

JEWISH AFFAIRS

**On the 64th Anniversary
of the Great October Revolution**

By Herbert Aptheker

Solidarity Day

By Phil Honor

New Dangers for the Iranian Revolution

Julius Krisiloff

Homecoming

By Mike Davidow

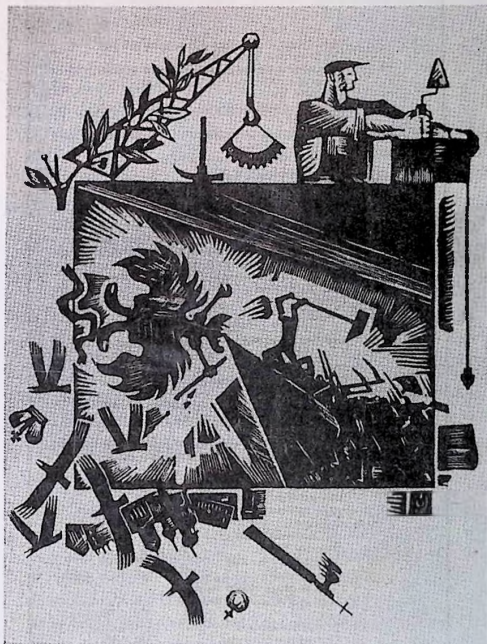
Book Reviews:

Stopping World War III

By Hy Cohen

Heavy Sand

By Leo Auerbach



Jemal Lolua

*An illustration to Galaktion Tabidze's poem
"Symphony of the October Revolution"*

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Anti-Sovietism and the National Interest of the People of the United States: On the 64th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution

by Herbert Aptheker

"I choke with rage when I recall all the stupid assertions made during the last years. We fell for our own propaganda. Now we are staggering. . . ." Thus did Nazi army lieutenant Kurt F. Brandes write in his diary, July 1, 1943, while at the Eastern front. Three months later he died in combat.

What was the nazis' "own propaganda"? In the United States, to cite a typical reflection, it took the form of articles like George Sokolsky's "When Moscow Falls," published in the *N.Y. Sun* two weeks after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. Sokolsky rejoiced: "There need be no excuses and no explanations except that incompetence, despotism, lack of managerial capacity, lack of initiative, government by fear and purge, left the giant helpless and incapacitated. Troops will rebel against Stalin and they will, of course, have the assistance of Germany."

The master himself, Trotsky, had asserted in the *American Mercury* back in 1937, that in the next war, "the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable." Why? Because — according to Trotsky: "In a technical, economic and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong."

Not only was defeat inevitable back in 1937 and not only did Moscow fall in July, 1941, but James Burnham — then merely a professor at New York University and not yet the State Department adviser he was to become in the 1950's — in his *Managerial Revolution*, published in 1941, found "inevitable" the destruction and parcelling-out of the Soviet Union by Germany and Japan. As a matter of fact, this distinguished scholar announced in that book that this division "has already begun."

With such a picture of the Soviet Union — a picture flowing from and necessary to the bourgeoisie — it is not surprising, as Malcolm Cowley reported in the *New Republic*, June 14, 1943, that when the USSR was attacked "many of the Trotskyites in this country thought that Stalin would be afraid to arm the people or that, if he did, they would turn their arms against him." Similarly, in his column of March 6, 1941 — that is, some fifteen weeks before the Nazi attack — Walter Lippmann announced that the nazis would find the

Soviet Union "easy to conquer and well worth conquering."

So, no doubt in full confidence, Hitler's Foreign Minister assured Mussolini's Foreign Minister immediately after the June, 1941 attack: "The Russia of Stalin will be erased from the map within eight weeks." And the British Chiefs of Staff informed their government that the Nazi war effort would "take from six to eight weeks," while Secretary of War Stimson, in summarizing the opinion of the U.S. military leadership, informed President Roosevelt: "Germany will be thoroughly occupied in beating Russia for a minimum of one month and a possible maximum of three months."

While the people of the U.S. did not then see these official estimates, they were reflected with unanimity among the "experts" of the commercial press. Thus, Fletcher Pratt, then a widely syndicated military analyst: "It will take a miracle bigger than any since biblical times to save Russia from a quick and complete defeat"; and Hanson Baldwin, the military expert of the *N.Y. Times*, announced: "It seems probable that Hitler will be able to achieve his main military objectives within a few weeks."

The supreme expert on matters of the Soviet Union and Communism, in those days, was the Honorable Martin Dies of Texas; this eminent statesman announced immediately after the assault upon the USSR: "Hitler will be in control of Russia within thirty days."

All this was more than mere wish-fulfillment. It was much deeper. The bourgeoisie and their intellectual servants had to believe that a fascist-dominated Europe — which they had created — would be able to accomplish the ultimate purpose behind the creation — the destruction of the USSR and the extirpation of the Marxist scourge. They could not face the meaning of the failure and the consequences of such failure for their class and system.

But there is something even deeper. The Bolshevik Revolution and the socialist system it had created and sustained in one-sixth of the globe negated everything dear to and vital for the bourgeoisie. That Revolution and that society were the work of "inferior" peoples — of Slavs and Armenians, of Kirghiz and Kazakhs, of Jews and Georgians. The racism fundamental to the origins of the bourgeoisie and to the security of their system demanded that such an effort by such peoples — in of all places, Czarist Russia, prison-house of nationalities, center of institutionalized anti-Semitism and of repeated pogroms — simply had to fail. The Revolution's commitment to racial and religious equal-

ity and to the equality of women made it one which challenged in an absolutely basic and fundamental way the system of imperialism.

In addition, there was the deepest root of this fanatical hatred and obsessional antagonism; this was *class* feeling. These Bosheviki were of and for the workers and the peasants — and workers and peasants of Czarist Russia, than whom, it was universally affirmed, none were more backward. It was these — the doomed ones, the unclean, the Beasts in the images of upper-class authors from Edmund Spenser to Alexander Hamilton — who were in charge here. This *must* fail; if not, everything vital to the outlook of the bourgeoisie is refuted: the incompetence and stupidity of the poor — wherefor they are poor; the need for an elite to make things and “beasts” work. Concepts of “original sin,” of the “naturalness” of capitalism, of the immutability of racism and anti-Semitism, of the “impossibility” of planning a socioeconomic order given the complexity of modern society — all go by the wayside and with them go the inevitability and propriety of the status quo. The animosity came fundamentally from a *class* snobbishness rationalized, as that almost always is, by chauvinist and racist features.

Liberty and property was the slogan of John Locke, philosopher of the bourgeois revolution; the two were one: with the security of the private ownership of the means of production went liberty — that is, the liberty to hold and to profit from such ownership. This is what civilization was; this was law and order and its negation was chaos, anarchy, the rule of the Beast. Naturally, then, the Bolsheviks—the beast personified—attacked exactly that private ownership of the means of production and without that what was Deterding, or Ford, or Krupp or Morgan or Rothschild or Du Pont or Rockefeller? Without that they were simply names instead of Powers determining ultimately the conduct of the Czars, Presidents, Prime Ministers — and Hitlers.

Therefore, for the likes of these and their class, there is no reconciliation with that Revolution; there is only the commitment to its destruction. Hence, the intervention by the fourteen nations after the First World War and the intervention by Japan prior to the Second World War; hence, the wars against the Revolution from Pilsudski's Poland to Hitler's Germany.

In October, 1918, the *N.Y. Times* reported that the Bolsheviks had established a government “bureau of freeloze” wherein each single woman from the age of 18 up was required to register and was then given a husband; as late as 1922 this vicious absurdity was still being peddled. Scholars(!) like Professor Samuel N.

Harper at the University of Chicago, were writing privately to such people as William Allen White, the most influential journalist of the time, that “the Jewish gang in Washington” was seeking to cover up the sins of the Bolsheviks — this in a letter dated July 15, 1918.

The main purveyor of lies about the Soviet revolution and the USSR from the beginning to the present was, naturally enough, the main organ of the ruling class, that is, the *N.Y. Times*. On November 1, 1919, that paper announced that the Bolsheviks were “ravening beasts of prey, a large part of them actual criminals, all of them mad.” Thereafter, for months the *Times* announced that Lenin was fleeing, resigning, insane, dying and dead and that the Soviet government had disintegrated, disbanded, dissolved and just plain collapsed. Months later, the young Walter Lippmann and the young Charles Merz, in a 42-page study of the *Times*' reportage of the Bolshevik Revolution — published as a supplement to the *New Republic* (August 4, 1920) — concluded:

“The Russian lie is the father of lies. For lie, damned lie, it has been. It was a lie that the people of Russia were calling for military intervention. It was a lie that they believed in Kolchak and Denikin. It was a lie that they did not prefer the Soviet government to any thing offered them by the Allied generals and the monarchist cliques .

And because these lies were the base of a policy of lawless invasion, disgraceful intrigue, bloodshed, devastation and famine, they have had to be established by every device known to panic and credulity.”

By and large, with rare and transient exceptions, the realities of that Revolution and the State it created and the society it made possible have been presented to the people of the U.S. in substantially the manner denounced over sixty years ago by the young Lippmann and the young Merz.

. . . .

On August 10, 1920, Bainbridge Colby, President Wilson's Secretary of State, explained to the Italian Government that Washington could not consider “the present rulers of Russia as a government” with which normal relations were possible; this was because, Colby went on, the U.S. could not deal with a so-called government “which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions.”

This statement — the so-called Colby doctrine — is cited with approval in a 1969 book by Charles E. Bohlen who — along with George Kennan, Eldridge Dubrow and Loy Henderson — made up the senior State Department experts on the USSR. Bohlen, whose State De-

partment service began in 1929, was Ambassador to the Soviet Union in the 1950s and to France in the 1960s. In his 1969 book *Bohlen* explicitly announces his hope for a counter-revolutionary coup in the Soviet Union; but he adds that such a change in Moscow cannot possibly come about through mass action. He adds that perhaps something could be started by depending upon nationalist intrigues. At any rate, he concludes in 1969 that with the present Soviet government, the Colby doctrine should prevail and basically determine U.S. policy vis-a-vis the USSR.

Why Bohlen saw no hope for any popular anti-Soviet movement he himself explained in his posthumously published autobiography, *Witness to History* (1973). No doubt with a heavy heart, he wrote: "There is a wide degree of acceptance of the Soviet system as a fact of life . . . I would doubt if you would find a literate Russian [and there are no other kind any longer! — H.A.] who would say, 'Yes, we want to go back to private property . . .'"

In this same book, Bohlen wrote of Moscow's "termination to have peace." He added: "The Soviets are very serious about disarmament. I don't think it's a propaganda stunt . . . they genuinely believe that an uncontrolled arms race is almost certain to end up in war, sooner or later." In fact, in the concluding section of this 1973 book, Bohlen confessed: "I do not see any circumstance under which the Soviets would deliberately embark on World War III."

Despite this, Bohlen wrote that "we operate in a society in which good and evil are differentiated; the Communists do not." He therefore insisted that the Colby doctrine must guide U.S. relations with the USSR. Let it be repeated that Bohlen was the dean of Soviet experts in Washington for forty years; he was the mentor of the Kissingers and Brzezinskis and the present cabal in charge of the State Department who have helped bring disaster and shame to the U.S. and the globe to the brink of catastrophe.

There is a special irony for the government of the United States to be enamored of this Colby doctrine because an identical view was taken of the First American Revolution and of the young United States by royalists and colonizers in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. This is why the British band, when Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, played "The World Turned Upside Down." This is why fifty years after our revolution, the British Foreign Minister, George Canning, enunciated *his* doctrine to the effect that Washington was not the seat of a government but of a movement, an idea, that was subversive to all law and order, challeng-

ing monarchs, mocking royalty and denying the legality of empires.

With the Socialist revolution, certainly, the hostility is deeper and more vicious because the revolution is more profound and is not subject to compromise. Still, it is normal for the Cannings and the Bohlens to confuse the interest of their classes with the interest of their nations — that is to say, of the peoples of their nations.

Today surely few doubt that Canning was wrong in equating the needs of so-called civilization with the solidity of the British Empire; and today most people of the world know that the Bohlens are wrong in identifying a civilized social order with the monopoly-capitalist system at the moment dominant in the United States. The idea of good and evil that appeals to the Bohlens and Reagens of the world does not answer either the aspirations or the needs of the vast majority of the world's inhabitants. Good and evil are not abstractions and what is good for General Motors is not good for most of the people of the United States, let alone of the world.

In the past the people of the United States have been told that monopolizing the atomic bomb would stave off the Russians; that arming West Germany would stave off the Russians; that building NATO would accomplish this task; that developing the H-Bomb would do the trick; that putting U.S. soldiers in Western Europe was necessary for the same end; that placing tactical atomic artillery in Western Europe was needed; that producing chemical and bacteriological weapons would be very helpful; that developing the B-1 bomber was required; that the N-Bomb was needed; that building up U.S. naval, air and army forces in the Persian Gulf and eastern Mediterranean area was vital; that a rapid strike force needed development; that Norway should permit the U.S. use of its northern territory for the storage of military equipment in case the Marines need it; that military bases in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Israel and Oman and Somalia were vital; that registration of all young men preparatory to renewed conscription was required; that SALT II was an obstacle and an illusion; that active preparation for a prolonged nuclear war depending upon first-strike intent and capacity on the part of the U.S. was also needed; that the MX-missile system in Nevada or Utah or deep in the sea or high in the air was necessary; that it was imperative that all Western Europe agree to Washington's proposal for deploying 108 Pershing-2 missiles and 464 cruise missiles in that area, beginning not later than 1983; and, that nuclear war was more or less inevitable, that its horrors have been exaggerated, and—as two staff members of the Hudson Institute, housing several Dr. Strangeloves in upstate New

York—put it in the Summer, 1980 issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine, "Victory Is Possible."

With the madness characteristic of senile imperialism, *Foreign Policy* magazine, wherein is argued the need to prepare to wage nuclear war and the possibility of winning such a war, is published by—the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace!

I remember, not very long after the shooting had stopped in Europe in World War II, being in the Ravensbruck concentration camp in the northern part of what is now the German Democratic Republic. That Nazi hell-hole, wherein women and children were confined and slaughtered, had been liberated by Soviet troops. When I visited, a Soviet colonel was in charge. He greeted me, swept his arms towards the buildings of Ravensbruck and said: "Here, here is imperialism gone mad."

The compulsion of a senile exploiting social order towards madness—otherwise called fascism—which means war—is organic to the system, but in the present world the power exists within ourselves and within the socialist, democratic, anti-racist and anti-colonial forces throughout the world to restrain this compulsion, to thwart it and to permanently prevent a new world war.

Soon after Presidential Directive 59 was announced, on the 35th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, the Soviet Union issued a brief statement, dated August 15, 1980, buried at the tag end of a dispatch from the Moscow correspondent of the *N.Y. Times*, which read: "All the efforts of the Soviet Union in the international arena are aimed at insuring that there should be neither a first nor a second nuclear strike, that there should be no nuclear war."^{*}

On September 15, 1980, the Soviet Union submitted a Memorandum to the General Assembly of the United Nations. A key paragraph stated:

In present-day conditions there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of relaxation of international tension. The question is posed only this way: whether the world will follow the lines of renunciation of the use of force, of disarmament, of equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation, or it will be plunged into the abyss of an unrestricted arms race and escalation of armed conflicts, fraught with the most serious consequences to mankind.

Our Great seer, the immortal Dr. Du Bois, in hailing the 30th anniversary of the Soviet Union, in November, 1947, wrote:

It is because we are misled by propaganda and a press which is not free but monopolized that we are

letting the money-makers drive almost unhindered toward the ruin of modern civilization by a third world war. It is the bounden duty of decent people in the United States, in all the Americas, in Europe and the world, to set their faces like flint against future war . . .

In our own generation this awful danger persists; but an important conclusion is that the anti-war movements and struggles and organizations in the world have prevented the ultimate catastrophe up to this point. What has been done can again be done—and the forces hostile to a Third World War are more numerous, better organized and more fully conscious than in 1947.

