

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

July/August 1987

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# The New Jewish Agenda Convention

By Lewis M. Moroze

The multi-national, multi-racial American People, workers and middle sectors are indicating that they are more and more determined to put in place a People's Agenda in opposition to Reaganite global hegemonism, to the Reaganite plot to undermine our constitutional liberties and rights and to place the heavy burdens of their aggressive policies on the shoulders of our people.

The press can no longer hide the mounting evidence revealing the gulf between Reaganite Washington and the peace constituencies, organized labor, the farmers, the civil liberties and civil rights movements. In fact, what is being revealed is that the gulf is widening.

The growing anger of the people and their determination to combat Reaganism was flashed to Washington by the overwhelming vote of the delegates at the recently held national conventions of three important people's organizations — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the New Jewish Agenda and the National Urban League.

All three conventions placed clearly and sharply on the record their determination to combat the Reaganite policies in the area of civil liberties and civil rights. Each of the three organizations roundly condemned the nomination by Reagan of the arch reactionary Robert Bork to serve as a Supreme Court Justice and vowed an all-out campaign at the US Senate to reject the nomination.

Each of the three conventions addressed themselves to the deteriorating conditions of life for broad sectors of the people. Each of the three conventions called for the adoption of programs to meet the economic and social needs of the people in the area of jobs, housing, child care, health care and education.

I was a delegate at the Third National Convention of New Jewish Agenda which was attended by over 500 men and women. The delegates, some 280 gender-paired representatives of local chapters, called for vigorous steps to bring about detente with the USSR and determined steps to put an end to nuclear weaponry by the year 2,000.

From its inception New Jewish Agenda has called for a just peace in the Middle East and the right of self-determination for the Palestinian People. New Jewish Agenda over the years was influential in bringing the truth about the Middle East to the Jewish American community and to the peace constituencies.

At this convention the delegates called for an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the UN Security Council and the participation of the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian People. Since the last convention two years ago, NJA has sponsored forums across the land presenting the case

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## The Stark realities of the Middle East: U.S.-Soviet Cooperation Is Essential For Peace

by Mark Barnes

What do the *New York Times* and the far right political columnist George Will have in common? They have lately taken to warning Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres against entertaining the idea of an international Middle East peace conference to include the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Israel and the other parties to the regional conflict. What appears to be worrying these luminaries of the press is the fact that a clear majority of Israelis, according to recent polls, now support the convening of such a conference.

Will, who alleges in a column appearing in *Newsday* on April 20, that somehow multinational conferences never produce peace, objects that convening of the international peace conference sponsored by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council "would legitimize the Soviet Union as an indispensable player in the Middle East game of nations." Meanwhile, the *Times*, while acknowledging that such a conference "probably represents the best vehicle for Middle East peace negotiations" inexplicably advises that "It is unwise to grasp for peace now" and goes on to offer the same rationale as Will: "What causes concern is the Soviet role such as a conference would create, and what powers it would have." (Editorial, May 24).

It appears that these gentlemen regard the cause of peace in the Middle East as too important to be left to the Israelis, Palestinians and the other parties to the conflict, but must be suitably controlled according to the self-proclaimed strategic interests defined by the U.S. Pentagon and the multinational oil companies. These are above all to "cut the Soviets out of the Middle East game" as the U.S.-brokered 1978 Camp David Accords unsuccessfully attempted to do. Of course the USSR, which borders directly on the Middle East region has no intention of complying with these wishes by simply disappearing.

The anxieties of the *Times* and Mr. Will, not coincidentally, have a close parallel in the stance of the Reagan Administration, which is pushing for a direct U.S. naval presence in the war-ridden Persian Gulf, an

area closely related to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Reagan's aggressive stance, which has already resulted in the deaths of 37 sailors from the USS *Stark*, was also justified as necessary to "prevent the Soviets" from gaining influence in the Gulf region. While the Soviets have repeatedly called for an end to the bloody Iran-Iraq conflict which destroys the prospects for peaceful development of both nations, and has pledged its support for freedom of international navigation in the Gulf, "cutting the Soviets out" has been a priority of Washington policy in the region for some time. In fact, when the Carter Administration unilaterally declared the Persian Gulf a region of "U.S. strategic interest" almost a decade ago, it went so far as to publicly consider using atomic weapons in a hypothetical conflict with the USSR in the region. A little publicized but exceptionally important element in the Reagan Administration's disastrous Iran arms initiative was the attempt to forge a common front with the Khomeini regime against the Soviets and communism. As part of this initiative the CIA fingered a large number of alleged members of the Iranian Communist Party to the Khomeini group which then executed them.

The State Department has tried to justify its anti-Soviet policy in the Gulf by the not-very-credible allegation that the USSR wants to control Gulf oil supplies. However, the USSR is itself the owner of the world's largest reserves of oil and natural gas and is a large exporter of energy. It increasingly enjoys good relations with most Middle East nations including many U.S. clients. While the United States derives only a small portion of its domestic oil consumption from the Persian Gulf, U.S. multinational oil companies have heavy investments in being the main intermediaries in the international oil trade between the Gulf and such oil-importing areas as Western Europe and Japan.

The American people and Congress are rightly worried by the thrust of the Reagan Administration to unilaterally undertake military missions in the tense Middle East, particularly after the failed Beirut adventure and the *Stark* incident. Instead of "playing for high stakes" and trying to beat the Soviets and back up the far flung empires of the big oil companies, our leaders would do better to listen to our yearning for peace. Peace in the Middle East can only come about if Washington and Israel accepts that they must work in cooperation with the Soviet Union, and with all the other states and peoples of that region. □

**Mark Barnes is a Jewish peace activist in the New York area.**

## Ben Linder: The Man Who Kindled A Light

by Henry Rosenthal

This article originally appeared in the *Canadian Outlook*, July/August 1987. It is reprinted with permission of the editors.

It is now over a month since Contra gangsters killed Ben Linder in a remote rural area in Nicaragua. He was working at the time of his death on preparing a hydro-electric project to bring electric power to poor farmers and villagers. Success would have brought light into peasant households. It would have helped them become part of the 20th century. For those peasant farmers, the death of Ben Linder and his associates revealed the true face of U.S. foreign policy — its determined resolve to keep them ignorant and poor.

The target for the Contra hit squad, Ben Linder, was a 27-year-old Jewish American from Portland, Oregon, who had graduated as an electrical engineer from the University of Washington, and devoted his skills to helping poor farmers in the Nicaraguan hinterland achieve a decent standard of living. By all accounts, Ben was a very complex character. In addition to his engineering knowledge, he won great popularity in Managua as a clown and juggler with the National Circus. He travelled around the city on a unicycle and loved to entertain children of all ages. They, in turn, responded to him with love and affection, and his loss was felt deeply by all.

Many informed observers maintain that Linder's murder was part of a deliberate strategy by the Contras and their CIA advisors to intimidate foreign volunteers who have come to the aid of the hard-pressed Nicaraguan people. Certainly the Contras have made no secret of their plan to target foreign volunteers. This was reiterated in the right-wing Miami-based *Diario de las Americas* (May 3) which warned foreign volunteers to leave Nicaragua or else. . . . CIA "advisors" believed apparently that the Contra attack would have the effect of scaring volunteers into leaving, and that public outrage in the USA would not last long, especially if the media co-operated by minimizing the event, and confusing the issues.

Instead, the strategy has backfired. Although major news organizations like the *New York Times* seemed only too willing to obfuscate and minimize, by limiting interviews to U.S. sources, and by publishing false accounts about the murder, other newspapers, particu-

larly on the West Coast, seemed more open and receptive. Ironically the first reliable news came from *The Daily* student paper at the University of Washington, Ben Linder's alma mater. *The Daily* carried a detailed reconstruction of the Contra attack based on first-hand reports on April 30. As *The Daily's* editor commented, "If a goddamn college paper in Seattle can get a hold of these people [i.e., witnesses], why can't the *New York Times*?" Why indeed? In fact, the horror of *The Daily's* account was compounded by the autopsy report which made it clear that Linder was shot in the head at close range after being wounded by a grenade.

Simultaneously with the breaking of the news barrier by *The Daily* came the reactions of peace groups and Central American support organizations who organized protest meetings, vigils and memorial services all over the United States. In fact, protest meetings have been held in more than 25 cities, including Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Washington, Houston, New York and other centres, and many thousands of Americans have expressed their outrage at this wanton act of Contra-CIA terrorism. A special memorial service was held in New York at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue.



Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, from left, and Benjamin Linder's sister, father, brother and mother walk to the Managua cemetery where the slain American engineer was buried.

The protests have by no means been limited to public meetings. Several members of the House of Representatives have called for an official investigation into the Contra attack. A hearing has been scheduled by a House Committee chaired by Rep. George Crockett (Mich.). Calls for a congressional investigation are also pouring in to Sen. D. Inouye (Hawaii), Chairman, Joint Special Investigative Committee of the U.S. Senate. In addition, the suit in the U.S. courts for an injunction against aid to the Contras, originally initiated by Ben Linder and others, is being reactivated by the Center for

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## 20th Anniversary of the "Six Day War"

By Joseph Lipski

Moral stock-taking marked the 20th Anniversary of the "Six Day War" in Israel. Several characteristic features of that war came to the fore. First, those who have analyzed the war did not take into consideration the character of the 1967 war. Evaluations concentrated on the enormous damage — materially, morally and politically — caused by the "Six Day War" and the occupation that followed.

The question, however, was raised: Was there no choice but to start that war? Was it possible — notwithstanding the series of anti-Israeli Egyptian moves — to refrain from unleashing the war?

Former Chief-of-Staff, General Rafael Eytan, answered: "Now it is said that a knife was put to Israel's throat. What knife was at Israel's throat in 1956? What knife was at her throat in 1967? — Egyptian divisions in Sinai? — It's quite possible that if one side hadn't started shooting in 1967, the war wouldn't have broken out" ("Yediot Aharonot", 5/14/82).

Hayim Herzog, President of Israel, (also a former general), wrote in a victory album, published in 1967: "The political map of the Middle East and in the world has changed . . . the Soviets have strengthened their positions in Syria, Egypt, Yemen, where they have found allies . . . The oil resources of the Persian Gulf and of the Sudanese desert were in danger . . . the game was not only about the State of Israel, but about the rule in this part of the world" ("The Victory," Levin Epstein edition, Tel Aviv, 1967).

Moshe Dayan, the "War Hero," in a lecture at Tel Aviv University on 5/30/75 said: "I cannot say that Egypt decided to attack Israel in 1967."

In the wake of discussions between representatives of the Alignment and the Likud, in the course of the war in Lebanon, the latter revealed in a more drastic manner than ever in the past, the truth about the June war of 1967. For instance, Menachem Begin, wrote in "Yediot Aharonot" on 8/20/82: "In June 1967 we again had a choice. As far as the concentration of forces of the Egyptian army in East Sinai was concerned, there is no proof that Nasser intended to attack us. We have to be sincere with ourselves. We decided to attack him . . . We didn't do it because we had no choice. We could have waited further. We could have sent the army home. Who knows if an attack against us would have been launched

at all. There is no proof of it. There are some proofs to the contrary."

After the Six Days War, the impression given was that the conquered territories have strengthened Israel's security, that the Palestinian population would get used to the occupation, that every possibility of resistance would be broken and that the added territories would also strengthen Israel economically and politically. All these illusory considerations proved to be unfounded.

