



Dr. Fred Schwarz

The Schwarz Report

Volume 54, Number 9



Dr. David Noebel

September 2014

Bernardine Dohrn: Domestic Terrorist

Born in Chicago in January 1942, Bernardine Rae Dohrn earned a B.A. in political science from the University of Chicago in 1963, and a J.D. from the University of Chicago School of Law four years later. While attending law school, Dohrn became an anti-Vietnam War organizer and worked closely with the Black Freedom Movement. After completing her legal studies, she became a national student organizer for the New York City-based National Lawyers Guild.

Hitting New York in the fall of 1967, the attractive Dohrn, with her tight miniskirt and knee-high Italian leather boots, created an instant sensation among males in leftist circles. As she traveled from campus to campus to do “draft counseling,” potential draft-resisters flocked from miles around just to see her. “I’ll never forget the first time I saw Bernardine,” Sixties student activist Greg Calvert would later recall. “She was wearing an orange sweater and a purple skirt, and while everyone else had on “Stop the War” buttons, hers said: “Cunnilingus is cool, fellatio is fun.”

On April 4, 1968, shortly after Martin Luther King, Jr. had been killed by an assassin’s bullet, a distraught Dohrn told a friend that while King’s politics may have been passé, she had nonetheless admired the man. Later that night, Dohrn put on what she called her “riot clothes” and proceeded to join the mayhem that was taking place on the streets of New York’s Times Square.

In the late Sixties, Dohrn became a leader of the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), a wing of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In June 1968 she ran unopposed in an election for the SDS post of Inter-Organizational Secretary. Defining her politics at that time, Dohrn declared: “I consider myself a revolutionary Communist.”

In June 1969, Dohrn and ten fellow RYM-affiliated SDS members (including such notables as Jeff Jones and Dohrn’s lover Bill Ayers) produced “You Don’t Need a Weatherman to Know Which Way the Wind Blows”—a manifesto whose title was derived from Bob Dylan’s song, “Subterranean Homesick Blues.” Printed in the SDS publication *New Left Notes*, this manifesto marked the genesis of a new radical outgrowth of SDS—“Weatherman,” of which Dohrn was the acknowledged leader. Stating bluntly that “the goal [of revolution] is the destruction of US imperialism and the achievement of a classless world: world communism,” the manifesto characterized African-Americans as a “black colony” within the United States. Said Dohrn: “The best thing that we can be doing for ourselves, as well as for the [Black] Panthers and the revolutionary black liberation struggle, is to build a fu**ing white revolutionary movement, not a national paper alliance. Building a white Left movement from the ground up means we need the Panthers and black radicals there—at ground level.”

In July 1969, Dohrn and a number of fellow Weatherman leaders traveled to Cuba to meet with political representatives of Communist North Vietnam. On August 29, 1969, *New Left Notes* reported that those Vietnamese delegates had told the American radicals in Cuba: “When you go into a city, look for the person who fights hardest against the cops. That’s the one you talk all night with. Don’t look for the one who says the best thing. Look for the one who fights.” The Vietnamese delegation’s leader, Huynh Va Ba of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, had put it this way: “The war is entering its final phase. You must begin to wage armed struggle as soon as possible to become the vanguard and to take leadership of the revolution.” Dohrn assured Ba that she and her comrades would try their best to fulfill his wishes.

Aiming to promptly carry out the type of revolutionary violence urged by the Vietcong directive, Weatherman called for a “national action” to be held in Chicago from October 8-11, 1969. Dohrn played a key role in fomenting violent riots at these so-called “Days of Rage.” On the first night, she stood on a makeshift podium, the wind furling Vietnamese flags around her, and used a bullhorn to shout praise and encouragement to the hundreds of supporters who had gathered there. After lauding them for being “truly a vanguard” of “courageous” revolutionaries, Dohrn proceeded to lead the mob into the Loop, downtown Chicago’s historic commercial center, where they smashed windows, set cars on fire, and trashed the

famed Chicago Gold Coast. Six people were wounded by police gunfire that first night, and dozens were hospitalized for other injuries. Sixty-eight were arrested and jailed.

The next day was the so-called Women's Action. Again, Dohrn roused the troops with a fiery speech and led some 80 protesters into the streets for more mayhem. Dohrn herself was arrested that night and was put in jail.

A Chicago district attorney named Richard Elrod was seriously injured in the Days of Rage violence and became permanently paralyzed as a result. Dohrn later mocked Elrod by leading her comrades in singing "Lay, Elrod, Lay"—a parody of the Bob Dylan song "Lay, Lady, Lay."

