaders of the state that calls itself Jewish could not coexist with Rabbi Kahane. They found it much more pleasant to sign friendship and cooperation agreements with Arafat and give him the land of our country. They could breathe easily now: Rabbi Kahane no longer hinders them in their work.

## **Dedication**

I have never faced a simpler task than deciding to whom to dedicate this book. It is an expression of my deepest gratitude to the heroes of Jewish resistance in our time. We, the children of the Holocaust, this insane tragedy that became the culmination of centuries of bloody persecutions, pogroms, and humiliation, have witnessed the resurgence of our national dignity and pride. We have seen the awakening of Jewish self-awareness. And most importantly, we have seen a different kind of Jew emerge from the ashes of Auschwitz. This Jew dared to look the world in the eye, to confront those who had burned, tortured, drowned, hanged, and gassed us in the chambers of death.

The tragic burden of memories of an entire Jewish world incinerated in the crematoria had filled the cup of patience. Jews grew tired of suffering and dying in silence, tired of reciting mournful prayers and the Kaddish. They rejected the imposed Christian morality of the diaspora and refused to turn the other cheek. These Jews learned the lesson taught by their enemies well. These Jews want peace, but they are ready to fight. They are ready to fight to win.

I dedicate this book to the members of the Jewish Defense League, who raised the banner of Jewish dignity and strength in the diaspora. They embody the new type of Jew. They marched forward when others were still mourning the victims; they fought when others trembled in fear; they fearlessly fought for the liberation of Soviet Jews when others chose to remain silent; they put into practice what is discussed in this book. Someday, when truth prevails and the events of our time become part of history, the list of their names will form another link in the glorious chain of Jewish valor. The Jewish people owe a great debt to these individuals.

I also want to express my deep gratitude and love to my dear wife and children, who endured more than anyone else during my absence from home. Had I acted differently, I would not have been worthy of their love and respect, and everything I have done, I have done for them.

Ahavat Yisrael! What do these words mean? They mean love for a Jew, for every Jew, including oneself. They mean that a Jew is obligated to love their people.

These words have been forgotten by American Jews who remained silent during the days of the Holocaust. They have been forgotten by those who tried to rid themselves of their national identity to become true Americans. This concept is foreign to those on the left and liberals who are ready to fight for anything except the interests of their own people. Ahavat Yisrael is foreign to those who condemn the organizers of self-defense in the neighborhoods of Jewish poverty. Those who call Israel an "imperialist aggressor" and claim that the fate of Soviet Jews is "none of their business" also have no understanding of what Ahavat Yisrael means.

## **NEVER AGAIN!**

We saw piles of bodies in the camps where they killed us. We stood in now-empty rooms where our brothers had stood naked, awaiting death.

We were there, but not alone. The souls of those who are no longer with us were present, those whose blood flowed like water because Jewish blood was valued so cheaply. We saw their outstretched hands and looked into their burning, soul-wrenching eyes, eyes that penetrated to our very core. And we heard their voices:

'Never again! This must never happen again! Promise us!'

We must fulfill their demand. That is why this book is written.

**NEVER AGAIN!**

## **TOMBSTONE SILENCE**

On May 13, 1939, a ship departed from the port of Hamburg. On board were 930 Jews who were leaving the country where they were born and were forced to leave everything behind. They parted with this country without regret, bidding farewell to the life they had lived there. In Germany,

dark times had arrived, and the madness of Adolf Hitler had reached monstrous proportions. Six years of Nazi rule brought terror, concentration camps, pogroms, and death. Nine hundred and thirty Jews were leaving behind a nightmare that had been their home just yesterday. They were among the last Jews fortunate enough to leave this Aryan country alive before German tanks plunged Europe into darkness.

In the vast world, among all its countries and peoples, only one state agreed to offer refuge to these desperate refugees: they had entry visas for Cuba, and their hearts were filled with gratitude to the government of this country, the only one willing to accept them...

Jews, as a rule, can be too hasty in expressing their gratitude to those who say they are willing to help them. Even before the ship reached the shores of Cuba, the Cuban government announced that it would not allow the refugees to disembark. The visas, as it turned out, were invalid...

The ship approached the Havana shore and dropped anchor just steps away from the beautiful beaches of Miami, where other American Jews were leisurely swimming in the waves, and in the evenings, they watched dog races. The ship with the refugees was within arm's reach of the blessed places where other Jews sunbathed, enjoyed the famous Jewish cuisine, and rejoiced in life. How close these 930 people were to American nirvana, and how far they were from their salvation!

The drama unfolded before the eyes of millions of Americans. The Cuban government remained inflexible. An wave of anti-Semitism spread through Cuban newspapers and political circles, and Havana continued to assert that the visas were invalid, that they had already accepted Jews... And what about the great bastion of democracy up North, the United States of America? Maybe they wanted to welcome the unfortunate refugees?

It was a good question. It became very relevant when it became clear that neither Cuba nor any other country was willing to accept Jewish refugees from Germany. The situation became urgent when, after several days of fruitless waiting, a German ship raised anchor to return to the country that had once been home to these people and had now become a threshold of death. The 930 Jews were returning "home" to Hitler.

But what were their American brothers and sisters doing at that time? What grand rallies and demonstrations did they organize? How did they protest, showing the world that Jews cannot remain indifferent when almost a thousand of their fellow countrymen, flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood, were being driven into hell?

Perhaps Jewish organizations and their leaders, who a couple of decades later would fervently fight for civil rights for African Americans, even to the point of breaking the law (and in that case, it wouldn't be about death camps but about the right of a Black person to sit in the front "white" section of a bus in Birmingham or to drink soda at the same fountain as a white person in Jackson), perhaps these zealots for freedom and human rights were willing to climb barricades to save their Jewish brothers who faced mortal danger? Perhaps these great liberals and humanitarians, who two decades later would demonstrate heroic self-sacrifice in the fight against racial segregation, were ready for any sacrifices to save their brethren from Hitler's clutches?

Alas, silence was the tombstone silence. The chronicles of those years contain no mention of any selfless actions by those who claimed to be Jewish leaders or organizations whose mandate was the protection of Jewish interests. Those who later organized marches in defense of human rights and were willing to go to jail for it didn't even think, for example, of chaining themselves to the White House fence to draw attention to the fate of the 930 Jews who symbolized the destiny of millions of their fellow Jews standing on the threshold of destruction.

Excluding the actions of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee ("the Joint"), which is not a membership organization and was created solely to provide assistance to refugees, all the efforts of the Jewish establishment boiled down to drafting quite respectable petitions to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt... For American Jews, there were two supreme values: God and Roosevelt, not necessarily in that order... Roosevelt, the man they voted for. Roosevelt, whose death they mourned as if they were bidding farewell to a close relative.

Franklin Roosevelt saw how 930 Jews were being sent back to Hitler along the Atlantic coast of the United States. He could have opened the doors of America to them, but he didn't. He could have saved not only 930

Jews but 9,300 and 930,000 Jews... But neither Roosevelt nor the leaders of other democratic countries, whose altars Jews served with such zeal, lifted a finger to save them. The essence of the theory of political relativity was clear: when the world faces a problem, Jews are expected to help because they are such humanitarians. But when Jews are being persecuted, humanity has nothing to do with it; it's just a "Jewish problem"...

Roosevelt listened to the request of Jewish leaders and regretfully informed them that he couldn't do anything. After all, the United States has an immigration quota system, and the quota for immigration from Germany has already been exhausted. "But you can expand the quota by counting it against future years," Jewish leaders tried to protest. "Let these 930 people enter the country, and the quota for the next year or the next ten years will be correspondingly reduced! The brilliant president, for whom we voted, will surely find a solution!"

But no, the President of the United States couldn't do anything. Violating the law was out of the question. Franklin Delano Roosevelt never broke the law. So he sympathizes and deeply regrets but can't do anything.

And so when the St. Louis (that was the name of the ill-fated ship) came so close to Miami that the refugees on board could see the lights of the city where their fellow Jews were enjoying themselves; when the St. Louis sadly sailed along the American coast, escorted by U.S. Coast Guard ships, which were ordered to prevent any attempts by the refugees to leave the St. Louis; when the President of the United States, saddened by the fact that he had to give up trying to save 930 Jews, went on vacation, the leaders of American Jewry calmly welcomed the descending night and also went home. To rest...

There was no noise, no loud protests, no violation of the law. There was nothing of what Jewish leaders would later undertake in the midst of the struggle for civil rights in Birmingham, Selma, and Jackson. Like thieves in the night, they disappeared to go their separate ways.

And when these American Jews went home, those nine hundred and thirty also had to do the same. Go home, 930 future angels! Go to Hitler...

Behind them remained a stunned, shocked, outraged community of Jewish liberals. Who would dare say that American Jews didn't care about their brothers and sisters? "The New York Times" could speak on behalf of all Jewish leaders, organizations, and the broad masses when it wrote in one of its infallible editorials: "All we can do now is hope that someone's hearts will soften, and somewhere there will be some refuge for these unfortunates. The cruise of the 'St. Louis' cries out to heaven about the inhuman treatment of man by man."

And indeed... The "New York Times" portrayed in the most positive light quite respectable people, whose only contribution to the refugees was the hope that "someone's hearts would soften, and somewhere there would be some refuge for these unfortunates." The minds of the editors of the "New York Times" and Jewish leaders never even entertained the thought of taking any actions that might have facilitated the process of "softening hearts." These respected gentlemen never even thought, for example, of organizing a demonstration demanding justice for their 930 brothers and sisters.

Those 930 Jews disappeared into the whirlwind of history. They were killed by the Germans, but none of those Jews who remained silent at that time can sleep peacefully now.

And then darkness fell. With terrifying suddenness, the war that all these pacifists, liberals, and isolationists had tried so hard to avoid erupted. Those who had praised the Munich Agreements, which were supposed to bring peace, suddenly saw what a handful of "war-mongers" had always seen: it was impossible to avoid the fate of being devoured by the alligator while feeding it your neighbors one by one. The Munich Agreements made the Catastrophe inevitable and taught a bitter lesson to the free world.

World War II began with the dazzling German "blitzkrieg," as Nazi tank divisions sliced through Poland like a knife through soft butter. Shortly thereafter, German planes bombed France, which was incapable of resistance, and whose "Maginot Line" vividly demonstrated the incompetence of those who built it.

And then we, the Jews, also understood something. We understood that Hitler really intended to carry out his intentions and annihilate the Jewish people. We understood that those who had warned us about it



were not paranoid, as our leaders claimed. Suddenly, it became clear that those Jewish "extremists" who had roamed Polish, Lithuanian, German, Czech, and Hungarian cities and towns shouting to us, "Jews, wake up! A great fire is raging!" were not insane, as our experts had told us. We suddenly saw clearly that Eastern European Jewry was facing total annihilation. It was difficult for our minds to digest this thought: genocide? In the 20th century?! Genocide in an era of democracy, progress, and science?!

But the impossible began to happen. And as great as the Catastrophe was, claiming millions of human lives, so great was the shattering of liberal illusions. What had been so difficult for our minds to accept became reality.

It was a horrifying parody of our dreams and prayers. From all sides of Europe, Jews were gathered together, not for salvation, but for total extermination. The rumors, which were so unbelievable they defied credulity, became undeniable facts. The Germans were killing European Jews. They were killing them by the millions. They were gassing Jews in chambers and burning them in ovens. They were annihilating them, all of our brothers and sisters.

We knew this already by the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943. The leaders of Jewish organizations knew about it two years before the end of the war. Jewish leaders all over the world knew that it was a Catastrophe, that European Jewry was systematically being destroyed. Day by day. But they remained silent. There is no excuse for their silence.

Furthermore, American Jewish leaders claimed that there were no death camps, or at least they knew nothing about them. They made the same claims as the Nazi propaganda machine. Both were lying.

We knew that the inhabitants of entire cities were herded into death camps. We knew about the complete annihilation of Jews in entire regions. The Germans showed no mercy to children or women. They graphically demonstrated to us what the Torah meant when it said, "For you, there shall be one law." We knew what these names meant: Dachau, Treblinka, Bergen-Belsen, and Auschwitz.

Auschwitz. There, they gassed twelve thousand Jews every day. Using their high-quality Zyklon B gas, the Germans achieved maximum

efficiency. Twelve thousand people every day... On the day when American Jews celebrated a Jewish wedding, twelve thousand of their fellow Jews were incinerated in Auschwitz. On the day when they celebrated expensive bar mitzvahs, their sons' coming of age, the bodies of twelve thousand of their fellow believers were burned in the ovens. While they leisurely enjoyed their Sunday vacations, twelve thousand of their brothers and sisters helped solve the problem of overpopulation on Earth. We knew all of this. Already in 1942, we knew about the horror whose name was Auschwitz.

And how those Jews appealed to us! Letters and pleas reached the free Jewish world from the Nazi empire of horrors. Among them, there is a letter written with the blood of Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel from Slovakia. He managed to smuggle his letter to Jewish leaders in Turkey, Switzerland, and the United States, in which he begged them to shake the world, to do everything in their power to help their brothers in Europe. "There is no time!" he cried out. "Do everything possible! Leave all your work to do something, anything. Remember that due to your indifference, twelve thousand souls are perishing daily... Do all our pleas mean nothing more to you than the cries of a beggar standing at your doorstep? We have told you about what is happening time and time again. Do you really believe our murderers more than us? May the Almighty open your eyes, and may your hearts give you the strength to save those who can still be saved..."

Rabbi Weissmandel did not receive a response to his letter. And what made him any different from others who were dying in the death camps alongside him? They, too, appealed to us, and they, too, did not receive a response. The leaders of American Jewry cannot say, "We are not involved in this bloodshed..."

And how many could have been saved! Jews were being transported to Auschwitz by train, packed into wagons filled with those condemned to death, rolling forward on the railroad tracks. "Bomb these rails!" cried the Jews from there. "Bomb the bridges that these trains pass over! Bomb the death camps, disable the instruments of destruction!" Czech underground fighters sent maps to the free world, indicating all the major railroad lines and extermination camps. All that remained for the Allies, whose bombers penetrated the territories occupied by Germany daily, was to bomb these specified targets.

Yes, it could have been done. In a letter to Chaim Weizmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, the British Foreign Minister stated that the matter had been thoroughly discussed but could not be implemented "due to serious technical difficulties."

Yes, it could have been done. In a letter to President of the World Zionist Organization Chaim Weizmann, the British Foreign Minister stated that "the matter has been thoroughly discussed," but the proposal cannot be implemented "due to serious technical difficulties."

The United States took a similar position. When Jewish leaders appealed to Franklin Roosevelt (still a beloved president of Jewish voters) to save their brethren, he sympathetically nodded and said it was impossible due to "technical difficulties."

Technical difficulties. A man whose bombers could reach any point on Earth and destroy any target, a man whose B-17 aircraft reached the Romanian city of Ploesti without hindrance, could not overcome "technical difficulties" to bomb Auschwitz.

Let's assume the American president was telling the truth. It is not our task to condemn Roosevelt. But those who today believe in Roosevelts, Churchills, and Vaticans are fools who have learned nothing from history and are dooming us to new catastrophes. The main culprits responsible for the Catastrophe were not the Roosevelts.

What did we do in those years? That is the question that should not leave our petrified souls at peace. When Franklin Roosevelt gave a negative response to his Jewish constituents, what did they do? What did the leaders of prestigious Jewish organizations, which arose and existed to protect Jewish interests in those nightmarish times, do when they learned that death awaited European Jews?

I am acquainted with Jewish leaders who went to Mississippi because their hearts burned with a desire to help their fellow citizens in their struggle for civil rights. I know Jewish leaders who went to Jackson and deliberately violated the law because they were filled with pain for those who were persecuted in the southern states. I know rabbis who went to Selma and were imprisoned to ensure that Blacks had equal employment opportunities and were admitted to universities, and that they could use the same swimming pools as whites. I know Jews who sat in prisons

because they fought for the rights of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and Native Americans. They participated in demonstrations in support of the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Greeks, and South African Zulus. On these demonstrations, they could have their heads smashed, and their limbs broken. I know young Jews who confront their parents with accusations like "Your silence is killing me." They care about everything happening in every corner of the world. The only thing they don't care about is what is happening to the Jewish people. But I haven't heard of the existence of Jewish leaders whose pain for their tormented brethren would be so strong that they would be willing to break the law to make the world listen to the cries of the unfortunate. I haven't heard of Jewish leaders who decided not to let the world remain apathetic while a single Jewish life was in danger. I haven't heard of such Jewish leaders who, seeing that all legal means of influence had been exhausted and their conscience demanded that they continue the struggle, would chain themselves to the gates of the White House, end up in prison, and thereby force the world to take notice. I haven't heard of rabbis who recalled the words of the Torah: "Do not stand idly by while your neighbor's blood is shed." I haven't heard of them urging their congregants to take to the streets and engage in a sit-in protest against the United States' refusal to save their brethren.

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Let's imagine what would have happened if the leaders of American Jewish organizations and rabbis from all over the country had called on Jews in New York, Washington, Chicago, and other major cities to stage a sit-in strike. Let's imagine that Jews—men and women, businessmen and workers, religious and non-religious, left-wing and right-wing—organized a sit-in strike, thereby expressing their anger and pain. Let's imagine that they, together with their respected leaders and rabbis, demanded: "Bomb the railway lines and save our brothers, or we won't budge!" There is no doubt that bombs would have been dropped, railway lines destroyed, and trains with their unfortunate passengers halted. Only through such means could hundreds of thousands of lives, if not more, have been saved. This would have happened if we had fulfilled our Jewish duty, if we had behaved as we should have, if the Jewish masses and

their leaders had not crawled when they should have walked and had not lagged behind when they should have run.

What are we talking about here? We are talking about Ahavat Yisrael, the love of one Jew for their fellow Jews, and the absence of this love. We are talking about the foundation of Jewish life, something that was tragically lacking during those terrible times.

Ahavat Yisrael, the love for Jewish peoplehood. Jews, no matter where they live, regardless of their beliefs, the color of their skin, or the language they speak, all constitute one entity - the Jewish people, Israel. All Jews are brothers and sisters, and brotherly love is what Ahavat Yisrael is all about.

Jewish suffering in any part of the world is our suffering. Jewish joy in any part of the world is our joy. Our sacred duty is to come to the aid of any Jew in need. We must always remember the teachings of the great Hasidic tzaddikim, that Jews are one united entity, and we are obligated to love every Jew and be ready to help them at any moment. But we didn't come to their aid - back then. We didn't do what we were supposed to do and what was within our power to do.

The question, a terrible question, unbearably cruel, that must torment our hearts and souls and not give us a moment's peace is - why?

Why did we remain silent? Why didn't we do for ourselves what we would later do for others? Why didn't we then organize mass demonstrations and take to the barricades? Where was that Jewish leader who would have called us to civil disobedience to try to save those who were about to be burned, shot, suffocated in gas chambers, and whose bodies were going to be turned into soap? Where was that Jewish leader who would have turned to the five million American Jews with the words of our sages:

"When Jews are in trouble, and someone separates from their people, two angels come and lay their hands on his head, saying, 'This person, who separated from the community, will not share in the joy of the community.'"

And our sages further say:

"When the community is in trouble, a person should not say, 'I will go home, eat and drink, and my soul will be at ease...' (Taanit, 11a).

It cannot be said that American Jews were not concerned about what was happening. They were concerned. It cannot be said that Jewish leaders simply did not feel Jewish suffering. That would be untrue, and that was not the reason for their silence. Millions of European Jews were sent to gas chambers, and we knew about it. We knew about it, but we limited ourselves to trivial, senseless, and ridiculous attempts to do something, which is even worse than doing nothing. Those who do nothing know their guilt, and there is hope that their conscience will push them to take serious action. We, on the other hand, assure ourselves that we were not indifferent, and our souls are at ease.

But six million perished, and we did not do what we could have done. Why?

Some people might be irritated by this question: why delve into such painful topics? What's done is done, and what's the point of revisiting these terrible periods of Jewish history? But we are obligated to revisit and find an answer to this question. Because we did not know the answer back then, those six million perished. We must find an answer to ensure that the Catastrophe does not happen again. We must understand why our leaders were inactive then, because these same people lead us today, act on our behalf, and claim to represent our interests. We must draw lessons from this historical lesson so that history does not repeat itself in a worse way. We are obliged to study the past so that it does not repeat itself in the future for Jews in the Soviet Union or anywhere else.

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The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia marked the closing of one of the most magnificent chapters in Jewish history. The Jews of Russia could never become what they once were. Russian Jewry, with its boundless energy and passionate heart, which was the pride of the entire Jewish people, changed unrecognizably.

In that country lived geniuses like Vilna Gaon and Rabbi Itzhak Elhanan; in that country, there were Torah study centers like the yeshivas of Volozhin and Slabodka; in that country, Zionism, initiated by Herzl, took root and produced leaders like Jabotinsky and Ussishkin; in that country,

among the Jewish masses, there was so much beauty and goodness, so much inner strength and conviction in their righteousness that, despite cruel persecution, they held onto their faith even stronger; in that country, Jews saw Jewish dreams, lived a Jewish life, and died a Jewish death; in that country, fathers carried their three-year-old sons wrapped in "talit" to the "cheder," where little Jews began to learn the "alef-beit" and prepare to take upon themselves the "yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven"; in that country, poverty never left the Jews, but their prayers were so sincere and strong that they reached the Throne, passing through the barrier that separated the Almighty from His suffering children.

All of this was destroyed in 1917. On the ruins of that country, the kingdom of Marx arose, Lenin's feudal state. Communism conquered Russia, and Jews quickly understood what it meant.

First and foremost, Jewish religion was annihilated. Communism had no intention of tolerating competitors in the struggle for the souls of those it intended to rule. With unparalleled, truly fanatical zeal, the adherents of the new religion eradicated Jewish faith. Their best assistant was the Jewish Section of the Bolshevik Party. Alas, there was nothing new in this. Throughout the ages, there were no greater antisemites and haters of all things Jewish than Jewish apostates, traitors to their own people. Jewish communists in Bolshevik Russia energetically worked to eradicate the faith of their fathers and grandfathers.

Rabbis and teachers were arrested and sent to Siberia, schools were closed, and synagogues were turned into clubs. Printing religious literature was forbidden. The Bible, Talmud, books of great Torah scholars - those who still had prayer books treasured them like precious gems. Religious calendars were no longer published, and it became very difficult to know when the holidays occurred.

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Religious schools disappeared, and private teaching of Jewish religious laws was banned, marking the beginning of the decline of Judaism in Russia. Rabbis aged and passed away, while in state schools, Jewish children were taught that their fathers' faith was nothing more than a harmful relic of a dark past. Children grew up knowing nothing of the

great history of their people, creating a growing gap of understanding between parents and their offspring.

Ancient traditions and customs were ridiculed and eradicated barbarically. Holidays suddenly became instruments of bourgeois nationalism, supposedly hindering production and disrupting work discipline because Jews did not work on their holidays. Passover, a particularly dangerous nationalist holiday, was targeted. During Passover, Jews traditionally say, "Next year in Jerusalem!"

One of the most important commandments of Jewish religion, circumcision, was declared a barbaric ritual that mutilated a child's body, and "bar mitzvah," the celebration of a boy reaching the age of religious maturity, was considered the spiritual deformity of a teenager. A Jew who attended the synagogue was expelled from the Soviet system and subjected to harsh persecution.

With pain in their hearts, parents looked at their children, deprived of their spiritual heritage, alienated from their people, and who had become victims of foreign gods, as mentioned in the Torah: "Your sons and daughters will be given to another nation, and your eyes will look and fail for them all day long, and there will be nothing you can do" (Deuteronomy 28:32).

A vivid description of the tragedy of Soviet Jewry was provided by Shlomo Ben-Israel, a Jewish journalist who wrote in Yiddish and who visited the Soviet Union a few years ago. He shared what he witnessed.

Many elderly Jews continue to hold onto their faith with a strength that defies explanation. One day, I heard a trembling voice behind me in a synagogue:

"Young man, please don't turn around. Look at your prayer book and pretend you don't hear anything. I need to tell you something."

Out of the corner of my eye, I saw the face of an elderly man, nearly concealed by his "tallis," covering his head. With a voice trembling with tears, he began to recount how he lost his entire family - his wife, children, and all his loved ones, except for one son, who already had a son of his own, Volodya. Until Volodya turned seven, his grandfather would take him to the synagogue. When he started school, the teacher sternly forbade students from attending the church or synagogue. But Volodya loved his



grandfather so much that, despite the prohibition, he continued to go with him to the synagogue. Until one day, another student reported him. The teacher publicly scolded him in front of the entire class, issuing a stern warning. From that moment on, Volodya no longer dared to go to the synagogue.

A few years passed. About half a year ago, eight hooligans attacked Volodya and brutally beat him while shouting, "Beat the Jew!"

Since then, the boy has been terrified. He asks his grandfather to explain why he's Jewish and why everyone hates him for it. The old man wanted to teach the boy Jewish history, Hebrew, and the Torah, but the father wouldn't allow it, fearing he would lose his job.

Soon Volodya will turn thirteen, the old man continued. Volodya, I told him, I will do anything you want, just come with me to the synagogue! But Volodya doesn't want to go...

The old man behind me was crying. And suddenly he turned to me:

"I beg you, dear friend," he whispered. "When you return to the free world, don't remain indifferent! Tell people about this! Do everything in your power. Change the world, but help us! Help me! Do something so that my Volodya remains Jewish!"

Who compelled the world to listen to the cries of that elderly Russian Jew? Who changed the world to help Volodya remain Jewish? Certainly not American Jews. How many opportunities were there! How many convenient occasions to force the Soviet rulers to release Jews! They could have been pressured. When Western engineers and technicians were needed in the 1920s, when they sought recognition from Roosevelt in the 1930s, when they sent members of their Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee on a foreign tour to persuade the West to open a second front... Were even the slightest attempts made to seize these opportunities? Can anyone recall a single demonstration in defense of Soviet Jews from 1917 until the 1960s? Let's face the truth: for almost half a century, American Jews did not organize a single protest against the oppression of their brethren in the Soviet Union.

And yet, we knew what was happening. We knew that not only Jewish culture but everything Jewish was being exterminated. Other nationalities in the USSR also experienced national oppression and were repressed.

But at least they lived on their native land, they could educate their children in their native language, study their culture and history. Jews were denied all of this. What was permitted to other minorities was forbidden to Jews. They had no territory of their own, no language of their own, no peasantry of their own. And since they didn't, they weren't a nation and were thus obligated to assimilate. This is what Lenin declared. Stalin, his successor, proclaimed that Jews could be considered a nation "only formally." According to Soviet leaders, Jews around the world had no common history or centuries of suffering, no common language like Hebrew; European Jews spoke Yiddish. It was declared that Jews were not a nation, and therefore, they had to disappear.

We knew all of this, and we remained silent. Our silence allowed Hitler to destroy millions of Jewish lives. Due to our inaction, millions of Soviet Jews had their Jewish souls taken away. If tomorrow the gates of the Soviet Union were to open, and any Jew could leave, there's no doubt that the majority would prefer to stay. Every such Jew, every Volodya who severed the last ties with his people, is on our conscience. The fact that there are such Jews today is our fault. With our half-century-long silence, we allowed the Soviet authorities to oppress, assimilate, and kill the spirit of Russian Jewry.

Our leaders will claim that they conducted secret negotiations. Maybe. But even if that's true, these leaders lacked both an understanding of the importance of the issue and the necessary determination, so these negotiations were doomed to fail. Jewish organizations sent messages to the State Department and occasionally sent delegations to the White House. This "struggle" had no chance of success whatsoever. And having not achieved success, our leaders ceased to do anything at all. "Rebels" demanding different methods of struggle emerged among the youth, but they were hindered by the eternal "don't make a fuss, you'll only make it worse." The fact that protests, street demonstrations, and active actions did start is due not to the Jewish establishment but to those young Jews who managed to put an end to the corrupt policy of silence and suppression. These young people immediately faced attacks from the Jewish establishment, but they quickly proved that only the actions they took could draw the attention of the global public opinion to the situation of Soviet Jewry.

