

July/August 1988

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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Seize the Moment**
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Roots and Branches
Jon Weisberger

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A Letter from Winnie Mandela

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in Chicago**
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Poetry:
Henri Percikow
Richard Davidson



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Peace in the Mid-East: Seize the Moment

by Herbert Aptheker

An essay of unusual significance, "The Illusion of Jewish Unity," appeared in the widely-circulated and highly influential *New York Review* (June 16). Its consequence was attributable not only to its content and place of publication but also because its author was Arthur Hertzberg. Mr. Hertzberg is Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Englewood, New Jersey, a teacher of history at Columbia and of ethics at Dartmouth, author of important books, and holder of vital posts in both the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress, and a member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization.

The main point of the lengthy essay is that the idea of a united Jewish opinion in the United States in support of the annexationist policy of the Israeli government is a myth. The fact is, as Hertzberg proves, that a very substantial proportion of Jews in the United States—probably now a majority—is quite uncomfortable with the hard, no-compromise line of Prime Minister Shamir. A considerable segment favors a policy of relinquishing land for peace and of consolidating such accomplishment through an international conference. Most favor some variant of the Shultz-Peres plan wherein the PLO would *not* be represented and the pre-ordained result would be some kind of nominal Palestinian "autonomy" with decisive power remaining in Israeli hands.

While such a proposal is illusory, since real settlement requires self-determination—for Israel and for Palestine and the latter is inconceivable without the full participation of the PLO—the very fact of opposing the annexationist and repressive line of Israel's Prime Minister is a new feature of *public* Jewish life in the United States. The fact that such opposition encompasses most Jews in the U.S. is quite unprecedented.

Rabbi Hertzberg argues for such moderation—as does now the American Jewish Congress and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. He does not touch the imperialist and geo-political strategic roots of U.S. policy in the Mid-East and the junior partnership role of Israel in this policy (including a military alliance *explicitly* aimed at the USSR). In line with this stance, while he points to dissent from the Tel Aviv position among American Jews, he omits its Left and Left-Center forces, including a complete omission of New Jewish Agenda.

I keenly recall the physical danger faced from Zionists

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July, 1988

Dear Reader:

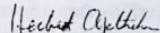
The 16th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner will take place Sunday, October 2, 1988 at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City at 12 Noon.

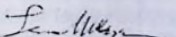
The Theme: "1988 - The Year For A People's Electoral Victory"

In 1988 Jewish Affairs published articles and sponsored forums promoting the following historical developments:

- 1) Growing successes of the all-people's coalitions to turn our country around to devote our energies and resources to end joblessness; provide adequate housing at reasonable rentals for all; improve education; provide adequate health care and meet the needs of retired men and women.
- 2) The reappraisal by Jewish Americans of the National Unity Government in Israel, with growing demands for the convening of an international conference for peace and justice in the Middle East.
- 3) Among Jewish Americans calls for the rebuilding of Jewish-Black People's Unity. Much effort is yet to be expended to combat and outlaw racism and anti-Semitism now being nurtured by the Reaganites.
- 4) Growing militancy and unity in the trade unions; stepped-up calls for outlawing racism and anti-Semitism; cut-backs in military spending and the use of those funds to restructure our economy.
- 5) The advance of the Geneva Peace Process with the signing of the INF Treaty and its ratification in Moscow, at the Summit Meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev.

As we approach the Dinner, as in the past, we look to your support in the promotion of the All-People's Program and of the Dinner by gathering tables of ten; sending greetings and contributions to the Dinner. We appreciate full well that it is you who have made our Dinners memorable over the years.


Herbert Aptheker
Editor


Lewis M. Moroze
Managing Editor

Roots and Branches

by Jon Weisberger

Freedom of the Press, U.S. Style

A recent expression of PLO intentions to negotiate a comprehensive and lasting settlement to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the latest victim of the peculiar editorial habits of *The New York Times*. On June 22, 1988, the *Times* published excerpts from a memorandum written by Bassam Abu Sharif, a key advisor to PLO chair Yasir Arafat, which had been distributed at the Arab summit in early June by PLO officials under the title "PLO View." The excerpts generally convey the message of the memorandum, laying out the basics of the Palestinian position: that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of other UN resolutions which are explicit in their recognition of Palestinian national rights, the creation of a Palestinian state and international guarantees for the security of all states in the region. Nevertheless, the *Times* has made some important omissions.

First, and most important, is the excision of the linkage of security guarantees to an international conference: "It is precisely our desire for such guarantees that motivates our demand that bilateral peace talks with Israel be conducted under a UN-sponsored international conference." By dropping this key sentence, the *Times* transforms the statement into a call for direct, separate negotiations between Israel and the PLO, thereby making it appear that the PLO has moved closer to the US/Israeli position of separate, Camp-David style agreements.

Also dropped is an important paragraph in which Sharif responds to the claims that the PLO acceptance of a Palestinian state alongside Israel is only a partial measure, which would be followed by ongoing hostility aimed at the eventual elimination of Israel. For the record, here are Sharif's words: "We believe that all peoples—the Jewish and the Palestinians included—have the right to run their own affairs, expecting from their neighbors not only non-belligerence, but the kind of political and economic cooperation without which no state can be truly secure, no matter how massive its war machine, and without which no nation can truly prosper, no matter how generous its friends in distant lands may be."

Sadly, the utter and complete lack of response to the

Sharif memorandum on the part of the Israeli and US governments has caused another internal debate in the PLO, with various forces condemning the statement as a "deviation," while others continue to distribute it while pointing to its continuity with the decisions of the 18th PNC last year and repeated statements of PLO positions. The organized Jewish community in the U.S., meanwhile, has also failed to give any sign that such "moderation" of tone might find an echo from their ranks.

Finally, lest we err in thinking the *New York Times* alone in the kind of censorship described above, Rex Wingerter reports in a preface to the full memorandum in the June 22 issue of *In These Times* that the document was submitted to the *Washington Post* but was turned down. "When asked why," Wingerter writes, "Stephen Rosenfeld, *Post* deputy editorial page editor, told *In These Times*, 'I don't have to explain what I had for breakfast, and I don't have to explain why we didn't publish it.'"

Pride and Prejudice

The subject of Black-Jewish relations seems to have touched off a good deal of discussion in the wake of the stunning Jesse Jackson Presidential campaign. The July/August issue of *Tikkun* contains a special section on Blacks and Jews, with articles ranging from quite good to awful (the low point is probably Jonathan Kauffman's assertion that "[Jews] must demand that black [note the lower case] leaders denounce anti-Semitism . . . and that blacks defer to Jews on questions of Israel—that they acknowledge that Israel is a special issue for American Jews much as affirmative action and South Africa are special issues for American blacks"), while Rabbi David Polish, writing in *The Sentinel* (6/9/88) seems to have been driven into intemperance by continuing reverberations from the Steven Cokely incident. Cokely was an aide to Chicago Mayor Eugene Sawyer who was fired on May 5 after he spewed anti-Semitic diatribes in a "lecture" to Nation of Islam followers (*People's Daily World*, 5/12/88).

According to Polish, a "malignant development is unfolding within the Black community." He believes that anti-Semitism, "hysteria and inflammatory talk" are endemic in the Black community, and that Black leaders have chosen to "become allied with their Arab 'brothers'," rather than the Jews, whom he asserts have rejected bigotry more forcefully than any other community, and "did more [except for Blacks] to elect Chicago's first Black mayor than any ethnic group."

This last is a bit hard to swallow, although it may be technically true. In fact, Jews did give Washington a higher percentage of their votes than whites generally,

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but in the late Mayor's re-election that amounted to some 47%, scarcely a clear sign of a Jewish rejection of racism. More importantly, Polish slides over the vicious Koch campaign against Jackson, and the shameful weakness of Jewish community leadership in rejecting the slanderous assaults heaped on Jackson. And does Polish think that Afro-Americans don't notice the ugly talk of "transferring" Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, or the visits of the racist Meir Kahane to Jewish communities around the country?

A better take on the situation is that offered in Norman Birnbaum's excellent essay on "Jackson and Jews" (*The Nation* 4/23/88). Birnbaum might have been writing about Polish when he points out that "Certainly, there is something obsessive and excessively harsh in many of the attacks on him [Jackson], in the reiteration of matters already repeatedly discussed, in the rejection of Jackson's proposal that Jews and Blacks find a new common agenda." Birnbaum sees the fundamental rift as one of differing perceptions; Jews, he says, see anti-Semitism as "a disease that calls for immediate quarantine," as they live "with memories of disasters past and fears of those that could come," while "Jackson's vision of Jewry is of a group fully integrated into American society. . . ." While this is in some ways an idealist perspective, lacking a basis in socio-economic realities, it nevertheless points to a genuine phenomenon.

American Jews cannot continue to invoke the participation of Jews in the civil rights movement as a substitute for engagement with the issues of today, especially where Jewish behavior and attitudes are directly involved. Neither can the past be used as a shield to deflect criticism of Jewish leadership and held up as an ameliorating circumstance, while Afro-Americans are held to a single, unyielding and biased standard. Such attitudes are patronizing, offensive, and too often serve to cover an unwillingness to acknowledge that the Jewish community has been more successful in struggling against anti-Semitism than the Black community has been in fighting persistent and institutionalized racism. The struggle against the forces of racism and chauvinism is not one in which Jews "help out." As Birnbaum pointed out in *Tikkun* (Nov./Dec./, 1987), "The Jewish community would do well to recall that our fate here is connected not to our economic and social success alone, but to the willingness of large numbers of our fellow citizens to work with us as fellow citizens."

* * *

Good News from an Unlikely Source, Part Two
The *Jerusalem Post* International Edition (6/25/88)

July/August

quotes an Israeli human rights specialist, Yoram Dinsteinstein, as calling the widely-cited figure of 375,000 Jews waiting to emigrate from the Soviet Union "wildly inaccurate." Dinsteinstein, a professor of international law at Tel Aviv University, had recently returned from a law conference in Moscow, estimating the number more reasonably, at 25,000. He went on to say that the 375,000 figure represents the total number of visa applicants since 1970, including those who had subsequently died, changed their minds or had actually emigrated.

In light of perestroika's "winds of change," Dinsteinstein said, Soviet Jewry campaigners had to present the Soviets with facts. What a novel idea!

* * *

Who are the Friends of Pamyat?

Pamyat, the unofficial organization in the USSR that began as a sort of historical preservation movement concerned with buildings and monuments and then turned into a forum for anti-Semitic leaders, has been roundly denounced in the Soviet press, though this is apparently not enough for the "Soviet Jewry" folks. At the same time, however, little attention has been given to assessments of Pamyat emanating from the Reaganite Right. Yet at least two recent articles from American reactionaries find merit in the prospect of a chauvinist, anti-Semitic movement gaining ground in the USSR.