Also in 1969, Dohrn recounted an incident that provided a window into her psyche: During a recent plane ride, she and her boyfriend had openly fondled one another and relished in the discomfort of their fellow passengers. Said Dohrn afterward: "They didn't know we were Weathermen. They just knew we were crazy. That's what we're about—being crazy motherfu**ers and scaring the sh*t out of honky America."

In December 1969, Weatherman convened a "War Council" at a black-owned concert hall in a Flint, Michigan ghetto. At that event (whose attendees included SDS leaders Tom Hayden and Jeff Jones), Dohrn launched a scathing attack on Hayden and his white confederates for not being radical enough. Said Dohrn: "Since October 11 [the last day of the Days of Rage], we've been wimpy. . . . A lot of us are still honkies and we're scared of fighting. We have to get into armed struggle." Also during the Council, Dohrn gave her most memorable and notorious speech to her followers. Holding her fingers in what became the Weatherman "fork salute," she said of the bloody murders recently committed by the Manson Family (in which the pregnant actress Sharon Tate and a Folgers Coffee heiress and several other inhabitants of a Benedict Canyon mansion had been brutally stabbed to death): "Dig it! First they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them. They even shoved a fork into the victim's stomach! Wild!"

The War Council yielded two major decisions. The first was that Weatherman would go underground and wage a violent, armed struggle against the state, without attempting to organize the masses. Indeed the Council ended with a formal declaration of war against "AmeriK-KKa," always spelled with three K's to signify the United States' allegedly ineradicable white racism. The second decision was to dissolve SDS.

During Government Security hearings on March 31, 1970, US Senator Marlow Cook asked Chicago gang leader Mike Soto to offer his assessment of Dohrn, whose

whereabouts were unknown. Soto replied: "I have talked to her and she is a violent maniac, because when I talked to her she said 'let's pick up arms, let's blow up this country apart until we take over.'"

In April 1970, federal prosecutors charged Ayers and Dohrn, among others, with having incited the riots in Chicago eight months earlier. In June 1970, a federal grand jury indicted the couple and 12 others for conspiracy to bomb and kill civilians. At that point, Ayers and Dohrn, facing a lengthy trial and possible incarceration, went underground and would evade law-enforcement authorities for the next decade. Weatherman thenceforth became known as the Weather Underground Organization.

In May 1970 Dohrn made a tape recording of a "Declaration of a State of War" on behalf of WUO, and sent a transcript of the tape to the *New York Times*. On October 14, 1970, Dohrn's name was added to the FBI's list of the 10 Most Wanted Fugitives and remained there until December 1973.

During her time underground (which spanned most of the 1970s), Dohrn periodically issued additional "war communiqués" to the public at large. These communiqués commonly called for white Americans to shed their "white skin privilege" and launch a violent race war on behalf of Third World People.

In 1974 Dohrn co-authored—along with Bill Ayers, Jeff Jones, and Celia Sojourn—a book titled *Prairie Fire: The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism*. This book contained the following statements:

"We are a guerrilla organization. We are communist women and men. . . . deeply affected by the historic events of our time in the struggle against US imperialism."

"Our intention is to disrupt the empire, to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks, to make it hard to carry out its bloody functioning against the people of the world, to join the world struggle, to attack from the inside."

"The only path to the final defeat of imperialism and the building of socialism is revolutionary war."

"Revolutionary war will be complicated and protracted. It includes mass struggle and clandestine struggle, peaceful and violent, political and economic, cultural and military, where all forms are developed in harmony with the armed struggle."

"Without mass struggle there can be no revolution. Without armed struggle there can be no victory."

“We need a revolutionary communist party in order to lead the struggle, give coherence and direction to the fight, seize power, and build the new society.”

“Our job is to tap the discontent seething in many sectors of the population, to find allies everywhere people are hungry or angry, to mobilize poor and working people against imperialism.”

“Socialism is the total opposite of capitalism/imperialism. It is the rejection of empire and white supremacy. Socialism is the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the eradication of the social system based on profit.”

The title *Prairie Fire* was an allusion to Mao Zedong’s observation (in a January 1930 letter) that “a single spark can start a prairie fire.” Dohrn’s book was dedicated to a bevy of violent, America-hating revolutionaries, including Sirhan Sirhan (assassin of Robert F. Kennedy).