We are now again in a period of fearful war-mongering in the U.S. and powerful efforts by Pentagon and financial-industrial overlords to intensify a Cold War and to threaten a world war. But in the past we were in such periods and managed to thwart them and to advance the cause of peaceful coexistence. Let us remember that while President Kennedy began military intervention in Vietnam in 1961 and permitted the Bay of Pigs infamy to unfold that same year and nearly incinerated the world at the time of the so-called Cuban crisis in 1962, he did learn something of the realities of the world. By the Spring of 1963 he was urging an "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. foreign policy. Let us recall that President Kennedy in his great speech at American University in Washington, June 10, 1963, said of the Warsaw Pact countries:

If we cannot now end our differences, at least we can help make the world safe for diversity. For, in the final analysis, our most basic link is that we all inhabit this small planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.

One result of the "agonizing reappraisal" was the signing, in July, 1963, by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, of the agreement banning nuclear bomb tests in the atmosphere, under water and in space. President Kennedy, in announcing this, told the American people: "Let us, if we can, get back from the

^{*} It is sometimes asserted that the USSR opposes first use of nuclear weaponry because of its alleged superiority in conventional weapons and that banning nuclear arms makes conventional warfare more likely. President Brezhnev, according to a UPI dispatch from Moscow, March 3, 1979, in an election speech, "said that the Warsaw Pact nations had proposed in 1976 that the Helsinki signatory nations pledge not to make any first-strike use of nuclear weapons against each other—but the West said that would make conventional warfare more likely." Then, in a direct quotation, this dispatch continued: "Well, let us then agree to renounce the first use of both nuclear and conventional arms, in other words, let us conclude something like a pact on non-aggression between participants in the All-European Conference." This proposal evoked deafening silence from Washington.

shadows of war and seek out the way of peace . . . Let history record that we, in this land, at this time, took the first step . . . Now, for the first time in many years, the path of peace may be open."

True it is that President Kennedy was murdered shortly after the agonizing reappraisal and the steps to implement it; it is also true that he was murdered by anti-Castro, Right-wing, gangster-intelligence elements who saw in this turn towards peace an act of betrayal. What seemed treason to the pro-war forces was the highest act of patriotism in the career of the thirty-fifth President of the United States.

The learning and the changing go forward. Here, for example, is George F. Kennan, whose career in the State Department began in 1927, who has served as both U.S. Ambassador to the USSR and to Yugoslavia, and who some 35 years ago was the architect of the devastating "containment" policy pursued with such fanaticism and such cost by John Foster Dulles and now again advocated in the highest circles.

But the fully mature Kennan, in his most recent book, *The Cloud of Danger* (1977), ridicules U.S. press and government tales of growing Soviet military expenditures and proves them to be false. He insists "that the general thesis of a new and heightened danger to this country from recent Soviet military preparations is not supported by the available evidence;" on the contrary, he stated, that thesis "has to be rejected." Those who raise alarms, Kennan writes, about a "surprise Soviet attack against Western Europe . . . are living in a dream world of their own." He adds: "The Soviet leaders themselves, and outstandingly Brezhnev personally, do not want" a war between the United States and the USSR.

He insists that the U.S. policy of first-use of nuclear weapons is as mad as it is criminal and must be abandoned. Finally, at the close of his volume, Kennan puts clearly the common-sense of the matter: "With relation to the Soviet government, our task is not to destroy it or make it into something else but to find the means of living side by side with it and dealing with it which serves to diminish rather than to increase the dangers that now confront us all."

Professor Richard Pipes of Harvard—now a leading State Department adviser—in his 1981 book, *U.S.-Soviet Relations in the Era of Detente*, falsely insists that the Soviet Union "thinks it could win a nuclear war." He ascribes this misanthropic view to the alleged fact that the Bolshevik Revolution "in effect installed in power the *muzhik*, the Russian peasant" and, because of the experiences of this peasant, the belief dominates

present-day Soviet leadership "that cunning and coercion alone ensured survival; one employed cunning when weak, and cunning coupled with coercion when strong. Not to use force when one had it indicated some inner weakness" (p. 147).

This elitist and racist view naturally leads the professor to the conclusion, uttered in March, 1981, that: "Soviet leaders would have to choose between peacefully changing their Communist system . . . or going to war," a Colby Doctrine whose utterance was too crude even for the Reagan-Haig gang, which issued a formal repudiation of their adviser's statement.

It is exactly this kind of chauvinist garbage which Kennan denounced in his 1977 book, declaring: "This effort at the dehumanization of the opponent, the insistence on seeing him as the embodiment of evil, has bedeviled the leaders of American opinion."

Dr. Du Bois repeatedly referred to the Soviet Union as "the most hopeful country in the world." Each time he said this he was right and to say it again is to speak the truth.

What would the world be without the thousand-times splendid heroism, dedication and perseverance of the peoples of the USSR? Who can forget the Civil War, the intervention, the blockade, the invasions from West and East? Who can forget the supreme test when over 600 divisions were flung upon the Soviet Union in that contest upon which hinged the fate of humanity? Who can forget the Brest Fortress, the Kursk Battle, the Stalingrad epic, the saving of Moscow? Who can forget the thousand-day supreme testing, the resistance through fire and ice and starvation of Lenin's city into which the nazi boot could enter only in defeat?

Who can forget the twenty-two million sons and daughters of the USSR who gave their lives to defend socialism, to liberate Poland and Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania, Hungary and the German people themselves from Hitlerism and to save all the world from that curse?

Damnation to those who have chosen to forget.

Anti-Sovietism was the central point of Hitler's program; it is the basic cover today for a desperate imperialism which increasingly threatens the world's end in order to postpone its own demise. That Reagan is in the White House only serves to emphasize the fact that anti-Sovietism menaces the actual best interests of the people of the United States as it portends the real possibility of a global holocaust. That he is in the Oval Office

Continued on next page

USSR: A Brotherhood of Nations

The article below was excerpted from a tribute entitled "The Soviets on the Threshold of the Twentieth Year" by M. J. Olgin in the November 1936 issue of the magazine, *The Communist*. M. J. Olgin was the founding editor of *The Morning Freiheit*.

Where there is no exploitation of man by man, there can be no exploitation or oppression of one nationality by another. Russia, the "prison of nations," has been transformed into a brotherhood of nations living peacefully side by side, cooperating, making the prosperity of one the conditions for the prosperity of all. The Soviet Union is as strong as the smallest of its several dozen nationalities, says the U.S.S.R. To make equality of all nationalities not only a principle on paper but a reality, a living force, it was necessary, side by side with assuring to every nationality the freedom of using its native tongue and developing its culture which is national in form and socialist in content, to secure for it the material means for the prosperity of the people and for the maintenance of national culture.

In a world where each capitalist country is torn by economic crises, periodic collapse of the entire economic system, destruction of productive forces, waste of human energies and stunting of human growth, here is one country in which economic progress is proceeding uninterrupted, in which the best achievements of human knowledge are applied to human labor for the best advantage of all, in which creativeness in the sphere of economic progress is given full sway. In a world in which every country is filled to overflow with people on the brink of starvation, where insecurity is the lot of hundreds of millions, where hunger stalks the length and breadth of countries reputed to be cultured and advanced, where death from the most primitive lack of

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does not call upon us to take cover, to retreat in ignominious fear and cowardice. On the contrary, it calls upon us to intensify our educational, agitational and organizational efforts to build a mass people's political coalition that is anti-monopoly, anti-racist and anti-war.

The slogan of Comrades Gus Hall and Angela Davis in the 1980 campaign—People Before Profits—embodies the fundamental mass demand of the 1980s. There lies the true national interest of the United States. □

food in front of warehouses bulging with foodstuffs is the most common occurrence, here is one country where there is no unemployment, where a job is secured to every man, woman and youth, where a job pays a living wage, where rest and recreation are guaranteed by law, where ever greater wealth is spent on the care of the sick, the convalescent, the man and woman in need of illness-preventing rest, where human lives, human health, human well-being are increasingly regarded with that loving care which they deserve as the most precious in human society. In a world where woman is still considered inferior to man, where, whether in factory or in the family, the woman worker bears a double burden, where, in unemployment and insecurity, the woman is the first victim, in a world where motherhood is often considered a curse, where the care of mother and babe is most often unknown as a state duty, and where every additional child is considered a new and heavy burden in the families of nine-tenths of the people, here is one country where the woman has been made fully the equal of man, where all realms of life, from the simplest work to the highest, are open to the woman, where the economic independence of the woman from her husband as the guaranty of her freedom, where motherhood is sacred, where the state takes care of the mother before and after the birth of her child, where illegitimacy in relation to children is unknown, where the care of the child is one of the greatest tasks of society as represented by the state, where pre-school education has been developed to a degree unknown in the other countries that boast an older culture. In a world where nations are arming with feverish haste, where the whole international situation is likened to a powder magazine, where the imperialist states declare openly that it is their aim to conquer whole or parts of other nations' territories, where race hatred, national hatred is fanned to madness, here is one country where a great multiplicity of nationalities are living side by side, crossing and recrossing each other's territories, helping each other, loving each other, and respecting each other's rights, thus giving a concrete living proof of the peacefulness of the U.S.S.R. in relation to other peoples.

In a world where every country is torn by class conflicts, where the gulf dividing the classes is becoming an ever deeper abyss, where the rich wax richer on the blood and sweat of millions, while the millions are plunged into ever greater misery and want, here is one country which is developing a real internal unity—unity based on the absence of exploiting classes, unity based on common work for the benefit of all, unity cemented by the struggle against the enemies of yesterday and

today and against the forces of nature which are made to serve society as a whole, unity based in the constant improvement of life, through the cooperation of all, unity made real by the leadership of one and only one vanguard, the Bolshevik (Communist) Party and by one and only one common ideal—socialism. In a world where the growth of science is stunted by incessant catastrophe, where culture is trampled under the heavy boot of the militarist, where human genius is thwarted and creativeness dwarfed by the rule of claw and fang, here is one country where science reigns supreme, where knowledge is cultivated by the masses, where culture is the great banner of the whole country, where good manners and good taste are acquired by the entire toiling population, where the stream of creativeness is rich and colorful, where the genius of many nationalities is fused to create a newer and more fascinating cultural life. In a world where the individual worker, be he an industrial worker or an intellectual, is so often hounded by fear, lashed by want, crushed by economic adversity and degraded by the brute force of the ruling powers, here is a country where the individual man and woman has every chance to grow, to develop all the faculties, all the capabilities, all the genius, and where a new type of humanity is making its appearance.

Hail the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the nineteenth anniversary of the October Revolution! Defend the Soviet Union! □

Eva and Abe Wise Launch Jewish Affairs Memorial Fund

The editorial committee of Jewish Affairs takes this opportunity to announce with deep gratitude and great pride that our dear comrades Eva and Abe Wise have contributed \$500 to Jewish Affairs to initiate a fund campaign for Jewish Affairs in "Memory of Our dear comrades: Joseph Boruchowich, Rose Wortis, Fannie Golus, Isidore Weisberg and Manya Perlman Radzie."

These highly respected trade unionists well deserve the tribute of our subscribers and readers. The editorial committee is proud to launch a Jewish Affairs Memorial Fund in honor of our departed trade union activists who fought with the cloak and dress makers for honest, principled trade unionism and devoted their lives to the building of world socialism and peace.

As we go to press we received the following contributions:

Frances Popowitz	\$100.00
Sonya and Alex Kolkin	\$100.00

We anticipate a wide response from our subscribers, readers and supporters from across the land. □

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Solidarity Day Turning the Country Around

By Bernard Orner

As the darkened bus rolled along the Long Island Expressway in the pre-dawn hours and those aboard dozed, catching up on their lost night's sleep, someone spotted three busses pulling up in the next lane. The banner hung outside the busses told the story. "International Association of Machinists, Brotherhood Lodge No. 6—On to Washington!"

There have been many marches in Washington for progressive causes since the early 1960's. Many times, trade unionists, students, professionals and others, Black and white, have demonstrated for peace, equal rights, jobs, a safe environment. But for most people below the age of fifty, the sight of a half-million people called together under the original sponsorship of the AFL-CIO leadership is something they had probably never dreamed of seeing in their lifetime.

All the way down the New Jersey Turnpike the story was the same—busses by the scores, by the hundreds, passing each other, workers—many wearing their union caps—inside, waving to each other, the banners on their vehicles a catalogue of the American trade union movement: American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—Local 3, American Federation of Government Employees, Communication Workers of America, Service Employees International Union-32B, American Federation of Teachers, Transport Workers Union, United Automobile workers, District 1199, United Steelworkers of America, District 65, ILGWU, and so many more that we couldn't keep track of.

Not since the cold war and McCarthyism poisoned the fighting spirit of the CIO and sent it into oblivion thirty years ago, has labor's top leadership in this country taken the lead in such a nation-wide mass action. And in doing so, they revealed in one afternoon why the forces of reaction have been dominating American politics for so long and what is needed to turn the country around. Put very simply, the giant had been sleeping for too many years; its stirring on that Saturday afternoon in September has created shock waves whose tremors have only begun to be felt.

The line-up of busses at the toll booths caused traffic jams that stretched as far as the eye could see; more union banners, and one bus flying a Puerto Rican flag from its antenna. And as we got closer and closer to

Washington, the line became long unbroken lanes of vehicles carrying the American working class into the national seat of power to tell those who occupy it that we must at last no longer be taken for granted.

Who can forget the scene of the march-workers, Black and white and brown, in the hundreds of thousands wearing their union caps and carrying their banners and placards, the seemingly endless outpouring from AFSCME and from the UAW? Who, on that afternoon, could escape the conclusion that demonstrations such as this one—demonstrations which have been fought against by the top labor leadership all these years—show the potential of working people and their unions to unite the American people in the fight against union-busting, racism, and reaction?

No sooner had labor announced the demonstration late last spring when other organizations began to flock to endorse it, reminiscent of the way in which the early CIO's organizing drives in the 30's united diverse elements in the country far beyond the labor movement. By mid-June several hundred organizations had joined in its sponsorship. They included the NAACP, the American Jewish Congress, the B'nai Brith Women, the Epilepsy Foundation of America, the National Urban League, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, the National Conference of Hispanic and Human Services Organizations, the National Council of Churches, the New Jewish Agenda, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and many, many more.

For progressive Jews, the march and the sponsorship list meant that an important step forward had been taken. For too long, many Jewish organizations had chosen to play a reactionary role, particularly in the fight against racism. Some members of its former liberal intelligentsia, centering around the Podhoretz-Commentary group, had adopted the label "neo-conservative" and had chosen to join the Reagan administration. Now, Jewish organizations were marching along with Black and Hispanic ones for jobs and for an end to racism and union-busting.

For, through all the years when reactionary and Zionist organizations had purported to speak for the interests of Jews, one fact had been consistently overlooked. That is, that Jews were still predominantly workers. True, there had been a shift in that part of the working class occupied by Jews, that more Jews were now in white collar than blue collar jobs. But, according to the 1981 American Jewish Yearbook, a majority of Jews were still workers and many were government workers strongly hit in the wave of budget cuts. Simon

Kuznets book *Economic Structure of US Jewry: Recent Trends* is quoted in the same American Jewish Yearbook as stating that there has been an "increase in employees rather than employers in the American Jewish community."

Thus, despite all the damaging effects of reactionary propaganda in the Jewish community in the past decade, the realities of life are increasingly affecting Jewish people and particularly Jewish workers. Those realities are the deep cuts in the standards of living that are hitting all workers today—first and foremost, Black, Hispanic, and other minority workers. And those realities are forging new alliances in the United States, alliances based upon class interest rather than along narrow nationalist or chauvinist lines.