The new feature in the situation lies in the fact that in spirit of the differences of opinion on the character of the Six Days War, a very broad consensus has emerged, that the great victory in the Six Days War has become a great disaster. One remembers now, the Communist Party of Israel, from the first day of the war, had called for the withdrawal from the occupied territories, that it might cause Israel a great deal of trouble. Even Abba Eban, Chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Commission, wrote recently in the *New York Times*: "The Six Days War has driven us a bit crazy." He admits that: "I wouldn't dare say today that we shall be a light unto the nations." Prof. Y. Leibovitz, reacting to Abba Eban's statement said: "Abba Eban says now what I said and wrote 19 years ago, that the military victory in the Six Days War was the beginning of the downfall of the State of Israel. It is a pity that it had to take 19 years until he understood it." ("Yediot Aharonot," 6/15/87).

From a number of symposiums and meetings, conclusions are drawn of the sad reality of a rapid rise of support of the extreme right-wing and fanatical clerical groups of an "Undivided Land of Israel," directed against Israeli peace activists, as well as against the Palestinian Arab population. To muster support of the American rulers for this political-military option, the Israeli government has joined the U.S. global strategy and cooperated in the fatal scheme of "Star Wars" directed against the Soviet Union.

Israel's security, however, is weakened; the economic situation has deteriorated. A growing number of people understand that because of the cost of keeping the occupied territories, of building adventurist colonies in these territories, the economy of the country is ruined, conditions of workers are getting worse and health and educational services suffer. The social situation of the working people is aggravated. Simultaneously, the Palestinian resistance against the occupation has assumed massive dimensions. If somebody wants to create the impression that the resistance to the occupation is

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## Religious Fundamentalism: Its Reactionary Role Today

Howard L. Parsons

Fundamentalism in 20th-century USA has been and still is the religious ideology for economic and political reaction. Its "fundamentals" of doctrine are the divine inspiration of the Scriptures, the deity of Jesus, the virgin birth of Jesus, substitutionary blood atonement, the physical resurrection of Jesus, and the imminent Second Coming of Christ which will usher in a new millennium. Though many Christians throughout the 2000 years of their history have subscribed to these beliefs, Christians have differed widely on these issues. For example, in the 4th century Christians argued heatedly over whether Christ the Son is subordinate to God the Father or equal to Him; and two centuries later, in 451 at Chalcedon, they could not agree on whether Christ's human or divine nature is more important and whether these two natures are separate or united or both. Christianity in both belief and practice has been very diverse and very divided. In the course of its history we can trace various political tendencies ranging from anarchist and revolutionary through liberal, conservative, and reactionary.

In its narrow sense fundamentalism is the theology and practice of some one-fifth of the 40 million evangelical Christians in the USA today. In this essay, however, we shall use the term in its broad and popular sense to refer to the belief system of all evangelicals who share much of the world view of fundamentalism while holding their own distinctive beliefs. We begin with the evolution of religion and ideology in our national history.

The settlement of the North American continent by an expansive, mercantile, colonialist capitalism of western Europe brought to the New World a variety of Protestant Puritans as well as small numbers of Roman Catholics and Jewish people. Thus when the American Revolution succeeded no one faith was pre-eminently powerful; each faith in order to get freedom for itself was compelled to grant freedom to all others. Moreover, the predominantly agrarian and decentralized economy had no developed philosophy of capitalism. And Jefferson and Madison, who believed in democratic pluralism for politics, felt that the voluntaristic religious groups, which had not supported the ruling power of the British Crown, should be left free in a "fair experiment" and would in fact express and inculcate common beliefs in

their own diverse ways. But no national philosophy emerged. And in time religious persons and groups divided along class lines over the issues of Jacksonian populism versus eastern banking and commercial interests, male suffrage, free public schools, the Mexican War, women's suffrage, slaving in particulars and other matters.

Even when after the Civil War the ruling classes developed their own ideology for industrial monopoly and imperialism, the nation's people shared no common outlook on human living and history. Capitalism in the USA has never produced a clear and systematic world view that has been widely accepted and followed by large masses of people. Why? The ruling class has been able to extract its surplus value and govern in its customary way without such a world view: being "pragmatic" it has had no need for elaborate theory to accumulate its profits, rent and interest. Workers as a whole have never agreed to the concept of their own subordination and inferiority to the ruling groups: they have been convinced that one person is as good as an equal as another and can rise in the social scale. And in the ideological vacuum of US capitalism various religious world views, alongside common sense, have, from the early colonial period onward, furnished people with a sense of values, of ethical rules, and of the overall meaning of existence. Thus, although separation of Church and State has been written into the Constitution, clever politicians and business people have constantly manipulated religious ideology to their own advantage, stamping religious slogans on the coin of the realm and publicly invoking religious symbols and concepts mixed with secular and patriotic ones. Religious ideology today provides the veneer of respectability and morality that capitalism with all its power and tricks needs but cannot create out of its own sordid world.

Businessmen often find it profitable to cultivate contacts with religious organizations; and today to be "born again" or in some way religious is a required birthmark for election to high political office.

From the other side, what can religious persons expect in return by taking up the goals and methods of capitalism? Not moral influence, for whatever morality prevails there is only a facade — but money, and the power and status it commands. But to get, keep, and multiply money in that world requires immorality. Shall they then be immoral? Christians mesmerized by the almighty dollar have forgotten the teachings of their founder: one cannot worship God and Mammon; and it profits one nothing if one gains the whole world and

loses one's soul. The lesson is that it is a hard road to practice Christian morality in a capitalist society. But many a Christian, including the rich television evangelist, has not learned this.

As an explicit movement fundamentalism in the USA appeared in the early 1900s in an attempt to beat back newly emerging forces for social progress — the trade unions, the Blacks still in the bondage of tenancy and wage labor, the struggling immigrants, women demanding suffrage, campaigners for ethnic and religious equality (as for Catholics and Jews), teachers of science and evolution in the schools, the higher critics of the Bible, and the like. fundamentalism was a fearful and retrogressive reaction against the real and imagined threats of social change. It appealed to the ruling classes as well as to sections of the middle stratum and the poor who where ill-informed and afraid of being thrown down the economic heap. Over against the uncertainties, weaknesses, failures, conflicts, sufferings, and death of this world it postulated a perfect world of God and heaven — a systemic fantasy that if studies on an individual level would be diagnosed as mental illness. In politics, such a rigid, paranoid, dogmatic religious attitude became easily allied — from both religious and political sides — with racism, antisemitism, chauvinism, xenophobia, anticommunism, the bifurcation of the world into good and evil, law and order at any price, militarism, violence, and nihilistic destruction. Such authoritarianism logically leads to the organized and holocaustic devastation of fascism. And at this point there is a large overlap between the beliefs of political conservatives who are not particularly religious and the beliefs of religious people who are not especially interested in politics. Both are antidemocratic, elitist, hierarchical, exclusive, individualistic, and alienated.

Religious fundamentalism and the politics of Reaganism bear similar features and are children of a common lineage. The Puritans from England who settled the North American continent came as a varied people — small landowners and farmers, shopkeepers, mechanics, and clerks, as well as indentured servants — in search of a better material life. They came also as dissenters from the old established religion, zealous to purify it and moved by a deep moral sense. Bound together by a "covenant," they felt called as a Chosen People to carry out God's mission by creating a New Jerusalem in the New World. Throughout US history this messianic morality has inspired and justified reactionary policies against native Indians, slaves, religious and ethnic minorities, immigrants, foreigner, radicals

— as well as progressive ideas at home and abroad such as were exemplified in the Socialist and Progressive Parties of the early 1900s and the Roosevelt administration of the 1930s and 1940s.

In the tradition of Calvinism Puritanism was also highly inner-directed, demanding self-discipline, self-improvement, and responsibility. It aimed at the saving of the individual soul from sin, guilt, and punishment both here and hereafter.

Pietism, coming from inside the established European state churches, found a fertile soil among people resisting the restraints of Calvinism and enduring the hard life of the frontier. It opened the way for personal emotion, religious enthusiasm, and the mass "revivals" that have swept over the country in periodic waves. This tendency too has been both reactionary and progressive, giving rise in the late 1800s to fanatical right-wing crusades to put down the labor movement and, during the 1930s, campaigns to promote antisemitism and fascism. But it has also found passionate and radical expression in Black congregations and progressive preachers like Martin Luther King, Jr. Yet Afro-American slaves had their own religious temper and mode of action, of which the great example is the prophetic Nat Turner.

The Pentecostal movement, which also is personal and emotional, has been since its origin in 1900 a principal vehicle for the apocalyptic expectation that the world's end is coming soon and for the practices of healing and speaking in tongues by the spiritually "gifted." Pentecostal churches are a haven for newly arrived urban people in search of a community.

Fundamentalism today draws on all these religious strands in American history. It is simple and narrow in its moralism. It is emotional and unyielding. It is messianic, with a clear message to individual persons, at home and abroad, for saving the world. It is directed to saving the individual soul by a direct act of faith in God. It is Biblical rather than institutional, rooted in an impulse of the heart rather than a doctrine of logic. It is not a matter of membership or social ritual; it is private. It is convinced of heaven and hell, as it is convinced of the corresponding good and evil, the saved and the damned, on earth. It sees the affairs of human history as secondary to matters of eternity. In social action it can be fanatical in its pursuit of good and its hostility to evil. And its leaders are sure they are called by the Almighty to save the people.

Does not this describe Reagan's political view when we substitute political terms for religious ones?

Reagan's supply-side theory ("voodoo economics," said candidate Bush); his Star Wars and willingness to risk nuclear catastrophe; his relentless rhetoric against "the empire of evil" — communism; his self-righteous flag-waving ("L'etat, c'est moi"); chauvinism (for the Chosen White Wealthy Ones of God); voluntaristic individualism (problems of poverty, unemployment, and unwanted pregnancy must be solved by individual will power, not social aid); superbudgeted anti-sovietism; fervid holy wars in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Grenada, Honduras- Nicaragua, etc. — all these are simple, emotional, ill-informed, irrational escapes from the real world where masses of people are struggling to free themselves from the oppression of the powerful and the wealthy, from want and illness, from illiteracy and joblessness, from injustice and useless war. Reagan has nothing but foolish illusion for dealing with the problems of our country and the world. He is sustained by the thought of his divine omnipotence, believing that like God he is above the law and can bomb, invade, and kill peoples and use nations as he pleases. Yet this madness has its method, for he acts in the interests of the ruling groups and contrary to the interests of the common people.

Why the upsurge of fundamentalism today? Since the 1960s the USA and its world have been shaken by the throes of revolutionary change, upsetting the generation that matured during World War II and afterward and that imagined it could settle back to urban and suburban peace and prosperity. (And now their children, expecting "to have it all" as their middle-class parents seemed to, are angry and disappointed.) Communism has spread. National liberation movements continue to break out and succeed. US military power and political influence have been retarded, halted, or defeated in Korea, Vietnam, India, Iran, the Middle East, parts of Africa including South Africa, the Caribbean, and Central America. At home many legal and social changes have advanced the cause of people striving for equality — the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, the desegregation of the schools, the school prayer decision, the regulation of abortion, affirmative action to correct discrimination at work, in education, and elsewhere, the ERA effort, and the growth of a national peace movement with international ties.

Moreover, economic and technological changes in this period have brought shifts in the general ethos and individual lifestyles, changes disturbing to conservative mentalities — new sexual habits, more divorce, different family patterns, more drug use and pornography and

crime, self-indulgence. Fundamentalists propose to deal with these changes by turning around each individual soul in the direction of the deity and by denying the complex conditions, contradictions, and human needs that are driving these changes. By contrast, progressives see in such changes the collective movement of the people for human amelioration and the collision of that movement with the big corporations and their military megamachine. At work in that movement are Catholics and Protestants in peace and justice activity here and in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala, the counterparts of Christians upholding liberation theology in Latin America.

