

JEWISH AFFAIRS

MARCH/APRIL 1982

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The Holocaust's Unlearned lesson

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The Mid-East: The Worsening Crisis and How to Resolve it

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By Jay Schaffner

"The Ethnic Myth"

By Joseph Weber



Demonstrate For Peace

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PARK AND THE UNITED NATIONS**

**SUNDAY, JUNE 13 AT THE 10TH
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HONORING DR. HERBERT APTHEKER**

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**"Never Forget! Never Forgive"
On To The U.N. on June 12**

This Passover we will mark the 39th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The dying cry of the courageous martyrs, "Never Forget! Never Forgive!," still rings in our ears calling upon us to honor their plea.

As we recall the innocent victims of fascist racism, we are mindful that the U.S. to date is the only major power not to have ratified the Genocide Convention while its staunchest ally is racist South Africa. Washington has shown that it is prepared to exercise the option of racism and anti-Semitism in pursuit of U.S. imperialist aims.

The attacks on affirmative action, the plot to emasculate the voting Rights Act, the undermining of the Civil Rights Commission and the pampering of the K.K.K. and the nazis are an integral part of Reaganism.

Ominous, indeed, is the revelation by U.S. Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D. Ohio) that Reagan himself "orchestrated the anti-Semitic attacks" during the AWACS debates. Reagan went so far as to invite Richard Watergate Nixon to join in the anti-semitic tirade.

As we honor the Warsaw Ghetto Martyrs we recall the lessons of the Holocaust, the slaughter of 50 million men, women and children, 6 million of whom were Jews representing approximately 50% of the world Jewish population. In the dock at the Nuremberg Trials were the nazi war criminals — German bankers, industrialists and the nazi party leaders who did their bidding. The trials revealed the objective of their racism.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson who served as a prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials said in his opening statement: "How a government treats its own inhabitants generally is thought to be of no concern of other governments or of international society.

"Certainly few oppressions or cruelties would warrant the intervention of foreign powers. But the German mistreatment of Germans is now known to pass in magnitude and savagery any limits of what is tolerable by modern civilization. Other nations by silence would take a consenting part in such crimes. These Nazi persecutions, moreover take character as international crimes because the purpose for which they were undertaken. If aggressive warfare in violation of treaty obligations is a matter of international cognizance, the preparation for it must also be of concern to the international community. *Terrorism was the chief instrument for securing the cohesion of the German people in war purpose.*"

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The Holocaust's un-learned lesson

By J.I. FISHBEIN

How do we explain the fact that despite the thousands of books and articles written about the Holocaust, despite the tens of thousands of lectures and meetings, the innumerable TV shows, movies and the use of every conceivable type of mass media to convey the message of the Holocaust, most Americans, including most Jews, still have not learned its basic lesson?

What Elie Wiesel and other gurus of this crusade fail to make clear is what brought the Holocaust about. Some cop-out by calling it the work of a clever

Almighty testing us before allowing us to re-enter the Promised Land after 2000 years of homelessness. A more common explanation is that Hitler was a crazy fanatic sent by the devil himself to destroy the Jews. . .

If one probes deeper, one finds that he was really the front man for a fascist conspiracy initiated by the financial and industrial giants of Germany — the Krupps, the Thyssens and others — who were alarmed by the economic debacle then engulfing the country and sought to avoid defeat by blaming the situation on Bolshevism and the Jews. . .

Nazism is simply another word for fascism. And what is fascism?

R. Palme Dutt, the great British political scientist, defines fascism in his classic work entitled "Fascism and Social Revolution" as "the dictatorship of the most chauvanistic and reactionary elements of finance capital who resort to war and terror when they are no longer able to maintain power through democratic means." It is an exact definition of what is happening today in Central and South America, developments our country shamelessly supports. . .