But in addition to its class interests, Jews have a very special interest. The victory of Ronald Reagan has brought out of the woodwork a special blend of "new right" activists, "moral majority" fundamentalists and a host of bigots, anti-Semites and KKK demagogues. Thus suddenly the interests of Jews and the interests of Blacks and Hispanics always the same—are now more clearly and visibly in concert. A larger number of Jews, many of whom have been deluded by anti-affirmative action propaganda in the name of fighting "quotas" are beginning to see that the defeat of anti-Semitism means that they need allies and that anti-Semitism cannot be fought without a general attack upon racism in our country.

When the chips are now on the table, Jewish teachers, clerical workers, technicians, and craftsmen are in the process of discovering that their most valuable friends are not the Podhoretz crowd or its ruling class buddies but Black, Hispanic, and white workers whose interests really coincide with their own

That is why the Conference for a New Jewish Agenda, meeting in Washington last year, paid particular attention to the importance of the fight against racism and anti-Semitism, linking it to the present domestic crisis and the fight for peace. "The present economic crisis has brought a dramatic rise of anti-Semitism and racism," it declared. "Agenda will firmly oppose all forms of anti-Semitism and racism and right-wing terror whether they come from the Ku Klux Klan or the Nazis and whether these occur with or without government complicity. In doing so we seek to unite with a broad-based anti-racist coalition including Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, native Americans, ethnic minority groups as well as labor, left and other progressive political organizations."

It also stated, "New alternatives for peace and prog-

ress need to be found to break the cycle of military spending, preparation and war. Arms, especially nuclear weapons, must be fought. US foreign policy should be based upon support for human rights and human dignity everywhere in the world, on achieving a new world order which provides all people with economic and political rights, on eliminating oppression and exploration by governments and corporations and wiping out war, hunger and despair."

The Jewish trade unionists who marched with their brothers and sisters of all colors and lines of work on that beautiful Saturday afternoon could feel a sense of deep pride.

And the time is fast approaching when they will begin to see the connections between a reactionary US foreign policy abroad, including the Middle East, and reactionary policies at home. □

Bernard Orner is a teacher of history

* * *

Do the Russians Want a War?

by Yevgeni Yevtushenko
(Translation by Tom Butting)

Say, do Russians want a war?—
Go ask our land, then ask once more
That silence lingering in the air
Above the birch and poplar there.
Beneath those trees lie soldier lads
Whose sons will answer for their dads.
To add to what you learned before,
Say—Do Russians want a war?

Those soldiers died on every hand
Not only for their own dear land,
But so the world at night could sleep
And never have to wake and weep.
New York and Paris spend their nights
Asleep beneath the leaves and lights.
The answer's in their dreams, be sure,
Say—Do the Russians want a war?

Sure, we know how to fight a war,
But we don't want to see once more
The soldiers falling all around,
Their countryside a battleground.
Ask those who give the soldiers life,
Go ask my mother, ask my wife,
Then you will have to ask no more,
Say O Do the Russians want a war?

Anti-Semitism U.S.A. 1981

By Philip Honor

With some euphoria the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, last August, reported that according to a recent poll "anti-Semitism in America declined significantly in the last two decades. Today only 34% of the non-Jews in the U.S. are anti-Semitic compared to 45% in 1964." The poll, commissioned by the American Jewish Committee was conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White. Twelve hundred and fifteen persons were interviewed, including 174 Jews and 127 Blacks. Jews constituted 14% of those polled though they are only 3% of the total population.

The disproportionate number of Jews polled distorts the picture and reflects on the poll's validity. The Yankelovich firm made the following analysis: "45% of non-Jews can be characterized as unprejudiced, relatively free of anti-Semitic ideas, (2) 32% of non-Jews are neutrals—without strong positive or negative concepts about Jews, (3) 23% of non-Jews can be characterized as prejudiced with strong negative beliefs about Jews. If we exclude the neutrals and examine the views of individuals who are definitely prejudiced or non-prejudiced we find that 34% of the non-Jews qualify as anti-Semitic today compared to 45% in 1964."

This analysis poses some questions. What about the Jews who were polled? What effect did their responses have on the over-all results of the poll? How were the answers tabulated? Surely, they cannot be expected to side with the anti-Semites.

As for the large number queried who regard themselves as neutral (32%), many of them could sway either way at any given moment. Some could be moved into an anti-Semitic posture in these times of social stress. Jewish establishment leaders, unequivocally, accepted this poll as an encouraging development. Bertram Gold, Vice President of the American Jewish Committee, said, "Its findings that there has been a significant decline in anti-Semitic prejudice provides corroborative evidence to our own perception that there has been a substantial decrease in discrimination against Jews in the U.S."

There are, however, disturbing signs in American life which point in a different direction. We are experiencing an unprecedented escalation of anti-Semitic vandalism and attacks on Jews. In 1977 the American Jewish Yearbook recorded 55 such incidents. The Yearbook reported that this was the average for a number of years. In

1979 there were 129 such outrageous acts. Last year they jumped to 377 according to an Anti-Defamation League report. These outbreaks included: paint daubing, defiling of Synagogues, desecration of cemeteries and destruction of property. 112 Jews were attacked physically. In 1978 Sidney Cohen, a Chicago Jewish businessman, was murdered by a nazi. Very few of the depraved hoodlums were brought to justice. Only 11 arrests were made in the 137 incidents. In the 112 physical attacks not a single perpetrator was apprehended. The 1980 Yearbook reported that "Anti-Semitism in America," by Harold Quinley and Charles Y. Glock "showed that between one-in-four and one-in-five Americans harbored a number of negative stereotypes about Jews."

Last May law enforcement authorities in Nashville, Tenn. uncovered a plot by a K.K.K. group to bomb a Synagogue, a television station and a Jewish-owned business. Acts of violence against the Wiesenthal Center and the Mount Sinai Cemetery in Los Angeles, the burning of the Beth David Synagogue, the desecration of Temple Adat Elohim and other acts of vandalism, in and around the same city, have evoked a wave of indignation in Jewish communities in California. At a conference in 1980 Jewish leaders stressed that "rising anti-Semitism is the most urgent problem facing Jewish communities today." The increase in anti-Semitic violence during 1980 caused the A.D.L. in N.Y.C. to call a task force conference on this issue. The chair, Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton University, stressed that the reported anti-Semitic hooliganism may well be only "the tip of the iceberg." He pointed to a "pervasive deep-rooted anti-Semitism which has lain dormant for the past 20 or 30 years." However, as in the case with many misguided Jewish leaders and/or misleaders, he equates the struggle against racist, chauvinistic Zionism with anti-Semitism. He charged that "The U.N. has been a major instrument for the transmission of anti-Semitic ideas, especially in their equating Zionism with racism." In joining the Zionist unprincipled attack on the U.N. he undermines his efforts to combat anti-Semitism.

The nationalism fostered by the Jewish bourgeoisie in defense of Begin's aggressive expansionist policies plays into the hands of the hard core reactionaries and bigots who have suddenly blossomed out as "friends of Israel."

No matter how skillfully the Christian fundamentalist "Moral Majority" tries to conceal its innate and virulent anti-Semitism, we get a bitter taste of it. We discern it when a Fundamentalist minister castigates the Republican National Convention for opening with a prayer by a

Rabbi because "God does not hear Jewish prayers." Dan Moore, Jerry Falwell's key man in N. Y. State, rants about "Jews having a God-given ability to make money." Yet the same Falwell not only poses as a friend of the Jews but is accepted as an ardent Zionist and receives a Jabotinsky award from Menahem Begin, "a personal friend" for "outstanding service to Israel." It makes sense since Jabotinsky worked closely with the pogromchik Simon Petlura.

At a church meeting in Cincinnati on July 5th, Falwell revealed that Begin called him shortly after the bombing of the nuclear reactor in Iraq asking for his support. He then added, "We ought to congratulate them for doing what we haven't had the backbone to do in Cuba." He followed this with a racist attack on the Black leader, Andrew Young, former U.S. ambassador to the U.N. and also upon the P.L.O. Falwell's admiration for Begin and Zionism are a cover for his racist and war mongering propaganda.

Rabbi Balfour Brickner, nationally prominent Jewish leader, in an article in "Spectator," (Spring 1981), examines the danger posed by the growing strength of the political and religious right. The article, "Turning Right and Thinking Wrong," sharply criticizes the Jewish power elite for its tendency to capitulate to the reactionary forces in the country.

"A religious fundamentalistic society is not good for Jews," says Rabbi Brickner, even "though those religious fundamentalists are 'pro-Israel.'" Continuing, Rabbi Brickner said, "Jewish organizations, like the Z.O.A. (Zionist Organization of America) and the A.D.L., which, in order to raise funds, pander away their integrity by making public awards to Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and their ilk, cheapen themselves and should disgust the American Jewish community. They insult us socially and intellectually."

The Reagan administration is easing the way for more and more anti-Semites and racists to enter the Washington scene. Reagan's nomination of the notorious anti-Semite, Warren Richardson, as Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services and the racist Ernest Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, brought forth a storm of protest throughout the country. The nominations were withdrawn under popular pressure but Reagan's anti-Semitism remains. To push forward his war-provoking AWACS program Reagan launched an anti-Semitic attack and asked the contemptible Richard Nixon to join him in the attack.

It is difficult to grasp the full extent of anti-Semitism in the U.S. without taking into account the stepped-up

pace of hate mongering, anti-Jewish and racist literature now blanketing our land. The Yankelovich poll might have been more meaningful if it would have included a study of this phenomenon and its effects. Nazis, Klansmen and agitators of their ilk are currently spreading the unconscionable lie that the Holocaust never happened, that Hitler never annihilated 12 million men, women and children in Nazi extermination camps, including 6 million Jews.

Liberty Lobby, one of these propaganda mills, was founded in 1955 by Willis Carto. It claims to have 26,000 members and 500 radio outlets throughout the U.S. Carto has turned Liberty Lobby into a lucrative multi-million dollar business grinding out tons of scurrilous and anti-Semitic, racist material for an expanding market at home and for distribution in Western Europe. France and Germany are now experiencing a dangerous resurgence of anti-Semitism. The American Jewish Congress has described the Liberty Lobby as "the most powerful and best organized anti-Semitic propaganda agency in the U.S."

Carto has put together a network of interlocking operations which enable him to branch out in many directions. Among his subsidiaries is the Legion for the Survival of Freedom. This outfit and the Committee for Religious Development are holding corporations for the rabidly anti-Semitic, "Noontide Press." The network also includes the Liberty Life-line foundation, the Historical Review and the Journal of Historical Review. The Legion for the Survival of Freedom was the parent company of the American Mercury of ill-fame. Recent reports indicate that this magazine was sold to a Ned Touchstone of Shreveport, La. who also publishes the Counselor, a tabloid of the Louisiana White Citizen's Council with LaVonne Furr as its editor. Carto is also the owner of "The Spotlight," a publication that specializes in anti-Semitic and racist scribbles.

A Revisionist movement, spawned by the Liberty Lobby, has sprung up to provide "historical documentation" for the monstrous lie that the Holocaust is a Jewish propaganda device and that it never happened.

Carto's Institute of Historical Review, which reaches out with its poisonous anti-Semitic tentacles, has as its director a British Nazi. It sponsors annual "Revisionist Conventions" and the "Journal of Historical Review."

The right-wing "Commentary" felt impelled to publish an article in its December 1980 issue attacking "Anonymous," author of "The Myth of the Six Million," for "distorting and faking some sources, suppressing others and inventing still others." The article criticizes the highly respected American Historical As-

sociation for its review of this book as a "sly attempt to give academic legitimacy to the outpourings of a variety of neo-Nazis and anti-Semites."

It is now commonly known that many high schools in our country are infested with anti-Jewish and racist literature. In 1979 "Scholastic Junior," distributed one million copies of an edition that contained an "objective" highly attractive yet uncritical story about the K.K.K.

U.S. has become the source and the distribution point for hate literature. Tons of anti-Semitic posters, pamphlets, leaflets, magazines and books are shipped to West Germany and other countries in Western Europe. We cannot escape the responsibility of stimulating the rise of anti-Semitism in capitalist Europe.

The Reagan administration in pursuit of its aggressive war-provoking foreign policies and the economic, political and social oppression of the broadest sectors of the people at home has emboldened the far right. Reagan's recent anti-Semitic utterances place him solidly in the camp of the far-right, widening their outreach. The Moral Majority is influencing elections. The K.K.K., John Birch Society and the White Citizens Party are winning seats on school boards and legislative bodies. The far right is now engaged in a two-pronged drive, spawning terrorism while giving the appearance of respectability.

The slick K.K.K. supsalesman, David Duke, is a frequent speaker on university and college campuses. His honorarium runs into four figures. According to "Playboy" magazine, professors and other prominent figures have joined his entourage.

Nathan Perlmutter, National Director of the A.D.L., reports that the Klan maintains concealed paramilitary training camps in Alabama, Connecticut, Illinois, North Carolina and Texas. He reported that California, a K.K.K. concentration point, is a distribution center for instructional manuals and handbooks on terrorism. The K.K.K. is active in small towns and backwater farm communities.

The over-all picture reveals intensification of K.K.K. propaganda and terrorist acts. Yet, the Jewish establishment readily accepts distorted polls. They are reluctant to take a firm stand against the pernicious social disease of anti-Semitism and racism.

The U.S. Jewish establishment would tie the entire Jewish people to the ruling class. Furthering their Zionist outlook of bourgeois nationalism, the U.S. Jewish establishment advocates collaboration with the capitalist ruling class. This has been the position of Zionism since its inception.

In Czarist Russia the Jewish bourgeoisie and the Zionists worked with the pogromchik and counter-revolutionary, Simon Petlura. In Czarist Russia the Jewish bourgeoisie urged the mass of the Jews not to make a "tumult" (noise). In the Hitler period these Jewish leaders were called the "hush-hush" Jews since they held that sharp, open protests "would only make things worse."

Not grappling with the real nature and demagogy of the so-called Christian Fundamentalists, Rabbi Mark Tannenbaum, National Director for Inter-Religious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, gives them credibility in his statement that "Falwell and other evangelical preachers have demonstrated perfect pitch in their anxiety over the moral state of America."

Rabbi Sol Roth finds that "classical values of the 'Moral Majority' will strengthen the American family and restore the moral fiber of our nation." He objects only to the "extemists" in their group. He is obviously too blindly tied to the ruling class to see the true face of the "Moral Majority."

But there are other voices amongst the Jewish leaders in the U.S., leaders who decry and condemn the reactionary Jewish leaders, the Podhoretz type and their ilk. Rabbi Balfour Brickner asserted that "We have not totally succumbed to the backlash and we have not taken the advice of the "Commentary" crowd who have sought to scare us into a fundamentalism of our own. The prognosticators of the Jewish right were wrong twelve years ago when they called Richard Nixon 'one of the righteous gentiles of the world' and tried to silence our opposition to the war in Vietnam. They are wrong now when they wish to draw us into the camp of America's growing radical political and religious right. Most of us have better sense." This is well put but it is time for principled people to stop calling the far right "radical." They are reactionary, not radical.

It is not enough to say as does Rabbi Brickner that "Reason is still our most useful and trustworthy tool. It is our only dependable ally. Our country needs us as many turn right and think wrong." The message is inspiring but is no substitute for action which the times demand.

New social forces are emerging in the Jewish community. The status quo, based on the rigid traditional bourgeois values and Zionist defense of expansionist Israel are slowly being made to yield to the dynamics of social change. For a long period of time unsuccessful attempts were made to forge an independent liberal formation that would not be circumvented or destroyed

by the Jewish establishment. We have now New Jewish Agenda, which despite enormous pressures by the Jewish establishment is showing its viability with a growing membership and chapters throughout the U.S. It deserves the fullest support of the American Jewish community if it is to guarantee a fresh, new voice, in the Jewish community to counter the stranglehold of the Jewish establishment.

In one of its resolutions approved by a vote of 75% of the participants at the founding conference of New Jewish Agenda, we are informed that "The present economic crisis has brought a dramatic rise of anti-Semitism and racism. Agenda will firmly oppose all forms of anti-Semitism and racism and right-wing terror . . . In doing so we seek to unite with a broad-based anti-racist coalition including Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, native Americans, ethnic minority groups as well as labor, left and other progressive political organizations." Right on target for the current historic moment!

