

# JEWISH AFFAIRS

May/June 1987  
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## *39th Anniversary of the State of Israel*

**The Constitution and Slavery  
Israeli Ordinance on Terrorism  
Nazi War Criminals in the U.S.**  
*Herbert Aptheker*

**39th Anniversary of the State  
of Israel**  
*Joseph Lipski*

**The Israeli-U.S. Connection**  
*Lewis M. Moroze*

**Zossi: Scenes and Images of a  
Beloved Village**  
*David Seltzer*

**Cardinal Glemp of Poland  
Speaks for Peace**  
*Sol Flapan*

**Poetry**  
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June 1987

Dear Reader:

"A Jewish American Agenda For Peace, Jobs and Equality" is the theme of the 15th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner to be held at the NY Penta Hotel Grand Ballroom, Sunday, September 20, 1987 at 12 noon.

Throughout the length and breadth of our land our people are stepping up their efforts for an end to US intervention against national liberation movements. They are marching and mobilizing to turn our country around towards peace and the rebuilding of our crisis-ridden economy. Across the land there is growing concern for protecting the rights enshrined in our US Constitution against the inroads of Reagan, Burgher, Meese, et al.

Jewish Americans, in increasingly growing numbers, leaders and rank and file, are joining with the people of Israel to put an end to aggression by the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance and to demand the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the United Nations.

When founded 15 years ago Jewish Affairs was the first and only Jewish American periodical to warn of the long range consequences of aggression by the Israeli Zionist ruling circles.

Jewish Affairs is and has been the most consistent Jewish American voice combatting Reaganism at home and abroad. Today, in their majority Jewish Americans are active participants in the broad people's movements to oust Reagan and Reaganism to turn our country around.

We have been fortunate over the years in the support we have received from our readers in reaching out for new readers and in financial support. It is, then, with hopeful anticipation that we look toward you once again for your support in organizing tables of ten for the Dinner and the gathering of greetings to our Dinner and for contributions to further the work of Jewish Affairs.

Sincerely yours,

*Herbert Aptheker*  
Herbert Aptheker  
Editor

*Lewis M. Moroze*  
Lewis M. Moroze  
Managing Editor

דער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג, וואָס איז אַפּגעשוואַכט געוואָרן פון אידעאָלאָגישן שטאַנדפּונקט... אַרײַב די ציוניסטישע באוועגונג האָט ניט קיין איינפלוס אין די יידישע קהילות, צוליב וואָס עקזיסטירט זי בכלל? אַנדערע ציוניסטישע פירער האָבן ביי דער געלעגנהייט אַרויסגעבראַכט ביי דער אַרגומענטן וועגן דורכפאַל פון דער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג... איצט איז די מאָרגן פרייהייט געקומען צום אויספיר, אַז מען דאַרף שטימען פאַרן ציוניסטישן קאַנגרעס? איצט, ווען די פירער פון דאָזיקן ציוניסטישן קאַנגרעס זיינען מודה, אַז זיי טאַפּטשען אין דער בלאַטע? איצט, ווען די פירער פון לינקן ציוניסטישן לאַגער זיינען מודה, אַז זיי שוועבן אין די וואַלקנס, אַן שום אויסוועג? אן שום פּרעספּעקטיוו? צי וואַלט מען ניט געדאַרפט אַנשטאַט דעם מאַכן אַן ערנסטן חשבון הנפשׁ?

## NATIONAL MARCH FOR JUSTICE, JULY 4 IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Angela Davis, Co-Chair of the National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression (NAARPR), announced that committees in 31 cities were now mobilizing for the National March for Justice the NAARPR will lead on July 4 in Montgomery, Alabama.

Ms. Davis said, "We will march in Montgomery on July 4 to demand freedom for Johnny Imani Harris and the many others victimized by the racism and anti-working class bias of the criminal justice system. We will march to demand the freedom of political prisoners such as Native American Indian leader Leonard Peltier, the Puerto Rican activists on trial in Connecticut, and the members of the Black Panther Party imprisoned some 20 years ago. We will march to demand that our government act to stop the racist and anti-Semitic violence that is sweeping the land.

"We will march to demonstrate once again that a united people's movement can come together and defeat the racist, anti-communist, anti-democratic policies typified by the gang of con men currently in the White House. Together, on this 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution, we the people can fight back and win." □

פון דער סוכנות געשטיצט געוואָרן דורך "אלע ציוניסטישע פּאַרטייען אין ישראל פון מ"פּם ביז חירות. מ"פּם-טוער זיצן צוזאַמען מיט חירות און קאַפּערירן. שטיצנדיק אַפילו בשותפות דעם פרעזידענט פון וועלט-ראַט פון דער ציוניסטישער אַרגאַניזאַציע. אין "על המשמר" האָבן זיך טאַקע געהערט שאַרפע שטימען פאַר באַזייטיקן אַריה דולצין פון זיין אַמט צוליב דעם סקאַנדאַל אין באַנק לאומי, אָבער שטילערהייט, אין די הויכע פענצטער פון דער סוכנות און ציוניסטישער אַנפירונג שטימט מען צוזאַמען מיט חירות קעגן פאַרשלאַג פון די ניט-ציוניסטישע יידישע געלט-געבער צו באַזייטיקן אַריה דולצין.

אויף נאָך אַ געביט קאַפּערירט מ"פּם זייער פון מיט די רעכטע חירות, דאָס איז אין קאַמטעט, וואָס "זאַרגט" וועגן די סאַוועטישע יידן. איז דען אַ ווונדער, אַז מ"פּם זאַגט זיך אָפּ צו קאַפּערירן מיט דער ישראלדיקער יידיש-אַראַבישער קאַמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי? דאָס איז די הויפט-סיבה פון אַראַפּקייקלען זיך פון מ"פּם צו אַ ראַנד-פּאַרטיי. דער מ"פּם-זשורנאַליסט, מאַרק גפן, באַוויינט מיט ביטערע טרערן די נעבעכדיקע פּאַזיציע פון מ"פּם אינעם אַרטיקל: "לינקס אין די וואַלקנס" ("על המשמר", 27.3.87). דער זשורנאַליסט שלאַגט פאַר צו שאַפן אַ "געייניקטן לינקן פּראָנט" אָבער אן די יידיש-אַראַביש קאַמוניסטן. וואָס פאַראַ ווערט האָט אַזאַ לינקער פּראָנט...?

דעריבער איז דער רוף פון דער מאָרגן פרייהייט צום "פאַרשטאַרקן מ"פּם און ר"ץ אַז זיי זאָלן ווערן אַ כּוח" אַ פּוסטער רוף, וואָס האָט ניט קיין שום ממשות, ווייל זיי זיינען פאַרבונדן (ווי איך האָב אויבן אַנגעוויזן אויף געוויסע געביטן אַפילו מיט דער רעכטער חירות, אַפּאַנגנדיק זיך צו קאַפּערירן מיט די קאַמוניסטן, מיט וועלכע ס'וואַלט מעגלעך געווען צו שאַפן אַן אַמחדיקן ברייטן יידיש-אַראַבישן לינקן פּראָנט. צו אַזאַ לינקס, וואָס שוועבט אין די וואַלקנס און זיינען אַפּגעריסן פון דער ישראלדיקער ווירקלעכקייט האָבן זיך רעדאַקטאָרן פון דער מאָרגן פרייהייט דערמאָנט צו שטיצן...

נאָך עפעס וועגן דעם "רוף פון דער מאָרגן פרייהייט" צו שטימען צום ציוניסטישן קאַנגרעס. לאַמיר ציטירן פון אויבנדערמאָנטן אַרטיקל אין "נייע צייטונג" וועגן דעם, וואָס ס'זאָגן ציוניסטישע פירער וועגן דער ציוניסטישער אַרגאַניזאַציע. דער וויצע-פּרעמיער און אויסערן-מיניסטער, שמעון פרס האָט אויף דער זיצונג פון פירער פון די ציוניסטישע פּאַרטייען דערקלערט, אַז: "די ציוניסטישע פּאַרטייען רוקן ניט אַרויס קיין אַרויסרופן פאַרן פּאַלק און די גאַנצע באַוועגונג האָט מער יאָרן, ווי מיטגלידער". יצחק שמיר, דער פּרעמיער-מיניסטער האָט צוגעגעבן, אַז: "מען דאַרף אַריינגיסן נייעם אינהאַלט אין

# יידישע ענינים

## קאלאניזאציעס זיינען שעדלעך פאר ישראל

פון דער רעדע פון דעם קאמונסטישן

כנסת דעפוטאט מאיר ווילנער

ווערט פון זייערע פענסיעס.

אויסער דער געזעלשאפטלעכער און עקאנאמישער זייט איז אין דעם פאראן א סאבאטאזש אין שלום. יעדע קאלאניזאציע איז א מלחמה-דערקלערונג. יעדע קאלאניזאציע דערנענטערן נאך א מלחמה. די מיטלען אויף קאלאניזאציעס זיינען שוין באגראבן געווארן, ווייל ס'וועט דאך קומען דער טאג, ווען ס'וועט זיין שלום און ווען מיר וועלן אלע טאנצן אין די גאסן. אזוי ווי מיר האבן געטאנצט אין 1948, ווען ס'וועט קומען דער דאזיקער טאג, וועט מען אויפלייזן די קאלאניזאציעס. אלס אויסדרוק פון ווילן צו שלום.

די התחיה-פראקציע איז א שונא פון שלום און דעריבער איז זי אן אנהענגערין פון קאלאניזאציעס. שלום און קאלאניזאציעס גייען נישט צוזאמען. מען דארף טראכטן וועגן די קרבנות פון דער קומענדיקער מלחמה, וועגן וועלכער מען רעדט אזוי פיל און מען גרייט זיך צו. אויף דער גאנצער וועלט פארגלייכט מען אונדז מיט דרום-אפריקע. מען קוקט אויף אונדז ווי אויף א טמאהדיק פארפאלק.

ס'איז פאראן נאך אן אספעקט פון די קאלאניזאציעס: אויסער דער אפיציעלער אונטערדריקונג אין דער מערבדיקער גדה, אין עזה פאס, אין רמת הגולן, זיינען פאראן יידישע טעראר-גרופן פון קאלאניסטן, וועלכע הערן נישט אויף צו אידיעקווען זיך איבער די איינוווינער. מיר זיינען דערגאנגען צום דערמאנען א פרוי אין רמת הגולן, פארטרייבן פון עזה א פרוי מיט א קראנק-הארץ און א קליין קינד, אפרייסנדיק זי פון דער משפחה און מאן. דאס איז דאך א הויכפונקט פון אכזריותדיקייט פון ראסיסטישן קאלאניאליזם. און די פרוי, וואס האט געמפלט אין דער תפיסה אין רעזולטאט פון פייניקונגען. דאס איז א פאליטיק, וואס איז פארבונדן מיט

ווען איך הער די רעדעס אין כנסת דערמאנען זיי מיר די רעדעס פון באטא אין דרום-אפריקע. די דיסקוסיע איז צווישן די, וואס זיינען פאר א סך קאלאניזאציעס און די, וואס זיינען פאר ווייניק קאלאניזאציעס. אבער אלע קאלאניזאציעס זיינען פאקטיש נישט געזעצלעך. אויך די קאלאניזאציעס, וואס זיינען באשטעטיקט געווארן דורך דער רעגירונג זיינען נישט געזעצלעכע. ס'איז נישט פאראן קיין שום רעכט פאר קאלאניזאציעס אויף די שטחים. וואס זיינען באשטימט פאר דער זעלבשטענדיקער פאלעסטינער מדינה.