The April 25 demonstrations signified the militant will of the people for justice and peace in Central America and Southern Africa. Reaganism and fundamentalism have tried to impede this movement. But they have not been able to sweep it back, and the tide rolls on. Together the two peaked in the early 1980s. But now, in 1987, both are in decline, and the religious right shows signs of disarray. The reason for the common ruin of this economics and this religion is that every human project built on fraud, deceit, theft, greed, and exploitation will eventually bring defeat on itself. Against this, progressive people are summoned to build a movement founded on truth, mutual regard, cooperation, solidarity, commitment to the cause of humanity.

Fundamentalism is the general philosophy of a widespread evangelical movement, though within it one finds shades of differences. There are 40 million electronic evangelical Christians, it is estimated, 30 million of whom make small individual contributions to the Christian Broadcasting Network. Most of its \$230 million revenue, however, according to the Reverend Pat Robertson, comes from corporate sources. Such are Amoco, Elizabeth Arden, Coca-Cola, Coors, Gulf, Heinz, Holiday Inn, Marriott, Mobil, Pepsico, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Sun Oil, and others — and numerous individual millionaires. While these persons and groups may have little or no interest in religion as such, they can instinctively perceive the coincidence of the class position of the evangelicals and their own.

In 1986 Praise the Lord (PTL) received \$129 million in contributions — which paid for million-dollar salaries, opulent estates, expensive cars, and other emoluments for God's ministers on earth. But a major competitor, Jimmy Swaggart, whose organization in 1985 gathered in almost \$128.5 million, disclosed that Jim Bakker of PTL had used \$265,000 of the treasury to cover up an extramarital affair with a church secretary

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some years previously. More significant than such personal and carnal sins are the huge revenues lifted from the pockets of ordinary working people, the deception and moral hypocrisy in raising the contributions, the tax-free luxuries indulged in by the demagogic preachers (the Jimmy Swaggert Evangelistic Association, now operating as a church, does not register its financial status with the government), and the antihuman political views of many running the religious right. Some of these people, like Ronald Reagan, believe in an imminent Armageddon, a final armed conflict of the nations, in which the saved souls will be raptured up safely into heaven. They are also, expectably, racist, sexist, anti-labor, and anticommunist. They are the ideological arm of Reagan's repressive policy overseas. Pat Robertson and other fundamentalists have poured large sums of money into El Salvador and elsewhere in support of governments terrorizing and murdering their own peoples.

Industrial capitalism operates as the capitalist maintains and increases the difference between what the workers produce and what the capitalist returns to them as wages. This is surplus value. Ideology then serves the purpose to cement this exploitive relation by keeping the workers in ignorance or, if they become literate, conscious, class-conscious, and organized, misleading them about the real state of affairs. (Thus the surplus value for lying religious leaders is the difference between the x millions of dollars they take in and the zero value they give out — i.e., x millions of dollars. Reverend Oral Roberts told followers he needed \$8 million by March's end or God would call him home to heaven.)

Under 19th-century capitalism religion was the main form of such diversionary, deceiving ideology. But with the rise of science, education, and the secular world view, religion's power to persuade people and affect their behavior has been weakened; and capitalism itself, with its cynical and negative view of human life, has contributed to the weakening of the moral force hidden within the mystifications of religion. To divert and deceive the masses, ruling classes have thus resorted to new means: the fantasies of the popular arts, false advertising (and extension of credit) to generate endless wants and consumption, the omissions and lies and distortions of the media, militarism and phony patriotism, and all manner of bias against progressive advances taking place in the world. No longer content to be mere handmaidens to capitalists, religious entrepreneurs today have entered into the market on their own, making use of capitalism's techniques to exploit the riches of the

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producers of wealth, the working people.

The domestic and international crisis of US capitalism has deepened during the last two decades. Reagan came to power with a new message and an announcer's voice. The new message was the message of old-time religion of fundamentalism, of religious reaction. His religious message has turned out to be as empty and impoverished as his economic and military program. For at the same time when the trade deficit and foreign debt are forcing a new policy, when Reagan has been compelled by events to sit down with General Secretary Gorbachev and discuss disarmament, when unrest over jobs and peace is rising — the right-wing religious charade has begun to unravel. A New York Times/CBS News Poll (March 31, 1987) found that one-half of the watcher of evangelical television programs had an unfavorable opinion of most evangelists, and of the nonwatchers nearly three-fourths had an unfavorable view. The persons who want the evangelical world of illusion are the wealthy, who have a real world to lose, and a portion of that 35 per cent of the population who watch the evangelical programs and who tend to be older than average, more likely female, more rural, less educated, and less suburban. These people have been part of Reagan's base; but it is now much diminished because of the exposures of the fraud and venality of Iringate and Pearlygate.

Now, the critical question is what we the people do in this vacuum created by the political and religious failure of Reaganism. We must step up the broad-based political movement among the working class and all the sectors of the people in the battle of peace, jobs, and justice. We must engage and unite all progressive and anti-imperialist forces — political and economic, secular and religious, racial and ethnic, male and female, younger and older — to drive reaction from the scene forever. We must replace its poverty and brutality and holocaust with sufficiency and decency and peace for all. □

**Howard L. Parsons, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Bridgeport, is the author of *Christianity Today in the USSR*, International Publishers, 1987.**

**EVERY READER  
GET A READER**

# The German Anti-Fascist Resistance

by Ronald C. Kent

Or I shall live your epitaph to make,  
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten;  
From hence your memory death will be forgot-  
ten

Your name from hence immortal life shall  
have. . . .

— Shakespeare  
LXXXI, Sonnets

The history of the German anti-fascist Resistance and the Jews and non-Jews who struggled for the destruction of German fascism is still being obscured or distorted by a cross-section of U.S. historiography. In particular, the role played by left-wing Socialists (Left SPD), Communists (KPD) and unaffiliated persons in anti-fascist activity has been maligned by a curious coterie of U.S. scholars such as Gordon A. Craig, David Pike, Lucy Dawidowicz and others.

The line of attack pursues a crude psycho-linguistic inversion of history and the role of the left in that history. For example, Gordon A. Craig quotes approvingly of the right-wing social democratic leader Kurt Schumacher that he ". . . believed that (the KPD) had shared responsibility of Hitler's accession to power and had lamed resistance to National Socialism in the years 1939-1941. . . ." (Gordon A. Craig, *The Germans*. New York: Meridian, 1982, p. 37). This is indeed cold-war history at its worst but not the only variety. A similar puerile psycho-history written by David Pike entitled *German Writers in Soviet Exile* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982) tries to distort the leading role of the KPD in the struggle against Hitler. In fact, Pike attempts to convict various German and Soviet anti-fascists of murder in World War II, but his evidence would scarcely convince any jury, including the jury of public opinion. Pike's flights of fantasy include the rather bizarre assertions that KPD writers were "out of touch with the nature of Hitler fascism. . . . [sic] (pp. 237f), or that KPD leader Ernst Thälmann's "carelessness cost him his freedom. . . ." (p. 53). There is correspondingly no reference by Pike to the hundreds of KPD members and writers who bravely fought fascism inside Germany nor to the role played by Thälmann in leading active resistance all along the line to the rise of German fascism. Thus, Pike and others make what is foul fair and what was fair foul indeed.

A parallel line of an historical argument also emerges from such texts, namely a frontal attack on historians who credit the role of the left and a jaded attempt to *refunction* the history of resistance inside Germany. For example, Lucy Dawidowicz in her book *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1981, p. 101) discusses the famous Jewish-Polish Holocaust historian Ber Mark by stating that ". . . communist bias permeated Mark's own books on resistance. . . ." Significantly, she provides very few facts to document any bias in Professor Mark's works. It is because Professor Mark ably credited the left Socialists, Communists and left-Zionists in that anti-fascist resistance that disturbs historians such as Dawidowicz. Likewise, Yehuda Bauer attempts to distort the history of the resistance by discrediting the leadership elements in that effort. Thus, Bauer intones in his book *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978, p. 76) that German KPD members ". . . demanded of their Jewish comrades that they establish their own underground groups. . . ."

[sic] . . . It is a well-known fact among serious researchers and historians of the resistance that there were many mixed groups and that even Jewish groups included non-Jews. I have elucidated the latter fact in my earlier essay on the famous German-Jewish anti-fascist Baum group in *Jewish Affairs* (Volume 14, No. 2, May/June, 1984, pp. 7-11).

Unfortunately, the histories distorting the record of the German anti-fascist underground enjoy a mass academic market in college bookstores and elsewhere. Therefore, this essay will attempt to recount a few of the contributions of the German anti-fascist resistance organizations and the role of Jews and non-Jews in that resistance. The resisters whom the reader may meet here, with all their human frailties, are the ones who have been accused in the new cold-war scholarship with impeding the resistance or not acting early enough against fascism. Let us give a voice to their side of the story, then the careful reader may decide.

In order to recount and analyze anti-fascist struggle concretely one must consult the primary sources in German and other languages, as well as reliable secondary sources, especially those emanating from F.R.G. and G.D.R. scholarship. For example, in 1961 Professor Ber Mark, renowned Holocaust historian, reported in the journal *Bleter Far Geszichte* (Warsaw Volume XIV, 1961) that a number of German Jews of various political shadings led active resistance organizations inside Ger-

many. Among the organizations analyzed by Professor Mark was the Baum group which led active resistance struggles against the Nazi regime during the 1937-1942 period. The Baum group was composed of left Zionists, Communists and non-Jews who contributed to the undermining of the fascist system through acts of direct sabotage, by furnishing escape for the persecuted, and through intelligence activity. The details of the Baum group can be further pursued in the archives of the G.D.R. in Berlin. One may also note that Professor Mark delineates the contributions of other illegal Jewish-led resistance groups which existed within and outside the concentration camps, several operating before the beginning of World War II including: 1) The Dresden group, led by Witebski and Max Zimmering and later led by Hans Dankner. Another Dresden group was active in the cigarette factory, "Iramas;" Max Zimmering, a leader of this group, produced anti-fascist literature with Bertolt Brecht, Johannes Becher and Erich Weinert, all progressive literary figures active in various forms of anti-fascist actions in exile; 2) A group that operated in Munich; 3) A group that was active in the city of Wuppertal-Elberfeld under the leadership of Yitzchok Gersht; 4) A group in the Dachau concentration camp that was organized by Heinz Hershman and Hans Litten. Hans Litten was a distinguished attorney who defended Nazi-persecuted Socialists and Communists; he was imprisoned the day after the Reichstag fire and died in Dachau on February 4, 1938, due to physical torture administered by concentration camp guards; 5) A Buchenwald group under the leadership of Rudolf (Rudi) Arndt. Rudi Arndt was a member of the Communist Youth Movement in 1932; he was arrested in 1933 and subsequently shot by concentration camp guards on May 3, 1940; 6) A group in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp led by Sala Lerner, Fried Gerscht and Lipschitz; and 7) A women's group in the Ravensbrück concentration camp led by Olga Benario and Charlotte Eisenbletter. (See the following works: Yuri Suhl, *They Fought Back*. New York: Crown, 1967, pp. 65-68; and Peter Altmann, et al. *Der deutsche antifaschistische Widerstand 1933-1945*. Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1978 p. 54, p. 151).

Furthermore, Professor Mark notes that all groups went beyond self-aid and rescue work and organized active resistance of a political and sabotage nature while maintaining contact with German and international resistance groups or with committees in their own towns and camps. While their numbers reached the hundreds and included Jews from the occupied territories as well

as German Jews, their leadership represented various trade union, Communist, Socialist or Zionist backgrounds. Many organizations, according to Professor Mark, were liquidated by the Nazis, leaving eventually three major active underground groups, namely Communists, Left Poale Zionists and a group called the *Werkleute*.