Fortunately, a growing number of Americans, not always politically aware but possessed of good common sense, are becoming fearful of the present administration with its demand for huge increases in armaments while social programs are decimated as we continue down the road to Armageddon. The latest New York Times-CBS poll shows more than 50 percent of Americans believe we are headed toward war. 60 percent say we should stay out of El Salvador. Meanwhile, our smiling president doggedly pursues his crusade while the drums of war roll on.

All of this has made very little impression on the bulk of the organized section of American Jewry, smug and content as it is. How many rabbis and other so-called leaders have spoken out against it? How many of our publications have written about it? How many forums have been held to discuss it?

What point is there in having speaker after speaker bemoan the events of 40 years ago when German fascism did its devilish work if we do not draw from it the lessons necessary to prevent a repetition today? Who do we expect will be the first victims should events follow a similar course here? Who will be the first scapegoats as a frightened group of right-wingers seek frantically to explain away the disaster of a new war?

For whom do the bells toll, my fellow Jews? They toll for thee. Let us not pretend we will escape history this time anymore than we have in the past.

J.I. Fishbein is editor of the Chicago SENTINEL. This article is based on excerpts from his editorial of April 2, 1982.

The Mid-East; The Worsening Crisis and How to Resolve it

by Herbert Aptheker

In mid-1980, Nahum Goldmann — for thirty-four years a member of the Executive Committee of the Zionist World Jewish Congress and for twelve years its President — viewing the deterioration in social, economic and morale terms in Israel, was moved to wonder “Can Israel Survive?”* The ensuing two years of Begin-Regan mis-rule have intensified the urgency of that question, and with it the related one: Can war in the Mid-East be averted?

Only those who choose not to see, can proceed obliviously of the fearful dangers. Saul Bellow — bed-fellow now of Norman Podhoretz — can write a book about Jerusalem (*To Jerusalem and Back*, 1976) and see not a single Arab, precisely as one Hal Steed could end a book on *Georgia: Unfinished State* (Knopf, reprinted, 1976) with the announcement that Georgia's future was assured since its population was “one hundred percent Anglo-Saxon”!

Much of the blindness results from the fierce censorship exercised by the bourgeois and ultra-nationalistic leadership of mainline Jewish organizations. As the crisis intensifies, rebellion against that censorship — and leadership — grows. Illustrative is the extraordinarily bitter editorial by J.I. Fishbein, “In Support of Jewish Survival” (*Jewish Sentinel*, Chicago, December 31, 1981). Mr. Fishbein writes that, “having spent almost fifty years in Jewish journalism,” he finds “our generation is the most censored Jewry in all history” (italics in original). He adds that “we have also the poorest Jewish leadership” that he can recall. The hopeful point is that Mr. Fishbein urges revolt against that leadership because “Jewish survival in the coming years” demands this, and “the real traitors are the ones who would deny it.” Strong language indeed, but deeply justified.

Israel's internal crisis continues — steep inflation, high unemployment, and unprecedented corruption with an eroding of public morale. No wonder Israel is suffering an annual net decline of some 30,000 Jewish people.

The policy of unlimited armaments build-up and growing expansionism, as annexing the Golan Heights and swallowing the West Bank with a crass “settlements” policy, has demolished Camp David's farcical promise of “autonomy.” The fierce brutality of Begin's

occupation policy has placed Israel alongside South Africa as a pariah among nations. That policy includes prolonged imprisonment with those confined not even charged, let alone tried**, with frequent torture, summary removal of locally elected officials, closing of schools, banning of books and newspapers, and even denying traditional economic pursuits to thousands of families, as the 40,000 Bedouins of the Negev — a cruelty unknown, reported David Shipler in the *N.Y. Times* (December 28, 1981) “even under the British mandate.” Shipler compared the process to the Indian removal policy notorious in U.S. history!

The latest expansionist surge in the West Bank brought the general strike of its inhabitants in March, 1982 (continuing as this is written) with Israeli response being the killing and wounding of dozens and the jailing of hundreds. The ensuing scandal almost brought down the Begin government; the day after Begin barely survived a vote of censure, Washington announced another two and a half billion dollars for Tel Aviv.