David Moro, writing in *Policy Review*, an organ of the Reagan think-tank Heritage Foundation, rails against a "casual dismissal" of "Russian nationalism." ("The National Rebirth of Russia," Winter, 1988). "Russians," he says, "for their part have grievances against the atheistic Jews who played a prominent role in giving the Bolshevik Revolution its fanatically anti-Russian character. . . ." Further on, speaking of a potential rapprochement between Zionism and "Russianism," Moro claims that the "Jewish and Russian nations have been victims of the two greatest genocides of the 20th century, both at the hands of totalitarians. . . . They are unanimous in their support for Israel. Where Russians differ is on the question of whether assimilation is ultimately possible. . . ." Indeed.

Meanwhile, Vladislav Krasnov, a visiting "scholar" at the Hoover Institute, informed the Alaska World Affairs Council the drift toward chauvinism is "the most significant and, to my mind, the most hopeful development during the last three years." (*Vital Speeches of the Day*, 4/15/88). According to Krasnov, the anti-Semitism of Pamyat leaders is the result of "KGB infiltration," designed to discredit "Russian nationalism" which is, he says, "a healthy, natural and beautiful

Continued on page 20

News From and About Israel

Israeli Army Officers Call for Peace

Globally the national liberation movements are determined to win their place in the community of nations. Determinedly the Palestinian People are pursuing their goal of an independent state alongside of Israel.

The Likud-Labor government is convinced that the "Intifada," the uprising, would burn itself out. The tactics of "breaking bones," blowing up Arab homes and "shoot-to-kill" orders have brought close to 300 deaths, many injured men, women and children but the resistance continues.

The Likud-Labor policies are causing sober reflection in higher echelons of the armed forces.

General Amram Mitznah, head of the Israeli Central Command, along with Chief of Staff Dan Shomron hold that the government is deluding itself into believing that the army can solve Israel's security problems. These officers firmly believe that bringing peace to Israel is far more important than retaining the Occupied Territories.

Newsweek was informed by Brigadier Ephraim Sneh that the General Staff believes Israel's withdrawal from the Occupied Territories is preferable to retaining them.

Ha'aretz, 5/5/88, wrote: "According to senior reserve officers . . . if one is to judge only by military criteria, there is no basis for the obsession that the Likud . . . is trying to engender among the public, that our future depends upon maintaining the territorial status quo."

The Israeli Council for Peace and Security, composed of several dozen Israeli Reserve Major and Brigadier Generals, has concluded Israel's security can best be attained and strengthened by rigid territorial compromise rather than by holding on to the status quo.

Newsweek ran this headline: "Israeli Officers Argue West Bank is a Liability." *Ha'aretz*, 5/31/88 headed an editorial: "Generals Dismiss Security Value of the West Bank" and concluded that "the view of these army officers . . . is a warning against the outbreak of a horrendous bloody war if the political stalemate continues . . . because their estimate is based upon a reading of the security situation."

Majority of Israelis Favor International Conference

Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies conducted a survey which revealed that a majority of Israelis now favor an international conference to open Middle East peace negotiations and that they would agree to talks with the PLO. The study revealed the

anomalous situation that the Israelis in their majority favor the continuance of the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

43% of Jewish Americans Favor a Palestinian State

A poll released by the American Jewish Congress reveals strong support for Israel by Jewish Americans and that 43% favor a Palestinian State on the West Bank.

Labor Party Discards Abba Eban

A careful study of the 40 candidates presented by the Israeli labor Party reveals basic changes in its composition. Outstanding is the removal of the world renowned Abba Eban. Eban said that his removal is in response to his stand for negotiations with the Palestinians to bring a lasting peace and for his rejection of the policies of the Likud-Labor coalition.

Of the six party elders retained on the list included are Shimon Peres, and "break their bones" Yitzhak Rabin.

Mikhal Yudelman, writing in *Jerusalem Post*, 6/25/88, reported that "Party leaders watched painfully but helplessly the exclusion from the list of Abba Eban. . . . Many regret that a man of such calibre had to go." Women comprise less than 10% of the Labor Party list.

American Jewish Congress Invites Peace Generals

Generals Aharon Yariv, Ephraim Sneh, Ori Orr and Yoram Agmon were invited to the United States by the American Jewish Congress which has called for trading land for peace.

Likud Minister without portfolio, Moshe Arens bitterly attacked the Israeli generals for "transferring political debate from Israel to other countries."

A statement issued by the AJC asserted: "It is our feeling that senior Israeli army officers with extensive combat and administrative experience could provide special insights from their expert perspectives to help clarify these issues so that American Jews could engage in an informed discussion of one of the most vital issues of our day—the security of Israel."

At a news conference in the USA General Orr said that Israel faced greater dangers by holding on to the Occupied Territories than by withdrawing from most of them.

General Yariv, a former head of military intelligence, held that the occupation was bad for the morale of the Israeli Defense Forces.

General Agmon of the air force and squadron commander during the Yom Kippur War of 1973 stated that current sophisticated early warning systems made the continued occupation unnecessary from the military point of view.

US Subsidizes Resettlement of Soviet Jews in Israel

Secretary of State Schultz approved the decision of the Reagan Administration that \$10,000,000 of the Foreign Aid Bill be allocated for the resettlement of Soviet Jewish refugees in Israel.

\$10,000,000 is the same sum sought last year by the Reagan Administration but Congress increased it to \$25 million.

Schultz told the Senate Appropriations Committee on Foreign Operations that the Reagan Administration has sufficient flexibility in the refugee assistance program to increase the amount for Israel if necessary.

USA Zionists Please Note

The South African Zionist Federation bowed to demands to cancel a meeting with the racist Rabbi Meir Kahane. Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the World Zionist Organization, urged the Federation not to meet with the leaders of the racist Kach movement.

Erosion of Freedom of the Press in Israel

During the "Intifada," uprising in the Occupied Territories, there has been imposed an increasing number of restrictions on the press in Israel eroding freedom according to Joel Greenberg, *Jerusalem Post*, 7/2/88.

Access to areas in the Occupied Territories is barred or limited; access to sources for information is cut off and finally the completed news items are subjected to censorship accompanied by public hostility to the press.

Jewish settlers in the Occupied Territories have unleashed a campaign against the press, they have car stickers depicting a snake with the wording: "The People Against Hostile Media."

Newspaper personnel have been harassed by the Israeli soldiers on duty in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israeli Bride and Groom at a Non-Wedding

Ilana Ben David and Danny Mizrahi were not permitted to have a real wedding though in a beautifully arranged hall they signed a civil contract for "a joint life together" in the presence of Knesset member and civil rights and civil liberties advocate, Shulamit Aloni.

Ilana's parents escaped from Iran after the Shah was ousted. Since they fled without documents they asked that their marriage in Iran in 1964 be registered in Israel. A number of witnesses now claim that the bride's mother is not Jewish.

The Rabbi who officiated had to avoid conducting a

wedding by employing words of "encouragement to lead Jewish lives."

The head of the Rehovot Court, Rabbi Simcha Kook said: "If the bride has anyone to blame it is her own parents and not the religious court. Shulamit Aloni held that since Israel is a country of immigration and absorption, if someone comes to us as a Jew, we have to accept her."

Cypriot Workers refuse to be Strikebreakers in Israel

The following article originally appeared in the April 15 edition of *Flashes From the Trade Unions* published by the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The Cypriot national trade union center, PEO, has urged Cypriot workers to refuse jobs in Israel where this would mean replacing Palestinian workers who have been on strike since the outbreak of the mass uprising in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The statement drew attention to the efforts of certain enterprises in Cyprus to recruit workers of various categories for employment in Israel.

It pointed out that acceptance of such employment meant "playing the hated role of strike-breakers, and against a people conducting the same liberation struggle against foreign occupation that our own people are involved in."

The statement pointed out that refusal of such employment would constitute an important gesture of support for the struggle of the Palestinian People.

"The working class and the people of Cyprus," the statement added "are proud to renounce the role of strikebreaker and to refuse to undermine the just liberation struggle of the fraternal Palestinian People."

The strike of Palestinian workers from the Occupied Territories is seriously harming the Israeli economy. The resulting loss so far has been estimated at more than \$3 billion US dollars. The Israeli Employment Service estimated that more than 108,000 Palestinian workers from the Occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip were daily employed in Israeli factories and farms before the uprising. They received near to subsistence-level wages and worked under terrible conditions, deprived of all rights. Their boycott of the Israeli labor market since the beginning of the uprising has been described by Israeli government sources as "traumatic for the economy." The Israeli government is trying to offset the effect by recruiting foreign workers in Portugal, Greece, Spain and other countries as well as Cyprus. □

What's behind the Palestinian stone throwing?

By Lee and Roger Landrud

This article appeared originally in the Canadian magazine *Outlook*, June, July 1988. The report was written by Lee and Roger Landrud of the U.S. They are educators in the Tacamah Public Schools and Highline Community College.

THE JEWS OF ISRAEL GO INTO THE army. The Palestinians go into prisons. It's 'normal' in the Occupied Territories," said a young man driving me around Bir Zeit University. He and three other students had "routinely" served time in prison (two months to two years) for being elected to the Student Council. As future Palestinian leaders, they were seen as a threat to the security of Israel.

This is "legal" under the Defense Emergency Regulation law of 1946, a British law that was protested and called fascist by Jews, but never repealed. It permits arrest without civil trial, and detention without any civil rights. Detention, deportation and confiscation of Palestinian property are common, as I saw when I visited legal offices "Law in the Service of Man" in Ramallah (in West Bank).

Israel has no constitution because of conflicting religious interpretations of the Torah. So civil law, religious law and military law are separate entities, and the highest law is whatever is seen as affecting security. This allows the army to stop all traffic (to check I.D. or search) and to close the universities at will. Getting a four-year degree takes more than five years because of these closures, not to speak of the harassment and arrests students "routinely" undergo.

After their homes and farms were taken, many families went to refugee camps. Whole families are punished because of one child's actions. An 18 year old daughter was imprisoned for joining Fatah. I saw their one-bedroom cemented shut until her release, regardless of how many people had been using it. For forty years this mother has lived here with no hope of getting out, returning to her farm, or even adding a room. Israeli authorities do not permit rooms added to refugee camp housing, so overcrowding has worsened for forty years. Gaza (which is only twice the area of Lake Washington) has a total of 550,000 Palestinians and 20 Israeli settlements—an impossible, explosive disaster area. Israeli law limits industries to no more than 20 employees (in order not to compete with Israeli economy).

Each day 40-60,000 Palestinians in Gaza travel 2½

hours to Tel Aviv or Haifa to find work. They often cannot find (menial) jobs and must return at night or face imprisonment for being outside of Gaza or the West Bank. In the Occupied Territories, Palestinians have no vote or control over their land or life. The mail, water, electrical systems are all Israeli, and hundreds of bureaucratic rules and regulations make life a daily misery.