Soviet Jews are facing a deadly threat. Over the past decades, we had the opportunity to draw the world's attention to this danger through resolute actions.

After the death of the Georgian dictator in 1953, Soviet leaders became quite sensitive to Western reactions to their policies. These were years of missed opportunities, and who knows what tomorrow will bring?

Occupied with our own relatively insignificant problems compared to the issues faced by Russian Jews, we tend to forget the last years of Stalin's rule, those nightmarish years when the last remnants of Jewish culture were forcibly eradicated in Russia, and the threat of physical annihilation loomed over Soviet Jewry. We forget about the "Doctor's Plot" and the "Jewish cosmopolitans," and the lists that were already prepared to send Jews to Siberia. During those years, people were afraid to leave their homes because their family members might be "taken away" in their absence. In those days, many Jews kept a bag packed with essential items, just in case someone came knocking at the door...

The Almighty showed mercy to Soviet Jews, and Stalin passed away before he could fully implement his plans. But what about tomorrow? Will the Western world want to, and more importantly, be able to exert pressure on the Soviet Union to prevent the resurgence of Stalinism? The West is more concerned with safeguarding its own achievements than with the rights of people in communist countries. Its inability and reluctance to fight for freedom have become a fact today. The epidemic of pacifism in the West, its readiness for concessions and compromises, mean that the threat to the existence of Soviet Jews is increasing.

On the other hand, today, in the Soviet Union, a miracle is happening before our eyes. Twenty-five centuries ago, the Almighty showed the prophet Ezekiel a wide valley filled with dry bones and said to him, "These bones are the whole house of Israel." And the question was asked, "Shall these bones live?" We have seen the answer to this question... The withered bones of Russian Jewry are coming to life, shattering the logic of their Kremlin oppressors.

Deprived of any opportunity to learn about the religious heritage of their people, they come to the Moscow synagogue to dance on the holiday of Simchat Torah – the holiday of "joy of the Torah." In most cases, they don't understand the words they sing. They only know that these are the

words of a Jewish song and that it's beautiful. And that's enough for them. They've been robbed, their chance to study their history and national culture has been taken away from them. Today, they demand to be allowed to leave for a country that Kremlin leaders call racist, fascist, and aggressive. After decades of spiritual genocide, they shout today in the faces of their oppressors: "Russia, release our people!"

Kremlin leaders are forced to ponder some things when they see tens of thousands of young Jews dancing Jewish dances and boldly proclaiming, "Long live Israel!" Some thoughts are also born in the minds of ordinary Soviet citizens, non-Jews when they see Jews openly expressing their admiration for the "fascist" state whose pilots shoot down Soviet planes with Soviet pilots in them, simply because Jewish pilots are better than Russian ones. This situation cannot go on indefinitely.

What thoughts cross the minds of Soviet leaders when they see a young Jew coming to OVIR and asking for permission to leave for Israel? He explains that he has an aunt in Haifa, and without this aunt, he cannot live, even though it's clear to everyone that he has an aunt in Moscow (and maybe even parents), and what he really wants is to be a free person in his homeland, to be a Jew, and to reunite with his people. How long will Soviet leaders tolerate such a situation?

Where is the guarantee that the Russians, known for their cruelty and barely restraining their deep hatred for Jews only because they need to appear respectable in the eyes of Western public opinion, won't suddenly start a bloody massacre of Soviet Jews? Who can vouch that Soviet Jews are not facing a catastrophe?

Unfortunately, such a threat exists. And that's precisely why, because we don't have time, we cannot afford the luxury of convening international conferences where hundreds of Jewish leaders from around the world will fly in, spending thousands of dollars just to sit comfortably for three days and express their solidarity with Soviet Jewry. We don't have time for such idle pastimes.

We must seriously consider the plight of Soviet Jews. We must feel the pain and despair they feel. We need to understand what Ahavat Israel obligates us to do. Our duty is to take extraordinary measures. Jewish leaders still have a chance to make up for what they can never do for those six million...

We don't have time. We are obliged to shout on every corner, at every intersection, that our brothers in Russia are in distress. We must deafen everyone with this cry, those who want to listen and those who don't. Time doesn't wait. The catastrophe could begin tomorrow. But... we are still helpless and pitiful, and we are still shamefully silent.

And therefore, we must ask ourselves this question again. Why? Why did we remain silent when Hitler burned our brothers and sisters? Why did we remain silent when Kremlin murderers tightened the noose around the soul of Soviet Jewry? And why are we silent now when our brothers in Russia are facing mortal danger? Why is the catastrophic situation of Jewish prisoners in the dreadful prisons of Arab countries being silenced? What is the reason for this grave silence?

We must get an answer.

## **MORAL BANKRUPTCY OF THE JEWISH ESTABLISHMENT**

In the matter of helping our persecuted brethren in other countries, the American-Jewish establishment has shown its complete bankruptcy. But even concerning internal issues that Jewish individuals increasingly face in the United States, the leadership of Jewish organizations and institutions displays a complete unwillingness to do anything. The problems faced by American Jewry remain unresolved, while the Jewish establishment spends a great deal of time, energy, and money defending the interests of others.

Of course, Jewish leaders cannot ignore indefinitely the problems currently facing American Jews. Sooner or later, these problems will affect them as well.

It is commonly believed that all American Jews are Rothschilds, "controllers of international conglomerates," and "bankers sitting on bags of gold." However, strangely enough, the facts suggest that tens of thousands of poor, nearly destitute Jews live in the United States. In New York, for example, Jews constitute the third-poorest demographic group. Many thousands of Jewish families live in conditions that, according to statistics, are significantly below the "poverty level." Large Hasidic families, small officials, and factory workers barely make ends meet. Many

thousands of Jews dwell in impoverished neighborhoods that can boldly be called slums. These were once Jewish neighborhoods, but all those who "rose to prominence" moved to well-kept suburbs. Here, only the elderly remain, lacking the money to rent housing in wealthier areas. Who cares for them? Who remembers them? These are not just poor people; they are forgotten people. The Jewish establishment has forgotten about their existence.

Jews are often discriminated against in employment. Many of them, especially religious Jews with their distinctive clothing and beards, stand out among "standard Americans" no less than Blacks or Puerto Ricans. But unlike the latter, no one fights for their rights. At least, not the Jewish establishment. When a needy Jew, a craftsman, or a small entrepreneur is denied a loan that is rightfully his, where do all those Jewish advocates for the oppressed go who tirelessly roam the courtrooms, helping Blacks and Puerto Ricans in similar situations? Perhaps they are unaware that a Jew may sometimes require legal assistance too.

The Jewish establishment quickly finds a lawyer when it comes to non-Jews and non-Jewish matters. For instance, if in some small town in Wyoming, the mayor decides to use municipal funds to set up a Christmas tree, a whole battery of Jewish lawyers is ready to argue that this does not contradict the Constitution, which separates religion from the state. For such a case, Jewish leaders always find the money and suitable lawyers. But how difficult it can be for them to find both when it is required for Jewish needs!

Many Jewish parents - those who cannot afford to send their children to prestigious, expensive schools - fear sending them to free public schools, where Jewish children face not only physical danger but also spiritual danger. Jewish children who finish such schools often have difficulty remembering that they are Jewish. Many parents, even if they are not religious themselves, tend to send their children to Jewish religious educational institutions, "yeshivas." However, here, too, there is a cost to education, and substantial sums are required. As a result, children are deprived of the opportunity to receive a basic Jewish education, and we all know the consequences of this. Why doesn't the Jewish establishment care about providing support to poor families so that their children can receive a Jewish education? The future of American Jewry depends on it.

The money that our establishment mobilizes in Jewish communities is spent on meaningless and, even worse, harmful things. Money goes towards maintaining basketball teams, "Jewish" hospitals where non-Jews make up the majority of patients and there isn't even kosher food (so what makes them "Jewish"?), maintaining summer camps, community centers, and youth clubs, where non-Jews join alongside Jews and have become hotbeds of assimilation and intermarriage. Money is available for all of this but is conspicuously absent for Jewish education.

If Jewish educational institutions somehow manage to obtain financial support from government institutions, then those very same Jewish leaders who just refused to help suddenly spring into action. Without a hint of conscience, they start arguing that this contradicts the Constitution - after all, religion is separated from the state! Out of nowhere, lawyers appear who were impossible to find when it was necessary to defend Jewish interests, and these lawyers will go to great lengths to prevent government funds from being spent on a religious school.

This is not surprising at all. The Jewish establishment, in general, doesn't like this thing - Jewish religious education. "Yeshiva"? No, it's too Jewish; it fosters insularity, it hinders integration between Jews and non-Jews. "Yeshiva" challenges the first commandment of assimilationists - to blend in with the surrounding population. This is simply repulsive to them. "Yeshiva" cannot earn the sympathy of the Jewish establishment because it vividly demonstrates the shallowness of the souls of Jewish leaders and their lack of basic knowledge about Judaism.

There is another problem that is difficult for the leaders of Jewish organizations living in upscale suburbs to understand. This is the issue of the physical safety of Jews living in certain neighborhoods of large cities. Robberies and violence on the streets, fear with every knock on the door, arson and desecration of synagogues and Jewish institutions - these have become everyday facts of life for tens of thousands of Jews. They live in constant fear of physical violence. A religious Jew heading to the synagogue for evening prayers not only prays with the words written in the "siddur" but also prays to God that he won't be killed or robbed on the way home.

Where are those Jewish leaders who have realized the need to ensure the physical safety of residents in these neighborhoods, effectively

doing the work of the police, who always have the standard response ready: "We lack personnel..."? Are there such leaders at all? Who is responsible for the lives, safety, and property of Jews? It turns out that no one is. And we must ask why?

When Jews who are subjected to almost daily attacks - residents of impoverished neighborhoods - seek help from Jewish organizations, they receive the response, "Contact the police. It's their job." How heartless and cruel must one be to give such an answer! A Jew living in a poor neighborhood in New York or Chicago has appealed to the police a thousand times, and a thousand times the police have done nothing to protect him. Perhaps, in well-to-do suburbs, the police do have some impact, but it is pointless to turn to them in impoverished neighborhoods.

And when Jews, without seeking help from the Jewish establishment, organize self-defense to protect themselves and their families from robbery, violence, and murder, the leaders of Jewish organizations have the audacity to obstruct them. The very idea of Jewish self-defense is beyond their comprehension.

Safety patrols? "Vigilantism!" they declare. Jews have organized to combat crime? "Who allowed them to take the law into their own hands?!" the leaders exclaim. "In the end, it's not just us (read: everyone except us) who suffer from crime. You can't turn this into a Jewish problem."

These arguments are put forth by people who, on behalf of Jewish organizations, seriously engage in "Jewish" issues such as the Vietnam War, the question of whether to print postage stamps with images of Christmas trees, and the struggle for the rights of unfortunate blacks in South Africa. This is one of the tragedies of our orphaned generation - the Jewish leadership lacks even the slightest compassion for their fellow Jews, and they consider other people's problems as their own, while Jewish problems are alien to them. The leadership of Jewish organizations, composed of assimilated Jews who have lost their connection to the people, to the "ordinary Jew," vividly demonstrates their moral bankruptcy.

And again, we are forced to ask: why? Why does this happen? Why do we not do for ourselves what we do for others? Why do we not respond when Jews turn to us for help? Who has paralyzed our sense of brotherhood? What happened to Ahavat Yisrael (love of Israel)?



## LOSS OF JEWISH IDENTITY

At the beginning of the century, Jews who arrived in America worked tirelessly so that their children could become Americans. Jewish immigrants took on any job, all in the hope that their children would experience better days as true Americans. They wanted their sons to receive a good education, even if it meant sending them to non-Jewish schools where the teachers didn't understand them, their spiritual world, or their Yiddish. All of this was done so that their sons would become true Americans. Jews who had traveled a long way from Europe to America never tasted a good life. Throughout their lives, they worked tirelessly so that their children could become one-hundred-percent Americans.

Jews brought their faith and religion with them to America, which they had preserved for nearly two millennia of exile. They carried this invisible baggage through Ellis Island's customs. Upon reaching the shore, Jews rushed to build synagogues, believing that the Almighty was waiting for the tears they shed on Yom Kippur. Jews brought with them all the richness of the Jewish Sabbath and were convinced that in America, in their homes, there would always be only kosher food. Their family life was based on the elevated ancient traditions that other nations envied. They were filled with pride for their people, and every Jewish tragedy was their tragedy. They felt their Jewishness with all their hearts, and it was this deep attachment to their religion and their people that allowed them to put down roots in the New World.

America became another link in the chain of their centuries-old tenacity, which they drew from their faith. Faith endowed them with enormous spiritual strength. The awareness of belonging to the Jewish people instilled joy and pride in their hearts. Thanks to this profound sense of pride, their ancestors remained Jews in Russia, where eight-year-old children were often taken from their parents and sent into twenty-five years of service in the Russian czar's army. The feeling of pride in their Jewish identity saved them in countries where mobs wanted to tear their bodies apart and the church sought to kill their souls. The feeling of pride helped them endure the hardships of a harsh life, cold and hunger. The same feeling supported them here, in America, during days of hard labor. This feeling of pride never left them beyond the home—on the street, in the sweatshops where they began their long journey to become Americans. The eternal Jewish dream never left them—of giving their

children more than they had received themselves. They dreamed that their sons would become true Americans and good Jews.

And this son, thanks to his father's efforts, became a true American, telling the Jewish God that He could be content with the ten cents he, the new American, was willing to give Him from his dollar. No, he didn't want to completely abandon his Jewish heritage. Raised in a "cheder" and remembering the old synagogue, he couldn't forget the Sabbath candles and the Passover "seder." The son of a Jewish immigrant didn't want to say goodbye to Jewish religion; he wanted to make a deal with it. Live and let live. Only one thing prevented him from sleeping soundly—fear of anti-Semitism. And he tried to ensure that nothing, including his Jewishness, would hinder him from living comfortably in this country. You could remain a Jew without making a big show of it. To succeed in America, you needed to understand that America was America, not Poland, Russia, Austria-Hungary, or the Ottoman Empire. There was no need to fanatically cling to your religion. Displaying your Jewishness was tantamount to inciting anti-Semitism and creating unnecessary barriers. After all, the most important thing for a Jew was to have a good-hearted Jewish soul, to love your neighbor, and to be able to discuss the Ten Commandments.

The desire not to stand out in the crowd led him to adapt his Jewishness to the American way of life. For the sake of happiness in a free country, he could lower the religious barriers a bit. After all, if after years of persecution, a Jew had the opportunity to live freely, he shouldn't miss it! In America, all people are equal, and existing differences should be smoothed out as much as possible. In a country of progress and science, the Jew felt uncomfortable with his provincial Judaism and his outdated religion. But on the other hand, he couldn't completely break away from his Jewish roots.

So he continued to hold on to tradition but made many amendments to it. Old-fashioned, outdated, and contradictory laws and customs that didn't conform to the "American ideal" had to be abolished, of course. We shouldn't forget that we are Jews, but we shouldn't be overly assertive. America shouldn't be ashamed of us. Reflecting in this way, the son born in America, where they spoke Yiddish at home and prayed in a non-American language, the son of parents who never learned to speak English without an annoying accent and never adapted to American life, the man who found the requirements of Jewish religion too burdensome

for someone aiming to succeed in America—this Sammy wanted, when he grew up, to become a true American. And he succeeded more than anyone could imagine. Little Sammy grew up and turned into that force we call "an American who happened to be born Jewish."

All of his actions are guided by a sense of self-doubt. Doubts gnaw at him: does the environment understand what a good lad he is? He tries with all his might to become "his own person," fearing that others won't love him or at least tolerate his presence. He constantly asserts his equality with everyone else but looks around to see if there are any anti-Semites nearby. Not only did he part ways with the Jewish beard and Jewish manner of dressing long ago, but he also began to shed the constraints of his religion altogether. Who will accept him into the "new world" if he hasn't yet rid himself of the vestiges of the "old world"? The son of a Jewish immigrant in America feared above all looking too Jewish in life. The fighters against "Jewish fanaticism" set out to hide their Jewishness with true fanaticism.

"The American who happened to be born Jewish" gradually distanced himself from all the foundations of Jewish life. (And don't believe his claims that "faith is in his heart"; it's not "faith in the heart" that determines the extent to which a Jew fulfills his mission in this world but his observance of the specific commandments of our religion.) He replaced the synagogue, the abode of the Divine Presence, with a polished "Jewish community center." By renouncing faith, traditions, and customs of his ancestors, he gradually transformed from a Jewish Jacob into an American Esau, trading his birthright for a pottage of well-ordered American life.

The hatred of an anti-Semite towards a Jew often manifests in the desire to humiliate, trample, and distort the very soul of the Jew, to instill in him a sense of his own inadequacy, and to make him regard himself as a second-class human being. In the case of American Jews, anti-Semites often succeed in achieving this goal all too frequently.

All too often, the Americanized Sammy believes the anti-Semites... All too often, he aids his own haters, ashamed of himself and his people, trying to escape from his Jewishness. Those who changed their "too Jewish" surnames and gave their children Christian-sounding names; those who cringe at the sight of a bearded Hasid and make "amendments"

to Jewish religion so that it doesn't differ too much from what is "accepted in America"; those who refuse to fight for their rights and reject the idea of Jewish self-defense; finally, those who simply run away from their Jewishness—be it through baptism, severing all ties with their people, or serving revolutionary internationalism—all these Jews assist the anti-Semites. They have all, definitively rejecting the concept of national dignity and pride in their people, raised the flag of assimilationism high and embraced a sense of self-loathing.

In an attempt to outsmart himself, Sammy turned his back on Jewish history. But this required the American Jew, who kept pace with the times and thought analytically, to create his own myths. These myths were meant to provide the American Jew with inner peace by convincing him that anti-Semitism isn't all that frightening. However, these myths remained just that—myths. The son of a Jewish immigrant sincerely believes in the idea of the "American melting pot"—a new, unprecedented society that will erase all differences between people. From this idea, he fashioned for himself a magnificent myth that became the symbol of his faith. In this "melting" society, a Jew will no longer be any different from other people and will no longer be the target of persecution. Terrified of new persecutions and weary of two thousand years of persecution, the American Jew yearns to leap into the "melting pot," to merge with others, and to dissolve...

Dissolve! This motto became the new symbol of faith. Dissolve! It was a call to an honorable and majestic assimilation without the degrading ritual that accompanied the escape from Judaism in Europe—conversion to Christianity. Dissolve! Could there be a better motto for those who saw the purpose of their existence in living well and stylishly in the world?! "Dissolve" means erasing all differences. "Dissolve!"—that's what life meant for the mad "American who happened to be born Jewish."

He reworked the eternal symbol of faith of the Jewish people in his own way: "Hear, O Israel: America is our God! America is His country!"

In the "melting pot," everyone is boiled together. In this pot, all fears, tears, bitter memories will be ground and disappear. There it is—the light at the end of the long tunnel of exile, here it is—the path to nirvana. Dissolve! Finally, a way has been found to end Judeophobia—dissolve! Sammy believes in Enlightenment. Enlightenment is the key to freedom,

security, and confidence in tomorrow. He firmly believes that as soon as the rays of Enlightenment illuminate the human brain, a new era will dawn. Isn't it clear that an enlightened person cannot be an anti-Semite? Sammy is absolutely certain that hatred, persecution, pogroms, and slaughter are products of ignorance, and as soon as the muses record a kiss on the forehead of a Neanderthal, a bright era of universal love, harmony, and quiet joy will replace savagery and intolerance. Enlightenment is the way to eradicate anti-Semitism. And for that, you need to dissolve!

Sammy also believes in Liberalism. Only dark, backward people fail to understand that the cause of anti-Semitism is poverty and the lack of hope for a better life among the oppressed. And of course, if we help the downtrodden of this world improve their material well-being and achieve full equality, they will walk hand in hand with us toward a brighter future. Therefore, the Jew, burning with passion to establish justice throughout the world, fervently joined the ranks of social reformers. Equality for the disadvantaged classes and oppressed nations will eliminate the very possibility of oppressing Jews. That's what the American Jew believed. Liberalism—this will put an end to Judeophobia! And for that, you need to be equal with everyone and—dissolve!

And, of course, Sammy believes in Equality. Oh, Equality! All men are created equal, and there should be no differences between them. Is there a better way for a Jew to become a full-fledged member of society than to become like everyone else, equal among equals? Can anti-Semitism exist in a society where any differences between people are erased? Equality—this is the way to fight anti-Semitism! And for that, you need to destroy everything that sets a Jew apart from a non-Jew—dissolve!

Sammy believes in Democracy. Isn't it clear that the source of all our woes was tyranny? And that ordinary people, the "broad masses," are consumed by a mystical passion to live in truth? Just give them the right to vote, give them the opportunity to influence events, and they will reject hatred, lies, injustice, and establish the rule of Truth. The pledge of a bright future is free, democratic elections. Free elections and Democracy—this is what will put an end to anti-Semitism! And for that, you need to merge with the demos—to dissolve!

Sammy believes in Secularism. The Jew, who was once a symbol and embodiment of spirituality, has now become a champion of

Secularism. The Jew, who once survived thanks to faith in the Almighty and His laws, has now become a fanatical adherent of the "great American idea" of separating religion from the state. True, when it comes to setting up a municipal budget for a Christmas tree, Sammy's secular vigilance sharply declines. But if Jewish religious institutions seek financial assistance from the U.S. government, Sammy cannot abide it. After all, religion divides people, and it hinders dissolving. Sammy dedicates all his efforts to the protection and support of public state schools because they serve the cause of successful assimilation. Jewish religious educational institutions help Jewish teenagers remain Jews, and they have no greater enemy than the emancipated American Jew. The influence of religion should be neutralized, and Secularism will prevail, no matter what the religious say. Secularism—this is what will help us get rid of anti-Semitism and—dissolve!

Sammy believes in Materialism. If everyone has the opportunity to eat and drink freely, drive their own car, and spend their free time in complete stupefaction in front of their own television, then competition, envy, and—anti-Semitism will disappear on their own. Sammy has rid himself of the outdated notion that humans have a spiritual foundation. Instead, the idea is cultivated that humans are merely advanced animals. Satisfy their needs, and they will be content. Non-Jews hated us because they lived in poverty, but with general prosperity, everything will be fine. The denizens of resorts in Miami and the Catskills believed that creating circuses and cheap cafeterias was a panacea for all ills. In their opinion, this was the way to eliminate anti-Semitism. And for that, one must dissolve into the satiated crowd!

And Sammy also believes in Love. If people love each other, there will be no room in their hearts for hatred and anti-Semitism. Let's love everyone and together strive for lofty ideals! How sublime it is to participate in a civil rights march! And Sammy successfully fought for the civil rights of African Americans in America, for Republican Spain, and for the rights of the oppressed and downtrodden in every corner of the world—in the name of Love triumphing throughout the Universe and so that all the people of the Earth, even Jews, could enjoy its fruits. He opened wide the doors of synagogues so that Christians could see for themselves how wrong everything they had heard about Jews was. Look, he proudly declared, we don't use Christian blood for Passover! We love

you very much! Perhaps you'll love us a little too? And Sammy began organizing "joint worship services" with Christian priests... Anti-Semitism will disappear thanks to love. And for that, one must dissolve.

Sammy also believes in "educational work," striving with all his might to achieve "tolerance" and "mutual understanding." His numerous organizations literally inundated non-Jewish neighbors with profound literature, proving that Jews don't have tails and horns. The "American who happened to be born a Jew" appealed not to the heavens but to his non-Jewish neighbors, hoping to successfully assimilate among them.

But perhaps above all, Sammy's unwavering belief in Respectability towers over everything. A Jew should not say or do anything that might displease those around him and ignite anti-Semitic feelings. One careless word can undo all their efforts. One should not stand out or do something that might seem unpleasant to the average American. And it's not so much about what we say, but how we say it. Of course, Jews have the same rights as all other citizens, but still, one should not forget... And in order to appear respectable, one must dissolve.

Many of those "Americans who happened to be born Jews" also believed in Internationalism and dreamt of eliminating all national and religious prejudices. Can one talk about anti-Semitism if the very concept of "Jew" disappears? Any national symbols, emblems, and flags must be abolished. Sammy rejected Zionism and "Hatikvah." He replaced them with the "Internationale" and the red flag, distancing himself from his fellow Jews and trying to embrace the world proletariat. This was his way to rid himself of anti-Semitism. This was his path to dissolution.

And all of this was done in the name of finally putting an end to anti-Semitism.

This is the "Torah" that the Moses of our establishment bestowed upon the children of Israel in America. This is what became the symbol of faith for the American Jew. It was not difficult to predict what results all of this would lead to.

The principles of the "leaders" of American Jewry can be formulated as follows: one must smooth out sharp edges wherever possible, soften the rigid Jewish tradition, moderate the excessive loyalty of Jews to their

people, their pride in their religion, their funny nationalism. In place of all this, they wanted to establish their principle: assimilation.

Assimilation means erasing all differences between Jews and non-Jews. Jewish tradition teaches us the opposite: we must be Jews at all times and everywhere, demonstrating our love for our fellow Jews. And it is precisely this approach that allows us to live in peace with our neighbors. However, when Jews start fighting under foreign banners - for social progress, equality, liberalism, and so on - their connection with their own people weakens. Desiring to become "citizens of the world," they gradually stop feeling like Jews.

These people wanted to prove that Jews are no different from others. They succeeded in convincing themselves of this. The feeling of Jewish pride becomes unnecessary, and Jewish nationalism is a direct obstacle to establishing love and brotherhood. That's what our leaders taught us. It is impossible to preserve Ahavat Israel (love for Israel) when guided by the principle of assimilation. Of course, it could not be expected from these people that they would carry the sense of national pride through integration, universal brotherhood, and equality, and the desire to fight for a Christmas tree. In their hearts, there is no room for compassion for Jews. After all, liberalism, equality, and secularism make people equal, so why should we have any special feelings towards Jews? When a Jew strives to become a citizen of the world and a humanist, there is no need for them to deal with specific Jewish issues. Of course, Soviet Jews are in a difficult situation, but human rights are also violated in Ethiopia. Yes, Jews in the poor neighborhoods of American cities suffer from crime, but don't others suffer as well?

Why have we lost the desire to help our Jewish brothers? Why do we not protest when they are oppressed? The answer is clear: when we break away from Jewish tradition, feelings of indifference and apathy towards Jewish problems in general settle in our hearts. Who killed Ahavat Israel, the elevated feeling of love for our brothers and sisters? We did it ourselves. We and our leaders who wanted to avoid anti-Semitism by assimilating among non-Jews.

There is another reason as well. Those who care too much about their own well-being inevitably weaken the bonds of Ahavat Israel. We pay too much attention to our narrow problems and become less and less



capable of feeling compassion for others. This does not mean that we don't think about our brothers at all. But it means that we evaluate every event from the perspective of how it will affect us personally, rather than the entire people. When deciding on a certain action, we first protect ourselves from any danger, and if that's not possible, we do nothing. After all, being a prudent person, I must consider how a particular action will affect my business. I must take into account the possible reactions of relatives and loved ones. And most importantly – what will people say?

Among all the myths, the most beloved and cherished is Respectability. If a Jew behaves respectably, then anti-Semitism will not touch him. Of all the American golden calves, Respectability was worshipped most passionately. The entire train of thought is based solely on this: what will the gentiles say? How often can we not help Jews because it is "unacceptable," "not Jewish," or "risky"! How often do we sit idly by because our actions may not be to "their" liking? How will "they" react to our actions? Sensitivity to what others will say or think paralyzes our will and prevents us from doing what we are obligated to do.

My grandfather, may his memory be blessed, was a scholar, a devout man, and beloved and respected by all. He lived in the Land of Israel in the city of Safed. The Almighty endowed him with the highest moral qualities. In addition, my grandfather could have become a wealthy man if he hadn't made one mistake. But my grandfather was one of those who were very concerned about the opinion of others. "Ma yomru ha'briyot?" ("What will people say?") was his main life rule, and it cost him dearly.