The actual composition and contributions of the various German underground units will further illuminate the positive operative force between Jews and non-Jews in the struggle against fascism ignored in standard U.S. historiography. Drawing on progressive texts noted above, a voice may be hereby given to many of the fallen who perished for our collective freedom.

#### The Leichter Organization

The Leichter organization was composed of approximately 28 resistance members and operated in the Mannheim region during World War II. One of the leaders of this unit, Georg Leichter, a typesetter by trade, was active in anti-Nazi struggles before 1933. As head of the Baden Communist state legislative fraction, he was arrested in 1933; he was subsequently placed in forced labor and finally managed to return to typesetting work in 1937. In the spring of 1940, he organized an anti-fascist resistance organization composed of Socialists, Communists and unaffiliated anti-fascists. The group published a paper in the 1940-1942 period, known as *Der Vorbote*, while engaging in other anti-fascist actions, including significant sabotage and polemical agitation. In Stuttgart, in September 1942, owing largely to the group's journalistic work, members of the resistance unit were arrested by the Gestapo and executed. Among the members of this organization were: Jakob Faulhaber, a KPD member and mechanic, who along with Leichter, set up resistance cells in all large industries in Mannheim; Rudolf Langendorf, a technical merchant and writer for the KPD press and the *Mannheimer Arbeiter-Zeitung*, who analyzed the economic conditions of war in Germany under Hitler; Käthe Seitz, and SPD member and former city council member in Cleve, who believed that Socialists and Communists had a duty to work together to topple the Hitler regime. She was active in the production and distribution of the newspaper *Der Vorbote* and, along with her curator husband Alfred Seitz, was arrested in 1942 and murdered by the Nazi regime. Even in prison and on her way to her death, Käthe Seitz wrote prophetically to her sister: "The war will not linger much longer, and its end and the victory over our enemies will bring you and many others freedom." Other members of this organization,

including Jews and non-Jews who were murdered were: Ludwig Moldrzyk, a Jewish resister, Anton Kurz, Eugen Sigrist, Philipp Brunner, Max Winterhalter, Robert Schmoll, Rudolf Maus, Daniel Seizinger and Johann Kupka. The Nazi apparatus found their group increasingly dangerous, since their newspaper stripped away the veneer of the regime by demonstrating how anti-Nazi forces, especially on the eastern front, were holding firm against the Nazi onslaught. Some of the last words written by group leader Georg Leichter have been left to us; He wrote, shortly before his death: "The highest ideal for a person to achieve is to live for others and to sacrifice for others."

### **The Schulze-Boysen/Harnack Organization**

Another distinguished German resistance group that included a wide variety of political resisters was the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack unit. This organization was particularly damaging to the Nazi war effort and was nicknamed the "Red Orchestra" by the Gestapo, since it sent coded messages using musical notation. Several members of this group were ranking officials in the government and in the military who successfully sent messages to Soviet fighting forces and helped to impede the eastward march of the Nazis. The intelligence that was given to the Soviet army must have enraged Hitler, for he personally intervened in the case of Mildred Harnack and changed her sentence from a prison term to death by guillotine. It should be recalled that Dr. Mildred Harnack (Mildred Fish) was an American, born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who married Dr. Arvid Harnack, a German who had been studying at the University of Wisconsin-Madison under the economist John R. Commons. Dr. Harnack and Dr. Mildred Harnack were eminent scholars in their respective fields of economics and English. They both managed to return to Germany before 1933 and were active thereafter in clandestine resistance work while working inside the repressive government apparatus.

The focus of the Schulze-Boysen/Harnack organization was multifaceted. Efforts were made to win over artists, scholars and *Wehrmacht* officers to the cause of the resistance. Subsequently, they were able to build a network of resistance operatives in the armaments industry. Moreover, they successfully published a newspaper, called *Die innere Front*, that derided the Nazi regime and attempted to reach out to other potential resisters in the population. Furthermore, the newspaper was published not only in German but in French as well. The organization encompassed approximately 130 persons,

of whom 31 men and 18 women were murdered by the Nazis; the remainder were sent to concentration camps. Among those murdered were Libertas and Harro Schulze-Boysen, Arvid and Mildred Harnack, the leaders of the organization, along with leading members of the underground KPD, namely Wilhelm Guddorf and John Sieg; Sieg was also an American, born in Detroit, Michigan; Adam Kuckhoff, a German scholar and teacher of Germanistics and Philosophy, who was active in composing articles for *Die innere Front*; Kuret Schumacher, who were subsequently caught spreading illegal propaganda against the Nazi regime and were executed in December 1942.

In addition to the women cited above, other German women played a prominent role in this resistance organization. Besides the leadership work of Mildred Harnack, resisters such as Erika von Brockdorf, who held a high administrative position in the Nazi government, smuggled out valuable information to the underground which was broadcast to the Soviet army. Eva-Marie Buch, a Catholic by birth, helped to translate articles from the German into French for various editions of *Die innere Front*. Cato Bontjes van Beek, a ceramics worker by trade, assisted resisters such as Heinz Strelow and John Graudenz in writing articles for the illegal press and developing leaflets opposing the Nazi regime. Hilde Coppi also distinguished herself in helping to build underground movements inside armament plants during World War II; she gave birth to a son Hans in prison in November 1942. Her husband Hans Coppi, a lathe operator, who worked with her in the resistance, was similarly executed.

### **The Robert Uhrig Organization**

An additional significant anti-fascist organization was led by Robert Uhrig, a Communist and instrument maker by trade, born in Leipzig. This organization was made up of Socialists, Communists, and unaffiliated persons as well as military and working-class elements. The Uhrig group, which was founded in 1938, merged in 1941 with the resistance unit founded by Dr. Josef Römer, a former World War I officer. Römer had come full circle, for as an officer he had participated in the *Frei Korps* after World War I. He subsequently came under other more democratic influences, including the progressive writer Ludwig Renn, and joined the German resistance. With this merger, the resistance group numbered 250 persons, and established a complex system of resistance work inside Germany, specifically in the Rhineland, in Bavaria, Hamburg, Saxony and Tirol, as well as in Czechoslovakia and Austria. At least 60 mem-

bers of this group were caught and executed in 1944 for activities which consisted of running intelligence to the underground movements in Europe and active war production sabotage in Berlin factories. Among the members of this unit were such diverse personages as Werener Seelenbinder, a transport worker and 1936 Olympian, who smuggled intelligence across the borders for the KPD underground; Leopold Tomschik, a design engineer and SPD member in Berlin, who, while forging unity between Social Democrats and Communists in the resistance, was also engaged in clandestine work in Berlin defense industries and used his contacts in Austria to set up resistance units there. Other members of the group included Walter Budeus, a machine mechanic; Kurt Lehmann, an insulation worker; Willy Sachse, an engineer; Fritz Riedel, a technician; Karl Frank, a carpenter; Franz Meit, a metal worker; Rudolf Grieb, a machine mechanic; Erich Kurz, a salesman; and Paul Gesche, a theatre carpenter. All these persons paid the ultimate price for their committed opposition to fascism.

In addition to the units enumerated above, there were other resistance organizations operating inside Germany that brought together Socialists, Communists, and non-affiliated persons as well as Jews and non-Jews. Among the groups active inside the Ruhr and Rhein regions were those formed by Wilhelm Knöchel, trade unionist and KPD member; Alfred Kowalke, a KPD member who published anti-fascist newspapers; Willi Seng, KPD organizer; Eric Garske, a construction engineer and Charlotte Garske, both of the KPD. The Garskes published anti-fascist newspapers and Charlotte acted as a courier for the illegal KPD, traveling from Berlin into western Germany during the 1943-1944 period. The Garskes published over 35 different anti-fascist publications, including *Der Friedenskämpfer*, circulated in the Niederrhein region, and the *Ruhr-Echo*, a KPD regional paper circulated in the Ruhr region.

One should also mention the contributions of the Bernhard Bästlein-Jacob-Abshagen organization that operated in Hamburg, Kiel, Bremen, the Ruhr, Saxony, Thuringia and Rostock, uniting Social Democrats and Communists in anti-fascist work. This particular unit did substantial anti-Nazi work among soldiers, and in factories, while maintaining an overseas network through Norway, Denmark, Italy and the eastern front. Sabotage of the war effort was a consistent part of this group's work, coupled with anti-war agitation. We know that all the leaders and at least 11 other underground workers of this group were arrested and murdered by the Nazis in July/August 1987

1944. Correspondingly, organizations naturally maintained relations with other resistance groups. For example, the Anton Saefkow group, centered in Berlin, joined with the Jacob and Bästlein forces to form the largest German anti-fascist underground group operating inside Germany. Saefkow was a mechanical engineer by trade and organized sabotage, escapes to Sweden, and concrete assistance to resisters, escapees of concentration camps and army deserters. Uniting SPD and KPD elements, Saefkow's group also cooperated with the Theodor Neubauer (historian)-Magnus Poser (carpenter) group made up of resisters from the intelligentsia and working class, as well as the Georg Schumann (trade unionist locksmith)-Otto Engert (carpenter)-Kurt Kresse (printer) organization which worked inside armament industries.

Other underground movements existing inside Germany included the largely SPD-oriented *Gruppe Revolutionärer Sozialisten* (the group of Revolutionary Socialists), headed by Bebo Wager, an electronics technician and Hermann Frieb, a tax advisor, which concentrated its work in southern Bavaria, Switzerland and Austria. One should also mention that the White Rose organization, made up largely of Christian resisters Hans Scholl, Sophia Scholl and Christoph Probst and others, contributed to the resistance as well. A recent book (in English) entitled *The White Rose. Munich 1942- 1943*, by Inge Scholl (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), documents the concrete contributions of this underground organization. Additional underground cells were active inside Germany. The above constitute only a small representative cross-section of their members and their activities, as reported in the scholarly sources noted above.

Furthermore, many of the left-SPD and KPD persons named above were arrested for anti-fascist activity before 1939 and some initially fled into temporary exile. Moreover, a significant number returned from temporary exile to work inside Germany when the risks of opposition were immensely more dangerous, especially for known political resisters, Jews, and their allies who struggled together in the underground.

Surely, the underground fighters in their acts of silent and public courage inside armament factories and offices, in the press and in the military and administrative apparatus made a contribution toward ending German fascism. Perhaps their sacrifice was not as dramatic as some historians would want, perhaps an unexploded bomb, a defective tank or sabotaged Nazi administrative system did not "win" the war or smash the *Wehrmacht*.

But can we not say that with all their human shortcomings, they gave up life so that others could live in a world free from the Nazi terror? Is not the lesson of the German anti-fascist resistance that the fallen deserve a full historical hearing in the U.S.A.?

The German Democratic Republic (GDR), as contrasted with the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), has integrated into its educational curriculum a substantive treatment of the Resistance and the Nazi crimes against humanity. The constructive record of the socialist GDR to preserve the history of the anti-fascist struggle has been noted by Margrit Pittman, who points to "the in-depth study of fascism in ninth grade history classes, when 35 lessons are used to teach about the 1933 to 1945 period. The textbook allots 146 pages for the subject with 91 photographs and 80 references" (*Encounters with Democracy: A U.S. Journalist's View of the GDR*, New York: International, 1981, 105; cf. 145f, 159f.). Plays, books, and newspaper accounts in the GDR also focus on the contributions of the anti-fascist resistance. In contrast, in the FRG (West Germany), official efforts seldom occur and are half-hearted, as Pittman writes. Nazi and neo-Nazi papers and groups are allowed to operate openly as well, although there is a persistent, organized anti-fascist presence. Surely in the United States, where the lessons of the Resistance are similarly omitted from school curricula, we can make greater efforts to see that the history of the Resistance is learned by all.

