

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

January/February 1986  
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1986: UN Year of Peace

**Affirmative Action and the Reagan Administration**  
*Herbert Aptheker*

**International Day of Solidarity With Palestine**  
*Rob Prince*

**20th Congress of the CPI**  
*Lewis M. Moroze*

**El Viento Armado**  
*Michel Najlis*

**What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black?**  
*Margaret Burroughs*

**What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are White?**  
*Susan Kling*

## Fulfill the Promise of 1986

"In politics and economics as in nature there is a continuous process of quantitative changes taking place. It is only after some piling up, some accumulation, that a new quality makes its appearance. When it does, it then becomes a new framework, the prism through which we must make our observations and assessments. The new quality then becomes a new frame of reference."

Gus Hall, General Secretary, addressing the Central Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The U.N. has declared 1986 'The Year of Peace.' It can become the year of great promise. Bringing about permanent peace means not alone the silencing of nuclear weapons but the firing up of our cooled-down industrial capacity. The will of the mass of the people globally is there. The capitalist powers around the globe are beginning to separate themselves from Reaganite foreign policy. We witness, then, the promise of the Geneva Summit process the worldwide demand for a nuclear weapons freeze and an end to 'Star Wars' insanity. With great expectations we witness working-class militancy throughout the land, not alone in the multiplying rank and file fightback struggles, but also in the higher echelons of the AFL-CIO as revealed at their national convention. There is a new level of struggle on the economic front and for working-class unity at home and with the embattled Black workers striving for freedom in South Africa. We witness the grave concern and the growing determined opposition to Reaganite nurtured racism and anti-Semitism and the Reagan-Meece brazen attempts to emasculate our constitutional rights. The developing moods of organized labor and the people's coalitions for jobs, peace and social justice augur well for success in the essential task of changing the composition of Congress in the November elections. There is serious probing for new electoral formations as the people witness the swamp of bribery and corruption in which both major parties are enmeshed in New York City, Washington and throughout the land. Billions pour forth in bribes for city, state and federal office holders, but no monies can be found to rebuild our infrastructure, to construct low and middle income housing, nor funds to house the homeless and to feed and clothe the poor. Across the globe oppressed peoples are striving for national liberation and full independence.

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# Affirmative Action and the Reagan Administration

by Herbert Aptheker

Mr. Morris Abram, on the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, and vice-chairman of Reagan's U.S. Civil Rights Commission, stated recently that the Commission has decided to move beyond "polemics" and to undertake "serious academic work" to discover why it is that Black people and other so-called minorities suffer from inequality.

After one hundred and twenty years of study of this subject, with a vast library accumulated, only now Mr. Abram announces, will such "serious" work be undertaken. This not only reflects the vast ignorance of Mr. Abram in the field rivaling that of the President who appointed him; it also is a direct insult to a fellow-member of the Commission, Professor Mary Berry of Howard University (appointed by President Carter), whose expertise in this field is well established.

What Mr. Abram really seems to mean is that the serious study hitherto made has come to conclusions distasteful to him; namely, that the social indexes in health, housing, education longevity, income, etc., are adverse to Afro-Americans and this condition reflects the racism that is notorious.

Mr. Abram takes the view that some contend equal rights should mean an "equal share" in a decent standard of life; he thinks, on the contrary, that it should mean an "equal shake" at obtaining such a decent standard.

What is the test of an "equal shake"? How is one to determine objectively and realistically whether or not a person has had such an "equal shake"? Can there be any other test than the "share" such people manage to obtain? If the share is not equal but on the contrary is woefully unequal and if this is true in every social index and has been true for generations and remains true today (and even has intensified in the last fifteen years) does this not establish that the people so suffering have not received a "fair shake"? Where there is a fair shake there will be a fair share; the two are intertwined; they are interdependent. The existence of the former can be ascertained **only** by the the existence of the latter.

This is indeed, as Abram indicated, a fundamental difference in approach and in definition of civil rights. Such rights are not determined by pieces of paper and demagogic promises, nor even by speeches from the Great Prevaricator. Such rights are determined by life by what people eat, where they live, what jobs they can

get, and cannot get, what education is possible for them. This is the test of the 20th century that is just around the corner.

Reagan's Attorney-General, Edwin Meese, in a recent speech at Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, declared that the post-Civil War Amendments which abolished slavery, affirmed the citizenship of Afro-American people and enfranchised Black men did in fact mean that the Constitution "was now officially color-blind." The point of these Amendments was not to make the supreme law of this nation "color-blind"; the point was that the discriminatory and oppressive policies hitherto followed against the Afro-American people, because of their race, their color, were prohibited. Far from ignoring the reality of color, these Amendments emphasized that while color did of course exist, it was **not** to be a reason for segregation, deprivation of rights, and practices of indignity.

Mr. Meese went on to affirm that "the vast majority of Americans today reject the idea that preferring some people for certain jobs because of their race or gender is right." This is his, and President Reagan's, alleged reason for rejecting affirmative action. But the whole point of affirmative action is as an effort to meet the **fact** that in the United States today, and for generations in the past, "certain people **have** been preferred for certain jobs because of their race or gender." That is what racism and male supremacy is; namely, the practice of discrimination against people of color and people of the female gender. That is exactly what has existed and **continues to exist** in the United States.

It is because of discrimination against Black people and Hispanic-American people that their family incomes are from 35% to 60% below that of white families. It is because of discrimination against Black and Hispanic-American peoples that their unemployment rate is twice that of white people and the official unemployment rate among their youth ranges from about 50% for the former to about 40% for the latter some three or four **times** greater than among white youth.

It is because of discrimination that the drop-out rate of Black and Hispanic-American youth from high school is three times that of white youth. It is because of discrimination that the percentage of youth entering college from these peoples is back to the scandalous rates of the 1960's and continues to decline.

In every area of life income, housing, education, employment, health conditions for the majority of Black and Hispanic-American peoples is worse, often very much worse, than for white people.

And the occupational and income discrimination



against women is notorious and documented by a library-full of studies; apparently this is unknown only to the Reagan Administration.

The social reality, therefore, is that in the United States right now let alone the reality of the past people who are male and are white do find preference extended to them. This reality is contrary to the letter and spirit of the post-Civil War Amendments and urgently requires correction especially since in the Reagan years, the impact of the discrimination has intensified.

One important means of combatting this social crime is affirmative action. This is why such action came into being as a result of the great civil rights struggles of the 1960's, in which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a leader and in which Ronald Reagan and Edwin Meese were notable by their opposition.

Mr. Meese dared speak of supporters of affirmative action today as heirs of the supporters of slavery! What a farce! Those who fought in the past and fight today for the full equality in life of all people in the United States regardless of color or ethnic origin or religion or gender are the heirs of the Abolitionists. The Abolitionists carried on their revolutionary struggle despite President Buchanan and Attorney General (and Supreme Court Justice) Taney of yesteryear. Their heirs fight today for an end to racism and male supremacy in theory and in practice precisely as did William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass over a century ago.

A word on the reality of Dr. King whom the bourgeoisie is trying to present as a kind of do-gooder even Reagan, in his shameless way, tried to embrace the memory of King! This is nonsense. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was in the great tradition of Henry Highland Garnet, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass and Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. The latter was revered by King. At the celebration of Du Bois's centennial in February 1968, Dr. King, in one of his most memorable speeches, hailed Du Bois as the world giant he was. In that speech King did not fail to note Du Bois's having joined the Communist Party of the United States; Communism, King then stated, was a judgment upon societies that permitted hunger, poverty, unemployment and racism.