In a recent speech Rabbi Shindler stated that the struggle against anti-Semitism "is not a battle Jews alone can win . . . the far right must be counteracted by the entire American community . . . requir(ing) the mobilization of interfaith and intergroup coalitions of decency speaking out against bigotry." A grievous oversight in Rabbi Shindler's approach is the urgent task of involving such an alliance in the battle against racism—the battles are indivisible. It is the Black people who suffer the greatest oppression and are the most militant in the battle against bigotry and racism in our country."

The current moment is propitious for all-out support of New Jewish Agenda's call for an alliance against racist oppression, an alliance in defense of our constitutional as well as human rights. The success of this battle is dependent upon the degree to which it is clearly understood that it is the U.S. ruling class, the U.S. multi-nationals that are the fount of racism and anti-Semitism. Not only our rights are involved. Involved is our very lives, for U.S. imperialism is employing racism and anti-Semitism in its drive for world domination and world war. □

Philip Honor, contributes regularly to Jewish Affairs.

In deep sadness, I memorialize
my husband and comrade
ARTHUR MOSOFF
Died December 13, 1959
ESTHER MAY

New Dangers for the Iranian Revolution

Julius Krisiloff

On October 7, former Iranian Prime Minister Mehdi Barzagan took the floor of the Iranian Parliament where he continues to represent the Freedom Party.

Barzagan, who when in office was friendly to the Carter Administration, rose and criticized the wave of government repression against the opponents of the Islamic Republican Party. His remarks were categorized by the New York Times as "a rare demonstration of open oppositions to the ruling clergy."

And indeed, his remarks were unusual, *not so much for what he said as for the timing*. For Mehdi Barzagan is no mere bit player in the Iranian Revolution. When he speaks, he carries a certain weight that goes beyond his words and represents the sentiments of a social force in the country: Western-oriented elite intellectuals who are directly linked to U.S. and Western European Imperialism.

Barzagan's remarks represent a re-entry of this class—the compradore bourgeoisie into the internal Iranian political arena after a period of lurking in the background while the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) and the leftist-oriented Mujahadin Kalq battle it out in the streets of Teheran and other Iranian cities.

This is a dangerous development, one whose goal is to return the Iranian Revolution to the waiting arms, the corporate embrace, of US Imperialism.

And so it is no wonder that the New York Times—the most (ruling) class conscious newspaper in this country would watch Barzagan's moves and package his remarks favorably.

But Barzagan's remarks were only a small sample of the signals coming from forces which have been sitting on the sidelines, in the background of the Iranian Revolution. There are a number of other indications of new activity from the Iranian extreme right-wing. Publications are now making their way into the streets of Teheran from liberal bourgeois (Barzagan-type) elements as well as royalist elements with their allegiance to the former Shah's family.

The Royalists are riding piggy-back on the shoulder's of the liberals. Those who would return the Iranian Revolution to the period of the Shah are just beginning to come out of hiding with claims that "we have our rights too."

While there appears to be no formal alliance between the Royalists and liberal bourgeois elements like Bani Sadr and Barzagan, there is little doubt that Iran's

liberals-in alliance with the misguided leftist Mujahadin Kalq Party share a strategic goal in common of overthrowing the Iranian Revolution and delivering it back into the hands of the United States.

An every picture of the cooperation possible between these elements surfaced when Bani Sadr along with Massoud Rajavi, leader of the Mujahadin Kalq were flown out of Iran by the former personal pilot of the Shah!

Add to these, elements of the SAVAK, the heavily US-trained military and a picture emerges which makes it clear that Iranian Reaction is still very much alive and well both inside and outside the country and that *they are waiting in the wings for the right moment to emerge and play their hand . . . of course with a little help from its friends in the Reagan Administration and the CIA.*

Perhaps this sheds some light on why, when Barzagan opened his mouth on the floor of the Iranian parliament, IRP supporters immediately wasted no time in calling for his execution.

In order to understand "Barzagan's initiative"—which is clearly coordinated with Bani Sadr and Rajavi in Paris, it is useful to review some of the background of the Iranian Revolution since the Shah's demise in order to better understand the social forces at work in the country. A Marxist analysis is not only helpful in such an endeavor, it is the only way to make sense of a very complicated situation and to counter the effect of the media blitz here in the USA on the American people.

It is no secret that this blitz has attempted to slander the Iranian Revolution in every possible way. Let us remember though, that while the New York Times is all too willing to cry "foul!" at certain admitted excesses of the revolution in Iran—and in fact revels in them—it chooses its "moral outrage" selectively—and always along lines in conjunction with its class interests. As we shall see, Iran is no exception to this rule.

After the Iranian Revolution which toppled the Shah in January of 1979, two forces among many quickly emerged as the main ones vying for power. On the one hand were the Western-oriented compradore bourgeoisie—people like Yazdi, Barzagan, Ghotbzadeh and Bani Sadr, all of whom have fallen from power.

These elements hoped to eliminate the worst excesses of the Shah's regime *while at the same time keeping open the lines of communication and economic cooperation with the United States and Western Europe.*

It is no accident that before his government collapsed, Barzagan met with Brzezinski in Algiers and that Bani Sadr, when he was forced to flee the country, found

refuge in France.

The other grouping which emerged as a major social force was the Iranian clergy led by the steel-willed Ayatollah Khomeini. The clergy had close links with a people kept purposefully ignorant by a tyrannical regime. The clergy maintained close links with the population as a whole. While it was not a politically organized force before January of 1979, it soon became one.

The organization of the Islamic Republican Party and of its armed wing—the Revolutionary Guard, grew quickly, especially after the seizure of the hostages. While its line remains based on an Islamic view of the world and thus in many aspects is openly feudal (and therefore includes serious shortcomings of all types), its strong hostility and an antagonism has been directed against the intervention of the United States in their internal affairs.

As John Kifner noted in a special edition of the New York Times Magazine on Iran (June, 1981), "it is almost impossible to overestimate the extent to which the Shah was hated in Iran and the national emotion that led to his overthrow." This profound mass hatred extended to the United States government-installer, protector and "friend" of the "king of kings."

This sentiment is unequivocally expressed by the Islamic Republican Party.

It is important then to keep in mind that the two emerging forces vying for control of Iran were *both*, in different ways, conservative, and in some aspects reactionary. However there is a key difference between them, one which should not be lost on well-intentioned observers of Iranian politics: While the IRP on many questions is conservative, it is firmly opposed to cooperation with US and Western European Imperialism. At the same time, *from its inception to the present moment the forces around Barzagan and Bani Sadr have worked for closer ties with the world imperialist system.*

Khomeini for his part, tried to balance the competing tendencies. He was aware of the administrative and economic managerial skills of the Bani Sadr types, yet from the beginning he was distrustful of their intentions and gave the final word on policy—written into the Iranian constitution, to the Iranian Parliament dominated by the IRP.

In the Spring of 1981 the power struggle between these trends came to a head and degenerated into open class warfare.

While it has never been easy being any kind of leftist or Marxist-Leninist in Iran, *before or after the revolution*, this new situation was not necessarily counter to the interests of the Iranian left and working class forces.

If the two rightest factions who dominate the revolutionary process are in conflict with themselves, they will weaken each other, thus leaving the left some manoeuvrability and its cadre in tact. *The key here was not to get drawn into the conflict between Rajai and Bani Sadr.*

And this is precisely and tragically what the Mujahadin Kalk failed to appreciate. As the situation between the two trends became more polarized, the Mujahadin played its hand in an open and by now well-known alliance with Bani Sadr.

That Bani Sadr and Barzagan were pleased with this new element in their alliance is something of an understatement. They were particularly interested in the Mujahadin's armed cadre and their base with certain elements of the population.

Bringing the Mujahadin into their fold helped expand the base of the compradore bourgeois elements. They also realized that the Mujahadin presented them with a new and unique opportunity: to preserve their own forces in the struggle against Khomeini and the IRP while utilizing the cadre and blood of left elements for their own ends.

And through a strange alliance, the Mujahadin—whose cadre had fought the Shah in some of the fiercest battles against the Iranian dictator—became the footsoldiers of reaction.

The Mujahadin naively calculated that it would be possible to dominate the alliance with Bani Sadr. In this they were simply and purely wrong. There is little doubt that the compradore bourgeoisie has no intention of letting the Mujahadin into any government they might form—even in their imagination. Even if they did seize power, at the proper moment they would dispose of Massoud Rajavi and his followers.

It is useful to dwell a bit longer on the Mujahadin, especially in light of all the media attention they have received and their successes in influencing sectors of the progressive movement in this country. For their history is revealing and it is perhaps not so surprising that they took the path they did.

The organization of these "Islamic Marxists" appeared in 1965. It was a split from Medhi Barzagan's Organization of Radical Iranians. The Mujahadin became an independent organization and launched an armed struggle against the Shah.

It is interesting that after the revolution they threw their support behind Barzagan. According to Fred Halliday in a Sept. 26, 1981 article in the Nation, the Mujahadin tried in vain to win Barzagan back into their ranks by "offering him translations of Mao Tse Tung.

Despite some differences, the Mujahadin also supported Bani Sadr even before they went into an open alliance with him. So the Mujahadin came out of the bosom of the compradore bourgeoisie and like the prodigal son—returned home to the class that spawned them. Who ever coined the phrase "the road to hell is paved with good intentions" certainly was on the mark.

How different has been the strategy of Iran's Tudeh Party, Iran's oldest, most experienced and much maligned Marxist-Leninist party.

Tudeh understood the anti-imperialist direction of the IRP and Khomeini—for all their limitations. They understood that while the IRP is anti-Soviet that the realities of revolution will push Iran closer to the socialist countries if it remains on its anti-imperialist path.

Tudeh also saw through the bait which Mujahadin swallowed about Bani Sadr's offer of "democracy." Bani Sadr's democracy is simply a mechanism for leading the Iranian Revolution into the hands of the multinational corporations. It is the "democracy" of a Sadat, of a John Vorster.

Tudeh was from the beginning uncomfortable with the policies of the Mujahadin after the revolution. They were critical of their alliance with Barzagan and Bani Sadr, and in a comradely fashion (not at all reciprocated by the Mujahadin) they warned the party of Rajavi *that to go against the government in a civil war at this moment would be fruitless* since the government possesses the means for striking a powerful blow against its opposition, especially those who challenge it with the force of arms. Tudeh noted that the Mujahadin would gain nothing from such an alliance with Bani Sadr other than having its ranks decimated.

This warning, in retrospect prophetic, went unheeded. The consequences are well known. *It is interesting that Tudeh opposes the executions of the Mujahadin.* Tudeh distinguished between what they see as justified executions of royalists and the killings of 'misled elements.'

The reward that Tudeh has been offered by the Mujahadin for its policies is a promise that if the party of Rajavi comes to power it will ban Tudeh.

To put the differences between the Mujahadin and Tudeh in a nutshell it boils down to what is the central feature of the present moment for Iranian Revolution.

As a very excellent article in the August 22 edition of the People's World (p. 4) by Max Rollens noted, "At the root of the Mujahadin opposition is their claim that the Islamic Republic is reactionary, denying its citizens basic democratic rights. In order to gain these rights,

they have declared war on the Islamic Republic."

Political organizations which support the Islamic Republican Party, such as the Tudeh Party (Communist Party), Fedayeen Majority and the Movement of Moslem Militants, contend that the essential feature of the Islamic Republic is that it is anti-imperialist. Their position is that the struggle to save the Islamic Republic from its imperialist enemies must be won first. Only then will there be sufficient political security to further extend democratic rights.

It is in light of this strategy that Tudeh well understands the manoeuvring of Bani Sadr and Barzagan and the possibility of an alliance between these forces and the former royalists (which in my view Fred Halliday underestimates). These elements have sat back quietly while the IRP and the Mujahadin go at each other's throats. *The hope of extreme reaction is that both groups will exhaust each other and that in the process of escalating violence that the masses will become disillusioned*

with both groupings thus paving the way for a move by the extreme right to seize power.

And so watchful eyes are now turned towards the Iranian military, until now involved in internal struggles. Articles predicting a military coup (NY Times, Sept 22 op-ed by Ali Reza Sheikholeslani) or calling on Iran to "follow the example of Turkey" (Eight Days)—an eclectic British-based magazine on the Middle East which has some kind of open door to the Trilateral Commission) are beginning to appear.

The wheels of reaction are again gearing up. Another assault on a people's revolution is being prepared and the NY Times & Co. are preparing the US public to welcome counter-revolution with open arms.

When will they learn that it is not so easy to turn back the tide of history? □

Julius Krisiloff is an active member of the U.S. Peace Council.

Names in Marble

The article below is reprinted from "Sovietish Heimland," #7, June 1981. Dora Khaikina of Kiev has translated into Yiddish some excerpts from a documentary narrative by the Russian writer, Valentin Tomin, "The House of Red Talks," in which appear vivid examples of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary struggle. An extract from this story follows.

The world was celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the victory over German fascism, the hard road to peace for which millions of Soviet people gave their lives. The echo of the last war found a response wherever its terrible traces remained.

On the invitation of the pupils at the international school, I went to visit them at Pustoh Bor. And again I was in the familiar house among my young friends.

The auditorium was quiet, though packed to capacity — little Africans and Latin Americans listened to the song "Sacred War," and then the master of ceremonies, a swarthy little boy of about fourteen, recited poetry about the exploits of Soviet people who had risen in defense of their homeland.

The children of various peoples, they had fallen in battle for the sake of life on earth: Yugoslav Vladimir Bratsanovich . . . Cubans Georg Vivo and Enrico Viller . . . The Pole Walentin Wolkowicki . . . Jews Sholom Volgendler, Avrum Volgendler and Anatoli Volgendler . . .

. . . German Hudolf Hunderman . . . Russian Alexei Davydov . . . Pole Peter Zarski . . . Bulgarian Blagoi Kasabov . . . Greek Gerg Nikolandi . . . Latvian Valentin Puntul . . . Estonian Edwin Robach . . . Germans Kurt Remling, Gustav Schutz and Elvir Eisenschneider . . .

Seventeen who had left Pustoh Bor for the front and had never returned . . .

On a day in July 1973, when the former pupils of the International Orphanage had gathered together for their traditional reunion, I met Asya Demyanova (Volgendler), a music teacher, who had come from Uzbekistan . . .

The daughter of a Palestinian communist, she and her four brothers, Benjamin, Sholom, Avrum and Anatoli, had been pupils of the Ivanovsky International Orphanage named after E. D. Stasova. On finishing school in 1940, Asya left for Odessa where her mother and elder brothers were living, and began working as a teacher in a music college. She was there when the war broke out . . .

The enemy was penetrating deep into the country and approaching her home town.

Her brothers Benjamin, Sholom and Avrum left for the front; and she too volunteered for the Red Army, but was not accepted . . .

At Vinnetza, her brother Sholom fell in the fighting with the enemy.

Asya was working on the harvest with the students from her college when the Germans broke through and headed for Odessa. The evacuation of the inhabitants commenced.

For over 70 days, the soldiers of the Primorskaya Army and the Black Sea Fleet, cut off from the main forces of the Southern front, resisted the frenzied attacks of the German and Rumanian divisions. The heroic defense of this city was yet one more vivid example of the selfless love of the Soviet people for their Socialist homeland, a manifestation of the mass heroism of a people that had risen in defense of their country.

Avrum Volgendler fell in the autumn of 1941, defending Odessa. In the international home, his friends had affectionately called him Abrasha . . . They told me that he had been a gifted, talented musician, studying at a special music school, and the well-known Soviet composer Dunayevsky, on seeing some of his works, had predicted a great future for him . . . That future was irrevocably obliterated by the war . . .

On 16 October the occupiers entered Odessa, and ten days later, on 26 October, the fascists took away the mother and fourteen-year-old Anatoli to the ghetto at Slobodka. Asya was able to hide; she found refuge with a girl friend who lived in the country. There she learned about the terrible fate of her mother and brother; the fascists had burned them alive with other prisoners of the ghetto in a school building . . .