With an irony characteristic of history, while the social crisis leads to a *reduction* in Israel's Jewish population, the aggressive and expansionist policy, which helps induce the crisis, simultaneously *increases* the proportion of Arabs in Israel. The official count of the Arab population living in “administered” areas is 1,150,000; to this must be added the counted total of 620,000 Arabs in Israel proper (including Jerusalem) which brings the total to 1,770,000. However, it was recently reported (*Jewish Sentinel*, December 24, 1982, datelined Tel Aviv) that a count taken in September, 1980 by the Interior Ministry of the number of Arabs living in Israel was never made public because — says this belated exposé — “one must add at least another 300,000 to arrive at a correct count.” This means “that even now the Arabs represent some 40 percent of the total population of the country.” Thus, should the administered areas be annexed to Israel proper, Zionism's “Jewish state” will have a *majority* of non-Jews!

Quite naturally, the ultra-reactionary Begin government has become the supporter of every Right-wing (and often openly anti-Semitic) regime on earth — serving as an important adjunct, or, at times, conduit, for the Reagan Administration.

Beginning especially in the 1970's, Israel now rivals the U.S. as arms supplier to quasi-fascist regimes. In 1978 the International Peace Research Institute, located in Stockholm, estimated that over 80 percent of El Salvador's weapons and over 95 percent of Somoza's arms in Nicaragua came from Israel. Guatemala also depends

heavily upon Israeli weapons. Other fascist-like regimes, as Paraguay, Chile, Argentina and Bolivia are important Israeli customers. The former Nazi Gestapo chief of Lyons, France — Klaus Barbie — is now a leading figure in Bolivia's government but this does not deter Israeli's arms merchants. The American Jewish Year Book for 1980 documents the seriousness of anti-Semitism in Argentina, but later observes: "Ties between Argentina and Israel were strengthened as a result of the latter's sale of planes and armaments to the former."****

Perhaps even more atrocious than these Israeli ties with such murder-regimes in Latin America is its very close collaboration with South Africa whose blatant Nazi-like barbarism has made it the outcast among nations. Towards the close of 1981, Israel's Defense Minister and rabid war-hawk, Ariel Sharon, made a ten-day official visit to South Africa. Ever since the UN-imposed embargo in 1977, Israel has been a main arms supplier to South Africa, including vessels for its navy. Drew Middleton, reporting on Sharon's South African visit (*N.Y. Times*, December 14, 1981), said the Israeli official has emphasized the alleged Soviet threat in southern Africa. Middleton concluded: "South Africa's military policy of maintaining adequate reserves will enable it to keep forces in the field in the foreseeable future but he [Sharon] warned that in time the country may be faced by more powerful weapons and better armed and trained soldiers." Washington's policy towards South Africa is the same as Tel Aviv's, but the Begin government finds it possible to be more plain-spoken.

* * *

The economic dependency of Israel upon the United States—shaky as is the latter—has become complete; possibly this helps explain the source of Begin's tantrums when some diplomatic dodge by Reagan annoys him. Thomas Stauffer, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* this past January, called attention to "Israel's extraordinary economic dependency on the U.S." He added, correctly: "Israel today is, indeed, all but totally dependent on U.S. economic support, both overt and indirect." Details are offered here by Dr. Stauffer, research associate at the Center of Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University. This may help account for the extraordinary act on the part of Israel in signing a military alliance with the U.S. which, in language almost unique in diplomatic history, specifically names the Soviet Union as the "enemy" inducing the alliance.

Abba Eban quoted (*Jewish Sentinel*, December 24, 1981) as saying that "in no international document

signed by the U.S. does it say specifically that it is directed against the USSR, including the NATO treaty." Thus a joint military agreement exists between Israel and the U.S.—as between the U.S. and Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Somalia and Egypt—but only the Israeli one points openly against the USSR! Israel's explicit commitment to the most dangerous myths of the Cold War and its pledge to join the U.S. in military action against the Soviet Union certainly enhances the security of Israel, does it not?