Dr. King said of himself earlier that February, 1968, speaking in Atlanta and foretelling his death, that he wanted it said at his funeral that he "was a drum major for justice. . . . a drum major for peace. . . . a drum major for righteousness." Dr. King, indeed, reminds one of the great Prophets whose teachings fill the treasury of Jewish (and non-Jewish) revolutionary

strivings. He was a drum major for that complete democracy that surely will one day, soon, characterize these United States. □

January 20, 1986

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*Herbert Aptheker is Editor of Jewish Affairs.*

*(Continued from page 2)*

dence, freed from imperialist domination throughout the Middle East, Central America, Africa, Asia, Ireland, etc. An independent Palestine alongside Israel, with secure and defined borders, is being recognized as a sine qua non for justice for the Palestinian people and for peace for Israel and the other countries in the Middle East. It is for us, then, in our Jewish-American organizations, our community centers, our neighborhoods, our tenants organizations, our trade unions, and retirees organizations to promote the ongoing programs and to initiate new programs to propel further the qualitative changes that will in 1986 set us on the course for a richer life, a life free of the bondage of war, national chauvinism, racism, anti-Semitism and want. □

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## ON THE CENTENNIAL

by Edith Segal

**Our Statue of Liberty, Mother of Exiles,**  
on her Centennial shines bright again.

### Unseen

is the damage her heart suffers  
when her disciples are persecuted  
for offering sanctuary  
to refugees fleeing the tyranny  
of Chile, Guatemala, El Salvador.

### With her torch re-lit

may she speak again the words  
of Emma Lazarus,  
words that once welcomed other refugees:

*"Send these, the tempest-tossed to me,  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"*

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*Edith Segal contributes her poetry from time to time to Jewish Affairs.*

*Jewish Affairs*

**Remarks of Rob Prince, U.S. Peace Council Vice Chair, at International Day of Solidarity With Palestine, San Francisco State University, November 25, 1985.**

Friends, Sisters and brothers:

Thank you for inviting me here.

I am glad to be able to mark with you this very important occasion International Day of Solidarity With Palestine. It is a time to remember the deeper meaning of the struggle of the Palestinian people, to remind ourselves of what the struggle is about, what it is that the Palestinian people are about, what road they have come down, where they are today. It is a time to acknowledge the profoundly progressive nature of their cause and to show our solidarity - the solidarity of our people, the American people, with their struggle for national self-determination.

In the time I have with you, I want to make four points from the many that could be made about the situation in the Middle East.

First, in the spirit of looking at the deeper sense of what the Palestinian movement is about, and taking into consideration the barrage of attacks against the Palestinians and especially their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, I would like to argue that it is the Palestinian people, and not the Zionist movement, that carries on the progressive anti-fascist tradition of the struggles that defeated Hitler's fascism forty years ago. I will spend a good bit of my time developing this theme. Secondly, I would like to say a few words on a big subject — U.S. policy in the Middle East — especially the U.S. military build up in the region.

Thirdly, I should like to comment on the present situation in the West Bank and Gaza which has reached a kind of critical turning point with increased repression on the part of the Israeli occupation forces and their Nazi-like friends like the Gush Emunim and Mr. Kahane.

Finally, I should like to end with some ideas of how we as American peace activists might do our share to defuse, to break the pattern of violence in the Middle East and achieve a just peace in the region which would both bring justice and statehood to the Palestinian people and would also defuse the chances of thermo-nuclear war originating from the region.

I have been reading almost without stop this year about World War II. In part this interest was triggered by the fact that 1985 marks the fortieth anniversary of the historic victory of the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and so many others over the horror that

was Nazi Germany. In part, my interest is also a result of a trip I took in April to the German Democratic Republic to participate in a conference entitled "Lessons of World War II As It Applies To The Prevention of Nuclear War." I was deeply impressed there by many things. The country itself speaks to the creativity the genius if you like of a society that has eliminated the inequities of capitalism. But there are a number of things relevant to the struggle against Nazi-fascism which seem pertinent to today's talk. One was meeting a spry, short 80 year old man named Walter Bartel, who had led the underground resistance movement in the Buchenwald Concentration Camp. At the end of the war, this movement seized the camp from their SS guards in an armed revolt. I was especially moved by the fact, that these anti-fascist fighters like Bartel had not become bitter or hateful, despite the fact that they had experienced the worst that a certain segment of humanity could dish out. They had maintained their humanity, their vision, their profound belief that humanity can move forward in a human and dignified fashion. I was also impressed that there were really anti-fascist Germans, who fought fascism as hard as any one else and that fascism is not something instinctive to the German people.

The parallels with the Middle East situation are many. After Deir Yassin, Tel Zaatar, the siege of Beirut, the levelling of Ain El Helweh and Rashidiyah, and then not once but twice the horrors of Sabra and Shatila it is still the Palestinians who offer the world, and Israel, the only reasonable solution to the Middle East conflict. And if all German citizens were not Nazis, neither are all Israeli supporters of the likes of Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon. For Germans it is completely valid, even now, to ask, "And what were you doing when the Nazi's were in power." For Israeli Jews and American Jews, the question translates, "And what were you doing during the battle of Beirut when Israel was reigning down napalm, phosphorous bombs and so many other weapons of death on Lebanon in a war that targeted civilians."

The other thing that stayed with me for months after I returned from East Germany was a visit to a small former Nazi concentration camp outside of Berlin called Sachsenhausen. It was there that German peace activists were interned and murdered so that Hitler would go to war without an anti-war movement; it was there that French miners were brought after refusing to mine coal for the Nazi war machine and almost to a man were exterminated; it was also there that 18,000 Soviet soldiers were brought in September of 1941 —

the first of some 3 million Soviet POW's the Nazis would capture. They were given half the ration of other prisoners, live dissections were done on their bodies, and within three months they had all been executed; their executioners, SS guards, rewarded with a two week vacation in the Alps for a job well done. There were also Jews interned and exterminated here, mostly of German origin, and politically progressive in nature. This is a small chapter of the tragedy, the holocaust which took the lives of six million Jews, six million Poles, 22 million Soviets, progressives of all shades, Communists and Socialists in terribly high numbers. Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Yugoslavs, Greeks, Frenchmen. . . tortured, starved, shot and gassed. Liberals and progressive religious people faced the same fate.

There are Zionists in the country who get legitimately agitated when they hear the sick ravings of those who deny that Jews were exterminated by the Nazis. But how is it that they forget to mention all the other victims of the Holocaust? And how can they with any sense of justice and decency claim to use the experience of the Holocaust as a justification for Israel's policies vis-a-vis the Arab peoples. Are they not misusing, in a terrible fashion, the true and terrible sufferings of the Jewish people, as a justification for Israel's repressive policy against the Palestinian people? In Europe during World War II, Jewish people were the victims of aggression. In the Middle East today, Zionism, which must be clearly distinguished from Judaism, is the aggressor and the victims are Palestinians. Justice is never with the aggressor. It wasn't during WW II in the 1940's and it isn't in the Middle East today where it is the Palestinians who carry the torch of justice, the legacy of the anti-fascist fighters of World War II.

Zionism is not the same as Nazi fascism, but there are parallels which are undeniable. The Nazis when they struck to the east were motivated by a mystical theory called "lebensraum." They claimed they needed more land for the "growing" German nation. That the lands to the east of them were already populated by Poles, Czechs, Latvians, Russians and others, did not matter. First they made ridiculous historic claims of German influence, a "German Nation" that supposedly had existed for hundreds, if not thousands of years. And besides this, the people of the east were labeled as "untermenschen" inferior peoples who were not "civilized" like the Nazis. The Nazi approach towards those they considered untermenschen was a colonial approach. These people were slated for unskilled hard labor in support of the Third Reich, where they were

forcibly transferred in large numbers. Millions that's not hundreds or thousands but millions were murdered.

The parallels with Zionism are indeed striking. It begins with a supposed need for land based upon a claim invalid for more than 2,500 years. Even after they got the land, what they had was not enough and expansion has been rooted in its very character. Need we spend much time discussing the racist way that Zionism portrays Arab culture?