In late 1975, WUO put out an issue of a magazine, *Osawatamie*, which carried an article by Dohrn titled “Our Class Struggle,” wherein she clearly articulated her support for communism:

“We are building a communist organization to be part of the forces which build a revolutionary communist party to lead the working class to seize power and build socialism. . . . We must further the study of Marxism-Leninism within the WUO. The struggle for Marxism-Leninism is the most significant development in our recent history. . . . We discovered thru our own experiences what revolutionaries all over the world have found—that Marxism-Leninism is the science of revolution, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, our guide to the struggle.”

Also during the Seventies, Dohrn and Ayers, still unmarried, gave birth to two sons. One was named Malik (the Muslim name of Malcolm X), and another was named Zayd (after Zayd Shakur, a Black Panther who had been killed while driving the cop-killer JoAnne Chesimard—a.k.a. Assata Shakur—to a hideout in 1973).

Dohrn and Ayers spent the last years of their underground life (in the late 1970s) in Chicago’s Logan Square neighborhood, where they used the aliases Christine Louise Douglas and Anthony J. Lee. Unbeknownst to both, federal charges against them had been dropped in 1974 after the Supreme Court had ruled the FBI’s wiretap

techniques unconstitutional.

In the late Seventies, WUO split into two factions, the “May 19 Coalition” (which advocated that its members remain in hiding) and the “Prairie Fire Collective” (which favored coming out of hiding). Dohrn and Ayers were members of the latter. In 1980 they surrendered to authorities and were delighted to find that the charges against them had been dropped. Dohrn did plead guilty, however, to charges of aggravated battery and bail-jumping, for which she paid a \$1,500 fine and received three years of probation.

Shortly after turning themselves in, Dohrn and Ayers adopted Chesa Boudin, son of former Weather Underground members Kathy Boudin and David Gilbert, when the parents were convicted of a 1981 murder that had taken place during an armored car robbery.

Dohrn later served seven months in jail for refusing to testify against ex-Weatherman Susan Rosenberg in the latter’s 1982 trial for armed robbery. During that jail stay, said an Associated Press report, Dohrn “changed her mind about one principle, her long-standing opposition to marriage . . . she took a weekend furlough to wed William Ayers, her longtime companion and her boys’ father.”

From 1984 to 1988, Dohrn was employed by the Chicago law firm Sidley Austin LLP. In 1991 she was hired by Northwestern University School of Law in Chicago, as an adjunct professor of law.

Also in 1991, Dohrn was listed as a member of the “tribute committee” for the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights Bicentennial Celebration, which began as part of the struggle to disband the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). More recently, the Chicago Committee fought to abolish the PATRIOT Act.

In 1994 Dohrn and Bill Ayers were listed on a “Membership, Subscription, and Mailing List” for the Chicago Committees of Correspondence, an offshoot of the Communist Party USA. In the mid-1990s, Dohrn and Ayers hosted meetings at their Chicago home to introduce the budding politician Barack Obama to their neighbors during his first run for the Illinois State Senate.

Dohrn has been a commencement speaker at several university graduations, including California’s prestigious Pitzer College, where in 2004 she told the graduates:

“During your student years here, the shredded economy and loss of jobs, the consequences of deregulation and devolution that bankrupted state and local governments, the relentless punishment and imprisoning of over two million people in America, flagrant corporate plunder and criminality, rolling

blackouts, the apparently permanent war on terrorism, the shock and awe occupation of Iraq, systematic and degrading detention without trial, torture and extra-judicial assassinations, and the establishment of a crescent of new US military bases across the Middle East and South Asia—all have transformed whatever blissful illusions were harbored as you entered college.”

In April 2006, Dohrn was invited to speak at the first conference (in Providence, Rhode Island) of the new Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Four months later, the first national convention of this new SDS was held in Chicago and opened its proceedings with a reading of a written greeting from Dohrn.

In August 2006, Dohrn and Ayers were interviewed by the Chicago-based socialist journal *In These Times*. In the interview, Dohrn called for a major “progressive” movement to push the US government farther to the left—as had happened under Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the 1930s and Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s. Asserting that the Democratic Party was not nearly radical enough for her taste, Dohrn said:

“I don’t look to the Democratic Party. I don’t have hope for the Democratic Party. I think the Democratic Party is bankrupt. And I think the only answer is for us to build an independent, radical movement, and, I mean, the big ‘us.’”

Also in 2006, Dohrn was an original board member of the newly formed Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS).