* * *

Hope lies in a mounting revulsion against the expansionist and occupation practices of Begin's government. This appears within Israel—in late March it came within one vote in the Parliament to force Begin's resignation. It appears also within the world-wide Jewish population outside Israel, notably including the United States. Recent hopeful signs include a delegation of five members of the Israeli parliament visiting the Soviet Union; two of them were Communists, David Hinin and Salam Jubran, one, Chaika Grossman of Mapam, and two from Labor, Ora Namir and Rabbi Menachem Hacoen. They spent ten days in the USSR, as guests of the Soviet Peace Committee. Announced details were scanty, but the Israeli delegation stated it was persuaded that "the invitation, the visit and the meetings" could not fail to "encourage the efforts of peace-seekers in Israel towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and towards an improvement of relations between Israel and the Soviet Union and their advancement toward normalization." (David Landau, *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, December 24, 1981)

Earlier, in the Fall of 1981, Habib Chatti, secretary general of the Islamic Conference held in Paris and representing forty-two Moslem countries, announced that they "are prepared to recognize Israel as part of a global and just peace." Mr. Chatti, at a press conference, reminded reporters that Yasir Arafat, the PLO leader, had stated in September, 1981, in Tokyo, that the PLO was "prepared to recognize Israel under a simultaneous recognition between them and the Jewish state." (Edwin Eytan, *JTA*, October 22, 1981)

In the U.S., the New Jewish Agenda has experienced a remarkable membership surge and now is an influential national organization committed to a program of peace and social progress. Of very great significance, indeed, is the fact that the leadership of the American Jewish Committee—publishers of *Commentary*, edited by the unspeakable Podhoretz—felt it necessary to hold two conferences this past February—one of conservatives and one of liberals. The former adopted resolutions

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hailing the Reagan Administration as the hope of the "free world"—but not sufficiently anti-Soviet! But the liberal group denounced Reagan's social and economic programs and especially the "cutting of social welfare budgets across the board." It noted in particular the devastating impact of Reaganomics upon Black people. The president of the American Jewish Committee, Maynard Wishner, in a letter to Reagan, stated his own objections to the cutting of funds and the so-called "federalism." He added that savings should come not only from reducing waste but also and especially from *reducing arms expenditures*. (Boris Smolar, for JTA, March 4, 1982)

Even more outspoken in opposing Reaganism and its obsession with armaments was Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, speaking at a forum in Washington this past February sponsored by the Center for Defense Information.

Rabbi Schindler, who heads an organization of 750 Reform synagogues with 1,250,000 members, said that Reagan denounced liberals "for 'throwing money' at social problems. Perhaps we did. But is far better than throwing planes and missiles at every international trouble spot." Rabbi Schindler said: "The nuclear arms race casts an ominous shadow over the very future of the human race." He urged that the U.S. and USSR should agree to cut existing nuclear stockpiles by 50 percent "and to freeze all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons, missiles and new aircraft designed to deliver the bomb."

Rabbi Schindler concluded with a splendid paragraph

clearly directed to war-threatening fanatics like Reagan and Begin:

"What the Vietnam war represented to the public conscience in the 1960s, the nuclear arms race will represent in the 1980s. In this moral enterprise, American Jews will, I am certain, take their rightful and historic place as messengers and pursuers of peace in the spirit of the Hebrew prophets, standing — and standing up — for sanity, reason, compassion and peace."

Christopher Hitchens, contributing editor of *The Nation*, suggested (December 5, 1981): "The friends of the Jews are not [Jerry] Falwell . . . nor the racist hooligans of Gush Emunimi and of the Jewish Defense League, nor the international arms dealers . . . nor the schmaltz peddlers like [mayor] Koch, nor the sunshine patriots like Podhoretz."