איצט האט דער מיניסטער דוד לוי דערקלערט באמבאסטיש וועגן דער אויפשטעלונג פון נאך א שטאט אויפן אקופירטן געביט, ביתר. די שטאט איז באשטימט פאר 8 טויזנט משפחות, וואס זאגט דער פארשטייער פון מערך אין דער סוכנות, ה' זווילי? אז נישט 8 טויזנט, נאר בלויז 800 משפחות. דאס דערמאנט מיר דעם וויץ פון בערנארד שאו וועגן דער באציונג צו א שוישפילערין. דער פרינציפ איז דער זעלבער, בלויז דער פרייז פאר פאליטישע נזות איז אן אנדערער.

ריזיקע פאנדן זיינען פארווענדעט געווארן אויף קאלאניזאציעס. ה' זווילי האט איבערגעגעבן ("דזשערוואלעם פאסט", 27.2.87), אז זינט 1967 זיינען אויסגעגעבן געווארן 10 מיליארד דאלאר אויף קאלאניזאציעס. אויפן חשבון פון וואס? אויפן חשבון פון קראנקע אין די שפיטעלער, אויפן חשבון פון די קראנק-שוועסטערס און דאקטוירים, אויפן חשבון פון דערציונג, אויפן חשבון פון דעם, וויל מען העכערן דעם שכר-לימוד אין די אוניווערסיטעטן. אויפן חשבון פון די ארעמקייט-שכונות און אויפן חשבון פון די פענסיאנערן אין עפנטלעכן דינסט, וועמען מען וויל נישט געבן קיין הוספה, וואס איז שוין באשטימט געווארן, 26% צוליבן צערייבן דעם רעאלן



## FROM OUR EDITOR

### The Constitution and Slavery

Forrest McDonald, a professor of history at the University of Alabama (now visiting at the College of William & Mary in Virginia), has been selected to give the annual Jefferson Lecture by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Professor McDonald is an outspoken adherent of Hamiltonianism, which was on the Right of the political spectrum in the eighteenth century; holding fast to this view as the twenty-first century looms, makes McDonald a fitting Jefferson spokesman in the era of Ronald Reagan!

The N.Y. Times (May 11), reporting on some of McDonald's current lectures — preparatory, apparently, to the Jefferson Lecture — managed to interview him. Its reporter, Irwin Molotsky, observed that Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall recently had suggested that the original Constitution was far from perfect and that intense popular pressure, beginning with that which had produced the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, and including those which terminated slavery, enfranchised Black men and enfranchised all women, had been necessary to make the document somewhat commensurate with present social requirements. Marshall's view clearly suggested that the Constitution was not a document to be embalmed but rather one to be constantly weighed so that it might be made even more helpful for current and future generations.

Mr. Molotsky asked Professor McDonald to comment especially on Justice Marshall's point that "the constitution granted (some) freedoms but denied them to slaves." To this Professor McDonald responded: "Slavery was a fact. It had simply not crossed many people's intellectual and moral horizons to question it." Of course, here McDonald meant white people; presumably he forgot that the slaves were people and presumably, also, he knew that *they* did "question" it!

Professor McDonald went on, quite gratuitously, to suggest that slaves in the United States lived in far superior conditions to contemporary European peasants.

The latter comment shows a singular ignorance as to the realities of slavery in the United States. It reminds one of some of today's Zionists who insist that the Palestinians lucky enough to be in the grasp of Israel are "better off" than Arabs living elsewhere in the Middle East, and of those partisans of apartheid who insist that Blacks in South Africa are "better off" than their coun-

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terparts elsewhere in Africa. The fools insist on fighting and dying in order to be "worse off"!

As to Professor McDonald's remark that slavery was a "fact" at the time, one is at a loss to plumb the intricacies of that cryptic comment. But his assertion that few (white) people had questioned it at the time reflects an ignorance of eighteenth century history that should embarrass beginners at the universities to which the professor is attached.

The fact is that the Revolutionary and Constitutional generations witnessed profound questioning by white people of slavery. This was true of entire religious denominations, as the Quakers, Baptists and Methodists and it was true of many of the Fathers (and Mothers) of those generations. It was true, for example, of Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Abigail Adams and John Jay, all of whom were actively engaged in either anti-slavery organizational efforts and/or polemics — in the cases of Jefferson, Franklin and Paine, for example, polemics whose sharpness was hardly exceeded by William Lloyd Garrison.

It was in this era that hundreds of slaves were manumitted in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina for reasons of conscience, that the slave trade was outlawed as "piracy", and that emancipation acts swept the Northern states so that all of them had provided for the termination of slavery by 1804.

Another reflection of this profound concern with slavery among the white people making up the Constitutional generation was the fact that its immediate drafters were so embarrassed by its existence that they deliberately omitted the cursed word from the finished document.

That a professor of history selected to give the Jefferson Lecture for what is called the National Endowment for the Humanities, is ignorant of these basic facts in our history suggests that as McDonald will be talking the ghost of Jefferson will be squirming. But then, with Ronald Reagan occupying the same office as that once held by Abraham Lincoln, nothing absurd and even criminal that transpires in Washington these days is truly surprising.

### **Israeli Ordinance on Terrorism**

This past August, the Israeli Knesset passed by a vote of 47 to 25, the so-called Ordinance for the Prevention of Terrorism. A more accurate title would be, Ordinance for the Prevention of Peace.

May/June 1987

This Ordinance makes it a crime punishable by three years in prison for any citizen of or resident in Israel to meet with any one who is adjudged by the Government to be a member of a terrorist organization, meaning, as all admit, the PLO, in particular. In addition, this law provides a three-year prison sentence for any lawyer who defends a person "who fulfills a role in a terrorist organization"!

What this law seeks to do is to curb the increasingly hopeful phenomenon of meetings between Israeli citizens and PLO members and leaders — as occurred, for example, recently in Rumania. It is, in effect, a renewed declaration of war; one quick result was the late battle, inside Israel, between PLO fighters and IDF men, with casualties on both sides. Another result is the recent PLO meeting in Algiers where renewed dedication was affirmed with marked unity, by the Palestinian forces for the achievement of nation-hood.

The ordinance represents a victory of the Likud and Right components of the Labor Alignment faction. All Likud MKs and the entire extreme Right groupings plus eight Labor MKs voted for it. Of course, the democratic and Left forces were opposed; they were joined by eight Labor MKs with enough courage to reject this Kahane-like ordinance. But twenty-three others from Labor, including all the Labor ministers, were simply *absent* at the vote!

Will Jewish masses in the United States who want an honorable peace in the Mid-East let their voices be heard in condemnation of this McCarthyite ordinance, this law which makes a mockery of freedom of speech and of assembly?

That the Israeli government could enact such an ordinance proves its desperation, its increasing lack of mass support, its utter bankruptcy to pursue any policy other than suppression, force, denial of decency and — if not turned back — one leading to catastrophe.

### **Nazi War Criminals in the U.S.**

The dead of World War II had not been buried before Washington and London began preparing for World War III against the Soviet Union. Part of this planning was the haven and rehabilitation provided for tens of thousands of Nazis, including Generals, politicians, SS monsters and assorted war criminals. These were employed against the European Left and the USSR — and Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Albania — directly in sabotage and other counter-revolutionary roles. And thousands were given safety (either before or after

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such "service"), within the United States, Canada and Latin America.

It took concerted struggle for over thirty years before the U.S. Justice Department *began* to investigate some of the worst of these monsters. After about five years of effort, less than twenty of them have been brought before U.S. courts and about a dozen have received any punishment, in the form of loss of citizenship and deportation.

Under Reagan this process not only stopped; it was reversed. The latest example of the latter effort has been the frantic attempts by Attorney- General Meese to save the Nazi mass murderer, Karl Linnas. After a process against Linnas, begun before Reagan, in which Linnas actually had *thirteen* appeals, and still being unable to spare him, and with his guilt clearly proved — including by repeated confessions — Meese actually tried, secretly, during the Passover holidays — to get this mass killer to Panama.

When, despite the holiday, Jewish groups learned of this deception, it was possible to bar the "rescue" and killer Linnas actually was sent back to the USSR. The mass media in the United States did not discuss this Reagan- Meese crime but rather concentrated on "poor Mr. Linnas" facing the "terrible" courts of the Soviet Union!

There are dozens of crimes for which Meese should be fired and Reagan impeached. This dastardly "Passover Plot" to save Linnas is but the latest. How Reagan befools the Office of President! How vicious is the pro-fascist and anti-Semitic biases of this Attorney-General! □

## IN LOVING MEMORY

of

**Our Dear Brother**

**JOSEPH V. KAHN**

**Lillian Neumann,  
Esty Glassman**

## NAZI WAR CRIMINALS PROTECTED BY COLD WARRIORS

by **Conrad Komorowski**

**This editorial is reprinted from the April 2 issue of  
*The Ukrainian News*:**

The trial in Israel of John Demjanjuk, accused of being a Nazi war criminal, points up the fact that there are still many thousands of fascist war criminals in the United States, where he lived.

Allan Ryan, director of the Office of Special Investigation in the Justice Department until 1983, estimates there are at least 10,000 war criminals here. These are not merely ex-Nazis, Nazi sympathizers or collaborators but those "who had personally, and quite willingly, taken part in the persecution of millions of innocent men, women and children," according to Ryan.

Furthermore, these war criminals were welcomed here, and many were deliberately brought here by U.S. authorities to serve the Cold War.

Ryan points out that after the end of World War II in Europe, "Nazi war criminals came here by the thousands, through the openly deliberated public policy of this country, formulated by Congress and administered by accountable officials."

Asked how Nazi war criminals came to the U.S., Ryan replied, "We invited them in."

It was not only the Truman administration that was guilty of this crime against the American people and democracy. Democratic and Republican administrations protected the war criminals and resisted efforts of democratic people's organizations to expose them and have them brought to justice.

To this day, the Reagan administration balks at any major cleanup of the war criminal situation in this country. All administrations have rejected the concept of "war criminal" and have collaborated with war criminals on the general principle that they are "anti-Communist." The various administrations recruited them in many ways related to reactionary domestic and cold war policies.

This includes operations abroad. Not only were war criminals used for subversion against the Soviet Union and newly-formed socialist states, against trade unions and democratic organizations in Italy, France and elsewhere, but an estimated 40,000 were sent or went to Latin America where they served the dictators and U.S. imperialism.

John Demjanjuk's case goes back many years. He was convicted in 1981 after a long trial before Federal District Judge Frank Battisti. Ryan, in his book "Quiet Neighbors — Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America," states that Demjanjuk's defense consisted of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet harangues.

