

November/December 1985
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JEWISH AFFAIRS

**The November 1985 Summit
Its Meaning and Promise**
Herbert Aptheker

**Basic Policy of the Government
Is the Root of Evil**
Meir Vilner

Soviet But Not Russian—Book Review
Michael Doran

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Deadly Connection in Mediterranean
Bahig Nasser

Monument to Sosnowiec Martyrs
Sol Flapan

**No Statute of Limitations
For Nazi War Criminals**
Alexander Shlayan



**PEOPLE'S HOPE FOR SUMMIT—
LET THE SKIES AND THE EARTH
REMAIN PEACEFUL!**

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Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation (Act of August 12, 1970, Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

1. Title of Publication: JEWISH AFFAIRS
2. Date of Filing: October 15, 1985
- 3A. Annual Subscription Price: \$5.00
4. Location of Known Office of Publication: 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
5. Location of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publishers: 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor and Managing Editor:
 Publisher: JEWISH AFFAIRS PUB., INC., 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
 Editor: DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, 235 West 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.
 Secretary Treasurer: LEWIS M. MOROZE.

7. Owner (If owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.)

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- Have not changed during preceding 12 months
 Have changed during preceding 12 months

(If changed, publisher must submit application of change with this statement)

11. Extent and Nature of Circulation:

A.	Total No. Copies Printed (Net Press Run)	1800	1800
B.	Paid Circulation		
	1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	515	515
	2. Mail Subscriptions	1059	1959
C.	Total Paid Circulation	1574	1574
D.	Free Distribution (including samples) by Mail, Carrier delivery or other means	none	none
E.	Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	1574	1574
F.	Copies Now Distributed		
	1. Office use, leftover unaccounted, spoiled after printing	226	226
	2. Returns from news agents	none	none
G.	Total (Sum of E & F—should equal net press run shown in A)	1800	1800

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JEWISH AFFAIRS

Vol. 15, No. 6 November/December 1985

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Jewish Affairs is published by the Communist Party, U.S.A. at 235 West 23rd Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10011, 7th floor (212) 989-4994, ext. 209. Subscriptions: \$5.00 per year (six issues). Second class postage paid at the post office in New York, N.Y. ISSN: 0021-6305. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Jewish Affairs*, 235 W. 23rd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011.

The November 1985 Summit Its Meaning and Its Promise

By Herbert Aptheker

The holding of the Summit, November 19-21, and the results obtained thereat, represent a notable vindication of the theory of peaceful co-existence. President Reagan was forced to the Summit, despite his own hardly-concealed reluctance and the deep splits in his own Administration — illustrated by Defense Secretary Weinberger's desperate last moment effort to sabotage the meeting.¹

Reagan was forced there by the vast peace movement in Western Europe and in the United States; by tendencies within elements of ruling circles in the U.S., (including both major parties); by the dramatic and imaginative efforts for peace by the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact Powers as a whole; and by deepening crises — economic and political — in the imperial fabric of U.S. monopoly capitalism, from Central America, to the Philippines, to the Mid-East.

The results announced at the Summit help reverse the very serious deterioration in U.S.-Soviet relations in the past five Reagan years. They make possible a resumption of a policy of detente. The entire Goebbels-like anti-Sovietism of Reagan and the freezing of the Cold War atmosphere have been set back.

Of course, the agreements fell short on several counts: Reagan did not respond, for example, to the testing moratorium unilaterally announced last August by the USSR; he did not abandon the maniacal Star Wars project (though the Statement does affirm the desire "to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth"), and the Statement leaves unmentioned renewing Salt II (required in January, 1986).

But in the Statement, Reagan-Gorbachev "agreed about the need to improve U.S.-Soviet relations and the international situation as a whole." They pledged "to seek common ground on existing problems."

The Statement spoke of this common ground as "including the principle of fifty percent reduction in the nuclear arms" of the two powers, though here difficult details remain to be negotiated. They agreed, also, to the idea of a nuclear-freeze understanding.

Commitment to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was affirmed, and both expressed keen interest in furthering work on measures to prevent accidental war. The Statement was quite strong in regard to banning chemical weapons and the destruction of existing stockpiles — something long urged by the Warsaw

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Powers and vehemently opposed until quite recently by Washington.

The Statement spoke positively of negotiations under way in Vienna to reduce conventional weaponry. In this connection, the USSR again unilaterally gave the lead recently when it withdrew 20,000 troops from Eastern Europe. The Statement even offered adherence "to the principle of the non-use of force."

The agreement on additional consulates, on encouraging air-travel, tourism, cultural, scientific and educational exchanges all reflect, also, a return to the essence of detente. This is emphasized by the agreement concerning mutual visits in the next two years by the leaders of the two states; it is re-enforced by the promise to increase visits of respective cabinet members and other high-level experts.

The agreement (together with Japan) on eliminating overflights in Soviet airspace in the Pacific was a specific step in reversing a policy of provocation.

The heart of the Joint Statement — made joint, the press reported, despite objection from Reagan — is in this heartening paragraph:

The sides, having discussed key security issues, and conscious of the special responsibility of the USSR and the U.S. for maintaining peace, have agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Recognizing that any conflict between the USSR and the U.S. could have catastrophic consequences, they emphasized the importance of preventing any war between them, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority."

One understands why the Weinberger group feared this Summit. Instead of "prevailing" in a nuclear war, it affirms that such war "cannot be won" and instead of the mad effort to gain military predominance, both sides specifically affirm, "they will not seek to achieve military superiority."

One can hear the gnashing of the teeth from such fanatical Right-wingers as not only Weinberger, but also Patrick Buchanan and George Will and Norman Podhoretz, et al.

This Statement is, certainly, a guide to action; indeed a call for action and the beginning of a process of re-invigorating detente.

The peace movement of the United States, and of the world, must persist in and enlarge its demand for a pledge of no-first use of nuclear weapons from the U.S.; a cessation of nuclear-weapons testing by the U.S. and a continuation of Salt II. We in the U.S., in

addition, must demand a halt to counter-revolutionary support by Washington in Central America, in South America, in the Mid-East, in Afghanistan, in the Philippines and in South Africa. We must demand, with added urgency, a wiping out of the deficit by the sharp reduction in military expenditure and particularly the scrapping of the extremely dangerous Star Wars project. This faces and will face the bitter opposition of the profit-hungry military-industrial complex and it is past due that the people of the United States, through the process of nationalization, moved to eliminate that sinister force.

The Joint Statement emanating from the November 1985 Summit is a positive force in favor of peaceful co-existence. Such co-existence, to be achieved, depends on struggle; the implementation and extension of that Statement also will depend upon intensified mass activity by all anti-war forces in the United States.

Reagan opposed the Limited Test Ban Treaty, 1963
the Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968
The ABM Treaty, 1973
the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty, 1978
Salt I and Salt II.

November 22, 1985.

Herbert Aptheker is Editor of Jewish Affairs

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SAMANTHA

by Edith Beck

She walked the earth but briefly
Yet her spirit enveloped the world.
Her lovely young face, like a blythe spirit
Will be carved in our memories forever.
"I'm afraid of the bomb," she spoke softly yet strong.
From Maine to Moscow, from her playground and her
classroom

She carried her fears to far away Moscow.
She talked, played and danced with the Russian children.

Hey there — just like my American friends!
And they, too, fear the bomb. They, too, want to live.
We want to live — We want a world!

"We don't want war, said Andropov.
"If you don't want war, why do we build more
bombs?"
"Tell the American children; tell the American mothers
and fathers

I promise that Russia will **not** start a war.
We will never be the first to drop the bomb!"

And she came back and told us all that she saw and
experienced---

And Andropov promises---

She lived but shortly. We cannot tell
the woman she might have been.
We only know the lovely, thinking child she was.
"The Ambassador for Peace," we called her.

The lovely, smiling, tender - yet strong spirit that enveloped the world.

A lovely tribute to the beauty and strength of life
So will we remember Samantha!

Edith Beck is a California supporter of Jewish Affairs.

**End all ties
with
South Africa**

Jewish Affairs

Basic Policy of the Government Is the Root of Evil!

By Meir Vilner

The following article by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, is excerpted from a speech delivered to the Central Committee of the CPI on May 30, 1985.

What is the basis of the policy of the Alignment (Labor)-Likud government? The war minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in an interview with the *Sunday Times* on May 26, 1985, which was published in the Israeli press on the next day, 5/27/85, defined the basis as follows: "A consensus exists between the Labor Party and the Likud, according to which Israel will never consent to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Such a state will constitute a catastrophe, a time bomb."

And further:

"To talk to Arafat means to accept the principle of an independent Palestinian state between Israel and Jordan, and we will not reconcile ourselves with that under any circumstance at all. I will not hold any talks with the PLO."

Rabin proposed to establish a joint Jordanian-Palestinian state, but as he says, "Every peace agreement must be signed between Jordan and Israel."

And finally:

"Such a Jordanian-Palestinian state is liable to include considerable parts of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. However, Israel persists in holding a defense line along the river Jordan."

In other words — in the military respect Israel will continue ruling over the whole area of the West Bank.

This consensus between the Likud and the Alignment against the establishment of a Palestinian state, against the withdrawal from all the territories which Israel has occupied since 1967 is what has brought into existence the Alignment-Likud government. Labor and Likud fight amongst themselves but in the end they become reconciled. It is impossible to explain the existence of the government of Peres and Shamir as clinging to their seats. Indeed, this motivation also exists but it is secondary to their having a similar attitude and position on basic political questions.

The consensus in policy of the Alignment and the Likud will be still better understood if we quote the words of the present Prime Minister, Shimon Peres, on the matter of an international conference for the establishment of peace in the Middle East. His argument
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against such a conference, which is proposed by the Soviet Union and the UN, is the question of the participation of the Soviet Union. We oppose, he said, the participation of the Soviet Union because it supports the "extremist Arab positions," and demands of Israel to withdraw from all the territories occupied in the June 1967 war. He does not even say, as Mapam leaders try to explain, that Israel, or at least the Alignment, does not agree to an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union because there are no diplomatic relations between it and Israel; and that if diplomatic relations were resumed, they would consent to an international conference with Soviet participation. It may be assumed that if the Israeli government would be prepared to go to an international conference under the auspices of the UN, with the participation of the Soviet Union and the United States, and also the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, and all the sides involved in the conflict — that this would be a step forward in the matter of resumption of diplomatic relations. Such an agreement on the part of Israel under today's conditions would mean a change in Israeli policy.