That is true; nor are those worthless the friends of Arabs. They — and Reagans and Begins who inspire them — are enemies of humanity itself.

Urgently needed is an international conference, meeting in a city like Geneva and resolved on finding a way towards peace in the Mid-East. Such a conference with eyes open to the relevant United Nations Resolutions and under the aegis of co-chairing by the United States and the Soviet Union would produce a genuine arrangement for peace, with justice and dignity for all the States and all the peoples of the Mid-East. The longer this is delayed the greater the danger of war—and war on a massive scale. □

*Published in *World Press Review*, October, 1980.

**For details see Anthony Lewis's column, *N.Y. Times*, March, 15, 1982.

***For further details on Israeli arms sales see the article by Burton Levine in the *Jewish Spectator*, Winter, 1981.

The United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish Poor

By Phil Honor

Beth Tzedek Legal Services is a non-profit organization based in Fairfax, a densely populated Jewish district in Los Angeles. It provides free legal aid to many poor elderly Jews who are being harassed and often threatened with evictions by their landlords. The caseload of Beth Tzedek, which in Hebrew means justice, has greatly increased during the past year as have the number of evictions in L.A. The agency is beseeched by tenants unable to pay the outrageous increases demanded of them.

Let us consider the case of Mrs. Rose Gallegos, a 78 year old widow who has received several eviction notices and has been driven to desperation by her landlord. After the building in which she lives was sold, the new landlords began to torment her with constant telephone calls, shouting obscenities, calling her "prostitute." Frequently her water was turned off. At one time several steps leading to her apartment were removed. Last October she enlisted the legal services of Beth Tzedek. Tragically, however, her health has deteriorated. She is too ill and distressed to continue the uneven fight.

In another case, the landlord removed the hinges on the apartment door to frighten and intimidate an elderly widow. In many instances the tenants are too frightened to lodge a complaint against their abusive landlords. These horror stories were revealed in an expose in the L.A. *Times* on the plight of the elderly, 12/7/81. An attorney who volunteers his services for Beth Tzedek stated, "I almost want to vomit when I hear these cases. When you are talking about money, honesty, friendship and decency disappear."

What the debilitated, poverty stricken elderly Jews fear most is to be shunted to a nursing home for the remainder of their years. In 1974 New York was in an uproar in the aftermath of the scandal involving the owner of numerous nursing homes, Rabbi Bernard Bergman. Bergman rose from "rags to riches" in a few years. The investigation of this sordid affair disclosed a web of graft, corruption, influence peddling the political pay-offs, in which high ranking city and state officials along with influential community leaders were implicated.

Bergman started out as a Rabbi in a home for the aged. In a short time he built a \$24 million nursing home and real estate empire, largely out of Medicaid funds. Many elderly patients were kept in intolerable conditions and callously abused.

In a recent book, "Too Old, Too Sick, Too Bad," the authors, Frank Moss and Val Halamandaris, point out: "What made the Bergman case so unique was not only the many allegations of poor care and abuse nor the fact that \$2.2 million could not be accounted for in the Towers (nursing home) loan . . . What made the Bergman case unique was the revelation of the involvement of New York's major political figures with nursing homes. New Yorkers, and most of the nation, were shocked to learn of the extent to which politicians used their influence to benefit nursing home interests."

After completing an investigation of the Bergman case the N.Y. State Moreland Act Commission stated in its report: ". . . Bergman's involvement reads like a novel of political intrigue, its list of characters like a Who's Who of New York politics. Among the more than one dozen major political figures charged with political interference and impropriety were former Governors Nelson Rockefeller and Malcolm Wilson, Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, Assembly Speaker Stanley Steingut, New York Mayor Abraham Beame and Robert Patton, second Deputy Commissioner of the N.Y. State Department of Mental Hygiene."