Yes, Zionism is not identical to fascism. It is true that the Zionists do not have any parallel to Auschwitz for the Arabs. But if there is not an Auschwitz, there was the mass expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from their homes in 1948 after a selective genocide at the village of Deir Yassin. And if there is not an Auschwitz there is Ansar, Ashkelon, and many other prisons where the torture of Palestinian nationalists is an every day experience and where the cruelties inflicted upon inmate would make the SS guards at Auschwitz smile. . . . in remembering the "good old days." And if there is not Auschwitz it is still true that there is today in the West Bank and Gaza a systematic denial of political, cultural and other democratic rights, the daily terror of a military dictatorship, and the emergence of Jewish brownshirts the Gush Emunim and the likes of Meir Kahane.

During World War II, the Nazis blockaded the city of Leningrad pearl of Russian culture both before and after 1917 for 900 days. Their goal was simple: starve the entire city to death, a city of three million, and then blow it up, raze it to the ground as if it had never existed, "wipe it off the face of the earth." German soldiers had specific orders to shoot at civilians who might be trying to leave the city to escape. Around a million people died in Leningrad, most of starvation, but the Nazis were never able to take the city.

The only other siege in the 20th century was the Israeli siege of Beirut from June to September of 1982. Let us say clearly that Ariel Sharon, who planned the invasion of Lebanon and led the Israeli army during the blockade of Beirut, is a soul brother of Field Marshall Jodl, who oversaw the Nazis at Leningrad. The war which Ariel Sharon perpetrated against the Palestinian people and the Lebanese people, with approval and cooperation of the Reagan Administration in all of its phases, was a war of genocide aimed at destroying not only the Palestinian political institutions, but Palestinian cultural and social institutions as well. To make their point, on one day, August 1, 1982 the Israelis dropped over 180,000 bombs and rockets on the city of



Beirut in a 14 hour period. Like at Leningrad, however, the Israeli blockade failed, as did the entire Israeli venture into Lebanon.

No, Zionism has no claim, no claim whatsoever on the anti-fascist legacy of World War II. None.

We need, however, to recognize that today there is a great struggle going on within Israel and that the war in Lebanon struck deeply into the conscience of the nation. 400,000 Israelis demonstrated against the war. Never has there been such a movement against the government than in response to the Lebanese adventure. While the main reason for the Israeli withdrawal was the effectiveness of the armed struggle by Lebanese national and progressive forces and the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation, the internal pressure, which the democratic sentiment inside Israel placed on the government, was highly significant.

When Israel withdrew from Lebanon, it was not only a defeat for the Zionists. It was a blow to U.S. foreign policy in the region, a policy whose main thrust is simple and clear: the protection of U.S. corporate interests in the Middle East. Oil, arms, construction. Let us push aside all the drivel about religious wars, Jews versus Arabs, which so often characterizes the discussion of events in the Middle East. Yes, they are factors, albeit minor ones. The main problem in the region is the continued stranglehold which U.S. multinational corporations maintain over the resources and wealth of the region. And with all the talk about a so-called Soviet threat, what these companies truly fear are the peoples of the region themselves. They fear the kind of thing that Nasser did when he took over foreign corporate interests in Egypt in the 1950's. They fear the deep-going kind of social change taking place in the little but valiant country, The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. And the United States is engaging in the largest peace time military build-up in history in the Middle East to try to stop social change with bases galore, Rapid Deployment Forces, supporting puppets like the Saudi royalty and King Hussein of Jordan, both monarchies which can easily be bought off. Now, just in case all that doesn't work, and it never has and it never will, the United States is adding the 'big one' to the list nuclear weapons. Where you ask? Try Comiso in Italy, with its Pershing missiles which can hit virtually anywhere in the Middle East, besides their ability to hit in the Soviet Union. Try a whole series of sea-based cruise missiles which were placed on U.S. ships in the Mediterranean in the summer of 1984. Then there is the neutron bomb. Some say the neutron bomb was developed to knock out Soviet tanks in Eastern Eu-

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rope. This is unlikely. There will be no limited nuclear war in Europe should one start. No, so-called small nuclear weapons like the neutron bomb only make sense when used against a people that do not possess a nuclear potential. It is the bomb that will destroy the Arab people without damaging the oil facilities. Israel fits into this scenario in the sense that until about five years ago the United States preferred to use regional allies to maintain the political status quo, rather than engage in direct U.S. military intervention. Israel still plays this role, but now since the last days of Jimmy Carter, or perhaps to be a bit more precise, since the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, our government has been planning in some detail for military intervention in the region. The long standing antagonism between successive U.S. governments and the Palestine Liberation Organization is not so much over what the West Bank and Gaza mean to the U.S. and U.S. based multi-nationals economically. **They are worried instead about the deep-going nationalism of the Palestinian movement. In a region where a trend in one area quickly catches on elsewhere, Palestinian nationalism makes Washington and Wall Street very nervous. If such a nationalism came to power in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait, let's say, U.S. business interests would get more than nervous; they would panic.**

About six weeks ago, on October 3, 1985 to be exact, Thomas Friedman, Middle East correspondent of the New York Times, published a rather intriguing and thoughtful article on the situation in the West Bank and Gaza. The gist of the article is that the struggle between Israel and the Arabs has now "come home." What he meant is that the struggle between the Israelis and the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza is intensifying, and that the political as well as the **armed struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories has escalated dramatically.** He quotes Zeev Schiff, the widely respected military editor of the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, who said, "Why should we (the Israelis) delude ourselves regarding what's happening between us and the Arabs who are under our control? The events which are occurring are the buds of a civil war, another round of war between two populations grasping for the same plot of land." Particularly disturbing to the Israelis, as reported by Friedman, is the participation of young Palestinians, 18, 19, 20 year olds in the struggle for Palestinian national rights. "For them, there is but one real hostile regime which they encounter day in and day out, and which they are forced to confront at every road juncture, every movie theater entrance and every bridge over the River Jer-

dan." And then, just in case the readers of the New York Times were not sure who these young Palestinians saw as their enemy, almost in disbelief that such a thing could happen, Friedman adds "The regime referred to is Israel."

When the Israelis went into Lebanon, they were trying to give a not so subtle message to the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, that the Palestinian movement to the north of Israel could be crushed easily and that the people of the West Bank and Gaza should abandon thoughts of winning their independence from Israel. But the "lesson" which the people of the West Bank and Gaza learned from Israel's Lebanon was a bit different than Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon meant it to be. The P.L.O. was not destroyed and remains the sole legitimate spokesman for the Palestinian people. Furthermore, the people of the West Bank weren't oblivious to the fact, that despite all its military might, Israel was **militarily defeated in Lebanon by a guerrilla movement, the torchbearers of the partisan movement during World War II.**

Now even the NY Times announces that there will be an intensified struggle for national independence in the occupied territories.

Israel, it appears, has no intention of withdrawing from the West Bank and Gaza, nor granting the Palestinians their national independence. Jewish settlements, well over 100 for several years now, drain from Palestinian water supplies and other resources. The struggle over the land itself is intense, with the settlers trying in every way to take land by hook or crook from Palestinian peasants. But there is a new quality, a fanaticism about the settlers in the occupied lands. In the desperate, sickeningly violent and racist language actions of the Gush Emunim and Kahane's group, the *Kach Party*, there is the face of the French in their last days in Algeria when they committed heinous crimes against Algerian Arab civilians.

Of course with Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League and the Kach Party in Israel, and proud architects of such acts as the bombing of Soviet consuls in the United States, we have, full blown, a Jewish Nazi and one it must be said who enjoys considerable financial backing from some Jewish circles in the United States. In a recent article in the Village Voice, it was pointed out that Kahane receives a lot of money from the owner of the Haagen Dazs ice cream chain, Rueben Mattus, among others. Kahane, who is not averse to taking money from right-wing ultra-fundamentalist Christian groups here in the United States either, is for a complete separation of Jews from Arabs.