At the 1977 Geneva Conference on the Middle East, which took place under the aegis of the United Nations, the Soviet Union and the United States served as co-chairmen. Israel participated at the conference together with the Soviet Union, although the Soviet Union had the same political position which it has today, and despite the absence of diplomatic relations at that time, too, between the Soviet Union and Israel — relations which had been severed consequent upon the Israeli aggression in June 1967. It must be remembered that at the Geneva conference not all the sides involved in the Middle East conflict took part. From among the Middle East states only Israel, Jordan and Egypt participated. There were no Palestinian representatives nor any representative of Syria and other Arab states. Therefore if Israel would consent to an international conference with the composition which is proposed today, and not only the same composition as at the 1977 Geneva Conference, that is to a conference with Palestinian representatives on an equal basis with the other delegations, then this too would signify a change in Israeli policy.

Indeed, it must be remembered that the plan of the Geneva Conference was to widen the scope of participation in the conference. On October 1, 1977 the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the US, Gromyko and Vance, signed an agreement, in accordance with which the Geneva Conference should be assem-

bled in December of that year, with the participation of a united Arab delegation, in which the PLO would have been represented on an equal basis. This was a compromise in order to go on with a genuine peace process. However, as is known, the US withdrew from the agreement. Begin and Sadat rejoiced and had even demanded this retreat. This torpedoing of the Geneva Conference was the beginning of the Camp David plot against a comprehensive, just and stable peace, against the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination and an independent state. The American retreat from the signed agreement with the Soviet Union was a link in the process of the United States generally abandoning the policy of detente in international relations.

Let us examine the significance of Shimon Peres' argument for his opposition to the participation of the Soviet Union in the solution of the Middle East conflict: that is, the position of the Soviet Union in relation to the essence of a solution. Peres' position is really absurd. The United States holds a position which is opposed to the position of the Soviet Union. The U.S. is opposed to the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel. It follows, therefore, that while the Soviet Union does not accept the position of the United States and Israel on the issue of the Middle East conflict, it has no right to participate in its solution. However, no one demands of the U.S. or Israel to accept beforehand the position of the Soviet Union as a condition for the convocation of the international conference.

The truth is that the U.S. and Israel are not interested at all in a real, just and comprehensive and stable solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. They are interested in leaving our region in the nature of a powder keg. This is part of the global policy of American imperialism, which has become especially conspicuous in the days of the Reagan administration.

There is yet another important aspect with regard to the international conference. There are some who try deceitfully to obscure the issue. These persons also speak about an international conference, but mean by these words something different at all. This is true, for example, of some of the leaders of the Israeli "Progressive List." They support the Arafat-Hussein accords and what is called the "Mubarak initiative," that is to say the setting up of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation (in which the Palestinians selected for that purpose must be appointed with the agreement of the U.S.A. and Israel.) At Camp David, too, Carter, Sadat and Begin had concluded among themselves all the matters concerning the Middle East. They then cyn-

ically invited the Soviet Union to set its signatures to their already determined conclusions. Of course the Soviet Union refused to sign an agreement that does not recognize the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people and its representative — the PLO. Reality has proven that this agreement had been a preparation for the Lebanese war and the realization of the American intention to build up an Israeli-Arab military bloc under American control, against the national liberation movements, the independent states and against the Soviet Union. Now the Americans attempt, with the help of Hussein, Mubarak and Peres to realize their plan in a similar way. After concluding the deal among themselves as a version number 2 of Camp David, they promise "graciously" to invite the Soviet Union to sign what will have been concocted by them. They will even term this an "international conference." This is deceit and throwing sand into the eyes.

This matter must be clearly explained to the public. One must explain the essential difference between an international conference under the auspices of the UN, with the participation of the Soviet Union and U.S.A. and all the involved sides, including the PLO and Israel on one hand; and on the other hand a new American plot which would only complicate the situation in the Middle East, as the Camp David deal had done.

On December 4, 1984 the General Assembly of the U.N. renewed the decision of December 1983, which calls for the convocation of a peace conference for the Middle East under the auspices of the U.N. In Israel activity was unfolded, mobilizing public opinion to support such a convocation as the only way to establish a comprehensive, just and stable peace in our region. But this activity is still too narrow. Our Communist Party and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE), together with other peace loving forces must find the suitable forms for mobilizing the widest possible public opinion for supporting an international conference and against the policy of undermining the peace effort by the Israeli government, Arab reaction and the U.S. administration. Whoever opposes an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union and the central factor in the conflict — together with Israel the representatives of the Palestinian Arab people, the PLO — acts against peace. The alternative to an international conference under U.N. auspices and to a joint solution is the continuation of wars in our region.

ABOUT THE SITUATION WITHIN THE PLO!

The situation within the PLO is extremely diffi-

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cult. The divergencies of views are sharp. The restitution of unity on the basis of a correct political plan, on an anti-imperialist basis and the assurance of Palestinian independence, is the interest not only of the Palestinian people, but of every one interested in advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East.

In Damascus, a committee for Palestinian National Salvation has been set up, including the dissidents of Fat'h-A-Saika, the organization of Ahmed Jibril and others. The Committee also includes the Popular Front headed by George Habash. This organization is also a component in the Democratic Alliance, together with the Palestinian Communist Party, the Democratic Front headed by Na'if Hawatmeh and the Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The supporters of Arafat agreed to discuss with the Alliance the introduction of corrections in the Aman agreement between Arafat and Hussein. The Palestinian Communist Party, the Democratic Front and also others replied to this that it is altogether impossible to discuss matters on the basis of the Aman agreement; that it is impossible to "correct" it, and that it must be cancelled.

The Aman agreement expresses a deeper development. We have here before us a class phenomena. The big Palestinian capitalists have become integrated into the economy of the pro-imperialist Arab countries, and the Palestinian national cause is not close to their hearts — and to their business affairs. These circles influence a part of the Fatah leadership. Such circles are also in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and they sound the defeatist opinions and say that "one must save what can be saved; otherwise we will lose everything. . . ."

Very damagingly, the struggle between the supporters of the Fat'h and the supporters of the other organizations has very much sharpened also in the occupied territories, consequent upon the Arafat-Hussein accords. The situation in the occupied territories is a reflection of the general situation in the PLO today.

An objective evaluation must negate all the defeatist attitudes. In our period the cause of the Palestinian Arab people is firmer than in any other historical period. Never before have the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people been recognized more by the international community than today. The PLO has been recognized as the sole representative of the Palestinian Arab people by the U.N. The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries put their whole weight on the scales in order to bring about the establishment of a comprehensive, just and durable peace in the Middle East, one of the foundations of which is the establishment of an

independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. The decisive majority of states of the world support this.

The experience of the struggles of the national liberation movements after the Second World War proves that in spite of the fact that there may be along with periods of high tide also periods of ebb; and that in the end they emerge victorious and achieve their just aims. There is no doubt but that the national liberation movement of the Palestinian Arab people, just as that of Namibia in southern Africa will attain its objective: the realization of the just national rights including the establishment of independent Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel. A just solution of the Palestinian question, which is the center of the Israeli-Arab conflict, is also the real interest of the Israeli people, the interest of peace and safety of both peoples.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION TODAY!

After the re-election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency of the United States in November 1984, there were some people who thought that in his second term the Republican administration would improve the relations with the Soviet Union in some measure. These assessments very quickly proved wrong. As against that, the Soviet Union exerts vast efforts in order to relax international tension and unceasingly initiates peace proposals. However, the Reagan administration acts in an opposite direction; in the direction of sharpening the confrontation with the Soviet Union in all spheres and in all regions. The global policy of Washington also prevents a solution of the conflict in the Middle East and the establishment of peace in this region, already saturated with gunpowder.

In the Soviet Union the meeting of the Soviet and American war veterans on the river Elbe was given much prominence when the 40th anniversary of the joint victory over nazi Germany was marked. The general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, sent them a special greeting in which he pointed out the military contribution of the Americans, French, British and other armies and also of the partisans of many people towards the joint victory over nazi Germany. Reports about a possible summit conference between Gorbachev and Reagan were published. But the facts prove that not only is there no change for the better in American policy, but that it has become still more aggressive. Washington sabotages the Soviet-U.S. negotiations in Geneva about the strategic weapons and the prevention of "Star Wars"; sharpens the acts of aggression against Nicaragua and Afghanistan; and initiates designs for new wars in the

(Continued on page 14)

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Published by the Communist Party, U.S.A.

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1986 calls upon us to double the number of subscribers to Jewish Affairs.

1986 is destined to be a crucial year for the peoples of our planet. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Canadian Border to the Gulf Stream waters in our country and around the entire globe, we witness the outcry of millions against the menace of Reagan's "Star Wars" and for a mutually verifiable nuclear weapons freeze against the designs of the Reagan Administration for world hegemony.

In light of the world scene today the editorial staff and most of our readers feel especially obligated to guarantee the publication and further growth of the only Jewish American publication which unequivocally calls for detente with the USSR; an end to "Star Wars;" for a nuclear weapons freeze and the outlawing of racism and anti-Semitism.

Jewish Affairs is the only Jewish American publication supporting an all-peoples anti-monopoly coalition to secure world peace, full employment and social justice.

Jewish Americans, today, are being subjected to a concerted drive by the Reaganites, assisted by their Jewish American neo-conservative partners to pull Jewish Americans into support of the Reagan-Fundamentalist-Military-Industrial cabal striving for world hegemony and nurturing racism and anti-Semitism toward that end.

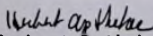
There has been a mushrooming of fascist type racist and anti-Semitic terrorist military training camps nurtured by the Reaganites. The organized terrorists have already taken the lives of Jewish Americans, the radio talk show host, Allan Berg, and others; are terrorizing Black neighborhoods and have murdered the leader of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee of Santa Ana, California, Alex Odeh,

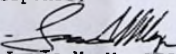
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Herbert Aptheker, Editor


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Soviet But Not Russian

By Michael Doran

"Soviet But Not Russian," by William M. Mandel, The University of Alberta Press and Ramparts Press, Palo Alto, Calif. 382 pp., paper, \$10.00.

"Naturally, it was impossible for us all to go to school. To begin with, you had to pay and then you needed what to live on.... Those were under terrible conditions of semi-starvation. . . . The mass of people. . . just didn't make it through school."