The ultra-right turned out for Demjanjuk, accused of being "Ivan the Terrible" at the Nazi murder camp at Treblinka, Poland. Hundreds of Birchites, Ku Klux Klanners and the like picketed his trial and demanded Demjanjuk's release. The court ordered deportation and he was sent by Washington to Israel for trial. According to international law, as an Ukrainian renegade, Demjanjuk should have been sent to the Soviet Union.

The Demjanjuk case and the Reagan administration's policy of do-nothing on the war criminal situation raise serious questions. Many Americans are calling for an end to sheltering war criminals. They note that active prosecution of war criminals is part of the struggle against creeping fascism at home. □

Conrad Komorowski is a member of the staff of the *Peoples Daily World*.

### To Be Noted

Shortly before he died in December, 1973, David Ben-Gurion, a founder of Israel and its first Prime Minister, said:

"Never forget that *historically* this country belongs to two races — the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews of the world . . . The logic of all this is that to get peace, we must return in principle to the pre-1967 borders . . . So when I consider the future of Israel, I only consider the country before the Six Day war. We should return all gains except . . . East Jerusalem for history and the Golan for security — and considering the strength of Arab sentiment, some degree of accommodation will be necessary even here. As for Sinai, Gaza, the West Bank — let them go. Peace is more important than real estate."

Milton Viorst, *Sands of Sorrow: Israel's Journey from Independence*, Harper & Row, N.Y., 1987, p. 12.

## THE 39th ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

By J. Lipski

This year we are celebrating the 39th Anniversary of the State of Israel and are preparing ourselves for the celebrations toward the 40th year of Israel's existence. The 39th anniversary of the State of Israel reminds us also that 40 years have passed since the UN Assembly adopted, on the 29th of September 1947, with an overwhelming majority, the historical resolution on the termination of the British mandate and the establishment of two states — a Jewish and an Arab State — in the territory of Mandatory Palestine. Today attempts are made to blur the significance of this resolution and also the fact that it was adopted at an international conference with American and Soviet cooperation and that it specifically provided for the founding of two states — Jewish and Arab.

We also have constantly to remember that this resolution by the United Nations had been adopted as a result of the victory of the joint anti-Hitler forces over the Nazi beasts. I shall never forget the outbreak of joy in Israel and in the Jewish communities over the world when the announcement of the establishment of the Jewish State was announced. This was the most prominent expression of the victory over the Nazis who had decided to wipe out the memory of the Jewish People from the globe. The Jewish State has arisen on the ruins of Hitlerism. Regrettably this fact has not been adequately emphasized: the significance of the common interest and fate of the Jewish People and the anti-Hitlerite, anti-fascist, anti-racist, democratic and peace forces all across the world.

Nor shall I ever forget the day, soon after the proclamation of the State of Israel when I had come on a visit for a few days in the country. I felt the great enthusiasm of the broad popular masses and the concern at the refusal of the reactionary Arab rulers, encouraged by England and America, to agree to the UN decision. My brothers, young Palmach officers, took me in a jeep to the border with Jordan, showing me proudly the weapons they had received a short while ago from Czechoslovakia; weapons that had enabled them to defend the newly founded state. Now, there are many who try to conceal and forget this, too.

The 39th anniversary of the State of Israel coincides this year with the 20th anniversary of the Six Day War, the war in which Israel conquered large territories in Egypt, Syria and Jordan, aimed to solve certain prob-



lems of the young Jewish State. After the war Moshe Dayan declared bombastically: "We are waiting for a telephone call" from the Arab countries. Such a call has not come until this day. The war should have put an end to the Arab resistance after the Arab armies were defeated. In the Yom Kippur War of 1973, the Arab leaders proved that they had restored their armed forces. The victory in the Six Day War was meant to guarantee Israel's security. After 20 years it turns out, that the occupied territories have not strengthened the security nor have they put an end to terror. People are beginning to understand that a sober, reasonable policy could have prevented the Sinai- Suez War, the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War and the war against Lebanon. How many young lives could have been saved!

The chairman of the Knesset Committee on Foreign and Security Affairs, Abba Eban, basing his information on documents that have been released for publication reveals that after the Sinai-Suez War the American rulers approached Ben Gurion to hold the Gaza Strip after the withdrawal from the Sinai. Ben Gurion rejected the idea categorically objecting to leaving an additional 300,000 Palestinians inside the borders of Israel. This he considered a "barrel of explosives" (*Davar*, 2/22/87). Ever widening circles in Israel are beginning to understand that "20 years after the Blitz (the Six Day War), that shone for a while, we know quite well, we know that we have failed" — writes the Mapam activist, Gadi Yatziv, (*Al Hamishmar*, 4/13/87). The veteran Liberal Party leader Moshe Kol arrives at the conclusion that "We have to acknowledge the fact that the continuation of the occupation is bad for us. The occupation corrupts our children who guard the occupied territories, not always employing humane means. The Palestinian students in the universities hate us and it is none of our business to be involved in these high schools" 1/7/87.

One becomes aware that one is not safe even in Tel Aviv or in Jerusalem. Instead of promoting economic development, the enormous military expenditures have plunged the country into a severe economic crisis. It is predicted that this year interest alone on the debts will amount to one million dollars (*Ha' Aretz*, 4/13/87).

The American loans for the purchase in the US of military equipment, equipment that is unnecessary for Israel's defense, will have to be paid back now. Gadi Yatziv is correct when he says: "damned be the occupation" where one and one half million human beings are entirely without any rights, discriminated against, where systematically the culture of a people seeking freedom is oppressed — this is a time bomb...." (*Al Hamishmar*,

4/13/87). For this purpose so many sacrifices have been made and are still being made.

In this atmosphere of hopelessness, of deep concern, the clerical forces are gaining strength. They recruit supporters among the embittered, desperate youth who fill the Yeshivot (Hebrew Seminaries), having at the same time the privilege of being exempt from serving in the army. In this atmosphere when the Israeli Labor Party and the Histadrut leaders do not show a way toward peace nor toward protecting the wage earner's interests, it is no wonder that the right-wing Likud leaders who promote an illusionary road toward an "undivided land of Israel" accompanied by social demagoguery, have come to power and formed together with the Labor Party the "national unity government".

The situation in the region has seriously deteriorated. Israel still holds part of Lebanon where a bloody underground war is still going on. The voices in world public opinion are growing, calling for an international conference under the auspices of the UN. People are becoming aware that all attempts by the American rulers to resolve the tragic conflict in the region are in the interest of imposing US hegemony and they have failed. Likewise the joint Israeli-American plan to establish a "New Order" in Lebanon and in the region has failed. These attempts have cost many lives and have led the country to economic ruin. The new encouraging fact is that broad circles in Israel support an international conference with the participation of the Soviet Union and the PLO. Even inside the government there are growing voices in favor of a solution of the Palestinian problem so that Israel can be rid of the unfortunate occupation.

It is encouraging to note that the new Soviet peace move is accepted with sympathy and esteem throughout the world as well as in the region. In this context the suggestion is raised that the Israeli government should consider the revocation of the US-Israeli Strategic Alliance against the Soviet Union and should withdraw its support of the anti-Soviet "Star Wars" project. It will also be necessary to stop the shameful cooperation with the racist regime of South Africa. All these are in the interest of Israel and the Jews everywhere.

It is important to emphasize that in the Arab countries stronger voices are increasingly being raised for resolving the Israel-Arab conflict within the framework of an international conference. Of course, it will be necessary to grant full and equal rights to the Israeli Arab population and to recognize the right of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories to political activity. Obviously, we shall have to live with the Palestinians as

neighbors in friendship.

At this occasion let me point to the positive events of the past year. The Israeli government has abolished military control of the Arab area inside Israel known by the name of "Area 9". It has been returned to the Arab inhabitants for their own use. This step has been welcomed by the organized Arab public in Israel and by Jewish democratic circles. This decision, however, roused the anger and protests of the extremist-right-wing circles. The idea that full rights must be granted to the Israeli Arab population as equal citizens of the state finds growing support.

Broader circles are beginning also to understand that the colonization of the Occupied Territories ruins Israel economically and politically. Even inside the government cabinet ministers admit openly that the settlements in the Occupied Territories are built at the expense of the development of the Negev and of the economy within the "green line". Recently, a mass demonstration of unemployed protested the founding of a new city in the Occupied Territories.

The secular and democratic circles recently foiled several attempts to introduce a racist, anti-democratic law on the question of: "Who is a Jew?". The Supreme Court ordered the registration as a member of the Jewish nationality a person who was converted to Judaism by a Reform Rabbi, not according to the norms of the orthodox rabbinate in Israel. The Supreme Court has also revoked the censorship rules regarding cinemas and theatre performances which have been critical of the approach of the clericals and the supporters of an "undivided land of Israel".

Toward the 39th Anniversary of the State of Israel, an increasingly sharper confrontation is taking place between the forces of the nationalist clergy, between the advocates of an "Undivided Land of Israel" and the forces that support democracy and equal rights for Jews and Arabs — the Jewish-Arab forces who call for a reasonable solution, pointing to a bright perspective of an Israeli-Palestinian peace which will guarantee the peaceful development of the State of Israel. □

J. Lipski is Israeli correspondent for *Jewish Affairs*.

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## THE ISRAELI-U.S. CONNECTION

By Lewis M. Moroze

Forty years after their original alignment with the US, Israeli ruling circles and the people of Israel face their gravest crisis. Forty years ago the USSR made possible the creation of the State of Israel. In return Israeli Zionist ruling circles rejected friendship with the USSR riding into the future with the US which fought the establishment of the State of Israel.

Today, Israeli Foreign Minister Peres pleads with the US to minimize the role that the USSR is to play in the much needed international conference for peace in the Middle East.

The 1947 UN General Assembly Majority Plan for Palestine called for an independent Jewish State and an independent Arab State with Jerusalem under international control.

UN Recommendation XII acknowledged that no settlement of the Palestine problem could be regarded as a solution of the Jewish problem as a whole.

The UN Minority Plan called for an independent bi-national state — Arab and Jewish — with Jerusalem as its capital.

The majority plan was approved by the Zionists; the minority plan was supported by the Arab countries. The imperialist powers took one position; the USSR another. Britain proposed that the decisions were to be mandatory only if the Jews and Arabs agreed with them, knowing that the inability to win concurrence would give Britain the ability to maneuver and retain control.

The US called for Britain to retain the mandate until the independence of the Arab and Jewish States were proclaimed.

In May 1947 USSR Ambassador to the UN, Andrei Gromyko, rejecting rival nationalist demands declared: "The lawful interests both of the Jewish and Arab Peoples of Palestine can be defended in a proper manner only by the creation of one dual, democratic Arab-Jewish State". If the Special UN Committee found that "the deterioration of relations between Jews and Arabs" made this impossible, Palestine would have to be divided into two independent states.