He calls for their expulsion from the West Bank and has already started a campaign of terror against the Palestinians there. To give you a flavor of how his supporters in the West Bank think, I should like to quote from the Village Voice article of November 12, by Robert I. Friedman:

'You may say the fact that Jews lived here 2000 years ago is no reason for Jews to live here now that it's an Arab city (Hebron) and it's not ethical to force them out. Well, I say Western European values are bullshit. The messiah will come. There will be a Jewish kingdom. Jews will be the spiritual bosses of the world. . . . You can't create a messianic Jewish state with 1.9 million Arabs!' The same man quoted here, 35 year old Yona Khaykin, described in Friedman's article as "a thin, intense computer programmer with a master's in physics from M.I.T.," also boasted about how he and his friends provoke Arabs into violence, *hoping the army will respond by driving them off the West Bank.* Another I quote Freidman: "Several months ago Khaykin told me, he and 50 armed settlers broke into a mosque in nearby Halhoul during Friday afternoon prayers to give his three year old son a ritual haircut. They set up a table on prayer rugs. A rabbi cut the child's hair; then the settlers brought in watermelon from a truck. 'We offered the Arabs some melon,' Malka Khaykin, Yoni's 31 year old wife said, recalling the shock on the Arabs' faces. 'They refused. We spit the seed all over the floor.'" Malka seems to have a real way with words. Here are some more of her gems: "The Arabs are worse than the nPPPPPs but not by much." "We came to Hebron out of a sense of adventure and outrage. The adventure is building a Jewish kingdom. The outrage is that Arabs still live here!"

Another sweetheart worth quoting is Andy Green from the Bronx, former JDL member there and now an assistant to Meir Kahane in the West Bank. Green, who "would rather be at war with the Arabs than at peace, sounds a lot like Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's man on the Eastern question." "The Arabs have no claim to the land. It's our land, absolutely. It says so in the Bible. It's something that can't be argued. That's why I see no reason to sit down and talk to the Arabs about competing claims. Whoever is stronger will get the land." Recently Congressman George W. Crockett, Jr., who represents the 13th District in Michigan was in the Middle East. On his return he issued a statement that a "system of apartheid exists on the West Bank and Gaza under



the Israeli military occupation."

"Crockett went on: "Here in the Congress we are fighting against South Africa's repressive measures and yet closing our eyes to the institutional repression and the brutality that is being daily conducted against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. We are looking the other way because Israel is white, a friend and ally."

"Peace will never be realized so long as we allow Israel to pursue the kinds of regional policies that she has been implementing for the past 18 years in the West Bank and in Gaza. If a just solution is not found to the Palestinian question very soon, one which allows self-government and a homeland for the Palestinian diaspora, then the United States will be inexorably dragged into another and far more violent Middle East quagmire. The United States must speak out for a comprehensive peace settlement and for an immediate end to the repressive measures against the Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories."

In August of 1984 a meeting on the Middle East was held by 92 non-governmental organizations of the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland concerning the Palestinian question. One of the results of that meeting was the call for an international peace conference on the Middle East. An appeal was issued which called the Palestinian question "the core question" to be resolved. It notes the danger of nuclear war and calls upon Israel, the P.L.O., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. to sit together along with other Arab states party to the conflict. It calls for an Israeli withdrawal to its 1967 boundaries, respecting its right to live in peace within these boundaries. It calls for the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. The U.S. Peace Council, on whose board I serve, fully supports this call. We urge you to do so as well. It is the only way to break the cycle of violence and suffering in the Middle East. □

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**Greetings to Jewish Affairs**

**In Memory of**

**Max Ross, Esq.**

Gentleman, Scholar and

Fine Human Being.

Mr. & Mrs. Harry Ehrlich

## HAPPY NEW YEAR

by Eda Beck

Dressed in our finest, faces gleaming  
Eyes shining and fair  
Reflecting the 'special' gleam  
Of the silver in our hair.

We old friends gathered here  
To celebrate the coming of a New Year—  
Reflecting on the years that came and went  
Life lived in full  
Loving, doing and giving—  
Years well spent.

As we raise our glasses  
In the comfort of this comradesie--  
Recalling, remembering the years of our living--  
The battles we fought  
The victories won!

A free, better world  
For our children and for us--  
This was our creed: Love and Friendship—  
THIS was our NEED!

Our memories are good.  
The Hoovers, McCarthy's, depression,  
The picket lines, demonstrations, marches—  
We remember them WELL!

We built unions the 40 hour week,  
Social security, unemployment insurance—  
And we sent McCarthy to hell.

So, I lift my glass high  
To you — my friends of old  
And as the years go by  
Many stories of our stories will be written and told.

A generation **unique**,  
Dreamers and doers, we all.  
Drink heartily my friends.  
Happy New Year to you all—  
I clasp your strong, aging hands!

Let's bid farewell to  
The luscious, full years we spent—  
Heads proud, without fear  
As we turn around to greet  
The coming of a new, nuclear-free, NEW YEAR!

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*Eda Beck is a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs.*

## 20th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL

by Lewis M. Moroze

*Lewis M. Moroze, Chairman of the Jewish Commission, Communist Party, U.S.A., and managing editor of Jewish Affairs, attended the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel held in Haifa, December 4 through the 8th, as the fraternal delegate of the CPUSA. There were 17 fraternal delegates in all.*

Israel is a beautiful country that has as yet to reach its potential as a land of milk and honey for its inhabitants, Jewish and Arab. This hope has as yet not been realized because of the long standing role of the Israeli ruling as surrogate for U.S. imperialism in the region to make possible the pursuit of Zionistic, hegemonic aims in the Middle East.

Upon my arrival in Israel the newspapers were taken up with the news that the President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, was to address the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel which I was to attend.

The other leading stories in the press dealt with items and concerns which gave me the impression that I was in the 51st State of the U.S. News reports dealt with the effects of the deteriorating economic, social and political scene. News stories reported the government's unleashing a program of de-nationalization and privatization of social services currently sponsored by the government. Other articles discussed the racist doings of Rabbi Meir Kahane and the Gush Emunim (terroristic-religious zealots.) A six panel cartoon in the *Jerusalem Post* depicted a superhero labelled, "Spirit of the New Israel," making the following observations: "Inflation is down! The Battle is being won! And now with the onset of winter you can help by following these simple steps! One, Don't Heat; Two, Don't Eat! And Three, Don't get old or go to the hospital!" Other stories reported on bank and land swindles.

Stories dealing with the political parties revealed that the Israeli political parties are in disarray. Both in Likud, the right wing partner of the so-called "National Unity Government," and in the Labor Alignment, the smaller parties are either deserting or making demands upon the Herut and the Labor Party for concessions as the price for remaining in the respective coalitions.

Herut, after cancelling two dates set for a party conference, is now considering cancelling the third date recently set because of inability to resolve inner friction in Herut itself as well as in the Likud.

The Labor Alignment was deserted by Mapam leaving the Labor Party in a quandary about its future, not sure about whether to call for early election prior to the transfer of the Israeli premiership from Peres of the Labor Party to Shamir of the Herut Party, leading party of the Likud coalition.

The Communist Party of Israel is stable and growing, having increased its membership since its last congress by 30%. It is an Arab-Jewish party that is gaining influence amongst the masses because of its program and role in the people's coalitions.

The C.P.I. is the only party in the Knesset to have voted against the war in Lebanon. The C.P.I. and its united front coalition, the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, are deeply involved in and offering leadership to the people's movements for peace, against racism and rampant terrorism in Israel as well as in the Occupied Territories, calling for a turn around in the economic programs of the government in the interest of the working masses and middle sectors and persisting in its call for an international conference to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East by the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel, with secure and defined borders. Currently the State of Israel is the only country in the world without defined borders.

It is in this setting that the 20th Congress of the C.P.I. took place. The Israeli mass media gave the widest coverage to the Congress and the appearance of the President of Israel, Chaim Herzog, and the foreign fraternal delegates.

The *Jerusalem Post* referred to President Herzog's appearance at the Congress as "brave and wise." This is the first time in the history of the State of Israel the President attended and addressed a C.P.I. Congress, though it is the practice of the President to attend all party congresses.