Shaken by this tragic news, Asya again escaped. She

was hidden by the inhabitants of many surrounding villages and hamlets. One of the women, Nadezhda Milichenko, gave Asya her own documents.

Asya Volgendler tried to get back to her people by crossing the front line, but this proved impossible. In March, near Kiev, she was again arrested and sent to fascist Germany with a trainload of Soviet citizens being forcibly deported from their homeland. Not far from the city of Halle, she worked on a farm owned by a village kulak; then she was thrown into a camp behind barbed wire and, in striped prison uniform with "East" sewn on her chest, was driven off to work at a munitions factory . . .

She endured a great deal away from home among the fascists — hunger, mockery, and beatings. She saw the bestial face of fascism without its mask.

The only bright memory in all those oppressive days was of the old German craftsman who often took Asya and her girl friends ostensibly to work in the kitchen garden, but who actually fed them with whatever he could get and comforted them. Most important of all, they listened with him to the voice of Moscow over an antiquated radio and studied V. I. Lenin's photograph, preserved with great care in that house.

Finally, the long-awaited hour of liberation arrived. Asya Volgendler returned to her Soviet homeland and sought out her brothers. They had taken part in the Great Patriotic War, had been at the front, and had survived.

The war had reaped its bloody harvest in that family, taking away four of them . . . □

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Many Happy Returns
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of

REBECCA LIFSHITZ

**A staunch supporter of
organized labor and peace activist
Margaret Tag**

“Homecoming”

By Mike Davidow

“Homecoming” is a chapter from the forthcoming book, “Working Versus Talking Democracy,” soon to be published by Novosti.

Volkovisk is a small town in Western Belorussia about 10 miles from the Polish border. It seems strange that I should have any association with it since I have not the faintest recollection of this ancient small city. But Volkovisk was my birthplace. Especially in the autumn of one’s life does one yearn to see the source—where it all began.

I was only two years old when my mother fled Volkovisk with my three sisters in the wake of the first German invasion during World War I. The first stories children usually remember from mother’s lips are fairy tales. Mine were of war, of panicky refugees fighting to squeeze into tightly packed trains bearing wounded and dying soldiers; of the death of Luba, my favorite sister, at the age of 6 from dysentery. Our destination was papa and mama meant PEACE. PAPA AND PEACE WERE IN AMERICA.

Ours was a two year odyssey of flight across Russia, Siberia, Harbin, Shanghai, Yokohama to San Francisco. Only toward the end of this endless journey, when I was four, did I retain fleeting memories. My mother’s stories became my memories. To this day I do not know where my mother’s tales end and my own recollections begin. We arrived in San Francisco to learn that the Czar had been overthrown. My sisters and I hadn’t the faintest idea what that meant but the joy in my mother’s eyes, the first flush of happiness we had seen on her careworn face, thrilled us. Nostalgic members of San Francisco’s Russian colony hugged us as they prepared to return home. My poor mother was terribly torn. She longed to join them but my father was waiting for us in New York. Had he been in San Francisco I believe our stay in our adopted country would have been a very short one. Both my parents deeply loved Russia and the Russian people. Like many Russian Jews it was the tsarist pogroms that drove them from the land they loved.

My father and mother never returned to the land of their and my birth. But they kept a corner of Russia in our home. I not only learned that a strange sounding town, Volkovisk, had cradled me but I came to know its history, its streets, its Sholem Aleichem characters. A steady stream of Volkoviskers—our landmen—poured into our home. Volkovisk came to Brooklyn!

There is a profound difference between the Russian Jewish immigrants of my parents’ generation who came

to America and the present crop of Soviet Jews. Jews like my father and mother fled Russia out of pain. Deep indeed were the wounds left in tearing themselves from their roots. My father’s never really healed—he bore them with him to his early grave. “You can eat well but you can’t sleep well in America!” he used to wail. With all its terrible suffering in the early days of the October Revolution, my father perceived and hailed the human life he saw developing in his Russia.

My mother’s wounds healed. Not because her longing for her homeland was less, but because she was quickly involved in the struggle to make her new home a better one. Many Russian Jews of my parent’s generation were touched by the spirit of the Russian Revolution—to one degree or another. Quite a few had participated in the 1905 Revolution and had to flee in the wake of the brutal repression of the “rehearsal” of the Great October.

When the history of the U.S. revolutionary and labor movements is fully written, the significant contributions these class-conscious immigrants made will occupy some of the most stirring pages. For they brought with them the sweep of the Russian Revolution which Lenin had characterized as one of the greatest contributions to the international revolutionary struggle made by Russian revolutionaries. They rejoiced in the great accomplishments of the Soviet people. They shared with them their sorrows during the tragic days of the Nazi invasion. Their wounds bled anew as their hometowns became the first bloody battlegrounds. No Zionist organizations “paid” their way in their flight from Czarist pogroms. Nor did the U.S. press greet them as “dissidents.” On the contrary they were subjected to humiliating, often anti-Semitic examinations at Ellis Island. No one promised or offered them good jobs and apartments. On the contrary, most were driven to work in inhuman sweatshops and shoved into dreary, rat-ridden, crime-ridden slums. They were “JEWS WITHOUT MONEY.” The present crop of immigrants, willingly or unwillingly, are exploited by our cold war warriors.

In 1970 I made a special tour of Leningrad, Riga, Vilnius, Kishinev and Biro Bidjan to get an accurate picture of the status and sentiments of Soviet Jews. I wrote a series of articles, “SOVIET JEWS THE NEW YORK TIMES DOES NOT WRITE ABOUT.” One of the most monstrous distortions of the truth ever perpetrated on the world and especially on the long-suffering Jewish people themselves, is the lie of “Soviet anti-Semitism.” The very opposite is true. It is in keeping with Goebbels’ tactic of the Big Lie to accuse the Soviet Union which saved millions of Jews from Hitler’s gas chamber, of anti-Semitism. The real story of Soviet

Jews is that they were liberated from the Czarist ghettos, and that they are an equal part of every sphere of Soviet life and in many areas such as science, arts and literature, far out of proportion to their numbers.

The basic factor motivating those leaving the USSR, as I discovered from numerous discussions is not non-existing persecution, but ECONOMIC ILLUSIONS. An illusion that in America everyone can STRIKE IT RICH! The fact that a few did only served to nourish the fantasy. It was to shatter that illusion that Mike Gold wrote his classic "JEWS WITHOUT MONEY." Nevertheless, some illusions die hard. Dreams of "striking it rich" have little future in the socialist system of the Soviet Union.

My mother and father were and their offspring would remain like most Jews in the U.S., "JEWS WITHOUT MONEY."

And so after an absence of six decades I came to a town I had lived in, in the memories of my parents. My hosts were three Soviet Deputies of the Volkovisk City and District Soviets: Pavel Rogev, deputy chairman of the City Soviet, Vladimir Rudyachenko, chairman of the district Soviet and Grigori Lvovitch Litvak, deputy to the city Soviet and director of the milk products plant specializing in children's foods. Thus I was afforded an opportunity to get personally acquainted with the Soviet Deputies of my birthplace.

Mine was a journey into the past as well as present. The picture of Russian life my mother especially drew for us was quite different from that presented by Broadway's "Fiddler On The Roof." The sweep of the Russian Revolution transformed the Jewish ghettos. My mother's shtetel (ghetto village) was not bent in resignation. It was aflame with rebellion. With my mother we marched (in our childish imagination) in her May Day demonstrations in the streets of Volkovisk. Through her eyes we witnessed the first courageous efforts to overthrow the tyranny of the Czars, the 1905 Revolution. My mother was among those brave young women who risked their lives to distribute leaflets to the soldiers garrisoned in Volkovisk.

I relived the stories of my childhood and walked in her footsteps in Volkovisk's historical museum. It is housed in an ancient building that once had served as the headquarters of the Second Western Russian Army commanded by Prince Bagration, one of the heroes of the patriotic war against Napoleon's invasion of 1812. Even before it unfolded its pages of history, the museum linked Volkovisk with our Brooklyn home. The bespeckled, scholarly director who served as our guide proudly handed me a book. It was about Volkovisk and

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was written by a Volkovisker who had lived in America. My heart leaped in recognition! The author was Dr. Moses Einhorn, a friend of my parents who had often been to our home!

Volkovisk was drawing nearer. We stopped before photographs depicting street scenes of armed struggle. So that's what the spirit of 1905 was like in my town! It, too, had set up Soviets! The Russian Revolution was becoming personal history. Look there! The militant railroad workers had set up a strike committee which not only took control of the railroads. It exercised administrative power, formed armed workers guards and for a week controlled everything. There once was a very popular U.S. radio program which linked the present with the past. It was appropriately entitled: "YOU ARE THERE!" I was truly there! My joy gave way to sorrow. The Czarist police and troops were making brutal mass arrests! But I knew how things would turn out in the end—the seeds of workers power. My mother used to weep when she spoke of the suffering of the peasants. Here they were as they rose in angry demonstrations during the years 1910-12. In February 1912, 5 peasants were killed and 19 wounded. Just a year before I had appeared in Volkovisk! And now we came to the strike of bakery workers on August 11, 1913. I was then six months old. I was living here when this had happened! We paused at a fateful moment in my life—September 1915. The German armies occupied Volkovisk. They came and my mother fled. This had brought us to the U.S.! Here personal history came to an end.

But what had happened to Volkovisk after we had gone? The stories I had heard were second hand and came in bits and pieces. My parents had never fully lost contact with their home town. My mother used to sigh deeply as she read letters from friends and remnants of our family. A steady flow of new arrivals shook their heads as they told tales of persecution and misery under the reactionary, anti-Semitic Pilsudski government of Poland. Now the full picture of the joy and sorrows of those years was coming to life. First the joy. It was written in the faces of the members of the Volkovisk Soviet of Workers and Peasant Deputies formed in December 1918. The exhilaration was short lived. February 8, 1919 (I was then six years old and already a member of my street gang in Brooklyn) the occupying German army turned Volkovisk over to the Polish forces.

The struggles that ensued have since been immortalized by Isaac Babel in his deathless, "Red Cavalry." It suddenly struck me. It was in towns like my birthplace that Babel's illiterate worker-peasant soldiers had been

come unforgettable heroes! History was not yet ready for them despite their selfless struggles. June 24, 1920 they liberated Volkovisk. September 26, 1920 they were compelled to withdraw. The Entente powers behind Poland proved to be too strong. History compelled my Volkovisk to take a 19-year detour off the path of socialism. It paid dearly for that detour. More than 80 per cent of the peasants lived in dire poverty. A ruthless policy of Polanization was pursued. The Belorussian language was suppressed. Brutal and flagrant anti-Semitism kept the large Jewish population in a state of constant fear and terror.

Volkovisk fought back! With partisan resistance! More than 15,000 partisans operated in the Volkovisk and Brest areas during 1922-23. During the world economic crisis of the 1930s there were strikes, peasant struggles and demonstrations of the unemployed. The same time that I was leading hunger marches and eviction struggles in New York!

Now came a brief period of joy, a respite before the ghastly years to follow. October 22, 1939! What joy on the faces of the people of Volkovisk as they greeted their reunion with the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic! The Soviet army had liberated Western Byelorussia when Hitler invaded Poland. Western Byelorussian voted to rejoin the USSR.

After an absence of 19 years again there was workers power in Volkovisk. Only now it was backed by the might accumulated in two decades of socialism. Volkovisk worked feverishly to make up for lost time. It built hundreds of new homes. It plunged into the throes of a heady cultural revolution. It waged war against illiteracy. It opened wide the school doors. It gave rise to a renaissance of Byelorussian culture. It waged war against anti-Semitism. It reduced the work day from 12 against 8 hours. It distributed land to the peasants and began to organize them into collective farms. Volkovisk was catching up fast! Now the clock pointed to June 22, 1941. My Volkovisk was in the very eye of the nazi storm. On the very first day it felt the full fury of the treacherous invasion. In New York my mother wept. My father who had died in 1929 was spared this sorrow. I have seen many scenes of Hitler's horrors. But never of my birthplace! Never in my home town! Among the misshapen bodies piled obscenely like meat in a butcher shop were dear friends and relatives. Some may have even fondled my sisters and me on their laps.

In 1941 Volkovisk was a thriving town of 16,000—70 per cent Jewish. 9,328 people of the town and district were slaughtered by the nazis. More than 80 per cent of

the city was destroyed. As if stepping out of the scenes of horror, a gray headed, solidly-built man of about 60 approached me. His name was Sugarman and he was one of the 500 or so Jews who had survived the holocaust and returned to live in Volkovisk. Sugarman and his two sons had helped to rebuild the town. They are construction workers and engineers.

His voice seemed to come from afar as he recalled those tragic days. His father, mother, brother were killed by the nazis. As did many young Jews, he escaped into the nearby forests and joined the partisans. It was in these struggles that many Soviet Jews survived. Names that perhaps were familiar to my parents were mentioned as leaders of these courageous bands which included many children: Maxim Shifrin, Sophie Dvoretzy, Igor Galin, Semyon Olekh and Grigori Kozhemyakin. The partisan brigade took the name of Chapayev, the legendary hero of the Civil War. There was a Pioneer secret circle in Volkovisk. The children were the eyes and ears of the partisans and brought them ammunition and light supplies. Many were tortured to death by the nazis.

The underground party directed the struggle on all fronts. It formed an anti-fascist committee which united the people. More than 20,000 nazis were wiped out in the Volkovisk, Grodno and Bialystok areas. On July 14, Volkovisk was liberated. The sun was shining in all its morning glory as we left the museum and silently made our way to Volkovisk's memorial to its honored dead. How many times I had made this pilgrimage in this land of martyrs and memorials! No earth anywhere in the world clutches to its breast so many brotherhood graves!

I had taken my first exhilarating footsteps on this tortured soil as my mother proudly urged me on. Then I had gone away only to return many years after it had buried its dead. The dead and mother earth seemed to rebuke me! In Brooklyn at twilight in the Spring my father and mother would describe with painful longing the beauty of the countryside surrounding Volkovisk. Listening, I would struggle to create an enchanting picture to match their words. But the view now before me was beyond their powers of description and my childish imagination. As far as the eye could see lay a vast Elysian field, the kind the Greeks chose as the home of their gods and goddesses! All shades of green illuminated by a radiant sun, merged into the color of Spring. A pale blue sky dotted by puffs of cotton-candy clouds met this endless expanse at the far corners of the earth. Russkey Poly! Russian field! As vast as Russia itself! Only a rapturous chorus of birds broke the silence. This was the paradise the nazis had chosen for their hell.

Deputy chairman Rogov pointed to a ditch in a ravine. It had served as the place of execution. With their noted "efficiency" the nazis had dug channels and a pit to catch the blood of those slaughtered. I thought of those in my country who had forgotten these dead and the debt we owed them and their living. I thought of those who were responsible for making the "UNKNOWN WAR" unknown to bury the lessons of that holocaust with the dead.

For six years I had seen Soviet democracy in action in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Ashkabad, Dushanbe, Novosibirsk, Khabarovsk and BiroBidjan. Now without attending a single formal meeting its essence was more deeply hit home to me. Perhaps it was because the Russian Revolution had assumed personal history. For ages, in their yearning to overcome the terrible finality of death, people attributed the power of resurrection to the gods. The power to resurrect does not belong to the gods alone! What a story my birthplace had to tell! An ancient town founded in 1252, history had placed it in the path of invasions. My mother had often mentioned "Swedish Hill." The very sound had an adventurous ring to my childish ears. But Swedish hill had served as a battleground against Russia's northern neighbor.

My grandfather, a poor Jewish boy of 11, had been seized by Czar Nicholas the First's recruiting sergeants. For 25 years he served in his Prussianized army. Black Americans returning from service in their country's wars had to fight against lynching and Jim Crow. My grandfather after fighting the Czar's wars for a quarter of a century had to gather his son and other Jewish youth of Volkovisk to defend their families from threatened pogroms by the Czarist Black Hundreds. My grandfather became a brick maker. And now I understand why: Volkovisk was blessed with some of the finest material for cement in the USSR. Volkovisk had survived the Swedes, the Teutonic tribes, the Napoleonic invasion, the first German invasion, the reactionary Polish landowners and the Czars. And the most monstrous invader in human history!