In those distant years, at the beginning of this century, the Land of Israel was ruled by the Turks. There were about 50,000 Jews in the entire country, mainly living in Jerusalem, Safed, Hebron, and Tiberias. They were by no means wealthy; their main means of livelihood was "halukah," money collected by Eastern European Jews for their brethren in the Holy Land. Almost all of these fifty thousand Jews were religious people. Non-religious Jews were a handful: recently arrived young intellectuals who called themselves Zionists and desired to drain the malaria swamps.

In Safed, the ancient city of Kabbalists, where rabbis Isaac Luria and Joseph Caro once lived, there were about 12,000 Jews living a humble material existence but illuminating the entire Land of Israel with their holiness and intense spiritual life. My grandfather was an exception

among the Jews of Safed—he was a businessman. But like everyone else, he spent long hours in prayers and the study of sacred texts. He was a regular at the Tzanz Synagogue, built by the Hasidic Rebbe of Tzanz (today this Polish town is called Nowy Sącz). Various topics were discussed in the synagogue, including politics, religion, God, and anything else. And, of course, the constant topic of conversation was the affairs and actions of the city's residents. Perhaps the fear of sharp tongues of neighbors made my grandfather think twice before taking any action—what would people say?

One fine morning, my grandfather went on a business trip. He returned only for the afternoon prayer, "Mincha." Curious minds made great efforts to find out where he had been and what he had been doing. All that remained for him was to wait for the verdict...

He had traveled to a small Arab village located by the sea, far from Jewish settlements. There, he had purchased a piece of land. Upon hearing about this, the "experts" started shouting, "You've gone mad, Reb Nachman! Can a Jew spend money on such a ridiculous thing? You've been swindled; nothing will grow on this land!" My grandfather was an experienced businessman who understood the value of that coastal plot of land, but the gossip got to him. "People said" that he had acted foolishly, people ridiculed him, and without much thought, he canceled the deal.

Having seen both wealthy and poor people in my life, I understand that, as a rule, life is better for the wealthy. My grandfather died in poverty because the Haifa Port was eventually built on that land by the sea.

What were the consequences of my grandfather attaching too much importance to "public opinion"? Thank God, our family did not starve. But what will happen if the Jewish people, especially its leaders, do nothing but listen to "what people will say"? The result could be a catastrophe.

Why do we remain silent? Why do our organizations condemn those who organize Jewish self-defense? Why did the same organizations, bogged down in petty political disputes, do nothing when millions of Jews perished in Auschwitz?

Answering these questions, we cannot help but blush with shame and disgrace.

Jewish leaders did not want us to take to the streets, fearing that too noisy a campaign in support of Soviet Jews would harm their prestige in the eyes of non-Jews. "They" could become anti-Semites, and the situation of American Jewry would worsen. We didn't even want to think about such a possibility. We trembled at just the thought. We locked our mouths and hearts. Meanwhile, our brethren were being killed in Auschwitz.

The same thing that prevented us from fulfilling our duty thirty years ago continues to hinder us today. The Jewish establishment is primarily concerned with ensuring that too loud a campaign in support of Soviet Jews does not damage its reputation in the eyes of non-Jews.

Should we be surprised by the outraged cries about "Jewish terrorism" and "irresponsible behavior"? The same individuals who are making these cries now also hysterically accused Jewish "hooligans" and "terrorists" twenty-five years ago. Back then, the fighters of Jewish underground organizations in Eretz-Israel—Etzel and Lehi—were labeled as "bandits." Jewish history presents us with one lesson after another, yet we stubbornly continue to repeat yesterday's mistakes.

Can anyone truly believe that the extraordinary caution, even timidity, of our leaders is solely driven by their concern not to harm Soviet Jews? Is their appeal to the U.S. president to curb the harmful activities of "bad" Jews truly motivated by their touching love for the Jews of the USSR? If they are genuinely filled with such deep love for Soviet Jews, why did they not organize a single demonstration in their support from 1917 to 1969? If they truly lost sleep over the fate of Soviet Jewry, why do they so persistently refuse to meet with representatives of those Jewish groups and organizations willing to take decisive actions and discuss possible ways of fighting?

But if it's not concern for Soviet Jewry that drives our leaders, then what is it? It's their lack of self-confidence and a sense of their own inadequacy, giving rise to a painful Diaspora psychology. Most of all, they worry about what "they" will say.

If we hear the timid cries of "leaders" decrying Jewish patrols protecting the elderly and women in impoverished neighborhoods, and young Jews learning self-defense, and if we hear their cries about the unacceptability of "hooliganism," we must remember that they cry out of

fear. They fear losing their "status in society," their "respectability." We must remember that every step taken by leaders of the Jewish establishment is taken with an eye toward "them"—what will people say?

But if it's not concern for Soviet Jewry that drives our leaders, then what is it? It's their lack of self-confidence and a sense of their own inadequacy, giving rise to a painful Diaspora psychology. Most of all, they worry about what "they" will say.

To chain themselves to the gates of the White House, demanding that the U.S. government take measures to save Jews from gas chambers? To stage a sit-in protesting the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union? To teach young Jews self-defense techniques so they are not afraid to walk the streets? To organize protection for the elderly from robberies and thugs? No, none of these actions are suitable for a respectable Jew. After all, it might not sit well with their non-Jewish neighbors!

By caring for others, we fail to hear the calls for help from our brethren. Like the biblical Cain, with an offended voice, we ask, "Am I my brother's keeper?" And like Cain, we condemn ourselves to eternal shame if we respond to the question from the Almighty, "Where is your brother?" in this way. Moreover, we condemn ourselves to destruction. Spiritual degeneration and degradation will inevitably lead to a physical catastrophe. By maiming and killing our Jewish soul, trying to sever ties with our people, we push ourselves into the abyss. We won't be able to escape the wrath of Heaven if we continue to behave so unworthily.

Many centuries ago, in the capital of the great Persian Empire, a Jewish girl named Esther became queen. In those days, all the Jews of Persia faced physical annihilation, as a decision had been made to "kill and annihilate" all the Jewish subjects of the vast empire. Who else could the Jews turn to for help but Queen Esther, one of their own? They asked her to approach the king and try to overturn the cruel decree. But... Esther hesitated to fulfill their request because entering the king's presence without a special summons carried the penalty of death. That's when Mordecai said words that continue to resonate today: "Do not think that you will escape in the king's palace any more than all the other Jews. For if you keep silent at this time, relief and deliverance will rise for the Jews

from another place, but you and your father's house will perish. And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?"

Even when our hearts tell us what to do, we still timidly look to our neighbors—what will "they" say? Respectability hinders us from fulfilling our duty, and that is our misfortune. This respectability is a direct antithesis to Ahavat Yisrael (love of Israel). Jewish morality teaches us to prioritize caring for our brethren above all else. Respectability, on the other hand, is born out of fear of losing a comfortable, secure, and "honorable" position in non-Jewish society. Respectability has already disfigured and killed many Jewish souls. We must bury it before it buries us.

## ANTISEMITES

So, the fear of antisemitism, self-doubt, and a sense of inadequacy have given rise to an entire worldview. Based on these principles, the American-Jewish establishment has built its entire activity. Leaders of American Jewry assured us that even though we are in exile, in the Diaspora, we have nothing to fear. Of course, as long as we modernize, "repair" our religion a bit, don't emphasize our Jewishness too much, and blend in a little with the crowd. Then everything will be fine.

However, despite these assurances from our leaders, antisemites in America have not disappeared. Back then, we were told not to pay attention to these people. They are fanatics, and no matter how we respond to their accusations, we won't be able to silence them. Furthermore, by reacting to antisemitic excesses, we only exacerbate the situation. Our leaders taught us not to pay attention to these "insignificant" incidents. We consciously downplayed the significance of "minor" incidents. We ignored the activities of "fanatical groups, which, of course, do not represent the sentiments of the broader American public." Don't respond to them; it's better that way, our leaders taught us. A bright future awaits, and in the American "melting pot," everything will mix together perfectly, and soon the last remnants of antisemitism will disappear. And we believed.

Jews believed that everything would be fine because they wanted to believe. They believed that antisemitism would vanish because it was so pleasant to believe in it!

It seemed that the American Jew had achieved everything he had aspired to. He had reached the heights: his suburban house was surrounded by picturesque lawns, his wife radiated happiness in her fashionable attire. Moreover, he hardly felt any anti-Semitism, as the highest echelons of American society were open to him. He played in the wealthiest gambling houses of Las Vegas, sipped expensive cocktails in the most prestigious clubs in Miami... What a wonderful life!

However, all of this was a lie. The golden land of freedom and equality turned out to be not as golden as the American Jew had hoped. The dragon of anti-Semitism lived and thrived in this country as well. The experience of achieving Jewish nirvana in the Diaspora had failed. We saw what we wanted to see. Our leaders assured us that the "melting pot" would do its job. We believed them and found ourselves completely unprepared for the looming problems.

The American Jew, lulled by sweet myths, finds it very difficult to face the truth. Small children love candy — that is understandable and natural. When grown-up adults cannot wean themselves off candy, it becomes dangerous.

Children are inclined to seek what gives them pleasure because their concept of the appropriateness of certain actions is still in its infancy. It is much more pleasant to indulge in illusions than to face the truth. We postpone our visit to the dentist, and the cavity in our tooth only grows larger. This is exactly how the American Jew behaves.

As we grow up, we begin to understand the danger of such thinking. However, as adults, we do not want to part with the infantile way of thinking, just as a growing child does not want to part with their beloved teddy bear. Unpleasant thoughts are deferred to tomorrow and the day after, without realizing that one of these "tomorrows" or "day afters" could be disastrous.

Such a way of thinking is common to humans in general, but it is particularly characteristic of Jews. Perpetually persecuted and pursued, they do not want to dwell on unpleasant matters. Centuries of persecution have instilled in them a need to smooth over reality, to make reality conform to their wishes. They believe in the magical power of politics. By avoiding the resolution of painful problems, we create an illusion of well-being, hiding behind the illusory fence of security supposedly provided by

non-Jews. Meanwhile, the danger grows in direct proportion to our unwillingness to notice it. With all our might, we convince ourselves that the danger will pass on its own, without any action on our part. And we close our eyes and plug our ears...

There is nothing new in this. Adolf Hitler, at one point, published a book in which he detailed his plan to eradicate all human values. But we refused to face the truth, our illusions grew as quickly as his powers, and our inaction, our intellectual paralysis, progressed as rapidly as our illusions. The inhabitants of the Warsaw Ghetto for many months refused to believe that their loved ones were being taken not to work, but to their deaths. Today, we do not want to remember that.

The great leader of the Zionist movement, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, recalled his conversation with Dr. Max Nordau, one of the first associates of Theodor Herzl. Jabotinsky spoke about how Jews needed to take immediate steps to reclaim their ancestral homeland and return to that land themselves. He expressed surprise that Jews did not understand this obvious fact. The gray-haired Nordau, with many years of experience in Zionist work, responded as follows:

"This, young man, is logic; and logic is a Greek art, and Jews cannot tolerate it. A Jew does not judge by reason — he judges by catastrophes. He will not buy an umbrella 'just' because clouds have appeared in the sky; he must first get wet and catch a lung infection — then it's a different matter."

The results of self-deception have always been tragic. Ignoring danger does not make it disappear; on the contrary, it only grows. Problems do not cease to exist because we prefer not to think about them; they only worsen.

Our sages have said, "Who is wise? One who foresees the future." The wise person is not afraid to think about what might happen tomorrow, is ready to seek solutions before problems turn into crises, and is prepared to confront a crisis before it turns into a catastrophe. In our times, such individuals are not only wise but also courageous.

The problem is not only that only a few today can face the truth rather than dwell in blissful dreams. Those with a narrow spirit fiercely oppose those our teachers call wise. To these small-minded individuals, warnings

of danger are nothing more than the ravings of a paranoid. Many centuries ago, the prophet Jeremiah also appeared mad to most of his contemporaries...

If a Jew becomes a victim of his own illusions, that is bad enough. But it is much worse when Jewish leadership reinforces these illusions, attempting to silence the voices of reason. We are still being assured that everything is fine. The Jewish establishment is doing its utmost to keep the average Jew in his blindness, disarming him in the face of looming dangers.

"The Golden Medina," America, today is not as golden as it was yesterday, and yesterday was not as golden as the day before. And it is quite obvious that tomorrow it will be even less golden than today.

Open displays of anti-Semitism that we encountered at every turn twenty-five years ago are less common today. But this did not happen because of our attempts to assimilate and blend into the surrounding society, nor as a result of the triumph of Democracy, Equality, Liberalism, and Secularism. It is not because we have convinced non-Jews of our virtues. The changes occurred for two entirely different reasons.

The horrors that befell our people during the Catastrophe of the Second World War shocked the world and imposed a temporary embargo on open anti-Semitism. Unfortunately, sympathy for Jews only arose when a third of our people perished in gas chambers. The death of six million granted us a brief respite from anti-Semitic outbursts.

The second reason was an unprecedented economic boom that allowed most Americans to enjoy the fruits of a good life. Unemployment virtually disappeared, people classified as "middle class" bought homes, cars, televisions. They reveled in the abundance of material goods like never before. They simply had no time for anti-Semitism.

That is why after the end of the Second World War, anti-Semitism receded: due to a sense of guilt over what had happened in Auschwitz and because of economic prosperity.

However, this by no means signifies the end of anti-Semitism. Numbing the pain does not cure the disease. And before long, the disease will manifest itself again.



Today's America has to address many challenges. The issue of integrated education of white and black schoolchildren is troubling millions of parents. Where white people used to live exclusively, blacks have begun to settle. And not all white people are happy about it. White workers are faced with black competition, and they are far from thrilled. Not a week goes by without reports of disturbances arising from racial hatred. One should not think that if American cities are not currently in flames and more blacks are taking positions in Congress and high-ranking positions in the government, everything is fine and there is nothing to worry about. Any advancement of minorities, any strengthening of their positions in American society, is perceived by the "real American" as a violation of his own rights and an affront to his dignity. And when it comes to the struggle for material well-being, the issue of race relations will once again become acute.

And who will be blamed for all the troubles? Of course, the Jews. And then our leaders will remember how much effort and resources they put into the fight for the civil rights of blacks. We will all have to reap the harvest of our ideas about Liberalism and Equality.

None of the white minorities intended to lose their ethnic identity: Italians, Poles, Irish, Germans, Lithuanians, and even the English had no desire to dissolve into the American "melting pot" and lead the fight for total equality, peace, and progress. Only the Jews dreamed of this. And they still struggle to understand where they went wrong, where they deviated from the strictest adherence to the principle of ultimate justice.

Hitler's regime replaced the Weimar Republic, in part because the Germans became convinced that there was an "internal enemy" responsible for Germany's defeat in the war. This "internal enemy" was, of course, the Jews – many of the leaders of pacifist movements were Jews. No one remembered the names of German pacifists, but Jewish names of peace advocates were added to the blacklists of Germany's enemies.

Is there any doubt that when Americans start looking for a scapegoat, it will be the Jews? There are too many Jewish names on the lists of leaders of radical leftist movements. And what better reason for discussions about the "Jewish threat"? The activities of these radical leftists irritate many Americans who love their country, are satisfied with

how it is organized, and have no interest in socialism and world revolution. And since a noticeable portion of these detestable fighters for a "bright future" bears typically Jewish names, many Americans forget that there are non-Jews among the leftists. They only remember the Jews.

How many Jewish graves have been dug by these Jewish revolutionaries who go to great lengths to prove that they have severed all ties with their people? These Jewish leftists are the worst of anti-Semites. They not only have no pity for themselves – they want to make their fellow Jews swim in blood, from whom they disassociate themselves as much as possible.

A Jew who adheres to the communist faith is one of the most sworn enemies of the Jewish people, as Marxist-Leninist doctrine denies the very existence of our people. Our national existence undermines the foundations of faith for those who worship proletarian internationalism. Lenin once declared that "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, even the most just, honest, refined, and civilized nationalism," and that "instead of all forms of nationalism, Marxism proposes internationalism." In other words, Jews as a nation must disappear. The Marxist attitude toward religion as the "opium of the people" makes it an enemy of our religion. Marxists explicitly and openly state that, in the event of their doctrine's victory, the Jewish people must disappear.

This position is reflected in the sharply negative attitude of the left towards Israel. Those who crave the overthrow of the American government and the victory of communists in Vietnam also yearn for the victory of Arabs in the Middle East, who seek to destroy the Jewish state supported by "imperialist" America. The leftists support the most extremist Arab terrorist groups, claiming that Israel is a racist, fascist, expansionist state, and comparing it to Rhodesia and South Africa.

Hatred of Zionism and Israel morphs into hatred of Jews in general because most American Jews support Israel and believe that its existence must be assured at all costs. So-called "anti-Zionists" inevitably turn into open anti-Semites.

American leftists, and leftists in general, are active propagators of virulent anti-Semitism, eagerly emphasizing the Jewish origin of this or that capitalist, delighting in discussions about Jewish merchants exploiting the miserable inhabitants of African-American ghettos and the money

stolen by them to create Israel. And the fact that there are Jewish names among these leftists is, unfortunately, not surprising. The worst anti-Semites have always been Jewish renegades. Other anti-Semites rarely come up with the inventions of these yesterday's Jews. The bitter irony of fate is that leftist movements – these most bitter enemies of our people – cannot do without the active, sometimes decisive assistance of Jewish renegades.

The left is instilling fear throughout America. They cry about an economic crisis that will lead to the rise of fascists. However, it is the left, along with the economic crisis, that could turn America into a fascist state. Because already today, in most American cities, there are pro-Nazi groups quietly cultivating hatred within themselves. They have absorbed all the elements of totalitarianism and are just waiting for their moment to come. These neo-Nazis are united by hatred. They hate Black people, all non-Americans, leftists who are "destroying the Republic." But above all, they hate Jews. Jews are at the center of all their plans. All problems are blamed on Jews; Jews are said to be destroying the American way of life. "Look at the Jewish names among the leftists!" these neo-Nazis shout. All of America's racial problems are caused by the dark deeds of Jews; radical leftist movements are led by Jews, and Jews are responsible for all of America's failures. Jews must be destroyed, or they will destroy America.

Some of the neo-Nazis openly talk about gas chambers. They are trying to create their own military units, their own stormtrooper squads. Every day, they convince their fellow citizens that it's time to take up arms. There are dozens of such organizations. They have hundreds of publications that daily broadcast to millions of readers about the threat posed by Jews. And many among these millions are willing to take seriously what used to seem like madness in times of crisis. The devil is born among the confused and frightened, and tyranny arises among those who lack confidence in tomorrow.

I know that some will object: "Ignore them; they're just a handful of extremists! How many are there? What can they do? We're not paranoid..." And this argument convinces many, even though the reality is different. We know that small, numerically insignificant groups have often come to dominate the majority. In Russia, for example, the Bolsheviks made up a very small part of the population, but that didn't stop them from

seizing power in the country. The Nazi Party in Germany was also quite small, but that didn't prevent them from garnering 40% of the votes in elections when the crucial moment came.

Extremists do not need the support of the majority of the population. What they need is a well-organized, disciplined, and committed group of people. The next step is to take advantage of the appropriate political, social, and economic situation, as well as the apathy of the majority of the population—future victims who prefer not to notice the looming danger—and seize power.

Why do many people believe that the growth of anti-Semitism and the strengthening of neo-Nazi groups in the United States are impossible? Why are they so convinced that those who warn of this danger are paranoid? Why do they refuse to understand that people who today wear Nazi emblems and openly declare their allegiance to Hitler's ideas are just the tip of a massive iceberg?

Tens of millions of Americans, not being members of neo-Nazi organizations, are strongly influenced by neo-Nazi propaganda, sympathize with neo-Nazis, and are ready to help them when the opportunity arises. The seeds of hatred sown by Nazi literature can take root especially successfully in the hearts of people facing life's hardships. Under certain conditions, the harvest can exceed all expectations.

Political, ideological, and economic changes can happen very quickly. Just remember how events unfolded in Germany in the 1930s.

There are also examples from American history. In our recent memory is the case of Leo Frank, a young Jew from Atlanta accused of the murder of a non-Jewish girl. The trial of Leo Frank, conducted under the banner of fighting "Jewish debauchery," was decidedly anti-Semitic.

In our recent memory is also the anti-Semitic propaganda of Henry Ford, which largely echoed the ideas of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the theory of the machinations of the "international Jew."

We have not forgotten the tremendous growth of the fascist movement in America in the 1930s when Christian priest Charles Coughlin, in his weekly radio broadcasts, appealed to tens of millions of Americans to be patriots and hate Jews.

We have not forgotten the leaders of pro-Nazi organizations such as Charles Lindbergh, Lawrence Dennis, James Banahan, Joe McWilliams, and others. We remember that their demagogic populist slogans found resonance in the hearts of many Americans who had lost their jobs during the economic crisis and were struggling to make ends meet. All these fascist leaders called for using force to overthrow the yoke of Jewish exploiters and were not averse to discussing the needs of the working class and social justice.

We must not forget the lessons of this recent past. The horrors of World War II and the years of economic prosperity that followed sobered up many of those who in the 1930s, having lost their jobs, were ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Nazis. These people do not pose a threat as long as their bellies are full, and nothing suggests that they might not have a hearty meal tomorrow. But if circumstances change, these people will once again be ready to tear Jews apart with their own hands as the "enemies" and "exploiters."

Our enemies understand this much better than we do. As far back as 1963, the current leader of the American Nazi Party, George Lincoln Rockwell, wrote: "Our battle is not set for the day when every white American has two cars and lives in luxury. Our hour will come when economic difficulties cause panic and fear of tomorrow, when the average American no longer wants to provide economic assistance to 'developing countries.' When Americans have nothing left, they will have nothing to lose."

Our enemies, both on the left and among the neo-Nazis, are patiently waiting for their moment. While new upheavals have not yet engulfed America, we must do everything in our power to prevent them from realizing their ideas. Not too long ago, we witnessed gang attacks by militant African Americans on Jewish students, on the owners of "Jewish stores," on "ordinary Jews" in the streets of American cities. So, what was the reaction of the Jewish establishment? Our leaders remained unperturbed. Their unwillingness to lift a finger to defend their fellow Jews was justified in the following manner: "These Jews were attacked not because they are Jews... The facts are not as terrible as they are made out to be... A sharp, retaliatory reaction will only worsen the situation... We must remember the roots of the hatred of African Americans towards Jews... Let's not be racists..."

The Jewish liberal is horrified not by the fact that African Americans are killing Jews but by the fear of being labeled a racist himself...

In reality, African Americans are no better or worse than whites. If someone behaves like a Nazi, they should be treated as a Nazi, regardless of whether they wear a black shirt or have black skin. The masochistic fawning of Jewish liberals before African American intellectuals only encourages further attacks by African Americans on Jews.

But who is the real racist? Perhaps, it's the Jew who refuses to come to the aid of his fellow Jews, showing touching "understanding" of the problems of the oppressed African American minority? And, of course, the racist is not the person who values the freedom of all people and is willing to defend his own people if someone, regardless of their skin color, raises a hand against them.

Due to the fear of being labeled as racists, Jewish leaders close their eyes, trying not to notice obvious things. The Nazi Rockwell, apparently unafraid of accusations of racism, says that anti-Semitic sentiments among African Americans will intensify: "In the near future, millions of African Americans will become true anti-Semites. These African Americans occupy the lower rungs of our economic ladder, and they have nothing to lose. They only need to realize who exactly is exploiting them and start fighting against Jews. The anti-Jewish movement among African Americans is already becoming a serious threat to Jewish manipulations."

The irony of fate is that Rockwell, seeing African Americans as "savages" and "monkeys," is ready to sympathize with them if they direct their anger against Jews. And both communists and Nazis appeal to the masses, to the "little man," to the poor and desperate. And these people support communism and Nazism not for ideological reasons but purely for their own personal interests.

The bitterest enemies can unite to deal with a common enemy. This will not prevent them from turning on each other later. But for now... For now, impoverished whites are quite willing to unite with African Americans to jointly tear apart the eternal scapegoat, the Jew.

All the signs of such an alliance are apparent. It seems that the future killers are just waiting for a leader to emerge who will unite them and lead

them to victory in the cause of totalitarianism. No one knows when the turn for the worse will come. All that is known is that there are many people talking about gas chambers, Jewish traitors, and the impending reckoning with them. I have seen with my own eyes the savage faces of New York policemen shouting, "You got too little from Hitler!" and "Here's your way to the gas chambers!" In the times of Hitler, the German people were not in a state of mass psychosis, and gas chambers can be built not only in Europe.

What happened to our people during World War II can happen again today. The seeds of a new Catastrophe have already been sown. Will they sprout in America? I don't know. I only know that those who claimed that a Catastrophe could not happen were either fools or blind. Or perhaps both. I know that people who seek an outlet for their hatred see the Jew as the main enemy. I know that the Jew will be the first victim in any economic and social upheaval. I know that twenty-five years after Auschwitz, anti-Semitism no longer seems as shameful as it did immediately after the war.

And I know that there was a country where Jews felt perfectly at home. It was called Germany. Could anyone have guessed that in this almost ideal country, a Catastrophe would be born? Jews lived there more comfortably than they do in America today. In the Weimar Republic, a Jew held the post of foreign minister. Jews owned newspapers and department stores, among them were highly respected doctors, lawyers, and university professors. Their assimilation was proceeding as happily as in many countries today. It just couldn't happen in such a prosperous country ("it's not like Tsarist Russia!"). But it did happen. And when it began to happen, when the influence of the Nazis started to grow not by days but by hours, the leaders of Jewish organizations simply asked, jokingly, "So, how many followers does this lunatic have? How many members does this Hitler's party have?" And when he already had enough followers, Jewish leaders confidently stated, "He will never be able to gain the trust of the majority of the German people. A respectable citizen won't follow him." And when this happened as well, the same leaders found a new explanation: "He, of course, doesn't mean German Jews. He means the 'Ostjuden,' the Eastern European Jews, who really differ from us, respectable citizens, and not for the better..."

But in the end, the Germans voted for Hitler, and his party became the largest in Germany through entirely democratic means. Germans' own stomach interests turned out to be more important to them than principles of morality and love for their Jewish fellow citizens. And Hitler embarked on the destruction of Jews—not only Eastern European Jews but all, even respected professors at German universities.

We must finally understand one truth. As long as people live in contentment, they are occupied with building their own golden calf, and they are less concerned about everything else. But no matter how well off they are, they will never become like us. They will still dislike Jews for being too smart, too wealthy, too aggressive, and too ardent in their support for Israel. For centuries, we have searched for the cause of this antipathy toward us, hoping to find a cure for anti-Semitism. It's time to remember the words of Rabbi Shimon bar Yochai, spoken almost two thousand years ago: "Esau hates Jacob—so the world is structured."

America is not an exception to this rule; Jews are not liked in America either. The best evidence of this can be seen in the luxurious banquets organized by Jewish organizations to demonstrate the fraternal feelings of Jewish establishment leaders towards non-Jews. Those who hate Jews do not attend these banquets or meet with Jewish patricians. They sit in their bars and modest apartments and talk about how all Jews are communists and how Jews have taken control of all the wealth in America. It is in such bars and humble apartments that the force that overturns all contemporary notions is always born. It is there that the fate of American Jewry is determined.

Today, Jews are hated as much as ever. Sammy did not succeed in realizing his dreams. Today, he is no more confident in himself than yesterday when he lived in the poverty-stricken neighborhoods of New York. He did not achieve peace and security. The myth remained a myth. His desire to assimilate and blend in did not solve any problems—neither social, economic, nor racial. His non-Jewish fellow citizens are guided not by principles of liberalism, equality, and democracy but by their own interests. And the American Jew must internalize this truth if he wants to survive.

But this is just one problem. After decades of building a new Jewish society on American soil, we are facing yet another problem today—one



that may be even more serious. This problem is the distancing of young people from Judaism.

## YOUTH DEPARTURE FROM JUDAISM

As they secured their place in the American economic paradise, climbing to the summit of material prosperity, the American Jew lost their children. The very existence of the Jewish people is threatened when tens and hundreds of thousands of Jews are completely disconnected from their Jewish heritage.

Today, the American Jew, who eagerly pursued economic well-being, has decided to look back and see where their son is. They call out to their son by name, but he doesn't turn around. He is not interested in all the things his father fought for with sweat and toil. He is not interested in building a comfortable nest and achieving economic success.