In November 2007, Dohrn spoke at a 40th anniversary celebration of the original Students for a Democratic Society. In her remarks, she praised leftist activists for their long-term efforts aimed at “overthrowing everything hateful about this government and corporate structure that we live in, capitalism itself.” She approvingly cited the late Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assertion that “the greatest purveyor of violence on this earth is my own country.” “I think that’s still true today,” Dohrn added. Further, she lamented “the whole structural implications of white supremacy and the ways in which race and class and gender are just so intertwined in the United States.”

In 2008, Dohrn signed a statement circulated by the Partisan Defense Committee calling for the release of convicted cop-killer Mumia Abu-Jamal, praising Mumia for being a “former Black Panther” who had been “framed” as a murderer and sentenced to death by a racist US justice system, and denouncing capital punishment as “a legacy

of chattel slavery and a barbaric outrage. . . the lynch rope made legal.”

As of 2009, Dohrn was an editorial board member of the socialist journal *In These Times*.

In December 2009, Dohrn and Ayers were among the 1,300 American and European activists who traveled to the Egypt-Gaza border to participate in a pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel demonstration led by Code Pink.

In a November 4, 2010 interview, Dohrn said of the American political Right: “It’s racist; it’s armed; it’s hostile; it’s unspeakable.” “The real terrorist is the American government,” she added, “state terrorism unleashed against the world.”

In February 2012 Dohrn stated that the anti-war movement, which had become largely silent since the election of President Barack Obama, had now become the Occupy (i.e., Occupy Wall Street) movement. Dohrn herself had supported the Occupy movement since its inception in September 2011.

On at least one occasion, Dohrn has been a guest speaker at a gathering of the Left Forum.

Dohrn today is a member of the Chicago based organization Ella’s Daughters—a network of artists, scholars, and writers working in the tradition of civil-rights activist Ella Baker (founder of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights).

Dohrn is currently an associate professor of law at Northwestern University, where she is also director of the Legal Clinic’s Children and Family Justice Center. She sits on important committees and boards of the American Bar Association, and she formerly served as an advisory board member for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Dohrn was also a board of trustees member of a Chicago-based graduate school in child development known as the Erikson Institute, named after the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson and co-founded by Barbara Bowman, the mother of Barack Obama’s close advisor Valerie Jarrett. (In 1950 Erikson became a hero to the left by choosing to resign from his professorship at the University of California rather than sign an anti-communist loyalty oath as the school required.) Tom Ayers (father of Bill Ayers) has also served on the Erikson Institute’s board.

Dohrn has expressed no real regret over her radical past. Though she has distanced herself from the Manson remark (insinuating, falsely, that it was a “joke”), her political views are as extreme as ever. Regarding her Weatherman past, she contends: “We rejected terrorism. We were careful not to hurt anybody.” Both assertions are false, however. Weatherman’s twofold agenda was terrorism (which is why Charles Manson was Dohrn’s hero) and

war (the organization's very existence was launched with a formal "declaration of war").

—discoverthenetworks.org, July 29, 2014

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Vlad and Fidel

by Mary Anastasia O'Grady

Cuban spy Ana Belen Montes was the highest-ranking Pentagon intelligence analyst ever to be busted for working for the Castros. What's also notable, in light of Vladimir Putin's visit to Havana earlier this month, is that she was nabbed in 2001, long after the Cold War ended.

Besides leaking classified material and blowing the cover of covert US intelligence agents, Montes seems to have been charged by her handlers with convincing top brass in Washington that Fidel Castro—who had wanted the Soviets to drop the bomb on this country during the 1962 missile crisis—no longer presents a threat to the US. Montes, who rose to become the U.S. military's resident intelligence expert on Cuba, partly accomplished that mission. The Pentagon's 1998 Cuba threat assessment played down its military and intelligence capabilities.

The best Cuba watchers were less sanguine. The Castros remain as paranoid, power-hungry and pathological as ever. They may be economic fools, but they run a good business making the island available to criminal governments, like Iran and North Korea.

Mr. Putin's Cuba trip reinforces the point. The old Cold War villains are up to no good one more time.

Russia's president is trying to rebuild the Soviet empire. Eastern Europe won't cooperate and in Asia the best he will ever be is China's junior partner. But in Latin America Mr. Putin's KGB résumé and willingness to stick his thumb in the eye of the US gives him traction. Colonizing Cuba again is an obvious move.