The speaker was a Latvian, Dr. Jonas Macevicius, head of the Department of Philosophy, Law and Sociology of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, describing on tape to author William Mandel what life was like in pre-Soviet Lithuania (before 1940) and how different it is today. Macevicius spoke of his twelve brothers and sisters. "Most of them died. The doctor wasn't called. Only folk remedies. Those who got past the illnesses survived, and those who didn't died. To call a doctor cost five leutu. That was a lot — on five leutu I lived seven days, sometimes more." A majority of the faculty, he said, was of similar peasant origin.

The passage from Mandel's new book, *Soviet But Not Russian* (University of Alberta Press; Edmonton, Canada, and Ramparts Press; Palo Alto, Cal; \$10), brought to my mind the annual cold war ritual in our country known as "Captive Nations Week" — an event that evokes the usual statements from anti-Soviet politicians about "liberating" these lands from "communism" and returning them to their former days of "freedom."

Casualty of Cold War

"The first casualty when war comes" remarked Senator Hiram Johnson in 1917, "is truth." This statement holds for the cold war of the past 40 years as much as for any hot war — more perhaps, because there has never in all history been such a lengthy, sophisticated, and intense campaign of deceit and falsification as there has been in the U.S. media against the Soviet Union. And perhaps the greatest falsehood of them all has been in portraying the USSR as a "Russian" empire that has conquered numerous other peoples — Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Jews, Uzbeks, and scores of others and held them in captive slavery.

It is this falsehood, so deeply imbedded in U.S. minds, to which Mandel addresses himself in his latest book. Mandel is not by any means a novice on the topic
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of the USSR. The author of six previous books on that country, he has visited the Soviet Union ten times since he first lived and studied there in 1932-32. He has journeyed to all 15 Soviet republics, most of them more than once. He has travelled by plane, train and rented car. *Soviet But Not Russian* (subtitled: *The Other Peoples of the Soviet Union*) is the story of the life of the non-Russian minorities in the USSR. It is a fascinating story, particularly for those of us in capitalist countries struggling with the constant problem of racism in all its forms.

A Deliberate and Continuing Struggle

Mandel makes clear that from the old Russia that was a "prison house of nations" where ethnic minorities were treated with contempt; where pogroms against Jews were the order of the day; where in the words of one Central Asian Moslem, "the past was a stairway of years carpeted with pain;" where Uzbeks feared Arabs and Tajiks feared Uzbeks and everyone feared Russians; where "Russification" was enforced at the expense of other languages and cultures, there has now emerged a nation that takes pride in its multi-ethnic heritage.

How this came about is no accident or sudden moral revival. It is the result of deliberate and continuing struggle by Communists to eradicate chauvinism in all its forms. As early as 1914, a bill drafted by Lenin was presented to the Duma (The parliament under the Czar which had very limited power.) It declared in part: (1) Citizens of all nationalities inhabiting Russia are equal before the law, and (2) No citizen of Russia, regardless of sex and religion, may be restricted in political or in any other rights on grounds of origin or nationality." Mandel comments, "In that stacked parliament the bill was not passed, of course. But the revolution put its principles into force only three years later."

The record shows that Lenin consistently fought for a policy of complete equality of all ethnic groups and nationalities. Even on the question of an "official, unifying" language, he was emphatic — every people must have the right to develop its own culture and be educated in its own language. One of the things that impressed this reviewer on a trip several years ago to Tashkent, the Central Asian capital of Uzbekistan, was the extent to which Uzbek society is bilingual — street signs, newspapers, posters, even the schools where he observed children taught in either Uzbek or Russian, depending upon the choice of his or her parents. No one there seemed to give it a second thought, but to a person coming from New York City, which is also a truly bilingual city, but where bilingualism has evoked

such howls of protest as "divisive, unworkable," etc., this was really a revelation.

First on Affirmative Action

But this was not enough. "If a sprinter is given a ten-yard lead over an opponent in the same class, he'll win the race," comments Mandel. "The Soviets recognized this. It was they who, for all practical purposes, invented the policy we call affirmative action, and they pursued it consistently to eradicate the historic lag in education, economic development, and knowledge of government affairs."

Mandel then deals with the results of this policy after 65 years. In 12 chapters, he discusses how the varied ethnic groups in the country fare today — from "Latin" Moldavians to Catholic Lithuanians, from Orthodox Ukrainians to Protestant Estonians and Latvians, from Armenians in the South to peoples in the northernmost regions, to Georgians and Uzbeks and Jews and the scores of other national, cultural and language groups that make up the vast, multi-ethnic society that is the USSR today.

Take, for example, the Gagauz people in Moldavia, the European Soviet republic bordering on Rumania, who number some 125,000 in Moldavia and 200,000 in the Soviet Union altogether. They "adopted an alphabet. . . for the first time in 1957," reports a Gagauz woman to Mandel. Now "we have artists, we have composers, we have our own poets and writers: those who write on the basis of folk themes, legends and those who collect our folklore. . . . The anthropology of the Gagauz is being studied by Stepan Karoglu and me. . . . Each of us has already written a book — I took my PhD this year. Then in Moscow we have Comrade Guboglo." Mandel writes that he reacted with surprise "to learn that Guboglo is a Gagauz; I had translated articles of his into English for the American journal *Soviet Anthropology and Archeology*. So one of the Soviet Union's leading anthropologists, a man who theorizes on matters far beyond the bounds of his own nationality, is a member of a people who did not even have an alphabet little more than 20 years ago."

On Alleged Soviet Anti-Semitism

Or take the Jews. So much cold war propaganda has been disseminated about alleged Soviet persecution of the Jewish people that most people in the United States would be dumbfounded at the simple truths of Mandel's observations which are worth quoting at some length:

"In old Russia. . . Jews were forbidden

by law to live anywhere but in the western-most corner of the empire. They were simply forbidden to own land. Mass physical violence against them was so commonplace that a special word, 'pogrom' attached to it. . . . (Today) not even the most stridently anti-Soviet Jewish publication alleges that there are ghettos or housing discrimination in the Soviet Union, although that was general in pre-revolutionary Russia. None claims that pogroms . . . have occurred in Soviet-controlled territory for half a century. . . . An American reporter in Moscow writing about a Jewish dissident there reminds us of something long forgotten: 'During World War II his family, like many other Jews, was sent to Central Asia ahead of the advancing Nazis.' 'Many' is an extreme understatement — most Soviet Jews had lived in the part of the country Hitler overran, and a majority, nearly 2,000,000, were evacuated eastward. This was under Stalin. No Western government organization or individual, Jewish or otherwise, rescued remotely as many."

Mandel is not without criticism of some things that have occurred in the Soviet Union nor does he attempt to hide the fact that there took place, during a particular period, gross violations of Soviet law and Communist policy. Mandel declares:

"The editor of the Jewish-language (Yiddish) magazine published in Moscow (referring here to Aaron Vergelis of *Sovietish Heimland*-Ed.) has agreed with me (on tape and for the record) that certain Soviet journals have published anti-Semitic materials in recent years. His own office had bas-reliefs of Jewish writers killed in a purge 35 years ago. But he was editing a literary magazine in Yiddish now in its 24th year, and spoke proudly of young new novelists writing in Yiddish, which they learned from lessons he has printed in the magazine, and of artists on Jewish themes who had been encouraged by his publishing reproductions of their work. He was also proud that a friend of his, who is one of the two Jewish cabinet members (of the Soviet government - Ed.), is personally steeped in Jewish culture.

"This editor, his approximately 100 contributors, his artists, the author of the grammar he is serializing, are success stories specifically as Jews, not simply as Soviet citizens who happen

to be of Jewish origin. The number of Soviet Jews who are success stories in the general world — in science, technology, management, medicine, in all the arts, in law — is many times higher than their ratio to the population, higher proportionately than any other ethnic group, including the Russians themselves.”

A Long and Determined Struggle.

Are there still some instances of anti-Semitism or other forms of chauvinism in the Soviet Union? Mandel recounts a few episodes of individual anti-Semitic behavior and of the response of Soviet authorities and Communists to combat it. It reminded me of my own experience traveling through a number of socialist countries a few years ago. One thing that impressed itself indelibly on my mind was the words of a long-time Communist: “It is far easier to bring about a revolution than to change people’s attitudes permanently. That takes a long and determined struggle.” Is the Soviet Union, its leadership, its Communist Party and the vast majority of its people committed to that struggle? Mandel’s book is a testament to the fact that the answer is a resounding “yes.”

The attitude of the Soviet government on the issue of combatting anti-Semitism is perhaps best illustrated in an article in the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia*, regarded in the Soviet Union as the authority and available everywhere for consultation. After quoting at length from an article in it on Jews which describes the centuries of anti-Semitism throughout Europe and the policy of mass extermination pursued by the Hitlerites, Mandel quotes from it again on the subject of anti-Semitism:

“In Russia anti-Semitism was essentially the accepted doctrine of the government. . . . The most savage form of anti-Semitism was pogroms. . . . The pogromists were led by the Black Hundreds belonging to the ‘Union of the Russian People’ and behind them was the Czarist secret police. Later, during the Civil War, the involvement of Jews in the revolutionary movement was the justification offered for the pogroms organized by the followers of Petlura and Denikin. . . . Russian Social-Democracy, like Marxist parties of other countries, had to wage a struggle both against anti-Semitism and Jewish nationalism. . . .

“The smashing of Hitlerite Germany and international condemnation of persecution of the Jews by the Nazi government (which the Nuremberg Trials found to be a crime against humanity) dealt a blow at anti-Semi-

tism. . . . Revivals of anti-Semitism usually coincide with intensification of political reaction in various countries.

The socialist system creates the basis for full equality among human beings regardless of racial and national affiliation and, consequently, for the total uprooting of anti-Semitism.”

“The article,” Mandel notes, “does not say that it has been uprooted.” However, he also notes, “If all this had appeared in some single book written by an individual, no matter how widely read, it would not deserve the amount of space given it here. But when published in the one source that has the absolute highest prestige in the public mind in the USSR. . . . it has enormous significance. It says, simply, that Jews have been discriminated against for most of the past two thousand years, that that is wrong, and that anti-Semitism is monstrous.”