Like the legendary Phoenix it had risen from ashes. It is today a flourishing industrial town of 27,000. A huge up-to date foundry produces technological equipment used by auto plants all over the USSR. A large modern cement plant now makes much better use of the material that used to go into my grandfather's bricks. It makes up a good part of the Bratsk hydro-electric power station.

Like all Soviet towns which suffered death, much of Volkovisk is new. Row on row of modern apartment houses gave it the familiar Soviet big city look. The

September-December, 1981

crane in the sky was also part of Volkovisk's horizon. Blond, tow-headed boys, stripped to their waists, were playing football (our soccer) in a playground adjoining their newly-built school. Peace had come to Volkovisk. May it always be with you!

As in Leningrad and Volgograd, many of Volkovisk's present inhabitants are not natives. I jokingly remarked to my hosts, all of whom had come from other cities in Byelorussia, that I was the "only local man among you." Native or not, Volkovisk is theirs. New "Volkoviskers" like they had reconstructed and rejuvenated this ancient town. Litvak, a tall, handsome, heavy-set man of 52 with a broad face that was warm and strong, came from Gomel, Byelorussia. His father fought with the Soviet army and was killed in the decisive Battle of Kursk. Litvak with his mother was evacuated to Kazakhstan in 1942. He studied in a Minsk technical institute and worked in a milk products plant. Since 1970 he has been the director of Volkovisk's pride and joy, its milk products plant. I hardly had time to wash up in the homey Hotel Beryozka when Regev and Rudashenko rushed me to the milk plant. Litvak greeted me like a long-lost "landsman." We shared sorrow and joy in our embrace. But it was the triumphant present that beckoned to us. Proudly he escorted me through the plant. It was immaculate, fully automated—the equal of any I had seen in the U.S. It is one of three such complexes which produces "Malish," the popular breakfast cereal for children that graces most Soviet tables.

A fleet of milk trucks was bringing in fresh milk from neighboring collective and state farms. Young men and women in white, looking like internes, were operating the conveyor system. Not a hand touched the products. Litvak ushered us into the computer center. The young woman in charge explained its operations. Valentina Preobrezhenskaya, a very pretty young woman with a very Russian face, beamed as the operator showed us the charts recording the daily output. Preobrezhenskaya heads the trade union. Most of the 600 workers in the plant are women.

Naturally, Litvak insisted that I sample his products. Spread out lavishly on a large table was a dairy lover's delight: huge pitchers of delicious, thick sour cream, heaping mounds of country fresh cottage cheese and butter. Litvak regarded me incredulously when I inquired if preservatives were used. On the way to my hotel I requested that we stop for a few moments on Lenin Avenue. It was not that Lenin Avenue had any particular sites. It was a typical Soviet main street, with bustling stores and modern office buildings. But I had made an important discovery in the museum. I had

recalled to my hosts that my parents always had a particular sparkle in their eyes when they spoke of Shirokaya Ulitsa. I later found out it was because that was where we lived and where I was born. My father had his photo studio in the house. However, the name was completely strange to my new friends. Suddenly, the museum director pointed to a street sign in old Volkovisk. "That was Shirokaya Ulitsa. It is now called Lenin Avenue!" I searched every nook of Lenin Avenue. A few old buildings had survived the destruction. "Which of these, if any, could have been my home?" If anyone symbolized the Jewish ghetto towns like the Volkovisk of my parents, it was Tevey the Milchikher (the Milkman). Tevey peddled milk squeezed from a scrawny cow as poverty-stricken as her master. It was dragged on a rickety cart by an exhausted nag.

Tevey and Litvak!

In the U.S. some of Tevey's descendants became milk magnates, exploiters of the labor of America's Teveys. But Litvak breathed the spirit of Sholom Aleichem's

ghetto Jews whose wealth lie in their humanity. "What does a human being live for?" Litvak asked in that rhetorical self-questioning so typical of Sholom Aleichem's characters. He did not wait for any reply. It was not expected of me.

"Wealth?" He sneered and dismissed it with a shrug. "Everyone wants to leave some good memory of himself after he has gone." He said philosophically: "You will leave it in your books. As for me? I want people to walk through a spotlessly clean milk plant, taste its delicious, healthful products and remember that one, Grigori Lvovitch Litvak, had something to do with it all." What a story Sholom Aleichem could now tell! □

Mike Davidow, a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs, is a U.S. writer whose works include, "People's Theater," a study of the Soviet stage, a novella, "In Search of Eagle-Doves," and "Moscow Diary," autographed copies of which are available for \$5.00 plus .60 postage.

"Stopping World War III"

By Hy Cohen

"Stopping World War III," by Michael Myerson and Mark Solomon, U.S. Peace Council, NYC, 120 pp., paperback, \$2.95 available at Unity Bookstore, 235 West 23rd Street, NYC and other progressive bookstores.

The title suggests, on its face, that there is not just the possibility of a Third World War but a distinct probability of its breaking out in the near future — a most terrifying prospect for mankind.

In five power-packed chapters we learn why this probability is increasing and to what extent the awesome dimensions of destruction are likely to stretch. The last chapter spells out what must be done if the slide into World War III is to be stopped. Clearly, this book *should* be read by every literate person, and *must* be read by everyone who wants to *do* something to help stop the war.

Why is nuclear World War III so much more imminent now than it was, say, 5-10 years ago? What new policies (such as Presidential Directive 59) of recent and present U.S. administrations are fueling the drive towards war? Why are they being so heavily promoted? Are the U.S. and the USSR governments equally responsible for this drift toward nuclear eruption which

can be triggered by design or by accident? More to the immediate point, what are the full implications of a first-strike nuclear weapons capability, and why has its creation become a compulsive goal of many leading officials of the U.S. military and of the administration?

These and many other questions are explored in precise but readable detail, with impeccable scholarship. The authors do not conclude that both sides are equally culpable or that nothing can be or should be done by the respective peoples of the U.S. and the USSR.

In chapters II-V the authors examine in historical context why and how official U.S. policy has always been openly confrontational vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and other socialist states, despite occasional periods of relief from this hard-line policy. How have successive U.S. administrations managed to have the American people accept, by and large, such aggressively antagonistic policies, especially just after a devastating conflict with Nazism in which the U.S. and the USSR were allies? The authors show that the answer lies in the deliberate planting of the mystique of "the American Century," in the intimidation of the people by presenting them with brazen "faits-accomplis" in foreign policy at such times when the political climate at home was temporarily conservative dominated and by the deliberate use of lies to invent a "Soviet threat" to the security and interests of the American people, a phantom threat that does not exist.

Also they examine the role of the media in reinforcing the official line by interpreting certain specific Soviet political and military actions which are demonstrably self-defensive in nature and not inimical to the genuine interests of the people of the U.S.—as being just the opposite. Certainly, the U.S. media has always downplayed the many overtures for good relations, for peace, for arms reduction extended by the USSR over the years.

On the other hand, the Reagan administration has embarked on a gigantic build up of all branches of the armed forces. It has forged alliances with reactionary regimes all over the world, dispatching arms to them in unprecedented quantities, set up bases on foreign soil and in foreign seas and is developing doctrines which seek to justify the intervention of these forces into any area where "its" interests, defined on its own terms, are deemed to be endangered ("no area of the world is beyond the scope of American interests"). This is graphically presented in pages 52-65. While this program is promoted by the U.S. government and the media as a design for maintaining the peace, it is clearly hell-bent for war—for we are dealing, in all of the "trouble spots," with indigenous, deep-seated problems and contradictions that will not disappear with an arms buildup. The authors make perfectly clear in whose interest these steps are being taken and what are the real motives of both the donors and the recipients of this "largesse."

Chapter V probes the devastating side-effects of the arms buildup, primarily upon the economic well-being of the people and also examines the unsettling fact that

millions of Americans are being condemned to certain, horrible death and destruction should there be an accidental malfunction of the gargantuan nuclear extermination machinery erected by the military complex, or by a miscalculation of any of its frail human operators which carries the bombing process beyond the point of recall. Many such "near misses" are documented in the book.

The amazing but well-explained fact is that, temporarily, the forces for war are getting away with it. How they have been able to do this can only be hinted at in a short review. The book arms the reader with the detailed knowledge that serves as the background for the necessary action that must be taken to reverse this trend by mobilizing the people to stop the drift toward nuclear war.

It cannot be done without struggle and without a clearly enunciated program of action. Political struggle, must force an "official pledge by the nuclear powers *not* to be the first to use nuclear weapons" (already adopted by the USSR in 1975); must "freeze nuclear weapons production and unfreeze U.S.-USSR relations;" must "force a return to the Salt process;" must "force a negotiating of disputes in many areas in the spirit of detente that would contribute to a reduction of friction and tensions all over the world where the two sides actually or potentially confront each other." This is the burden of the final chapter.

By all means, help yourself by buying and reading this gem of a book. □

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"Heavy Sand"

By Leo Auerbach

"*Heavy Sand*," by Anatoli Rybakov, Viking Press, 381 pp., N.Y., 1981, Hardcover \$13.95.

It has been said that more people learn history from fiction than they learn from history books. *Heavy Sand*, a novel by the Soviet author, Anatoli Rybakov, is such a work of fiction. For those who were too young to experience World War II, the climax of the novel is a powerful and moving introduction to one facet of the war. For those who lived through that time, the book will refresh memories and reawaken feelings about the Nazi invasion and the heroic resistance of the entire Soviet people.

The final portion of the novel focuses on the suffering, sacrifice, and determined fightback of the inhabitants of a small town in Chernigov province in the Ukraine. The town was the home of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Russians, Germans, Poles, and Jews. The major action centers on existence in the ghetto—its creation by the Nazis, the incredible hardships and struggle for survival of the Jewish slave laborers, the tragedies of mass execution, as well as the growing contact between the townspeople (Jewish and non-Jewish) and the partisans, and the final purising. No reader can remain unaffected by the portrayal of the ingenuity, daring, and selfless comradeship displayed in the numerous attempts to thwart the Nazis, or the virtually superhuman exploits of the Jewish attack on the German forces and the attempted escape into the forest. Yet those who resisted were neither "supermen" nor trained fighters, but rather typical Soviet citizens with a deep attachment to their country. Their dignity, humanity, and bravery make the final section inspiring, especially since these were the very qualities which the Nazis tried to crush.

The character, Boris Ivanonsky, is used as the final person narrator of the novel. He describes himself as a Soviet major assigned to military intelligence and therefore able to reconstruct the event. The bulk of his story deals with the history of his immediate family and their relatives, neighbors, and strengthening of the family, able to meet the impact of such events as World War I, the Revolution and Civil War, the time of NEP, and the period of economic construction.

In contrast to the larger problems is the almost idyllic tone of the novel's opening. The romantic story of Jakob and Rachel's meeting and marriage, their leaving his native Switzerland to settle with her family in the Ukraine, is gentle, warm, and amusing. It breathes the

atmosphere of the *shtetl*. In a strange country, Jakob, now Yakov, has difficulty finding a suitable occupation. With his father-in-law's help, he explores various trades, finally becoming just an average bootmaker. Through all exigencies, Rachel emerges at the resourceful one. The love of the Ivanovskys serves as the binding force which sustains the growing household.

By means of numerous brief vignettes from the narrator's memory, a host of small town characters come alive. We follow the continuity and changes in their lives, their strengths and weaknesses, the changing educational and occupational opportunities, the peaceful development of individual labor into cooperatives. In this community we find the hard-working and the inept, the decent and the unscrupulous, the normal and the eccentric. Working with a large cast, the narrative moves rapidly through their loves and celebrations, their progress, confrontations, and disappointments their generosity, modesty, and humor.

Overall the novel has a basic realism and vitality. Contributing to this impression is the intensely dramatic episode of false accusation against innocent victims, including the imprisonment of Yakov, the narrator's father. The entire sequence, with a search for a lawyer willing to take the case, the trial, and the final release, is revealing and strong.

What has made possible the author's achievement? Born in Chernigov in 1911, a one-time loader and driver, Rybakov trained in the Moscow Institute of Transport Engineering. During World War II, he was in active front-line service in the Soviet Army. He has said that he invented nothing in the novel. Even the unusual romance of a young Swiss who married a Russian Jewish beauty and settled in pre-revolutionary Russia as a bootmaker is based on an authentic story. Not only does the novel draw directly on personal experience, but all details of the book's historic climax have been fully documented.

Soviet readers have responded most favorably to the novel. The American publishers state that *Heavy Sand* "caused a sensation on its first Soviet publication because of its unprecedented treatment of Jewish suffering during the Second World War." During an interview (in *Moscow News*, August 23-30, 1981), Rybakov displayed an extensive correspondence from people whose experiences paralleled those of the book's characters. Readers focused on the resistance of the people in the ghetto or on their own participation in the guerrilla movement, but the most common theme was the friendship and mutual assistance of different nationalities in their own cities and towns. Stories of sacrifice and

מיערונג פון 22 יאר סאוועטן-פארבאנד, דער ריזיקער
עולם אין גארין (22.000 מענטשן) האבן אויסגענומען
חבר אלגינען מיט אומגעווערן ענטוויקעלונג און מיט גע-
זאג פון „אינטערנאציאנאל“.

ער איז געשטארבן מיטוואך, דעם 22סטן נאוועמבער
1939, א זייער ווירדקע לוויה איז פאר אים דורכגעפירט
געווארן אין ניו-יארק, וואו פארשטייער פון אלע יידישע
פארטרעטיווע ארגאניזאציעס זיינען ארויסגעטראָען מיט
אפשאצונגען פון אלגינס ווערטמולן צושטייער פאר דער
יידישער קולטור, שפראך און ליטעראטור.

פארשטייער פון טריידי-יוניאנס און מיטגלידער פון
צענטראל-קאמיטעט פון דער אמעריקאנער קאמוניסטי-
שער פארטיי האבן אפגעשאצט משה אלגינס מיטארבע-
טערשאפט מיט דער מירערשאפט פון דער קאמוניסטי-
שער פארטיי און זיינע ליטערארישע בישטייערונגען
פארן קאמף פאר בעסערע באדינגונגען פאר די פאלקס-
מאסן קעגן ראסיזם, אנטיסעמיטיזם און פאר א וועלט
פון שלום און פעלקער-פריינטשאפט.

* * *

willingness to help in the face of great danger seemed to predominate. In the letters, pride and courage blended with a respect for the dignity of each individual. The spirit was truly internationalist.

Heavy Sand, Rybakov's tenth book, was first serialized in the Soviet Russian magazine *Oktyabr* in 1978 and then reprinted twice in book form. Translated into other languages, including Yiddish and English, it has been published in twenty countries. To us it is still impressive that a Soviet worker whose first story appeared when he was 37 should be successful as a writer. Rybakov's work has been translated into thirty-nine languages and some novels have been filmed. Fortunately, Viking Press has made available to American readers a very readable translation of this one.

The author drew his title from the *Book of Job*, in which "heavy sand" refers to "grief" and "calamity." There is an abundance of these near the end, but we also come away with the strength of decent people. As the reader follows the characters and events of the novel, it becomes possible to understand the final Hebrew quotation: "Everything is forgiven, but those who spill innocent blood shall never be forgiven." □

עבירה? אפשר איז ער גאר גרייס תשובה צו טאן
פאר די אלע זינד, וואס ער האט אפגעטאן אלס צוויי-
ניסטישער פירער? אפשר וויל ער אונדו סוף-כל-סוף
באפרייען פון די אלע אומגליקן, וואס ער האט געבראכט
אויף אונדו אין צווייטן וועלט-קריג? אפשר וויל ער
נישט מער זיין „אקטיוו“ אין יידישן לעבן?
פינצטערע כוחות האבן זיך צעשפילט אין די
צוויי ארטיקלען אין „אלגעמיינעם זשורנאל“, א סימ-
פאטישער ארטיקל וועגן פ נאויק, און א ווילדער
אנפאל אויף נחום גאלדמאן, ביידע ארטיקלען האבן
איין צוועק.