After the Soviet Union fell in 1991 and the gravy train to Havana was cut off, Fidel was furious with the Kremlin. It hasn't been easy to get back in his good graces. In 2008 the Moscow news outlet Kommersant reported that Putin friend and Deputy Prime Minister Igor Sechin got the cold shoulder when he visited the island to work on "restoring full-scale cooperation." Kommersant reported that the Castros were "displeased" that Russia had been talking up a military deployment to Cuba without Havana's approval.

But it seems that the world's most notorious moochers are willing to forgive—for the right price. With sugar-daddy Venezuela running into economic problems in recent years and Mr. Putin itching for a place in the Caribbean

sun, Cuba has decided to deal.

In February 2013 Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev traveled to Cuba, where he signed agreements to lease eight Russian jets worth \$650 million to Havana and proposed some \$30 billion in debt forgiveness. Two months later, Russian Chief of Staff Gen. Valery Gerasimov visited key military and intelligence sites on the island. In August a spokesman for the Black Sea Fleet announced that the Russian guided-missile warship Moskva, the fleet's flagship, had set off for Cuba and other ports in Central and South America.

Fast forward to February of this year. Russian Defense Minister Sergei Shoigu announced that Russia had engaged in talks to establish military bases in Venezuela, Nicaragua and Cuba. The next day a Russian intelligence-gathering ship docked in Havana.

In May, Russia's Security Council and Cuba's Commission for National Security and Defense agreed in Moscow to form a joint working group. "The situation in the world is changing fast and it is dynamic. That's why we need the ability to react promptly," Nikolai Patrushev, secretary of the Russian Security Council, told the press. Cuban Col. Alejandro Castro Espin, son of Raúl Castro, led the Cuban delegation. In June Russia signed a space cooperation agreement with Cuba to allow it to use the island to base its Glonass (Russia's alternative to GPS) navigation stations.

When he called in Havana this month Mr. Putin flaunted his intentions to restore a Russian beachhead in Cuba. The shutdown of the Malaysia Airlines flight on the same day that he ended his Latin American tour raised the visibility of a trip that was made for both psychological and strategic reasons. Mr. Putin wants to assure the Free World that he can be a menace in the US backyard—and he wants a local foothold to make the threat real.

Mr. Putin officially wrote off \$32 billion of bad Cuban debt on his trip, leaving just \$3.2 billion due over the next 10 years. Russia is looking for oil in Cuban waters, and Mr. Putin signed new agreements in energy, industry, and trade with Castro. Days after the visit he denied rumors that the Kremlin intends to reopen its old electronic-eavesdropping facility on the island.

That's cold comfort, even if you believe him. Satellite technology has made land-based listening posts obsolete in many ways. Far more troubling is the emergence of Mr. Putin as a Latin American presence. Tyrants all over the region, starting with the Castros, admire his ruthlessness and skill in consolidating economic and political power. They want to emulate him. It's a role model the region could do without.

—*The Wall Street Journal*, July 28, 2014, p. A11

Living Not By Lies

by Jay Nordlinger

Every day is an anniversary, and people take advantage of them. This week, the Victims of Communism Memorial Foundation is marking its 20th anniversary. Last week, the anti-Communist world, so to speak, marked 25 years since the Tiananmen Square massacre. In November, there will be a celebration: the 25th anniversary of the Fall of the Wall.

VOC (as the Victims of Communism foundation is known) is intended to teach people about Communism: its ideology, its record. The organization was founded by Lee Edwards, a Heritage Foundation scholar, and the late Lev Dobriansky, who taught economics at Georgetown. His obituary in the *Washington Post* was headed “Professor and Foe of Communism.” It’s interesting that “foe of Communism” should be a distinction. Who is not a foe? The answer is many.

I have never been entirely comfortable with the first word in “Victims of Communism.” That’s because, in my time and place, the word “victim” has been debased. If anyone ever looked at you crossways or called you a name, you’re a certified victim. And yet there are victims: such as the 100 million murdered by Communists. (This is a toll that continues to rise.)

The most visible achievement of VOC so far has been the erection of a memorial near Capitol Hill. It is a replica of the “Goddess of Democracy,” fashioned by the students in Tiananmen Square. At the time, left-leaning commentators in America were keen to say that the symbol had nothing to do with the Statue of Liberty: Rah-rah Americans could not claim kinship with the demonstrators in China. The truth is, the Goddess of Democracy was inspired, in large measure, by the Statue of Liberty.

Money for the memorial in Washington came from various quarters, especially the Vietnamese, Baltic, and Hungarian communities in this country. While he was president, George W. Bush was asked to serve as honorary chairman of VOC—and he did. It was he who spoke at the dedication of the memorial, in June 2007. Forgive me for wondering: would his successor have done so? What

would he have said?