Perhaps the best way to conclude this review is to note an observation by Mandel that, in effect, shows the intrinsic nature of the incompatibility of socialism with chauvinism. **“There could be no thought of not finding work,”** writes Mandel, **“as guaranteed full employment is built into the system. This one fact has done more to reduce ethnic prejudice than all other measures combined. No one need protect his job by convincing himself that he has more right to it than someone of different appearance or language or religion or gender.”**

In view of the sharp rise of anti-Semitism in the U.S. a conference was held late in October sponsored by the International Center for the Study of Anti-Semitism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and held in New York City. Dr. Ronald Sobel, a Rabbi at Temple Emanu-El substantiated the finding that anti-Semitism is a by-product of capitalism when he stated: **“Anti-Semitism is a disease, a virus embedded in the bloodstream of western civilization.”**

Though a serious student of the Soviet Union, Mandel reveals a trait of arrogance in several instances when he resorts to lecturing the Soviets on the national question. Nevertheless, this is a book deserving to be read by all who are in struggle for peace and friendship amongst the peoples of the world and especially with the Soviet Union. □

Michael Doran is a teacher of Social Science.

Zionism and Racism

By Daniel Spector

On November 10, 1975 the General Assembly of the United Nations passed overwhelmingly a resolution condemning all forms of racism and calling upon governments to recognize in law and in practice the equality of all peoples.

The UN and its resolution, No. 3379, became the targets of a campaign of vilification by the Zionist establishment in this country, the Israeli and U.S. governments, and their allies. Those nations and individuals supporting the resolution were labeled "anti-Semitic," a charge that was sweepingly applied (e.g., "Third World anti-Semitism," "Left anti-Semitism," "Soviet anti-Semitism," "Arab anti-Semitism").

The cause of the uproar was the inclusion in the resolution of Zionism as a form of racism.

The 10th anniversary of that resolution provides an opportunity to examine the relationship between the ideology of Zionism and racism. Particularly in view of the continuing bloodshed in the Middle East, it is to be hoped that such a discussion can lead to new levels of understanding and unity.

The campaign against the UN resolution was based on two related (and false) premises:

1. Zionism is the ideology of the Jewish people, and therefore
2. To label Zionism as racism is to label all Zionists, all Jews as racist.

The class roots of Zionism

Zionism is no more the ideology of the Jewish people than U.S. imperialist ideology is the ideology of the people of the U.S. It is necessary to differentiate between those who are influenced by an ideology, and those who promote and profit by it.

The working people of Israel — Jewish and Arab — do not profit by the ideology of the Israeli ruling class. Zionist policy has fostered a climate of racist hysteria against the neighboring Arab peoples, especially the Palestinian Arabs.

The generations of Israeli Jews since 1967 have been raised with the belief that the occupied territories belong to them, and that the Arab residents are aliens to be removed.

"A not insignificant part of the population — I would say the majority, is more deeply drawn into the cesspool of extreme, narrow chauvinism and militarism. This is to be seen in the poisoned background of all-round Zionist education, activated by efficient manipulation through the schools, the media, the religious

establishment, army training and fostered by 16 years of occupation, by the chain of military victories.

Particularly, a good part of the young people have embraced the notion of nationalistic superiority, of belonging to an elect race, of not being accountable to any yardstick but natural glory, of disregarding human and humane values." (Wolf Ehrlich, "The Political Reality of Israel," *Jewish Affairs*, July/August 1983. Wolf Ehrlich is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel.)

Israeli government leaders have referred to the Palestinian people "as cockrach in a bottle" (former Chief of Staff Rafael Eytan), "two-legged animals" (former Prime Minister Menachem Begin), and have denied the existence of a Palestinian people (former Prime Minister Golda Meir).

Nor do the majority of Jewish Americans benefit from the alliance of the Zionist establishment, the Israeli government, and U.S. imperialism. An ideology that tries to place Jewish Americans on the same side of the struggle as Ronald Reagan, the Pentagon and U.S. multi-national corporations, is in opposition to the basic interests of a majority of Jewish Americans.

A policy of racism

Zionism maintains that Israel must be a Jewish state. To implement this principle the Arabs living in Israel and in the occupied territories must be removed, or at least kept to a minority.

Thus the Israeli government has declared the West Bank and Gaza Strip a part of Israel, but denies full citizenship rights to the 1,000,000 Palestinians living in those areas. A Jewish settler in Hebron has more rights, because he is Jewish, than has a Palestinian (whose family has been living there for decades), because he is Palestinian.

Israel as a Jewish state cannot be compared to countries with official religions. "Jewish" refers to a nationality, some of whose members are religious. By stating that Israel is a Jewish state, the ruling class makes it clear that one group will have rights that will be denied other groups.

After travelling through a number of Arab villages in northern Israel in 1977, I remember thinking that the conditions faced by the Arab minority there are akin to those faced by Blacks in South Africa: segregated townships that receive less government assistance per capita than neighboring Jewish towns; institutionalized barriers to equality; higher rates of poverty, illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, infant and maternal mortality, sub-standard housing; constant police harassment and brutality; daily reminders that the Arab minority is con-

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sidered an internal enemy to be watched and contained.

Condemning racism

We Communists condemn racism in all its forms, including anti-Semitism. We hold that racism directed against Black people is the bedrock upon which all other forms of racism are built. We hold, further, that white Americans are influenced by racism, and that such influence is the main obstacle to the working - class unity necessary to win basic changes in the interests of all working people.

But to say that is not to condemn all white Americans as racist.

To condemn an ideology as racist is, in the first place, to expose its class roots. Ideologies are not classless; they reflect the interests of one or another class. Bourgeois ideology in the U.S. is deeply racist because it reflects the interests of the banks and the monopoly corporations.

Big business profits from racism, economically and politically. Racism enable the boss to pay a Black worker less than a white worker for the same job. And racism prevents the unity necessary to confront the boss with strength.

For white Americans, racism is a kind of political general anesthesia: it numbs our feelings and makes us insensitive not only to the pain it causes others, but also to the pain it causes us.

The condemnation of racism is not an attack on America or on white Americans. It is an attack on an ideology that pits white worker against Black, to the benefit of the common enemy.

The condemnation of Zionism's racism is not an attack on Israeli Jews or on Israel, or on Jewish people in other countries. It is an attack on an ideology that pits Israeli Jew against Palestinian Arab in the Middle East, and Jewish American against Afro-American here at home. It is a condemnation of a policy of allying the Jewish people in Israel and the Jewish people in the U.S. with their enemy, with the source of anti-Semitism — imperialism.

Zionist responses

In response to the condemnation of Zionism's racism, the Zionist leadership has concentrated on two points:

1. Arabs, they say, have more rights in Israel than do Arabs in Arab countries (and the corollary, that Arabs are better off in Israel than are Arabs in Arab countries).

2. Why single out Zionism for special condemnation when those doing the condemning are themselves

guilty of the same crime?

Israeli Arabs don't live in Jordan, Syria or Saudi Arabia; they live in Israel. Their standard of living and level of equality can't be measured against Arabs in those countries; they have to be measured against those of Israeli Jews. Any comparison of the standard of living and rights of Israeli Jew and Israeli Arab inevitably leads to the conclusion that Israeli Arabs are second-class citizens. Those in the occupied territories are not even citizens and are without basic rights.

The UN resolution against racism condemned all forms of racism, not just Zionism (a point covered up by the resolution's opponents). It was not an attack on the Jewish people, but a general warning that racism and racist discrimination anywhere threaten peace and social progress everywhere.

The resolution was agreed to by the overwhelming majority of governments representing most of humanity. It signaled an important shift in the balance of power in the UN from the early years when that body was dominated by an elite club of imperialists, colonialists and neo-colonialists and their minions. A new alignment had made its presence felt, comprising the newly-liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the growing socialist community of states.

Some arguments against the UN resolution attempt to generate a hysterical emotional response as a way of hiding the lack of convincing arguments. For instance, in the November 10 *New York Times*, Kenneth J. Bialkin, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations, repeats the charge that the UN resolution is worthless because its supporters are anti-Semitic. His op-ed article consists of a rehash of the standard stories of "Soviet and Arab anti-Semitism." Nowhere does he refute the specific charges of the racist nature of Zionist policy and practice in the Middle East.

Such a line of argument seeks to confuse rather than explain. It is a cover-up rather than an objective refutation. You cannot prove your opponent's charges are wrong by leveling accusations yourself; you have to answer the specific charges.

If Zionist ideology and practice is not racist, then how can we explain the Israeli government's "constructive engagement" with apartheid South Africa?

How can we explain the discrimination against Palestinian Arabs in Israel?

How can we explain the continued military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the denial of basic human and civil rights to the Arabs living

there?

How can we explain the alliance between leading Zionist politicians and ideologists, on the one hand, and the Reagan administration, on the other, in opposition to affirmative action to put an end to continuing racial discrimination.?

How can we explain the climate of racism and militarism in Israel, that has given rise to a fascist mentality exemplified by Meir Kahane and his followers?

How can we explain the Israeli government's alliance with U.S. imperialism in opposition to national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

How can we explain what seems to be the belief that the life of one Israeli Jew is worth that of 10 or 20 Arabs? How else can one explain the Israeli government's "retaliation" for terrorist murder of 3 Jews in Cyprus by the slaughter of 70 Arabs in Tunisia by Israeli jet bombers? Or the "retaliation" for individual acts of terrorism in Israel by unleashing a bloodbath in southern Lebanon?

Zionism and Zionists

In Israel and in the U.S. — in fact, in any capitalist country with a Jewish community — many of those influenced by Zionism (and some Zionist organizations) are involved in progressive struggles. In Israel, for instance, many Israeli Jews oppose their government's actions in Lebanon and are willing to relinquish the occupied territories in exchange for peace. The Communist Parties of Israel and of the U.S. have clearly stated that they will work with anyone or any organization on any issue of common concern and agreement. The fight for peace in the Middle East, for example, requires the widest unity of the working people of Israel, regardless of ideology.

But as William Ross, Canadian Communist leader, correctly points out:

"Individual Zionists or Jews influenced by Zionism may participate in one or another democratic or peace action but **Zionism as an ideology** remains reactionary, chauvinist, discriminatory, the basis for the aggressive, expansionist, pro-imperialist policy of the Israeli government." (Emphasis in original) ("*Zionism vs. the Jewish People*," *Jewish Affairs*, August/September 1978)

The participation of individual Zionists in progressive causes does not negate the backward aspects of Zionism as an ideology. Rather, their participation points to the inherent contradiction between Zionism as the ideology of the Jewish bourgeoisie and the interests of the majority of Jewish people.

The struggle against racism is in the interests of all those concerned about a future of peace, jobs, equality and socialism. It is therefore in the interests of a majority of Jewish Americans, which has a special role to play in exposing and rejecting the racism inherent in Zionist ideology and practice. □

Daniel Spector is a member of the staff of the Daily World.

(Continued from page 7)

Middle East.