It has been written that for one to save one life it is as though one had saved the world. Thus should we remember in history honored fighters of the German anti-fascist Resistance. Not as idols or icons to be worshipped, but rather as men and women from the working class and middle strata who have passed the torch of anti-fascist humanity into our hands as a symbol, a warning and example for all future generations and, indeed, for all the ages. □

**Ronald C. Kent is a trade unionist and labor educator in Madison, Wisconsin.**

**In Fond Remembrance  
of my husband  
Carl Bollinger**

**A lifelong champion and fighter  
for workers freedom.  
Ruth Bollinger**

## **JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS OF THE THIRD REICH**

**By Sol Flapan**

**WARSAW** — "In the 20th century, right in the center of Europe, we were the slaves of those who gave the world Goethe, Schiller and other great writers and humanists."

Such were the opening remarks by Mieczyslaw Janese addressing the constituent assembly of a newly founded public organization here. It's the Association of Victims of the Third Reich. Nazi Germany was that Third Reich.

He was referring to events that took place nearly half a century ago; the physical and psychological after effects painfully haunt many Poles to this day.

These are people who during World War II were deported to forced labor in Nazi Germany. Contrary to opinions expressed by some western historians, such slave labor was actually part of the Hitler policy of genocide pursued against "sub humans" like the Polish nation.

Some 200 former Polish slave laborers attended that inaugural meeting. To this day they have received no compensation for their moral and physical suffering at the hands of Nazi racists. Of the eight million (8,000,000) such slave laborers from a score of nationalities, Poles comprised two million. They, and Soviet nationals, were treated worst of all.

Nearly 700,000 of those victims are still alive here in Poland. To one degree or another all of them have aged prematurely, are sickness prone, ailing, broken and crippled.

"We are not ex-combattants nor war invalids," said Julius Brniak, a lawyer from Bydgoszcz up north. "And yet, Nazism robbed many of us of our lives and health."

Over all these postwar years individual pleas and appeals by these former slaves addressed to giant West German corporations which super exploited them when Nazi Germany was "uber alles" in wartime occupied Europe, for some sort of compensation for wrongs suffered have remained insultingly unanswered. Now these remaining victims have joined forces to collectively demand justice due them. And that united force is the Association of Victims of the Third Reich.

Backing for that idea has been pouring in from all over the country with over a thousand letters already received calling for Association intervention and assistance.

There are cases of even child slave labor as was recalled by Ryszard Ratajczak of Poznan in the mid-west. As a mere 12-year-old he was shipped off with some of his playmates to toil in the Krupp concern. Their lot was heavy labor, backbreaking even for adults.

To a large extent the sweat and blood mangled out of those unfortunate millions actually became a foundation for the West German economic boom of the 1950s. Now, time is running out for these victims.

This whole issue has recently been raised in the Sejm (the national parliament) by MP Helena Galus a non-party deputy representing the Plock constituency in central Poland. Within this context she cites Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowakins relevant statement that the idea of the Association of Victims of the Third Reich stems directly from the unforgettable nightmare of the martyrology of the Polish people which has been seared into the nation's psyche. It is also a confirmation of Poland's foreign policy as concerns war related indemnity, says this laboratory technician, serving her second four year term in Parliament. □

**Sol Flappan is Polish correspondent of *Jewish Affairs*.**

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*continued from page 4*

Constitutional Rights with better chances of success now that U.S. policies have claimed an American victim. While a large segment of the media have simply echoed the State Department line of blaming the victim for "being in the wrong place at the wrong time," others, like the *Seattle Times*, have shown sympathy for Ben Linder and his humanitarian goals.

Rather than running scared, groups opposing Reagan's policy in Central America are redoubling their efforts to bring that interventionist policy to an end. TecNica, the group which recruits technically qualified persons for work in community development projects in Nicaragua, have joined other groups in settling up the Ben Linder Volunteer Campaign. They have already had many applications from technically qualified persons eager to carry on Ben's work of bringing electricity to rural communities in Nicaragua.

Perhaps, in the long run, the greater significance of Linder's assassination is simply the fact that it gives a human face to the abstractions of U.S. foreign policy. That policy, couched in geopolitical phrases and cold war clichés, has remained remote and irrelevant to the majority of North Americans the real nature of Reagan's war against the people of Central America. Linder's

dedication to helping people is cause that most persons with humanitarian principles can identify as their own.

Ben Linder's funeral in Managua was a moving event. His father and mother, sister and brother, were joined by thousands of other foreign volunteers and Nicaraguans from every walk of life, to pay tribute to this young man. In the words of Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, ". . . He did not come here with a planeload of guns . . . he came with a planeload of dreams. . . ." □

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*continued from page 5*

directed against the very existence of the State of Israel, many facts deny this.

Unfortunately, there are terrorist acts against innocent Israeli civilians, carried out by irresponsible Palestinian elements. Organized Palestinians, however, condemn these acts, pointing to a way of solving the tragic conflict by political means.

The Arab states, and the Palestinian leadership have declared their readiness to participate in an international conference under the auspices of the UN, to achieve an Israeli-Arab and Israeli-Palestinian peace.

Broad circles accept this realistic, concrete possibility of an accord with the Palestinian leaders. In the last months, two public Israeli-Palestinian meetings have taken place in Bucharest and Budapest, in spirit of laws that make it a crime to meet with the Palestinians. These meetings have roused wide response. A series of meetings have also taken place in Israel between Jewish, Israeli, Arab and Palestinian writers and artists from the occupied territories under the slogan: "Enough of the occupation!" "For an Israeli-Palestinian peace!" The well known Palestinian poet, Mahmoud Darwish, who had been driven from the country years ago, has invited Israeli Jewish and Arab writers for talks on the issue of reaching peace.

We are standing at a fateful crossroads: Keeping the "Whole Land of Israel" means Apartheid, with the dangers of another war and more casualties. The alternative is supporting an international conference, where one can advance, by negotiation, toward an Israeli-Palestinian peace, without occupation, without ruling over one and a half million Palestinians, with an agreement on appropriate regional and international guarantees for safeguarding the peace and the existence of the State of Israel alongside a Palestinian State. □

**Joseph Lipski is Israeli correspondent of *Jewish Affairs***

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of  
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## Edith Segal, Poet of the People

By Richard Davidson

TRIBUTES and TRUMPETS by EDITH SEGAL. Paintings and drawings by Samuel Kamen. Introductory poem by MERIDEL LE SUEUR, Copyright, Edith Segal, paper, \$6.95.

In the late Walter Lowenfels's last book *The Revolution Is To Be Human* there is a marvelous quote by the poet Heinrich Heine: "A poet should have on his casquet not a wreath but a gun to show that he was a faithful private in the liberation struggles of humanity." As that quotation spoke for poet Walter Lowenfels it also speaks for poet Edith Segal — a woman of great courage and incorruptible spirit.

*Tributes and Trumpets* is the latest collection by Ms. Segal. It is filled with splendor: from her stalwart tributes to such as Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Paul Robeson, Sandy Pollack, Samantha Smith, to her flaming anger at the death of the Rosenbergs. And later in the book, Nicaragua. To all these Ms. Segal applies the best of sentiment and image.

Her poem to Winnie Mandela is strong and moving. Leader of the national liberation struggles in South Africa, wife of Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela is a woman of great integrity and strong purpose. Beautifully drawn by her husband, Samuel Kamen. His portrait of Ms. Mandela is a knockout. Segal's poem speaks in a towering conclusion:

"Winnie and Nelson Mandela,  
their lives and the lives of their people  
though robbed of their blossoms  
are deeply rooted, strong, nourished  
by the blood of the slaughtered,  
roots that promise new blossoms  
as South Africa rises in sunlight,  
Black and White together,  
Winnie and Nelson together,  
free, free at last!"

Edith Segal comes out of a creative past to a creative present. She had her own dance company in the thirties, bringing the songs of the people to the stages of Manhattan. But also at the time she was writing as well. You cannot judge her written material by academic standards. Her songs are poems which speak to the people, You and I, the miner, the worker, the men and women who service our country. Ms. Segal is their conscience, is our conscience. She did it in dance. She's

doing it in verse. Making headlines into art. Her poems on the Rosenbergs sing with compassion and demand. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are on the conscience of the United States.

In one of the worst frameups of the twentieth century two splendid Americans were killed for show. Their ideals misrepresented; their story falsified on front pages. They were accused of being spies. They were no more spies than we are. But Washington needed scapegoats and Wall Street was afraid of a Soviet advance that was more paranoia than fact. And so they were killed and Edith Segal recalls it in poetry, in art. She is reminded of their torture as she visits a correctional facility. She hears their cries in the vacancy of night. The Rosenbergs, as she writes, "The frightening fifties, The witch hunts, the wounded years" all must be vindicated.

Ms. Segal speaks of today. The Nuclear Arms Race, the plight of Nicaragua, the soul of the homeless, the agony of the hungry. In a short, pithy poem of today's jobless, she sings:

I never thought  
it would come to this  
I've been on the job  
Since 66.  
The plant is gone —  
moved overseas  
This town is dying,  
like it's got a disease.  
Unemployment insurance  
Gone, run out,  
I'm going nuts  
tryin' to figure things out.  
Where can I go?  
What can I do?  
What's this country  
comin' to?

Ms. Segal is aware of our crying streets. Of men and women huddled in doorways; the spirit hung out on concrete and brick. The loneliness of the flesh; the terror of the vein. All these particles of modern life weave themselves into Ms. Segal's poems. The byways and frontways of the way we live and think. She attacks Samuel Beckett for his cynicism, his anti-life. For Ms. Segal is a practitioner of life. A songstress of the moving valleys of mankind. In one of her poems she mentions the heart, the heart from which all words evolve. She's in a gallery looking at some pictures. She is searching for example of modern art and she says:

*continued on page 19*

*continued from page 2*

for an international conference. These forums have had a significant effect in changing the thought patterns of Jewish Americans vis-a-vis the Middle East. The convention adopted a very comprehensive resolution regarding work in bringing about peace and justice in the Middle East. Prior to its adoption, the delegates heard reports presented by Israelis, Palestinians as well as NJA leaders, including a report from the NJA observer at the Algiers Conference of the National Council of the PLO, a report from an NJA representative who met with Yasser Arafat in Tunis and an Israeli member of the Mapam, who is currently subject to prosecution in Israel for having met with PLO representatives in Romania.

The resolution on the Middle East called for undertaking initiatives for a multi-lateral reduction in arms flow to the Middle East and a demilitarization of the regions conflicts.

It supported the right of religious freedom in Israel for all people, Jews and non-Jews alike.

It called for creating educational materials on the PLO, its role in the peace process, and attempts to close its offices in the US. NJA will issue material and offer guidance on local Jewish-Arab dialogue.

NJA is to continue participation in the North American (NGO's) and international non-governmental organizations on the question of Palestine and will undertake grass roots lobbying of candidates, parties and policy makers relevant to Middle East issues.

The resolution adopted on Central America stated that: "Opposition to intervention by the US in Central America will be an underlying guideline for our work on Central America." It also called for joining with other Jewish and community organizations involved in anti-intervention activities and to produce a position paper on Israel, anti-Semitism and Central America for educational purposes.

New Jewish Agenda, with 48 chapters nationwide is rooting itself more deeply in the Jewish American community and forming alliances in pursuit of common aims.

Bria Chakofsky, National Co-Chair of NJA and the Rev. C.T. Vivian, Chairman of the Center for Democratic Renewal headed the workshop on: Repairing Black/Jewish Relations. At the workshop it was announced that the two leaders will undertake a joint speaking tour across the land to promote Black-Jewish relations.

The program of NJA and its growing prestige in both the Jewish American community as well as the wider community, have incurred the wrath of the arch right-wing, Americans for a Safe Israel, with peddles the publications of the fascist oriented Heritage Foundation. Americans for a Safe Israel published a diatribe against

NJA entitled: "New Anti-Jewish Agenda."