פ. נאויק, א „פרינציפיעלער מארקסיסט“, קלאפט
זיך על-חטא; נחום גאלדמאן נעמט אן א שטעלונג, אז
די פאלעסטינער דארפן האבן די זעלבע רעכט ווי
ישראל. דערפאר ווערט נחום גאלדמאן אויס ייד און
ער ווערט — „נחומקע דער גוי“.

ד"ר נחום גאלדמאן, דער ערן-פרעזידענט פון
יידישן וועלט-קאנגרעס און געוועזענער פרעזידענט פון
דער ציוניסטישער וועלט-ארגאניזאציע, האט אין אן
אינטערוויו אין דער ווינער צייטונג „קוריער“ דער-
קלערט, אז עס וועט אוממעגלעך זיין א שלום אין נא-
ענט מורה, אויב אנטעמיטן א פאלעסטינער
מדינה, ער האט געזאגט צווישן אנדערן:

„איך זע עס קיין (מעגלעכן) שלום כלומן די
פאלעסטינער וועלן ניט באקומען די רעכט צו שאפן
זייער אייגן לאַנד, ווי זיי ווינטשן זיך עס, די פאלעסטי-
נער דארפן האבן די זעלבע רעכט ווי די אנדערע
פעלקער, די זעלבע רעכט ווי ישראל. כל זמן די פא-
לעסטינער פראגע וועט זיין ווי געלייט, וועט קיין
שום אמתער שלום ניט קאנען ווערן פארענדיקט“ —
האט דערקלערט ד"ר ג. גאלדמאן.

Continued from page 29

קאנטרעוואלוציע אי א מאסקע; די בראשור „קא-
מוניזם — צוליב וואס און פאר וועמען?, וועלכע איז
זייער פאפולער אויף ענגליש אונטערן נאמען „והלא
קאמוניזם“, איז איבערגעזעצט געווארן אויף 12
שפראכן מיט א צירקולאציע פון ארום א האלבן מיליאן.

משה אלגיין איז געווען א מיטארבעטער פון „דעילי
ווארקער“, „ניו מעסעס“, „קאמוניזם“ און אנדערע
אויסגאבן, ער איז יארן-לאנג געווען דער ניו-יארקער
קארעספאנדענט פון דער מאסקווער „פראוואד“ (זיין
לעצטער קעיבל איז דערשינען אין דער „פראוואד“
דעם 22טן נאוועמבער 1939, אין טאג פון זיין טויט.
ער האט דעם קעיבל ארויסגעשיקט מיט א טאג פרי-
ער).

מאנאטאג, דעם 13טן נאוועמבער 1939, בלויז 9
טעג פאר זיין טויט, איז משה אלגיין ארויסגעטראָען
מיט א רעדע אין מעדיסאן סקווער גארדען צו דער

א לייב-געזאנג פאר פ. נאוויק און א שענדלעכער אנפאל אויף נחום גאלדמאן

פון אלעקס קארמין

ציוניזם, און שטיצט די יידישע מדינה. זיך נייע שטע' לונג, זאגט ער, איז א פועל יוצא פון א "נייעם יידישן באוואוסטזיין, וואס איז געבוירן אין אוישוויץ." עס איז געווען א מלחמה, א שרעקלעכער יידישער חורבן, ניט נאר דייטשן אליין האבן געהרגעט יידן, עס האבן מיט זיי קאלאבארירט רוצחים פון אנדערע אומות. אפילו דער סאָוועטישער "אהבת הבריות", די קאָמוניסטישע דאָגמע האָט באַנקראַטירט, ניט אויסגעהאלטן דעם נסיון, זיך באַטייליקט אין ייִדן־שנאה און געממיתס. אָס די אַלע זאָגן האָבן זיך אַיינגעשניטן ווי מע' סערס אין דער געשיכטע פון ייִדישן סאַלק.

פסח נאוויק ווערט אויסגעשלאָסן פון קאָמניסטישן

דער צענטראַל־קאָמיטעט פון דער אַמעריקאַנער קאָמוניסטישער פאַרטיי האָט אויסגעשלאָסן פסח נאָ- וויק פון דער פאַרטיי און אים געלייגט אין "החם". די "מאַרגן פרייהייט" איז "טריף פסול" ביי די קרעמלין־ מושלים און ווערט ניט אַריינגעלאָזט אין רוסלאַנד, די מאַסקווער "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד" מיט אַהרן ווערגעליס בראש אַטאַקירט כסדר די "מאַרגן פרייהייט" און באַ צייכנט נאוויק ווי "רענעגאַט, פאַררעטער און קאַנטער־ רעוואָלוציאַרער". פסח נאוויק גייט אָן מיט זיך אייגנ אַרטיקל עקשנותדיקן קאַמף קעגן דעם קאָמוניסטישן ייִדן־דאָס פון שלידערעס צוריק די פאַרלוירן־דונגען קעגן מדינת ישׂראל. ער איז שטאַל און איתן פאַר מלכות ישׂראל און פאַרן קיום פון ייִדישן פּאַלק. הגם זיינע מעשים טובים זיינען אין דער בחינה פון אַ בעל־ תשובה, וועלכער ווכט מכפר צו זיין אויף אַמאָליקע חטאת געוירט, באַטראַכט זיך ניט פסח נאוויק ווי אַזעלכער, ער האלט זיך ווי אַן אויסגעהאַלטענער מאַרקסיסט, אַ קאָמוניסט פון לענינס חדר, אַ מאַמין אין דעמאָקראַטישן סאַציאַליזם. ער זאָגט, אַז דאָס איז דער "איינציגער אידעאַל, וואָס וועט ברענגען שלום אויף דער וועלט און אהבת הבריות".

נחומקע — דער "גוי"

דער אַנפאַל אויף נחום גאַלדמאַן אין אַלגעמיינעם זשורנאַל איז געשריבן פון דעם זשורנאַליסט נירענ־ בערגער, ער שרייבט:

פאַר מיר איז נחום גאַלדמאַנס אַרטיסטריע אויף דער פראַנצויזישער טעלעוויזיע, און וועלכער ער האָט — לויט דעם באַריכט אין אַלגעמיינעם זשורנאַל פון 21סטן אויגוסט — זיך גענט מיטן ייִדישן פּאַלק, כלל נישט קיין חידוש. איז דאָס נחום גאַלדמאַנס גרעסטע

מיר דרוקן אַ טייל פון געשפרעך מיט מ. גראַניט, וואָס איז דערשינען אין אַלגעמיינעם זשורנאַל, אַ ייִדישע אולטראַ־קאָנסערוואַטיווע צייטונג. מ. גראַניט איז זייער סימפּאַטיש צו נאוויקן דערפאַר וואָס ער האַלט זיך פאַר אַ קאָמוניסט פון לענינס חדר, נו אויף דער עלטער געמינט ער זיך אין אַ גוטער קאַמפאַניע, איצט איז ער אַ בעל־תשובה און קלאַפט זיך על־חטא. די אויסצוגן פון געשפרעך רעדן פאַר זיך אַליין.

געשפרעך מיט פסח נאוויק, רעדאַקטאָר פון דער "מאַרגן פרייהייט"

איך דעם געשפרעך האָט נאוויק געזאָגט: "איך בין געבוירן ביי אַן אַרעמער באלעבאַטישער משפּחה אין בריסק, ליטע, די שטאָט פון ר' חיים סאָ- לאַוויטשיק, קרוב 90 יאָר צוריק, מיין טאַטע, אַ קרע- מער, האָט מיך געשיקט אין דער ישיבה און גענומען צו ר' חיימען ער זאל מיך בענטשן. ער האָט געבענטשט איך זאל ווערן אַ רב, אַפּנים איך בין געוואָרן אַ רב ביי יידן אויף אַן אנדערע שטייגער", דערציילט פסח נאוויק.

פסח נאוויק האָט אַנגעפּאָנען ווי אַ בתּוּכּים די אידעעס פון פסח נאוויק ווערן פאַרמולירט אויף די שפּאַלטן פון דער "מאַרגן־פרייהייט", שוין 42 יאָר ווי ער רעדאָגירט די ייִדישע קאָמוניסטישע צייטונג, ער איז דער פּוסק אחרון, דער מאַרקסיסטישער "רב" ביי ראַדיקאַלע יידן.

פסח נאוויק אַ בעל־תשובה

פסח נאוויק איז תמיד געווען און איז פאַרבליבן אַ שאַרפּער קעגנער פון ציוניזם און פרינציפּיעל אויס־ געהאַלטענער מאַרקסיסט. ער איז אַבער אַן ערלעכער קעגנער, אַ מוטיקער, און שרעקט זיך ניט צוצוגיבן, אַז ער האָט געמאַכט אַ טעות; ער איז איצט אַ בעל־ תשובה און קלאַפט זיך על־חטא.

אוישוויץ האָט געבוירן אַ נייעם ייִדישן

באוואוסטזיין

איז 1947, ווען די פאַראייניקטע פעלקער האָבן געשטימט פאַר דער חלוקה פון פּאַלעסטינע און עס איז דערנאָך פּראַקלאַמירט געוואָרן די ייִדישע מדינה, האָט פסח נאוויק אויפגעגעבן זיין קעגנערשאַפט צום דזשוואַי אַפּיעטם

דער סאוועטן־פארבאנד איז דאס איינציקע לאַנד —

„וואו עס איז ניט פאראן קיין עקספּלאַטאָר“
ציע פון איין מענטש דורך אַ צווייטן מענטש, עס
קאן ניט זיין קיין עקספּלאַטאָר ציע אָדער אונטער־
דריקונג פון איין נאַציאָנאַליטעט איבער אַ צוויי־
טער, רוסלאַנד, די טורמע פון נאַציאָנאַליטעטן, איז
טראַנספּאָרמירט געוואָרן אין אַ ברודערשאַפט פון
נאַציאָנען, וואָס לעבן זייט ביי זייט, קאָאָפּערירן־
דיק, מאַכנדיק דעם לעבנס־דערפאַלג פון איינער
די באַדינגונגען פון לעבנס־דערפאַלג פאַר אַלע.
דער סאוועטן־פארבאנד איז אזוי שטאַרק ווי
די קלענסטע פון אירע עטלעכע טונגן נאַציאָנאַלי־
טעטן, זאָגט דער פאַרבאַנד פון די סאוועטישע
סאַציאַליסטישע רעפּובליקן; צו שאַפן גלייכהייט
פאַר אַלע נאַציאָנאַליטעטן איז ניט בלויז אַ פּרינ־
ציפּ אויפן פּאָפּולער, נאָר אַ ווירקלעכקייט, אַ
לעבנס־קראַפּט, אַ נייטווענדיקייט, זייט ביי זייט
מיט פאַרזיכערן צו יעדער נאַציאָנאַליטעט די
פּרייהייט פון באַנוצן איר מוטער־שפּראַך און
אַנטוויקלען איר קולטור, וועלכע איז נאַציאָנאַל
און פאַרעם אַ סאַציאַליסטיש אין אַינהאַלט, צו
פאַרזיכערן פאַר איר די מאַסעריעלע מיטעל פאַר
אַ לעבנס־דערפאַלג פון די פּאַלקס־מאַסן און פאַר
אויפּהאַלטן די נאַציאָנאַלע קולטור.“

אין יאָר 1926 גיט מ. אַלגיין אַרויס „פון מיין טאָג־
בוך“ — געשטאַלטן און צענעט, פאַרזייכנט אין אַמע־
ריקע און אין סאוועטן־פארבאנד (פאַרלאַג „פּריי־
זייט“, ניו־יאָרק 1926), אינעם זעלביקן יאָר פאַר־
עפנטלעכט ער אַ גרעסער בעלעטריסטיש ווערק אונ־
טערן נאָמען „האַוורילע און יואל“, אַרױפגעטיקט זיך
דראַמע „איר פאַרברעכן“, וואָס איז אױפגעטיקט גע־
וואָרן אין דעם יידישן קונסט־טעאַטער פון ניו־יאָרק אין
זױנטער 1926-1927. ביידע זאכן זױנען אַרויס אין בוך־
פאַרעם. מ. אַלגיין האָט אויך געשאפן אַ צאל לידער,
וואָס זױנען געדרוקט געוואָרן אין די פּראַגרעסיווע
יידישע צױטשריפטן.

אַלגינם וויכטיקער צושטייער צו דער קאָמוניסטישער באַוועגונג

אין משך פון די לעצטע עטלעכע יאָר פון זיין
לעבן איז מ. אַלגיין געווען זייער שטאַרק פאַרבונדן מיט
די אַקטיוויטעטן פון דער קאָמוניסטישער פאַרטיי און
איר יידישן צווייג. ער האָט אַרױסגעגעבן אַ גרויסע צאל
וויכטיקע בראַשורן, וואָס די פאַרטיי האָט פאַרשרייט;
„טראַקציון“ (אַרױסגיטישע אָפּהאַנדלונג); „גאַרקי
— שרייבער פון רעוואָלוציאָנער“; „טראַקציון —

אין יאָר 1925 האָט מ. אַלגיין פאַרעפנטלעכט אַן
עסעי וועגן דער אַקטאַבער־רעוואָלוציע, מיר דרוקן
דאָ איבער אַ טייל פון יענער פּרעכטיקער אָפּ־
טאַצונג:

עס וועט קומען אַ צױט...

דער נױער מענטש וועט זיין אַ שעפּער פון הויכע
און שױנע גױסטיקע פּראָדוקטן — אַ שעפּער, ניט פאַר־
שפּאַרט אין די פּאַר אױלן פון זױן אױגענום, נאָר
אַ בשותפותדיקער, אַ טייל פון אַ קאָלעקטיוו, אַ פאַר־
בונדענער מיט אַלע זױנע מיטמענטשן אין אױך גרויסן
פּיבער פון שאַפן, אין אױך מעכטיקער פּרייד פון
שטרעבונג צו נאָר ניט דעראַבערטע וועלטן, דער מענטש
וועט ניט זױן פּריי פון קאַמף, ער וועט ניט ווערן ווידן,
ער וועט ניט שלאַפן אויף רױון, ווי פּרעכטיק דער
רױון־רייכטום זאל ניט זױן, דער מענטש וועט קעמפן
מיט זױנע חברים פאַר אױדען, פאַר באַגריפּען, פאַר
גױסטיקע ריכטונגען, פאַר קולטור־אונטערנעמונגען, דער
קאַמף וועט זױן אפּשר היציקער און אפּשר אױפ־
טריילענדיקער ווי היינט, אַבער דאָס וועט זױן אַ
מענטשלעכער קאַמף פאַר מענטשלעכע זאַכן, וואו אױ
זיגער און אױ באַזױגע צו געהערן צו אױן משפּחה און
וואו דער קאַמף מאַכט אַלעמען נאָך גענעטער און נאָך
פּױנער.

עס וועט קומען אַ צױט —

דאָס וועט אַלצדינג אױסגעבויט ווערן אויף דעם
אַקטאַבער־פּונדאַמענט, דאָס איז אַלץ געוואָרן מעגלעך
צויליבן אַקטאַבער.
די אַקטאַבער־רעוואָלוציע איז אַ פּױערדיק מעסער,
וואָס האָט צעשניטן די געשיכטע אויף צווייען; דעם
פּערזאָד בױן 25סטן אַקטאַבער און דעם פּערזאָד נאָך
דעם.