The visit to Bitburg is politics and dangerous politics. The visit of Reagan to the military cemetery of the Nazi soldiers and SS officers is not only a desecration of the memory of the victims of Nazism and of the fighters against the Hitlerite wild beast, but it is also a step towards the full joining of West Germany in the preparation of a third world war. It is no coincidence that the Kohl government in the Federal Republic of Germany supports the American "Star Wars" plan. Kohl as the Chancellor of West Germany takes part in rallies of the German revanchists of Silesian extraction. This is the continuation of Bitburg. The danger exists that the American administration will enable the Bonn government to obtain nuclear arms. All this is perilous for peace in Europe and the world.

The Jewish people of Israel are highly sensitive in relation to the rehabilitation which Reagan gives to the Nazis and SS men. But the Israeli government has not published any announcement of condemning the visit of Reagan in the cemetery of the dregs of mankind in Bitburg. All that the Prime Minister, Peres, said was that "this is a mistake of a great friend of Israel". . . . Even the U.S. Congress demanded of Reagan not to go to Bitburg, but the Israeli Knesset ignored our demand to do so. □

End
U.S. investments
in
South Africa

“A Certain People”

by Lewis M. Moroze

“A Certain People, American Jews and Their Lives Today,” by Charles Silberman, Summit Books, 485 pp., cloth, \$19.95.

Charles Silberman, a Jewish-American social historian, has produced a provocative book, “A Certain People,” declaring that Jewish-Americans are experiencing heaven on earth. A leading Jewish-American, Frank Isaacs, in Chicago observed: “With Charles Silberman we are witnessing the rebirth of false prophecy in our time.”

In this arrogantly ethno-centric work Silberman holds that anti-Semitism is no longer a significant factor in American life, thereby echoing the neo-conservative view of Norman Podhoretz’s *Commentary* magazine stable of writers. Silberman charges that anti-Semitism comes from the left. This patently brazen canard serves as a protective cover for the Reagan-Christian fundamentalists who nurture and further racism and anti-Semitism.

While Silberman sees virulent anti-Semitism as fading, U.S. farmers are being told that Jews, not the Reagan Administration policies favoring the banks and corporations, are responsible for their plight.

Peddling the Zionist concept that criticism of Israeli ruling circles is to be anti-Semitic, Silberman brands the Rev. Jesse Jackson an anti-Semite for upholding the right of Palestinians to an independent state alongside Israel.

Protecting the Christian Fundamentalists, Silberman attacks Norman Lear, leader of People for the American Way, which advocates the separation of church and state. He criticizes Norman Lear for stating: “It is worrisome indeed that the Evangelist-in-Chief’s (Reagan-LMM) ultra-fundamentalist theology may affect this nation’s nuclear arms policies.” In response Silberman charges: “But so far as I am aware Lear has not condemned the nuclear arms policy proposed by the Catholic bishops — a policy equally dependent upon a particular theology.” Jewish-Americans, along with all other Americans, struggling against a Reagan-Falwell armageddon, will recognize with great dismay that Silberman engages in the cunning of the court Jew of the Middle Ages who did the bidding of the sovereign for his own aggrandizement.

Indeed, then, the Rev. Bailey Smith — “God does not hear the prayer of a Jew” — praises the book as a “masterpiece of Jewish understanding, dreams, frustrations and expectations.”

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Silberman measures the well-being of Jewish-Americans by the number of them in government, those high on the corporate ladder, like Irving Shapiro of DuPont, the great number in the arts, sciences and the professions. Silberman reveals proudly that DuPont originally placed Shapiro on their legal staff because of his “outstanding role in the government’s case against the Communist Smith Act defendants.”

In passing Silberman mentions that 15% of Jewish-Americans are living in poverty, but as a whole are better off than other ethnic groups. Indeed, the high general unemployment figures, the outrageously high unemployment among Blacks and other oppressed minorities, the millions of homeless and impoverished are of no concern to Silberman in assessing the well-being of Jewish-Americans. Silberman is not moved by the Judaic concept of the famed Rabbi Hillel: “If I am for myself, what manner of human being am I?”

The uppercrust Jewish leaders in pre-World War II Germany exuded the same false euphoria as Silberman. They, too, revelled in the fact that Jews were in the government, in banking, on corporate boards. They were in the professions, the sciences, etc. Indeed, many of those in high places were supporters of Hitler’s advent to power. Albert Einstein and others had to flee for their lives while 6,000,000 European Jews were murdered along with 6 million non-Jews in the Nazi holocaust.

Dr. Ronald Sobel of Temple Emanuel in New York City, at a recent conference declared that “anti-Semitism is a disease, a virus embedded in the bloodstream of western civilization. . . . We have lowered the fever but we have not eliminated the virus.” Actually the virus is multiplying. A more accurate view, that of the Marxist-Leninists, holds that anti-Semitism and racism are by products of capitalism and they are becoming more virulent in the imperialist, moribund stage of capitalism.

In 1983 about 700 cases of anti-Semitic attacks were recorded in the United States. Attacks increased in 1985, accompanied by the growth in the number of neo-Nazi, terrorist organizations conducting military training camps. One of them is responsible for the murder of a Jewish-American radio talk show host. Anti-Semitic and racist literature is published in the United States and shipped to the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), where Reagan’s Bitburg friends distribute it. The neo-Nazi organizations include, amongst others, the Aryan Nations, the Order, the Identification movement, Posse Comitatus, the Christian Defense League, the KKK and others. Not one of these is men-

tioned by Silberman who manages to attack the Rev. Jesse Jackson as an anti-Semite. He also joins with the neo-conservatives in charging Afro-Americans with "Black anti-Semitism."

Silberman's views are not shared by key Jewish-American leaders and organizations. New Jewish Agenda ties the questions of social justice and equality with that of economic justice and calls for the building of coalitions with Blacks, Hispanics, oppressed minorities and organized labor. Joining them in the call for building Black-Jewish coalitions are the Rabbinical associations of the Conservative and Reform wings of Judaism.

All that counts for Silberman is that the doors of opportunity are wide open for Jewish-Americans, giving them the feeling of security.

What security is there for Jewish-Americans in the knowledge that the Jewish-American "Dr. Strangelove", Edward Teller, is a Reagan confidant? Or knowing that Reagan's link to Jewish-Americans, Marshall Breger, is a leading figure of the fascist Heritage Foundation. Or that Morris Abrams, a leading official of the American Jewish Committee, representative of the Jewish-American big bourgeoisie, is working with Reagan to destroy the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, to reject comparable worth for women and to scuttle the U.S. Bill of Rights? Or knowing that the American Jewish Committee and the B'nai-Brith are in the forefront of the opposition to affirmative action, but are singularly quiet about the Meese-Reagan cabal to undermine constitutional liberties.

Silberman's book has been commended also by Rabbi Wolfe Kelman of the Rabbinical Assembly, by Theodore Mann of the American Jewish Congress and by Gershon D. Cohen, Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary. They may yet want to rethink their endorsement.

Those who made substantial grants for this work did a disservice to Jewish-Americans as well as to U.S. democracy. The money could have been better spent to combat racism and anti-Semitism threatening the well-being of all Americans. □

Lewis M. Moroze is Managing Editor of Jewish Affairs.

EVERY READER GET A READER

The Deadly Connection in the Mediterranean

By Bahig Nassar

The article below was excerpted from the brochure entitled: "Intervention and Nuclear Weapons, A Deadly Connection: Facts and Figures," published by the World Peace Council. Copies can be obtained from the U.S. Peace Council, 1123 Broadway, New York 10010.

Two major developments took place recently affecting the Mediterranean region. The first, the deployment of cruise missiles with nuclear warheads, in Comiso, Sicily, which can be targeted against any country in North Africa and the Middle East. The second, the formation of a special force stationed mainly in the USA which can be deployed at short notice in the eastern and southern Mediterranean. This Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) is nuclear capable.

At present, the Mediterranean Sea is in a conjuncture between two major military establishments: NATO and the U.S. Command in Europe, and the new U.S. Central Command established in January 1983 for the operations of the RDF in the Middle East and North Africa. The armed forces of both commands have both conventional and nuclear weapons at their disposal and the fleets of the big powers usually carry weapons of mass destruction.

Moreover, NATO member states are now expanding their activities towards the south outside the traditional zone of NATO operations in a bid to control areas of oil and raw materials and to turn the eastern Mediterranean, the southern flank of the Soviet Union, into a theatre of confrontation.

It is most alarming that these developments are taking place in areas of conflicts, aggressions and interventions and at a time when the concepts of a nuclear first-strike, limited nuclear war and the militarization of outer space (Star Wars) are propagated. **In no other region is the deadly connection between interventions and the danger of nuclear war so threatening as in the Mediterranean region.**

This pamphlet presents facts and figures on the current arms build-up in the Mediterranean region covering Southern Europe including the Balkans, North Africa and the Middle East. Full awareness of these facts can further the efforts of the peace and liberation forces in North Africa and the Middle East to unite and Join forces for:

(Continued on page 18)



FIGHTING RACISM by Gus Hall

It is "more devastating than Legionnaire's disease"; a powerful consciousness-altering ideological drug which "makes a friend appear as an enemy, an enemy as a friend." It is a cause of division within the working class; the basis of the system of discrimination which oppresses thirty million Afro-Americans; and a source of corporate super-profits. Racism is the "nation's most dangerous pollutant."

In this collection of more than 30 essays, pamphlets and articles, Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, subjects the theory and practice of racism to a Marxist-Leninist analysis. He consistently draws on the insights which Marxism provides concerning the class roots of racism and its relationship to the class struggle.

Written in the course of the struggle for equality and justice, in "the heat of battle," this book provides working-class and progressive forces — Black and white — with both a practical guide and the ideological weapons to combat racism.

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Enclosed please find a check/money order in the amount of \$_____ for _____copy(ies) of "Fighting Racism"

November/December 1985

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The editors and editorial committee of Jewish Affairs strongly urges its readers and supporters to make a most generous contribution to the year end appeal of the Communist Party, U.S.A. for financial support.

Your contributions will help the Communist Party, its leaders and members, to make an ever more effective contribution to achieving an end to the nuclear arms race and to ending unemployment, poverty, racism and anti-Semitism.

Make checks payable to: C.P.U.S.A. or Sidney Taylor, Treasurer and mail to: Sidney Taylor, Treasurer
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Heartiest wishes to all our readers and friends for a healthy, peaceful and Happy New Year!

The Rev. Moon's "Godism" The Holocaust and Jewish People!