In a monumental city, the Victims of Communism memorial is modest—small-scale—but stirring and apt. Its sculptor is Thomas Marsh, not just an artist but a believer. He waived his fee in sculpting this memorial. And let me say, in a gratuitous aside, that he is a longtime and warmly admiring subscriber to *National Review*. Every year, VOC gives a Truman-Reagan medal, in honor of anti-Communist champions, or, better, champions of freedom. Among the recipients is William F. Buckley Jr., the late founder of this magazine.

On a muggy morning—typical in Washington—a modest but hardy crowd gathers around the memorial for the 20th anniversary ceremony. In the air is an array of accents and languages. You can tell, from this array, what peoples have been subjugated by Communists. I’m reminded of an evening I once attended at the Czech embassy here. It was presided over by Vaclav Havel. His guest list was heavy with his fellow former political prisoners, from far and wide: Russia, Vietnam, China, Cuba, etc. At the VOC ceremony, there are a few people in native dress (“captive-nations-wear” is the strange term that occurs to me). What press there is looks foreign.

In the speeches, there is much citing of Milan Kundera: “The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting.” Anti-Communists always lay great stress on memory: on resistance to airbrushing and falsification. A leading Russian civil-society group is called, simply, “Memorial.”

And yet Communism is more than a memory, more than a historical fact. “It continues to rule one-fifth of the world’s people,” says VOC literature. Populous China sees to that. One of the speakers at the ceremony is Jianli Yang, the Chinese democracy activist. He reads a portion of the Gettysburg Address, saying that it would ring fresh in Tiananmen Square. Another speaker is Shin Dong-hyuk, the “only known escapee from North Korea’s Camp 14.” (Actually, he is too ill to attend the ceremony, and his remarks are read by a spokesman.) He says, “Though I was born inside a prison camp, a prison camp was not born inside me.”

On the program is a congressman’s name—Skimkus. I think, “Why does it always have to be someone with a name like Shimkus who cares?” Then again, a congressman

Founded in 1953, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, under the leadership of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz (1913-2009) has been publishing a monthly newsletter since 1960. *The Schwarz Report* is edited by Dr. David A. Noebel and Dr. Michael Bauman and is offered free of charge to anyone asking for it. The Crusade’s address is PO Box 129, Manitou Springs, CO 80829. Our telephone number is 719-685-9043. All correspondence and tax-deductible gifts (CACC is a 501C3 tax-exempt organization) may be sent to this address. You may also access earlier editions of *The Schwarz Report* and make donations at www.schwarzreport.org. Permission to reproduce materials from this Report is granted provided that the article and author are given along with our name and address. Our daily blog address is www.thunderontheright.wordpress.com.

named Smith—Chris Smith of New Jersey—is one of the foremost human-rights champions in politics. (With my luck, however, his mother’s maiden name is Wozniak.)

In awarding the Truman-Reagan Medal this year, VOC has gone timely—giving the medal to two figures from Ukraine. One is Mustafa Dzhemilev, the leader of the Crimean Tatars. He was a political prisoner in the Soviet Union and is now a member of the Ukrainian parliament. The other awardee is Myroslav Marynovych, also a former political prisoner and a longtime democracy activist. He gives a moving speech, ending with a remark about standing on “the free land of blest America.”

Now it’s time for VOC’s annual roll call of nations, and the wreath-laying that goes with it: Representatives of some 20 nations and 20 organizations will lay a wreath at the memorial. I find this ritual both hokey and painfully sad.

After, there is a luncheon, hosted by the Austrian and Hungarian embassies (as well as VOC). A congressman named Ross speaks—Dennis Ross of Florida. He has a Hungarian mother. There is also a senator named Cruz—Ted Cruz of Texas, who speaks of his family’s tribulations in Cuba. At a panel later there is a congressman with the straightforwardly American name of Andy Harris—but his father was a Hungarian tossed into the Soviet Gulag; his mother was a Ukrainian refugee. Next at the rostrum is Congressman Marcy Kaptur—who tells an amazing story about a trip she took with her mother in 1972. They went to Soviet Ukraine, looking for relatives.