Mikhail Agursky, a member of the Soviet and Eastern European Center of Hebrew University, supporting Herzog, wrote in the *Jerusalem Post*, 12/11/85, "the C.P.I. . . . is an important political instrument of the Arab community's integration in Israel. . . . providing a respectable forum for Jewish cooperation with segments of the Arab population."

Geulah Cohen, a member of the Knesset representing the right-wing Orthodox religious party, Te-hiya, pleaded with Herzog not to attend and stated that his appearance at the Congress made her ill, requiring the attention of a doctor. Rabbi Meir Kahane, the fascist beneficiary of dual citizenship, Israel-U.S., announced that he no longer recognizes Herzog as Presi-

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dent. That leaves Kahane with one President he does recognize Ronald Reagan who permits him to travel across our land to raise funds for his fascist program of driving the Arabs out of Israel and the Occupied Territories.

Amongst the invited guests at the Congress were the Mayor of Haifa, leaders of the Israeli Labor Federation, Histadrut, and Charles Bitton, head of the Black Panther Party, which is in coalition with the C.P.I. in the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality.

In his address Chaim Herzog said; "The Geneva Summit raised hopes. . . . for the new era that will reduce the danger of war and will strengthen peace and friendship among the nations of the world."

Continuing in his address to the 600 delegates and guests, Herzog observed: "The decisive role of the Red Army in defeating Nazi Germany 40 years ago is written in golden letters in human history and in the history of our people. . . . in the desperate Israeli War of Independence, which was a crucial moment in our fate, due to an almost total embargo by the Western countries; it was the aid received from the East which enabled us to survive. We shall never forget this."

In his opening speech C.P.I. Chairman, Tawfig Toubi, addressed the fraternal delegates stating, "Your presence at our Congress is a source of joy and strength for us. This is an expression of solidarity with our Party in its hard struggle of the internationalist links that are so vital for our international Communist movement; for its unity in the fateful struggle against imperialism, the oppressor of the people, for peace, national liberation, democracy, social progress and socialism."

Toubi called upon the government of Israel to "stop its services to the American aggressive regional and global policy violating its independence and endangering its security and its future." Further, Toubi called upon the Israeli government "to stop the acts of oppression the Occupied Territories, to put an end to the deportations, expulsions, demolitions of homes and to respect human rights in the Occupied Territories according to international law."

Looking ahead Toubi concluded that the Party "will be facing the most serious tasks and challenges while the double-headed Alignment-Likud government continues its policy which prevents peace, ruins Israeli society, hits hard the workers and popular masses and intensifies national discrimination directed against the Arab population."

"Our Communist Party," continued Toubi, "and with us the peace-loving circles in Israel fully appreciate the consistent Leninist peace policy of the Soviet

Union, its efforts to reach international disarmament, co-existence and cooperation, to prevent a destructive nuclear war and to maintain peace all over the world."

Mikhail Menashev, the Soviet fraternal delegate, a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in his address observed that the USSR recognizes the sovereignty of the State of Israel and "its right to live in security," and called for an international conference to effect a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Ruth Lubitsch, prominent leader of the World Federation of Democratic Women and member of the Central Committee of the CPI, strongly urged the delegates to step up their efforts to bring more women into the Party.

Central Committee member, Felicia Langer, world renowned human right attorney, defense attorney for the embattled Arab people in the Occupied Territories and in Israel, observed: "Indeed, the inhabitants of the Occupied Territories have no choice but to resort to rebellion against tyranny and oppression when their basic human rights are denied." The inhuman physical and legal attacks on Arab children are beyond description. Children are tortured in the jails. One child was given a 5 year sentence for throwing a peach at an Israeli. Langer forced the judge to withdraw the sentence.

Zippora Sharoni-Toubi, chairman of the Teachers Union of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, spoke of the "poisonous fruit we witness in Israeli society racism and nationalism. . . . It is not accidental that the person in charge of religious education in the Ministry of Education forbids meetings of Jewish and Arab youth and Rabbis express objection to Jews and Arabs living in joint neighborhoods and houses." She reported that a poll taken by the Van Lear Institute showed that 42% of the people interviewed endorse the curbing of democracy in Israel, 75% endorse the deportation of Arabs living in the Occupied Territories if they refuse to accept Israeli citizenship.

Zippora Sharoni-Toubi revealed that the Committee for the Examination of Arab Education in a report issued in 1985 stated: "The expectations of Arab inhabitants to get equal education for their children was not and still is baseless in social reality." She concluded her remarks saying: "They say when the guns are firing, the muses are quiet; we fight so that the guns will be silenced and the muses will sing for a better and happier life for all youth Jewish and Arab in our land and for all the peoples of the region. Therefore, we raise our voices again and again: Down with war! Long live Jewish-Arab fraternity!"



A dramatic moment occurred when one of the delegates, who was among those who left the CPI with the Sneh-Mikunis group in 1965, took the floor to thank the delegates and the leadership for "keeping my Marxist-Leninist house in order so that I might return."

Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the CPI observed that the CPI is unified ideologically and is politically strong. "Ours is the most democratic party in Israel," said Vilner, adding that "the Congress is strengthened by the Palestine Communist Party in the Occupied Territories. The PCP and the CPI are fighting together; we share a common cause and aim."

Referring to the PLO Vilner stated: "We have the blessing of the chairman of the PLO, Yassir Arafat. . . . The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality has different opinions from Arafat but supports the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. Those who do not share this opinion do harm to the struggle for peace."

As for the status of Israeli-USSR relations Vilner observed: "The Prime Minister of Israel, Peres, says Israel is not against the Soviet Union. The truth is that Israel signed a treaty with the U.S. declaring the Soviet Union the enemy. In Haifa Harbors the U.S. ships are not there against the CPI or Syria. The warship New Jersey uses Israel as a military base against the Soviet Union. Peres lies; lies; lies; the press and movies lie; they lie about the strategic treaty with South Africa. They lie about Afghanistan. The government and the Zionist movement are working against the interests of the security and safety of Israel."

Clarifying the CPI's attitude towards Zionism and Zionists, Vilner observed while there are "progressive Zionists" there is no such phenomenon as "progressive Zionism." Underscoring the point Vilner said that though there are a number of imperialists who oppose war there is no "progressive imperialism."

It was my privilege to present the greetings to the CPI from the Central Committee of the Communist Party, USA. In my own personal remarks alluding to the peace forces in the U.S., I referred to the 1,200,000 signatures gathered in the U.S. calling for a nuclear weapons freeze that were brought to the Geneva Summit meeting. This section of my remarks received prolonged applause. At a social after the close of the Congress Mikhail Menashev of the USSR and myself were given the honor to address the assembled guests. We both emphasized that peace can come only through an international conference whose participants include the U.S., the U.S.S.R., all countries in the region and the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people.

The fraternal delegates on a tour of the coast of Israel were brought to the area in Haifa Harbor known as Caesaria, dating back to Roman times. Our guides reminded us the "the Romans were here." Further up the coast we were informed that Napoleon failed in an invasion just prior to his attack on Russia in 1812, and further north in Akko we were shown the dungeons of the Crusaders, noting that the Crusaders were also here at this crossroads of empire. The guides then pointed in the direction of the U.S. nuclear warship, New Jersey, saying some day soon we shall say, "They were also here." My stay in Israel left me with the greatest confidence in the strength and highest respect for the stature of the Communist Party of Israel. The ability of the Jewish and Arab masses to cope with the bitter fruits of the Israeli ruling circles subservience to the Reagan military industrial complex will in great measure depend upon our efforts to reign in the Reaganites in their hegemonic schemes in the area and worldwide. Together the people's forces in both countries in this period of the Geneva peace process, can register significant successes; then shall the muses sing and the guns fall silent.

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## OPEN LETTER FROM SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS TO U.S. CONGRESSMEN

We, Soviet parliamentarians of Jewish nationality, want to address U.S. Congressmen about a highly disturbing question. On November 9 of this year (1985), fourteen Jewish-owned shops were vandalized in New York. The damage done was not only material. The criminal action resulted from anti-Semitism, which is becoming increasingly evident in the United States. Similar acts of vandalism on November 9, or *Kristallnacht* (also called the "Night of Broken Glass"), 47 years ago, marked the beginning of the Jewish pogroms and the death-camp extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany.