While living in a small hotel in East Jerusalem (the Palestinian section near the Old City), we were shocked to see the water bill for one month: it was based on what full occupancy might have used, even though we were the only guests that month! Then came the phone bill of \$3,000 for one month—an arbitrary figure that could not be paid, and the only telephone was removed. A request for a pay phone was ignored. A few weeks later my husband had a heart attack, and there was no phone to call an ambulance. The nearest operating phone was 2½ blocks away in a bakery! Yes, great Israeli medics and cardiac specialists saved him. But economic oppression continues.

Watching all the anguish Palestinians without self-determination must endure on a daily basis, I could hardly believe how sweet and gentle they seemed. They were filled with frustration and grief, but they didn't seem bitter, spiteful, or violent. They implored us to tell Americans what we saw so the world would know and care about them as human beings and their long-deferred aspirations to achieve self-determination. (Did they think we could save them?) They certainly were well-educated, articulate, and eager to share—but not explosive, in 1986.

When a Palestinian car (identifiable by license color) was bombed a half block from our class in the Old City of Jerusalem, the Palestinian employees were scared but not retaliatory. (The car bombing was done by T.N.T., Terrorists Against Terrorists, a right-wing Israeli Kahane group, in response to a Palestinian grenade thrown into an army ceremony.) On both sides, nothing is forgotten.

While volunteering at the Friends (Quaker) Girls School, I listened to high school girls debating how to show support for a boy taken away by Israeli soldiers for being a part of Fed'a'eeya (Palestinian resistance movement). "What good will going home from school do?" But if we don't do something, are we being unsympathetic to our own people?" "We must strike to show the Israelis that we know what they are doing and that we care about our people." "Where has justice gone?" Why are so many people deaf and dumb to our crisis?" "We, the youth of Palestine, are its future and its only

hope." "Our actions may make a difference." (They did strike.)

In 1986 during our visit with an ex-prisoner, my husband spent hours listening to his nephew, a 16-year-old Palestinian—the only person out of hundreds we'd met who was filled with hatred. At 13 this boy threw a rock (the only available weapons) at a jeep and was imprisoned for it. Later he and his best friend were walking home from school when Israeli soldiers stopped to search them. His friend refused to be searched, resisted, and was shot. The soldiers wouldn't allow the medics who arrived on the scene to touch him until he was dead. This boy refused his parents' offer to send him overseas to college because he must resist the military occupation of his homeland. His parents, like most others, live in fear of what may happen to him. They cannot restrain him, for he acts from a sense of loyalty to his people and thinks no one else will do anything for Palestinians.

While there we kept wondering how Palestinians could endure this military occupation for twenty years without exploding. It's too early to predict what role the growing nonviolent resistance can play in this extremely complex and emotional crisis, mainly because impatient young Palestinians are leading the protests after watching Israel deport most of the moderates.

If both Palestinians and Israelis want peace they could achieve it, although not easily now. The United States could encourage this by insisting on a speedy Mid East Peace Conference under the auspices of the U.N.—including participation by Israel, the PLO (which 90% of Palestinians choose as their representative), those Arab states party to the conflict, the Soviet Union, and the United States—for the purpose of negotiating a peace based on the right to national self-determination of both the Israeli and the Palestinian peoples.

In the meantime, the U.S. could exert pressure to end the occupation by cutting that part of the \$3 billion we give Israel which is used for Jewish settlements in Arab land and for military oppression of Palestinians.

After writing our own leaders on these points, it would be well to make peace in our own hearts by weeding out our own stereotypes and prejudices which do prolong and aggravate the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. □

Every Reader Gets A Reader

From Suez to Irangate

By Vladislav Trapeznikov

The book review published below originally appeared in the January 1988 issue of *the Democratic Journalist*, publication of the International Organization of Journalists.

"No other event which took place after the Second World War touched off in the Western countries such a strong upsurge of hatred as the nationalization of the Suez Canal . . . Since then, many dangerous and tragic events took place in the region, and Middle East issues remain to this day among the main problems in relations between the great powers."

This quotation from *It All Began With Suez*, a new book written by the well-known Czechoslovak journalist Juraj Rác and just published by the International Organization of Journalists in Prague, maps out the scope of this interesting study. The author of several books on Near and Middle East issues, Juraj Rác was several years the Beirut correspondent of the Czechoslovak Press Agency (CTK).

The nationalization of the Suez Canal on July 26, 1956 and the collapse of the British-French-Israeli aggression that followed signalled the end of a whole historical period, the era of complete British and French imperialist rule. Simultaneously, Rác notes, those events triggered a chain reaction which radically changed the political map of the Middle East.

First and foremost, the role of the United States in the Middle East was changed. Examining the "neutrality" of the United States during the Suez crisis, Rác recalls that it merely indicated formal disapproval of armed intervention. Although this has never been admitted in Washington, the Americans' restraint was rooted above all in the fact that at that time, the United States already had long-term and important interests in the region and wanted to oust and replace Britain and France there. A successful armed intervention in Egypt could seriously upset U.S. plans.

The author reminds the reader that, paradoxically, the nationalization of the Suez Canal was Nasser's response to the U.S. refusal to help in the building of the Aswan High Dam. London and Paris held that, essentially, Washington was to blame for the decision to nationalize the Canal. The foreign policy doctrines of all postwar U.S. Presidents, Rác says, stipulated U.S. control over the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean. Taking over from President Carter who, in 1979, established a Rapid Deployment Force, Ronald Reagan adopted the

doctrine of neoglobalism. As a result, in a region where alterations in the balance of forces during various periods of its history never posed a threat to all sides, the people living there now face an increasing aggressiveness on the part of U.S. imperialism. Designating one region after another a zone of its vital interests, Washington seeks to justify its militarist activities, threats and direct use of armed force. The campaign to "combat international terrorism," launched against Libya, Syria and Iran, was a textbook example of this stance. That is how the United States acts to camouflage its own policy of state terrorism, designed to help it dominate the Middle East.

As Rácz recalls, the Persian Gulf figured in the geopolitical schemes of the White House long before the Iran-Iraq war. In his first State of the Union message in 1980 Ronald Reagan described the Gulf as a sphere of vital U.S. interests to be defended by all available means, including armed force. Before that, Zbigniew Brzezinski included the Gulf in his notorious "arc of crisis." Viewing the Iran-Iraq war from the angle of U.S.-Israeli "strategic cooperation," Rácz emphasizes that the conflict plays into the hands of international imperialism and Zionism. As long as it goes on, the Islamic camp will remain fragmented, and Israel will have no cause to fear the creation of a united front of the Arab countries. Irangate put the spotlight on the real reasons behind the much advertised "neutral stance" of the United States in this war.

Rácz stresses that no Persian Gulf state has ever asked the United States to intervene actively, either at the early stages of the war or now. Nevertheless, the Reagan Administration is acting as though it were appointed the sole defender of access to the oilfields.

Such is neoglobalism in action. The time-honoured American belief that only those countries are sovereign and independent which docilely back the United States has not changed since the Suez crisis. Juraj Rácz concludes that the only new element that might perhaps be seen in the Americans' efforts is to involve their allies in U.S. gambles. □

Our Deepest Sympathy
To
Bess Nemeroff
On the untimely death
of your daughter
ROSALYN SCHELL

Herbert Apifeher
Editor

Lewis M. Moroze
Managing Editor

Australian Jews Are Worried

Message to the Government and the People of Israel:

Many Australian Jews, supporters of Israel, are disturbed that the peace process is hampered by the refusal of the Prime Minister of Israel to negotiate **Land for Peace**.

We say this, fully aware of the Arab hostility to Israel over the years.

We believe that Israel's future is endangered by including nearly 1.5 million potentially hostile Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, within Israel's borders. This is territory, moreover, which the world considers Arab land.

The fact that Jews outside Israel do not serve in the IDF does not mean that they must be silent about these dangers. Rather, it is the duty of true friends of Israel, wherever they are, clearly to express their concerns.

This notice is inserted by the Australian Jewish Democratic Society, which alone takes responsibility for it, but these ideas have been expressed by the leaders of every political party in Australia. It is an Australian view, and it is Jewish.

Authorized by Norman Rothfield
and Henry Zimmerman,
for the Australian Jewish
Democratic Society,
Box 35, Fairfield, Victoria 3078
AUSTRALIA

this ad appeared in the Jerusalem Post 6/25/88

A very happy and healthy birthday to
my friend and a friend of all

FANNIE KOLTMAN

May your friendship and devotion to
your friends remain for the rest of your
life.

Sonia Furman

Winnie Mandela Soweto, South Africa

Although I'm taking a personal risk in writing you this urgent letter today, I'm determined to seek your help in the struggle to end the nightmare of apartheid and help us forge a free South Africa."

Dear Friends of Justice,

August 5, 1962, is a day that changed my life forever. And no doubt the history books will one day mark that date as a day that changed the future of South Africa.

On that Sunday, on the road from Durban to Johannesburg, the South African police seized my husband, Nelson Mandela. A 17-month manhunt, the most intense in South African history had come to an end. Nelson Mandela had been captured.

At the time of his arrest, Nelson was President of the African National Congress and one of the few black lawyers in South Africa.

His only "crime" was that he dared to stand up for democracy. For that he has been in prison, under life sentence, ever since that Sunday in 1962.

But the walls of a prison could not kill the vision and dream he represents in the minds and hearts of our people. And "Free Mandela" soon became a rallying cry—echoing with growing fervor and force throughout our land. And Nelson Mandela has become the living symbol of our people's aspirations for freedom and democracy.

After my husband's arrest, the South African government quickly began its relentless efforts to destroy me along with him.

I've now known the oppressive cruelty of the South African government for more than 30 years. At age 52, I have now spent *nearly half of my entire life under arrest or restriction by banning orders.*

I've been jailed off and on since the 1950s. During those imprisonments, I've been held in solitary confinement for 17 months, abused and tortured by police officers, had my neck broken, been repeatedly strip-searched, and been fed porridge by my jailors that was deliberately and repeatedly covered with bird droppings and other filth.

Even when "free" from prison, I've been forced to lead a prisoner's life. Since 1962, I've been hounded relentlessly and my every movement has been restricted. From 1977 to 1985, I was banished to a remote province.

July/August

And only a few months ago my house was bombed.

I'm permitted to visit my husband, now 69, for only 45 minutes, twice a month. And in the past 25 years of his imprisonment, we've shared a fragmented total of only four months together.

But I have never remained silent.

Although South Africa is a virtual prison for the black person, we are free inside ourselves. Despite all the cruelty and suffering they have inflicted on me and countless others, they cannot extinguish from our hearts our burning desire to be free. And one day I, along with 22 million other black men, women and children, shall welcome the dawning light of freedom and full equality! but the key questions are "when?" And "at what cost in human life?"