But there's something worse. Sammy did everything he could to "modernize" and "adjust" Judaism, treating Jewish religion as a toy, but he didn't want his son to sever all ties with the Jewish people. Sammy discarded many "outdated" concepts and rituals as unnecessary. His son went even further.

Sammy didn't want to emphasize his Jewishness too much, but he also didn't want to completely part with it. Sammy didn't want to be too Jewish. His son, on the other hand, doesn't want to be Jewish at all. He sees no point in remaining Jewish; he sees nothing wrong with complete assimilation. And we hear the lamentations of American Jewish parents: "He wants to marry a non-Jewess... We did everything we could for him. Where did we go wrong? Yes, we wanted him to assimilate, but we didn't want him to disappear!"

Their distraught, worried, and bewildered parents struggle to understand their children but often cannot. Why doesn't their son want to go to the synagogue three times a year, like they do, instead preferring to enjoy himself at the Las Vegas casinos? Why is he willing to break his mother's heart by marrying a "shiksa" (non-Jewish woman) and declaring that his home will be no less kosher than the non-kosher home he grew up in? And, oh horror! How dare he say that he won't light candles on the

eve of the Sabbath and that he won't recite the Kaddish on the anniversary of their parents' deaths?

Their son is not just indifferent to his Jewish identity. He not only has no objections to intermarriage and full assimilation; he displays complete indifference to the Holy of Holies of American Jewry, the United Jewish Appeal. He couldn't care less about Israel's problems, but he readily participates in demonstrations supporting so-called "freedom fighters" in Vietnam, Laos, Angola, Mozambique, and who knows where else. Sometimes, bewildered parents with horror discover that their beloved child is carrying a sign that proclaims that organizations like the "Fatah" are nothing more than national liberation movements. In short, their son has gone mad.

The number of parents who have raised such children is terrifyingly large. And the tragedy is not only that these people have lost their children. The tragedy is that an entire generation has been lost to the Jewish people.

Even if there were not a single anti-Semite left in all the countries of the Western world, the Jewish people would still face a terrifying threat today. There are different forms of death: lighter and heavier. Assimilation is a insidious disease that threatens American and all Western Jewry with a slow death.

What the Christian Church, Cossack sabers, and the ovens of Auschwitz could not achieve, assimilation does. There is no greater enemy for the Jewish people today than this dangerous ailment. Either we will overcome it, or it will destroy us.

Respectable American Jewish parents watch in despair as their children reject all their ideals, turning away indifferently from everything they hold dear. When their children smoke marijuana and inject heroin into their veins, parents feverishly try to understand where they went wrong. When their children openly support the thugs of "Fatah," determined to destroy the Jewish state, they try to figure out what went wrong. They do not understand why their children are so distant from everything Jewish, but we do.

When the heroes of Jewish students are members of left-wing revolutionary gangs, we understand why these students are estranged

from all things Jewish. Their history was hidden from these young people, nothing was told to them about Jewish ideals or Jewish heroes. It's no wonder that they are drawn to different ideals and foreign heroes.

These young people eagerly drink from foreign wells, vainly trying to find themselves. But by declaring themselves "just people," "children of humanity," with such zeal, denying any connection to Judaism, they do not understand that they cannot escape from themselves. And perhaps their return to their people will help us cleanse our own souls. Because we understand, we understand very well, what led the youth to such deep alienation. The reason is that in the souls of the parents of these young people, there was emptiness.

The young American Jew is devoid of a sense of national dignity. But is he alone to blame for this? He does not feel the full greatness of Judaism. But is it solely his fault? He is ready to engage in anything except the affairs of his people. Is it really so incomprehensible why this is happening?

It is time for our leaders to leave their offices and conference rooms, where they discuss youth problems, and go out to the streets, schools, and universities to meet with this very youth and try to understand them. To find a solution to the problem, one must first find its cause. If Jewish youth today marches under non-Jewish, and sometimes anti-Jewish banners, then the cause should not be sought in lofty matters, but in ourselves, in our mistakes.

Are we really so upset by the fact that the heroes of modern Jewish youth are named Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Ho Chi Minh? Are we truly saddened that young Jews know nothing about Dov Gruner, Shlomo Ben-Yosef, or Eliyahu Hakim? By the way, have we ourselves heard these names?

Our youth admire rebels of all kinds, not even suspecting that just a few decades ago, there existed and fought for Jewish freedom a militant Jewish national liberation movement. Vietcong and Pathet Lao are known to everyone, but who has heard of Etzel, Lehi, and Agave? Leaders of American Negroes and Asian communists are heroes. But who has heard of Dov Gruner, hanged by the English rulers of Eretz Israel for leading a squad of Jewish fighters who attacked a police station of the colonizers? Who has heard of Shlomo Ben-Yosef, the first Jew hanged by the English

in Eretz Israel for deciding to respond to the murders of Jews by Arab bandits? Who has heard of Eliyahu Hakim, who killed a high-ranking British official who refused to admit Jewish refugees from burning Europe into the country and went to the gallows with his head held high?

Where could our children hear about these heroes? At home, in school, in the synagogue? They only heard there about six million who obediently went to the gas chambers. They were not told about Jewish heroes who fought for their people's freedom in Eretz Israel or about Jewish partisans in Eastern Europe who defended the honor of their people in unequal battles with the Germans. The young generation was only told about Jewish suffering. What they needed was a sense of pride in their people, a sense of strength and self-confidence. But we did not even attempt to instill this feeling in them.

Those who did not have a sense of Jewish pride could, of course, not pass it on to their children. Those who never attached much importance to their Judaism could, of course, not take pride in it. Those who knew nothing about the courage and valor of their forefathers could not, of course, become like them. Those who knew nothing about the heroic past of their people would seek role models among foreign heroes and would hate everything about themselves: their parents, their religion, their rabbis, and their people.

The disconnected young generation is a product of a culture that is devoid of any substance, a hollowed-out culture. Instead of Judaism, young people were presented with a gilded substitute, and it is no wonder that they rejected this forgery. This is the whole tragedy, but paradoxically, it is also the hope. If we can convince a young person that he was raised by a stepmother while his real mother is alive, he will surely want to see her. We are obligated to help him with this.

But first, let's take a look at how the generation of these young people was formed. They were born into families that had already taken their first step to depart from the traditional centuries-old path of the Jewish people, into families that had left the ghetto and poverty one or two generations ago. Through incredible efforts, the parents and grandparents of these young people managed to climb out of poverty and not go bankrupt during the Great Depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s. During the war years, they were able to significantly improve their material well-being, and

many had already left the neighborhoods where their parents used to live. It was a real exodus: from Brownsville, East New York, Flatbush, the Bronx, and other purely Jewish areas, the sons of Israel moved to the suburbs. An ordinary American bought a house because he needed shelter, a place to live. A Jew saw buying a house as an investment and a temporary refuge, a stop on the difficult path to improving his social and material status. The head of the family worked, the mother made plans for ascending to the heights of economic prosperity, and the house became a reflection of how successfully these plans were being implemented. Snobbery increased directly in proportion to the length of the cars and their number. The winter of Jewish poverty receded, and the voice of materialism began to drown out all other voices. Jews settled in prestigious areas, and nothing could stand in the way of their desire to integrate, to merge, to not stand out from others. Oh, how a Jew wanted to become a true Western Man! And he learned to drink whiskey like a gentile, to mount a horse just as elegantly, and to show his teeth just as beautifully when smiling. Centuries-old Jewish dreams were replaced by dreams of Miami Beach, and materialism took root more and more in their hearts.

Of course, the time-worn Orthodox synagogue was simply inconceivable in the new upscale neighborhoods. Reform and Conservative "temples" flourished with grandeur. Indeed, it was much more fun and pleasant to sit next to your wife during the service than with some stiff-bearded fanatic! And it was much more convenient to drive to the synagogue on Saturdays than to trudge there on foot!

"Where did we go wrong?" A good question for those who moved to well-appointed suburbs, leaving their Judaism in Flatbush and the Bronx. A good question for those who raised their children on the ideals of Democracy, Equality, and Respectability.

A good answer to this question was provided by Jonathan Brown, a student at the City College of New York. He said this:

Assimilators "went wrong" when they stopped being Jews and turned into American Jews. They "went wrong" when instead of sitting down at the Sabbath table, they sat down to watch TV. They "went wrong" when they replaced the Sabbath challah with a sandwich and the synagogue with a croquet lawn. They exchanged a great tradition for external comfort,

and all their Judaism consisted of occasionally remembering a few words in Yiddish and nostalgically sighing at the thought of simple Jewish black bread...

And the souls of their children, whose entire Judaism was limited to celebrating their "bar mitzvah" in a Reform "temple," gravitated towards the image of Che Guevara. The children of respectable assimilators left the luxurious villas of their parents to establish hippie communes in the California deserts, to cut sugarcane in communist Cuba, or to publish anarchist journals. Some of these children even ended up in training camps of Arab terrorists.

And now the parents, who wholeheartedly wanted their children to become one hundred percent Americans, ask, "Where did we go wrong?"

It all started with these parents wanting to deceive themselves. It ended with them deceiving their own children.

For these people, Judaism ceased to be a religion, a way of life, a faith. It became a "culture," a "cultural heritage" for them. Modern man should acquaint himself with "culture," and let the rabbis deal with religion...

There is a story about a young American rabbi who was preparing for his first Sabbath sermon before the congregation. Before he began his speech, the president of the congregation advised him not to talk too much about the laws of the Sabbath, about "kashrut," and other outdated Jewish religious practices. When the bewildered young rabbi asked what he should talk about, he received the following answer: "Why do we need Judaism, Rabbi? You'd better talk about Judaism!"

The entire Judaism of American Jewish parents, their entire "Jewish culture," focused on two things: ensuring that their beloved son married a Jewish girl and making sure that they, the happy grandparents, were invited to the main ritual of American-Jewish culture—the "bar mitzvah" of their grandson.

But what about the Jewish education of the children of progressive American Jewish parents? At the age of ten or eleven, a Jewish child is taken by the hand and led to an institution euphemistically called the "Jewish school." Don't think that parents brought their child here so that they could become religious, educated Jews. No, of course not. After all,

they won't start observing the outdated and ridiculous Sabbath laws, long forgotten by their ultra-modern parents! For two or three years, the unfortunate teenager spends a few hours a day, three times a week, trying to decipher the labyrinth of Hebrew hieroglyphs just to make his parents happy with a successful "bar mitzvah" and thus end this torturous procedure. After all, parents sent him to the "Jewish school" exclusively for the sake of the "bar mitzvah" and nothing more!

But in this "Jewish school," the teenager—quite by accident!—learns something remarkable about Jewish religion and Jewish way of life. "An American, accidentally born a Jew," occasionally discovers something of great importance. For example, something as strange and intriguing as "kashrut." Finding out that Jews do not eat pork, the teenager is amazed. It's truly mind-blowing news for a Jew who eats pork every day... And this is how children are—they don't notice nuances, the world of a ten-year-old is divided into black and white. And upon hearing words of Truth from his teacher, the child wants to immediately share this Truth with his parents. He says that Jews can't eat pork because it's the will of the Almighty.

But parents quickly bring the naive child to his senses. After all, one cannot tolerate such absurd statements! "We didn't send you to this school for that, son!"

And the young Jew listens and understands perfectly well that he was indeed sent to the "Jewish school" not to acquaint himself with the faith and customs of his people. He quickly grasps the rules of the game, the main one being not to take everything too seriously. It's not difficult to comply with the request not to take the laws of Jewish religion too seriously. Moreover, such a teenager completely disconnects from Judaism. He becomes cynical, believing in nothing in the world. Not just Jewish ideals – any ideals do not touch his soul. Without realizing it, the young man becomes a worthy successor to his father. With only one difference: Judaism interests him even less. He sees no reason to wholeheartedly support Israel like his father does, and on the other hand, he is quite willing to marry a non-Jewish woman. He has almost no special sentiments left for Judaism.

Some choose a different path, taking their devotion to the "values" of materialism to the extreme, to perversion, drowning themselves in the

satisfaction of their deeply earthly desires. Such a person lives for himself and only for himself; his love for himself can only be described using epic superlatives.

But after savoring all the pleasures of this world and becoming completely satiated, he still doesn't feel satisfied. Unable to find himself, unable to find the meaning of his existence, he falls into depression, from which he tries to escape in one of two ways.

The first involves a person who is completely detached from his roots, feels no pride in the great heritage of his people, and lacks self-respect. He begins to feel ashamed and hate himself. Then the thought of self-destruction arises. Sometimes, all he needs to destroy is himself: through alcohol, drugs, or suicide. But sometimes, he wants to involve others in this process of self-destruction, following the principle: "Let my soul die with the Philistines." And then he finds himself in a society where senseless anarchy and destruction reign, where mystical sects that worship death emerge.

Some choose another path, taking their devotion to the "values" of materialism to the extreme, to perversion, drowning themselves in the satisfaction of their deeply earthly desires. Such a person lives for himself and only for himself; his love for himself can only be described using epic superlatives.

The second path leads this completely emancipated Jew to insane revolutionary-terrorist gangs ready to destroy the entire world when the opportunity arises.

However, not everyone falls into these monstrous extremes. Many seek a more rational way out of the situation. They seek an Ideal, they seek Truth. And they are willing to sacrifice themselves for ideals they have not yet found. Neither at home nor at school were they taught who their heroes are, what Jewish ideals are, and so they search for ideals in the non-Jewish world. "Why did I come, and there was no one? I called, and there was no answer?" These words of the prophet Isaiah reach us from deep antiquity and echo in the souls of young Jews—lost, searching for a path in the darkness.

The serious illness of American Jewry began with a panicked fear of provoking antisemitism. Carefully safeguarding our physical safety, we



stopped protecting our souls. This, in turn, led to our spiritual degradation and the loss of a younger generation. Moreover, the very existence of our national organism is now under threat. It's time to think deeply, it's time to save our souls.

Not only has the younger generation almost completely severed ties with their people, but these ties have also been significantly weakened among the generation of parents. Everything that was presented as moral values on which the American-Jewish home should be built turned out to be a house of cards upon closer examination, making it difficult to have respect for its walls.

We all have lost something very important—both fathers and children. The American Jew does not feel connected to the past, fears the future, and does not understand what is happening around him today. He doesn't fully understand who he is, and, more importantly, why he even lives.

Watching the African-American minority, the young American Jew unintentionally envies their belief in the "soul." He hears how African-Americans call each other "brothers" and "sisters," and he wants to hear that he too has brothers and sisters. African-Americans may be poor and less educated, but they have something that he sorely lacks. He lacks self-respect, pride in himself, and pride in his people.

He lacks the feeling that being a Jew is wonderful, and from this feeling, our revival begins.

However, it would be a mistake to claim that in the hearts of young Jews, the last spark of Judaism has extinguished, that their eyes will never again be lit with Jewish fire, and that the sense of solidarity with their people will never awaken in their souls. It is untrue that the younger generation is lost to Judaism, and we can read "Kaddish" over it.

I have seen how these young people have been reborn to a new life. I have seen how eagerly they have turned to the Jewish source of living water. I have seen how their eyes sparkled, how their souls trembled, how their spines straightened when they embarked on the path of returning to Judaism.

I have seen thousands of young American Jews who came to Washington to participate in a sit-in demonstration in solidarity with Soviet

Jews. They were ready to face arrest while fighting for the liberation of their brothers and sisters. I sat next to these young people and heard them shout when they were pushed into police cars: "Never again!" and "Am Yisrael Chai!" ("The People of Israel live!"). Blessed be the Almighty who allowed us to witness this miracle. These Jews took to the streets not in the name of Vietnamese communists, Mozambican Blacks, or whales in the waters of Antarctica. These Jews were fighting for their own people. They challenged everything that was considered normal in the 1960s; they fought for their nation.

Those who did not see these young Jews, their eyes, their faces at that moment when Washington police arrested them for participating in an "illegal" demonstration in support of Soviet Jews, do not know what true Jewish "nachas" (pride) is. Who would believe after this that the younger generation is lost to the Jewish people? Are empty halls of official Jewish youth organizations evidence of the complete assimilation of our young men and women? No, they are not. We have hope, and every reason for optimism.

Out of those thousands of young Jews who came to Washington, hundreds were arrested. Some had yarmulkes on their heads, others did not, but that did not prevent them from coming together on the streets in the name of helping other Jews. And they chanted together, "We are Jews, and we are proud of it! And if you don't hear us, we'll shout louder!" When external concerns and distractions are set aside, and the "Jewish matters" of Leningrad and Riga touch the souls of these young people, we have hope.

Let us not forget how this youth regained their sense of self-worth and pride in their people, and how this miracle happened. It was not ecumenical meetings or pompous speeches in luxurious Jewish organization halls that awakened their hearts. We demanded self-sacrifice from them; we offered them a path of faith and true idealism. And they will march with us to the mountain tops, forgetting about danger and fatigue.

Those who spend all their time in plush executive chairs and whose "actions" are limited to press statements will never be able to bring the youth back to Judaism. They are not concerned about the "hooligan antics of extremists" or "irresponsible actions." What truly bothers them is the

fact that there are Jews who reject their tireless concern for the problems of the world and devote all their energy to genuine Jewish causes.

"Jewish is beautiful!" proclaimed the young Jews, and many of them are not concerned that newspaper articles call them "Jewish hooligans" and "extremists." These young people only regret that thirty years ago, we didn't have such "Jewish hooligans" and "extremists."

We see that young Jews, as well as many adults, thirst to find an expression of their pride in themselves and their people. The Jewish revival begins with a sense of national pride.

### JEWISH PRIDE.

One of the greatest Jewish leaders of our time was the legendary Ze'ev Jabotinsky. This man created the Jewish Legion, the first Jewish combat unit since the Bar Kokhba revolt in the 2nd century CE. He was the spiritual leader of two underground Jewish organizations in Eretz-Israel – Etzel and Lehi. He fought for the establishment of a Jewish state in years when this idea seemed like a utopia to others. He defined his philosophical creed with the Hebrew word "hadar." Hadar means "pride." Hadar means "dignity." Hadar means "magnificence."

Between the two world wars, Ze'ev Jabotinsky traveled throughout Eastern Europe, speaking to the hearts of millions of Jews. These Jews had endured centuries of spiritual and physical suffering, considering pogroms and daily humiliations as natural. The philosophy of the Eastern European Jew was that the sun rises and sets, pogroms begin and end... Such was the life philosophy of the Eastern European Jew. Jabotinsky addressed these Jews, whom he loved with all his heart. "Jews!" he would say. "There is no commandment that says a Jew should be beaten like a dog. You are not obliged to go like sheep to the slaughter. Proudly straighten your shoulders and stand your ground! Stand your ground with all your might!"

In any city, in any town that Jabotinsky visited, thousands of Jews would come to hear his encouraging words. When he spoke, bent spines that had been hunched for centuries would straighten by themselves, and a light would kindle in their eyes. Ze'ev Jabotinsky spoke to them about what a Jew should be:

Hadar! A Jew, even in poverty, is a descendant of kings, Crowned with the crown of David. In the light of day and in the darkness of night, You must remember your royal crown!

Hadar begins with a sense of one's own dignity. This means that the surrounding world must understand one thing: Jews may not be better than others, but they are certainly not weaker than others. This means that a Jew must possess a sense of self-worth and demand respect from others. Hadar means that a Jew must rid himself of the neurotic need to be liked by anyone and everyone. Jews are obsessed with love. I mean the painful desire to win the love of the non-Jewish world—a result of the galut, the two-thousand-year exile, which brought endless suffering, pogroms, and persecution. All this has generated in the Jew a sense of insecurity and an inferiority complex. By claiming that we have finally achieved equality, we are by no means sure of our own words. We seek validation of our right to exist from non-Jews.

And we have invented thousands of ways to win the love of those around us. Jews try to prove that they can do everything that non-Jews can do—and even better: to get drunk better than a non-Jew, to increase the divorce rate in their own community to a level that non-Jews have not reached, and so on and so forth. Fearing to incur the dislike of non-Jews because our prayers differ from theirs, progressive Jews are ready to "amend" their prayer books. The synagogue is too different from the church? Let's "renovate" it so that it's not distinguishable! And indeed, it's hard to notice how the luxurious buildings of the Reform "temples" differ from churches...

Jews attempt to buy the love of others by demonstrating that they are deeply concerned about the same issues as non-Jews. They protest against the Vietnam War and against the "apartheid regime" in South Africa; reform rabbis protest against discrimination against African Americans in the southern states, and leaders of the Jewish establishment confess their imperfect sins to African Americans. Jewish money goes to help starving Africa but not to help needy Jews. All of this is done in the hope of winning the love of non-Jews, whom our leaders rightfully suspect of simply hating us. The Catastrophe was born in a country where Jews lived for over a thousand years and achieved full emancipation and equality. But the experience of the Catastrophe has not taught us anything. And this is despite the obvious fact that it is impossible to buy

the love of others if we have not even succeeded in gaining respect for ourselves.

Respect cannot be bought or begged for. People understand quite well that someone who is incapable of respecting themselves cannot respect others. If a person hates themselves, their cultural heritage, and their people, how can they demand others to love them? The lack of a response on our part to anti-Semitic incidents appears as cowardice and an inability to stand up for ourselves. When hearing anti-Semitic statements, our leaders rush to say that it's about individual extremists who do not represent the silent majority that, of course, adores us. In such behavior, non-Jews find confirmation of their stereotype of the Jew—a timid coward who deserves no respect.

The ancient wise principle says, "Do not do unto others what you hate to be done unto you." With these words, we must address the non-Jewish world: "Do not do to Jews what you yourselves hate."

When the Almighty decided to give the Torah to the Jewish people, He did not choose a majestic tall mountain but, on the contrary, a small, inconspicuous mountain, barely distinguishable from a hill—Mount Sinai. Our sages explain that the Almighty wanted to teach us humility. A Jew should be free from arrogance and pride. Rabbi of Gur, one of the greatest Hasidic tzaddiks of the past century, remarked in this regard: "Everything is fine, but if the Almighty really wanted to teach us humility, He could have chosen a plain, not a mountain..." By asking this question, Rabbi of Gur also gave an answer, a clear and bold one: "We must derive another lesson from this story, and it is no less important than the first. Denying pride is not enough. Excessive humility is also harmful. A Jew must have pride; he cannot allow himself to be trampled upon. Otherwise, he loses his Jewish and human identity."

Normal people stand up for themselves when attacked. Only a self-conscious liberal Jew, retreating to a safe distance, deeply ponders, "Perhaps I deserved this... Maybe I should go back to be hit one more time?" Is it not these complexes that explain the timid statements of our leaders that "we should not make noise" and that "a retaliatory response will only worsen the situation"? In the past, reality forced us to come to the conclusion that self-defense is necessary. But too often we reached this conclusion when it was already too late. The gas chambers of Auschwitz

grew on the ground fertilized by Jews' inability—or unwillingness—to stand their ground.

Only when we prove by deeds that we are capable of standing up for ourselves will others believe our claims that we respect the rights of others. After all, those who cannot stand up for themselves are unlikely to be of benefit to others.

A fiasco inevitably awaits Jewish liberals. Their humiliating attempts to win the love of those around them, while completely ignoring the needs of their own people, evoke ridicule and contempt from non-Jews. It is impossible to stop being oneself. A Jew cannot become a non-Jew. Ultimately, the non-Jewish environment will remind the prodigal son that despite everything, he remains a Jew.

Over the centuries of our exile, a stereotype of the Jew has emerged: a weak, defenseless creature incapable of protecting themselves, someone who can be trampled upon with impunity. This stereotype takes root anew every time Jews demonstrate their weakness, their unwillingness to take action. We are obligated to change this stereotype. Its existence is dangerous not only because it encourages anti-Semites to act but also because it cripples the soul of the Jew, convincing them of their own inadequacy. The fact that so many young Jews are afflicted with the terrible vice of self-hatred is largely explained by the influence of this stereotypical image of the Jew.

Idle musings about the bloody persecutions of the Jewish people over many centuries, about the Catastrophe that befell us during the Second World War, only strengthen this dangerous stereotype, concurrently evoking feelings of disgust and self-contempt among many of our brethren. In his time, Ze'ev Jabotinsky formulated another important principle, which he called "Barzel," meaning "iron" in Hebrew. According to this principle, we must display an iron resolve, an unwavering determination when dealing with those who threaten our very existence. We extend our hand to all nations of the world, offering them peace. But if they reject this offer, our hand must become iron, an iron hand safeguarding our security. We are ready to negotiate with all, but we will never allow those addressing us to look down upon us. Recognizing the heavy legacy we carry on our shoulders, the centuries of cruel persecution, we must draw conclusions. We must take the first step to

prevent history from repeating itself. We must strive to make non-Jews stop mocking us, our customs, our names. But the first step must be ensuring the physical safety of the Jewish people. We must be prepared to resist the enemy in any situation. When Goliath mocked the Jewish army, David angrily asked, "How dare this uncircumcised Philistine insult the people of the Almighty?" We are obligated to defend the honor of our people. Those who insult our dignity today will be ready to kill us tomorrow.

The principle of Barzel requires us to extract another lesson from Jewish history, a lesson taught to us by Jabotinsky, Jewish partisans who fought the Nazis in Eastern Europe, underground combat organizations in Eretz Israel, and the establishment of the State of Israel. This lesson is that when dealing with Esau, one must know how to wield his weapons. Moreover, he must be proficient in their use. To protect the honor of Jews, their homes, their property, and their very lives, we must master the art of self-defense. We must hope for the best but be prepared for the worst. By what means have we tried to help (if we have tried at all) Soviet Jews over the past fifty years? What should be done after "respectable," "dignified" methods of quiet diplomacy have yielded no results? Who determines which methods of struggle are permissible and which are not? How can we help those Jewish residents of impoverished neighborhoods who face daily attacks by thugs and robbers? What to do if diplomacy, pacifism, and appeals to the police do not help? What methods of self-defense are permissible and which are not? If it turns out that all previous methods have failed, we must find new ways to assist our suffering brothers and sisters. Only those who have not barricaded themselves behind a wall of personal comfort and well-being can find these ways. If it turns out that "respectable" methods lead nowhere, we are obligated to come to the aid of our brethren in distress, responding to violence with violence. We have a full moral right to do so. Moreover, we are obligated to do so. Those who refuse to resort to this method not only behave shamefully but also violate a fundamental moral principle of Judaism: helping a fellow Jew in distress by all available means. And so, young people should be taught karate and other forms of self-defense, so they will never again become the targets of anti-Semitic attacks. Therefore, young people should be trained in the use of weapons, so those who today terrorize defenseless Jewish residents of impoverished neighborhoods would think twice, thrice, and ten times before deciding on a criminal act. Therefore, we must escalate the war of the Jewish people against the Soviet authorities who hold

millions of our brothers and sisters hostage. And this war must be conducted using physical force. Only in this way can we bring this issue to the forefront of international attention and thus contribute to its resolution. But—these methods of struggle are vehemently rejected by the leaders of the American-Jewish establishment. Their anger shakes the walls of their luxurious mansions, and their outrage at those who propose such methods of struggle often turns into open hatred. Suddenly, it turns out that the American-Jewish establishment is not so feeble when it comes to defending the dignity of their fellow Jews. Their paralysis disappears, their withered bones come to life before our eyes, and our leaders radiate energy: they protest, they express their outrage, they fight...