"Anti-Semitism is a chilling aspect of the Moonist world view," said Fred Clarkson in *Christianity and Crisis*, 10/28/85.

Clarkson was referring to the Korean evangelist who recently came out of prison to which he was sentenced for defrauding the federal government on his income taxes. He is better known as the leader of a cult that has been charged with using deception to obtain and hold on to recruits. He has had legal confrontation with parents who have employed deprogrammers to win their children back from the cult.

Moon operates through an organization called "Causa," which promotes a theocratic ideology referred to as "Godism."

"*The Divine Principle*, the main theological work of Unificationism," says Clarkson, "contains 125 anti-Semitic references, according to the American Jewish Committee. Moon himself has said, "By killing one man, Jesus, the Jewish people had to suffer 2,000 years. During the Second World War six million people were slaughtered to cleanse all the sins of the Jewish people for the killing of Jesus."

Monument to Sosnowiec Martyrs

By Sol Flapan

Warsaw: The Jewish Community of the Katowice province in southern Poland has publicly thanked the municipal authorities of Sosnowiec for initiating the building of a monument to the Jews murdered there by the Nazi Germans during their occupation of the country in World War II. Their collective sentiment of gratitude was externalized by Leon Kostman, a local Jewish community activist and a volunteer reporter for *Folks Shtime*, the weekly bilingual newspaper of the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, popularly known here by its Polish acronym *Teszkazet*.

"I am convinced," says Kostman in a relevant report to this 12 page journal, "that Jews around the world will also hail this enterprise with feelings of deep cordiality, with understanding and with a sense of gratitude that this undertaking will be marked by history."

Accordingly, the Public Monuments Committee of Sosnowiec, an industrial city of about 145,000 inhabitants, recently invited to one of its sessions the secretary of the province branch of *Teszkazet* as well as two leading members of the Jewish congregation there. These secular and religious Jewish leaders were asked to participate in and contribute to the Committee's dealing with the question of erecting a monument to honor the memory of Sosnowiec Jews done to death by the Nazi invader. Also attending this session were such civic activists as officials of the local Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Struggle and Martyrology, the war veteran's organization and one of the municipal architects.

The monument which will be of black granite has been scheduled to be unveiled on April 19, the anniversary of the outbreak of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. If for any reason this granite does not reach Sosnowiec in time, a ground-breaking ceremony will be held on that date.

All told the Hitlerites wiped out some 50,000 Sosnowiec inhabitants, 30,000 of whom were Jews — a frightful fact in itself further compounded by the heinous crime of snuffing out the lives of over 6,000,000 men, women and children of this country.

The inscription on the monument was collectively drawn up and agreed upon by all concerned but on the initiative of Aleksander Sapir, secretary of the Katowice *Teszkazet*. The Star of David will also be etched on the monument as a reminder that a patch with this symbol had to be worn by every single Jew as a national ethnic-marker — a throwback to the obscurantist Mid-

dle Ages.

"Noteworthy," says *Folk Shtime* reporter Leon Kostman, "is that this entire project has been funded by the Sosnowiec municipal government. It is a highly noble act by the Sosnowiec administration and local Public Monuments Committee for which the Jews of Katowice are most sincerely grateful."

Symbolic, too, is the fact that this monument of remembrance is being erected in the year of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite Germany.

Also important is that it is being erected in the heart of a working class center with deep proletarian and patriotic, internationalist roots. A Red Republic of the Dabrowski (steel and coal) Basin was proclaimed in this periphery of what once was the "Prison of Nations" during the revolutionary wave which swept the empire in 1905. It was crushed as was the Russian Revolution at that time. Then again in 1918 Sosnowiec was the scene of one of the first Council of Workers Deputies in a re-emerged Poland after 120 odd years of partition only to be strangled by capitalists and landowners while their brothers and sisters in the east succeeded in launching a new society, the rock bottom of which were the Communist led and inspired Soviets (Councils) of Workers, Farmers and Soldiers.

During the Nazi occupation of Poland the Sosnowiec region was the site of a sub-camp of the notorious Auschwitz death camp where some 4,000,000 people were murdered. It was also the site of a forced labor camp and three prisoner of war camps for British servicemen. However, it was also a center of major anti-Nazi resistance by Communist-led armed partisan forces as well as those of other political orientations.

As all of Poland, this martyred ground was liberated by the multi-national, multi-ethnic Soviet Army rescuing in this way the last remnants of a once numerous Jewish community from total annihilation. Some 600,000 Soviet soldiers paid the supreme sacrifice for this here in Poland alone. □

Sol Flapan is the Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

(Continued from page 16)

the removal of nuclear weapons from the Mediterranean and the ending of the arms build up on the basis of equal security for all countries;

the ending of interventions and the just settlement of conflicts with full respect for the U.N. Charter and above all, for the rights of all people to sovereignty and national independence, political and economic. □

Jewish Affairs

New Year Celebrations at Moscow Choral Synagogue.

More than two thousand members of the congregation of the Moscow Choral Synagogue took part in the celebrations of Rosh Hashanah, the beginning of the new year 5746 according to the ancient Hebrew calendar. Chief Rabbi Adolf Shayeovich wished all those present and their families that they go down in the *Book of Life and Prosperity*, and expressed the hope that the New Year would bring all nations peace and security. He noted that the practicing Jews in the Soviet Union were taking an active part in public peace-making activities, in ecumenical forums held in the USSR and in other countries, and were regular contributors to the Soviet Peace Fund.

A Jewish pocket calendar was printed both in Hebrew and in Russian just before the holiday in 20,000 copies on an order placed by the Moscow Choral Synagogue with a state printing shop. New editions of the *Pantateuch* and prayer books have also been published in the past few years. The interior of the synagogue has been renovated and repairs were made on the kosher dining room. Classes were resumed after the summer holidays in the yeshiva (the religious school attached to the synagogue). The head of the school is Adolf Shayeovich, the chief rabbi. Apart from that, representatives of Moscow's Jewish community can be trained at the Hebrew seminary in Hungary. Incidentally, Adolf Shayeovich is one of its graduates. Before becoming a rabbi, he worked as an engineer in the Far East.

Boris Gramm is the chairman of Moscow's Jewish community. He came to Moscow from Rostov-on-Don where he worked as a theater producer. After finishing the complete course of studies at the yeshivah, he remained in the capital, where the synagogues members elected him the head of the community's executive body.

"The past year was particularly remarkable for us," said Boris Gramm. "Together with all Soviet people we solemnly marked the fortieth anniversary of victory over Hitler's fascism. Millions of Jews perished in Nazi concentration camps, and it was the Soviet Army that saved us from complete extinction, which we shall never forget. Our duty today is to devote all our energy to efforts for peace and against the threat of nuclear war."

"Apart from our canonized prayers which we say every day, we have a special one which we offer on Saturdays and on holidays — it is the *Prayer for Peace*," Gramm continued.

He noted that the followers of Judaism in the So-

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viet Union look forward with hope to the coming summit in Geneva. They welcomed the Soviet Union's unilateral proclamation of a moratorium on nuclear tests and urge their Jewish brethren abroad and all peoples of good will to support the peaceful initiatives which most of the peoples of the world hope for.

"At the same time," he went on, "we cannot help but be alarmed by the ongoing arms race and Washington's dangerous plans to militarize space." He called the tests of anti-satellite weapons conducted by Washington an extremely reckless militaristic act.

"Carried out a few days before the holiday, it has spoiled our holiday mood," stressed Gramm. "But we do not intend to sit idle. In the New Year practicing Jews will make every effort to stop those who are trying to attain military superiority over the USSR and other socialist countries under the cover of peace-loving phrases."

According to Gramm the life of Soviet people is becoming better and more prosperous with every new year. This is evidenced, in particular, by the growing incomes of the synagogue. The community chairman refuted the allegation that the rights of Jews were infringed upon in the Soviet Union, declaring that such assertions were absolute nonsense. There are Jews who are atheists and some who are believers. They enjoy absolutely the same rights as all other Soviet people do.

"Our parishioners often speak about their families and children. The son of one of them has received a State Prize, and another one shared the joy of his son having been promoted to general. A lot of literature is being printed in the Soviet Union in Yiddish. Not long ago a two-part TV film based on Sholom Aleichem's *Tevya the Milchik* was shown on Central Television with *People's Actor of the USSR* Mikhail Ulyanov, a remarkable Russian actor in the main role. Among the cast were also prominent actors of Jewish nationality."

To illustrate the good relations which the Jewish community has with the municipal authorities, Boris Gramm said that at his request Arkhipov Street, where the synagogue is situated, was closed for traffic during the holiday. After all, the synagogue is attended by many people, including elderly people who are hard of hearing and cannot see well. As tradition has it, the young dance right on the street. State organizations give every assistance when it is necessary to make repairs on the synagogue building, to publish religious literature or in baking matzoh.

Of course, a lot of kosher meat and poultry was needed for the holiday and seder meal. This work was done in keeping with the Kosher Laws under Rabbi

No Statute of Limitations For Nazi War Criminals

By Alexander Shlayen

A monument to the victims of Babi Yar now stands ten minutes' ride from the center of Kiev. In 1941 this was a suburb of the Nazi-occupied city with a huge ravine where the Nazi invaders and their hired thugs killed over 200,000 people in cold blood. Many years have passed since then, but the names of the butchers, along with those of other war criminals who have escaped retribution and now live in the United States, Canada and other Western countries, are carefully kept in Soviet archives, kept in the hope that their victims' demands that they be brought to a fair trial will be satisfied some day.

At least 1,100 participated in the massacre of the first five days, when over 120,000 people were slain. The main execution unit was Einsatzkommando 4A, consisting of 150 SS men. The 45th and 303rd police regiments were assigned to it. There were also outlaws from the "Bukovina Kuren" and some German-picked "volunteers" who took part.

However, the only one who was punished was Paul Blobel, SS Standartenfuhrer, chief of Einsatzkommando 4A. In 1951 he was executed in Nuremberg. Proceedings against Blobel's closest associates, SS Obersturmfuhrers Adolf Jansen and August Hoefner and others, 11 men in all, were instituted only in 1967 in West Germany, where they had openly lived under their own names. But there the defendants got off with nothing more than a scare, incurring practically no punishment. It was no wonder then that not the slightest attempt was made at the trial to disclose the rest of the culprits of Babi Yar.

One of them is Pyotr Voinovsky, who now lives in New York and has received U.S. citizenship as a political refugee. He styles himself the "leader of the Bukovina Anti-Bolshevik Underground," an "ideological fighter" and an "exponent of Ukrainian nationalism." But in the years of the war he and his gang killed all the Ukrainians of Babi Yar who did not wish to submit to the Nazis.