According to the American press, the number of last year's officially registered anti-Semitic outrages exceeded 700 in the United States, including attacks on Jewish organizations and individuals of Jewish extraction, threats of violence, insults and acts of vandalism.

Jews are also covertly discriminated against in the United States. They are not admitted to certain neighborhoods, prestigious clubs, educational establishments and professions. One-third of the 175 companies building rental housing in New York do not lease apartments to Jews. Over 800,000 U.S. Jews live below the official poverty level. About 700 business and professional clubs in 46 states deny membership to Jews. A poll of the Jewish population in the District of Columbia and the city of St. Louis, Missouri, alone revealed that most had been victims of some form of anti-Semitism.

We share the Soviet people's concern about a wave of anti-Semitism sweeping the United States, with its six-million-strong Jewish community, and call upon the Congress, the Administration and the President to take effective steps to stop the spread of anti-Semitism, a phenomenon beneath the dignity of civilized society.

M. V. Khaikin

Deputy, Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine

R. L. Barg

Deputy, Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine

S. I. Palei

Deputy, Supreme Soviet of Byelorussia

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January-February 1986

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Y. I. Kopylov

Deputy, Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation

Y. I. Plitman Deputy, U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet

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### Deepest Sympathy

to

**Rose Kryzak**

on the loss of her husband

**George**

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs.

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### Deepest Sympathy

to

**Nat Hoffman**

on the loss of his beloved wife

**Ida**

A fighter for Middle East Peace and Justice

Editorial Board, Jewish Affairs.

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## WHY RETRIBUTION?

*The lack of moral conviction that made Hitler's rise to power possible is prevalent today.*

*We are reprinting, with their permission, the following article from Isthmus, a weekly newspaper of Madison, Wisconsin. The article was published in their Vol. 10, No. 48, Nov.29-Dec. 5, 1985 issue.*

*The author, Felix Pollak, 76, fled Austria in 1938, a Jewish refugee who arrived in New York with \$2 in his pocket. In Vienna, he had studied theater under the famed director Max Reinhardt. As an American, he was drafted in 1941 and assigned to educate German prisoners of war about democracy.*

*While the article is not written from a Marxist-Leninist class perspective of either Nazism, fascism or imperialism; and while Jewish Affairs disagrees with some of its ideas, concepts and formulations, particularly those sections where the author tries to differentiate between the sufferings of Jewish victims of Nazism from those of political, religious, and other victims of Nazism-Fascism, we are nevertheless presenting it to our readers and urge them to send in letters to our magazine expressing their views on the questions raised in the article.*

That Josef Mengele should have gotten away scot-free, accidentally drowning while taking a swim, is a wound in my heart. It is a blow in the face of justice, and I don't care if some will call this a thirst for vengeance. Evil incarnate **should** be revenged, and there is such a thing as just retribution.

The truth is that he was not found because he was not sought. Not seriously. True, there were self-styled "Nazi-hunters" like Simon Wiesenthal, who turned out to be mainly publicity hunters and beneficiaries of the Holocaust industry that is thriving on two continents.

The "angel of death," whose deeds are beyond imagination, was not apprehended by the German authorities, although he lived and vacationed in Germany more than once after the war, as his family sees fit to disclose, after decades of tight-lipped denials of any information on the matter. And he was not found by either the FBI or the CIA, which, with connivance of high U.S. government officials, had been protecting, "utilizing" for espionage and spiriting out of the country hundreds, perhaps thousands, of known Nazi war criminals, including the notorious mass murderer Klaus

Barbie.

Meanwhile Mr. Wiesenthal & Co. were looking for Mengele in Paraguay, whose right-wing government easily tricked them by refusing to extradite the great doctor, thereby convincing the hunters that he was in that country. Wiesenthal, in fact, assured me a few years ago in Vienna that Mengele had been sighted in Paraguay frequently and that his sleuths were hot on his trail and would either capture him presently or drive him, the hunted and running animal, to give himself up or commit suicide.

In reality, the criminal, who for the longest time hadn't even bothered to change his name, was peacefully living in Brazil, sheltered by an inconspicuous elderly couple and protected by a network of fellow Nazis and organizations like Odessa. His family was in constant touch with him and supplied him regularly with money from the flourishing family business, but neither secret services nor private pursuers nor, surprisingly, even the Israeli operatives were able to trace him.

If Israel was involved in the search at all, which one must assume (although I haven't seen or heard any evidence), it would be the only agency that could be accused of pure failure. The foot-dragging of all the other governments that kept paying lip service to their efforts to bring Nazi war criminals to justice-and this includes particularly France and England-was clear to all observers.

It was an inconvenient matter to deal with. Trials would have been cumbersome, costly, lengthy, and made difficult by the scarcity of survivors who could, after decades, positively identify the miscreants.

Furthermore, the idea of such trials was by no means popular in the past and seems to be getting less so in the course of time. After the My Lais, gulags, tiger cages, death squads and torture scenes as our nightly entertainment fare in the movies and on TV, individuals have become jaded and inured to violence and cruelty, and most nations know that they're living in glass houses of their own. And with the cold wars warmed over, new open and clandestine sympathies for the anti-communist Nazis appears to be on the increase, culminating in the not infrequent pronouncement by politicians and men-in-the-street that we were fighting the wrong enemy in World War II.

Add this to the ever present anti-Semitism of most countries, reinforced by a widespread and not entirely undeserved disapproval of Israel's policies under Begin and after, and the general foot-dragging in matters of ancient atrocities becomes explainable, if by means ex-

*Jewish Affairs*



cusable.

Mankind's memory is short and its inertia long. The concentration camp tattoos on forearms and souls are dispersed over the globe, bleeding silently in private nights and nightmares. The general indifference and lack of moral convictions that made Hitler's rise possible in the first place, the deplorable human (or inhuman) quality that the German writer, Jakob Wassermann had called 'the laziness of the heart,' are prevalent. Justitia is blinder than ever beneath her blindfold. The relentless pursuit of happiness has little use for conscience.

#### DILIGENTLY EFFICIENT

I could end these brief reflections here, but I feel a word needs to be said about the aforementioned glass houses of other nations. There have been pogroms, persecutions, crusades, witch burnings, stakes for heretics, massacres, torture chambers, guillotines and assorted atrocities all through history, and the story of man's inhumanity to man and beasts would fill libraries.

But all of them were carried out in the heat of passion, triggered by emotion, furiously flaring up and dying down at irregular and relatively short-lived intervals. None was ever before conducted according to a cool, calculated, systematic, bureaucratically controlled blueprint *Mein Kampf*, guided by scientific research into the most cost-effective lethal gases, with the services of engineers bidding for the most efficient gas ovens and a sober, thoroughly planned goal in mind the clearly spelled-out 'final solution.'

That phenomenon was reserved for the diligently efficient Teutonic mind. The perpetrators of the most heinous deeds did not need to feel any guilt or undue remorse. It wasn't just that they were merely, as they all claimed, following orders without questions and personal responsibility, good soldiers in and out of uniform; it wasn't merely that the objects of their destruction were just that-objects, subhumans, pernicious detritus ("worthless lives" as Mengele put it) that had no right to exist in the first place and needed to be eliminated, Jews, Gypsies, Slavs, freaks, misbegotten, deformed, sick creatures or, on a somewhat higher level of unworthiness, perverts (homosexuals), political enemies and religious resisters, all of whom, all of which, needed to be exterminated in the most effective manner, sometimes after being utilized as the yielders of gold crowns over their teeth, of hair, of soap, and in Mengele's case, as objects for medical "experiments" that involved cutting them up alive without the luxury of anesthetics-creatures somewhat more useful than

rats or dogs.