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When Jewish self-defense groups emerged in American cities, and when Jewish activists carried out several actions against representatives of the Soviet empire of evil, the leaders of the Jewish establishment solemnly proclaimed: "Under no circumstances should we resort to violence! It is inappropriate for a Jew to use force. This is suitable for Esau (if not the devil)... The use of force contradicts the norms of Jewish morality." When bombs began to explode in the buildings of Soviet representations, a respectable American Jew shouted to the whole world, "It wasn't me! It wasn't me who did it!" As if someone might have suspected him of doing it... Violence is indeed a non-Jewish path. This is what the Torah and our Law teach us. But they also teach us one more thing: if we have already tried all other paths, and they have not led us anywhere, we have the right to use force. Once upon a time, many centuries ago, there lived on this earth a righteous Jew, a great son of his people. His name was Moses, or more precisely, Moshe, Moshe Rabbeinu, meaning "Moses our teacher." When we call someone our teacher, we invest that word with a very specific meaning: from this person, we should learn, take an example. And so, the Torah tells us how Moshe Rabbeinu acted when he saw an Egyptian overseer beating a Jewish slave. He did not establish a commission to investigate anti-Semitic incidents in Egypt or organize an Egyptian-Jewish conference to discuss the issue... The Torah tells us that Moshe Rabbeinu killed the Egyptian overseer to protect his fellow Jew. Moses our teacher set an example of how to behave in such situations. To protect his fellow Jew,



Moshe Rabbeinu used force. These are the norms of Jewish morality. Our tragedy is that those who represent our interests and act as our leaders are extremely far from Jewish tradition. Their knowledge of Judaism is limited to the extreme, they are entirely alien to the Jewish worldview, the Jewish approach to life; they have spiritually assimilated, adopting the ideas and concepts of Jewish-American liberalism - and no one can explain to them that these ideas and concepts are fundamentally different from Jewish ones.

The Talmud says that "the deeds of the fathers serve as an example for the children." Turning to Jewish history, we can see how our righteous ancestors behaved in similar situations, and we can find an answer to the question of whether it is appropriate for a Jew to use force. We will see that for the sake of protecting the highest principles, for the sake of preserving the laws given to us by the Almighty Himself, our ancestors were ready for uncompromising warfare - and for the use of force. No, Jews do not reject the use of force as such, when circumstances require it.

If, as Jews unfamiliar with Jewish tradition believe, Judaism really advocated non-resistance to evil, viewing peace and friendship as the highest values, then there would be far fewer Jews in the world today, including Jewish pacifists.

Yes, the Torah and the Talmud consider peace a great good, one that the Almighty bestows upon His people. Agafon became the high priest precisely because of his love for peace. No Jew who is familiar with the laws and traditions of his people would deny the paramount importance of peace; he desires peace and strives for it through all available means. But until the era of universal prosperity, peace, and harmony arrives, we must follow the rule of the Talmud: "One who comes to kill you, kill him" (Tractate Berakhot, 58).

Of course, peace is wonderful, but one cannot achieve peace at the cost of freedom. If the price of peace is slavery, then that price is far too high. Those who prefer to avoid conflicts, trying not to notice injustice, are concerned not with peace but with their own well-being.

So what must a Jew do to help a fellow Jew in distress, and what is he not allowed to do? How is the great ideal of Ahavat Yisrael put into practice?

The Torah says, "Do not stand idly by the blood of your brother" (Leviticus 19:16). The Talmud explains these words: "Whence do we know that if a person sees his fellow drowning in the sea or being attacked by wild beasts or robbers, he is obligated to come to his aid? From the Torah's statement, 'Do not stand idly by the blood of your brother.' Whence do we know that if a person knows that someone intends to commit murder, he is obligated to save his fellow's life, even if it requires killing the would-be murderer? From the Torah's statement, 'Do not stand idly by the blood of your brother'?"

We see, therefore, that if a Jew hears the cry of another Jew for help, he is obligated to assist him; he bears responsibility for the fate of a fellow Jew in distress. And if circumstances require it, he must use force.

Maimonides, in his book "Mishneh Torah," writes: "What is a 'mandatory war'? It is a war that Jews are obligated to wage against the seven nations [inhabiting Canaan] and against Amalek, and to save Jews from attacking enemies" (Hilchot Melachim u'Milchamoteihem, 5:1).

The Torah, in the 20th chapter of the book of Deuteronomy, provides a definition of how one should prepare for war. Those who have studied the Talmud (tractates Sotah 42–44 and Sanhedrin 20) know that Judaism distinguishes between "mandatory" war and "non-mandatory" war (the latter can be declared by the leadership of the Jewish state based on tactical considerations). Everyone familiar with Judaism knows that every Jew is obligated to come to the aid of a fellow Jew who is under attack. Maimonides writes: "If someone pursues a Jew with the intent to sell him into slavery, every Jew is obligated to do everything possible to save the pursued individual, even if it requires killing the pursuer" ("Hilchot Rotze'ach," 1:6).

It is difficult to perceive in these words a call for pacifism or the idea of non-resistance to evil through violence. On the contrary, Judaism calls upon us to combat evil, without which peace and prosperity are inconceivable.

King David says in the Psalms: "Blessed be the Lord, my rock, who trains my hands for war, my fingers for battle" (Psalms 144:1). It is not an endorsement for those ready to retreat, surrender, and submit, but a support for those willing to fight with weapons in hand for their freedom and life.

And Jewish history bears witness to the names of fearless warriors who fought for their people and their country. When we say that a "new type" of Jew has emerged in modern Israel, we are making a serious mistake. The strong, free, faithful to the Almighty and His Torah, self-assured "sabro" Jew can hardly be called a "new type" of Jew – it is rather a new incarnation of the "old type" of Jew who came to this land more than three thousand years ago, armed, and countless times resorted to violence to defend their lives and freedom, up to the decisive clash with Rome.

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Jews of the "old type" included our forefather Abraham, who engaged in battle against four kings to save his nephew Lot. Jews of the "old type" included our forefather Jacob, who prepared to meet Esau – he was ready for negotiations, he prayed to the Almighty for help, and he was prepared for war (see Rashi's commentary on Genesis 32:9). Jews of the "old type" included Moses, who killed an Egyptian who raised his hand against a fellow Jew. Jews of the "old type" included the sons of Israel, who fearlessly embarked on military campaigns against Amalek, Sihon, Og, and others.

Joshua and Gideon, Deborah and Samson, Saul and David were far from the idea of turning the other cheek to the enemy. As we light the Hanukkah candles and remember the victories of Jewish arms in that bloody war against the Greek occupiers, we understand, of course, that the Maccabees were by no means apostles of nonviolence. When reading about Jewish warriors heroically defending Masada, we are unlikely to claim that they were followers of Mahatma Gandhi, sending protest petitions to the commanders of Roman legions. Anyone interested in Jewish history knows that one of our greatest sages, Rabbi Akiva, ordered his twenty-four thousand disciples to interrupt their study of sacred texts and join the army of Simon Bar Kokhba to fight against the Romans.

To those who contemplate what actions align with Jewish morality and what do not, it would be helpful to first understand what Jewish morality is.

No, those who defend Israel's borders today are not Jews of the "new type." They are Jews of the "old type," reborn in the Land of Israel. The Jew of the "new type" emerged in the Diaspora as a result of two thousand years of persecution, fear, and humiliation. Jews of this type can be found on the streets of any city in all the countries of our Diaspora. Jews of the same type populate the elegant offices of respectable Jewish organizations. Centuries spent among hostile nations, when the Jew was cast in the role of a despised pariah, have cultivated in us a readiness to endure beatings and insults without protest. The type of Jew has developed who is afraid even to think about resistance and is prepared to go to the slaughter obediently like cattle. Here is what the great Maimonides wrote about this phenomenon: "The reason for our loss of the kingdom, the destruction of the Temple, and the endless exile is that our forefathers neglected the art of war" ("The Collected Letters of Maimonides").

They beat us, and we remain silent; they kill us, and we do not defend ourselves. The Jew of the "new type" was born in the terrible Diaspora. It is time to revive the "old type" of Jew.

In 1903, a pogrom occurred in Kishinev that shook the entire world. Drunken and enraged rioters looted, beat, raped, and killed. After visiting Kishinev following the pogrom, the great Jewish poet Chaim Nachman Bialik, who wrote in Hebrew, composed a poem that he titled "In the City of Killing." His hands trembled with pain and anger as he wrote this poem. But his anger was directed not only against the bloodthirsty and intoxicated rioters, and his pain was not solely caused by their horrific crimes. His anger and pain were directed at the Galut Jews, the Jews of the Diaspora, who were gathering the fluff from their torn pillows at that very moment while the thugs were raping their wives and killing their children... He expressed words of anger towards these Jews because he loved them and understood that if they did not rise up to fight back, standing up with strength to respond to force with force, they would be destroyed, both physically and spiritually. In one of the poem's most powerful passages, Bialik says, "Look at what the descendants of the Maccabees have become..."

Yes, that was a turning point. Something shifted deep within Jewish souls. Many began to understand the need to revive the "old type" of Jew. Our national revival began precisely when a handful of Jewish activists decided to take up arms. It meant the end of the era of the "new type" of Jew. Never again would Kishinev be a symbol of the Jewish people. Ze'ev Jabotinsky formulated the choice before us: "To die or conquer the mountaintop!"

The creation of "Betar" by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, a militant youth organization, meant that the ideas that had fueled the existence of the "new type" of Jew no longer appealed to Jewish youth. Jewish boys in Poland, Germany, Lithuania, Hungary, Latvia, Czechoslovakia were being trained in the use of weapons. And the leaders of respectable Jewish organizations turned crimson with anger: "Fascists! Hooligans! Why do we need weapons?! A Jew should not dabble in weapons!" But those who decided to take up arms drew lessons from the Galut's teachings.

They understood perfectly well that if the dragging of Jews by their beards and sidelocks had become the "national sport" of the Poles, it wouldn't be long before Jews would be killed. Why do we need weapons? To be prepared for tomorrow, which could be much worse than today. But the vast majority of Jews refused to believe in frightening predictions, and Jewish leaders cursed and slandered the "fanatics" who dared to teach Jews how to defend themselves... And when the Catastrophe broke out, the Jewish people were completely unprepared for the new situation. Jews were defenseless, bewildered, full of despair, and hope had abandoned them... Not all of them. Those who had learned to use force in the ranks of "Betar" proved capable of saving the honor of the Jewish people and at least some Jewish lives. Not everyone went to their death with their heads bowed submissively. Jewish partisans operated in the forests of Poland and Lithuania, Jewish resistance groups emerged in Vilnius, Bialystok, Krakow, Brody, Lida, and dozens of other cities. Those who knew how to use weapons employed them to defend their unarmed brethren. Those who weren't afraid to resort to violence had more than one dead Nazi on their hands! Jewish partisans took ruthless vengeance on those Poles, Lithuanians, and Ukrainians who helped the Germans exterminate Jews. And yet, those who took up arms were too few, far too few. Millions perished without offering any resistance. Jewish leaders, who had passionately cursed the "old type" of Jew wanting to teach Jews to resist,

also bear responsibility for their deaths. The ordinary Jews of Warsaw and Krakow, Vilnius and Prague perished, believing until their last moments that a Jew should not resort to violence. When the Irgun and Lehi declared an uprising against the British colonialists in Eretz-Israel, the same "respectable" Jews raised an outcry to the heavens: "This is unethical! This contradicts the principles of Jewish morality! Hooligans, bandits, terrorists, fascists! This is irresponsible! This is terrible!" Today, when the Israel Defense Forces resort to violence, successfully defending the country's borders, many are inclined to forget how the Jewish establishment reacted to the emergence of underground militant organizations in Eretz-Israel that raised the banner of rebellion. It is worth remembering the commotion that erupted among the "respectable" Jews when the emblem of the Irgun became the map of Eretz-Israel, encompassing both banks of the Jordan, with a hand clutching a rifle and the words "Only Thus!"

But the "fascists" and "terrorists" paid no attention to the cries of the defenders of "Jewish morality." They shot and threw grenades because in front of their eyes were the gas chambers of Auschwitz. They understood that only a Jewish state could guarantee that the Catastrophe would never happen again. They did not lay down their weapons, and they emerged victorious.

Their victory was not only in the creation of the Jewish state. They achieved a more significant victory—the victory of their philosophy. The leaders of the Yishuv, the Jewish community in Eretz-Israel, who had condemned "violence and terrorism" in the past, now successfully employ violence themselves. They openly declare that they see nothing wrong with it. If today the Israel Defense Forces conduct brilliant military operations, and the leaders of the Jewish establishment welcome it, then this is our great victory. It was not long ago that these same leaders not only condemned "terrorism" but also handed over "Jewish terrorists" to the British police. If today's leadership of Israel understands the need to resort to violence to protect the lives and safety of its citizens and also realizes that such violence is not contrary to Jewish morality, then this is a great achievement of Ze'ev Jabotinsky and his associates and disciples.

Today, Israel confidently uses force in its struggle against its numerous enemies. And, one would think, who could blame it for that? After all, the people of Israel are merely defending their right to exist. But

no, we see how the whole world reacts to this—Western, Eastern, Third, and all the others. The world is suffocating with anger and indignation: how could the Jews dare to respond blow for blow?! When Arab terrorists kill unarmed Jews—children, women—we receive sympathy from the world around us. Moreover, if one Jew dies, the sympathy is quite moderate; if two die, sympathy increases; if six million perish, the whole world is literally overwhelmed with sympathy for us! This is the path to winning universal love for the Jewish people!

At one time, during a press conference held immediately after another condemnation of Israel by the Security Council, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol said: "If we had suffered defeat in the war, there would have been many commendatory words spoken about the Jewish state, perhaps the most beautiful in our entire history. Parliaments of all the world's nations would have honored the memory of two and a half million Jews with a minute of silence. But we chose to survive. We fought and won. For this, they condemned us. But we live and prefer to continue living."

Yes, resorting to violence is never pleasant, but sometimes it is absolutely necessary. Those who rush to condemn violent methods usually have nothing to fear for their lives. However, those upon whom the sword is hanging understand very well the situation that the Jewish state and millions of Jews in the diaspora are in.

Yes, violence is always a rather sad affair. Violence is always a tragedy. But when all other means to ensure our life and safety have failed, we will resort to violence. A person who refuses to use violence, even though they know it will lead to their demise, is not just a fool. Such a person violates all the norms of Jewish morality.

The favorite expression of Jewish liberals is the words of the prophet Zechariah: "Not by might, nor by power, but by My spirit, says the Lord" (Zechariah 4:6). Of course, Jews have always relied solely on the Almighty, firmly believing that without His will, "not even a leaf on a tree will stir." But does this mean that we are forbidden to resort to violent methods of struggle? Certainly not. From the phrase quoted above, we can conclude that force can only be used when there is no doubt that it is the will of the Almighty. And it is clear that every action of a Jew must be measured on a special scale to ensure that it is pleasing to the Almighty. The Red Sea parted only after the Jews entered its waters, and Canaan

was granted to the sons of Israel only after they entered into battle with the peoples inhabiting the land at the time. "You cannot rely on a miracle," our sages teach. A Jew must do everything in his power to ensure the life and safety of himself and his brethren and hope for the help of the Almighty—and then this help will come.

The greatness of Judaism is based on the greatness of the spirit. But the spirit cannot exist without being clothed in a material shell. The greatest spiritual centers of Eastern European Jewry disappeared from the face of the earth because the bearers of the spirit—millions of Eastern European Jews—were annihilated. Of course, the Catastrophe could not have been prevented, even if Jews knew how to handle weapons and defend themselves. The forces were too unequal. But many, very many, would have been saved, and their places in the prepared graves would have been taken by Germans.

Usually, those who condemn violence are themselves securely protected from the possibility of violence being used against them. Someone who has never been punched in the face in their life is hardly capable of understanding the feelings of a person who has become a victim of a thug's attack. It is difficult for someone living in comfort and safety to comprehend the feelings of a person living in an atmosphere of violence and lawlessness. How easy and simple it is to condemn violence from an "ethical point of view" while sitting in a well-appointed villa behind seven locks, and how quickly this "ethical point of view" changes when its owner receives a blow to the head with a bicycle chain!

A moralist who condemns the "hooligans" patrolling in the poor neighborhoods prefers to live in an upscale suburban area. What could be simpler? He is surrounded not by robbers, thieves, and prostitutes but by quite respectable citizens, whose well-manicured lawns are green, and in the garages, there are sports cars of the latest model.

"Who will live, and who will die... Who will die in their time, and who before their time... Who will perish by fire, and who by water... Who will die by the sword, and who will be torn by beasts... Who will be strangled, and who will be stoned... Who will live in peace, and who will suffer torment..."

The words of this prayer, which we all recite during the fall holidays, are uttered daily by many residents of impoverished neighborhoods.



These words reach the Heavenly Throne, but they do not reach the ears of our comfortable fellow citizens in well-appointed suburban areas.

"I implore you, dear friend, when you return to the free world, do not remain indifferent!... Do everything in your power, change the world, but help us!..." These words of that old Russian Jew are addressed to us, to our conscience. Why do we nod sympathetically, helplessly shrug our shoulders, and continue with our own business as if nothing is happening? Isn't it because it's not our children who are subjected to national and cultural genocide, and it's not our relatives who are being tried in Leningrad, Riga, and Kishinev? And isn't it because we so eagerly want to condemn those who, by sharing the pain of their fellow Jews in the Soviet Union, try to help them, even if it means using violent methods of struggle? Do we have a more important commandment than the preservation of Jewish life and Jewish soul? Are there any laws that we would not be obligated to violate if it is required to save a Jew from death, both physical and spiritual? Let's see what halakhah, Jewish law, teaches us: "If a person learns that his son has been abducted in order to turn him away from the faith of Israel, he is obliged to immediately set out to rescue him, even if he has to violate the Sabbath for this. If he refuses, the court compels him to do so" (Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim, 306:14). And notice: The Law doesn't just permit it, it obligates us to violate the Sabbath if it is required to save a Jew who is threatened with estrangement from his own people. Here, it's about one Jew. In the case of Soviet Jewry, it's about the salvation of millions of people! ZIONISM To truly grasp the essence of the concept of *hadar*, one must seriously study Jewish history, the history of a people that defies all boundaries and definitions. Jewish history! What a mix of tragedy and triumph, of ascents and descents! The richness and vividness of Jewish history captivate the imagination of anyone who delves into its depths. But the modern emancipated Jew, as a rule, knows nothing about the millennia-long history of his people. And how important it is for him to know precisely this! How important it is for him to learn about how his ancestors lived, what they did and didn't do, and why; so that he understands the reason for the unwavering belief in the right path, thanks to which he, the modern emancipated Jew, lives today in the world. Only by merging all the bitterness of suffering and the pride in his people, which never bowed their heads, never changed their faith under the threat of death or in the face of flattering persuasions, will we understand what *hadar* is. The list of our enemies seems endless:

Egyptian pharaohs, rulers of Assyria and Babylon, Haman in ancient Persia, Antiochus Epiphanes in Hellenistic Asia, the Roman emperor Hadrian, Christian fanatics in Europe, and Muslim fanatics in the Middle East and North Africa... Finally, the monstrous duo of our century: Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The Jewish people are still under mortal danger, and we must face this danger with honor, with an awareness of our strength, with determination, just like our ancestors withstood any storm. A Jew familiar with the history of his people cannot become a self-hater. The story of his forefathers must instill in him a sense of pride and respect for them. Moreover, he cannot have any doubts about the existence of the Almighty because it is utterly unbelievable that an entire people would have traversed such a historical path without divine assistance. Oh, if only we could gather all our youth and unfold before them the tapestry of Jewish history to instill in them love for their people and pride in it! If only we could directly address these bewildered, truth-seeking young people and tell them about simple truths they, unfortunately, haven't heard! If this were possible, we would start with this: we would start by talking about Israel. Israel, which is labeled as the "hotbed of aggression and neocolonialism," the "puppet of American imperialism," the "oppressor and exploiter of neighboring nations," the "state that created the problem of unfortunate Arab refugees," the "threat to peace and security in the Middle East and the world"... These and similar terms are used by "progressive" journals and newspapers of all kinds to describe Israel. The same slogans are wielded by adherents to the norms of the Marxist-Leninist gospel, the liberal-revolutionary progressives who paint the picture of Israel. The same expressions are used by Mao Zedong and leaders of African "liberation" movements. And who can fail to notice that next to the "progressive liberals," leaders of Egypt, Syria, and the thuggish "Organization of Palestinian Liberation" also march under the same banners with the same slogans? Who doesn't know that these slogans are cleverly juggled by the murderers who fire rockets (which are affectionately called "Katyushas") at Israeli cities and towns and plant bombs on Israeli buses?

All this is unnoticed only by prosperous young Jews who have grown up in comfortable suburban areas. To them, it is as clear as day that the source of all troubles is Israel, a militaristic reactionary state that stands in the way of progressive humanity, striving for universal happiness, brotherhood, and love... To these young people, doubting the right of the

Jewish state to exist, shedding bitter tears at the sight of the unhappy oppressed Arabs and angrily condemning the "fascist Zionists"; to these young people, who believe that there is no greater crime than supporting Israel, and that Israel must disappear from the face of the earth; to these young people, I want to say the following. You are too young to remember that day on May 14. The streets were thronged with people; they were Jews, sons of your people, these people were Zionists. In the calendars, that year was called 1948, but for Jews, it was the year 1878. Because one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight years ago, the exile began. You see, your people count time in this way. These people, the Zionists, stood on the streets and waited. Looking at them, you would not dare to assert that these people are participants in an international conspiracy, having entered into a criminal alliance with Rockefeller and the oil monopolies. Among them were old men and young men, men and women, workers and homemakers, doctors and students... Among them were also people who had been in Auschwitz and survived. And now, standing in the streets, they listened to the words they had waited one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight years for. They listened, and hardly believing their own ears, they began to realize that their unimaginable, inconceivable, fantastic dream was becoming a reality. The words boomed in their ears, in their brains, in their hearts... Tears stood in their eyes: "... We hereby declare the establishment of a Jewish state in Eretz-Israel, to be known as the State of Israel..." And when under the cloudless Mediterranean sky the last sounds fell silent, they began to sing The Song. Its words had been written just some sixty years ago, but its idea was already one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight years old. Tears streamed down their cheeks as they sang: Od lo avda tikvateinu, hatikvah bat shnot alpayim: Lihiyot am chofshi be'artzeinu, Eretz Tziyon v'Yerushalayim... Our hope is not yet lost, The hope two thousand years old: To be a free nation in our land, The land of Zion and Jerusalem...

Yes, that was the apex of reactionary immorality! How regrettable it is that you did not get to see the light burning in their eyes, to feel the intoxicating taste of the miracle that happened in those days... And when they finished singing and the tears on their reactionary cheeks had not yet had the chance to dry, they began to dance—oh, how they danced! It's unlikely that throughout the history of mankind anyone has danced with such passion.

Why do you look so perplexed? Is there something bothering you? Let's try to understand what kind of miracle happened before the eyes of these people, a miracle the meaning of which seems unclear to you.

The fact is that miracles don't just happen. It can even be said that they are not created by supernatural means. This miracle was the result of endless suffering, prayers, unshakeable faith, boundless perseverance, and patience. And is there a people in the world with more perseverance and patience than the Jews? With incomprehensible stubbornness, we refused to die, thus defying the entire world.

We were expelled from our country long before the foot of an Arab first set foot there. We fought desperately for our freedom against the Roman legions that vastly outnumbered us. We fought with that desperate courage, with that unprecedented perseverance, which the Israel Defense Forces have inherited today. But we were few, and Heaven denied us help at that time. And the Romans managed to burn our Temple (many centuries later the Arabs stole this place from us and built their "Omar Mosque" there). After a long siege, the Romans took the fortresses of Masada and Betar and expelled us from our country. But they succeeded only after our blood had watered every inch of our land. We fought for our land with the ferocity that is the utmost a person can muster.

"Because of our sins we were exiled from our country..." this we say in prayer. But the peoples surrounding us thought that our end had come. They hated us with fierce hatred and at the same time feared us; both feelings were explained by our special faith, so different from anything they could imagine. Emperor Titus returned home full of rejoicing. At the end of his procession marched the Jewish rebels, shackled in chains. Wishing to glorify himself for ages, he erected a triumphal arch in Rome, solemnly declaring: Judea Capta, Judea conquered. Judea wiped off the face of the earth. There are no more Jews and there will never be! (You can admire this arch if you make a stop in Rome, flying on "El Al" to the resurrected Judea—the State of Israel...)

And the Jews were scattered to all ends of the earth.

But wherever fate threw them, wherever they went, they looked back, toward their homeland.

The Byzantine emperors subjected them to cruel persecutions, but they only grew stronger in their faith, each morning reciting the words of prayer: "And may we see with our own eyes how You, by Your mercy, will return to Zion..." The Christian church cursed and accused them of all deadly sins, but they turned their faces to Zion and prayed: "Sound the great shofar for our liberation, and perform the miracle of bringing back our exiles..." The Crusaders burned them alive, but they did not cease to beseech the Almighty: "Return to Your city, Jerusalem, by Your mercy..." They were expelled from Spain and France, from England and Portugal, in Yemen their children were taken from them, Ukrainian Cossacks carried out savage pogroms, but each year on Passover night they repeated their vow: "Next year in Jerusalem... Today we are slaves, next year we shall be free men. Today we are here, next year in the land of Israel."

And the more your ancestors were persecuted, the more firmly they clung to their faith and their people. The more persistent the attempts to destroy your ancestors, the more determinedly they strove to survive at all costs. And above all, your ancestors dreamed of one thing: to return to the land of Israel. It seemed there was no hope that this dream would come true, but they continued to dream. To dream and pray. And in prayer, they turned towards their distant homeland, towards Jerusalem.

And when a Jew died in exile, a small bag of soil from the Land of Israel was laid in the grave with him. He did not merit to walk upon his native soil, but he did not want to part with it. Even in the grave.

I want to tell you, young people, that the entire world sentenced our ancestors to death, but they responded with their inherent calm and firmness: "No!"

They knew that in the entire universe there was only one place where they could live in peace and security. This place was their native country, the land of Israel, and they had to return home. They knew far better than us that all these utopias and ideologies, all these Marxisms-Leninisms, Trotskyisms, and Maoisms would not bring anything good to the Jews. They knew that all these Trotskys, Zinovievs, Kamenevs, Radeks, who served foreign gods with such self-abandonment, were doomed to death by those same gods. They saw that devotion to alien ideas would not save these Jews from the NKVD's "cleansings," from torture in the basements, from execution and oblivion.

Our grandfathers were far wiser than their grandchildren, mired in the mirages of the Diaspora. Our grandfathers wanted to return home. I want to tell you, young Jews: try to understand why on Tisha B'Av, the day of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, Jews sit on the floor in dimly lit synagogues and by candlelight read the Lamentations of Jeremiah, mourning the greatest tragedy of our people, why they whisper the mournful words: "How solitary sits the city that was full of people! How like a widow has she become..."

Listen to these words and try to answer the question: was the State of Israel really created "by a resolution of the United Nations"? Or perhaps, was the idea of creating a Jewish state advanced by the imperialist military-industrial complex of the USA? Or was it the realization of British colonial dreams?

Jews were exiled from their country two thousand years before oil companies and the American military-industrial complex even existed. And for all those two thousand years, they never abandoned the hope of returning home. When Jews under the leadership of Simon Bar Kokhba fought against Roman legions, there were no Arabs in the world yet. When the great Jewish poet of the Middle Ages, Rabbi Yehuda Halevi wrote, "My heart is in the East, and I am at the ends of the West," the Pentagon had not yet been built...

Israel was reborn because it never died. The State of Israel did not arise out of nothing, in an empty place. The Jews had their own state in the times of Kings Saul, David, and Solomon; the Jewish state witnessed the rise and fall of the "world powers" of Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia... And it has been reborn today because Jews have never ceased to believe that the day would come when they would return home.

If you think that Dr. Theodor Herzl was the "father" of Zionism, you are mistaken. Zionism was born on the day when Jews were forced to leave their country and go into exile. Zionism was an integral, inherent part of all Jewish laws and customs. Every Jew who believed in God and observed the laws of His Torah was a Zionist. Herzl was the man who at the right time did the right thing. Thanks to him, the Jewish people were able to realize a two-thousand-year-old dream. The State of Israel would

have arisen even without the Balfour Declaration. A Jewish state would have been created even without the decision of the United Nations.

Here it is worth understanding such a concept as "national liberation movement." It's worth talking about heroes. Of course, you know a lot about such things, since you participate in demonstrations in support of many national liberation movements. What is a "national liberation movement"? It's the Black Panthers, the Viet Cong, communist insurgents in Angola and Zimbabwe. Heroes? Of course, these are Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, and Ho Chi Minh, who else?..