The report states further: "His (Bergman's) major source of strength was his close association with Samuel Housman, a political adviser to Governor Rockefeller. He got Housman's help by grossly misusing the deference paid to him as a prominent leader in the Orthodox Jewish Community and by granting commercial favors to Housman's relatives."

In 1976 Bergman was convicted of committing fraud and sentenced to one year in jail. He has been ordered to repay \$2 million which left the major part of his fortune intact.

Investigations conducted in a number of states uncovered fraud, mistreatment of patients and horrible misdeeds. A Congressional subcommittee hearing in Chicago, April 1971, revealed that Benjamin Cohen, owner of a 109 bed nursing home, had in 1970 a total cash income of \$81,805. His cash flow, including income from depreciation came to \$95,808. In 1979 he spent 67 cents per patient per day for food.

Eight years have gone by since the disclosures of nursing home frauds and mistreatment of patients have aroused the conscience of our nation, but these crimes against the elderly go on and on.

influx of American dollars helps the Israeli government ease its financial crisis triggered by its war policies; provides funds for the establishment of new settlements in the occupied territories.

Often UJA officials resort to pressure tactics to promote their fund raising campaign. The fund drives commence with expensive junkets for influential Jews. The *Jewish Week* reports in a UJA-Federation supplement, 12/6-81: "120 leading members of the New York Jewish community began their personal participation in the 1982 campaign with a crowded and hectic twelve day journey" to Israel and two other countries.

In Israel they were given a red carpet treatment. They met government ministers, generals, high ranking politicians, legislators and other leading figures of the Israel establishment. The trip paid off. These people contributed close to \$8,000,000 to the campaign, 24% more than in 1981. They were also given a stiff dose of chauvinist propaganda, visiting new settlements in the occupied territories described as Israel's "internal frontier," settlements built with UJA funds. According to the *Jewish Week* report, they left Israel "most understanding of the situation" and "profoundly impressed by the workings of the peace process."

There is a growing resistance by community activists to the unfair distribution of welfare funds. Many communities find themselves in a desperate situation due to Reaganomics. Irving Bernstein, Executive Vice-President of UJA, admits that this problem has to be addressed. He acknowledged in an interview with Hadar that some small communities in the north eastern States are in a process of decay. "Young people, singles and couples, are leaving; there is no new wave of Jewish immigration; elderly people lack appropriate help and the Jewish education system is collapsing," said Bernstein.

The only way these depressed communities can meet their needs is by a larger allocation of funds for the local services. New York still allocates 75% of the monies collected annually by the UJA. In some communities there has been a cut in funds apportioned for Israel. This has led officials of the UJA and the Jewish Agency to intensify the "battle for the dollar." They exhort the communities to increase the welfare fund quotas for Israel and attempt to keep the amounts budgeted for Israel at a high level. Hadar reassures the UJA leaders that they need not be concerned; that Israel still gets the highest priority by the Jewish elite who direct the fund campaigns.

Irving Bernstein, Executive Vice President of the UJA indicated recently that the CJF recommended that

"Israel should not suffer" in the allocation of campaign funds as a result of the federal cutbacks in social and educational programs. The communities were advised to find other ways of filling the new holes in their budgets.

Irving Kessler, Executive Vice Chairman of the United Israel Appeal, states: "The American Jewish leader who has had experience in the whole range of Jewish and Zionist activity can find the right balance between the needs of his local community, the entire American-Jewish community, overseas communities and Israel."

But what has been the "right balance"? Is an allocation of 75% or even 50% of the funds raised by American Jewry a "right balance" considering the urgent needs of the local communities? The message comes through unmistakably clear. The Israeli leaders are after the biggest slice of the welfare pie. Rabbi Roth of the Rabbinical Council of America complained that there is too much attention paid to anti-Semitism and the U.S. scene and not enough to Israel.