It wasn't just those features that set the Holocaust apart from all the other bloodbaths of history. What really made it unique was the clean, businesslike way in which that killing machine was being operated, leaving many of the operators with the feeling that they were working an honest and ordinary eight-hour day, pressing a button whose purpose and effect was none of their concern, stamping and filing papers, disinfecting clothing, driving vans to and from the crematoria, and perhaps digging mass graves into which they poured corpses whose deaths were none of their doings.

The sadists, the killers and torturers were outnumbered by the large personnel needed to keep the death factories running and in good working order. And so it was that these bureaucrats of genocide and their helpers, from clerks to cooks and cleanup crews, would go home each evening with unbesmirched consciences and kiss their wives and play with their children and cuddle their pets and tend their gardens and eat and drink with their neighbors, as they were over and over reported to do.

And when they later went through the wholesale delousing process of "denazification", they could with surprised sincerity blink their eyes and say, "Who-me?" This is what Hannah Arendt called "the banality of evil" and one of the incomparable horrors of the Holocaust.

#### A MAD LOGIC

Josef Mengele fits the pattern, and his appearance activity in Auschwitz has in retrospect a mad logic, almost an inevitability about it. For a fanatical believer the Nazi theory of racial superiority who is a medical doctor and "genetic scientist" to boot, for such a Teutonic ancestor of *Dr. Strangelove*, the opportunity to carry out on *menschennaterial*, on subhuman human material, any kind of cruel and bizarre experiment that entered his deluded mind must have been the chance of a lifetime and a murderous dream come true.

The idea of being a major force in creating a pure Nordic race destined to rule the world after all the inferior races had been eliminated or reduced to serfdom doubtless intoxicated him to degree that caused even his sadism and vicious anti-Semitism to take a back seat to the methodical pursuit of his obsession. He, too, was merely doing a job, coldly, ruthlessly, systematically, determinedly.

It is now known that he took specimens of human tissues between glass plates from Auschwitz into his exile, to continue his "research" as soon as he could find access to a laboratory. This may border on insan-

ity, but it is actually the state of mind that pervaded the whole Nazi enterprise from top to bottom. Mengele carried it to its ultimate logical conclusion. This kind of calculated zeal is one of the features that make the Holocaust unique.

There is still another difference between the Holocaust and all previous pogroms and persecutions in history. I've heard it said that undue emphasis is being placed on the number of Jews who perished in Hitler's death camps, and not enough stress on the number of political opponents (mainly communists), religious dissidents (the members of the Confessional Church, *Be-kennende Kirche* and other non-Jewish enemies of the regime.

What these 'critics' overlook is that the non-Jewish resisters were such for ideological reasons and had it thus individually in their power to save themselves by recanting or pretending to recant, by reforming or pretending to reform. But the Jews (and the Gypsies and the Poles and Russians, etc., that had the misfortune to be caught) had no such choice. They were to be eliminated not for what they believed in or had done, but for what they were, what they were born as. A popular Nazi slogan put it in a nutshell: "*Was der Jude denkt, ist einerlei - in der Rasse liegt die Schweinerei.*" ("What the Jew thinks is all the same, it's his race that makes the swinish shame.")

The early Christians could escape persecution by forswearing their new allegiances, if they so chose; in the Middle Ages, the Jews could save themselves by choosing to be "saved" and electing baptism; the politically persecuted always had the chance to survive by betraying their comrades, willingly or under torture. The racially persecuted in the Third Reich had no such option. They were doomed. The relatively few who survived were rescued by the Allied troops.

Let the statisticians of persecution and mass murder, the equators of genocide and ideological martyrdom, heed that difference. Never in all recorded history was there anything that equaled or even approached in scope, in methodology, in cold-blooded savagery and thoroughness, Hitler's Holocaust. Even the extermination of the Native Americans was a sloppy, backward, amateurish operation compared to it.

#### Co-Responsibles

Still, while the Nazi vandals are a species *sui generis*, it doesn't behoove the rest of the world to be smug and self-righteous. The number of the co-responsibles in the terrors and horrors of Nazidom surpasses by far the staffs of the concentration camps and the SA Brown-shirts and SS blackshirts behind them. Nor are the co-

responsibles only Nazidom's contemporaries, who closed their eyes to the growing menace or looked the other way until it was too late. No, the co-responsibles are also those among us today who counsel to let bygones be bygones, to forgive and forget what must never be forgiven and forgotten, lest it reoccur.

Strangely enough, the same moral apathy that would let the guilty stay unpunished and the scum of the earth live comfortably among us manifests itself also in the unprotesting acquiescence to preposterous sentences meted out to perpetrators of civil disobedience. I am referring to the protesters against a Minute-man missile site in Kansas who damaged the structure with hammer blows, then awaited the arrival of the police, offering no resistance. They were arrested and in due time brought to trial.

And what was their punishment for damaging government property? Their sentences ran up to 18 years — 18 years — in prison. And how did the American public receive the news of such sentences? With outrage? With a storm of protest? With outcries of indignation? No. With some whispers and murmurs at best. In the land of the free, in the home of the brave. With liberty and justice for all.

Perhaps my eyesight is defective in more than one respect, but I perceive in such complacency and abdication of moral values a direct connection to the mentality that let the Holocaust happen. Callousness toward the idea of justice is a symptom of societal disintegration. We have seen what, in one form or another, can follow. □

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## El Viento Armado

By Michele Najlis

The poet, Michele Najlis was an FSLN member during the Somoza days. She lived in exile in Costa Rica until she was able to return to Nicaragua after the Sandinista triumph in 1979. She is an outstanding Nicaraguan poet and member of the Sandinista Writers Union.

Her father, a Jewish-Frenchman, fled France during World War II. He has been living in Nicaragua since then. He is now caretaker of the old Jewish Synagogue where he receives Jewish visitors from abroad.

The poem was translated from the Spanish by Elizabeth Ijalba.

I want a poem that is simple and good  
warm and fragrant  
as bread  
with that fragrance of people  
and flour  
and of kneading hands  
and a great red fire in the sky of the oven.

I want to say to you: Come,  
my bread is yours.  
Don't you see the hands that kneaded it?  
Don't you see that the same love has baked it  
and that my hands and yours  
were together at the bakery?  
Don't you see that we have been kneading bread  
Since we planted the first seed?  
Come:  
let's share the bread and the hopes  
even if the pain is long  
and infinite is the anguish.

Quiero un poema sencillo y bueno  
como el pan  
caliente y oloroso  
con ese olor de gente,  
de harina,  
de manos amasando  
y de un gran fuego rojo el cielo del horno

Quiero decirte: Ven,  
mi pan es tuyo  
no ves que — manos lo amasaron?  
no ves que un mismo amor lo ha cocido  
Y que mis manos y las tuyas  
estuvieron juntos en la panadería?  
No ves que venimos amasando pan  
desde el primer grano que sembramos?

January-February 1986

Ven:  
compartamos el pan y la esperanza  
aunque el dolor sea largo  
y la angustia infinita.

This poem was read in both English and Spanish at the Convention of the New Jewish Agenda in Ann Arbor, Michigan in July 1985. □



**Memorial to Israel Lewites, Jewish fighter killed in the revolution. His brother Herty Lewites is a high level government official.**



**The Old Synagogue in Managua, Nicaragua. A Nicaraguan Jewish citizen is on the left. A guard and visitor are on the right.**



## Farewell, Comrade Philip Honor

*This tribute to one of the founders of Jewish Affairs, Comrade Philip Honor, was prepared by our editorial committee and a number of Comrade Honor's closest associates in California.*

Philip Honor, talented and dedicated Marxist-Leninist, died on Sunday, December 8, 1985 after a prolonged illness. During his last years he was wracked with pain. Yet until almost the last moment of his life he had pen in hand, his prolific pen, dedicated to the struggles for socialism, against national chauvinism and for world peace.