As you know, we in South Africa are paying an enormous price to end—once and for all—the abomination of Apartheid. *And that price, paid in human lives and in suffering, increases with every day the struggle rages on.*

But to lift the oppressive yoke of Apartheid that keeps us enslaved in our own land, we need the help, the energy, the prayers of all men and women worldwide who cherish freedom.

Therefore, I fervently call upon you and all men and women of compassion to stand up and be counted. To act now. To see to it that our struggle is as short-lived as possible.

And one of the most meaningful steps you can take to help end Apartheid is to join such distinguished Americans as Coretta Scott King, former Chair of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission Arthur Flemming, dozens of members of Congress from both political parties, and more than 40,000 other Americans of all races and religious faiths who have united in a mighty movement for justice called TransAfrica's *Free South Africa!*

When you do, you will be helping them *publicize, educate, lobby, boycott and take whatever other legal and moral means necessary to end the long nightmare of Apartheid and free the oppressed people of South Africa as quickly as possible.*

It was TransAfrica and its Director, Randall Robinson, who organized the protests in front of the South African Embassy that ignited the Free South Africa Movement in America and led to an incredible groundswell of public outrage throughout your nation.

And believe me, this massive protest was also deeply felt in South Africa. It uplifted our morale by clearly demonstrating that the American people were on our side—the side of justice and freedom—even though the Reagan Administration continued its abhorrent do-

nothing policy.

It was also TransAfrica's Free South Africa Movement that helped push for divestment of American businesses and for economic sanctions. And I am assured that it was the Free South Africa Movement's focusing of public consciousness on the horrors of Apartheid that helped your Congress override President Reagan's veto and pass the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986.

These heartening developments in your country are echoed throughout the world, and global sanctions against South Africa can be a reality.

Frankly, I believe they are the only peaceful door still open for us. And Archbishop Tutu, as well as other leaders like Rev. Allan Boesak, agree.

Our call for mandatory and total economic sanctions to be imposed on us is a confirmation of the fact that we are determined to end the oppression against us, *once and for all*, regardless of the immediate, short term discomforts that would accompany global economic sanctions on our people.

And in spite of the reactionary and repressive measures taken by the South African government, I still believe it can be compelled to join the human race instead of remaining completely isolated as an island fortress of racist tyranny besieged by a world of human decency.

That's why I am asking you to join TransAfrica's Free South Africa!

With your help, Free South Africa can bring even greater political and economic pressure, worldwide exposure and moral outrage to bear on the South African government—to end Apartheid as quickly as possible.

With your help and the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of concerned people in your country and around the world, we can have a reconciled society of blacks and whites together in a democratic, non-racist South Africa.

I know that one day my husband will return to lead our people to their liberation. I know he was mandated by the people to lead them to freedom and he will fulfill that mandate.

And Nelson and I agree that any future government will be a government *of the people*. It will be a government that will democratically accommodate *all* inhabitants of this land. We will not repeat the litany of injustices and oppressions inflicted on us for generations.

Through your commitment, joined with the commitment of thousands upon thousands of others, we will ultimately bring human equality to South Africa.

Continued on page 16

Jewish-Black Relations in Chicago

By Sig Eisencher

The furor caused by the anti-Semitic ravings of former mayoral aide, Steve Cokely has produced a period of introspection by both Afro-American and Jewish leaders on the state of relations between the two communities. In the meantime after a period of hesitation acting Mayor Eugene Sawyer reluctantly fired Cokely.

The problem is not to continue mutual recrimination, but how to heal the rift caused by Cokely's hate-filled speeches and to restore the traditional informal alliance between Jews and Blacks. There is no doubt that Cokely's purpose has been to destroy the coalition that brought about the election of Harold Washington by splitting the Black community from their allies and destroying the unity of that community, the main base of support of the reform movement led by the late mayor.

But some comments are no help at all, for example, an article by Rabbi David Polish in the Chicago *Sentinel*, 6/9/88, a highly regarded Anglo-Jewish weekly devoted to matters of concern to the Jewish People of Chicago.

The tone of the Rabbi's article is pretty well expressed in the headline: "Where Are the Voices of Reason and Calm From Black Community Leaders?" Rabbi Polish complains that Black leaders have not hastened to express their outrage over Cokely's slanderous attacks on Jews. He further complains about Afro-American sympathy for the cause of Palestinian freedom. "Except for Blacks," he reminds us, "Jews did more to elect Chicago's first Black mayor than any ethnic group."

Rabbi Polish ends by saying: "Jews and Blacks must speak to one another, but only when the cloud of intimidation is lifted."

Very true, Rabbi Polish. But Jews did not support Harold Washington as a favor to Blacks but as part of a common crusade against corruption and racist arrogance. It is true that Blacks hesitate to be drawn into battle within their own community. We recall that Mayor Harold Washington and the Rev. Jesse Jackson had been badgered constantly by the media to denounce Minister Louis Farrakhan. Washington's reponse to this was that he would not be provoked into a battle against any part of the Black community, that Farrakhan's views were his own, that the mayor was not responsible for them and that Farrakhan did not speak for the mayor.

But then, perhaps Rabbi Polish should explain the reluctance of many Jewish leaders, who, despite misgiv-

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ings of their own, hesitate to publicly criticize Israeli or Zionist policy.

I do not recall that when Bernard Epton, who is Jewish, permitted his campaign staff to use racist demagoguery in his campaign for mayor against Harold Washington in 1983 that Rabbi Polish expressed any public criticism against this. But right now, all this is beside the point.

We have a better example for Rabbi Polish. Jacky Grimshaw, who served the late Mayor Harold Washington as director of intergovernmental affairs, was one of the first Black mayoral aides to be fired by acting Mayor Sawyer who had hired and then tried to protect Steve Cokely. She wrote a column on Black-Jewish relations which appeared in the weekly *Crain's Chicago Business*, 5/9/88. Here, too, the headline pretty well reflects the tome of the article: "Beyond the Cokley Mess: Ending the Politics of Race."

After denouncing Cokely's racist diatribe and Sawyer's evasiveness and citing the long history of racist politics in Chicago, Jacky Grimshaw says: "The big losers, however, are the people of Chicago—Black, Latin, White, Jewish, Gentile and Muslim—who remain divided, the victims of racial politics, while the problems of our city go unsolved.

"The people of Chicago," she continues, "are not racists, are not committed to racial politics and at heart long for peace and unity." And that is the purpose of her column. Rabbi Polish can learn much from Grimshaw if he wants the Black community to listen.

This article first appeared in the *People's Daily World* 7/16/88. Sig Eisenschner is a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party of Illinois. □

Our Heartfelt Sympathy

To

Morris and Dorothy Frumkin

On the sudden death
of your daughter

PATTI FRUMKIN

Herbert Aptheker
Editor

Lewis M. Moroze
Managing Editor

Erich Honeker Meets With President of Association of Jewish Communities

This report was abridged from Vol. 28 of the *GDR Foreign Affairs Bulletin*.

On June 2, 1988 Erich Honeker, chairman of the GDR Council of State met with Siegmund Rotstein, President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, along with board members, Dr. Peter Kirchner and Hans-Joachim Levy.

The participants all agreed that the GDR was a country where the concerns and interests of the citizens of Jewish belief are met and where they have found their real home. In the GDR the roots of anti-Semitism, racism and hatred among peoples have been eliminated once and for all and young people are being educated in a spirit of peace and international understanding.

Erich Honeker pointed out that the German communists had always defended consistently the interests of their Jewish fellow-citizens as well. Within the resistance movement it was the Communist Party which immediately and energetically opposed the criminal, anti-human "Nuremberg Laws" of the nazis. The practiced solidarity with persecuted Jewish fellow citizens wherever this was possible.

German communists were the first to condemn the abominable anti-Jewish pogrom of November 1938 in the strongest terms.

In a special number of the "Rote Fahne," (Red Flag), issued in the underground the KPD Central Committee published a declaration "Against the shame of the pogroms against the Jews." Making use of broadcasting stations in the Soviet Union and in the Spanish Republic, the KPD from the beginning uncovered crimes of Hitler's regime.

After the liberation from fascism the communists, loyal to anti-fascist combat traditions and acting in the spirit of the historic appeal of the C.P.G. of June 11, 1945, continued the alliance of all anti-fascists, thereby laying a humanistic foundation for the new society.

Erich Honeker and Siegmund Rotstein pointed out that mindful of the lessons of history citizens of the Jewish religion, working together with all anti-fascists, made a highly valuable contribution to building an anti-fascist democratic and socialist society. Erich Honeker stressed thanks and respect should be extended to the members of the Jewish communities for their work in the service of our homeland.

The Jewish communities in the GDR have always

participated actively and constructively in political life in this country. They make an important and commendable contribution to the cultivation and knowledge of their traditions and culture, of the scientific achievements of Jewish personalities and of the Jewish heritage in general.

The socialist society has at all times extended its aid and support to the multifaceted efforts of the Jewish community to engage in an active religious and spiritual life.

Erich Honecker reported on the projects dedicated to the commemoration of the fascist pogrom of November 9, 1938, which are intended to be a constant reminder and an obligation of immediate relevance.

The representatives of the Jewish community welcomed and supported Erich Honecker's proposal to set up an international committee and a foundation for the restoration of the synagogue located in the center of the capital of the GDR, the aim being to create a worthy meeting place, a center for the cultivation of Jewish culture and tradition, a perennial memorial for the present and future generations.

When in May 1945 there was the long-awaited liberation, Sigmund Rotstein said, the surviving Jewish citizens were convinced that their home could only be in a German state where the promise was given by the anti-fascists in their joint struggle that war and fascism should never be allowed to happen again. They are happy that since that memorable May 8 anti-Semitism was eradicated in this country and will have no fertile ground in the present and future.

Erich Honecker and the President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, Siegmund Rotstein, were agreed that at the present moment there is nothing more important than safeguarding peace and heading off from humanity the threat of a nuclear holocaust. The world public has welcomed with pleasure and confidence the recent exchange of the ratification instruments for the INF Treaty between the USA and the USSR and the new steps agreed at the Moscow summit on the road towards disarmament and detente.

The Jewish communities in the GDR are working with all their strength for peace, disarmament and international understanding. The Jewish people in the GDR are partners in international bodies, including the World Jewish Congress.

Erich Honecker Meets With Heinz Galinski of the FRG

On June 6 Erich Honecker met with Heinz Galinski, chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany and

Chairman of the Jewish Community in West Berlin. Honecker and Galinski also agreed that at the present moment mankind's most important task is to prevent a nuclear holocaust and to safeguard peace.

Erich Honecker pointed out that the road towards nuclear disarmament upon which the world powers have embarked, is opening a chance to make this process durable. With the treaty on the elimination of intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles having entered into force, the task to be tackled now is to halve strategic offensive weapons and to proceed to radical disarmament in the conventional field.

Heinz Galinski regretted that the USA and the USSR which were together in fighting and defeating the Nazi terror regime, have been unable to act likewise on the question of peace. It was all the more satisfactory to note their present rapprochement.