The birth of the State of Israel was brought about by: (1) the determination of the Jews in Israel; (2) the firm principled position of the USSR; (3) the conflict of interests of US and Great Britain; and (4) US public opinion. The tremendous impact of the nazi Holocaust on the peoples of the world was of course of tremendous

significance.

In face of the above, the Arab Peoples raised the question: "Why must we yield to a people persecuted, not by us, but by the German fascists?"

*The Nation*, 12/20/47, reported that the "Soviets were the only big power to display firmness and morality.... They alone among the major delegations dared to challenge the role, the record and the participation of the Mufti and his Arab Higher Committee. And it was the Russians who at every point tried to prevent the attrition of the majority report and to secure for the Jews their just demands".

On Nov. 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly by a 2/3 vote terminated Britain's mandate over Palestine. On Feb. 24 the US announced that the Security Council was not empowered to enforce a political decision — in short, could not enforce partition. In the UN on March 19, 1948, the US declared that partition could not be enforced and proposed a UN trusteeship for Palestine.

*The Nation*, 4/17/48 wrote: "With the aim of isolating the Russians in the UN and bending every policy to the simple end of preparing for war against the USSR, this military clique (dominating American foreign policy) has decided upon and is carrying through the appeasement of the Arab States, is pushing China and even France to support its position, and is urging the British to remain in Palestine on the score of securing bases for common action against the Soviet Union".

In June 1948 *Nation Associates* presented a memorandum to President Truman containing documentary evidence that Aramco, "with the active collusion of the US State Department, was working with the British Foreign Office, the Arab League and leaders of the Arab States against the Partition decision".

US imperialists have always been only too willing to trade Jewish blood for Arab oil.

On March 19, 1948 the US proposed a UN Trusteeship over Palestine, anticipating the US would be given the Trusteeship. A day before the US proposed Trusteeship President Truman assured Chaim Weizman, the Zionist leader, that no modification of the US position towards Palestine was contemplated.

During April-May 1948 the UN General Assembly and the Security Council sharply opposed the US Trusteeship proposal indicating it was aimed to provoke struggle between the Arabs and Jews. Failing in their Trusteeship maneuver, the US shifted tactics to guarantee US influence in the area.

On May 13, 1948 Truman met with Weizman and agreed on the immediate proclamation of a Jewish State

of Palestine. On May 14, the day Britain surrendered the Mandate the National Council of the Jewish Agency proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel. The US immediately granted de facto recognition while at the UN the US delegation was still advocating the Trusteeship Plan.

On May 17, 1948 the USSR granted de jure as well as de facto recognition. With the connivance of Britain and the US, the Arab States of Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Egypt attacked Israel soon after it declared independence.

The US then sponsored and won passage of a UN Security Council Resolution calling for a cease-fire and an arms embargo, knowing full well that the Arabs were well-armed by the British and that the Israelis were desperately short of arms. Defeated in the UN was an amendment offered by the USSR ordering "the immediate withdrawal of all armed groups which invaded the new State of Israel".

Upon Truman's election in 1948 the US forced through, over Ukrainian and Soviet objections, a Resolution carrying the threat of sanctions against Israel.

Despite this duplicitous role played by the US the Israeli Zionist ruling circles turned to the US. To keep out of the US orbit called for an anti-imperialist orientation. The USSR stood by the new State of Israel despite the heavy burdens it was carrying to rebuild its war-torn country and to assist the new Socialist states and non-aligned countries. The Labor Zionists, as well as the General Zionists, rejected the path of non-alignment and to this day are willing surrogates of US global hegemonism. The Zionist ruling circles by design chose a path labelled by some historians as "west of center".

Soon after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956, a serious blow for the imperialist powers, England and France, joined by Israel, with full knowledge of the US, made plans for an attack upon Egypt. After receiving tacit approval from the US, France and England negotiated secretly with Israel for an armed attack upon Egypt. After the massive bombing of the nationalized canal the US disassociated itself from its NATO allies, in words, submitting a Resolution in the UN for a cease-fire, knowing that Britain and France would exercise their right of veto as they did.

A UN Resolution demanding cessation of hostilities was passed. England and France violated it by landing in Port Said. The USSR then demanded that England, France and Israel terminate hostilities forthwith. 22 hours later military actions were terminated. In May 1967 the situation in the Middle East deteriorated fol-



lowing the attack on Syria by Israel. Egypt asked the Security Council to discuss the question of Israel's aggressive policies. The Council took no action resulting in the mobilization of troops.

On June 6 Israel attacked. Goldberg, US Ambassador to the UN, refused to agree to a demand for the withdrawal of troops. The Soviet delegate convinced England, Canada and Denmark to adopt such a demand. The US still balked but 10 hours later Goldberg agreed but Israel furthered its aggression. By the stalling tactic of "studying reciprocal accusations" Goldberg permitted the Israeli aggression to proceed.

Israeli General Peled, Chief of the Bureau of Logistics during the 1967 War, in 1972 revealed in the UN that Israel was in no danger of extermination by Egypt in 1967 and that there was no proof that the Egyptians had planned to attack.

In a talk in the US, Prime Minister Golda Meir of Israel ('69-'74) declared: "We shall never return to the 1967 borders". Just before her death Meir modified her position. Today Prime Minister Shamir clings to her original position.

Shortly before his death, David Ben Gurion, a founder of Israel and its first Prime Minister said on December 1973: "Never forget that *historically* this country belongs to two races — the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews of the world....The logic of all this is that to get peace, we must return in principle to the pre-1967 borders.... Peace is more important than real estate". Today, scores of thousands of Israelis struggling for peace and a stable economy chant these last words of Ben Gurion.

Steps toward detente were unfolding between the US and the USSR in 1973. Fearing that this turn would lead to the elimination of the seat of war in the Middle East, extremist Israeli circles adamantly opposed these developments. It was then that Israel provoked a new Arab-Israeli war in October 1973. Large scale hostilities were initiated by Egypt and Syria. Not to be ignored or underestimated was Israel's deliberate steps to consolidate its hold on the territories captured in the 1967 War, the buying up by Israel of vast tracts of land and the development of Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Israeli raids into Arab areas also took place. It was in April of 1973 that Israeli commandos assassinated leaders of the PLO and blew up the Information Center of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A *Newsweek* report, April 9, 1973, stated; "Israel had made it clear that its air force will not hesitate to devastate the Egyptians in the event of even a limited war".

The world renowned Jewish leader, Nahum Goldmann, in his book: "Ou Va Israel?" ("Where is Israel Going?"), placed the situation most pointedly: "From the historical point of view the Yom Kippur War is a consequence of the negative results of the war of 1967. . . . In the years between the two wars, Israel's policy was unrealistic. . . . It aimed at maintaining the status quo in the hope that the Arabs, like the great powers, would accept this situation".

The USSR supported the Arab States which skillfully employed Soviet weaponry while Israel lost superiority in the air.

The spirit of detente led the US to join with the USSR in submitting a Resolution in the Security Council calling for a cease-fire and for a UN sponsored peace conference on the Middle East on the basis of UN Resolution 242. The jointly sponsored Resolution of October 1973 prevented the military conflict from breaking out into a major conflagration.

In 1973 the UN sponsored the Geneva Conference. Before all the agreements came to full fruition the US duplicitously called for a US-Egypt-Israel Conference without the Palestinians and without the USSR. It was held in the Mena House in Egypt. When asked by the press about the absence of Palestinians, the Israeli delegates remarked that they were Palestinians.

In 1958 the US National Security Council noted: "a logical corollary" of opposition to the national independence movements "would be to support Israel as the only strong pro-West power left in the Middle East". The US National Security Council has a long history of combatting national independence movements.

Through the 1960s the US Intelligence Agency regarded Israel as a barrier to "radical nationalist" pressures and held the conception of Israel as a "strategic asset". This became institutionalized in US policy after the US backed 1967 War and formalized in 1981 and 1983 in the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance.

In review of the US-Israeli connection it is of importance to note that in the conception of Israel as a "strategic asset," the benefits accrued mainly to the US imperialists and their partners in the Israeli ruling circles. The mass of the people of Israel are its victims as are the Arab Peoples as well as the mass of the American People whose living standards are deteriorating and all face the threat of nuclear annihilation.

As a "strategic ally" Israel was to be highly militarized, technologically advanced, a pariah state with little in the way of an independent economy apart from arms production, utterly dependent upon the US

and thereby made more dependable, serving US needs as the "US hit-man" and as a mercenary state for US purposes elsewhere - Central America, Iran, Africa, etc.

In 1975 US President Gerald Ford observed: "American concern for the Middle East is not a matter of choice; it is a matter of vital necessity. It is a strategic part of the world".

The US-Israeli Strategic Cooperation Memorandum is an outgrowth of the Camp David Agreements. The strategic agreement affirmed Israel's commitment to render assistance to the US in expanding its military presence in the Middle East. In fact opposition to the agreement in the Knesset was based on the fear that it made of Israel a stationary military target in the event of a Middle East nuclear war. The agreement makes the US a direct accessory to Israel's acts of aggression and crimes against the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. The agreement stated that opposition to the "threat to peace and security in the Middle East caused by the USSR" is the main objective of strategic cooperation".

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's visit to Washington in Nov-Dec. 1983 produced an agreement on "new strategic relations" between the two countries establishing a "joint US-Israeli political-military committee". Its functions include: a) joint military planning; b) deployment of US weapons in Israel and c) the exchange of intelligence information.

This agreement provides the basis for Israel's role in Iran and espionage by the CIA and the Israeli Mossad (Israeli Counter-Intelligence Agency) in Iran. It also reveals that the Pollard Case is a reflection of contradictions in objectives of the two "allies" prompting the employment of Pollard to do a little additional "exchange of intelligence information".

The following are further fruits of the alliance: (a) Under US patronage Israel established its capital in Jerusalem; (b) annexed the Golan Heights; (c) invaded Lebanon; (d) bombed PLO headquarters in Tunis; (e) Israeli aggressions fed by deliveries of US weapons.

Haifa's largest port is now a major naval facility for the US in the Eastern Mediterranean. For the past three years the US and Israel engaged in joint maneuvers and strategic planning operations. The US has pre-positioned military equipment in Israel.

Israel has learned the lesson in the Pollard Case that US is the boss. Egypt learned the lesson during the parachute jump by US servicemen over Egypt called "Bright Star". The US parachutists descended upon Egypt carrying a sign which read: "AMERICA'S

NUMBER ONE - DON'T YOU FORGET IT!"

Israel has won contracts for "Star Wars" projects and for the building of a VOA radio tower to beam propaganda into the USSR. Israel and the US signed an agreement in 1983 on the establishment of a "free-trade" area between the US and Israel. This pay-off to Israeli ruling circles does not benefit the mass of the Israeli People who suffer inflation, cuts in social services, joblessness, etc.

Since its existence Israel has received \$50 billion; \$22 billion given gratis; \$11 billion of which were in military aid.

The Israeli National Unity Government is experiencing sharp and widespread opposition on both domestic and foreign policy. The leading and most consistent opposition force is the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, the coalition around the Communist Party of Israel. The popular demand for the international conference threatens the existence of the unholy coalition government. There is growing appreciation of the tie-in between the aggressive policies of the government and the steady deterioration of the quality of life at home.