At the Convention there was conducted a workshop on: Combating and Rebuffing Red-Baiting led by Ellen Stone of the NJA National Council and myself. I was asked to relate my experiences as a civil rights and civil liberties advocate during the McCarthy period.

Both Ellen Stone and myself held that Soviet-baiting and red-baiting had as their aim to disorient and split the broadest people's forces. I related my work with the Civil Rights Congress in defense of Smith Act defendants, Afro-American victims of legal lynchings and trade unionists under attack for their trade union activities and opposition to the Korean War.

Ellen Stone observed that red-baiting was really "homophobic" and aimed to control people's behavior. She urged that delegates ponder deeply who it is that benefits from red-baiting. She said that NJA is and will continue to be red-baited and that such attacks "will afford us the opportunity to fight back" and that in fighting back "there is no need to prove that we are not communists." She emphasized that New Jewish Agenda is in the position of doing significant work in this regard.

The plenary session: "Tackling Issues of Economic Justice," addressed the needs of minorities, labor and women. Addressing the session were trade unionist, Nancy Mills and California State Assembly member, Maxine Waters.

The resolution on economic and social justice states: NJA has a unique role to play in mobilizing Jews to work with coalitions of low, moderate and middle income people, tenants organizations, interfaith organizations, and Third World People in the fight for a decent housing.

NJA is producing a brochure on Black/Jewish relations and affirmative action.

NJA will continue their anti-Apartheid work by developing ways of providing material aid to anti-Apartheid forces in south Africa.

I.F. Stone addressed the public rally held during the Convention. He condemned the US and Israeli policies in the Middle East and charged that Israeli ruling circles are mainly responsible; are "leading the US by the nose." While there was wide agreement with his criticism of the policies being pursued in the Middle East there was wide rejection of his view that the Israelis are dictating policy to the Reaganites.

The Convention reflected great unity and a determination to move ahead vigorously with the program adopted. Local chapters determine for themselves which areas to concentrate on in light of their numbers and their special concerns.

Historically New Jewish Agenda is destined to grow in prestige and is already significant grouping in the development of a People's Agenda for our multi-national, multi-racial people. □

## WHO IS THE REAL CULPRIT?

By J.I. FISHBEIN

This editorial appeared in the May 28th issue of the *Sentinel*. It is reprinted with permission.

It is hard to believe the Iran-contra scandal that has been going on for six months with all kinds of investigations taking place without a few persons of importance willing to place the blame where it so obviously belongs.

The facts are clear.

The Congress, despite the pressure of the president refused to commit money for military aid to the gangsters seeking to overthrow the elected government of Nicaragua. Two-thirds of the American people agreed. This didn't stop the president from circumventing their will. Through all sorts of devious methods he encouraged his friends in the National Security Council and elsewhere to raise the money wherever they could. This is clearly contrary to the constitution which give the Congress power to declare war. It's part of our checks and balances the founding fathers inserted for the exact reason now so dramatically displayed. What if a president should decide he wants to drop the bomb "in five minutes" as this president once joked? Does he get a couple of henchmen to go ahead, claiming that he knows best?

How can anyone claim that the president did not know what was going on? Who encouraged all the rascals now saying they acted out of patriotism? Who put them up to it? Yet there is no outcry from the American public as if he was simply an innocent bystander and didn't know what was happening.

More shameful is the fact that American Jewry, supposedly concerned with preserving democracy, has in large measure stood quietly by without uttering a word.

This week, we received a press release from the National Council of Jewish Women in which they state:

The NCJW Board of Directors has issued the following statement: "NCJW urges the United States to cease military intervention in Central American countries. The U.S. government should help seek a peaceful and diplomatic solution to the conflicts in Central America while facilitating a permanent commitment to democratic principles, civil liberties and social justice.

"Central America has been plagued with social problems and continual struggles over political control. U.S. policy towards these countries should focus on the achievement of stable and democratic societies. These goals are best achieved by addressing massive poverty, inadequate health care, lack of education and disregard

for human rights.

"NCJW calls upon Congress to reject any appropriation that will support the military action in Nicaragua. We affirm our commitment to peaceful policies which support and enable self-determination in all of Central America."

Established in 1893, the National Council of Jewish Women is the oldest Jewish women's volunteer organization in America. NCJW's more than 100,000 members in 200 sections nationwide are active in the organization's prior areas of women's issues, Jewish life, aging, children, and youth, Israel and constitutional rights.

We join the National Council in this demand and urge every other Jewish organization to do the same. □

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*continued from page 17*

Searching for art  
that reaches not only my mind  
but my heart.

And that sums up Edith Segal. Whether it's a poem about Samantha Smith or about prisoners getting an education. Whether she is describing Ronnie Gilbert's singing qualities or memories of Camp Kinderland she does it with the golden touch of humanity; the sparkle of people. Edith Segal writes for us. She writes for the masses of mankind that go to work each day; that dream each night. Not my mind or my heart. But both. For Edith Segal understands both. Those rivers of feeling and thought that most of us have forgotten. Modern America needs Edith Segal. Needs all of us who feel. Who think and feel. Needs the dreamers in the long, turning autumn. The dreamers who fight to make mankind a better world. Who fight in the depths for their portion of stars. To Edith Segal. To her fine artist husband Samuel Kamen whose drawings for this book are just beautiful. For them their portion of stars. For all of us, her poems to open our hearts and sing in our minds.

**Richard Davidson, poet, is a frequent contributor to *Jewish Affairs*.**

In Memoriam

**ALEX KOLKIN**

Albert Kolkín

די געניסן פון רעסעפטע און מלע שטיצע פון דער מלוכה, ווי אלע איבעריק טיילן פון דער געזעלשאפט און זייענדיק אנגעשלאסן אן יידישן וועלט-קאנגרעס, זעלבער האט זיין לעצטע פלענארע זיצונג, אנהייב מיי "ה" איינגעטראדעט אין בודאפעסט.

ווי ארבעטער און מלוכה-פוישער, זיינען די אונגארישער יודן איינצוארטיק אן קאנפליקטן אפן גאנצן שפעטן פון דער פראגאליאטישער בייונג אין "מאנארישן" לאנד. עס איז כדאי אויסצושילן די רעליגיעזע אקטיוויטעט פון די 80 טויזנט יידן מיט די 22 סינאגאסס און אלע פונקטן פון לאנד. יט מיט דער כוונה ווי אויסצושילן, אדער זיך קעגנשטעלן, נאך כדאי אויך זיינע שטייגער זיין זעלבער פארן לאנד. אן דעם פראס איז פאראן א גרויסע איינפארשטענדענדיש און גוטע צוזאמענלעבן.

\* \* \*

דאס זייער כליז טאקאליפן, דער מאטעריאל און אנגעליבענע איבערלעבענדיגע פאָרשן לאנגע זייטן, באַ אַ געלעגנהייט איז ווערט זיך אַפצושטעלן אויף זיי, זאָל דאָס דינען ווי אַ מאַטריז צו פאַרשאַפֿטן זיך און אַנציקולירן די שטעלונגען, עס דאַרף זיך עפענטן דער וועג פאַר דעם.

וואָס טראָג אלע גילגלים איז עס פאַרבליבן אין פּויליש נאַציאָנאַלן אייגנטום, אָן אַנדער ווירקלעכקייט אָבער פאַרט אַ ווירקלעכקייט און דער טאַציאָליסטישער וועלט פאַרט (3 אונגאַרן — אומאַייגאַרטיק וואָלט אפּשר געווען דער פאַמיקער אויסרוק צו כאַראַקטעריזירן די יידישע אַנדעוועהייט אין טאַציאָליסטישן אונגאַרן.

איקעוועהייט אַ יידישע געמיינדע, וואָס ווילטעמטיקע, אָוד עז איינשטעלן אין לאַנד און אינערלעך פּערזענלעך מיט זייערע פאַרזייער פון אַנדראָפּס קינדער, מען דאַרף זאָ יט וזבן קיין שטריכן פון אַן איינאַרטיקער שפּראַך קולטור, וואָס זאָל אַרויס פון די ראַקען פון דער רעליגיע, די רעליגיע אַרעאָניזירט, מאַכליכער און מאַטריזע איז אַנעמעוועהייט און אינהאַלט צום סיסטעם, אונגענומען אַפּילע באַוועסטזיג ווי אַ נייטעוועהייט פאַר זייער ווייטערדיקן לעבן, זאָ לעבן זיי — ווי זיי אַליין זענען לעבן — אַן אַנסטעמיסטיש, אָן דיסקרימינאַציע און אַן נאַציוס און טיילן מיטן אונגאַרישן פּאָליק דעם פאַרלאַנג פאַרן שלום און וויליגן, זיי זיינען אַן אומקלעכער באַשטאַנד און נאָך דער פאַרזיכטונג פון צוויי דריטל און דער נאַצער-פאַרשטיטער עפּאַכע, זיינען זיי גרייט עס פאַרצוועזן.

## CONTRIBUTORS

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# דעלעגאציע פון אַרגענטינער "איקוף" באַזוכט ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד, פּוילן אין אונגאַרן און גיט באַריכט וועגן יידן אין די סאַציאַליסטישע לענדער

מיר דרוקן איבער טיילן פון דעם באַריכט וואָס איז געווען געדרוקט אין דעם באַנאַג-סירעסער צייטשריפט "אונזער לעבן" דעם 20-סטן יוני, 1987.

\* \* \*

עס עקזיסטירט אַ יידיש סאָרעטישע קולטור, אַן אייגענעוואַרצלעט אין איר פאַרגאַנגענהייט, אין דער קעגנזאָרט און די צוקונפֿט, וואָס ווערט רעספעקטירט און אָפּגעשאַצט אַפּילע מיט אַן אייפּערדיקע פּריווילעגיע. (2) פּוילן — אין אַנבליק פון די כּוילעטע שפּרן פון האַלאַקאָסט איבער דער צאָלרייכסטער און שעפּערישער יידישער געמיינע אויף דער גאַנצער וועלט, ביים אַנבליק איבער די צאָלרייכע מאַנומענטן פאַר יידישער העלדישקייט און דאָס איידעם זאָגן פון די טריט-פאַבריקן אויפגעשטעלט פון די נאַציס, לעבט אַ קליינע יידישע געמיינדע — מיט דער גרעסטער הילף פון דער יידישער געמיינדע מלוכה — און שטרענגט זיך אַן איינצהאַלטן די לעבנס-פעיקייט פון דער אַלטער אייגענעלעכטער קולטור, ווי אַ שטענדיקער ענטפּער דעם היטלערסטישן אַרויסרוף צו מאַכן אייראָפּע, און די גאַנצע וועלט "וידערדיין".