In this list, of course, we won't see the names of Jewish heroes, and in your opinion, the "Jewish national liberation movement" is the movement of Jewish couples dancing in the nightclubs of Miami Beach... You, the grandchildren of those same stubborn grandfathers, would do well to finally learn something about the history of your people.

At the end of the 19th century, after many centuries of severe suffering and endless persecutions, Jews appeared who decided that the time had come to put an end to the humiliations. In their hearts lived the dream of Zion, and they decided to do what seemed impossible: to return home. A group of Jewish intellectuals, casting a final glance at the empire of the Russian Tsar, set off for the distant Palestine to drain the swamps and plant gardens in the desert.

Arabs, who had done a colossal job of laying waste to the Land of Israel, smiled joyfully, counting the money — quite impressive sums, by the way! — that the Jews paid them for plots of barren land. The Jewish settlers, however, were not in a laughing mood: even being confident of the success of the endeavor, they understood the difficulties that lay ahead. But these people and their leaders: Theodor Herzl, Ze'ev Jabotinsky, Chaim Weizmann, Max Nordau, Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines, Nahum Sokolow showed remarkable persistence. In the run-down, semi-desert, impoverished country, new settlements began to emerge one after another. Suddenly, it turned out that when this land was cultivated by Jewish hands, it was not so barren after all. A few years passed, and these madmen even began to build a new city on the sandy dunes along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. They named it Tel Aviv — "Spring Hill".

World War I opened up new horizons for the Jewish national liberation movement. Ze'ev Jabotinsky, a brilliant poet, writer, and journalist, an excellent orator who spoke a dozen languages, was the author of an extraordinary idea: a Jewish army! A Jewish army that would fight on the side of the Allies against the Ottoman Empire allied with Germany and Austria-Hungary, which ruled the Land of Israel. This would be the first Jewish army since the Bar Kokhba revolt, which was drowned in blood by the Romans. A Jewish army! True, the military unit that was formed only counted a few thousand people, but nonetheless, it was an army! Its soldiers were from different countries: England, France, Russia. Among them were people like Joseph Trumpeldor, a hero of the Russo-Japanese war, who several years later would die a hero's death, defending a Jewish settlement in Galilee.

And these crazy Jews managed to create a good army, which, together with the English General Allenby, entered Palestine into their country. The Jewish armed forces fought to free their country from foreign rulers. And imagine, all this happened long before Comrade Mao developed his theories of national liberation war.

Until the Jewish national liberation movement not only did not interfere with the British Empire, but even served its interests to some extent, everything was going fine. During that period, the famous Balfour Declaration was published, in which Britain took upon itself the commitment to assist in establishing a Jewish "national home" in Palestine. And how the Jews rejoiced at this declaration: it seemed that justice had finally triumphed and they would achieve freedom and state independence by peaceful means. Yes, relying on fair treatment from the surrounding world, Jews were mistaken many times. And this case was no exception. Jews from around the world were on the side of the Allies. The energy, minds, and money of the Jewish people were at Britain's disposal in the hope that it would liberate the Land of Israel from the Turks and hand it over to the legitimate owner, the people of Israel. When the war ended and the League of Nations began to partition the former possessions of the defeated states, Jewish representatives insisted that the management of Eretz Israel should be transferred to England—in order to create there "a national home for the Jewish people" in accordance with the Balfour Declaration. But the path of the national liberation movement is not strewn with roses. As you certainly know from



university courses, freedom is not easily obtained. From the very first days of English rule in the country, Arabs began to attack Jewish settlements. They had nothing to fear: they quickly understood that the English turned a blind eye to such activities. In one of the clashes with Arab bandits in the Galilean settlement of Tel Hai, Joseph Trumpeldor was killed. His last words were: Ein davar. Tov lamut be'ad artzeinu ("It's nothing. It's good to die for our country"). What a nightmarish imperialist lexicon, isn't it? Or, perhaps, these words did not come from Trumpeldor, but from Che Guevara or Ho Chi Minh?

In 1920, the Arabs, enjoying almost open support from the British Mandate authorities (having gained control over Palestine, the English immediately wanted to put an end to the "mad" Jewish settlers), organized a Jewish pogrom in Jerusalem. But they did not just kill defenseless people, rape women, and burn Jewish houses—they wanted to strangle the Jewish national liberation movement. The Arab bandits encountered resistance from a group organized by Z. Jabotinsky, consisting of veterans of the Jewish Legion. This organization, named Haganah ("Defense"), inflicted painful blows on the Arabs. Nevertheless, they did not cease their attempts to destroy the Jewish national liberation movement. Jewish settlements were subjected to barbaric attacks in 1921 and again eight years later—in 1929, when in Hebron Arabs brutally killed dozens of local Jews, mostly students of the "yeshiva". (In 1967, when the Jewish army liberated Hebron, the Arabs, expecting just retribution, hung out white flags—as if to say, we surrender to the mercy of the victor... However, the victor decided not to repay them according to their deeds.)

The Arabs did not manage to break the Jewish liberation movement. Despite the dangers that awaited them in Palestine, an increasing number of Jews were returning to their ancestral land from the countries of the Diaspora. They came from semi-fascist Poland, some managed to escape from Communist Russia. Repatriates also arrived from Germany, where the seeds of the Great Catastrophe were germinating. Those who felt the wind of change shook the dust of Europe from their feet and returned home.

The English were far from thrilled with such developments. It became clear to them that the Jews were serious about creating a Jewish state.

The British Colonial Office decided to put an end to this threat once and for all. Already at the beginning of the twenties, the English carved out from the territory intended for the "Jewish national home" the lands located east of the Jordan River. The puppet state entity created there, Transjordan, occupied 80% of the territory of Palestine, for which Britain received a mandate from the League of Nations. Now the English decided that the time had come to finally strangle the Jewish national liberation movement.

In April 1936, a new wave of Arab unrest began in the country, continuing until the very start of World War II. Throughout these three years, the English authorities turned a blind eye to the atrocities of Arab bandits who robbed, raped, and killed. It seemed to them that with the help of the Arabs, they could put an end to the Jewish dream.

But it was not to be! Times had changed: on their ancestral land, under their native skies, the "old type" of Jew was reborn into life. And these Jews of the "old" type were ready to prove the inevitability of the creation of a Jewish state and the victory of freedom.

That period added another name to the list of Jewish heroes: Shlomo Ben-Yosef. He was born in Lutsk, in what was then Poland, and his real surname was Tabachnik. He took a Hebrew name after he illegally repatriated to the country in 1937. At that time, he was only twenty-four years old. A member of "Betar," understanding the meaning of the word Hadar, he could not bear to watch the bloody atrocities of the Arabs and the shameful inaction of the Jewish leadership. On April 21, 1938, he and two companions shot at an Arab bus on the road from Safed to Rosh Pina. The shooting did not result in human casualties. This may seem to you as unnecessary cruelty, but the colonizers have their own notions of justice: Shlomo Ben-Yosef was sentenced to death by hanging. On June 29, 1938, he ascended the scaffold in the Acre prison, becoming the first Jewish soldier since Roman times to be executed by the enemy in Eretz Israel.

And when it became clear that only armed struggle could bring freedom, independence, and justice, two new organizations emerged within the Jewish national liberation movement: Irgun Tzvai Leumi, or Etzel for short ("National Military Organization"), and Lohamei Herut Israel, or Lehi for short ("Fighters for the Freedom of Israel"). The latter

organization is referred to by some, such as Soviet sources, as the "Stern Gang." But I would not advise you, my young friends, to use this term, especially since many of you admire the heroic partisans of the communist Viet Cong who attack the department stores of South Vietnamese cities...

Etzel and Lehi began their war against Arab gangs. Jewish fighters were ready to risk their lives in order to pave the way for the independent, free, and secure existence of their people on their ancestral land. Their struggle for freedom began long before the world learned about the "Fatah" bandits, Fidel Castro, or Che Guevara. Fighters of the Jewish people's liberation army threw grenades at the soldiers of imperial Britain when no one had yet heard of the "Black Panthers." These were "old type" Jews, whose motto became the words of Ze'ev Jabotinsky: "Die or conquer the mountaintop" (Lamut o lihboš et hahar).

They appeared on the historical stage in those days when the Second World War was drawing to a close and the monstrous dimensions of the Catastrophe that had befallen our people began to emerge. Throughout their centuries-old history, Jews had known many enemies, but the names of Hitler and Stalin would take the first places on the list of those who wanted to destroy the Jewish people. At the moment when the foreign ministers of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, Ribbentrop and Molotov, signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between their countries, the journey of six million of our brothers and sisters to the gas chambers began.

The leaders of the Jewish national liberation movement in Eretz Israel temporarily ceased their struggle with the British and even actively helped them in the fight against Hitler's empire. But what were the Arabs doing at that time? On whose side were the "progressive forces" of the Middle East? The future president of Egypt, Anwar Sadat, was arrested for conducting Nazi propaganda in his country. (Let us remember that the Etzel commander David Raziel died during an operation against pro-Nazi Arab organizations in Iraq). The Jerusalem mufti, the spiritual leader of the Palestinian Arabs, created a Muslim division in Yugoslavia that fought as part of the German army. While your fathers were fighting the Nazis on the fronts of Libya, Tunisia, Italy, the "progressive" Arabs were helping Hitler burn Jews in the gas ovens.

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The Jewish underground in Eretz Israel declared a temporary ceasefire, but the English had no intention of stopping their fight against the Jewish national-liberation movement. In Nazi-occupied Europe, the extermination camps operated at full capacity, where daily, freight trains packed with a special commodity arrived: Jews destined to turn into ashes and soap. While the compassionate world lazily watched the terrible spectacle, unwilling to lift a finger to save these people, a third of your people perished in gas chambers, from hunger, diseases, German bullets.

Some managed to flee this hell. On rickety boats, they wanted to reach the shores of a land they could call Home. They left behind a Europe shrouded in the smoke of crematoriums. They wanted to return home. But in their home, the English, who did not want to let Jews in, were in charge. And ship captains were ordered to return to Europe.

One of those ships was called "Struma". It carried eight hundred people on board. The English ordered it to turn around and head out to the open sea. The old vessel sank a few kilometers from the shore. All its passengers perished. Another ship, the "Patria", reached the port of Haifa. It had two hundred refugees on board. Refusing to leave the shores of their homeland, they preferred to blow up the ship and end their lives.

The residence of the man who bore direct responsibility for these crimes was in Cairo. He was called Lord Moyne—a high-ranking official who defended the interests of the British Empire in the Middle East. "Struma" and "Patria" with their unfortunate refugees were but pawns in

his big game. He could have saved many thousands of Jews but did not want to do so.

And now I want to introduce you to two Jewish heroes who committed their feat in those days. Their names were Eliyahu Hakim and Eliyahu Bet-Zuri. They were Sephardic Jews. In "progressive" literature, you have read a lot about the discrimination of Sephardim in Israel and how wonderfully they lived in Arab countries until they fell into the clutches of Zionist racists. In reality, however, things were different. Sephardic Jews, understanding better than us what it means to rely on the mercy of Arab rulers and the Arab mob, played a significant role in the Jewish national-liberation movement. Hakim and Bet-Zuri killed Lord Moyne, and for this "crime" they were hanged in Cairo on March 22, 1945.

Three years later, the Jewish state was born, and about a million Sephardic Jews fled from the Arab "paradise" from Morocco, Iraq, Yemen, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Lebanon, Algeria... For many years, we have been persuaded that a "secular democratic Palestinian state" should be created in the Land of Israel, where Jews and Arabs will live in complete equality, peace, and harmony. Ask what the Jews who fled from Arab countries think of this idea. Ask them to tell you about the conditions they lived under there, what kind of "equality" was their lot...

On the eve of the Six-Day War in 1967, the cutthroats of "Fatah" were confident of a quick victory over Israel and therefore allowed themselves to be frank. The Arabs then openly declared that their goal was "to throw the Jews into the sea." Ahmad Shukeiri, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, expressed doubts that "even one Jew would be allowed to stay alive." And if now the Arabs suddenly started talking about democracy, equality, and brotherhood, it is only because they are trying to pull the wool over the eyes of those gullible Jews who are too lazy to check what lies behind the promises to build a "secular democratic Palestinian state." We know all too well the attitude of Arab Muslims towards national and religious minorities: to the Druze in Syria, to the Kurds in Iraq, to the Negro tribes in southern Sudan, to the Copts in Egypt. And we have not forgotten how Jews were persecuted in all Arab countries. Therefore, we wish the Arabs success in their interesting endeavor, but let them build their "secular democratic Palestinian state" somewhere else. In the Land of Israel, we will build and strengthen our state, the State of Israel. But let's return to those days when the "thousand-

year Reich" was breathing its last. Europe was beginning to dry out after the waters of the Nazi deluge had receded. The eyes of the whole world were presented with the picture of the monstrous crimes of the Nazis, and no one could remain indifferent at the sight of the gas chambers, where millions of Jews were burned. However, the terrible images quickly began to recede under the pressure of more pressing matters: the Russians were busy mastering new territories annexed to the Soviet empire, and the Western countries actively helped the defeated enemy to rise and become the strongest power in Western Europe. But the fighters of the Jewish national liberation movement could not erase the memory of the crematorium chimneys. This was impossible to forget. And there was only one conclusion from everything that happened: never again! Never again must this happen! And they felt that they were destined to carry out a task of extraordinary importance, to fulfill the last will of those who perished in the death camps: to ensure that the Catastrophe does not repeat itself. They knew that in blood and fire Judea fell, in blood and fire it would be reborn! What was the astonishment of the English occupational authorities and the entire world when the Jews, those very Jews who were accustomed to being considered weak, cowardly, defenseless beings, took up arms! The Jews fought with unprecedented perseverance and desperate courage: they blew up English radars so that ships with Jewish "illegal" repatriates could freely reach the shores of their Homeland, they blew up planes in the hangars of the British Royal Air Force, they derailed trains supplying the English army. The English barricaded themselves in fortified areas of cities, and the colonial authorities had to live behind barbed wire. And when the occupiers managed to capture one of the Etzel soldiers who was only sixteen years old, and they sentenced him to the disgraceful punishment of flogging, Etzel distributed a leaflet throughout the country, which stated:

**"WARNING!"**

The Jewish soldier captured by the enemy has been sentenced by an English military "court," which has no right to judge anyone, to a humiliating punishment — flogging. We warn the occupation authorities against carrying out this sentence, which is incompatible with the laws of military honor. If the sentence is carried out, any officer of the British occupation army will face the same punishment — eighteen lashes with a whip.

The English responded to the threat with loud laughter and carried out their sentence. Two days later, the Irgun subjected several English sergeants and officers to the same punishment. The English stopped laughing. They also stopped sentencing Jews to flogging.

But great goals are not achieved at a light cost, and victory does not come without sacrifice. And you can be proud of the heroes who died in those years so that you could live today. These soldiers of the Jewish liberation army were executed by the English: Shlomo Ben-Yosef, Dov Gruner, Eliezer Kashani, Eliyahu Hakim, Eliyahu Beit-Tzuri, Yehiel Drezner, Mordechai Alkahi, Moshe Barazani, Meir Feinstein, Meir Nakar, Yaakov Weiss, Avshalom Haviv. Remember their names!

Do you know why there are only twelve names on this list? Why did the execution of death sentences suddenly stop in the Acre prison at some point? It happened because the Irgun swore not to allow a situation where Jewish blood is spilled with impunity any longer. When the English sentenced Avshalom Haviv, Yaakov Weiss, and Meir Nakar to death, they did not know yet that this execution would be the last. They were unaware of the words of our sages that "if a righteous person decides something, the Almighty implements his decision." The soldiers of the Jewish liberation army, fighting for a righteous cause, decided that the English occupiers would no longer execute Jewish fighters, and the Almighty helped them achieve their goal.

On Friday, June 12, 1947, two sergeants serving in the British intelligence were kidnapped by Irgun fighters near the city of Netanya. The Irgun announced that the sergeants were taken as hostages: if the English dared to execute Haviv, Weiss, and Nakar, these two would be hanged. News of these events spread around the world. The English turned the country upside down, but could not find the hostages. They were choking with rage — and remained captive to their notions about Jews, the Diaspora Jews, who couldn't fight back. Of course, these Jews would not dare to execute British servicemen! After all, Jews simply are not capable of this...

So, believing that Jews lacked a sense of personal dignity, they decided to carry out the sentence. Avshalom Haviv, Yaakov Weiss, and Meir Nakar went to the gallows with "Hatikvah" on their lips. The last words of the anthem faded into the night air of their beloved country, in which an

independent Jewish state would arise in a few months. Three fighters for the freedom of the Jewish people were hanged. And a few hours later, two British sergeants were hanged.

You, the grandchildren of merciful and highly humane people, understand the words "mercy" and "humanity" not as simplistically as it seems to many. To better understand the truth, we turn to the words of our sages: "He who shows mercy to the cruel will be cruel to the merciful."

The Irgun soldiers believed that mercy should be shown to the merciful: to the sons of the Jewish people who had not yet shaken off the ashes of Auschwitz, to those Jewish refugees who strove to reach the Land of Israel and encountered closed doors, to those Jewish soldiers who fought for freedom for their people. The British sergeants were hanged, and mercy triumphed: no Jew in Eretz Israel was hanged anymore.

The execution of the two sergeants was a heavy blow to British prestige. A few months later, the occupiers announced their departure from the Land of Israel. A handful of fighters proved stronger than the vast empire. Less than two years later, the State of Israel was born, and on the streets of Tel Aviv, thousands could not hold back their tears at the sound of the words: "We hereby declare the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel..."

This is what I wanted to tell you, young people, sons of the Jewish nation. Perhaps now you understand a little more about the reasons for this miracle, the reasons why, despite all the storms, the Jewish people survived. Seeing with what unimaginable, supernatural perseverance the sons of Israel overcome the centuries-old distances, remaining true to themselves, can one doubt that this was predestined from the beginning? This perseverance, this unshakable faith teaches us a sense of pride in our nation, they help us understand what Hadar is. They teach us another most important concept: Bitachon, the confidence in the indestructibility of the Jewish people, in its eternity. We believe with all our hearts that the Jewish people are eternal. A people who have gone through all the horrors of the many centuries of the night of the Diaspora will never be destroyed.

Almost four thousand years ago, on a warm southern night, our forefather Abraham heard the voice of God. The Almighty promised him, the first Jew on earth, that from him would come "a great nation." The



same promise was repeated to Isaac and Jacob, from whose twelve sons the Jewish people descend. The Almighty did not cancel His promise, and we firmly believe that our people, whom the mightiest enemies could not destroy, will live. We reaffirm this belief every year, reading the words of the Passover "Haggadah": "In every generation, there are those who wish to destroy us, but the Almighty, blessed be He, saves us from their hands." It seems simply incredible how a handful of people managed to survive over many centuries, while the great empires and mighty nations that dreamed of destroying the sons of Israel have long vanished from the stage of history. Egypt, Babylon, Greece, Rome — where are these powers today? And we see what the power of a divine promise is.

In his time, the prophet Ezekiel heard the question: "Can these bones live?" He saw before him a vast valley filled with the dried bones of the sons of Israel. And millions of voices answer: "Yes, they will live!" And this belief is called Bitachon.

Our existence does not depend on any "friends," "patrons," and "allies." In difficult times, in crisis situations, we always found ourselves alone. At best, "friends" justify their betrayal by claiming that their own interests, which are of course more important than anything else, require it. At worst, it turns out that "friends" and "allies" are driven by common anti-Semitic instincts. Whom then can we trust, if not ourselves? On whom can we rely, from whom can we expect help? Only from the Almighty. And that is enough to ensure eternal life for the Jewish people. That is also enough to fill our hearts with pride for our nation. And millions of voices respond: "Yes, they will live!" And this faith is called Bitachon.

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## JEWISH TRADITION

However, the main source that feeds the sense of pride in one's nation is the bottomless well of Jewish spiritual heritage, which fills our life with deep meaning and true greatness, and from which the entire surrounding world draws spiritual values.

The Jewish poet Chaim Nahman Bialik, who embraced European culture and grasped its wisdom, yet did not completely break away from the culture of his people, wrote: "If you truly want to understand the source of Jewish greatness and the unyielding Jewish perseverance, go to the 'beit midrash,' the house of learning, where Jews study their sacred books." A Jew who truly wants to feel pride for their nation, to know what the sense of self-worth is, must understand what distinguishes a Jew from a non-Jew. What distinguishes us from other nations is Judaism: our faith, traditions and customs, our philosophy and worldview.

The pride we feel, realizing that we belong to the Jewish people, is not something artificial. We are entitled to be proud of our people's greatest tradition, to which the entire modern Western civilization traces its roots. All those concepts of morality and ethics, which seem "natural" to Europeans and Americans, were actually derived by them from Judaism.

Our ancestors were graced with the closeness to the spiritual realms by the Almighty. And this occurred in a world where the concept of morality was altogether absent. Our forebears entered a world of cruelty, debauchery, and violence to change it. They demolished idols, proclaiming that the world was created by the One Almighty God and belongs to Him. They rose against the kingdom of darkness, where injustice, cruelty, and slavery reigned, to establish different norms in the world: justice, mercy, and freedom.

And if today people—at least many of them—understand that one should love their neighbor, then they have borrowed this idea from the Jews. If they understand today that without mercy human society could hardly be called humane, this is thanks to those Jews who lived many centuries ago and were filled with love and compassion for their neighbors. One of our distant forefathers stood on a mountain engulfed in flames and spoke with God Himself, who bestowed upon him the treasure—the Torah. From that moment, the world changed beyond recognition.

We are proud that it was our honor to teach all the nations of the Earth the faith in the One God, the merciful God who created man and endowed him with the ability to achieve holiness. This faith is the foundation of all human civilization. And we are proud that the symbol of our faith is the

words "Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God, the Lord is One!" We are proud that the Almighty brought us out of barbarism, placing upon us the most complex and responsible task: "And you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exodus 19:6). From barbarism to holiness—this is the eternal destiny of our entire nation as a whole and of every Jew individually.

Long gone from the face of the earth are those idolaters, slave traders, and tyrants who persecuted Abraham and Moses, prophets Isaiah, Amos, and Micah for their faith in the One God. Our forefathers were expelled from their homes, subjected to inhuman tortures, burned alive. Their books were burned at the stake, and their teachings were banned. But our forefathers were remarkably stubborn people. They wanted to instill principles of morality in their oppressors and turn the beast-like creature into a rational human being, before whom the path to spiritual greatness is open. And after centuries of struggle, much of what is said in the Torah, in other books of the Bible, in the Talmud, was adopted by the surrounding nations, becoming part of their moral code.

Those who today burn incense on the altar of Marx, thanking their idol for supposedly giving the world the concept of social justice, try to ignore the fact that these principles were brought into the world many centuries before this avowed anti-Semite was born in Germany.

The Talmud says:

"Just as the Almighty is called merciful and gracious, so you be merciful and gracious. Just as the Almighty is called righteous, so you be righteous. Just as the Almighty is called holy, so you be holy."

This call to us to strive for holiness fills our hearts with pride. The commandments of the Torah, whose purpose is to help us achieve holiness, make up the core of the Jewish cultural heritage, strengthening in us a sense of pride for our people.

And here I again want to address those young Jews who grew up in families that hold Judaism in contempt, associating it with some medieval, long-obsolete rituals. They were explained that these ridiculous rituals today can only be performed by dark old women and senile old men. They were told that the laws of the Sabbath, for example, are long outdated, and this is proven by modern science. After all, if once, in deep antiquity,

lighting a fire was serious work, today no effort is needed to turn an electric switch. And why not take a drive on Saturday first to the synagogue and then to the beach? Well, what kind of work is that? Only incurable fanatics could assert such nonsense...

"Kashrut"? Any enlightened person knows that the laws about what food is permitted and what is forbidden originated in ancient times and pursued purely medical purposes. But today, veterinary inspection will not allow the sale of substandard meat, for example, and in what way, then, could high-quality pork belly harm your health?

Ritual purity? Isn't it laughable today to demand the construction of some archaic "mikvahs," pools for ritual immersion, in luxurious modern hotels? Yes, once upon a time Jewish women revered such things: with the onset of menstruation, a wife would distance herself from her husband, and this period of separation lasted about two weeks, after which she would perform a purifying immersion in the waters of the "mikvah"... But what does all this have to do with modern life, which offers us conveniences our great-grandmothers could not even dream of? I want to speak to the young people raised on ideas of this kind. Listen and try to understand what your emancipated liberal parents were afraid to tell you. Try to understand what gave your grandfathers the strength to endure all those horrors, all those sufferings, the mere mention of which would drive a modern emancipated Jew to consult five psychiatrists at once. Try to enter these waters — not to hide in them from the problems that surround you on all sides, but to purify yourself in these clean, cool waters of a great and ancient culture, so that your soul, worn out by vain searches, could be reborn to a new, true life. "Ho, everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters," says the prophet Isaiah. And our sages explain: "Speaking of 'water,' the prophet means the Torah."

You should listen to what I want to say, not because we are going to immediately turn all of you into rabbis. Listen in order to become full-fledged masters of the treasure that our people possess, a treasure that distinguishes us from all other people, endowing us with vitality and holiness. Listen in order to understand yourselves, to regain a sense of personal dignity without which a Jew cannot survive. Listen in order to return to your roots, to your very selves.

Judaism is built on concepts such as holiness, selfless goodness, mercy, and peace — concepts that the modern person has thoroughly forgotten. He who intends to change the world must first change the individual. What, in practice, do concepts like "society," "humanity," etc., mean? These concepts are an absolute abstraction. The whole is merely the sum of its parts, and any society consists of individual people. And if an individual person is cruel, greedy, and deceitful, then so will be the society of which he is a part. Change the world? Yes, but only by changing every individual person.

Polish and Ukrainian peasants hated Jews regardless of who ruled them at any given time: the Russian Tsar, Lenin, Pilsudski, or Gomulka. Anti-Semitism flourished in Germany just the same in the times of the Empire as in the times of the Weimar Republic.

Judaism stems from the idea that the world can be made more humane and just. But to achieve this, one must correct each individual person, - to lead them out of savagery and closer to holiness. Sometimes it seems to us that this task is unattainable, that it's impossible to make a person better than they are now. But Judaism teaches us not to lose heart. "There are long roads that actually turn out to be short, and there are short roads that actually turn out to be long," says the Talmud. In our desire to improve the world as quickly as possible, we must not make the mistake of only changing the structure of society. We may quickly achieve an external effect, - but we will only distance ourselves from the true goal. To truly reach the goal, we must improve the person, however long that path may seem.

Of course, this is not an easy task. But since when has a Jew recoiled from difficulties? On the other hand, how can one correct a person if they do not want it themselves?

First of all, it is necessary to understand why a person commits unworthy acts, why their behavior can be antisocial, why they can be cruel. Without understanding this, we will not be able to move forward.

No mentally normal person "will do evil for the sake of evil. A person commits a crime only if they are convinced that it will benefit them. Bank robberies are not committed out of love for robbery, and workers do not damage the factories they work at out of love for chaos and anarchy.

People's actions are dictated by their desire to become rich, to gain power or prestige, and often this can only be achieved by illegal means.

The first sign of a person's maturity should be the realization that they cannot achieve everything they want. And how difficult it is for a person to internally restructure in this regard! A newborn child is focused exclusively on their own desires. The child does not understand that the world will not turn upside down because they want to eat. They begin to understand this as they grow up and face the facts of life, and these confrontations can sometimes be quite painful. A teenager has to understand that the Earth does not revolve around him and that his "I" is not the center of the Universe. Maturity comes to a person as they realize that their desires must be aligned with the desires of other people. Many refuse to understand this simple truth until the end of their days, and their entire life passes in struggle with those around them, with society. They are guided by the concept that a person should only take, without giving anything in return. This life concept often lands them in the psychiatrist's chair.

The reluctance to control one's passions, to deal with one's ego, endows a person with a destructive power. Judaism does not regard humans as inherently sinful beings. A person can rise above angels, but they are also capable of sinking to the level of an animal. Humans are endowed with free will, given the opportunity to choose between good and evil. Judaism teaches us self-discipline, the ability to subjugate our instincts to the pursuit of goodness.