Both leaders said that keeping alive the memory of the victims of the barbaric Nazi regime, especially among young people was a duty that had to be fulfilled responsibly. The survivors, Erich Honecker remarked, must see to it that new generations learn from the experience of history.

In the GDR racism and anti-Semitism are condemned in every respect, as is made clear in its constitution.

Heinz Galinski expressed his concern about manifestations of neo-Nazism, which, he said, has to be fought uncompromisingly. He said he had not survived Auschwitz to keep silent about neo-Nazism.

Erich Honecker asserted that the citizens of the GDR will always remember the victims of Hitlerite fascism, the more than six million Jews assassinated. This finds its expression in the great attention which the government and the social forces devote to the life and work of the eight Jewish communities in the GDR. They are given every kind of support, not least, to maintain and keep up their centers, synagogues and places of prayer.

Heinz Galinski welcomed Erich Honecker's initiative in establishing an international committee and a foundation for the restoration of the Berlin Synagogue in Oranienburger Strasse as a meeting place, as a center for the cultivation of Jewish culture and tradition as well as a memorial.

They also discussed the problems of the Middle East with both sides agreeing that a solution of the conflict can only be found by way of negotiations.

Also participating in the meeting was State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrman, head of the Office of the Chairman of the Council of State of the FRG. □

Judaism in the USSR

The data discussed below was taken from; *USSR '88 Yearbook* published by the Novosti Press Agency.

There are 1,811,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. The level of religiosity of the Jewish population can best be judged by the statistics on the number of those who attend synagogues.

In Novosibirsk, where there live 11,000 Jews, the number of people who attend the synagogue on the most important religious holidays does not exceed 200. In Kuibyshev and Leningrad the proportion of the Jewish population attending synagogues is 3 to 1.5 per cent respectively.

Naturally, not all believers attend synagogues, and, contrariwise, not everyone who attends synagogues are true believers. For some of them a visit to the synagogue is to pay tribute to their late parents who were religious.

The low level of religious identification in the USSR is not a specific attribute of Jews. Furthermore, the level of religious identification among urbanites is, in general, much lower than among people living in rural areas. 98 per cent of Soviet Jews are city dwellers.

However, there are three ethnic groups of Jews on the territory of the USSR whose level of religious identification is higher than the average. They are the Georgian, Bukhara and mountain Jews, whose combined number amounts to 100,000 people. In Tblisi, where the number of Jews is the same as in Kuibyshev, ten times as many people attend the synagogue on religious holidays. The level of religious identification among Caucasian and Bukharan reaches 20%.

The Moscow Choral Synagogue, which seats 1,100, is attended daily by about 100 people, on Saturdays up to 500 people, and on religious holidays by up to 5,000 people.

Practising Jews have every opportunity to satisfy their religious needs. Religious literature is published for this purpose. For example, 20,000 copies of the Hebrew calendar is published annually in Hebrew in a state printing house at the request of the Moscow Choral Synagogue.

Articles of worship, such as prayer shawls, containers for keeping excerpts from the Holy Torah as well as symbolic safeguard scrawls to be pinned to the door of one's home, can be purchased at the synagogue.

Believers can also buy kosher meat and poultry. Many synagogues have bakeries, which produce and sell a total of 600 tons of matzoth a year. This ritual bread is often purchased by non-religious families for whom

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Bring Nazi War Criminal to Justice in Poland

By Sol Flapan

WARSAW—Though it happened as long ago as February 1942, Leopold Sikora has the scene seared into his memory.

"Sitting atop houseware piled on a wagon we passed by what is today Ghetto Heroes Street" in Warsaw, he recalls as quoted in *Folks Shime*, the weekly bilingual newspaper of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland.

"Suddenly there was the sound of shots. Our teamster reined in his horse and I saw two Germans dragging a Jewish child several years old. A Gestapo officer of the nazi secret police with drawn pistol grabbed the child by the hair. Then he pumped a bullet into the child's head and threw the body down. I recognized the murderer at once as I had seen him a number of times on the train. It was Josef Schwammberger."

Who is this "superman" who recently made the news columns when he was detained in Argentina?

SS nazi elite guard Unterscharfuhrer Josef Schammberger is Number 1214 on the United Nations War Crimes Commission's list. He was entered in that war crimes rogues gallery right after World War II on Poland's initiative.

As long ago as August 15, 1947 Poland's Foreign Ministry made claim for his extradition to stand trial at the scene of his crimes as the cold-blooded shooting of the Warsaw Jewish youngster is but one of his wartime offenses. Still earlier, in 1946, the Investigating Magistrate in Przemysl, southeastern Poland, drew up charges that this Schwammberger was, from 1942 to 1944, the commandant of a labor camp for Jews in Rozwadow, of the ghetto in Przemysl and of the labor camp in Mielec all in the southeastern corner of the country. It is recorded that eyewitnesses confirmed the charges that Schwammberger killed many victims with his sidearms.

Logic and law shout to the heavens that when apprehended this war criminal, who contributed his share to the Holocaust of Jews and the near genocide of Poles here, face justice precisely here.

Meanwhile. . . .

On July 20, 1945 Schwammberger was actually arrested in Innsbruck, Austria. Under questioning he confessed to shooting about 35 prisoners who had failed in escape attempts. He was jailed in a French camp in Oradour. It seemed he was fated to pay for his crimes.

Wrong! He managed to escape on January 3, 1948. It

is known that he made it to Argentina in 1949. There, in 1965, he was granted citizenship.

Towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s Polish authorities contacted relevant law enforcement agencies in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria demanding information on the pursuit and eventual prosecution of the criminal. And in 1963 the Stuttgart, West Germany, public prosecutor put out a wanted and arrest order.

Justice was near claiming hers when the Argentinian Jewish organization Sherit-Hapleithah contributed information which triggered Schwammberger's arrest in 1972. The Stuttgart prosecutor immediately scrambled with a request for extradition to West Germany which provokes the standard question raised over the years: "Why just precisely to West Germany or anywhere else for that matter and not where the criminal perpetrated his crimes and atrocities?"

According to the Main Commission Investigating Nazi Crimes in Poland—a watchdog institution researching, filing and tracking down nazi war crimes for which there can be no statute of limitations—Poland has also put in a new claim for the extradition of Josef Schwammberger, the murderer of Jews and Poles. Indeed, this latest claim is actually a projection and updating of Warsaw's extradition request of August 15, 1947.

Justice demands that Josef Schwammberger be tried in Warsaw, or in Przemysl, or in Rozwadow, or Mielec, or that on-site sessions be conducted in all these places. □

Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.
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matzoth is an attribute of national lifestyle rather than an article of worship. Before the Passover holiday in Moscow, Baku and Tashkent 150, 50 and 20 tons of matzoth respectively are baked every year.

There are about 200 Jewish religious communities in the country. Half of them are minyans, or groups of 10, 20 or 30 believers who get together for the joint reading and discussion of Holy texts. The number of synagogues (93) has long remained unchanged, while the number of minyans varies.

The Moscow Choral Synagogue has a yeshiva, a religious school which trains rabbis, cantors, kosher butchers and readers of the Torah, and runs a kosher dining room. □

Continued from page 2

(and JDL fanatics) when running for Congress on a Peace & Freedom ticket in Brooklyn in 1966; and when arguing against annexation in Boston in 1968. All of us on the Left took this principled position and our efforts and arguments—held to for the past twenty years, were not without effect in bringing about the condition Rabbi Hertzberg now describes.

Be this as it may, the important reality is that the voices of the Left in the 1960s are now appreciated and even echoed by millions among our fellow Jews and more millions among the U.S. population in general.

Now is the time to multiply the voices objecting to occupation and annexation, to brute force and repression. Now is the time to emphasize—as November elections impend in both Israel and the United States—the need for a just settlement in the Mid-East: No occupation, no annexation, two independent, sovereign States—Palestine and Israel. This is to be achieved by an international conference with all interested States and Parties participating—most certainly including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Thus will both Peoples have dignity and security, having found Justice. A new era of friendship, not enmity, of fraternity not hostility, of Peace not War will shine upon the Mid-East.

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I want you, my friend of justice and democracy, to know this: the fire of freedom burns in our hearts . . . and it will not be extinguished. Justice will ultimately prevail. We shall be free. And we shall remember and be forever grateful to those like you who helped us become free.

Please, in the name of moral justice, join me today. Please lend your name and your utmost support to that of thousands of other compassionate and caring Americans in the Free South Africa Movement. Together we can free South Africa!

Your Sister in Justice,

Winnie Mandela

Winnie Mandela

P.S. Your generous financial support will also help TransAfrica make some resources available to assist South African mine workers through a joint effort between TransAfrica and the United Mine Workers of America.

Is Our Educational System Intentionally Producing Drop-Outs?

By Elene Meltzer

Children can't be choosers, especially about their families' relocation plans. This represents a plight for the many thousands of children and youths whose families migrate to the U.S. from non-English-speaking countries. When the children enter school, unless a bilingual program is being implemented in the child's native language, or, alternately, one of high-intensity English, in order to move quickly into the mainstream, there is a good possibility of the youngster dropping out of school altogether.

The alternative mentioned above, intensive English studies, is of course a good deal less satisfactory than a bilingual program since 1) it tends to relegate the native language to a lesser art, and 2) it hastens detachment from the student's culture and language, thereby diminishing its importance to the child, inculcating poor self esteem, and creating a climate hospitable to racism.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court recognized the need for bilingual programs in 1974, ruling in its Consent Decree that children who do not speak English are entitled to special language instruction to provide them with equal education, in the fourteen years that have elapsed, this Consent Decree was widely ignored. With several exceptions, notably in California and Florida, bilingual programs have been fought against by federal, state and municipal authorities and by the educational establishment, including the teachers' unions.

Only a couple of years ago, debate over the issue escalated into declarations from prominent sectors that "English is our national language," thereby effectively killing off most vestiges of bilingual education. In 1986, however, the N.Y.C. Board in compliance finally with the Consent Decree dedicated \$10,000,000.00 in increased state aid to establish bilingual programs in City schools.

The foes of bilingual education can frequently be heard comparing earlier generations of immigrants who "succeeded without receiving basic instruction in the native language," although there are many who will still recall schools and settlement houses, particularly on the lower-East-Side of Manhattan, where Yiddish mingled with English, and pockets of German-, Dutch-, Swedish-, and Polish-speaking communities throughout the country where the native language was interspersed with English to facilitate the childrens' learning. What these enemies of bilingualism forget is the thousands of drop-

outs of times past, a lost societal resource which today, in the words of Fred M. Hechinger of *The N.Y. Times*, "is considered intolerable."