All of these congressmen “get it,” to use a too common modern phrase: They understand Communism. So do the congressmen who speak at an evening event—the Cuban Americans from Miami, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Mario Diaz-Balart. They get it in spades. Marynovych, from Ukraine, gives one more speech. He takes up the old and vexing question, “Why was Nazism appropriately branded and Communism not?” He says, “Europe has always treated the two totalitarianisms differently: The Nazi regime was considered absolute evil while the Communist regime [in Moscow] looked like the Slavonic spoiling of an excellent idea.”

A Vietnamese dissident, Cu Huy Ha Vu, apologizes for his poor English. His excuse is that he was released from prison only two months ago. His foreign languages may be a little rusty. He uses a translator, but then says, in English, his voice rising, “I’m ready to fight Communism to the end, all over the world!” He also says that democratic countries should help sufferers and strugglers in undemocratic ones.

VOC has a couple of goals. One, it is realizing even

now: an oral-history project under the heading “Witness.” Victims of Communism, or survivors of Communism, give their testimonies, on video. The organization also intends to build a museum in Washington, something akin, I gather, to the Holocaust Museum. They would like to break ground by October 2017, the centennial of the Bolsheviks’ takeover. The Hungarian government has pledged \$1 million to the enterprise.

People often say that museums of this kind are necessary to prevent crimes against humanity in the future. I’m not sure. There will always be genocidalists, or would-be genocidalists, and totalitarians, or would-be totalitarians. A museum is powerless to stop them. But a museum can certainly record the truth. Victims, survivors, long for the truth to be known.

On my way to the morning ceremony, I passed a young man in a Che Guevara T-shirt. (On your way to anything, you pass a person in a Che Guevara T-shirt.) What if he knew about Guevara? Would he still wear the shirt? In our schools and universities, even the leading monsters of Communism tend to get off lightly. And those monsters are Stalin and Mao, although Pol Pot should not be snubbed.

Some years ago, I interviewed Robert Conquest, the author of *The Great Terror* (and a Truman-Reagan winner). In colloquial British English, he said, “They’re still talking absolute balls. In the academy, there remains a feeling of, ‘Don’t let’s be too rude to Stalin. He was a bad guy, yes, but the Americans were bad guys too, and so was the British Empire.’” In China, the Party line is that Mao was 70 percent good and 30 percent bad. What does the average American Sinologist teach? 50-50? (Stalin and Mao are responsible for almost 100 million deaths all by themselves. The Guevaras, in comparison, are minnows.)

Rarely do I feel more at home than among the anti-Communists. They are my tribe, or archipelago of tribes. I have always been drawn to them, I think, because they tell the truth. They abide by the Solzhenitsyn doctrine “Live not by lies.” And people in the Free World—to say nothing of the unfree world—are always lying about Communism. No one lies about Nazism, outside of David Irving and the Iranian government. Many lie about Communism.

I remember when Armando Valladares, the “Cuban Solzhenitsyn,” emerged from that tropical gulag to tell the truth about Cuba. Students and professors around me hated him, for his disturbance of their illusions about Castro. Later, people hated Jung Chang, for disturbing their illusions about Mao. Last year, by the way, she was asked in an interview, “What one thing would you change in China?” She said, “Say goodbye to Mao. Take down

Mao's portrait from Tiananmen Square." I know other Chinese democrats who wish this supremely.

At the VOC luncheon, Ted Cruz said, simply, "Thank you for telling the truth." In fact, he said it twice. I say it, too. Thank you.

—*National Review*, July 7, 2014

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Fidel Denounces Palestinian "Holocaust"

by Humberto Fontova

"I think that a new, repugnant form of fascism is emerging with notable strength. . . . The Nazi genocide of Jews outraged all the earth's peoples. Why does this (Israeli) government believe that the world will be insensitive to the macabre genocide which today is being perpetuated against the Palestinian people?" (Fidel Castro, August, 5, 2014)

"Who cares, what that senile ZOMBIE Castro says!" strikes me as a reasonable retort from many readers.

"Unfortunately," I'm forced to answer. "Many other-wise reasonable care very much what Fidel Castro says." Take Israeli Prime Ministers Benjamin Netanyahu:

"The remarks attributed to Castro demonstrate his deep understanding of the history of the Jewish people and the state of Israel." (Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Sept. 24, 2010.)

Take former Israeli President Shimon Peres: "I thank you (Fidel Castro) from the bottom of my heart. I must confess that your remarks were, in my opinion, unexpected and rife with unique intellectual depth. Your words presented a surprising bridge between a harsh reality and a new horizon. You tried to sail to bigger seas, to show that a small geographical size doesn't have to reflect human smallness." (Israeli President Shimon Peres, Sept. 24, 2010.)