If a person follows their desires, they will not stop at violating any moral norms. Such a person poses a real danger to those around them, to the entire society. The ability to control oneself, strength of will, and the willingness to help one's neighbor selflessly - this is what sanctity is. But achieving holiness is not such a simple matter, it requires time and hard work on oneself. You cannot become a great actor by merely studying textbooks on theatrical art. You cannot become an artist without picking up a brush and paints. In the same way, you cannot become righteous by limiting yourself to reading lectures on a righteous way of life. One can become righteous only by leading a righteous life. And for such a way of life to become natural, to "become a habit," constant self-control, persistence, and self-discipline are needed. Working on oneself day after day, a person can cultivate the strength to serve higher ideals.

Judaism prescribes a Jew to perform the commandments of the Almighty, "mitzvot". The system of many dozens of commandments defines the daily behavior of a Jew, directing each of their steps. "Mitzvot" teach us to control our impulses and desires, help us to overcome our shortcomings, make us mature people.

Judaism prescribes us to pray three times a day, in the morning to lay "tefillin", to recite a blessing before eating. Judaism obligates us to ensure that this food is kosher. Judaism obligates us to refrain from engaging in weekday activities on the Sabbath and holidays and to fast on certain days; it obligates us to observe special laws of ritual purity in family life. The entire life of a Jew should be determined by the words of the Holy Scripture: "In all your ways acknowledge Him".

These are the very "mitzvot" that seemed to the "new type" of Jew so outdated, meaningless, and barbaric. These are the "mitzvot" that fill the life of every Jew with meaning and lead him to the highest ideal—to holiness. To the "new type" of Jew, bending under the weight of their inferiority complex and striving with all their might to secure a "good life," these "mitzvot" seem like an unnecessary relic of the Middle Ages, inexplicably preserved remnants of antiquity. It's not just that observing these "mitzvot" is boring to him—it seems to him that they drag him back into the musty darkness of the past. In our age of pragmatism, anything that cannot be scientifically proven should be thrown into the garbage bin, and anything that does not have a direct utilitarian purpose should not be taken seriously...

The modern American Jew has a very distorted view of "mitzvot." Not being familiar with the entire system of commandments, he comes to completely erroneous conclusions regarding the Jewish religion. Most American Jews today are absolutely indifferent to their religion and cultural heritage. All they know about Judaism is a poor substitute made up of fragmented facts and common half-truths. They are like a blind person convinced that they know what the surrounding world looks like. But "mitzvot" form a coherent system only in their entirety. To understand their meaning and greatness, one must become acquainted with Judaism in all its fullness. And then the splendor of each commandment, leading a person to goodness and holiness, will be revealed to us.

Shabbat, the Jewish Sabbath, creates a special atmosphere in the life of a Jew, requiring him to abandon his weekday activities and thoughts on this day and devote time to more exalted subjects, realizing that his material well-being depends solely on the will of the Almighty. The Almighty has commanded us to enter into the realm of tranquility and harmony on this day, which should not be disturbed by any extraneous actions. On this day, the entire family gathers around the festively set table to exchange impressions of the week, share their thoughts, and hear wise words of the Torah from the mouth of the father, who does not run out of the house to go fishing or to a football match... The family gathers together to recharge spiritually for the next week in the special atmosphere of the Sabbath. The Sabbath candles, the Sabbath challah, the Sabbath songs—all are filled with elevation and love. How true are the words that more than the Jews have kept the Sabbath, the Sabbath has kept the Jews!

And so this Jewish Sabbath seemed to Sammy an unnecessary relic of the past... And no less meaningless to him were the laws of "kashrut"—burdensome and petty restrictions on the demands of his stomach... Well, really, aren't they an anachronism when all products carry a quality mark? Sammy does not wish to understand that the laws of "kashrut" were given to us to separate man from animal, to ennoble his natural instincts, and to give them a spiritual meaning.

"Who can be called a hero?"—ask the sages of the Talmud and give the answer: "A person who controls their desires." Satisfying hunger is one of the most important biological needs of a person. But for a Jew, food means something more. No, Judaism does not call for asceticism, on the contrary, it condemns the approach according to which the joys of life are classified as "sin." Everything that the Almighty created for the benefit of man cannot be sinful, and the Talmud says that when a person appears before the Supreme Court, he is asked, in particular, this question: "Did you enjoy on earth all that the Creator made for you?"

Judaism does not require a person to renounce their natural desires and needs. It does require, however, that a person remain human and not resemble an animal. Animals are ruled by their instincts, while a human is obligated to be the master of their desires. Judaism does not ask a person to renounce the pleasures that life offers, but their behavior must be regulated by clear moral boundaries.



A Jew who is ready to spend an hour or two searching for kosher meat, passing by butcher shops where high-quality pork is sold, such a Jew has already mastered the art of self-discipline. Such a Jew will find the strength to make even more difficult sacrifices if necessary. A person who observes the "mitzvot" is ready to undergo difficult trials in the name of exalted ideals. And if a cry for help is heard and decisive action is required from us, which may bring inconveniences, expenses, complications for ourselves, then it will be much harder for a Jew accustomed to going with the flow, accustomed to being a slave to his desires, than for one who prepares for trials every day, every hour.

The meaning of the laws of ritual purity, which touch upon the most intimate aspects of life, is to elevate a person's sexual instincts to the greatest of spiritual concepts — love. The mention of these laws elicits a contemptuous smirk from the modern, skeptically minded assimilated Jew, accompanied by vulgar jokes. Yet, it is precisely thanks to these laws that a Jew is freed from the captivity of one of the most tenacious instincts, gaining the opportunity to direct it towards the most noble goals. And then the marital relationship is filled with mutual respect and illuminated by the true light of love. A marital couple who observes the laws of ritual purity is freed from slavish indulgence in animal instincts and from numerous disappointments. There are no more beautiful, harmonious relationships between a man and a woman than those that reign in a true Jewish family. The Talmud says that a husband is obligated to love his wife as himself, and to respect her more than himself. In the world around us, love is displaced by sex, and respect for women is completely absent. Women are treated as objects to satisfy sexual needs. What kind of respect, what kind of love can we speak of here? If a person uses someone for their selfish ends, they cannot feel respect or love for them. Through the laws of ritual purity, Judaism teaches us to build our relationship with women on completely different foundations. A husband's relationship to his wife is based on a feeling of respect. A woman is a person, not an object. Judaism teaches a man to treat his wife as a full-fledged partner and friend, with whom they share thoughts, impressions, and experiences.

This is how a Jew lives. "Mitzvot" constrain him, and they also make him free. Throughout his life, a Jew carries the heavy burden of commandments, but this burden gives him the opportunity to be master of his desires. Unfortunately, American-Jewish Sammy, whose horizon is

limited to satisfying animal instincts and a feverish pursuit of money, career, and success, is unlikely to understand what we are talking about now. In search of a prosperous life free from anti-Semitism, he turns away from the richest cultural heritage of his people and from the laws given to us by the Almighty.

Only a return to Jewish tradition, to our centuries-old cultural heritage, can give the modern Jew an understanding of what nobility is and what a sense of personal dignity means.

## REASSESSMENT OF VALUES

It's time to finally reconsider those concepts that Jews have defended so passionately—because they so desperately wanted to believe in them. It's time to understand that antisemitism is an integral part of the societies in which we live, and this is explained by a whole range of reasons: envy, competition, chauvinism, religious propaganda, and finally—just the irrationality of human thought. All the idols to which the modern emancipated Jew offers incense have not helped him find the peace and security he so craves.

Antisemitism still exists, and today it is no less active than yesterday. Jews are not loved in America, and they certainly do not feel entirely safe here, no matter how much they try to convince themselves otherwise. The fact that non-Jews now receive better education has not stopped them from hating Jews, because education, as a rule, has nothing to do with concepts such as morality and ethical principles. And that which is born of envy, poverty, anger, and despair does not disappear upon receiving a higher education diploma. Our attempts to dissolve, to become "like everyone else," to flirt with everyone around us, turning a blind eye to the reaction of the interlocutor, have not been successful. At best, we are tolerated. But even this tolerance will sooner or later give way under the pressure of possible crises and storms. All attempts to tailor Judaism to the standards of the modern Western world have led to nothing but the loss of our national identity and contempt from the surrounding society. All our efforts to benefit humanity have led nowhere. All our marches and demonstrations in defense of the rights of the oppressed and disenfranchised peoples have not convinced them to love Jews. History has shown that our attempts to solve other people's problems have not led to anything good. The idea that one can remain a devoted Jew and at

the same time dedicate oneself to the struggle for the bright future of all the peoples of the world is just as doomed to failure as the attempts to rid oneself of one's Jewishness through worldwide fraternity based on Marxist-Leninist theory and world revolution. The Nuremberg Laws destroyed the deep faith of German Jews in assimilation. The mark "Jew" in the fifth column of the Soviet passport shook the naive confidence of Russian Jews that the Marxist utopia would bring us freedom and equality.

We have no choice. Whether we like it or not, a Jew must remain a Jew, because the only alternative offered by the surrounding world is destruction. And here we are obliged to do everything in our power to prevent this from happening.

But what is even more important, the return to one's people, to their faith, to their way of life begins with the realization that being a Jew and living as a Jew is the highest happiness. The return begins with the realization that being a Jew is wonderful. The return begins with us forever abandoning the ideas of assimilation and self-hatred. We must firmly grasp one truth: first and foremost, we are obliged to attend to our own affairs, not those of others, and the only truly reliable ally for a Jew can only be another Jew.

It is time to check whether our leaders are leading us down the right path. Is the life of American Jewry really so cloudless today? And what are Jewish forces and funds being spent on: fighting for the interests of the Jewish people or subsidizing various non-Jewish, and sometimes even anti-Jewish, events?

It is time to finally put an end to the senseless search for "roots," "self-identification," and the like. The roots of every Jew are in their people, in their faith and laws. Those in search of "roots" should cease their search in foreign fields; they should return home—to the treasury of Jewish knowledge and tradition, to Jewish education, and to the observance of the commandments given to us by the Almighty.

The re-evaluation of values must begin with the revival in our hearts of a simple national sentiment, with the understanding that all Jews, wherever they may be, form one living organism. The pain of one should become the pain of all.

The re-evaluation of values must begin with the adoption of a new philosophy—a philosophy born from the ashes of millions of our brothers and sisters burnt in the furnaces of Auschwitz and Treblinka. This philosophy dictates that the highest moral imperative is to ensure the life and safety of the Jewish people. And if it is not possible to achieve this without the use of force, we are obliged to use force. And we should not ask anyone for forgiveness for being alive. Casting aside the fears and neuroses of the ghetto, we must tell the whole world: never again!

The re-evaluation of values must begin with the rejection of false ideals and fantastical ideas. We do not live to see the meaning of our existence in the possibility of visiting a prestigious club where noble gentlemen play croquet.

Our path to revival begins with pride in our people, with Jewish nationalism. It begins with us, Jews, joining hands and filling our hearts with love for our brethren. Our path begins with Ahavat Yisrael—love for every Jew and for the entire nation.

#### AHAVAT YISRAEL

In ancient times, there were great Jews on earth who dared to challenge the decree of the Almighty when He wanted to harshly punish His people. Their love for their brethren was so great that they were willing to become the targets of the Almighty's wrath themselves, seeking forgiveness for the erring sons of their people. Such a person was Moshe Rabbeinu (Moses our Teacher). Hearing that the Lord's patience was exhausted and that He intended to unleash all His wrath upon the Jews, who had strayed from His ways once again, and to leave only Moses alive to create a new people from him, Moses exclaimed, "If so, then kill me too!"

Such a person was Rabbi Levi Yitzchak of Berdichev, who made Ahavat Yisrael (Love of Israel) the meaning of his life, filled with compassion for his fellow Jews. Rabbi Levi Yitzchak lived in the very heart of the "Pale of Settlement," where Jewish life was made up of persecutions and oppressions, and poverty reached truly monstrous proportions. On Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, Rabbi Levi Yitzchak, the kindest man in the world, courageously demanded that the Almighty forgive His much-suffering people. Hundreds of people held their breath as they listened to the harsh words of Rabbi Levi Yitzchak, who knew that

the sins of the Jews had caused a severe sentence in Heaven, and who found the strength to contest this sentence, demanding leniency for his people. By the end of Yom Kippur, when his strength was nearly exhausted, Levi Yitzchak stood up and addressed his Creator with these words:

"O, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob! You teach us to follow Your ways, but why won't You understand our ways? If a Jew accidentally drops 'tefillin', he rushes to pick them up and kiss them and will fast all day long — because he loves Your 'tefillin'. Our sages teach us that You too have 'tefillin', in which is written: 'Who is like Your people, Israel, a unique nation on earth!' You have dropped Your 'tefillin' — the people of Israel — to the ground, from the peaks of freedom and happiness they have fallen into the dust of exile and persecution. It has been almost two thousand years since then, but You do not want to pick up Your 'tefillin', kiss them, and fast. I ask You to lift up Your 'tefillin' and forgive them! If You do not do this, — I will be forced to tell the whole world that the Almighty wears unfit 'tefillin'..."

A Chasidic legend says that the words of Rabbi Levi Yitzchak reached the throne of the Almighty, and He said: "You have prevailed, my son, Levi Yitzchak: I forgive them..."

Ahavat Yisrael is the foundation and quintessence of Judaism.

The Almighty Himself tells us, "My children, what do I want from you? I want you to love and respect each other" ("Tanna Devei Eliyahu").

And the Torah teaches us the same: "Do not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor" (Leviticus 19:16).

And the Talmud tells us the same: "From where do we know that someone who sees his fellow drowning in the sea, or being attacked by wild beasts or robbers, is obligated to save him? From [what is stated in the Torah]: 'Do not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor.' Where do we know that someone who knows of someone's intention to kill his neighbor can save the life, even by killing the assailant? From [what is stated in the Torah]: 'Do not stand idly by the blood of your neighbor'" (Tractate Sanhedrin, 73).

A Jew is obligated to overcome any obstacle to help his fellow. He must be ready to exert all efforts and make great sacrifices for this. When

it is necessary to help a father, mother, or brother, we spare no money, time, or energy — we drop everything and rush to help. In the same way, we are obliged to act when our help is needed by our fellow Jews, wherever they may be.

But Ahavat Yisrael means something even greater.

Once, a poor man approached Rabbi Yosef Dov (Joseph Dov) Ber Soloveitchik of Brisk with a question: "Can one fulfill the commandment of the 'four cups' on Passover by drinking milk instead of wine?" Rabbi Soloveitchik answered in the negative, took twenty-five rubles out of his pocket — a large sum for those times — and instructed the poor man to buy wine for himself. When the poor man left, Rabbi Soloveitchik's wife, who had overheard the conversation, asked, "To buy wine, two or three rubles would have been enough. Why did you give him such a sum?" The rabbi smiled and replied, "Tell me, would a Jew who in his life never mixed meat and milk drink milk after the Passover meat dishes? Clearly, he has no money not only for wine but also for meat."

We see that Ahavat Yisrael requires us not only to be ready at any moment to help a Jew. We must show care and concern, trying to understand exactly what the other Jew needs.

Explaining to his students what Ahavat Yisrael means, Rabbi David of Lvov recounted to them a story about how two friends were convincing each other of the greatness of their friendship. "If that is so," said one, "then tell me, what am I lacking?" "How can I know what you are lacking?" the other replied. "If you truly loved me, you would know what I am missing, even without me having to tell you about it..."

Looking at our orphaned, spiritually impoverished generation, we see how much it lacks the greatness and beauty of Ahavat Yisrael. One who has not seen darkness will not understand what light is. Thus, we come to understand the full importance of Ahavat Yisrael only after we realize the full tragedy of its loss.

When six million perished in the death camps and the news of this had already spread throughout the world, the leaders of the Jewish establishment were horrified. And they tried to do something, because they, of course, loved Jews, but they did not love them enough. Their actions lacked the necessary resolve, they did not have the readiness to

make sacrifices. How far they were from Rabbi Levi Yitzchak! Those Jews in Europe, who were going to their deaths, waited for our help, yet we were in some kind of stupor.

Today, we do not have Jews like Rabbi Levi Yitzchak of Berdichev. Today, our souls do not ache for our fellow Jews. Today we are ready to cut each other's throats over trivialities. And there is nothing new in this; there have already been examples of this in Jewish history. It was not the Roman legions led by Emperor Titus that breached the defenses of Jerusalem, nor the legionnaires who burned and laid waste to the city: the cause of Jerusalem's fall was a brutal civil war that erupted within the walls of the besieged city. When the Romans were preparing for the decisive assault, the Jews were busy fighting each other in the streets, burning food warehouses...

And when the army of Bar Kochba, whose core were the disciples of the great Rabbi Akiva, had nearly driven the Romans out of the Land of Israel, a tragic turn of events occurred—due to the fault of the rebels themselves, among whom bloody clashes began. They dug their own graves, paving the way for the Romans to a complete victory. The Bar Kochba revolt ended in defeat, the country was subjected to unprecedented destruction, and the Jews were expelled from their native land.

What was the cause of the destruction of the Second Temple? *Sinat chinam*, baseless hatred. What can give the Jewish people the strength to rise from the ashes? What can give us the strength to survive? *Ahavat chinam*, unconditional love. Love that does not require explanations for its reasons, just as a mother's love for her child does not require them. What was the cause of the destruction of the Second Temple? *Sinat chinam*, baseless hatred. What can give the Jewish people the strength to rise from the ashes? What can give us the strength to survive? *Ahavat chinam*, unconditional love. Love that does not need explanations for its reasons, just as a mother's love for her child does not.

The time has come when we must fill our hearts with this love. The Holy Rabbi Isaac Luria would say before the morning prayer: "I am ready to fulfill the commandment of the Torah: love your neighbor as yourself." We should take an example from him.

And he who truly understands what Ahavat Yisrael is must place Jewish affairs at the forefront. For too long have we watered foreign fields with our sweat, for too long have we cultivated others' vineyards, leaving our own to waste. There will always be people ready to fight for a better life for the peoples of Asia, Africa, or Latin America. There will always be fighters for freedom and civil rights for the oppressed and persecuted in any corner of the world. But who will be ready to help us, the Jews, in a difficult moment?

For many months I participated in dozens and hundreds of demonstrations in support of Soviet Jews. And throughout all these months, I looked among the demonstrators for those non-Jews who the Jews had so selflessly helped, forgetting their own needs and concerns. They were not with us on those days.

The conclusion is clear: we have no one to rely on but ourselves. Just as in those tragic days, European Jews found no support from their German, Polish, Czech friends. Jewish communists, who found themselves in the Warsaw Ghetto along with all other Jews, received no help from their Polish comrades who professed the same ideas of "proletarian internationalism". These Jewish communists were forced to unite with their "fascist-minded, bourgeois-nationalist" Jewish brethren.

Immediately after the proclamation of the State of Israel, Arab armies crossed its borders with the sole purpose of "throwing the Jews into the sea". Did anyone come to our aid then? When Jerusalem was besieged by the Arabs, no one set up an "air bridge" as had been done for blockaded West Berlin. No one planned to send UN troops to the Middle East to stop Arab aggression. The annihilation of Israel's Jewish population was prevented only by the heroism of Jewish soldiers and the massive support of Jews around the world. And all those peacemakers who demand that Israel make "concessions" should know that in 1948 we already made six thousand concessions: six thousand Jews died in that war. A war of independence when no one was ready to come to our aid.

When in 1956 Israel was forced to withdraw from Sinai under the threat of economic sanctions from the USA, it was given international guarantees of free navigation on sea routes leading to Israeli ports, and the UN undertook to keep special forces in Sinai to ensure the inviolability of Israeli borders. Nevertheless, in 1967 the Egyptians blocked access to



the port of Eilat, and the UN forces left Sinai at the first demand of Egyptian President Nasser—the value of international guarantees turned out to be no higher than the price of the paper they were written on. And this time, the existence of the Jewish state was guaranteed not by empty promises of "peacekeepers", but by the blood of Jewish soldiers and the material support of Jews in the free world countries. And to all those who demand concessions from Israel, we must remind them that to the 6,000 "concessions" of 1948 were added 600 "concessions" in 1956 and 800 "concessions" in 1967. Enough "concessions"! Enough graves in military cemeteries!

And let's stop deceiving ourselves. Enough of convincing ourselves that fighting for someone else's rights is simultaneously a fight for our own, Jewish rights. It's not. History clearly tells us that although the principles of morality and justice oblige us to help any person in trouble, we should not delude ourselves with the illusion that their interests and ours always coincide in everything, and that those whom we have helped selflessly will help us just as selflessly.

Of course, we can support others in their just struggle, but above all, we must take care of our own interests, because no one else will do it for us. Ahavat Yisrael means that priority should always be given to Jewish matters. It's our duty to help any Jew in trouble. We are obligated to help him because he is a Jew. Our actions should be determined by the clear understanding that we have no one else to expect help from; we can only help ourselves. And if any one of us suddenly catches fire with the idea of fighting for human rights somewhere in Africa or Latin America, let them first find out the situation of their brethren in the Soviet Union. Before helping communists in Vietnam and Laos, we should make sure that Israel is no longer threatened and does not need our help. Before we stand up for the humiliated and offended of all nations of the world, let's see if there are still poor Jews in the neighborhoods of New York, living in an atmosphere of constant fear of robbers and bandits.

The Jewish establishment must understand that we do not want to spend money on non-Jewish causes, however noble they may be, as long as Jews are in need of this money. The Jewish establishment must remember that it arose precisely as a Jewish establishment to protect Jewish interests, and that is the very essence of its existence. Leaders of Jewish organizations need to be told that we are not convinced by their

talk that our security and well-being depend on the mercy of those around us. That is not the case, and history has provided us with thousands of proofs of this. The Jewish establishment must clearly understand that its duty is to protect Jews, their rights, their property, their security.

But unfortunately, one cannot hope that the leaders of the Jewish establishment will suddenly change their entire way of thinking. It is unlikely that they will suddenly start spending time, effort, and money on such trivial issues as helping their fellow Jews. After all, it's far more important for them to make the right impression on their non-Jewish friends and patrons, who are convinced that they are the true leaders representing the broad masses of the Jewish people.

We have nothing to expect from these "leaders." Our hopes are connected—as they have always been in the history of our people—with the simple Jews, the "little people," who are not poisoned by a passion for glory, honors, and prestige. These people, the ordinary, "invisible" heroes, the nameless fighters of the Jewish revival, are spoken of in Z. Jabotinsky's book "The Story of a Regiment." He writes about the creation of the Jewish Legion, the first Jewish army since the time of Ancient Rome, and how the Jewish establishment resisted it: On a winter evening, in the midst of London's slush, with half-rain and half-snow on the street, someone knocks at my door. A young man enters, very poorly dressed, and hands me a crumpled, dirty scrap of paper. I recognize the handwriting of a friend who is stuck in Jaffa. He writes: "The bearer is Harry First. You can trust him."

Harry First says: — I've come straight from Palestine. The local workers asked me to tell you that they are with your plan, and that you should not be intimidated by any fears for the fate of the Palestinian colonies. That's the first thing. And the second: I'm at your service. I speak Yiddish and English, I'm a member of the labor party and I know Whitechapel. How can I be of service?

— Settle in the East End and work with the youth there, — I say. He stands up and leaves.

And for two years in a row, Harry First conducted our agitation in the East End, in the workshops, in the tea houses, in the committee of his

party, at meetings. One by one, he found individual supporters, introduced me to them, and then went on to work further. He became one of the popular figures of Whitechapel: they both loved and could not stand him. The reason they couldn't stand him is clear; and they loved him because even his opponents were impressed by his calm, polite perseverance and his noble poverty. Then he joined the legion, served his two years in Palestine quietly and well, without seeking any concessions or promotions; and after demobilization, he disappeared, not reminding anyone of himself, not asking for anyone's gratitude, and I do not know where he is or what has become of him. Perhaps someone will show him these lines: shalom, Harry First, one of those "nameless soldiers" who make history—while leaving the honors to the famous.

"It is impossible to conquer the summit of a mountain without leaving graves at its base." These words of Ze'ev Jabotinsky should be engraved on our hearts, constantly before our eyes.

Our sages teach that the Torah, the Land of Israel, and the world to come can only be acquired through suffering, by being ready for self-sacrifice. They wanted to tell us that only in this way can we achieve great goals.

And if today the problem of Soviet Jewry is at the center of the world's attention and the gigantic Soviet empire is forced to make concessions, granting "its" Jews the opportunity to find freedom in their homeland—it is not because we achieved this through petitions or by submitting modest, respectable protests twice a year.

Soviet Jewry is moving towards freedom thanks to those Jews who felt its pain and suffering with all their souls and left their affairs to go out into the streets, to conduct violent demonstrations and—yes, they were not afraid of it—to resort to violence. These people were ready to be beaten by the police and arrested, they risked imprisonment, but were not afraid, because they were driven by Ahavat Yisrael (the love of Israel).

A small group of brave people, confident in their righteousness, can achieve success where a passive crowd can achieve nothing. Self-sacrifice! This is the key to victory in our efforts to help our people. Self-sacrifice is the litmus test of Ahavat Yisrael. It's easy to talk about love for fellow Jews if no action is required from you to prove this love in practice. But freedom for the slaves cannot be granted with beautiful words and

empty declarations. Freedom can only be won in struggle. If we are ready for self-sacrifice, nothing can stand before us. But if not—our war is lost even before it has begun.

That's why real help never came from those leaders, organizations, and groups who had much to lose. This law of human social nature has been proven thousands of times throughout Jewish history. People living in prosperity, occupying a solid position in society, caring about their own prestige, are not inclined to take risks. And this is natural. But all these reasons explaining inaction are not of interest to the Jew crying for help. Jewish leaders who think first of their own well-being and only then of the interests of their people cannot be Jewish leaders. Such people are too dangerous to lead.

Our revival will not start with the establishment or with those well-fed, self-satisfied people on which it relies. When Herzl spoke of returning to the Land of Israel, saying that "the poor will arrive first, then the middle class, and only then the rich,"—he knew where salvation would come from.

It will come from those broad masses of the people who themselves have tasted the bitterness of suffering, not from "leaders" whose hearts have grown fat with complacency. And this is not new in Jewish history. When Moses demanded that the Egyptian Pharaoh let the Jewish people go free, the latter only increased the oppression, and the labor of the Jewish slaves became even harder. Then the leaders of the enslaved people unleashed their anger on Moses: "Because of you, we have lost favor in the eyes of Pharaoh! Because of you, our situation has worsened!" Salvation came not from the Egyptian-Jewish establishment, which even in slavery had something to lose. Salvation came from Moses, who was ready to sacrifice himself to fulfill the mission entrusted to him by the Almighty and free his people.

And when we will be seeking "soldiers" for the battle for the future of the Jewish people, we will find them among those who are called amcha - "your people", among the "simple" Jews, enduring poverty and the trials of life, oppression and antisemitism. These people understand the essence of Jewish problems and do not have so much to lose. There is another obstacle that prevents the modern Jew from dedicating himself

exclusively to the benefit of his own people: belief in ideals that often contradict one another. In particular, it is difficult for the modern Jew to reconcile his commitment to Jewish values with a belief in liberalism.

In the modern world, it is extremely difficult for a Jew to enclose himself within his own Jewish world, to surround himself with an impenetrable wall of a cultural ghetto and to try not to notice what happens beyond its walls. And in particular, it is very difficult not to sympathize with various political and ideological currents. And since liberalism sets the tone in the political life of modern America, the majority of American Jews have embraced the postulates of this doctrine, convincing themselves that liberalism in no way contradicts the morality of Judaism and is even inseparable from it.

But is this really the case? Is it so obvious that the liberal camp understands the security problems of Israel better than the others? Why is it assumed that those who have turned "peace" into one of their main slogans can actually bring peace and security to Israel? Will those who advocate for cutting defense appropriations and against "military adventures" in remote corners of the world continue to provide military aid to Israel? Will those who oppose the U.S. remaining the "world's policeman" assist Israel in the event of, for example, Soviet aggression? Would those who fought for the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam send them to the Middle East? But is this really the case? Is it so obvious that the liberal camp better understands the security issues of Israel than the others? From what follows, that those who have made "peace" one of their main slogans can actually bring peace and security to Israel?