In his last will and testament Philip Honor provided that his life savings were to go to the *Daily World*, *Jewish Affairs* and other progressive institutions and causes. His prolonged illness, however, consumed all of his life's savings. Not only did he dedicate his mind to furthering the causes he held dear. In his will he arranged to give himself to humanity by willing his body to the School of Medicine, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Philip Honor joined with Hy Lumer, Herbert Aptheker, Alex Kolkin, Abe Wise and others to found *Jewish Affairs* to further the principles of working-class internationalism in the Jewish-American community; in doing combat with bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism which was then infecting the Jewish-American community, even reaching sectors of the Jewish-American progressive movement.

Philip Honor devoted many of his analytical articles to many questions being widely discussed and debated in the Jewish-American community, emphasizing that the well-being and security of Jewish-Americans could best be guaranteed in coalitions with our multi-national, multi-racial people against the war provoking Reaganite military-industrial complex. Honor repeatedly emphasized that the security of the State of Israel demands that an international conference be convened to bring about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East by an international agreement creating an independent State of Palestine alongside the State of Israel with defined and secure borders.

Philip Honor was a self-educated student, researcher, teacher and writer. He wrote and lectured about the Soviet Union, the bulwark of world peace and friendship amongst the peoples of the world. Honor was an active member of the local chapter of the National Council for Soviet-American Friendship. Honor vigorously exposed and denounced the provocative canard of "Soviet anti-Semitism," emphasizing that in fact the U.S.S.R is a beacon light for all peoples

striving for national liberation, independence and equality.

Shortly before Phil Honor's stout and tortured heart gave way he wrote the following which appeared in the *Churchman*.

### Deceit

To The Editors:

As Hitler and Goebbels before him, Ronald Reagan has honed to perfection the stratagem of mesmerizing public opinion and using the passions of nationalism and racism. Ruthlessly serving the vested interests of the rich and powerful, he is posing as a friend of the people and a harbinger of peace, prosperity, and good will. Reagan's war machine has unleashed upon the world a catastrophic nuclear buildup camouflaged as a 'build-down.'

Retired Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque, Director of the Research Center for Defense Information, recently pointed out that the MX missiles alone will cost every American family \$4,000 and that every congressional district will be taxed more than \$63 million.

The peace movement in this country and in Europe is on the march. Ron Todd, leader of the Tranfer and General Workers Union, Britain's largest union, charged that Prime Minister Thatcher has turned England into 'an American aircraft carrier.'

President Reagan and the obsequious American media will soon find out that the peace forces in this country and on the European continent have just begun to fight. The subtle, demagogic propaganda stemming from Washington will not deter them. The psychotic warmongers and the power-hungry, rapacious imperialists shall not prevail. *San Diego, Calif.*

Phil Honor

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### Phil Honor

Former City Editor of the *Freiheit*

A Founder of *Jewish Affairs*

Died, December 8, 1985

He will long be remembered.

Communist Party of San Diego County.

## What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are Black?

*In observance of Afro-American History Month we are proud to reprint the following two poems published in the magazine of the 'DuSable Museum of African-American History, 740 E. 56th Place, Chicago, Illinois.'*

*Margaret Burroughs, a teacher in Chicago, USA, wrote a poem entitled, 'What shall I tell my children who are black?' She sent it to Susan Kling, a writer and a poetess, who is a friend of our magazine (DuSable Museum) of long standing. Susan wrote a poem, 'What shall I tell my children who are white?' Here they are.*

What shall I tell my children who are black  
Of what it means to be a captive in this dark skin?  
What shall I tell my dear ones, fruit of my womb,  
Of how beautiful they are when everywhere they turn  
They are faced with abhorrence of everything that is black.

The night is black and so is the boogy-man.  
Villains are black with black hearts.  
A black cow gives no milk. A black hen lays no eggs.  
Bad news comes bordered in black, mourning clothes are black.  
Storm clouds black, black is evil  
And evil is black and devil's food is black. . .

What shall I tell my dear ones raised in a white world  
A place where white has been made to represent  
All that is good and pure and fine and decent,  
Where clouds are white and dolls and heaven  
Surely is white, white place with angels  
Robed in white, and cotton candy and ice cream  
And milk and ruffled Sunday dresses  
And dream houses and long sleek Cadillacs  
And angel's food is white. . . all, all . . . white.

What can I say therefore, when my child  
Comes home in tears because a playmate  
Has called him black, big lipped, flatnosed  
And nappy headed? What will he think  
When I dry his tears and whisper, 'Yes, that's true.  
But no less beautiful and dear.'  
How shall I lift up his head, get square  
His shoulders, look his adversaries in the eye  
Confident in the knowledge of his worth  
Serene under his sable skin and proud of his own  
beauty?

What can I do to give him strength  
*January-February 1986*

That he may come through life's adversities  
As a whole human being unwarped and human in a  
world  
Of biased laws and inhuman practices, that he might  
Survive. And survive he must! For who knows?  
Perhaps this black child here bears the genius  
To discover the cure for. . . cancer  
Or to chart the course for exploration of the universe  
So, he must survive for the good of all humanity.  
He must and will survive.

I have drunk deeply of late from the fountain  
Of my black culture, sat at the knee and learned  
From Mother Africa, discovered the truth of my heri-  
tage.

The truth, so often obscured and omitted  
And I find I have much to say to my black children.

I will lift up their heads in proud blackness  
With the story of their fathers and their fathers'  
Fathers. And I shall take them into a way back time  
Of Kings and Queens who ruled the Nile  
And measured the stars and discovered the  
Laws of mathematics. Upon whose backs have been  
built

The wealth of two continents. I will tell him  
This and more. And his heritage shall be his weapon.

And his armor will make him strong enough to win  
Any battle he may face. And since this story is  
Often obscured. I must sacrifice to find it  
For my children, even as I sacrificed to feed,  
Clothe and shelter them. So this I will do for them  
If I love them. None will do it for me.  
I must find the truth of heritage for myself.  
And pass it on to them. In years to come, I believe  
Because I have armed them with the truth, my children  
And their children's children will venerate me.  
For it is the truth that will make us free!

---

**END**

**U.S. Investments  
in  
South Africa**

## What Shall I Tell My Children Who Are White?

by Susan Kling

How shall I tell my children who are white  
And on whom society has so deeply impressed  
That white is good and black is bad.  
What an awesome burden they bear?

Shall I tell them that their white forebears  
Peoples the fields of white cotton under white-hot  
Suns, with black-skinned children whose crystal-  
Clear tears and drops of red, red blood so like  
My very own children's tears and blood- have  
Watered and nourished the earth so that my  
White children could thrive, even as their black  
Likenesses have fallen in fatigue and been beaten  
And raped and burned and hung and drowned?

And shall I tell them that white was the skin of  
The owners of the armadas that dragged the blacks  
From their African homeland; and that white was the  
Skin of the Southern overseers whose whiplashes made  
Marks of eternity on the black chain-gangs that pro-  
vided  
Free labor for the white southern land-owners?

And shall I tell them that the white skin that has been  
Made to represent all that is good and pure and fine  
And decent belongs also to whites who drowned Em-  
mett Till  
And fired the shot that killed Martin Luther King, and  
Buried Schwerner, Goodman and Chaney under a ce-  
ment landfill  
And killed the mother of three as she drove in her car to  
a  
Freedom Rally; and beat and tortured Fannie Lou and  
killed  
Mark Clark and Fred Hampton in their beds? And on  
and on. . . .

But I must tell them too, that white is also the color of  
Skin of those many millions who have reached across  
the chasm  
In defiance of teachings and threats, in unity with  
Blacks and the other colors of humanity, to march for  
Civil rights and voting rights and equal rights and stop  
the  
Wars and jobs and peace. . . . and that this unity has  
brought  
A measure of these to life, but not enough, not enough,  
Page 20

not  
Nearly enough. . . .  
And the awesome burden is still a monstrous load that  
My children still carry on their consciences.

So I must make sure that my children who are white  
Learn that good and bad comes in all colors and that  
The myths that pulls peoples apart must be destroyed;  
And when my children at last learn this truth, and  
Live it fully, then, and only then, can we all  
Be free!


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