On Tuesday, June 21, 1988, *The New York Times* (on page one) a New York Board of Education study of our schools that Hispanics who comprise 29% of the school population, had a staggering 39% drop-out rate, by far the highest of any group—more than 100% over the drop-out rate for Whites! The big question is, what will happen to these youngsters? Will they be our next generation of menial workers, condemned by their lack of education to lives of economic and cultural deprivation? Will they turn to crime, to drugs, to the armed forces? Will they ever know the delights sought by their parents when they immigrated to this country in search of better opportunities for themselves and their families?

Proponents of bilingual education whose struggles resulted in the Supreme Court Consent Decree of 1974 showed studies of students receiving a bilingual education which illustrated that children receiving a basic education in the language they understood, side-by-side with intensive English instruction, scored higher than average on standardized tests which measure KNOWLEDGE, in whatever language. This tells us several things: that the retention of the native language enriched the vocabulary and concepts of the new one; that their understanding of subject matter was no different or better than that of other children who were monolingual. We might add that a respect for the language and culture of the childrens' native language was an important factor in conserving, even heightening, self-esteem, quite the opposite of what occurs when a new language is substituted.

The proof of the pudding is, of course in the eating. We offer our readers an opportunity to visit schools which implement bilingual education. A call to the principal of the school or the superintendant of the district should secure you permission to observe bilingualism in action. □

Elene Meltzer was a supervisor and curriculum writer on the first U.S. Office of Education Bilingual Readiness Program, D-107.

**EVERY READER
GET A READER**

The Changing World

By Henri Percikow

Since its birth
Humanity has trodden a road
Covered with poverty, hunger, disease,
Wars, suffering and exploitation
Only a small caste of wily parasites
Ruled the people with steel fist
Using them as work-horses
To be discarded for the cemetery
When incapacitated or aged
They plundered, robbed and killed
Covering the world with blood and grief
Captive nations and continents
Were divided among the strongest
Today's misrulers of the people
Still dream of conquering the world.

A new epoch opened for humanity
With the triumphant 1917 October Revolution
That changed forever the struggle
For Freedom of the downtrodden
And sent shivers into the spines
Of world statesmen and monarchs
A radiant dawn had been born
The chains of exploitation smashed
Giving to the workers and peoples
Of all nations
A new human insight
And purpose to live, struggle and build.

Peace was established
Land and bread given to the people
Ridding Russia of inequality
Shedding nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism
Instilling brotherhood and internationalism
And the workers became
The masters of their present and future.

The attempts made by all enemies
To crush and destroy
The first Soviet State
Failed each time with disaster
For the capitalist evildoers
This newest volcano
Whose red flames
Spread social progress
And new justice
They daily besmirched
With the vilest lies and provocations.

The Freedom trail-blazers
Continued building with sacrifice and bare hands
With trial and error
Their humane edifice
In which exploitation of man by man
And the woman's inferior position
Was forever eradicated
Together with their dark past.

The drama of the Soviet peoples' heroism
Will forever live in script and song
Shining Red Star of the new world
You sacrificed twenty million
Of your people
To save your nation and all people
From Hitler fascism.

The choice taken by people
Between Capitalism and Socialism
Has already grafted entire nations
To the cause of Socialism
Drawing the noblest minds
Of men and women
Of all nations to follow.

The mad dreams held by men
Turned insane by greed and hate
Who would stem the triumph of Socialism
With nuclear and Star War fire
That would cremate our beloved
Mother Earth
Leaving our planet spinning lifeless
Has been delayed
By the people
The Peace forces of the world
Who treasure life
And their universe
More and more convinced
Of the sincere and just Peace policies
Pursued by the Peace-makers of Socialism
The great Soviet-Union.

The world is changing
Our generations are entering
A new epoch of Peace and joy
The people and labor are determined
To protect Peace and achieve greater victories
A new era of peaceful co-existence
Has opened for all nations and systems
The destiny of humanity
Will reach its goal of brotherhood and love

And you Soviet brothers and sisters
Will continue your gigantic strides
Having erased unemployment, hunger and poverty
Enriching the lives of your people
As we citizens of America and of all nations
Will follow in your quest
Towards the planets and democracy
For Peace, Humanism and Happiness
In our changing world.
Henri Percikow, working class poet contributes regularly to Jewish Affairs.

Song of the People

By Richard Davidson

If you listen closely you will catch it on the wind,
This song of hope played by thundering strings.
No single man or woman charges the hill and captures
the city,
Not single but many.
Not one not is played but many.
For this is the whirling song of millions:
Out of factory or college,
Out of mill or warehouse,
Trade unionist and student,
Marching together.
The glorious call of workers,
Out of the hungry and the homeless,
Out of the mouth of babes and oldsters:
The people demanding, fighting, moving.
Out of the groundswell of a huge and frightening city
Have come cheers for tomorrow,
When fears will die and humanity will live.
The song is a symphony of movement,
Of climbing a wondrous stair
Of the fortress of humanity that blends and waits in the
wind.
We call to our neighbor;
We lift our friends up in the skyview advance of
evening.
We are marchers on the parade to peace and prosperity.
No single route,
But together, together,
Within us the seeds of song.
Within us all the parade of victory
That blends the earth into a hopeful unity.
The fight against racism and anti-Semitism,
To struggle free of the nuclear clock,
July/August

Peace forever
Where there will be no hungry or oppressed.
We will walk this road;
We will work; we will vote;
We will tremble the stars if need be.
We will sing our song to the glorious states
And press home the real composition of America,
The true face of the moving millions.
We will declare it before the row of nations;
We will shout it from rooftop and from church steeple,
From Synagogue and bruised shelter,
From the cry of roaring youth
Who now take a stand and keep it,
From the working trade unions to the audience at latest
gallery opening
All have it within them to change the map,
To lift the people,
Black and white together
To walk hand in hand despite race or religion.
To touch the stars with the bright flame of humankind
and faith.
We will declare it before the business man's lunch,
Before the Sessions at A.T. and T.
Before the mining boss and the movie producer,
That in us rolls the river of the future.
That we can change the shape of clocks,
That we can establish the law of nations.
The People's song,
That's the final note.
The people's symphony played by the roaring brass
And sung by a splendid chorus.
We have it within us,
All of us together to make the changes,
To build the future.
Not single but many,
Not single but all notes chiming.
The elections of the hopeful,
The strength of brothers and sisters
Up and believing:
The true face of the moving millions.
Richard Davidson, poet and playwright, is a regular contributor to Jewish Affairs.

In Fond Memory
Of My Wife
IDA
Nat Hoffman

phenomenon."

It's not surprising that the ultra-Right is once again seeking to explain away anti-Semitism, but it continues to be difficult to comprehend how the "defenders of Soviet Jews" can maintain their silence in the face of this approval of Jew-baiting when it comes from their anti-Soviet allies.

The Soviet Jewry movement has also passed over in silence the sharp rebuff given to Nina Andreyeva, author of the famous letter "I Cannot Betray My Principles", published in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, by *Pravda*. Andreyeva's letter had referred to "cosmopolitanism," and raised the notion of a "counterrevolutionary nation." One would presume that the Jewish press in the United States would rush to applaud the sharp criticism of these backwards notions, but it appears that the only article in the U.S. press to raise the issue of the letter and the *Pravda* response with specific reference to anti-Semitic overtones was written by (Black reporter) Carl Bloice, appearing in the *People's Daily World* (4/14/88). □

Jewish Affairs

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ANTI SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

Selected Marxist Writings
Edited by Daniel Rubin

Includes writings by Lenin, Henry Winston, Gus Hall, Herbert Aptheker Hyman Lumer and Lewis M. Moroze. Published by International Publishers, \$5.95. For J.A. readers \$5.00 including postage.

ניט ארייניסן טייטברענגענדיקע נוקלארע וואַלקנס.
צוליב דעם אָבער זיינען נייטיק ריזיקע אָנשטרענגונגען פון
רעגירונגען, פּאַרטייען, פון אַלע פּריוואַטליכדיקע קרעפטן,
פון אַלע פעלקער און מלוכות.

די פּראָגראַם זעט פאַר פּולקום ליקווידירן דעם כימישן
וואַפּן איז די עצם אינדוסטריעלע באַזע פון זיין
פּראָדוצירונג, ווי אויך פּאַרקלענערן די געוויינלעכע
באָוואַפּענונגען און די באָוואַפּנטע קרעפטן.

אַפּן 27סטן צוזאַמענפאַר פון דער אַקאָמוניסטישער
פּאַרטיי פון סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאַנד זיינען אַרויסגערופט
געוואָרן וויכטיקע איניציאַטיוון וועגן אַנטוואַפּענונג.
אינעם פּאַליטישן פּאַרטאַג פון צק סקספּ דעם
צוזאַמענפאַר איז אַרויסגעזאָגט געוואָרן אַ פּאַרשלאָג וועגן
שאַפּן אַן אַלץ-אַרוממאַכאַנדיקע סיסטעם פון
צווישנפעלקערלעכע געפּאַרלאַזיקייט, סיינען באַוווּן די
פּרינציפּיעלע יסודות פון אַזאַ סיסטעם אין מיליטערישן,
פּאַליטישן, עקאָנאָמישן און הומאַניטאַרן הינזיכט.

אַז די פּאַרטיי האַלט זיך קאָנסעקווענט ביי אַזאַ
פּאַליטיק און טוט אַלץ, כּדי די אידעע, וועלכע זיינען
פּראַקלאַמירט געוואָרן אַפּן 27סטן צוזאַמענפאַר, זאָגן
עדות די רעוולוטאַנען פון די סאָוועטיש-אַמעריקאַנער
אונטערהאַנדלונגען. זיי האָבן זיך, ווי באַוואוסט,
פּאַרענדיקט מיט אונטערשרייבן אַן אַפּמאַך וועגן דער

ליקווידאַציע פון ראַקעטעס פון מיטעלער און קלענערער
דיסטאַנץ. די דערגרייכע פּאַרשטענדיקונג אין אַט דער
פּראָגע איז אַ גרויסע געשעעניש אין דער וועלט-פּאַליטיק,
אַ זיג פונעם נייעם פּאַליטישן דענקען.

דאָס איז געוואָרן מעגלעך אין רעוולוטאַט פון
כהדרגה'דיקע ענדערונגען פונעם פּסיכאָלאָגישן קלימאַט
אין דער וועלט. דאָ האָבן געשפּילט זייער ראַלע
פּאַרשיידענע פּאַקטאַרן, און צווישן זיי — דער בייטראַג
פונעם וועלט-סאַציאַליזם אין דער אויפּוואַכונג פון דעם
אַלגעמיינ'מענטשלעכן אימפּולס צו פּאַרגעווינטערן,
נאַרמאַליזירן די צווישנפעלקערלעכע באַציונגען, דער
בייטראַג, וואָס איז דירעקט פּאַרכונדן מיט די טיפע
ענדערונגען, מיט דער איבערבויונג, מיט דער באַניונג —
מיט אַלץ, וואָס כאַראַקטעריזירט היינט די אַנטוויקלונג פון
דער סאַציאַליסטישע געזעלשאַפּט, ווייל כליוז דער
סאַציאַליזם זעט די פּערספּעקטיוו פון בויען אַ וועלט אַן
געווער פון מאַסן-פּאַרניכטונג.