And will the liberals, who assert that we must put an end to the "cold war" because war "is harmful for children and all living beings in general," demand from the Soviet authorities to stop persecuting Jews? Will these liberals, who consider anti-communism the silliest idea and call for establishing all kinds of relations with the Soviet Union, strive for an end to the cultural genocide of Soviet Jews? We must soberly face reality: in many issues, very important ones at that, the interests of the Jewish people do not coincide with the ideals of classical liberalism. We must assess existing phenomena not from the standpoint of some "objective" principles, but trying to understand whether they bring us benefit or harm.

It's time to stop bowing to liberals. And at the same time, we must be sure that we will not bow to conservatives either. We should not automatically support any political movement just because it is "right" or "left". In each specific case, we should be guided by one single criterion — is it good for Jews or bad.

Today, it is clear that liberals are no better disposed towards Israel than conservatives. Many conservative newspapers take a far more pro-Israel stance than the liberal "New York Times." If liberals today demand "concessions" from Israel, conservatives see a strong Jewish state as an obstacle to the spread of Soviet influence in the Middle East. Tomorrow their position may change. Then our sympathies will change. We must not be led by others, we are obliged to fight for our rights and interests.

Instead, we blindly support American and all other liberals, not wanting to realize what their activities bring to Israel — benefit or harm. This irresponsible behavior must stop.

A Jew is alone in this world that has tried thousands of times to destroy him. The Jew has stood in his solitude, relying on his God, Who will protect him in any trouble. But when he began to believe that salvation would come not from the Almighty, but from one ideology or political party, he was making a tragic mistake. It would be simply wonderful if all of humanity began to fight unanimously for truth and justice. But it does not do so. Every nation is preoccupied with its own concerns. It's time for us to deal with our own problems, guided by one principle: the principle of Ahavat Yisrael (Love of Israel).

Only by doing so can we survive.

#### ACTION PROGRAM

American Jews prefer to remain captive to sweet myths, not willing to face the looming dangers. Yet, their dream of creating a safe haven for themselves in this country is no closer to realization today than it was half a century ago. Despite all the achievements of American Jewry in economic and social areas, they have not rid themselves of the threat of antisemitism, and among the Jews there are still the poor and the unemployed; discrimination is still an issue that Jews in America face. Moreover, a new danger has arisen, perhaps the most frightening danger threatening the very existence of the Jewish people in America —

assimilation, the loss of national self-awareness by Jewish youth. The Jewish establishment has proven powerless to resolve these problems. It turns out that in "golden America" Jews have encountered great difficulties. And in this atmosphere of uncertainty and the search for meaning in life, we need a real action program that will ensure the spiritual and physical existence of Jewry in this country.

The first step towards salvation must be the revival of the Jewish soul in every Jew. A Jew should feel proud of his people and possess a sense of personal dignity. Our task is to explain to the Jew what Hadar is. Having understood this, he will comprehend the extreme importance of Ahavat Yisrael — the feeling of love for his people as a whole and for each Jew individually, a feeling that demands from a person a willingness to self-sacrifice. Hadar and Ahavat Yisrael are the two necessary steps on our path to revival. And we must begin the process of revival with a clear action program, at the heart of which is the belief that the Jewish people must possess strength—spiritual and physical.

Having lost a sense of pride in his people, without a clear national self-consciousness, a Jew not only drowns in the waves of assimilation but also finds himself completely defenseless in the inevitable confrontations with antisemitism. Self-deception and false optimism about the possibility of Jews successfully integrating into non-Jewish society prevent us from noticing the approaching danger. Unwillingness to recognize that Jews have common — pan-Jewish — interests leads to a dulling of the sense of danger threatening all of Jewish society.

Only by returning to the laws of Jewish life, to the norms of Jewish morality, will we be able to unite to meet any danger with dignity. Only a complete return to Judaism will save us from spiritual and physical degradation.

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## ELIMINATE THE SPIRITUAL THREAT TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Reinforcing Hadar and Ahavat Israel in our hearts, and especially in the hearts of the younger generation, is our most important and immediate task. This is the foundation of the entire action program, and we must start by clearly understanding a simple truth: preference should be given to

Jewish matters, and money, time, and energy should be directed primarily towards the protection of Jewish interests.

Jewish organizations are obliged to fulfill the function for which they were created, primarily to support, develop, and expand the network of Jewish education to protect Jewish youth from assimilation and spiritual degradation. For this purpose, special funds must be created to allow children from low-income families to receive Jewish education in day schools free of charge. Jewish organizations must also seek government subsidies for Jewish day schools. The curricula of these schools themselves should be revised so that the main focus is on developing and strengthening the students' sense of Jewish pride and national self-awareness. The Jewish school should show the child the beauty and grandeur of the Jewish religion, way of life, and culture. Even students who do not lead a Jewish way of life due to their parents' fault should be acquainted with it to have the freedom of choice. Special courses should be devoted to the heroic pages of our history: the great wars and uprisings in antiquity, the steadfastness and devotion to their people by Jews in the Middle Ages, the miracle of the rebirth of the Jewish state, rising from the ashes of the Great Catastrophe, the heroic struggle of Jewish partisans in Nazi-occupied Europe, and underground military organizations in Palestine in the period preceding the establishment of the state.

Students must be acquainted with today's problems without embellishing or hiding facts, because it is these issues they will face as soon as they leave the school walls. As part of a special course, the history of Soviet Jewry should be presented, with students actively participating in demonstrations and other forms of struggle for Soviet Jews. Schoolchildren from affluent families living in wealthy areas should visit quarters of Jewish poverty and participate in the work of organizations that help their inhabitants as part of a special course.

We cannot wait for Jewish youth to come to us of their own accord seeking advice. We must take the first step ourselves. The response to Arab propaganda should be given not so much in the offices of official Jewish organizations, but rather in universities and colleges. Arabs make tremendous efforts to undermine support for Israel among Jewish students, and they are vigorously aided by left-leaning radical Jews who,



twenty-four hours a day, brand Israel as "fascist, racist," a "lackey of imperialism," and an "aggressor." We do not have the right to leave Jewish youth defenseless in the face of Arab and leftist disinformation and lies. We have something to counter their propaganda attack: the hearts of young Jews will be won over by the story of the heroic struggle to create Israel, they will be attracted to the fight to save their brothers, Soviet Jews, they will respond to our call to return to their people and its traditions. But to carry out this vital work, we need money. And instead of spending the money of Jewish organizations on other needs, it should be used for the benefit of the Jewish people.

Youth seek the truth, wanting to understand the world around them and their place in it. So fill the lives of young people with genuinely Jewish content. Lead them in the struggle for their people and you will see a miracle happen. Leftist lies and Arab propaganda, drugs and nihilism — all of this will disappear as if by the wave of a magic wand.

By reviving authentic Jewish education, we can save an entire generation from spiritual extinction and secure the future of the Jewish people.

### ELIMINATE PHYSICAL THREAT TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Scattered across the world, our people have not escaped the physical threat to their existence. The destruction of six million only temporarily quenched the world's thirst for Jewish blood. Who knows what could happen tomorrow to the Jews of the USSR, France, South America... An equally dangerous situation could arise in the USA, the largest center of the contemporary Jewish world, where there are (a familiar number!) six million Jews.

Many Americans are tempted to see Jews as the culprits behind all misfortunes: interracial conflicts, social and economic problems, failures in foreign policy. Jews, the eternal "scapegoat," serve as one of the main targets for attacks by both extreme right and extreme left extremists. The latter closely collaborate with anti-Semitic leaders of the African American population. It's important to note that left-wing extremists directly play into the hands of neo-Nazi groups, skillfully using the subversive activities of leftist organizations for their propaganda purposes.

Nevertheless, many Jews are not so much worried by the growing influence of anti-Semitic groups, but by the voices of those who warn of the threat to their very existence. Attempts to explain to these people the true scale of the danger are met with contemptuous smirks. When smirks seem to them an insufficient argument, they begin to declare: "You are out of your mind! That can't happen to us! Such things are impossible in America, the country of democracy and justice! This is not Germany!" When on the eve of the Second World War Z. Jabotinsky and his associates pleaded with European Jews to immediately leave countries where they were in mortal danger and return to their Homeland, to Eretz-Israel, they were accused of demagoguery. Jabotinsky was ridiculed, accused of encouraging anti-Semitism. Jewish leaders did everything to convince European Jews not to take Jabotinsky's words seriously. The Jews remained in Europe and perished.

Never again! Never again shall we repeat this tragic mistake. The catastrophe has taught us the truth that in any of the diaspora countries, no matter how cultured, democratic, and civilized they may be, a Jew cannot feel safe.

Our natural optimism should not prevent us from realistically assessing the current situation. We must take into account the possibility of new misfortunes and therefore must convince Jews to leave the countries of exile and repatriate to Israel. This is the only correct solution to the problem of our physical safety. For many centuries, Jews have wandered from city to city, from country to country. Today is the time to make the last migration — to return home, to our land, to the Land of Israel. Today it is not too late to take this step, but who can guarantee that tomorrow it will be just as simple?

The time has come to begin concrete work to encourage mass repatriation. Every synagogue and every Jewish organization should ensure that all those who wish to receive the necessary information about the practical aspects of moving to Israel can do so. Each community should open "ulpanim" — courses for learning Hebrew, to facilitate potential repatriates' language acclimatization in Israel. Students should be provided with full information about the opportunities to apply their knowledge in Israel, and businessmen should be helped to establish business connections in the country. It is advisable to develop plans for the repatriation of entire communities so that they can start a new life in

pre-designated areas of Israel. Helping a million Jews to repatriate to their homeland is far more important than raising a few more million dollars for Israel.

On the other hand, suitable material and spiritual conditions must be created in Israel for the acceptance of newcomers.

Jews must maintain loyalty to the countries in which they live. This is taught to us by the Jewish religion. However, we have our own home. We will forever keep in our hearts gratitude to those nations that have shown us hospitality. But after all words of gratitude, we will go home. And when those who do not understand this today decide to take this step, Israel must be ready to welcome them.

It would be possible to limit ourselves to calling for repatriation, explaining the dangers that await Jews who prefer to remain in exile. But Ahavat Yisrael (the love of Israel) requires more from us. Today, the majority of American Jews are not yet ready for immediate repatriation. Therefore, without abandoning attempts to convince them to leave the galut (exile) and return home, we must think about their safety in the diaspora countries, even if they pretend not to understand what we are talking to them about or actually do not realize the danger threatening them.

On the other hand, in Israel, appropriate material and spiritual conditions must be created for the reception of newcomers.

Jews are obliged to maintain loyalty to the countries in which they live. This is taught to us by the Jewish religion. However, we have our own home. We will forever preserve in our hearts gratitude to those peoples who have shown us hospitality. But after all the words of gratitude, we will go home. And when those who still do not understand this today decide to take this step, Israel must be ready to receive them.

It would be possible to limit ourselves to a call for repatriation, explaining the dangers that lurk for Jews who prefer to stay in exile. But Ahavat Yisrael (the love of Israel) demands more from us. Today, the majority of American Jews are not yet ready for immediate repatriation. Therefore, without ceasing attempts to convince them to leave the galut (exile) and return home, we must think about their safety in the diaspora

countries, even if they pretend not to understand what we are talking about with them, or actually do not realize the danger that threatens them.

Ahavat Yisrael obliges us to do everything possible to ensure that not a single Jew suffers at the hands of an antisemite. It is no secret that waves of mass repatriation were often caused by the persecution of Jews in the diaspora countries. However, we have no right to leave our persecuted brethren to the mercy of fate. Zionism cannot achieve its goals at the expense of the life of even a single Jew.

Therefore, we must develop an action plan that will ensure the physical safety of Jews in the diaspora. Today they are threatened only by small extremist groups, and as long as we are talking about a handful of convinced antisemites, they are easy to deal with. These people will become a real threat only if they gain force and power. Therefore, we must immediately use all means to adopt a law that would prohibit the activities of these groups. They can be completely destroyed only by engaging with them in an open fight. Liberal-minded intellectuals will object to us that freedom of speech is above all and that democracy must tolerate any, even the most militant totalitarian groups. In other words, they are ready to fight for freedom of activity for those who are trying to deprive society of fundamental freedoms. Such an approach is not new. In the thirties, German and Italian liberals argued the same, however, it did not save them from concentration camps.

History knows the names of many idealistic democrats and foolish dreamers who fervently defended the freedom to preach evil, destruction, and murder. All too often, those defended managed to use this freedom to turn their ideas into reality. Seas of innocent blood were shed by ruthless tyrants with the help of criminally naive liberals.

It would be at least naive to assume that somehow "the people" will always discover the truth and, following the compass of truth and justice, will reject lies and tyranny. Where have the "healthy instincts" of the German people, who voted for Hitler, disappeared to? Where has the "natural striving for justice" of the cheering crowds of Italians, who approved of Mussolini's decision to seize Ethiopia, gone? Where did the "moral compass" of the same Italian people, a third of whom vote today for the communists, and the simple Cuban peasants who deify Fidel Castro, disappear to?

Advocates of democracy must remember that it offers no guarantees against collective — within entire nations — suicide. Every person should have the right to express their opinion, but with one condition: if the same right is acknowledged for those who hold a different opinion. Granting freedom of speech and action to those who clearly state that their goal is to gag and tie the hands of everyone else is not liberalism but idiocy.

We should learn to react promptly and sharply to any manifestation of antisemitism. We should take a leaf out of the book of black people, who immediately stand up against occurrences that seem to them like manifestations of racism. Instead, we reassure ourselves with talks that the threat is small and not worth worrying about. We forget that cancer has the property of spreading throughout the body if it is not neutralized in time.

And at the same time, we must immediately engage in dialogue with the "silent majority" of the American people, with those ordinary people on whom the future of the Jewish community in the USA depends. It is completely insufficient to arrange lavish receptions in honor of prominent liberals and well-known intellectuals. In crisis situations, it is not they who become the leading force, but precisely the "silent majority," and it is to them that the future of America belongs.

### ACHIEVE FREEDOM FOR SOVIET JEWS

If we truly wish to achieve the liberation of Jews from Soviet bondage, we need to develop a detailed action plan that stands a real chance of being implemented. And we cannot afford to delay because there are no guarantees that the Soviet leadership will not return to Stalin's methods of total terror. In 1953, Stalin had already prepared a plan to deport all Jews from the European part of the USSR to Siberian labor camps. Only the tyrant's sudden death saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews whose names had already been entered on the fateful lists. We must remember that there are still plenty of people in the Soviet leadership today who are eager to accomplish what Stalin did not manage to do.

Since the policy of "quiet diplomacy" has proven completely ineffective, and the Iron Curtain was only slightly lifted after the beginning of an open, active protest campaign that swept the world, we should remember two things when we discuss ways to fight for the liberation of Soviet Jews:

Only active, offensive, and consistent actions have been and will be the key to success;

The issue of Soviet Jewry was moved from the back pages of newspapers to the headlines, winning the attention and hearts of millions of people of goodwill around the world, only thanks to the use of unconventional methods of struggle.

The search for a solution to the problem of Soviet Jewry must begin by placing it at the center of global public attention, making it a subject of international negotiations at the highest level. And this can only happen if relentless pressure is exerted on the governments of all free countries, if the issue of the struggle for Soviet Jewry takes the front pages of newspapers and becomes "fashionable" and "winning" for political figures. All of this can only be achieved through active actions that will shake the imagination of the entire world.

As is well known, the mass media love to cover dramatic, extravagant events. Therefore, quiet, respectable demonstrations in defense of Soviet Jews did not attract press attention. It was precisely the actions of the "League for the Defense of Jews" that fundamentally changed the approach to the problem of Soviet Jewry, which did not shy away from using force. And these actions were not hooliganism at all. They were carefully thought-out steps aimed at specific political goals, and experience has shown that this was the correct tactic.

The fact that the Soviet Union is a world power should not intimidate us. There are ways to force the Bolsheviks to make concessions. As soon as they conclude that it is in their interest to free "their" Jews, ideology will give way to sober calculation.

The Soviet Union is extremely interested in establishing all kinds of contacts with the West. The so-called "détente" is much more important to them today than the Jews. The catastrophic state of the economy, fear of China, and the inability to compete with the West in the production of modern types of weapons are forcing the Soviet Union to look for ways to coexist peacefully with the West. In addition, the USSR is interested in cultural exchanges with the West in order to enhance its prestige in the countries of the free world. The Russians understand very well that visitors to performances at the Bolshoi Theatre will inevitably develop a sympathy for the country represented by talented artists.

Therefore, understanding the importance of "détente" for the Soviet Union, we must use this moment to our advantage. Jews around the world must make it clear to the Soviet leaders that until the situation of Soviet Jews changes, "détente" will be in danger. The rulers of the Kremlin are realistic enough to understand that it makes sense for them to give "their" Jews the opportunity to leave the Soviet Union and repatriate to Israel. Of course, we will have to convince them that they will not get anything from the West as long as the Jews of the USSR are deprived of basic rights. And whether we like it or not, the sensible use of force is not the only but an absolutely indispensable component of the struggle for Soviet Jews. By "sensible use of force" I mean the use of unconventional forms of protest, disrupting concerts of Soviet artists and other "emissaries of goodwill" in the West.

It should be emphasized that along with "noisy" methods, there are many perfectly "respectable" actions that can undermine the "détente" so dear to the Russian heart. At one time, I wanted to present a program of such actions at the Brussels Conference on Soviet Jewry, but the "democrats" gathered there did not allow me to speak. The main points of this program are as follows:

All negotiations between the West and the USSR on issues of disarmament, economic cooperation, cultural ties, etc., should be immediately ceased;

An embargo on trade relations with the Soviet Union should be imposed and a boycott declared against those Western companies that refuse to break trade ties with the USSR;

Cultural and sports ties with the USSR, which the Soviet side attaches extremely important propagandistic value to, should be severed;

A campaign to end mass tourism from Western countries to the USSR should be initiated;

The exclusion of the USSR from participation in the Olympic Games should be demanded on the same grounds as South Africa was banned;

Soviet representatives should be besieged by all means permissible by law, for example, harassing them with phone calls, picketing their private residences, etc.;

Widespread civil protest actions (for example, sit-ins, chaining oneself to the gates of Soviet embassies, etc.) should be carried out in order to compel Western governments to end the policy of détente.

The goal of this program of action is one: to convince the Soviet leaders that solving the problem of Soviet Jewry is in their own interests because without this, there will be no détente with the West.

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Of course, one must remember that the resolution of this issue is not in the hands of Jewish organizations but depends on the actions of the President of the United States and the leaders of other Western countries. Only the President of the United States can announce the termination of American-Soviet negotiations; only he can inform the Soviet leadership that there will be no progress in negotiations until serious steps are taken on their part concerning Soviet Jewry. However, the fate of Soviet Jews is of little concern to the American president in principle. Improving relations with the USSR is an important political asset for him, before which any moral arguments recede into the background. Therefore, it is our duty to give the struggle for the rights of Soviet Jews international significance, in other words, to create a situation in which the President of the United States could not ignore this problem. And here we must find out exactly what actions infuriate Soviet representatives and lead to diplomatic incidents. Experience shows that physical pressure on Soviet diplomats has yielded excellent results. Thanks to threats and acts of violence against KGB envoys, détente was endangered: the White House began to seriously think that it should demand concessions from the Kremlin leaders on the issue of Soviet Jews to "put an end to these outrages." The most important allies for us in this situation can be those influential political circles that genuinely care about Western interests. I am referring to those conservative circles that represent tens of millions of Americans who do not believe the Kremlin and do not want any rapprochement with it. These people, who see the USSR as a potential aggressor, are mostly respectful of religious and cultural tradition. Therefore, I am confident that we can explain to them that Soviet Jewry is undergoing religious and cultural genocide. We must speak to these circles in a language they understand. Of course, one cannot rely on the goodwill of American politicians, but it



is possible to talk with them about short-term alliances based on mutual benefit and to gain their support in our struggle. We will explain that the problem of Soviet Jewry is an integral part of the effort to demonstrate the entire falsehood of détente: how can one trust a country that brutally tramples on the rights of its own citizens? We will explain that the United States' willingness to tolerate the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union will be perceived by the Kremlin solely as a sign of weakness, which directly contradicts American interests. It is precisely the conservative circles of American society, who know the full danger and immorality of world communism, who are capable of understanding why we are concerned about the fate of our brethren in the Soviet Union. Our task is to show them that the problem of Soviet Jewry is not only our problem but also theirs, that this problem is one of the central issues in the global struggle of the world of freedom against the world of communist enslavement.

On the other hand, it is difficult for us to expect understanding of the essence of the struggle for the liberation of Soviet Jewry from liberals and leftists of all stripes. These people, who are supposedly concerned about human rights violations in any region of the world, prefer to overlook the violations of the basic rights of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union. And this is not surprising: for with every fiber of their being, they aspire to universal reconciliation: light with darkness, good with evil... These people sincerely believe that only concessions and compromises can lead to the desired results.

We must seek supporters and allies among the multi-million masses of "average Americans," who are conservatively minded and anti-communist and to whom left-liberal views are alien. We can find allies among representatives of numerous minorities, for whom the problems of a persecuted national minority in a totalitarian empire are close and understandable. We should also look for allies among Christian organizations, whose influence on the American administration can be much more significant than the petitions of Jewish groups.

To pressure the President and all those who make decisions in Washington, it is necessary to create a strong and effective lobby, the activities of which will be accompanied by joint actions of all groups, organizations, and individuals—Jewish and non-Jewish—who are close to the problem of Soviet Jewry. Creating a broad front of pressure on the

administration will lead to the desired results, as the success of the ruling party in the next elections will depend on this.

In the struggle for Soviet Jewry, we must overcome the fear of using unconventional methods, drawing in broad non-Jewish masses to the cause. Such tactics, requiring imagination and subtle analysis, open up new horizons for us. For Soviet Jews, the implementation of the above program will mean the attainment of long-awaited freedom.

### CHANGE THE STEREOTYPE OF THE JEW

The weak, intimidated, incapable of retaliation Jew is perceived by antisemites as a convenient target for attack. This dangerous stereotype can only be changed if the potential pogromist knows that they can receive a fitting—and painful—response. Jewish youth must be trained in self-defense. Boxing, karate, judo—these are what will free Jews from the mockery of hooligans and from the stereotype of a defenseless creature that everyone can taunt.

There has never been a case in history where someone became an antisemite because they encountered a Jew capable of fighting back. The principle of Jewish strength, Barzel, will remain vitally important as long as cruelty and violence reign in the world: Those who are horrified by the words "Jewish power" simply do not know what it means to be subjected to an antisemitic attack, what the word "pogrom" means. With their prattle about the "inadmissibility" of Jewish self-defense, that the readiness to fight back "contradicts Jewish morality," these people only reinforce in the minds of antisemites the stereotype of a Jew who cannot defend themselves.

It is absolutely necessary to establish mass training in various forms of physical self-defense, for we have been well taught by the cruel lessons of history. Learning to handle firearms or judo techniques, we must hope that we will never have to use these skills in practice. But today we must be ready for self-defense. Who can guarantee our safety if we are not able to defend ourselves?

### EPILOGUE

You have finished reading an outrageous book that can upset many usually balanced, comfortably settled ordinary citizens. Don't be alarmed. After all, we cannot adjust our views looking back at those whose life credo is comfortable living and the pursuit of pleasures, can we?

Much of our problems stem from the fact that we are still captive to fear. Any nonsense throws us into panic. But perhaps what we fear most is being in the minority. We have grown accustomed to believing the false theory that the majority is always right. We are particularly impressed by a majority that includes wealthy and powerful citizens.

However, the truth is not always on the side of the majority. The fact that democracy requires the minority to submit to the will of the majority does not mean that the majority has a mandate on the truth. Unfortunately, people tend to identify truth with power. Experience shows that the world's powerful are driven not by the search for truth, but by their own interests.

We should not be afraid of being in the minority. For centuries and even today — we are a classic example of a minority. Typically, we were the only person in the crowd who dared to contradict everyone around, openly declaring to the whole world that the truth is on our side, and the multimillion masses are mistaken. And we were not afraid that we are few, and facing us in the opposing crowd are the mighty rulers of huge empires. Yes, it is not easy to stand alone against a huge crowd, it is not easy to withstand a hail of stones. It is much easier to go with the flow. However, such a path is not befitting a human being. And it certainly does not befit us, Jews. If our ancestors had agreed that the majority is always right, our people would have long since disappeared from the stage of history. If our ancestors had acknowledged that kings and bishops are right just because they command the bodies and souls of millions of people, they would have had to convert to the faith of the majority and stop being Jews.

The Torah calls our forefather Abraham "Avraham Ha'ivri." This word, "Ha'ivri," "Hebrew," shares a root with the word "ever," "side." Abraham is called a Hebrew because the whole world was on one side, and Abraham — on the other. The entire world, mired in idolatry, was convinced of its correctness, but Abraham was not afraid to say that the truth was on his side, not on the side of the majority. And so it was indeed; Abraham was right, and the whole world was mistaken. The truth was revealed only because he had the strength to stand up against the whole world and

withstand this struggle. We do not have the right to forget that we are the descendants of Abraham.

It is not easy to be a dissident and even harder to be a rebel. But every great event in Jewish history began with such brave dissidents and rebels, ready to selflessly fight for their truth, paying no heed to the hatred and slander of the majority.

"Is everyone wrong, and you alone are right?" — the reader asks, of course... In such cases, it is customary to engage in apologetics, saying that I very much respect public opinion and am ready to compromise my own...

The Torah calls our forefather Abraham "Avraham Ha'ivri." This word, "Ha'ivri," "Hebrew," has a common root with the word "ever," "side." Abraham is called a Hebrew because the whole world was on one side, and Abraham — on the other. The entire world, mired in idolatry, was convinced of its correctness, but Abraham was not afraid to say that the truth was on his side, not on the side of the majority. And so it was indeed; Abraham was right, and the whole world was mistaken. The truth was revealed only because he had the strength to stand up against the whole world and withstand this struggle. We do not have the right to forget that we are the descendants of Abraham.

There is no need for such justifications, no need to lie. If you truly believe in something, how can you agree with your opponents being right? There is only one truth in the world. If you are not sure of your rightness, then stay home; but if you are firmly convinced of the truth of your path, then go forward without looking back...

These are the words of the great dissident of our time, Ze'ev Jabotinsky. Thanks to his resilience and perseverance, his ideas, which seemed to some "extreme" and "unrealistic," have been realized today. The Jewish state exists today thanks to the steadfastness and belief in their righteousness of all those dissidents and rebels who were not afraid of the pressure and threats from the Jewish establishment.

"Is everyone wrong, and you alone are right?" If you know this to be true, then proclaim aloud: "Yes, I am right and will fight for my truth until you acknowledge that I am right." Such a person must be ready to withstand the malicious attacks of opponents who will never forgive him

for his courage. He must be indulgent toward these people, even if there will be many of them, and he will be alone. Pygmies are uncomfortable in the presence of giants of spirit because they remind them of their own insignificance.

But that's not the point. The main thing is that such a person must be ready to overcome all sorts of obstacles, to ignore the attacks and insults of enemies, and to patiently listen to the rebukes of friends. Such a person must possess the strength of spirit to stand firm in the struggle and not confuse lies with truth. Failures should not cast him into despair. He must have boundless patience and an iron will. But above all, he must be certain of his righteousness.

For what purpose? For the love of his Jewish brethren, for the love of his people. Because before his eyes are the piles of corpses in the camps where they killed us. He stands in the now empty gas chambers, where just recently his brothers stood naked awaiting death. He does not stand there alone. Next to him hover the souls of those who are no more, whose blood flowed like water because Jewish blood is very cheap. He sees their outstretched hands and looks into their burning, soul-tormenting eyes, whose gaze penetrates his very essence. And he hears their voices:

NEVER AGAIN!

NEVER SHOULD THIS HAPPEN AGAIN!

PROMISE US! NEVER AGAIN! NEVER AGAIN

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