די אַקטאַבער־רעוואָלוציע איז דער פּרילינג־שטרױ־
רעם פון דער געשיכטע; זי האָט אַראַפּגעשווענקט דאָס
אױן און דעם זשאַווער פון אַ זעקסט־הילף וועלט און
אנגעוועזעטן די וועלט מיט כוחות פאַר נױער ביליאונג.
די אַקטאַבער־רעוואָלוציע איז דער טרומױט־רוף
פון תּחית־המתים אין דער געשיכטע; ער הילכט פון
אױן עק וועלט בױ דער צווייטער, ער וועקט די אָפּגע־
שטאַרבענע, דערהויבט די געבראַכענע, זאַמלט די צופּרױ־
דענע און זאָגט זױ אָן: ס׳איז שױן טאָג.
(ניו־יאָרק, 1925)

נאָך קלאַרער און דראַמאַטישער האָט מ. אַלגיין אין
1936, אין דעם זשורנאַל „קאָמוניסט“, אַרױסגעבראַכט
די גרויסע דערגרייכונגען פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד פאַר
אירע נאַציאָנאַלע מינדערהױטן.
מיר ברענגען דאָ אַ וויכטיקן טייל:

Continued on page 27

סוף 1906 פארלאזט ער רוסלאנד. אין יאר 1907 טודירט ער אין היידלבערג סאציאלע וויסנשאפטן און פילאסאפיע און באטייליקט זיך אין די שארשידענע בונדיסטישע זאמליביכער.

אין יאר 1909 איז ער צוריקגעקומען קיין רוסלאנד, געהאלטן קעגנישע און ווילנע פאר די ארבעטער־ארגאניזאציעס און אין דער אונטער־שול און צוזאמענגע־שטעלט א יידישע ליטערארישע כרעסטאמאטיע. דאס יידישע ווארט (דריי טיילן פארלאג ב. קלעצקי, 1912, אויסגעהאלטן א ריי אויפלאגעס). אין יאר 1912 גיט ער ארויס און פארלאג פראגרעס א זאמלונג בעלעטריס־טישע עסייען און בילדער איבערן נאמען ווען דאס לעבן רופט, אין וועלכע עס שפילנען זיך אפ די אפמאס־שונגען, וואס האבן געהערשט אויף דער יידישער גאס אין דער צייט פון דער רוסישער פריי־הייט־באוועגונג; קאנפיקסירט פון דער צארישער מאכט. אין די זאמלונג איבערגעדרוקט געווארן אין 1918 אונטערן נאמען ווען קייטן קלינגען (ווארשע, פארלאג "ידיש").

אנהויב יאר 1913 באזעצט זיך אַלגין אין ווין, וואו ער, צוזאמען מיט א גרופע חברים, רעדאקטירט די בונדיסטישע וואכנשריפט "די צייט", וואס איז ארויס אין פעטערסבורג. גלייכצייטיק ארבעט ער איבער זיך דיסטרטאציע אורטשאפונג און מארקטינג אין רוסלאנד. געטראפן פון דער וועלט־מלחמה אין דייטשלאנד און גיט קאנצענטרירט זיך אומקערן קיין רוסלאנד צוליב פאלי־איטישע רדיפות. פארט מ. אַלגין אדורך אין אמעריקע, וואו ער טרעט אריין אין דער רעדאקציע פון פאר־ווערטס, אין וועלכן ער האט שוין געהאט קארעספאנד־דירט זינט דעם יאר 1907. אין דער זעלבער צייט זעצט ער פאר זיין מיטארבעטערשאפט אין "קאנונסט" אין יאר 1915 ווערען ער מיטרעדאקטאָר פון דעם "אָר־גאָן פון דער יידישער סאציאליסטישער פעדעראציע. די נייע וועלט".

אין 1916 באזוכט אַלגין דעם קאלומביא־אוניווערזי־טעט און אין 1918 קריגט ער זיך דאקטאר־טיול. אין 1919 ווערט ער א לעקטאָר אין הער ניו סקול פאר טאָשעל סיינעסעס. ער גיט אויך ארויס זיין בוך אין וועלט פון געזאנגען.

אין יאר 1920 באזוכט מ. אַלגין פראַנקרייך, דייטש־לאַנד און דעם סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד. אין פּרילינג 1921 איז מ. אַלגין צוריקגעקומען קיין אמעריקע. סאַרעפּנט־לעבט אַ לאַנגע סעריע אָפּהאַנדלונגען און באַשרייבונגען וועגן סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד אין פאַרווערטס און אין דער ענגלישער פרעסע פון אמעריקע.

אַט די באַשרייבונגען זיינען געווען דורכגעדרונגען מיט גרויס ענטוואָהם פאַר דעם באַלשעוויסטישער רע־וואָלוציע, וועלכע האָט פאַרזיכאַל געענדערט מ. אַלגינס דשוואיש אפטיקס

אונטער דעם פרישן איינדרוק פון דער קאטאָבער־רעוואָלוציע, ווירקט חבר אַלגין אויף דער יידישער סאציאליסטישער פעדעראציע. אַז זי האָל פאַרלאָזן די רעכטס סאציאליסטישע פאַרטיי פון אמעריקע, צו וועל־כער ער האָט געהערט זינט ער איז אַנגעקומען אין דער נייער וועלט.

העלפט שאפן די "וואָרקערס (קאָמוניסטישע) פאַרטיי"

נאָך דער פאַרלאַנג פון דער פעדעראציע (סעפֿ־טעמבער 1921) רייסט אַלגין איבער מיטן "פאַרווערטס" און מיט דער "צוקנופּט" און ווען די פעדעראציע פאַראייניקט זיך שפּעטער מיט די אַמעריקאַנער קאַמ־ניסטן בילדנדיג די "וואָרקערס (קאָמוניסטישע) פאַר־טיי", ווערט מ. אַלגין איינער פון די הויפּט־טוער פון דעם יידישן טייל. הויפּט־רעדאקטאָר פון איר יידישן טעגלעכן באַראַן "פּרייהייט", וואָס האָט אַנגעהויבן צו דערשיינען דעם 2טן אַפריל 1922.

אַחוץ פּובליציסטיק און ליטעראַרישע קריטיק, האָט מ. אַלגין אַנגעשריבן אַ גאַנצע ריי אַגיטאַטאָרישע בראַך־שרוין אין רוסלאַנד און אין אמעריקע (אַבט זיך באַטיי־ליקט אין פּאַספּאָס די בראַשור "די סאציאליסטישע פּראַקטיקע און ציוניזם", פאַרלאַג "די וועלט", ווילנע). ער האָט אויך איבערגעזעצט פון רוסיש "הונגער" פון ש. יושקעוויטש; "דערציילונגען וועגן זיבן געהאַנגענען"; "קעניג הונגער" — "דער צענדלינג" — פון אַנדי־אַנדרעווען; פון פּויליש האָט ער איבערגעזעצט אַ באַנדי־דערציילונגען פון עליאָז אַזעשעקאַ (מיט פאַררעדע פון מ. אַלגין און בעל־מחשבוט); פון דייטש — "יונגט־געשיכטע פון אַרבעטער" פון אַדעלהיים פּאַס; פון הע־בראַזיש — צוויי בענד פון מענדעלע מוכר ספרים; פון ענגליש — "די שטימע פון בלוט" פון דזשעק לאַנדאָן און "צען טעג וואָס האָבן אויפּגעווערט די וועלט" פון דזשאַן ריד.

אין יאר 1921 גיט חבר אַלגין אַרויס "מיט שטעטל אין אוקראַינע" (פאַרלאַג גרועוויטש, ניו־יאָרק, 80 זייטן). מ. אַלגין האָט אויך אַנגעשריבן צוויי גרויסע ווערק אין ענגליש — "עי גאָד טו ראַשיען ליטעראַ־טור", אַן איבערבליק איבער די וויכטיקסטע רוסישע שרייבער פון 1820 ביז 1920, מיט באַראַקטעריסטיקס פון די פאַרשידענע ליטעראַרישע שולעס. מיט אַפּשאַ־צוגען פון די וויכטיקסטע ווערק און "די נשמה פון דער רוסישער רעוואָלוציע" — אויף יידיש איבערגע־זעצט פון מ. אַשעראַוויטש (צוויי בענדער, פאַרלאַג גר־עוויטש, 1920). ער האָט אויך איבערגעזעצט פון דייטש אין ענגליש פּרידריך ענגעלס, דער פּויעריע־קריג אין דייטשלאַנד" און האָט אויך געאַרבעט אויף אַן איבערזעצונג פון לענינס ווערק אין ענגליש.

אין ליכטיקן אַנדענק פֿון משה אַלגין



ביאָגראַפֿישע נאַטיצן וועגן אַמעריקאַנער-
יידישן שייַן-גייסט און מאַרקסיסטיש-
לעניניסטישן טריבון

פון דוד סעלצער

פאַר הונדערט אַנדערע סטודענטן אָפּגעגעבן אַלס סאַל-
דאטן פאַר אַנטיילנעמען אין די סטודענטישע אומרוען.
ער פאַרעפנטלעכט דעמאָלט זיין ערשטע פּעדער-פּראָצע;
אַ פּראָקלאַמאַציע צו די סטודענטן אין רוסיש.

אין אויגוסט ווערט ער אַמעסטירט און פאַרנעמט
אַ פּירנדיקן פּלאַץ אין דער סטודענטן-באַוועגונג. ווי
פאַרויצער פון דעם סטודענטישן צענטראַל-קאָמיטעט. אַ
מיטגליד פון דער יידישער רעוואָלוציאַנערער סטו-
דענטן-גרופע „פּרייהייט“, פון וועלכער עס וואַקסט
שפּעטער אויס די קינערע אַרגאַניזאַציע פון „בונד“.

אין אַפּריל 1903 ווערט אַלגין אַרעסטירט אויף אַ
חדש אין צוזאַמענהאַנג מיט דער צוגרייטונגס-אַרבעט
צו שאַפּן אַ יידישן זעלבשטענדיגן קינערע קעגן די דער-
וואַרטע פאַנגראַמען. ער פאַרלאָזט דעם אַוניווערזיטעט
אין 1904. קומט מיט אַ פּאַלשן פּאַס קיין ווילנע און
ווערט אַ מיטגליד אין ווילנער קאָמיטעט פון „בונד“.

אין מאַי 1904 ווערט אַלגין ווידער אַרעסטירט
און ווערט באַפּרייט אין נאַוועמבער אויף ערבות (בעלי)
און פּאַרט אַריבער אויף אַ צענדערטן נאַמען קיין
דווינסק, וואו ער ווערט רעדאַקטאָר פון אַרגאַן „בונד“,
און אין דער זעלבער צייט באַטייליקט ער זיך אין דער
רעדאַקציע פון דער „אַרבעטער-שטימע“, און פאַר-
פּאַסט אַלגעמאַנאַציעס. וואָס דער צענטראַל-קאָ-
מיטעט פון „בונד“ גיט אַרויס אין דעם שטורעם-יאָר
1905 און שרייבט אויך רעוואָלוציאַנערע אַגאַטאַרישע
בעלעטריסטיק פאַר דער אַלגעמיינער יידישער פרעסע.

אינעם יאָר 1906 ווערט אַלגין אַ מיטאַרבעטער
פון דער לעגאַלער בונדיסטישער טאַג-צייטונג אין וויל-
נע „דער וועקער“ (שפּעטער „פּאַלקס-צייטונג“), וואו ער
פאַרעפנטלעכט איבערוויכטן איבער גייע ליטעראַרישע
ווערק אונטערן פּסעוודאָנים „יוסף“, דערציילונגען
בילדער פון דעם רעוואָלוציאַנערן לעבן און ווערט
שפּעטער ליטעראַרישער רעדאַקטאָר פון דער צייטונג.

משה אַלגין איז געווען דער שייַן-גייסט פון דער
פּראַגערסיווער יידישער באַוועגונג אין 20סטן יאָרהונ-
דערט.

ער איז געווען אַ קינד פון דעם יאָרהונדערט פון
דעם וועלטלעכן אידעאַל פון סאָציאַליזם, ברודערשאַפט
און פעלקער-פּריינטשאַפט; פון די נאַציאָנאַלע אַספּיר-
ראַציעס פון אַונטערדריקטע פעלקער און פון דעם קאַמף
קעגן ראַסיזם, אַנטיסעמיטיזם, מלחמה און רעאַקציע.
משה אַלגין איז געווען ביים וויגעלע פון די וויכ-
טיקסטע געשעענישן, וועלכע האָבן פאַרמירט און דער-
הויבן די פּראַגערסיווע יידישע קולטור, שפּראַך און
ליטעראַטור.

זיין קאַלירמולע ביאָגראַפֿיע

משה אַלגין (משה יוסף, נאַוואַסיקי) איז געבוירן
געוואָרן דעם 24סטן מערץ 1878, אין האַרץ בוקי, קי-
עווער גובערניע, אומאַנער קרייז, זיין פּאַטער, אַ שאַפּער
אין וועלדער, פּריער אין קינערע גובערניע, נאָך דעם
אין וואָלין; ער איז געווען אַ ייד אַ למדן, דערציילט זיין
זון אויף תּנ"ך און גמרא. אַבער אים ניט געשטערט
צו לערנען רוסיש ביי די פּויעריס פון די אַרומיקע
דערפער, געגעבן אים אַ צוטריט צו מאָדערנע העברע-
אישע ספרים און אַפּילו צו דער יידישער ליטעראַטור.

צו 15 יאָר האָט אַלגין פאַרלאָזט זיין הויז אין
וואָלד און אַ פאַר יאָר געקעגלט אין דערפער ביי
ישובניקעס. שפּעטער האָט ער זיך אַריבערגעקליבן אין
קלינעם שטעטל ראַטאַטשעוו, וואָלינער גובערניע, וואו
ער האָט געגעבן שטונדן (לעקציעס) און גלייכצייטיק
שטודירט קורסן אין גימנאַזיע. אין יאָר 1900 איז ער
אַנגעקומען אויף דעם יורדישן פּאַקולטעט פון דעם
קינערע אַוניווערזיטעט און אַריינעצויגן געוואָרן אין
דער סטודענטישער רעוואָלוציאַנערער באַוועגונג.

זיין ערשטער אַרעסט און פּעדער-פּראָצע

אין יאַנואַר 1901 ווערט אַלגין, צוזאַמען מיט אַ

C'edl Oallc rca dcl MCGENLQ...MAL BRQA'
 184 ial' MI C.URE rca dcl ENLQ...EIQQA —
 Nil didl LLQQA GALLQ XIQ CQLELELdl QSTI
 UNdIQM4 — Lc UAGA 184 QAL rca Ucll Qil dcl EQST
 184 MCGAQO IEL HALLI QLA.NIL.GLNTd'
 rca U...TAML'CAL' TAL X GL...TAMIT
 Lc d'ELLALO Mlcl 184l ial' Qil QLALl Lcl'
 Lc QMAGA 184l Nc QIQQSTQO QAL rca Ycl'
 184 MICALCA' QALL Nil URTAL ial' QNLLALAI
 MI Nc LAL YCAL' LACAL' QMICAL ALL
 X C...QAD HSTI Nil MCLALl TMAQIQ:
 M4O QATAQ Nil TULTAL' LNLB Nil Nil Nil Qil
 LAL QATAQ UGA QMCI Qil LAL UAGA X QIQd'
 C'YQCT Nil Qal QMIL' Nil Qal QMUGAQO QIQd'

Nil YQCTI

Nil 184 MBOGA LRO YLLOQ UQLA:
 Qal LCCQALAI QMGLNA QNL MAl Nil UCC
 XI MAl Qal Qil Nil UQOATIT YAMETLA'
 XI MAl' URO URTA Mcl d'IOA Nil d'LAGO UAGA UAGA'
 UAL 184 Nil ial' Mlc rca dcl d'QUTQOAI
 Nil Q...LQA TAL M4d Lc ALL QNLAGAQO Nil QNLLQQA —
 UAl ALTAI UMLTQA QAl' UAl QLTAL EQIA IEL YQA
 C'edl Oallc rca dcl MCGENLQ...MAL BRQA'
 184 ial' MI C.URE rca dcl ENLQ...EIQQA —

QALUQA L. LAGARAI GIDA 1888 ENLQ...KIMANQOBL

L. UQOATIT

X4K4DQXEL Q4QXIQXU

KCLCLO
 ULLMK