At the time Fidel Castro had granted *The Atlantic's* Jeffrey Goldberg an exclusive interview and the smitten Israeli leaders were reacting to the following remarks by the Stalinist dictator:

"I don't think anyone has been slandered more than the Jews. . . . I would say much more than the Muslims. They have been slandered much more than the Muslims because they are blamed and slandered for everything. No one blames the Muslims for anything. . . . The Jews have lived an existence that is much harder than ours. There is nothing that compares to the Holocaust. . . . Yes, without

a doubt (Israel has a right to exist as modern state.)"

Cuba-watchers rolled their eyes and groaned at that latest of Castro's frequent scams, but the media (naturally) ate it up, savoring every syllable. Astoundingly so did normally shrewd Israeli leaders. Wishful thinking often fogs the brain. And who can blame friendless Israel for wishing she had a new friend—and one carrying enormous cachet among her traditional enemies?

So why did Castro—who sent troops to fight try an "erase" Israel during the Yom Kippur war, and who co-sponsored the infamous 1975 UN resolution branding "Zionism as Racism"—suddenly go Likudnik?

"For now we use a lot of sleight of hand and smiles with everybody. There will be plenty of time later to crush all the cockroaches together." This admonition from Fidel Castro to a revolutionary colleague in 1954 gives a clue to his diplomacy. Cuba-watchers also know that Castro plumbs the workings of the US legislature better than most home-grown lobbyists and well knows the main power brokers. Indeed Cuban intelligence defectors report that promptly upon publication in 1979, David Halberstam's book *The Powers That Be* detailing the inner workings and identities of Washington D.C's power brokers, became Castro's favorite book.

In September 2010 it was time to use that sleight-of-hand on Israel-backers. Jeffrey Goldberg's visit with Castro, you see, just happened to coincide with a pending vote by the US House Committee on Foreign Relations (HCFR) on further opening US travel to Cuba. Goldberg's visit to Cuba, just happened to be arranged by The Council on Foreign Relations Julia Sweig, identified as a "Cuban agent of influence" by America's top Cuban spycatcher Lieut. Col. Chris Simmons, recently retired from the Defense Intelligence Agency.

Cuba's tourist industry is majority-owned by Castro's military and secret police. As used to be common knowledge during the Cold War, secret police and military (the only outfits with guns in such nations) maintain Communist regimes in power.

So the HCFR vote could open the floodgates of American tourist dollars to the Stalinist regime's most zealous (and heavily armed) guardians—and at a time when the financial lifeline to Cuba from Hugo Chavez' looked shaky. Most importantly, steadfast Israel-backer Howard Berman chaired this House Committee at the time, and steadfast Israel-backer and committee member Senator Gary Ackerman seemed to hold the vital deciding vote. Do you see where I'm going with this, amigos?

Alas, even with Rep. Ackerman taking Castro's bait, at the last minute Chairman Rep. Berman took a rough count and recognized that the bill would not squeak by. So he postponed it. Short weeks later Castro's roaming ambassador, Aleida Guevara (Che's daughter), was in Lebanon posing next to Hezbollah missiles aimed at Israel.

The Cuban-born (and steadfast Israel-backer) Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen was among those bemused with Netanyahu and Peres at the time. "Look, this guy has been an enemy of Israel," wrote Congresswoman Ros-Lehtinen to Netanyahu. "Just because he said something that a normal person would say—after 50 years of anti-Israel incitement, it's one phrase from an old guy who doesn't even know where he's standing."

"When countries such as Cuba, Venezuela and the like, who do not know the concept of human rights, point an accusing finger towards us, it is a sign that we are doing the right things." Here Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Liberman was reacting to Cuba sponsorship of the United Nations Human Rights Commission resolution to investigate Israeli "War Crimes," upon last month's launch of Operation Protective Edge.

Well that's more like it, Israeli leaders. Hopefully you learned your lesson regarding Fidel Castro's public pronouncements. This lesson came at catastrophic cost to US policymakers and millions of Cubans over half a century ago. Among the Castro pronouncements these now older and much wiser people took at face value:

"You can be sure we have no animosity toward the United States and the American people. . . . We are fighting for a democratic Cuba and an end to the dictatorship." (*New York Times*, Feb. 24, 1957.)

"We are not communists. And communists will never have influence in my country. . . . Political power does interest me in the least. I will never assume such power." (Fidel Castro, April 1959.)

—*FrontPageMagazine.com*, August 14, 2014