...פּאַרנופּט און אומזין זיינען אייביקע אַנטיפּאַדן פון
דער געשיכטע. ס'פלעגט טרעפּן, אַז אומזין האָט גענומען
די אויבערהאַנט איבערן פּאַרנופּט. דאָס איז אָבער געווען
אַ צייטווייליקער טרוימף פונעם אומזין, אין דער
אונטערשטער שורה האָט טרוימפּירט דער פּאַרנופּט. מע
דאַרף מיינען, אַז טרוימפּירט וועט ער אויך דאָס מאַל. די
מענטשהייט וועט ניט דערלאָזן, מע זאָל זי פּאַרניכטן.

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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THEME: "FOR A PEOPLE'S ELECTORAL VICTORY IN 1988

Speakers:

CHARLENE MITCHELL

Candidate for the US Senate

HERBERT APTHEKER

Editor, Jewish Affairs

Sunday, October 2, 1988

12:00 Noon

Roosevelt Hotel

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פון דער מענטשהייט, שטייט די פראגע בלויז אזוי:
קאָעקזיסטירן אָדער ניט עקזיסטירן. עס האַנדלט זיך. אזוי
ארום, ניט נאָר וועגן אַ פאַמעסטונג און קאַנפּראַנטאַציע
פון צוויי געזעלשאַפֿטלעכע סיסטעמען, נאָר וועגן דעם
אויסוואַל צווישן לעבן און קעגנזייטיקער פּאַרניכטונג;
די קאָמפּליצירטע פּראָבלעמען, די טיפּע מינונגס-
פּאַרשידנהייטן און קאָנפּליקטן פון דער היינצייטיקער
וועלט קאָן מען לייזן ניט מיט מיטלען פון וויסנשאַפֿט און
טעכניק, כּפּרט נאָך, ניט מיטן וועגן פון מיליטערישן כּוח,
מיט כּוח פון געווער, נאָר בלויז מיט אַ פּאַליטישן וועג,
מיטן וועג פון אנטעווערונג און דילוגענץ:

דער אונטערשייד אין דער געזעלשאַפֿטלעך-
פּאַליטישער אָרעוונג אין דער אידעאָלאָגיע, אין די
נאַציאָנאַלע, קולטורעלע און אַנדערע באַוונדערקייטן ניט
זיין קיין שטערונג פאַר אַ דיאָלאָג לשם דעם שלום, ניט
מוותר זייענדיק אויף קיין האָר די נאַציאָנאַלע ווירדע, די
איגיגע אַנטערעסן און ווערטן, איז יעדעס פּאַק, יעדעס
לאַנד מחוייב זיי ריכטן צום דערגרייכן דעם הויפּט-ציל —
ראַטווען די מענטשלעכע ציוויליזאַציע;

אַ נוקלעאַרע מלחמה איז אוממעגלעך געווינען, אין איר
קאַנען ניט זיין ניט קיין זיגער, ניט קיין באַזיגעט;
די אידעיען וועגן דערגרייכן אַ מיליטערישן פּאַרצוג
קאַנען ניט מקיים ווערן, זיי זיינען איליוואַרישע;
דער קאָסמאָס געהערט דער גאַנצער מענטשהייט,
אויסניצן אים פון וועמען עס איז צוליב מיליטערישע צילן
איז אַנטי-הומאַניש, אַנטי-געזעלעך;

כדי אויסלעבן, דאַרף די מענטשהייט ניט דערלאָזן, עס
זאָל מירליאָרירט ווערן דער קאָסמאָס, דאָס נוקלעאַרע
וואָפּן דיאָקטרינע ליקווירירט ווערן אויף דער ערד;
אַלע לענדער פון דער וועלט זיינען קעגנזייטיק
פאַרכונדן צווישן זיך און אָפהענגיק איינס פונעם אַנדערן,
אַלע מענטשן לעבן אויף איין פּלאַנעטע, וועמענס נאָמען
איז ערד;

אין דער בינג פון דעם שלום און פון גאַראַנטירטער
זיכערהייט דאַרפן אַנטיילנעמען אַלע לענדער, פעלקער,
מלוכות — סיי גרויסע, סיי מיטעלע, סיי קליינע;
די זיכערהייט פון איינע לענדער קאָן ניט גאַראַנטירט
ווערן אָפּן משכּוּן פון אַנדערע, די זיכערהייט קאָן זיין בלויז
אַן אַלציניע, אַ קעגנזייטיקע אַלץ-אַרומכאַפּדעקע — אַ
צווישנפעלקערלעכע זיכערהייט; די וועלט איז אַן איין
איינציקע, און איר זיכערהייט איז אומצעטיילבאַר;
דעם פּראַריטעט דאַרף מען איצט אָפּגעבן די
מענטשלעכע ווערטן, ווייל די וועלט געהערט דעם
מענטשן, דעם איצטיקן און קינפטיקן דור;

אַלס העכסטע ווערט דאַרף אָנערקענט ווערן דאָס
מענטשלעכע לעבן, ווייל בלויז דער מענטש אין דער
שפּעכער פון די מעטעריעלע און גייסטיקע ווערטן, וועלכע

די געזעלשאַפֿט פאַרמאָגט, בלויז זיין שעפּערישער געני
גאַראַנטירט דעם פּראָגרעס און די ציוויליזאַציע אין
כאַדינגונגען פון שלום.

אַפּגעבנדיק דעם פּראַריטעט די אַלגעמייַן-
מענטשלעכע ווערטן, דעם מענטשנס לעבן,
פּאַרטידיקנדיק די ניט-ווילקורלעכע וועלט, זאָגט זיך די
קפּסס לחלוטין ניט אָפּ פון אַ פּאַרטיישן, קלאַסן-צוגאַנג צו
די געזעלשאַפֿטלעכע פּראָצעסן, צו מלחמה, דער הויפּט-
ציל דער קפּסס איז געווען און פאַרבלויבן דער ענדציל
פונעם אַרבעטער-קלאַס — די אויסכויונג פונעם קאָמ-
ניזם, די קפּסס אונטערשטיצט די צווישנפעלקערלעכע
אַרבעטער-קאָמוניסטישע און נאַציאָנאַל-פּאַרייערישע
באַוועגונג, פירט אַ קאָמפּראַמיסלאָזן קאַמף זיין קלאַסן-
קעגנער.

די מאַרקסיסטן זיינען ניט קיין פּאַציפּיסטן, זיי האַלטן
פאַר נאַטורלעכע, געזעצמעסיקע, גערעכטיקע די
פּאַרטידיקנדיקע און באַפּרייערישע מלחמות.

די קפּסס און די סאָוועטישע מלוכה פירן זייערע
פּראַקטישע אינאָים אויף דער וועלט-אַרענע, שטרענג
באַזירנדיק זיך אויף די פּרינציפּן פון אַ נייעם אויפן פון
פּאַליטישן דענקען. דאָס איינטיגן און קרעפּטיקן דעם
שלום, פּאַרקינצן און שפּעטער אינגאַנצן ליקווירירן דאָס
נוקלעאַרע און אַנדער וואָפּן פון מאַסן-פּאַרניכטונג —
דאָס איז זייער וויכטיקעס אויסערן-פּאַליטישע
אויפגאַבע, און אַנדערש קאָן דאָך ניט זיין, ווייל שלום, וו
א.י. לענין האָט געזאָגט, אין דער אידעאַל פונעם
סאָציאַליזם, באַוונדערט איז אונז נייטיק דער שלום היינט,
ווייל בלויז אין באַדינגונגען פון שלום קאָן מען
פאַרווילקעבן די גראַדענע פּראָגראַמע פון איכערבויונג,
פאַרשנעלערן די סאָציאַל-עקאָנאָמישע אַנטוויקלונג פונעם
לאַנד.

כדי דערגרייכן דעם דאָזיקן ציל — איינטיגן דעם
שלום, — ווענדט זיך די פּאַרטיי מאַקסימאַלע כאַמימונגען.

מיט אַ געפיל פון קלאַאָרטע אחריות פאַר די גורלות
פון דער מענטשהייט פאַר איר עקזיסטענץ איז
דורכגעדרונגען די פּראָגראַם פון אויסבויען אַ
נוקלעאַראַלן שלום, וועלכע ס'האָט אַרויסגערוקט אין דער
דערקלערונג פונעם 15 יאַנואַר 1096 מ.ס. גאַרבאַטשאַר.
האַנדלענדיק עטאַפּנווייז און קאָנסעקווענט, איז
מעגלעך פאַרווילקעבן און פאַרענדיקן דעם פּראָצעס פון
באַפּרייען די וועלט פון נוקלעאַרן וואָפּן, נאַטירלעך, אויב
מע וועט פולקום זיך אָפּזאָגן פון שאַפּן שלאַג-
באַוואָפּענונגען אין קאָסמאָס.

אויב אָנונמען די דאָזיקע פּראָגראַם, וועט זיך פּאַדערן
בלויז פּופּצן יאָר כדי פּאַרקרפּערן זי אין לעבן, באַגעגענען
דעם דריטן יאָרטייטונג אָן אַ געפאַר פון אַ "נוקלעאַרן
ווינטער", אונטער אַ ריינעם הימל, אין וועלכן עס וועלן זי

עס איז געשאפן געווארן א נוקלעארער מאַנטער, און מיט אים איז די עצם מענטשהייט אריינגעפאלן אין א קאָלאַסאַלער געפאַר.

אַליין די געשיכטע האָט געשטעלט פאַר דער טעאָריע און פּראַקטיק און אויפגאַבע פון אַ פונדאַמענטאַלן כאַראַקטער: וויאַזוי פאַרהיטן דעם שלום, אויסמיידן אַ נוקלעאַרע שריפּה, וויאַזוי ניט פאַרמאַכנדיק די אויגן אויף די סאַציאַלע פּאָליטישע און אידעאָלאָגישע ווידערשרוכן, באַהערשן די וויסנשאַפט און די קונסט פון אופירן זיך איינגעהאַלטן און פאַרויכטיק אויף דער וועלט-אַרבעט, לעבן ציוויליזירט, דה. איך באַדינגונגען פון קאַרקעטע צווישנפעלקערלעכע קאָנטאַקטן און פון מיטאַרבעט. די קפּספּ האָט געלייט די דאָזיקע אויפגאַבע. אויף די נאַרוואַס געשטעלטע פּראַגן ענטפּערט די קאָנצעפּציע פון אַ נייעם אויפן פון פּאָליטישן דענקען. די גרונט-אידעען פון דער דאָזיקער קאָנצעפּציע, איז פאַרהאַנגעבן זיינען פאַרמולירט אין די מאַטעריאַלן פונעם 27-סטן צוזאַמענפאַר פון קפּספּ. די היינטיקייט וועלט איז געוואָרן צו קיין און ענג פאַר מלחמות און כּוּח-פּאָליטיק. — ווערט אָפּגעמערקט אינעם פּאָליטישן פּאַרטאַג און פונעם ציק פון קפּספּ דעם צוזאַמענפאַר.