Voinovsky's band, which he called the "Bukovina Kuren," was responsible for rivers of human blood in Kamenets-Podolsky, Zhmerinka, Proskurovo, Vinnitsa and Zhitomir.

In 1941 in Kiev the Bukovina Kuren was the only regular formation of Ukrainian nationalists that had experienced Soviet labor camps. That was why it

was given a special role in the Babi Yar executions, which served as a kind of school of genocide for Voinovsky and his associates. The brutalities of the "Kuren" were appreciated. Pyotr Voinovsky eventually received the rank of major from the Nazis, and other awards were bestowed on him as well.

Promotions were also awarded to other members of his group. Many of them later found themselves in the 62nd Battalion of 30th SS division that overran Warsaw and then the south of France. All of them, with their Babi Yar schooling, were highly valued by the Nazis, and when on March 22, 1943, in Khatyn, Byelorussia, 139 women, children and old men were burned alive, Voinovsky's hangmen from the 119th Punitive Battalion again distinguished themselves. Private Vladimir Katryuk, Georgi Vavaleshko, Dmitri Turchenko and Prokofii Kozyrev all live comfortably in the United States.

And time goes by. Now I can no longer clearly remember the faces of my school friends — they were children then — or my aunt, or my cousins, or my first school teacher. Their ashes lie here, at Babi Yar.

Each year on September 29 thousands of people come here, to the foot of the monument. Listen to their conversations, and you will realize why they cannot speak calmly about the murderers responsible for this atrocity. □

Alexander Shlayen wrote the screenplay for the documentary film Babi Yar and the novel of the same title. He now lives in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine. During the Nazi occupation many of his relatives and friends were killed at Babi Yar.

(Continued from page 19)

Adolf Shayevich's supervision by special cutters trained by the Moscow Yeshiva in nearby slaughterhouses and poultry factories. No incidents were recorded. On the contrary, an atmosphere of exceptional benevolence reigned everywhere.

The Jewish New Year was celebrated in all 92 synagogues and numerous minyanim were held, with services attended by clergymen of other faiths and foreign guests. □

This article was published by the Novosti Press Agency.

Jewish Affairs

Died October 22, 1985 at Age 88



**The Editorial Board of Jewish Affairs
feels deeply indebted to
William Weinstone**

**Great Communist leader of U.S.
working class**

**Outstanding Theoretician and
Marxist-Leninist**

Staunch Internationalist

**One of founders of the
Communist Party, U.S.A.**

**Our deepest sympathy to his wife,
Monette, and his family**

Murdered October 11, 1985



**The Editorial Board of Jewish Affairs joins
with the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination
Committee in protesting the murder of Alex
Odeh, its leader in Los Angeles, and the lack of
bringing this terrorist act to justice.**

**We believe the best tribute to the work of
Alex Odeh would be to establish a Rainbow
coalition to prevent such murderous acts in the
future and to bring about a just and lasting
peace in the Middle East.**

"ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" — 10000 נומערן

דאָס געשטאַלט פֿון אַ נייעם טיפּ ייִד, אַ בויער פֿון דער קאָמוניסטישער געזעלשאַפט, שטייט אויף אין פֿולן וואַקס, ווען מע בלעטערט איצט די צען טויזנט נומערן פֿונעם "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן".

ס'האָט אויך וואָס צו זאָגן וועגן זיך די ייִדישע סאָוועטישע קולטור, די ליטעראַטור און טעאַטער, וועלכע האָבן אויף יעדן עטאַפּ פֿון דער ביווג אין דער ייִדישער אוטאָנאָמער געגנט געפֿונען זייער נאַטירלעכן אויסדרוק. די ביראָבידזשאַן טעמע איז געוואָרן איינע פֿון די צענטראַלע אין דער סאָוועטישער ייִדישער ליטעראַטור און קונסט ביכלאַל.

ס'איז ניט קיין צופֿעליקייט, וואָס די ייִדישע רעאַקציע אין אויסלאַנד, אַנהייבנדיק פֿון דער ציעניסטישער פּראָפּאַגאַנדע און איינגעשלאָסן די רענעגאַטן, קאָלעראַלי "געוועזענע" און אַפּטריניקע, האָבן ניט קיין רו און פֿאַלן אַריין אין היסטעריע, לייצענדיק די צייטונג פֿון דער ייִדישער אווטאָנאָמער געגנט אין סאָוועטפּאַראַנדר. מע קאָן דאָ כּפּיירעש אָפּמערקן, אַז דער "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" מעג זיך גרויסן מיט דעם, וואָס ער רופּט אַרויס אַזאַ פּיינטשאַפט באַ אַונדזרע סאַגים.

די רעדאַקלעגיע און רעדאַקציע פֿון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" באַגריסן האַרציק די שוועסטער-צייטונג — דעם אַרגאַן פֿונעם געגנטלעכן קאָמיטעט פֿון דער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי פֿון סאָוועטפּאַראַנדר און פֿונעם געגנטלעכן סאָוועט פֿון פֿאַלקס־דעפּוטאַטן פֿון דער צווייטן מאָל אַרדענטרעגערישער ייִדישער אווטאָנאָמער געגנט.

די רעדאַקלעגיע אין רעדאַקציע פֿין "דזשוואַיש פעערס" (ייִדישע ענינים) באַגריסן האַרציק די שוועסטער-צייטונג — "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" און ווינטשן אים דערפֿאַלג אין אַ וועלט פֿון שלום אין פֿעלקער־פּיינטשאַפט!

דעם 30 אַקטאָבער 1930 יאָר איז דעם דעמלט נאָך פֿאַרוואַרפענעם טייגע־ייִשער טיכאַנקאַיאַ, דעם קומענדיקן ראַיצענטער פֿון דעם ייִדישן איבערוואַנדערעשן ראיאָן ביראָבידזשאַן אַרויסגעגאַן דער ערשטער נומער פֿון דער צייטונג "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן". ס'איז געווען גאַר אַ נייע און זייער אַ סימפּטאָמאַטישע דערשיינונג: די סאָוועטישע ייִדישע פּרעסע האָט אַ שפּאַן געטאַן צו די ברעגן פֿונעם מעכטיקן אמור. פֿון די שפּאַלטן פֿון דער יונגער צייטונג האָט זיך דערטראָגן דאָס קאַל פֿון אַן אָפּגעוואַכטן טייגע קאַנט און פֿון זיינע בויער — דעם נייעם דאָר ייִדישע האַרעפּאַטיקעס פֿון סאָוועטפּאַראַנדר. פֿון יענער צייט איז שוין פּאַריכער מער פֿון אַ האַלבן יאָרהונדערט. אין מעשעך פֿון 55 יאָר דערשיינט נומער נאָך נומער די איצט שוין טעגלעכע, באַלוינטע מיטן אַרדען "ערן-צייכן" צייטונגס פֿונעם סאַציאַליסטישן ביראָבידזשאַן. די שעפע פֿון די פּובליקירטע מאטעריאַלן גיט אַ מעגלעכקייט נאָכצושפּירן נאָך דער שטורמישער אַנטוויקלונג פֿון דער ייִדישער אווטאָנאָמער געגנט אפּן סאָוועטישן ווייטן מירדעך. די ערשטע פינפֿיאָרן, און וועלכע ס'איז אָפּגעוועקט געוואָרן דער נאָך פֿון קיינעם ניט באַטראַטענער טייגע־קאַנט און זיינע רייכטימער, זיינען געשטעלט די צו דינסט דער איבערגעשטאַלטונג פֿונעם ווייטן מחרעך; די גוירל־דיקע מילכאַמע־יאָרן, ביים וועלכע זי גונט האָט יאָר גאַנצן, דעמלט שוין וואַגיגן, עקאָנאָמישן פּאַטענציאַל געווינדעט דעם ניצאַכן איבערן פּיינט; דער שפּעטערדיקער נאָכמילכאַמע־פּעריאָד, ווען עס זיינען געלייזט געוואָרן און סיווערן ביז איצט געלייזט גרויסמאַסשאַטיקע אָפּגאַבן אין דער אַנטוויקלונג פֿון דער פֿאַלקסווירטשאַפט. — אַט די אַלע שפּאַלטן אינעם לעבן פֿון עטלעכע דירעס קוקן אַראָפּ פֿון די שפּאַלטן פֿונעם "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן".

Greetings to our beloved Jim Dolsen on his centennial and his book, "Bucking the Ruling Class," which is in its second printing.
Editorial Board of Jewish Affairs

Best Wishes for a speedy recovery to Phil Novick of Philadelphia, member of Jewish Commission, C.P.U.S.A., and leading Jewish Affairs activist.

On the occasion
of my wife's birthday,
we contributed \$79 to
the Wheeling-Pitt strikers
thru the USWA, Local 1196.
The Daily World
is a good teacher
of Solidarity and Humanism.

Harry and Sarah Tobman

ישראל זשורנאליסט קריטיקירט שאַרף דעם רעדאָקטאָר פון ניו-יאָרקער "ידישע קולטור"

אין זיין קאָלום "דרך-אגב" אין תל אביבער זשורנאל "דער וועג" דער זשורנאליסט יודאמעד (י. לופסקי) דעקט אויף דעם גופטיגן אַנטי סאָוועטיזם פון א.ג. (איטשע גאָלדבערג)

אז: "אונדזער פאָלק איז פאַרמשפט צום אונטערזאָגן פון די סאָוועטן... קולטור-גענאָציד איז גענאָציד". דאָס איז דאָך אַ שרעקלעכע שענדיג פון אַנדערן פון די געפאלענע פון די הענט פון די נאַציס. זיי, די נאַציס האָבן זיך געהאַט פאַרנומען אומצוברענגען דעם "באַלשעוויסטישן רעזשים" און דאָס יידישע פאָלק. איז דען אַ וואונדער אז א.ג. האָט "פאַרגעסן" צו דערמאָנען די סאָוועטישע כוחות, וועלכע האָבן געגעבן אזא רויקן ביישטייער ביים צעשמעטן די נאַצישע בעסטיון?...