Abba Eban member of the Knesset and former Foreign Minister is calling upon Jewish Americans to join in criticism of Israeli government policies urging: "American Jews to go out of their way to make an intellectual contribution to Israel as well as a financial one".

Prior to the aggression against Lebanon the Israeli Zionist organ, *Kivunim (Directions)*, 2/82' published an article by Oded Yinon calling for the instigation of inter-ethnic conflict in Lebanon in preparation for an attack to take it over for "greater Israel".

During the same period Joseph Churba, an American who served in the CIA with his close friend Meir Kahane, in 1981, as a member of a US State Department Think Tank proposed a plan for an attack upon Lebanon. In June 1982 Israel invaded Lebanon.

Current worldwide discussions calling for the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East stem from: (1) the growing world-wide rejection of US foreign policy; (2) the bankruptcy of US-Israeli policy as pursued in the Camp David Accords, the Reagan Autonomy Plan; (3) the rejection of the bankrupt Hussein-Arafat Amman Accord; (4) the unified and strengthened PLO; (5) the bankruptcy of the Israeli National Unity Government, aptly described as the "government of national disaster by the Communist Party of Israel. Not to be discounted is the growing militancy of the masses in Israel.

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg writes in *The NY Review of Books*: "Israel has now become an American dependency because it cannot maintain both its standard of living and the state of war without at least \$3 billion of American aid. Israeli society has been altered and distorted by its being an occupying power; as the Palestinians and the West Bank becomes ever more numerous and more restless, Israel is in danger of becoming the Belfast of the Middle East. . . . Israel has no intelligent choice but to pursue peace. . . . The tragedy of the last twenty years is that the new Jewish power has not been more open to the counsels of moderation".

The call for peace grows ever louder in Israel as well as in the US amongst Jewish Americans. These calls are joining with the calls globally for world peace as there grows the realization that the combustibles scattered throughout the Middle East could very well ignite a global holocaust.

The US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance is falling upon hard times. It is as successful in peddling its global hegemonistic aims as is the wandering barge successful in finding a home for its load of garbage, imperialist garbage.

The US Jewish American magazine *Tikkun*, a product of growing Jewish American opposition to *Commentary*, the voice of Jewish American neo-conservatism, in its last issue published an article by its Israeli editor, Adi Ophir.

He writes: "There are many Jews, both in Israel and around the world, who lose sleep over the vision of an Israel with a lust for power, the Israel that scorns the moral values of democracy.

"We must rid ourselves of the repertoire of misleading concepts whose proper context is that lost, promised land. Among these concepts are 'safe and recognized borders,' 'political compromise.'

'Peres, from consideration of internal politics, wants to demonstrate that he is providing momentum to the wheels of peace; but those very same political considerations prevent him from finding the courage and the force to define the content of that process, by stating explicitly that the essence of a settlement can only be the partition of Eretz Israel between the Jewish State and the Palestinian State, both independent. Only in making such a STATEMENT POLITICALLY, FIGHTING FOR THE CONCEPT BEHIND IT WOULD Peres have any chance of propelling the peace process forward.

"For Americans who support us, this is the time to speak out, to challenge other Americans who wittingly or unwittingly cooperate with the occupation. It is time

to raise the issues whenever Jews are asked to give money . . . "

The Reaganites are becoming more and more isolated especially on the Middle East. During the 1980s through 1985 and US has resorted to 27 vetoes in the Security Council as compared to 15 in the earlier history of the UN and 4 vetoes for the USSR.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel holds that "the only way to put an end to war and bloodshed and to establish a durable peace" is to convene an international conference under the sponsorship of the UN. Shamir of the Likud is dead set against such a conference; Peres of the Labor Party would emasculate such a conference diverting it from any practical purpose. Shamir and Peres are today facing the opposition of growing numbers of Israelis clamoring for peace.

The demands for such a conference by the people of Israel, the people of the US and worldwide cannot be contained. Amongst the widest sectors of Jews both in Israel and in the US it is today, at long last, quite "Kosher" to call for an international conference. Long time readers of *Jewish Affairs* remember only too well the difficulties encountered when the magazine first raised the call for an international conference for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The opposition within the Jewish American community was quite rigid and widespread. Calm discussion was an impossibility. Today, both in Israel as well as in the US debate is raging and wide open. The very tenets of Zionism itself are coming into question as the role of the ruling circles of Israel is being questioned. The opportunities for success in the striving for a Middle East peace are patently present as wider sectors of the people in the Middle East and in the US grasp the hegemonistic aims of the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance.

The determined mood of the peoples world-wide for world peace has brought us this far. There is the realization that the fate of humanity and our very planet hangs in the balance. Stepped-up and persistent efforts for the success of the Geneva Peace Process and for the convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East can bring the Reaganites and their Israeli surrogates to an international conference under the aegis of the UN. "A brere hubin mir?" (Is there another answer?).

**Please!!  
Notify us of a change  
of address.**



## Zossi: Scenes and Images of a Beloved Shtetl

By David Seltzer

She was tall and thin, with gentle, nearsighted eyes and pale, delicate features, but her manner bespoke inner strength and bubbling energy.

She always wore high-heeled boots with buttons on the side, a black dress (shorter than the fashion), and a white silk shirtwaist with a gold watch pinned over her left breast. Her yellow straw bonnet with the blue band and the two ribbons falling over her shoulders perched smartly atop her blond curly-bobbed hair.

In her left hand she held the strap of her big leather purse packed with incidentals plus a notebook and writing instruments and in her right hand, her blue silver-striped umbrella with the silver handle shaped like a pine cone.

She was the best mathematics teacher in the Government School for Girls. At home and in Soroki she was called Zossi, but at school the other teachers and the students knew her as Sofia Yakovlevna. She was highly valued for her pedagogic skills and her extensive knowledge of higher mathematics but her comments on political economy and sociology made people nervous and they cautiously dissociated themselves from her on that score.

She was a fighter against every form of tyranny and despotic authority. From childhood she was opposed to her father's patriarchal ways. In her parents' large, brick Guest House, close to the City Hall and Avrom Mailer's bookstore, she very early took over the reins.

The three young fellows who worked as drivers and stableboys and waited on the guests and the five young women who worked as cooks and servants were treated very domineeringly by her mother and father. But as Zossi grew up, she brought about a domestic revolution. She challenged her father's authority, demanding humane conditions for the girls and better quarters than a stable for the boys.

One summer evening as she and her parents were having supper in their bright and spacious dining-room, a quarrel broke out in the hut near the kitchen where the cook, Zlata the Pugnose, and her helpers, along with the servant-girls and stableboys, had their meals around the big circular table. Zossi got up to see what the trouble was but her father, Reb Yankl, stopped her.

"Sit down, Zossi! Let them beat their heads against the wall! No matter what you give them to eat or how much it's not enough or it's not good enough. We might

as well let them eat at our table!"

Zossi flared up. "And why not? They work hard for us. Whatever we earn is from their labor. We should be grateful and treat them as part of the family."

"Is that so? They work harder than I do? And what about the money I invested in this place? That means nothing?"

"You never worked for that money! It was an inheritance from Zeyda, who made a fortune out of the toil of people like these!"

Reb Yankl leaped up in a rage. "Here's a new *demokrat* for you! Soon she'll become a *Sitsalist!*"

And indeed she did. In town it was rumored that she was friendly with the "workers' circles" and gave lectures at secret meetings. It was well known that newspapers, books and magazines in Russian, German and French, on such subjects as political economy, sociology and cooperatives were often delivered to her address.

Her main interest, however, was in women's rights. The Feminist Movement in America and Europe fascinated her and she began organizing office workers, salesgirls, servant-girls and seamstresses. When the dressmakers at Lazer Gendler's, the biggest ladies' tailor on Odessa Street, went out on strike and Lazer threatened to close his business rather than give into their demands, Zossi appeared among them one day and began to agitate:

"March to the homes of Lazer's customers — the rich ladies — and demand justice!"

After a number of such speeches by Zossi in her resonant Russian, Lazer was forced to settle. When the girls in Zisserman's candy-shop only a few doors from Lazer Gendler's saw how the seamstresses won their wage increases, they marched down into the street and sent for Zossi.

Zisserman, with his black beard and derby hat, ran ahead to reach her first.

"Dear Sofia Yakovlevna, please tell the girls to go back to work. They'll ruin me!"

"Listen to their demands, Herr Zisserman, and make a concession."

"Good! Fine! But let them go back to work first, then we'll talk."

"No, Herr Zisserman, first we talk and agree on something then they go back to work."

Herr Zisserman saw the light. He invited Zossi and the two strike leaders into his office and the dispute was negotiated to the benefit of the employees.

## MUTUAL HELP

When the Artisans Little Bank — the savings and loan society of the handicraftsmen — was organized in our town, my father, as the elected representative of the artisans on the Executive Committee — had the difficult task of contending with the moneybags and merchants who thought they could take advantage of the “need-lepushers.” It was really supposed to be a cooperative bank, but the wealthier members tried to base their voting rights on amount of invested capital, rather than on individual memberships, of which the craftsmen were the overwhelming majority. When the time came for writing the by-laws, the lawyers for the rich minority talked a lot about the “rights of capital” and so forth. So my father was advised to ask Zossi about a formulation which would be both legal and in the interests of the working people. My father tried to belittle this advice. “Eh, who knows what a woman ‘militant’ will cook up in a case like this. It’s a matter for lawyers.”

But the people insisted and he finally gave in. He went off to the guest house and took me with him to write down in Russian what Zossi would say. She received us warmly in their spacious quarters and served us tea. My father began stammering in his meager Russian, pausing frequently for the right word. Zossi interrupted him with an encouraging smile.

“Why don’t you speak in Yiddish, Reb Yosl, it will be easier.”

My father breathed a sigh of relief and began all over again in his customary rapid and impulsive manner. He told her about the need for a cooperative craftsmen’s savings and loan bank where one could get a loan at low interest, and about the difficulties the members “with capital” were making for the ordinary working people.

Zossi listened attentively and then, in the manner of a teacher, began to explain clearly and cogently the uses of cooperatives, the importance of mutual aid and workers’ unity, and that only a set of rules written simply and unambiguously, in the interests of the craftsmen, would serve those purposes. The artisans’ numerical majority must outweigh the majority of invested capital. It is not the money that must have the final say, but the membership, the real majority.

My father left with renewed determination and immediately called a meeting of the artisans in the Tailors Shul where he was president. When Zossi mounted the rostrum in her yellow straw hat to speak to the “congregation,” some of the older men shrugged and turned up their noses — a female speaking from a synagogue

*Continued on page 14*

## MAY DAY GREETINGS!

**By Edith Beck**

MAY DAY — *our* Day  
May 1st — International Labor Day  
A gift from the American people  
Born in the fight for  
The 8 hour day.  
And — heck  
They cannot steal it from us  
Try as they may —  
Not Health Day  
Not Veterans’ Day  
Not ‘Ring Around the Rose-bush’ Day.