די אַרבעט פון דער פּילפאַכיקער פּעדעראַציע פון יידישע קולטור-אַרגאַניזאַציעס אין פּוילן מיט 14 קלובן אין פאַרשידענע שטעט, מיט דראַמאַ-טעאַטער, מוזיק און פּאַנאָראַמיע; די וואַכנבאַלט "פּאַלקס-שטימע" מיט 9 זייטן און יידיש און דריי אויף פּויליש; דער יידישער היסטאָרישער אינסטיטוט, דער אַרכיוו פון טיוונט אַריקער יידיש פּוילישער קולטור, די אַנשטאַלטן פאַר סאַציאַלער הילף און די רעליגיעזע באַדינונג, — דאָס אַלץ מיט מלוכה-אויסהאַלטונג און געוויסע פּילאַנטראָפּישע הילף פון אויסלאַנד. דאָס אַלץ איז אַ לעבעדיקער מאַנומענט פון דער אַמאָליקער גרויסער יידיש פּוילישער קולטור. עס איז מערבאַך ווי דאָס אַלץ ווערט אייגענשאַפֿט אין דער פּוילישער געזעלאַפֿט ספּעציעל אַפֿן קולטורעלן געביט. עס קומען פּויליש-ריידינדיקע יידן, יידן און גיט יידן אויף די פאַרשטעלונגען פון יידישן טעאַטער, וועלכע ווערן באַדינט פון איריקולאַרן מיט איבערזעצער, נאָך אויפּמערקזאַמער איז דער באַזוך פון קינדער, יוגנט און מיטליעריקע אין גרויסע צאָלן. דאָס איז נאָך אַ ווערטטולער בייטראַג פון אַ טייל מענטשן, וואָס האָבן איבערגעלעבט דעם כּורבן און זייערע נאַכגייער, וואָס ווייזט פאַר דער צוקונפֿט, מיט פּיל ענערגיע, אַ טראַדיציע,

אַ דעלעגאַציע פון אַרגענטינער "איקוף" האָט באַזוכט דעם ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד, פּוילן און אונגאַרן אין די טעג צווישן 8-טן מיי און 8-טן יוני ה'י'. פּוילן און אונגאַרן זיינען איינגעשאַפֿט געוואָרן אין דעם באַזוך מיטן ציל צו קומען אין באַרינג. באַקענען זיך און אַנשליסן באַציאָנונגן און אויפּנעמען די ברייטסטע יציאות וועגן דעם אויפֿן, ווי אַזוי די יידן און יענע מקומות לעבן, דריקן זיך אויס געזעלשאַפֿטלעך און שליסן זיך איין אין לעבן פון זייער לאַנד. פון די אַלע אַקטיוויטעטן פון דער דעלעגאַציע — 5 פּערזאָן, באַקומען זיך די פּאַלגענדיקע שלושן:

1) ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד — דער ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד מיט איר נאָך-רעוואַלוציאָנער שטורמישער געשיכטע, און די עטאַפּן פון איינשטעלן און בויען דעם סאַציאַליזם, נאָך דער מלחמה קעגן נאַציזם און ווידעראויפֿבויה האָט זיך געשאַפֿן אַ יידישע קאָלעקטיוויטעט אַ צעווייטע און צעשפּרייטע איבער אַלע שטחים פון דער סאָרעטישער טעריטאָריע, אייגענעוואַרצלעט אין דער געזעלשאַפֿט און אין דער גרעסטער טייל אַסימילירט. יידן לויטן אָפּשטאַם און אָפּציעל אַנערקענטע — מיט אַדער אַן קולטורעל אייגענשאַפֿטן געפינען זיך אין אַלע שכּטן אַבסאָלוט אינגעבאַכט אין דער סאָרעטישער געזעלשאַפֿט. ווי מענטשן אַדער קולטור-מענטשן געפינען זיי זיך אַלע, אַבסאָלוט אַלע אין אַלע אַקטיוויטעטן פון די בירגער איצט ווי אין דער פאַרגאַנגענהייט. עס עקזיסטירן אויך ספּעציפּיש יידישע טעטיקייטן, זייער באַראַקטעריסטישע מיט אַ ספּעציפּיש סאַציאַליסטישן אינהאַלט און גלייכצייטיק אַניווערסאַל. עס ווערן אַרויסגעגעבן ביכער, אַ ליטעראַטור-שוורנאַל, טעאַטערס (אין מערצאַל), אַ צייטונג וואָס ווערט פאַרשפּרייט איבער 150 יישובים, ביבליאָטעקן (אַדער אָפּטיילן פון ביבליאָטעקן) לימודים פון יידיש פאַר שולן, פאַר דערוואַקסענע און אַקטאַרן, רעליגיעזע שולן, וווּ מען פּראַקטיקירט די רעליגיע. דאָס אַלץ, פאַרשטייט זיך, נעמט נישט אַרום די גרויסע מאַסע פון די סאָרעטישע יידן, אָבער עס אויטענטיש און רעאַל און קאָנקרעט. ווי אַן אינטערגאַלע טייל פון סיסטעם, אויסגעהאַלטן און טימולירט פון דער געזעלשאַפֿט און די רעגירונג.

פאר די לעצטע 10 יאר האָט דער געבוי פון קריזיס די אומאָרדענונג, צוריק אָרדענונג און דאָס פאַרניכטן פון דער באַזייער אינדוסטריעלער סטרוקטור — האָט געפירט צו אַרײַנצוגעבן אַ וועג פון צעשטערונג אין פאַרוויסטונג.

עס האָט אומגעבראַכט אינדוסטריעס, פאַרוואַנדלט אינדוסטריעלע שטעט אין געשענס־שטעט, געשאַפן שטיב אין שײַמעל־וואַרסן, פאַרמאַכט טיוונטער אינדוסטריעלע פאַבריקן, איבערגעלאָזט מיליאָנען היימלאָזע און הונגעריקע.

אין דעם לעצטן 10־יאָרן פּעריאָד איז די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן געפאַלן פון זיין דער וועלטס גרעסטער אין טעכנאָלאָגיש דער פאַרטגעשריטנסטער שטאַל־פּראָדוצירער צו אַיינעם פון די מער צוריקגעשטאַנענע און קען זיין אין פּראָצעס פון שליסן די לעצטע פון די שטאַל־פּראָדוצירנדיקע פּלעצער.

פונקט מיט 10 יאָר צוריק, איז די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן געווען דער וועלטס מער טעכנאָלאָגיש פאַרגעשריטענער אין גרעסטער פּראָדוצירער און אויטאָמאָבילן. היינט זיינען קיינע אויטאָמאָבילן פולשטענדיק אַמעריקאַניש פּראָדוצירטע.

מיט 10 יאָר צוריק איז די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן געווען דער וועלטס איבערהויפט בויער פון טעכנאָלאָגיש פאַרגעשריטענע מאַשינען און געווערקצייט. היינט ווערן מערסטע מאַשינען און געווערקצייט אימפּאָרטירט. דאָס זעלבע איז באַשטימט פאַר די עלעקטרישע אינדוסטריעס. אַחוץ שליסן באַזישע אינדוסטריעלע געשעפטן, די נייע טעכנאָלאָגיע מאַכט מעגלעך צו צעשפּרייטן די פּראָדוצירנדיקע געשעפטן דורך איבערפירן זיי און ניט אינדוסטריעלע, ניט־יוניאַניזירטע געגנטן פון איבערן לאַנד.

דער רעזולטאַט איז אַן אונטערגאַנג און פאַרדאַרונג פון די אינדוסטריעלע צענטערס און צעשפּרייטונג פון די באַזישע אַרבעטער קלאַס געגנטן.

פאַראַן אַן אַלוועלטלעכע פון די אַמעריקאַנער באַזירטע טראַנסנאַציאָנאַלע קאָרפּאָראַציעס זענען איבער פירן די אַרבעטער־אַנגעשטענע צו געגנטן אין דער וועלט מיט די באַקוועמליכקייטן צו געגנטן אין דער וועלט מיט די איבערהויפט עקספּלאַטירטע, נידעריק־געצאַלטע ניט־יוניאַן אַרבעטער־קעפטן, וואו קאָרפּאָראַציעס זיינען ניט געצוואונגען צוצוגרייטן געוונט אין פאַרזיכערונג־באַשיצונג, אַרבעטלאָזע כענעפּיטן, עקאָנאָמישע און

סאַציאַלע זיכערהייטן. און אין מערסטע פּאַלן, וואו אַט די קאָרפּאָראַציעס צאָלן ניט קיין טעקסעס.

אזוי אַרום ווייניקער מאַנופאַקטור געשעפטן אין די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן זיינען אין פּראָצעס פון פּראָדוקציע אין ווערן אַלס מער דער זאַמל־פונקט און פּאַנאָדעריטיילונג־פּלאַץ פון אימפּאָרטירטע געצייג־טײלן.

אין דעם פּעריאָד פון קריזיס, די הויפט טענדענץ פון דער אינדוסטריע איז צו ווערן שטילשטאַנדיק אָדער זינקען. דאָס זינקען איז איבערהויפט אין אַרבעטער־אַנגעשטערענטע אינדוסטריעס די גרעסטע פון די ריזיקע אינדוסטריעס האָבן שוועריקייטן אין פאַרדייען זייערע דעראַבערונגען.

אין כמעט אַלע פּאַלן דעראַבערונגען ווערן פאַרגעזעצט מיט קאָרפּאָראַלע איבערמאַכונג וואָס שליסט איין פאַרמאַכן פאַבריקן, אָפּיאַנג אַרבעטער, און נייע דרוקן פאַר קאָנטראַקט־קאָנצעסיעס.

דענעראַל מאַטאָרס, צום ביישפּיל, וועמענס לעצטע דעראַבערונגען האָבן איר פאַרוואַנדלט אין דעם גרעסטן פּריוואַטן "שטערן־קריג" (סטאַרוואַרס) קאָנטראַקטאַר האָט לעצטנס אַנאַנסירט דאָס שליסן פון 13 אויטאָמאָביל־פאַבריקן וואָס רירונגן 30 טויזנט אַרבעטער. און אַ לאַנגע־צײַט פּלאַן צו באַפּרייען זיך פון אָפּערירן געוויסע טײלן פון אירע צונויפּשטעל־שעפּער.

דענעראַל־מאַטאָרס, אײַבי־עם, דזשענעראַל עלעקטריק, ירעס־עקס און אַנדערע אויפגעבאַזענע קאָרפּאָראַציעס לייזן פון ריזיקע פאַראייניקונג ספּאַרטימעס. לענין איז געווען גערעכט ווער ער האָט באַמערקט: "די טענדענץ צו ווערן שטילשטאַנדיק און פּוילן איינגעבוירן אין מאַנפאַאַלע זעצט פאַר צו באַזירן אין אינדיווידועלע טײלן פון אינדוסטריע אין אינדיווידועלע לענדער."

אין אַ געוויסן זין ווערט דער סטרוטור־קריזיס פאַרגעזעצט דורך אַ "קאָפיטאַל אינוועסטירן סטרייק" פון מאַנפאַל קאָפיטאַל, אַ מוסטער פון זיך אָפּזאָגן צו אינוועסטירן קאָפיטאַל אין נייע טעכנאָלאָגיע כדי צו מאַדערניזירן מאַסן־אַרבעטזאַמע באַזישע אינדוסטריעס, נאָר אַנשטאַט דעם אַריבערפירן פּראָדוקציע צו קלענער־אַפּצאַל, גרעסערע פּראָפּיטן מעגלעכע טײלן פון דער וועלט און אינוועסטירן קאָפיטאַל אין די קאָמוניקאַציע אין באַדינונג אינדוסטריעס.

איבערגעזעצט פון ענגליש  
פון דוד סעלצער

נייעם באגריף וועגן דעם קאמף פאר סאציאליזם.  
דער ארבעטער קלאס אין אלע קרעפטן אויף דער  
פארגרעסערטער זייט פון געשיכטע מוזן איצט צוגעבן די

שווערע אויפגאבע פון קעמפן צו באשיצן מענטשהייט און  
נאטור אויף אונזער פליאנעטע.

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## דער קריזיס פון קאפיטאליזם

גאנצער פארם איינקלויפט. איבער 12 טויזנט פארמערס  
ווערן באקראטיט יעדע וואך און ווערן ארויסגעטריבן  
פון זייער לאנד.

די נייע כוואליע פון ארבעט־אפזאגן שליסן איין ווייסע־  
קעלנער, קארפאראציע־אפיסעס און קאמוניקאציע  
סעקטארן ווי אויך די באזישע אינדוסטריע.