די וועלט איז געוואָרן קרישלידיק, ווייל זי קאָן זיך, ווי אַ נוס, צעשיטן פון אַ קלאַפּ אַפילו פון אַ ניט-גרויסן טייל פון די אָנגעזאַמלטע נוקלעאַרע באַמבעס. די וועלט איז געוואָרן אַ טרייניקע, ווייל עס זיינען געשאַפן געוואָרן ראַקעטעס-טרעגער, וועלכע זיינען פּעיק פאַר געצייילטע מינוטן ברענגען די דאָזיקע באַמבעס אין אַ באַלייבן ווינקל פונעם ערדקייילעך.

׳ראַטעווערן און פאַרהיטן זי קאָן מען ניט. — ווערט געזאָגט אינעם פּאַרטאַג, — אויב זיך ניט אָפּזאָגן אַנטשיידן און ענדגילטיק פונעם אויפן פון דענקען און האַנדלונגען, וועלכע האָבן דירעטלאַנג זיך געבויט אויף אַנעמבאַרקייט, דערלאַזבאַרקייט פון מלחמות און פון באַוואַפנטע קאָנפליקטן״.

אָפּזאָגן זיך פון מלחמות און פון פּאָליטישן-כּוּח אינעם יאָרהונדערט פון דעם אַטאָם און פון קאָסמאָס — דאָס איז די גרונט-קאָנצעפּציע פונעם נייעם אויפן פון פּאָליטישן דענקען. איז ווייטערדיקע אַנטוויקלונג האָט די דאָזיקע קאָנצעפּציע באַקומען אין די שפּעטערדיקע דאָקומענטן פון דער פּאַרטיי, אין די אַרויסטרעטונגען פונעם גענעראַל-סעקרעטאַר פון צ.מ.ס. גאַרבאַטשאַו. די קאָנצעפּציע פון אַ נייעם אויפן פון פּאָליטישן דענקען-קאָטייט טיף און אַביעקטיוו באַנעמען די נוקלעאַר-קאָסמישע רעאַליטעטן פון אַוונזער צייט באַנעמען, אַז:

אין אַוונזער טעג, ווען ס׳איז געשאַפן געוואָרן אַזאַ וואַפן, וואָס שטעלט אונטער אַ ספּק די עצם עקזיסטענץ

ביי די יסודות פון אַזאַ דענקען איז געשטאַנען וו. א.י. לענין, דער לענינישער פּרינציפּ פון פּרידלעכער קאָעקזיסטענץ פון מלוכות מיט אַ פּאַרשידענער סאַציאַלער אָרדענונג. לענין איז געווען טיף איבערזייגט, אַז דער סאַציאַליזם וועט פּריער אָדער שפּעטער זיגן אין דער גאַנצער וועלט. אַבער אַט דער זיג קאָן ניט איינטייקט און מיטאַמאַל פּאַרווירקלעכט ווערן אין אַלע לענדער. אָפּהענגיק פון דעם אַנטוויקלונג-ניוואַ אין דער קאָנאַמיק פון דער מדרגה פון דער שאַרפּקייט פונעם קלאַסן-קאַמף, איז פון די סאַציאַלע כּוּחות-פּאַרהעלטענישן, ווי אויך פון אַנדערע באַדינגונגען, וועלן איינע לענדער קומען צום סאַציאַליזם פּריער פון אַנדערע. אַרויסגייענדיק פון דעם, האָט לענין געמאַכט אַן אויספיר, אַז כּמשך פון אַ לענגערע היסטאָרישע פּעריאָד, ווען באַגלייך מיט די סאַציאַליסטישע לענדער וועלן עקזיסטירן קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער אומפאַרמירלעך. לענין איז געווען אַן אָנהענגער פון פּרידלעכער קאָעקזיסטענץ, און אַט דעם לענינישן פּרינציפּ האָבן די קאָמוניסטישע פּאַרטיי און די סאָוועטן-מלוכה געלייגט אין יסוד פון די באַצוינגען מיט די קאָפיטאַליסטישע לענדער.

אַ פּרידלעכע קאָעקזיסטענץ זעט פאַר: אָפּזאָגן זיך פון מלחמה. פון אַוונזערנדיג כּוּח אָדער דראַען מיט כּוּח אַלס מיט צו לייען שטרייט-פּראַגן, לייען זיי מיטן וועגן פון אונטער-האַנדלונגען; ניט אַריימישן זיך אין די אינערלעכע ענינים מצד איין לאַנד אין דעם אַנדערן און נעמען אין אַכט די געזעלעכע אינטערעסן פון יעדן לאַנד; אָנערקענען דאָס רעכט פון די פעלקער אַליין צו שאַפן זיך מיטן אייגענעם גורל; ניט ברעכן און ניט מינערן דעם סאָווערעניטעט, די טעריטאָריעלע גאַנצקייט פון די מלוכות און די אומבאַרירלעכקייט פון זייערע גרענעצן; מיטאַרבעטן אָפּן יסוד פון פּולקומער גלייכבאַרעכטיקונג און קעגנזייטיקער רעוויבאַרקייט; געוויסנשאַפטיק אויספירן די חתייכוּחן, וועלכע דרינגען אַרויס פון די אַלגעמיינ-אַנערקענטע פּרינציפּן און נאַרמעס פון די צווישנפעלקערלעכע רעכט, פון די געשלאָסענע צווישנפעלקערלעכע אָפּמאַכן.

לענין האָט געלעבט און געאַרבעט, געדענקט און געקעמפט דעמלט, ווער די וויסנשאַפט האָט געמאַכט די רעשטע טריט אָפּן וועג פון אַריינדינגען און די געהיימיסן פונעם אַטאָם, און דאָס איז נאָך געווען אַ סוד אונטער זיבן שלעסער. די נוקלעאַרע סכנה, וועלכע ליערט היינט איבער דער מענטשהייט, איז נאָך ניט געווען אַזוי אַנשוילעך און נאַנט.

נאָך וו. א.י. לענינען האָט די היסטאָרישע אַטמאָספּער באַזונדער פאַר די לעצטע יאָרצענדליקער, אויף אַ ראַדיקאַלן אויפן זיך געענערט. מיר זיינען אַריינגעטראָגן אין אַ נוקלעאַר-קאָסמישן יאָרהונדערט.

וידיעשע ענינים

טעאָרעטישע קאָנפערענץ
פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד"

וועגן דעם נייעם אויפן פון פּאָליטישן דענקען

וועגן דעם נייעם אויפן פון
פּאָליטישן דענקען

פון וויקטאָר אַפּאַנאַסיעוו

קיין געשפּענט, נאָר אַ רעאַלע געפאַר. עס זיינען פאַראַן מיטלען צו פירן אזאָ מלחמה — בערג מיט נוקלעאַרן וואָפּן. ס'זיינען אויך דאָ מענטשן, וועלכע קאָנען מיט דעם אויפּרייסן די גאַנצע וועלט — עס האַנדלען זיך דאָ וועגן די סאַמע שוואַרצע כוחות פון דער אימפּעריאַליסטישער רעאַקציע.

אויב אזאָ מלחמה וועט אויסברעכן, וועט זיין מסתּמא די לעצטע. אינעם פאַרניכטנידיקן נוקלעאַרן פּלאַם, אין אַן אַלץ רוינירנדיקער אויפּרייס-כּוואַליע, פון דעם ראַדיאָאָקטיוון גיפּט וועט אומקומען די מענטשלעכע ציוויליזאַציע און, אַ אַפּאַנעם, אַלדאָס לעבעדיקע אויף דער ערד.

די מענטשהייט וועט זיין אָדער ניט זיין — אזאָ איז די פּראָגע, וועלכע קלינגט ניט לחלוטין אזוי פּילאָסאָפּיש-אַבסטראַקט, ווי ביי שעקספּירן די פּראָגע "טו כי אַר נאָט טו ביי". וויאָזוי ליידן דעם גאַראַנטירן אַ פּראָגרעס פון דער געזעלשאַפּט און פּונעם מענטשן? — דאָס זיינען גורלדיקע, קאָנקרעטע פּראָבלעמען פון גלאָבאַלן מאַסשטאַב.

כדי ענטפּערן אויף די דאָזיקע פּראָגן, טויג ניט דער פּריערדיקער "ביזנוקלעאַרער", ביזנאָקסמישער" אויפן פון דענקען אין דער פּאָליטיק, דאָ איז נייטיק אַ ניי פּאָליטיש דענקען, וואָס זאָל אַנטשפּרעכן די היינטיגייטיקע היסטאָרישע באַדינגונגען.

די שאַרפּסטע פּראָבלעם, וועלכע שטייט היינט פאַר דער מענטשהייט, איז די פּראָבלעם פון מלחמה און שלום. און פאַר זיך איז זי ניט קיין נייע: מלחמות זיינען שטענדיק געווען "באָגלייטערס" פון דער מענטשהייט. געלערנטע האָבן אונטערגעדעכנט, אַז פאַר העכער פיר יאָרטויזנטער פון דער געשיכטע, וואָס איז אונז כאַוואָוסט, זיינען בלויז דריי הונדערט יאָר געווען אַבסאָלוט פּריילעכע. אין דער איבעריקער צייט האָט אין אַ גרויסן אָדער קליינעם רעגיאָן פון דער וועלט עמעצער מיט עמעצן מלחמה געהאַלטן. ביזן איצטיקן יאָרהונדערט זיינען דאָס געווען אַקאַלע מלחמות — באַגרענעצטע לויט דער טעריטאָריע און לויט אויך היינט (די ניט-געמאַלדענע מלחמה קעגן אַפּאַניסטאַן, די איראַנער-איראַקישע מלחמה אאוו).

דער צוואַנציקער יאָרהונדערט האָט געבוירן אַ טיפּ מלחמות — אַלוועלטלעכע, אין וועלכע עס נעמען אַן אַנטהיל צענדליקער לענדער און פּיל מיליאָנען מענטשן. צוויי אַזעלכע מלחמות האָט די מענטשהייט איבערגעלעבט. אין דער ערשטער האָבן אַנטיילגענומען 72 מלוכות, אונטער דער ביקס זיינען געשטעלט געוואָרן ביז 110 מיליאָן, די אַלגעמיינע פּאַרלוסט האָב דערגרייכט 55 מיליאָן מענטשן.

אין דער לופט פון אונזערע טעג שוועבט דער געשפּענט פון אַ נייער וועלט-מלחמה — אַ שוידערלעכער, טערמאַ-נוקלעאַרער. דאָס איז אַפּילו ניט