May 1st is OUR Labor Day.  
I am an ‘Old American’  
And I remember well:

The I.W.W. — the Trade Unions — the Y.P.S.L.  
(Young Peoples Socialist League); the Socialist Party;  
the Y.C.L. (Young Communist League) — The Communist Party;  
the Young Pioneers, where I had my inception.

The ‘thousands’ of fraternal organizations — the Peace  
organizations — all embracing  
May 1st, Solidarity Day  
Opinions, purposes — varied — all united — May 1st.

We marched — we celebrated — we fought.  
And we sang OUR songs!  
Peace — trade unions — a better work place.

From Eugene Debs  
To William Z. Foster  
From the many trade union leaders.

The colorful voices of  
Debs. Ben Gold, Olgin, — they all still linger with the  
vivid memories of millions marching — voices talk-  
ing in many tongues.  
Flags, banners — songs everywhere —  
Of the international strength of the working class!

And today, this May 1st — is STILL — OUR holiday!

I raise my voice in Solidarity — to you who will march:  
in the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., England, France, Italy,  
Argentina, etc. I embrace you, my people of Chile, of  
So. Africa, when you march and get *hurt*!

Yes, on this May 1st — this gift from America — we  
will join in ONE VOICE!

Among the voices will be MINE! Peace, human dignity!  
I will march with you EVERYWHERE!!

Edith Beck

Edith Beck, poet, is a contributor to *Jewish Affairs*.

## TO THE YOUNG

By Richard Davidson

They are here in the dawn waiting,  
Like sheets of rain they cover the earth.  
They, who come after us,  
The builders of tomorrow —  
May they ripen like wheat on fertile ground,  
The doctors, the secretaries, the statesman,  
The future harvest.  
Have we failed them in this turning of history?  
Have we suggested pain and misery to be their natural counterparts?  
Have we dug into the source of air and presented thunder instead of light?  
They are our heritage.  
They build with tools we have left for them.  
For too long we have sung the doomsday chorus.  
For too long we have presented no hope or frolic.  
How we must bend to roaring winds,  
Our youth needs building.  
Needs to ignite the dark corner and the piercing shadow.  
Need to plan their lives like velvet.  
We must give them a roar,  
They cry for purpose!  
We must give them a handle on posterity,  
They demand knowledge!  
We must give them the road to survival,  
They discount war and desolation!  
They are calling across the acre of miles,  
They sing a song as open as sunlight.  
Their notes for the future in blaring trumpets  
And sounding drums.  
They need the stock of our experience,  
They need our words to give theirs a line.  
To give their journey the proper path,  
The widening stream.  
In Colleges, at home, in the vestibule of night's naked shore,  
In the crowds of cities,  
In the silence of country lanes,  
They are moving like an army.  
These youngsters like stars searching for bright skies  
And new dimensions.  
It is in our hands their future lighting the sun.  
We must help them to solidify,  
We must nurture within them the valiant cry for justice.  
They — the builders of tomorrow —  
We must all work together,  
Parent understand rather than chastise,

Open your mind to reach your children's  
Open your heart to gain theirs  
We can move in this particle of earth,  
We can build in this arc of time.  
Our children waiting for the World at rest,  
Pouring their dreams into the midst of hope.  
Let us make the journey together,  
Old and young,  
To make tomorrow's harvests as rich as good wine,  
To leap the gulf of generations in the skyward pitch of peace.  
They are our heritage,  
We must not fail them now.  
Our country is waiting.  
They are moving. □  
Richard Davidson, poet, is a contributor to *Jewish Affairs*.

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A letter sent to our managing  
editor, Lewis M. Moroze

### In memory of Joseph V. Kahn

Dear Lew:

I am writing in deepest gratitude for the superb and deeply moving memorial tribute to my brother Joey. Esty, my sister, (Esty K. Glassman) joins me in expressing thanks as well.

He was so deeply concerned, as you are well aware, in "world affairs" but it didn't minimize his deep concern for *Jewish Affairs*. His deepest concern was for all to live in peace and to accept one's fellow man regardless of race or color or religious belief. He was always in the forefront espousing this cause.

May his memory live on and be a harbinger in the coming generations for universal peace and tolerance.

Thank you again and best wishes in all your endeavors.

Respectfully yours,  
Lillian Neumann

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Continued from page 13

rostrum?

But their interest in what she had to say was so great that they soon forgot about their old prejudices. From the women's "gallery" kerchiefs peeked down through the parted curtains as astonished and shining eyes followed the gestures of the young woman who lectured from the sacred rostrum while the men below swallowed every word that came out of her mouth. □



# CARDINAL GLEMP OF POLAND SPEAKS FOR PEACE

By Sol Flapan

Warsaw - Something of a Polish-Soviet sensation was authored Wednesday, February 4. It was the first ever interview granted the Soviet news media by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Primate of the Roman Catholic church in Poland.

Furthermore, rather distasteful to some of the western "free" press was the friendly tone and contents of the cardinal's replies starting with his opening remarks. "I am happy over this meeting with a Soviet journalist" and concluding with "I am very glad you have come here. Such contacts are necessary for us. I wish you new creative achievements in your literary endeavors which strengthen the friendship between our nations."

The atmosphere of the interview recalls Soviet correspondent Leonid Pochivalov of the prestigious *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in his preface was set by Cardinal Glemp reminiscing over his first encounter with Soviet people.

That was in his childhood, said the churchman, when his home town was liberated by the Soviet Army from nazi-German genocidal occupation. War-weary Soviet soldiers entered his house and asked for a night's lodging. How warmly these "severe looking troopers" smiled at his tiny sister, he recalled.

And then the interview started in earnest with the *Lieraturnaya Gazeta* reporter and the cardinal's secretary pressing down the "on" keys of their respective recorders.

Expanding on his just cited opening remark the Polish Catholic leader also recalled that he had once visited the USSR as a tourist. "During my stay I was witness to a very high level of culture . . . Not once did I ever experience an unfriendly attitude towards Poles."

Friendship, and understanding the interests of every people, its traditions, he said, is the basic for normal existence among nations. "And that in turn is the guarantee for peace."

The Glemp-LG interview went on to zero in on peace and disarmament-related issues.

Both the Soviet journalist and the Polish cardinal were in agreement as to the dangers inherent in blind faith in technical equipment, regardless how "smart" these may be.

"Indeed human error is behind every accident," said Glemp. That's of supreme significance, he added, when humans deal with technical equipment which can trigger

a world calamity.

Replying to a package of questions whether humanity can protect itself from self-destruction the cardinal said "the Catholic Church supports the universal conviction that the world can be protected from catastrophe. Peace should be striven for by all possible means. One, by political means. That concerns the leaders of given countries. Then there is the moral striving to educate people to respect ethical principles. That is the paramount task of all churches. . . ."

As to whether the Catholic church is ready to cooperate with other political and non-political movements in defense of peace, Glemp gave a parable-like reply saying among other things ". . . The desire for peace is very strong among us. My generation remembers what war is like. At the beginning of our meeting I recalled Poland's liberation by the Soviet Army. But I also remember (Sept) 1939 which ushered in nazi occupation. I remember how our people were thrown into concentration camps, how they were driven off to slave labor in Germany, how we were evicted from our homes. We do not want a repeat of that. During the war half of the clergy in my home town diocese were exterminated. . . ."

While this is a rather tangential reply a direct answer is readable in the participation at the February 6 meeting of the Polish Peace Committee drawing up its 1987 program of activities by a personal representative of the cardinal as well as a church official representing the Roman Catholic Episcopate (the latter, Dr. Econ. Sci. Aleksander Legatowicz, Member of Parliament).

Another part of the Glemp-LG interview not to the liking of the capitalist press was the link-up of economic injustice in the world (Africa and Asia being mentioned by name) and the defense of peace worldwide. Also Glemp's "I don't believe there are people who would not share that view" in reply to Pochivalov's "What is the attitude, your Eminence, towards (Soviet leader) Mikhail Gorbachov's appeal for creating a world without weapons, without violence?"

In this connection, but earlier in the interview, Cardinal Glemp stressed that it was high time to declare "End the arms buildup! Reduce arms stockpiles! This calls for dialogue, permanent dialogue, at the highest political level a blow at all stripes of armagedonites."

The Cardinal Glemp-Literaturnaya Gazeta exchange has been received here not only as peace oriented ammunition in defense of detente. It is seen also as yet another facet of the exciting, revolutionary transformation percolating in Soviet life. It is one reflection of the

ever ongoing updating and upgrading of Polish-Soviet relations.

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban put it this way at his regular Tuesday afternoon press conference on February 10 in reply to a relevant question: "The Soviet press is expanding the scope of its interest of life in Poland." We believe this is beneficial for the strengthening of friendship between our peoples. It serves for better mutual understanding. As for the interview itself, we've always pointed to the significance of the position of the church (here) as concerns peace, disarmament and international cooperation."

The aforementioned programmatic meeting of the Polish Peace Committee is yet another reflection of peace sentiment being forged into practical activity.

Among international relevant events, the Polish Peace Committee is organizing jointly with its Soviet opposite number an April scheduled seminar devoted to the 70 anniversary of (Vladimir) Lenin's Decree on Peace. That, in connection with the birth anniversary (April 22) of the founder of the soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, and the 70 anniversary of the November 7 socialist revolution in Russia, one of the first acts of which was precisely Lenin's Decree on Peace.

Then in September (the anniversary of the nazi aggression against Poland which ignited World War II) the Polish Peace Committee will host an Assembly of Peace Movements from Europe and North America.

During October which will mark the 30 anniversary of the Rapacki Plan the PPC jointly with the broad-based Patriotic Movement For National Renewal will host an international conference, whose theme will be "From Atom-Free Zones to a World Free From Nuclear Weapons." The "Rapacki Plan" was named after Adam Rapacki, Poland's foreign minister in the 1950s who authored the initiative of a setting up of an atom-free zone in central Europe. This idea has been winning followers and emulators worldwide.

Finally, in November, Warsaw will be the venue of a PPC seminar with the participation of West European peace movements on "The Role of Peace Movements as a Social Force Supporting the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act." □

*Sol Flapan is the Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.*

**Every Reader  
Get a Reader**

## BOOK REVIEW

by Felice Davis

**Hitler's Holocaust: A fact of history, by Henri G. Francq.** *New Star Books, Vancouver, 1986. 255 pages paperback.*

This review appeared originally in the Panachan *Jewish Outlook*, April 1987

Henri G. Francq, formerly professor of history and French literature in Belgium and Canada, was motivated to condense the immense amount of documentation of the events of 1933 to 1945 in Europe, of the 1946 Nuremberg trials, and of the 1961 Eichmann trial into readable form for the generations too young to remember, lest they believe the falsehoods disseminated by Ernst Zundel.

The completed work tells the story in all its gruesome details, not known perhaps even to every Jew in Canada. The first shock comes from the cover. The whole front of the book is a glossy black and white photo of heaped-up naked bodies such as we have seen in films about liberation of concentration camps by allied armed forces. Title and sub-title (*A Reply to Canada's neo-Nazis*) are printed in blood red. Even those who look only at the cover will not be able to erase this image from the mind. Those who open the book will see the double title page: a photo of women and children, carrying small hand luggage their arms up evidently in response to an order, and their eyes full of fear. In the back stands a helmeted storm-trooper.