\* \* \*

אין דעם פעריאד פון קריזיס איז נויטיק צו אויפקלערן  
אָדער ווידער אָפשאצן די פאראמעטערס פון אַ ציקלעשן  
קריזיס.

עס איז נויטווענדיק צו נעמען אין אַכט די פאקטארן  
וואָס האָבן געענדערט די דויער־צייט פון און די צווישן־  
צייט צווישן די קריזיסן.

עס איז נויטווענדיק צו איינשליסן די גרויסטיילן. ווען  
פאָרדרייענישן האלטן אין זיך באווייזן מוזן זיי באַמערקט  
ווערן מיט גאר ווי פאָרדרייענישן נאָר ווי רעגולערע

געשטאַלטיקייט פון ציקלעשן קריזיס.  
אין דעם נייעם ראַמען־ווערק זיינען פאראן אייניקע  
טיילן וואָס וועלן ניט ווערן אנגעגריפן דורכן קריזיס און

אנדערע וואָס בלייבן אין קריזיס אָפילו בשעת אויפשטייגן.  
צום ביישפּיל: דאָס באוויקן פון מיליטערישע  
פראָדוקציע אויף געוויסע געגנטן מאָדירפּיצירן

אַרבעטלאָזיקייט אין יענע געגנטן בשעת אין דער זעלבער  
צייט, אַנדערע געגנטן איבער לאַנד ליידן פון טיפע  
רעסעסיסע. עס זיינען פאראן אונטערשיידן, געגנט צו

געגנט, אָפטייל צו אָפטייל, אינדוסטריע צו אינדוסטריע.  
וואָס דריקן אויפן ציקלעשן קריזיס.

פאראן אַן איבערדעקענדיקע צווישן־באַציאונג פון אַ  
סטרוקטורעלן אין ציקלעשן קריזיס. אזוי אַז די ציקלען  
זיינען ניט אזוי צייטליך און קלאָרגעניטן. פאראן מער  
באַפלעקונג אין צונויפמישונג.

דערפאַר פון דעם דריי־שיכטלעכן קריזיס, זיינען די  
עקאָנאָמישע ציקלען באַאינפלוסט פון די מאָדעלן פון אַ  
באָרויבן סיטערן צו באַצאָלן פאָרן. די 500 ביליאָן

דאָלאַר מיליטערישע בורזשעטן ציען אויס דעם ציקל  
אַבער אויף דער אַנדערער זייט, זיי פאָרגרעסערן דעם  
נאַציאָנאַלן געלט־שולד וואָס דערגרייכט דעם 3 טריליאָן

דאָלאַרן הויך מיטן וואַקסנדיקן ביליאָן־דאָלאַר פראָצענטן־  
אַפּאַצאַל, וואָס אין געדריי צילט צו אויסצולן די ענערגיע  
פון די עקאָנאָמישע ציקלען.

\* \* \*

אָנאַדער ניי געזיכט־אויסזען פון קאפיטאליסטישן  
פאָרדאָרבן ווערן איז די הויכדינגענדיקע קארופּציע אין  
גנבה אין די ביליאָנען. דערגרייכנדיק אין אלע טיילן פון  
לעבן.

די הויפט־גנבים זיינען די קאפיטאליסטישע וואָל־  
סטריט און רעגירונג־אינוויניקסטע וואָס שאַרן  
ביליאָנען דאָלאַרן אין רויב. די אונטערוועלט

אינוויניקסטע זיינען רויבער פון ביליאָנען דאָלאַר. די  
אינוויניקסטע פון אלע שטופן פון רעגירונג זיינען  
ביליאָנען דאָלאַרן גנבים.

דאָס קארופּטע, אומלעגאַלע אונטער־טיש אַפּאַצאַל און  
אַפּקריף ווערט אַן אָנגענומענע ארבעט־פראָצעדורע אין  
גרויס ביזנעס.

\* \* \*

דאָס איבערהויפט באַמערקבאַר עקאָנאָמישע אויסזען  
פון איצטיקן מאַמענט איז וואָס די קאפיטאליסטישע  
וועלט איז אָרונטער צו אַ צושטאַנד פון קריזיס.

שטילשטאַנד און זינקען. עס איז אומגעוויינטלעך  
אויסגעוועכט און ניט סטאַביל. די הויפט ציטערנישן זיינען  
קאָנצענטרירט אין די פאָראייניקטע שטאַטן. די הויפט

באַזע פאַר די צאָל־רייכע קריזיסן איז דער אַלגעמיינער  
פולשטענדיקער קריזיס פון וועלט־קאפיטאליזם. וואָס  
האַלט אַן צו גרוישען די פונדאמענטן פון דער

קאַפּאַראַציע־סיסטעם.  
עס איז באַראַקעטירט פאַר דער עפּאַכע פון קריזיסן  
וואָס דער לעצטער עקאָנאָמישער ציקל האָט נאָך ניט

דערגרייכט די אויפ־רייס־שטופּע פון אַ נייע ציקלעשן  
קריזיס.

פאַר דעם אַרבעטער קלאַס, פאַר די ראַסיסטישע און  
נאַציאָנאַלע אונטערדריקטע, פאַר די מערסטע יוגנטלעכע,  
דער עקאָנאָמישער קריזיס איז אַ פולשטענדיקע  
רעאַליטעט.

און אַ גרויסע טייל פון קאפיטאליסטישן קלאַס ליידט  
פון אַ קריזיס פון אומצוטרוי צו זייער סיסטעם. קאפיטאַל  
אינוועסטירונגען אין די פאָראייניקטע שטאַטן האַלטן אין

איין פאַלן און באַנקען האַלטן אין שליסן זייערע טירן.  
אַ ביישפּיל פון דער צייט פון קריזיס איז דער  
קאַטאַסטראַפּישער פאַרק־קריזיס. אַמעריקאַנער פאַרמערס

זיינען שולדיק די באַנקען 260 ביליאָן דאָלאַר. די  
פראָצענטן אויף די שולדן יעדן יאָר זיינען גרעסער ווי דער

# וידוע ענינים

## דאָס שרעקן אומברענגען די מענטשהייט;

### און דער קריזיס פון קאָפיטאַליזם

[צוויי טיילן פון דער פאָליטישער דרעפט־רעוואָלוציע וואָס זיינען סקיצירט געוואָרן פון דעם צענטראַל קאָמיטעט פון דער אמעריקאַנער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי, פאַר די דיסקוסיעס פון מיטגלידער און אַנדער אין דער צוגרייטונג צו דער 24סטער קאָנפּערענציע וואָס וועט פּאַרקומען אין שיקאַגאָ פון דעם 13טן ביזן 17טן אַיגוסט 1987]

## דאָס שרעקן אומברענגען די מענטשהייט

וועס איבערלאָזן אַ ווילדערניש אונטער זיך.  
אַן אַ פּלאַנירטן, וויסנשאַפטלעכן צוגאַנג די אַרומרינגלונג וועט דערשיקט ווערן. אַנשטעקונג און באַשמרונג דערגרייכן אַ געפּערלעכן פּונקט.

באַשמרונג איז ניט בלויז אַ געפּערלעכע סאַציאַלע פּראָבלעם פאַר דער צוקונפּט, נאָר דראַען שטאַרק די לעבנס און געזונט פון די מענטשן היינטצוטאָג. ווי די נוקלעאַרע געווערן, זיי סטראַשען די לעבנס אין דער פּלאַנעטע.

דער קאָמף געגן נוקלעאַרע און סביבה געפאַר זיינען זייער נאָענט פאַרבונדן. די וואָרצל־אורזאַכן זיינען די זעלבע, אַן אויסער דער מאַפע סאַציאַלע און עקאָנאָמישע סיסטעם, דאָמינירנדיק דורך אַ קלאַס וועמענס טאַקטיק איז ערשטנס און איבערהויפּט, שאַפן מאַקסימאַלע קאַרפּאָראַטע פּראָפּיט ניט געקוקט אויף די קאַסטן.  
עס איז פאַראַן אַ קריזיס. דערפאַר וואָס מיר האַנדלען מיט דער פּראָבלעם פון סביבה — געפאַר אין אַן אויסער־מאָדע סאַציאַלע און עקאָנאָמישע סיסטעם, דאָמינירנדיק דורך אַ קלאַס וועמענס פּאָליטיק איז ערשטנס און איבערהויפּט שאַפן גרעסטן פּריוואַטן פּראָפּיט ניט געקוקט אויף מענטשלעכע קאַסטן.

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דאָס אַלעס שטעלט צו אַ נייע רעכענונג צו אַלע פּראַגן וועגן די באַצייאונג צווישן געזעלשאַפט אין נאַטור, די באַצייאונג צווישן נאַציאָנאַלע אינטערסן און דער טרייב פון קאַרפּאָראַציע־קריעפטן פאַר מאַקסימאַלע פּראָפּיטן.

דאָס אַלעס הייבט און נייע פּראַגן וועגן די באַצייאונגען — פון אַרבעטער־קלאַס אינטערעסן, נאַציאָנאַלע אין אַלגעמיין מענטשלעכע אינטערעסן.

דאָס אַלס שטעלט צו אַ נייע קוואַליטעט אין די קאַמפּן געגן מאַנאָפּאָל־קאַפיטאַליזם. דאָס אַלעס שטעלט צו אַ

די רעגיגען — וויינבערגער מיליטערישער מאַנאָפּאָל זיינענע צו שאַפן געווערן פון נוקלעאַרע — אויבערמאַכט שטעלן די גאַנצע מענטשהייט אין די נאַטור ביים ראַנד פון אַ נוקלעאַרן ווינטער און פּולשטענדיקע אומברעכענענע. דאָס איז געגן מענטשהייט ביז דעם פּונקט פון שרעקן מענטשלעכע אומברענגונג.

וויינבערגער האָט עס געזאָגט אמבעסטן: "מיט שטערן — קריג אונזער אייבנאָע איז זיך אומקערן צו די טעג ווען די פאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן האָבן געהאַט אַ טאַטאַלן מאַנאָפּאָל איבער דער אַטאָמישער באַמב.".

וויינבערגער חלומט זיך אומקערן צו די טעג ווען די פאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן האָט געהאַט אַן אומבאַקומפּערישע מאַנאָפּאָליע פון נוקלעאַרע געווערן.

זעצט דאָרף מען צוגעבן די טאַקטישע מיסט — אַנוואָרף פּלעצער, די מיטנאַכט אַריינגיסונג פון כעמישע וומפ — בלאַטעס אין די טייכן, אַזערס אין יאַמען, דער זויערגיפּט רעגן און באַשמרונגע לופט וואָס זיינען נייע פּלעצער וואו קאַרפּאָרישאַן — פּראָפּיטן זיינען געקומען אין שאַרפע שטרייטן מיט דער נאַטור אין מענטשלעך לעבן.

דער קוואַל פון דעם קריזיס געפינט זיך אין דער נאַטור פון דער סאַציאַל־עקאָנאָמישער סיסטעם. דער הויפּט איינפלוס — פון אונזער סאַציאַלער סיסטעם פון דעם קאַפיטאַליסטישן קלאַס, איז דאָס זוכן פון קאַרפּאָראַטע פּראָפּיטן. די רעגיגען־אָדמינסטראַציע און די געריכטן האָבן אונטערגעראָבן אַלע אַנט־טראַקט געזעצן, דער רעזולטאַט איז אומפּאַנאָרטיע, אַנאַרכישע פּראָדוקציע, וואָס דערלייבט באַשמוצן אין אַנאַינטערשייד באַרויבן אונזערע נאַטירלעכע קוואַלן.

מאַרקס האָט זייער קלוג באַמערקט: "אויב ניט באַוואוסטזיניק אַנגעפירט, מענטשלעכע אַקטיוויטעט