ווי פאַרבייגייענדיק דערמאָנט דער רעדנער: "מיר הייליקן אונדזער צונויפקום צו דעם געדאַנגל פאַר שלום — און שלום, וואָס איז איצט ווידער אַ טויט-סכנה". אירב סידראָט טאָקע אַ טויט-סכנה, וואָלט די דאָזיקע פראָגע געדאַרפט זיין אין צענטנער פון דער גאַנצער געאַט-הוכרה. מען דאַרף אַלאַרמירן קעגן דער דאָזיקער טויט-געפאַר. א.ג. וואָרנט גאָר ניט קעגן דער דאָזיקער געפאַר ער אונטערשטייט: "אונדזער פאָלק איז פאַרמשפט צום אונטערזאָגן פון די סאָוועטן" און אז "מאַראַליש וועלן מיר האַלטן ביידע גרויסמאַכטן גלייך פאַראַנטוואָרטלעך". די ביידע גרויסמאַכטן זיינען גלייך פאַראַנטוואָרטלעך? אויך אין דער צווייטער וועלט-מלחמה, ווען מיליאָנען יידן וואָלטן געקענט געראַטעוועט ווערן, ווען די אליאַטישע פאָליטיק — רזוועלט אריינגערעכנט — וואָלט געווען אַן אַנדערע... אויך דאָן זיינען געווען אַזעלכע ווי א.ג., וועלכע האָבן אַנגעוויזן, אז גראָד מצד די סאָוועטן דראָט אַ געפאַר פאַרן יידישן פאָלק און פאַר יידן. צי האָט די דאָזיקע שרעקלעכע דערפאַרונג גאַרניט געלערנט? שרעקלעכער פון אַלץ איז דאָס, וואָס ער קען ניט אַנצייכענען צוליב זיין גיפטיקן אַנטי-סאָוועטיזם קיין שום אויסוועג, קיין שום פערספעקטיוו...

איך האָב געלייענט די רעדע פון א.ג. אין "ידישע קולטור", 3/1 (מערץ 1985) אויף דער געטאָ הוכרה אין ניו-יאָרק. דער רעדנער האָט אין זיין רעדע איבערגעזאָרט דעם ריכטיקן און צייטיקן רוף וועגן "הייליקן דעם זכרון פון אונדזער פאָלק" און וועגן ניט פאַרנעסן די גרויליקע איבלעכונגען, דעם אומקום, די קאַלך-איוונט, דאָס אומברענגען אַ רייטל פון אונדזער פאָלק. א.ג. האָט אַפילו געהאַלטן פאַר ייטיק צו דערמאָנען, אז "מיליאָנען יידן וואָלטן געקענט געראַטעוועט ווערן, ווען די אליאַטישע — פאָליטיק — פון רוזוועלטן אַריינגערעכנט — וואָלט געווען אַן אַנדערע, הפקר, בחבלית הפקר". ריכטיק, ווען די מערבדיקע פאָליטיקער וואָלטן געפירט אַן אַנדער פאָליטיק וואָלט מעגליך געווען צו האַמעווען דעם אויפמאַרש פון היטלערן צו דער מאַכט. מען האָט אים געקענט האַמעווען און אָפּשטעלן ביי די טויערן פון עסטרייך. ווען ער האָט אַנגעהויבן פאַרגאַמירן יידן און קאָמוניסטן-אַפּיאָליסטן. זיי וואָלטן געקענט געראַטעווען מיליאָנען יידן, ווען זיי עפענן גלייך אַ צווייטן פראָנט ווען זיי דערלויבן די יידן, וואָס האָבן זיך על פי נס געראַטעוועט, אַריינקומען אין זייערע לענדער, ווען זיי וואָלטן ניט הערמעטיש פאַמאַכט זייערע לענדער, אז יידן זאָלן זיך ניט קענען ראַטעווען פון גיהנום. ער האָט דאָס דערמאָנט, אַבער ניט אונטערגעשטראַכן גענוג ניט געמאַכט קיין אויספירן און געהאַט דערצו אַ סיבה.

ווייל דער רעדנער אויפן געטאָ-הוכרה אָונט, וועלכער האָט גערופן צו "געדענקען" האָט אַבער אַליין "פאַרגעסן" אונטערזאָרט, וועלכע כוחות האָבן געגעבן דעם אַנטי-זשורנאליסטיקן בייטראַג אינעם צעשמעטן פון אַנאַשע בעסטיו. דאָס איז דאָך די היסטאָרישע און גורלדיקע וויכטיקסטע דערשיינונג. א.ג. דאַנק דער דאָזיקער קרבנותפולער אַנטי-סאָוועטיזם זיינען כאַמח געראַטעוועט געוואָרן מיליאָנען יידן; אַ דאַנק דעם היסטאָרישן זיג, ביי סטאַלינגראַד איז אויך געראַטעוועט געוואָרן דער יידישער יישוב אין ארץ ישראל; אַ דאַנק דעם זיג פון די אַנטי-היטלעריסטישע כוחות, אין וועלכע די סאָוועטישע כוחות האָבן געשפּילט אַ דעצידידירדיקע ראַלע, איז אויך אַנטשאַטען מדינת ישראל. ווי אזוי האָט ער דאָס "פאַרגעסן"?

גאַרניט צופעליק האָט ער דאָס "פאַרגעסן", ווייל... אויף דער געטאָ-הוכרה האָט ער געמאַכט דעם אויספיר,

Tell Reagan:
No
Star Wars

ווירשע ענינים

מארק שאגאל איז אַוועק אין דער אייביקייט

פון ארן ווערגעליס



מארק שאגאל אין די יונגע יארן

צווייטנס (וואָס איז שייַעך די סאַציאַלאַגן), שטייט פֿאַר אויסצופאַרשן די איבערדיכטונג פונעם טכום-מאַצעוו מיט דער הילף פון פֿאַרבן-סימבאָלן. שאַגאַל וועט זיך אינעם פֿאַנטאַזיאַן פון דער אייביקייט איינפונדעווען באַ דער זייט פון שאַלעם-אַלייכעמען, און די פּיל-לעשונינסדיקע מענטשהייט האַלט שוין באַם צוגעווינען זיך צו אַזאַ צווילינג, וואָס ביידע וויינען זיי מיט ליבע-טרערן. שאַגאַלס ליבע! צי האַט איר שוין אַזוינס געזען, אָו ביזן קימאַט הוהנדערט-אַריקן עלטער זאָל אַ קינסטלער ניט אופהערן זיך דערקלערן אין ליבע איין און דער זעלבער פרוי און איין און דעם זעלבן שטאַט-מאַקאַעם! מיר פֿערזענלעך איז אויסגעפֿאַלן זיך דערקלערן אין ליבע שאַגאַלן בעת כּהַאָב אים כאַזוכט אין דער פֿראַנצויזישער ריוויערע און פֿאַרבאַכט מיט אים אַ גליקלעכן טאַג. שפּעטער פּלעגן מיר זיך דורכשרייַבן, צוויי פון זיינע בריוו, אין וועלכע עס פּילט זיך שטאַרק דער זיפּן, וואָס אַ מענטש לאַזט אַרויס איבער זיין אַפּגערייטקייט פונעם היימלאַנד — פון אונדזערע אַלעמענס רוסלאַנד — ברענג איך דאָ אין אַ פֿאַט-רעפּראָדוקציע. צו די בריוו האַט דער יונגער זאָקן צוגעלייגט די צוויי ווייטער געבראַכטע לידער זיינע.

עס איז געוואָרן עטוואָס אומעטיקער אריף דער וועלט, אַזוי ווי דאָן, ווען ס'איז געשטאַרבן ישראל טשאַפּלין. ווען עס איז געשטאַרבן שלום עליכם. דער באַרימטער שאַגאַלישער רעגנבויען איז געוואָרן אַ ביסל טונקלעכער. וויפּל צייט וועט פון איצט אָן דורכגיין, ביזוואונען צווישן אונדז, מענטשן, וועט זיך ווידער באַווייזן אזא שוטעף צו דער נאָט? א שוטעף צו די אומשלדיקע ציגעלעך און צום באַק מיט מענטשלעכע אויגן, צו דעם פֿאַרקישעפטן פּיש און צום פּיערדיק-רויטן האַן

און פונדעסטוועגן וועט אונדז מערער פון אלץ פעלן שאַגאַלס מענטש, "וואָס, פּליט אין די הימלען", האַלטנדיק דעם טרויעריקן בליק צוגעקאָוועט צו דער ערד. שאַגאַל האַט איבערגעאַנדערשט דאָס געשילדערטע ביז אים 'געשטאַלט פונעם מענטשן. ער האַט אים אופגעהויבן איבער די דעכער פון די היימיש-כאַקאַנטע, אַרעמע איינגאַרנדיקע גאַסן, אופגעהויבן אים, אָן דער הילף פונעם מאַטאַר, אַף נעשעמ-פּליגל, אפּילע ניט אונטערשטעלנדיק דאָס לייטערל צום הימל. נאָך מער — דער קינסטלער האַט איבערגעפּלאַנצט באַם בערן-אַזאַעס די אייגענעבירענע נאָך אין בעריישיריקן "באַשאַף" אייוועריס. אדאנק דעם איז מאַרק שאַגאַל אַריינגעלאָזט געוואָרן אינעם קלוב פון די סאַמע געוואָגטע פּאַנטאַסטן פון דער וועלט-קולטור.

זיין אופאַנגט פון דעם מענטשן, וועלכע איז דורכגענומען סיי מיט אַן אַלאַנציינאַלן קאַלאָריט, סיי מיט ייִדישן טכום-האַמוישעוודיקן און ביבלישן קאַלאָריט. וועלן מיט דער צייט כאַהאַנדלען און באַטראַכטן פּילאַסאָפּן און סאַציאַלאַגן: ער האַט, ערשטנס, באַוויזן, אַז מע דאַרף ניט זיין קיין אויבערפלעכלעכער מאַטעריאַליסט, קעדי ניט מוירע צו האַבן פֿאַר דער פעסט פון אידעאָליזם באַם אויסריכטן אינעם מענטשן אומגלייכלעכע אייגנשאַפטן און מעגלעכקייטן, אָן אַ פֿאַרדאַכט, אַז דאָס וועט צוגעשריבן ווערן דעם ריכיוועשעלולעם. אַזוי אַרום, קומען מיר נאָכאַמאַל צום פֿאַרשטאַנד, אַז קונסט האַט ניט קיין "פֿאַטאַלאַג", פונקט אזוי ווי דער קאַסמאַס, פונקט אזוי ווי דער מענטש אין אים. דער "מעשגאָס" אין פֿאַרענע, אין מאַלעריי אדג. איז יענע שלימעסדיקע קראַפט, וואָס מאַכט אַן אַרט פֿאַרן "פּידלער" אפּן "דאָן".