Those who look for more pictures before plunging into the text, will find out of the hundreds of photos available, seventeen selected as representative, testifying to the sadism perpetrated by the Nazi tormentors and exterminators of 10 million Europeans, of whom 6 million were Jews. If they never read a word, they will remember these atrocities: living skeletons, some of them children; a rifle aimed at a father running with his child; naked, terrified women, their arms folded over their breasts, trembling by an open pit while warmly uniformed German soldiers watch; the bulldozing of tangled bodies.

The author makes clear from the start his purpose. He feels that Zundel, the publisher of malicious lies, must be answered, and in a manner which will reach out to the young. Throughout the chapters, here and there, he refers ironically to the effect these vivid descriptions might have on him and his neo-Nazis, and he encourages them, too, to inform themselves of the truth by reading material from the extensive bibliography. With the

*Jewish Affairs*

words "So that younger generations may know and never forget the martyrdom those innocent victims endured," he dedicates the work "to the memory of the millions who succumbed to Hitler's Holocaust."

The foreword analyzes the perversions of truth in Harwood's booklet *Did the Six Million Die?* and exposes how Zundel uses it for anti-semitic propaganda and to collect money for his defense on the charge of being a "promoter of hatred against an identifiable group." As a response to the fabrications, misrepresentations, quotations out of context, words of witness who wasn't even present when he claims to have been, and so on, Henri Francq offers his careful and precise research for consideration.

Professor Francq reviews history beginning after World War I, focussing on Hitler's activities, speeches and writings. The latter clearly stated his hatred of world Jewry and how he intended to deal with "the Jewish question" if he had the opportunity. Then, in greater detail, the author quotes from trial testimony, from official Nazi records, from diaries and letters of Gestapo members, and from writings of survivors, a few of whom were members of the infamous Sonderkommando (Special Duty Unit), about 400 prisoners assigned to move bodies into the Auschwitz ovens. After 3 or 4 months of starvation they were too weak to carry on and were killed. Since the first duty of the replacements was loading the bodies of the previous unit, the new group immediately knew their own fate. Group after group were thus forced to continue their appalling task.

Depending on who is writing, documents can spell out boastful pride in a quote fulfilled or can picture degradation and pain suffered by Hitler's victims. The author quotes at length from two primary sources of the second type: *The Death Factory* by Kraus and Kulka and *From Day to Day*, the diary of Norwegian doctor Odd Nansen, who assisted in the pathology lab of Joseph Mengele and attended sick SS personnel. Both these writings are by survivors of concentration camps, who secretly and silently kept records of what they experienced in the hope that some day the truth would be known by all. They witnessed tortures, moving of prisoners packed into vans and railroad cattle cars, construction of crematoria, gassing, hanging, shooting in the back of the neck, death by injection, experimental work by "doctors," mass burying in huge pits, merciless killing of babies and children often in front of their parents, and finally, the continual day and night burning of bodies at Auschwitz over a period of two years.

It is hard to imagine how any reader could doubt the

authenticity of such reports, yet, in the interest of incontrovertible proof, Francq also includes much from accurately kept statistics of the efficient German government. Irrefutable evidence is presented from both sides that not only were 10 million men, women and children murdered — 6 million Jews and 4 million other Europeans, including Roma (Gypsies), socialists, communists, Christians, deviants, and mentally retarded — but that before their deaths, many were systematically over-worked as slave labourers, beaten, starved, frozen, sexually abused, and housed in filthy, crowded huts.

Six million, or even one million, is too large a number to be grasped. But, count one hundred starved to death here, two hundred massacred there, one thousand cremated in twenty-four hours; add these up into hundreds of thousands, and we begin to reach a point of credibility. In the book, the statistics are carried along from anecdote to anecdote until we know for certain these number are indeed the horrible truth. Yet the enormity as well as the manner in which these tortures and murders of Jews and other groups were carried out leaves the reader questioning, "How is it possible that human beings could do this?"

In the service of truth, Professor Francq's book should be widely distributed to schools and libraries. It should be read by secondary and post-secondary students of Social Studies, History, and Psychology and by adult Canadians desiring information. As an example of thorough scholarship, the appendices and notes are outstanding, including further quotations from witnesses and researchers.

Now that Zundel's appeal has been granted, the public debate has started again between those who think he gains too many followers by being on trial and those who, painful as it may be to review the past, want the full light of publicity to shine on his evil ways and for him finally to be deported. Henri Francq's book would support the second position and offers solid evidence to explain why. □

FELICE DAVIS teaches in Vancouver.

In Tribute to  
**ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG**

Public Gathering  
Friday, June 19, 1987  
6:30 P.M.

Law Bldg., N.Y.U.  
40 Washington Square



# ISRAEL AND THE NUCLEAR BOMB

By Leonard S. Spector

This article is being published with the permission of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. It has been excerpted from the article: "Nuclear Proliferation: Who's Next?" by Leonard S. Spector in the May 1987 issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS, and the technology and materials to make them, continued to spread throughout the world in 1986; indeed, the developments of the past 18 months have been more disturbing than at any time in recent years. Particularly disconcerting is the fact that two U.S. allies, Israel and Pakistan, are advancing their nuclear weapons program with only mild — if any opposition from Washington.

New information on the Israeli nuclear weapons program revealed that its scale has been far greater than previously recognized. Details on Libya's attempt to purchase nuclear weapons in 1981 and newly unearthed evidence that the Shah had launched a nuclear weapons research program, which presumably has been inherited by the Khomeini government, underscored the risk of proliferation by these nations.

Increasing evidence that Pakistan has manufactured all of the key components necessary to produce nuclear weapons for the first time has intensified the threat of a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan. Worsening racial strife in South Africa, meanwhile, may lead Pretoria to reconsider its policy against nuclear testing and raises the fearful possibility that nuclear weapons or material might fall into the hands of an extremist faction — of the right or the left — whose nuclear policies might prove even more dangerous than those of current leaders. This is also a danger in Pakistan.

In Latin America, by contrast, Argentina and Brazil took steps to dampen their longstanding nuclear rivalry. But even in these countries the trends were by no means entirely positive.

ISRAEL APPEARS to have greatly increased its nuclear capabilities during the past four or five years. Last October 5, the London *Sunday Times* published a major expose of the Israeli nuclear program, based on the testimony and photos of Mordechai Vanunu, a former technician at Israel's classified Dimona nuclear complex. The key revelations were that Israel may possess between 100 and 200 nuclear weapons — not the 25 or so usually estimated — and that in the early 1980s Israel began producing some form of advanced nuclear

weapon that relies on thermonuclear fusion, the principle of hydrogen bombs.

The estimate of the size of the Israeli nuclear arsenal was based partly on the amount of plutonium that Vanunu said Israel has been able to produce for the past 20 years. In addition, former U. S. nuclear weapons designer, Theodore B. Taylor, concluded on the basis of a photo of what Vanunu claimed is a model of an Israeli atomic bomb, that Israel apparently required far less plutonium per weapon than standard estimates specify — possibly only four kilograms per device rather than eight.

Some doubts remain about the authenticity of Vanunu's testimony and photos, but in general they are being taken seriously. Frank Barnaby, the former director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, interviewed Vanunu at length and pronounced him "totally convincing," and U.S. intelligence sources apparently consider the photos genuine. Israel's detention of Vanunu also lends credibility to his evidence. The *Sunday Times* estimate of the size of the Israeli nuclear arsenal is also consistent with estimates that first appeared in the summer of 1985, by *Aerospace Daily* and by Middle East expert, Anthony Cordesman. On the other hand, Vanunu's claim that Israel can produce 40 kilograms of plutonium annually — far more than previously estimated — would require the Dimona reactor to have been enlarged to 150 megawatts; it is usually rated at 26 megawatts or in some reports at 70 megawatts.

The accompanying photos are, according to the *Sunday Times*, pictures taken by Vanunu of a model of a current Israeli atomic weapon. Assuming that this is a full-scale model, the nuclear core of the weapon is about the size of an orange. Although the model does not show any of the electronics or the external casing of the device, and although the high-explosive part of the device is not shown in any detail, what is shown suggests that the components for the weapon could be assembled quite rapidly. This gives an idea of what it means for a country to be a "screwdriver turn away" from nuclear weapons, a concept that may apply to Pakistan, as discussed below.

Although this is a model of a simple atomic weapon of the type dropped on Nagasaki, Vanunu stated that by 1982 Israel had completed the construction of a unit at Dimona for producing lithium deuteride, used in fusion weapons. According to Taylor, Israel has probably not produced actual hydrogen bombs — these, it is generally believed, would have required a series of nuclear

weapons tests. Rather, Israel apparently has built some form of enhanced atomic bomb. Taylor believes such weapons could have yields in the range of 100-200 kilotons, many times the force of the atomic bombs used in World War II and as large as some U.S. strategic warheads, such as those on the Trident I C-4 submarine-launched missile.

In a separate development, Israel deployed the nuclear-capable Jericho II missile during the early 1980s, according to Reagan administration sources. The missile is supposed to have a payload of 750 kilograms and a range of 400 miles, although some administration sources have hinted that it could reach the southernmost parts of the Soviet Union. I have not been able to confirm whether some of these missiles actually carry nuclear warheads, however, as stated in the May 1985 *Aerospace Daily* report that first declared that Israel had deployed these new missiles.

One piece of evidence confirming the Jericho II's deployment is that the missile was apparently test fired in 1977, at a time when Israel was trying to interest Iran in helping to develop the missile. The episode is detailed in an April 1, 1986, *New York Times* article based on an interview with an Iranian general who witnessed the test, and on memoranda of conversations between senior Israeli and Iranian officials obtained by Iranian students from the Israeli trade mission in Tehran after the fall of the Shah. □

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### In Memoriam

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און לטובת דעם שלום, די הסדרות-אָנפֿירונג האָט ניט אָנגענומען דעם פֿאַרשלאַג.

די חד"ש-פֿראַקציע אין הסדרות האָט אין אָנבליק פֿון באַשלוס פֿון הסדרות ניט צו דעמאָנסטרירן דעם 1-טן מאַי. גערופן די ייִדיש-אַראַבישע אַרבעטער צו דעמאָנסטרירן אין פֿאַרשיידענע געגנטן אין לאַנד און אין תּל-אַביב וועט די דעמאָנסטראַציע פֿאַרקומען פֿרייטיק דעם 1-טן מאַי, 12 אַזייגער, דער זאַמלפֿונקט וועט זיין שד' בן-גוריון פינת דיזנגוף.

דער האַיאַריקער 1-טער מאַי קומט אויך פֿאַר אין באַדינגונגען פֿון שטייגנדיקן באַוווּסטזיין אין פֿאַרשיידענע קרייזן. אַז ס'זיינען פֿאַראַן רעאַלע מעגלעכקייטן צו מאַכן אַ סוף צום בלוטיקן קרייז פֿון מלחמות, אַז עס איז מעגלעך צו פֿירן אַ פֿאַליטיק, וואָס זאָל דערפֿירן צום געגארטן ישרא־ל-פֿאַלעסטינער שלום.

מען האָט אין משך פֿון יאָרן געפרוווט שאַפֿן די מיינונג, אַז די פֿאַלעסטינער פּכ"א איז ניט גייט צו שליסן שלום מיט ישרא־ל, אַז דער סאָוועטן-פֿאַרבאַנד שטיצט אַנטי-ישרא־ליקע טענדענצן אין דער אַראַבישער וועלט און ביי די פֿאַלעסטינער. ס'האָט זיך אַרויסגעוויזן, אַז אויף דעם לעצטן פֿאַלעסטינער ראַט אין אַלוזשיר איז אָנגענומען

געוואָרן אַן איינשטימיקער באַשלוס, וועגן שטיצן דאָס רופן אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע שלום-קאָנפֿערענץ פֿאַר ליקווידירן דעם טראַגישן סכּסוך אין ראַיאָן. דער סאָוועטישער פֿירער מ. גאַרבאַטשאָוו האָט בשעת דער אויפֿנאַמע פֿאַרן סירישן פרעזידענט אָנגעוויזן, אַז דער סאָוועטן-פֿאַרבאַנד איז פֿאַר אַן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנפֿערענץ, בכדי איינצושטעלן אַ ישרא־ל-אַראַבישן שלום.

אַפֿילו אין דער רעגירונג פֿון "נאַציאָנאַלער אייניקייט" זיינען פֿאַראַן מיינונגס-פֿאַרשיידנהייטן וועגן דער פֿראַגע פֿון רופן די אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע שלום-קאָנפֿערענץ. מען פֿילט אין אַלץ ברייטערע קרייזן די וויכטיקייט פֿון איבערייסן די ניט-הייליקע שותפות ליכוד-מערך, בכדי דורכצופֿירן נייע וואַלן, וואָס זאָל ברענגען צום לעבן אַ רעגירונג, וואָס זאָל פֿירן אַ פֿאַליטיק אין די אינטערעסן פֿון די אַרבעטנדיקע אין די אינטערעסן פֿון שלום, וואָס זאָל גאַראַנטירן די זיכעקייט און שלום פֿון ישרא־ל. די 1-טער-מאַי-דעמאָנסטראַציע פֿון חד"ש וועט ברענגען צום אויסדרוק די קעגנערשאַפט צו דער איצטיקער פֿאַליטיק און די שטרעבונג צו פֿירן אַ פֿאַליטיק לטובת די אַרבעטנדיקע און לטובת דעם שלום.

## די "מאַרגן פֿרייהייט" און דער ציוניסטישער קאָנגרעס...

### פֿון יוד — לאַמעד ישראל זשורנאַליסט און קאָלומניסט פֿון דער צייט-שריפט "דער וועג"

פענסיעס פֿאַר הויכע באַאַמטע אין דער נאַציאָנאַלער באַנק (בנק לאומי) איז אין דער הויפט-אָנפֿירונג פֿון דער סוכנות, אין וועלכער ס'נעמען אַנטייל אַ העלפט אַמעריקאַנער ייִדישע געלט-זעק, אָבער ניט קיין דעקלאַרירטע ציוניסטן, געפֿאַדערט געוואָרן צו באַזייטיקן דעם פרעזידענט פֿון דער ציוניסטישער וועלט-פעדעראַציע, אריה דולצין, וועלכער איז אויך פרעזידענט אין דער דאָזיקער באַנק.

אין דער באַשרייבונג פֿון מרדכי שנער אין "נייע צייטונג" (13.3.87) וועגן פֿאַל פֿון אריה דולצין האַלט אין פֿאַר נויטיק אויפֿמערקזאַם צו מאַכן אויף צוויי מאַמענטן. אריה דולצין איז אויף דער זיצונג פֿון "פֿראַטעקטאָרן ראַט"

דב ליבערמאַן (פֿון בריסעל) שרייבט אין "לעצטע נייעס" (16.3.87) מיט ניט באַהאַלטענער פֿרייד אין טיטל פֿון זיין אַרטיקל, אַז: "די 'מאַרגן פֿרייהייט' רופט צו שטימען צום ציוניסטישן קאָנגרעס" און אַז די ניו-יאָרקער 'מאַרגן פֿרייהייט' האַלט, אַז: "מען דאַרף פֿאַרשטאַרקן מפֿ"ם און ר"ץ, אַז זיי זאָלן ווערן אַ כּוח". די 'מאַרגן פֿרייהייט' אין ניו-יאָרק דאַרף העלפֿן מפֿ"ם און ר"ץ צו ווערן אַ כּוח...

ס'איז אין פֿאַרבֿינדונג, דערמיט נויטיק אָנצווייזן אויף עטלעכע אינטערעסאַנטע דערשיינונגען אין דער ציוניסטישער באַוועגונג, אַרום דעם סקאַנדאַל מיט צאָלן סקאַנדאַליעזע איבערגעטריבענע אַנטשעדיקונגען און



אייביק ניט רעגירן די אונטערדריקערישע און ראָסיסטישע מינדערהייט, אזוי וועלן אויך ניט רעגירן אייביק די קאָלאָניסטן און דער אַקופאַנט פון דער גדה, פון עזה-פּאַס און רמת הגולן.

די חד"ש פּראָקציע האָט זיך אָפּגעהאַלטן אין דער דאָזיקער אומצוטרוי-אַפּשטימונג, ווייל זי נעגירט די שטעלונגען פון "התחיה" און די שטעלונג פון דער רעגירונג גלייכצייטיק און אים דעם די שטעלונג פון "מערך", וואָס איז אויך פאַר קאָלאָניאַציעס, נאָר בלויז מיט דער באַשטימונג פון דער רעגירונג. אויך דער גענסעק פון מ"פ"ס א. גרנות האָט אין אַ צווישנרוף אין דער דעבאַטע אין כנסת אויסגערופן: "נאָר באַשטעטיקטע קאָלאָניאַציעס דורך דער רעגירונג זיינען געזעצלעכע..."

קאָלאָניאַציעס מיט אַנעקסיע-טענדענצן און צילן. ס'איז פאַראַן אין לייזונג: קעגנזייטיקע אַנערקענונג פון ביידע פעלקער — דאָס ישראל פּאָלק אין זיין מדינה, און דאָס פּאַלעסטינער פּאָלק אין זיין מדינה. מען דאַרף זיך צוריקציען פון די שטחים, וואָס זיינען אַקופירט געוואָרן זינט 1976, דער דאָזיקער שלום-פאַרשלאַג, ווערט אַראַבישע מדינות, דאָס איז זייער אַ כּבּודיקער פאַרשלאַג, אַ שטרעבנדיקער צו שלום. דער דאָזיקער פאַרשלאַג באַדייט שלום אויפן יסוד פון די ליניעס פון 1967. לאַמיר אים אויפנעמען מיט ביידע הענט, אזוי לאַנג, ווי מען לאַגט דאָס אונדז פאַר. צום סוף וויל איך זאָגן: אזוי ווי אין דרום-אַפריקע וועט

# יידיש-אַראַבישע 1-טע מאַי דעמאָנסטראַציע אין ישראל

## אונטערן צייכן פון קאַמף פאַר אַ פּאָליטיק לטובת די אַרבעטנדיקע פאַר אַ פּאָליטיק פון גלייכבאַרעכטיקונג און פאַר-ישראל-פּאַלעסטינער שלום

אויף די אַקופירטע געביטן, דורכגעפירט אויפן חשבון פון די אַרבעטנדיקע. אַלץ אָפּטער ברענגען אַרויס די אַרבעטלאָזע און אַרבעטנדיקע זייער צאַרנדיקן פּראָטעסט קעגן פאַרשווענדן שווערע מיילאַרדן אויף בויען ישובים אויף די אַקופירטע געביטן, אויף אויסהאַלטן אַן אַרמיי אויף די אַקופירטע געביטן און אין דרום-לבנון, וואָס קען גורם זיין נאָך אַ קרבנותפולע און קאַסטבאַרע, רואינירנדיקע מלחמה, אַזאַ פּראָטעסט-דעמאָנסטראַציע האָבן אַרבעטער דורכגעפירט כּשעת מיניסטער דוד לוי האָט געלייגט דעם גרונטשטיין אונטער דער שטאַט כּיתר אויך די אַקופירטע געביטן.

דער באַשלוס פון דער הסתדרות-אַנפירונג ניט צו דעמאָנסטרירן אויך האַיאָר דעם 1-טן מאַי און ניט מאַכיליזירן די אַרבעטנדיקע, וועלכע פּאַדערן צו פירן אַן ענערגישערע פּאָליטיק און פּאַרטיידיקונג פון די אינטערעסן פון די אַרבעטנדיקע מאַסן. האָט אַרויסגערופן פאַרביטערונג צווישן די אַרבעטנדיקע, די חד"ש-פּראָקציע אין הסתדרות האָט האַיאָר באַנייט איר פּאַדערונג, אַז די הסתדרות זאָל דעמאָנסטרירן דעם 1-טן מאַי דעם ווילן, אַז די רעגירונג זאָל פירן אַ פּאָליטיק לטובת די אַרבעטנדיקע

אויך האַיאָר האָט די הסתדרות-אַנפירונג אָפּגעוואָרפן די ווענדונג פון חד"ש דורכצופירן אַן איינהייטלעכע 1-טע-מאַי-דעמאָנסטראַציע, אַלס אויסדרוק פון שטייגנדיקער קעגנערשאַפט פון די אַרבעטנדיקע צו דער אַלץ בולטערער אַנטי-אַרבעטער פּאָליטיק פון דער רעגירונג פון "נאַציאָנאַלער איינקייט".

די אַרבעטנדיקע מאַסן פילן שטאַרק אָפּ די וואַקסנדיקע פּלאַג פון אַרבעטס-לאָזיקייט, וואָס ווערט באַגלייט מיטן סיסטעמאַטישן אַראָפּנידערן דעם לעבנס-ניוואָ. די אַרבעטער-פיינטלעכע פּאָליטיק פון דער רעגירונג פון "נאַציאָנאַלער איינקייט" איז אויף אַ דראַסטישן אופן באַוויזן געוואָרן אין דער לעצטער שטייערן-רעפּאָרם, לויט וועלכער די קליינע פּאַרדינער וועלן געניסן פון אַ פּאַרקלענערן פון די שטייערן מיט 2.8% אַבער די גרויסע פּאַרדינער וועלן געניסן פון אַ שטייערן-פּאַרלייכטערונג פון 16%.

אין די ברייטסטע אַרבעטער-קרייזן דרינגט אַלץ מער אַריין דער באַוווסטזיין, אַז ביי דער זייט פון אַ פּאָליטיק לטובת די גבירישע שיכטן, ווערט די פּאָליטיק פון "גאַנץ אַרץ ישראל", פון בויען אוואַנטוריסטישע קאָלאָניאַציעס