The strongest resistance to the ceaseless draining of community treasuries comes from social workers and other professionals who have to cope in their daily activities with the plight of the poor and the shrinking social and educational programs. These dedicated cadres, who are rendering essential services to the communities, are denounced by the Israeli fund raisers as self-seeking troublemakers. Hadar quotes an unnamed official of the Jewish Agency for Israel who attacks these activists.

"The closer you get to the bottom of the pyramid of Jewish power, to the professionals who run the day-to-day affairs of the community," said the official, "the more you meet individuals and groups who tend to care more about their vested interests (Sic!), which they identify with the organizational interests of the community and less about the needs of the American Jewish community and Israel."

This convoluted logic of a spokesman for the Jewish establishment leads to the conclusion that to ignore the festering decay in local communities serves the interests of American Jewry and Israel. Such cynicism, to accuse the devoted professionals of being motivated by "vested interests" in their compassion for the Jewish needs and the poor! It should be noted that many principled sincere young activists refuse to be intimidated by these strident attacks.

Rabbi Albert Axelrod, Director of Hillel and Chaplain of Brandeis University, declared recently at a symposium on fund raising: "I perceive that our needs at home are being strangled and I would also raise ques-

The American Jewish Yearbook, 1977 edition, points out: "In the Jewish community the care and service for the aging is the most pressing of social welfare concerns." A National Jewish Population Study reports "a shockingly high proportion of elderly poor." The Synagogue Council of America devoted its issue on aging to the problems of crime and the older victims. In 1978 the American Jewish Congress called for New York State laws to alleviate the pervasive nursing home abuses. It seems that this blight will remain with us as long as greed is put above human rights and the debilitated elderly are considered objects of profits.

The precise number of Jewish poor is uncertain. Data about poverty in the American Jewish communities are hard to come by. Studies in this field are few. The leaders of the major Jewish organizations, whose main thrust is directed towards Israel, are insensitive to this problem. However, the American Jewish Yearbook reports that "A number of agencies directed their attention to the needs of an estimated 350,000 Jewish poor in New York City."

A United Jewish Appeal 1981 report notes: "One out of every five Jewish households is headed by a person 65 years or older, with an income of less than \$6,000 per year. Jewish elderly, 65 and older, comprise about 13 percent of the national Jewish population. In every four Jewish families one has some degree of physical or emotional disability requiring supportive services, 15% of parents involving 20-29 age range are single. Mid-career joblessness is affecting many Jewish providers."

According to the 1979 census, a household comprises 2.78 persons. Taking this as a guideline in analyzing UJA data, we can assume that more than 1,100,000 Jewish persons out of a total national population of 5,800,000 live below the poverty line.

The American Jewish communities raise about half a million dollars annually in welfare fund campaigns. The largest portion goes for aid to Israel. Only a small amount is allocated for local needs and community services. A fraction of this allocation reaches the Jewish poor. About 75% of the funds budgeted in the welfare drive of 1973 were applied to overseas (mostly Israeli) needs, 2% to national agencies and 23% to local services. In 1979 a total of \$482,407,000 was raised. Out of this \$265,524,000 was allocated to the United Jewish Appeal, which is the fund raising body for the Jewish Agency for Israel and the Joint Distribution Committee. The UJA funds are channeled to the Jewish Agency for Israel through the United Israel Appeal. The Joint Distribution Committee dispenses assistance on a world scale. Here too a substantial part goes to Israel. In

addition to the vast amounts apportioned to the UJA, huge amounts were raised in 1979 by the sale of Israeli bonds and through separate campaigns conducted by Hadassah and other Zionist organizations. The UJA 1981 campaign report recorded over \$511,000,000 in pledges for "project renewal" (rehabilitation of rundown neighborhoods in Israel). From 1948 through 1976 UJA provided \$2 billion 754 million for the Jewish Agency for Israel.

The welfare fund campaigns in American Jewish communities are organized by local federations which are affiliated with a central body, the Council of Jewish Federations. The Council meets in an annual conference at which time funds are allocated to the local communities.

In a recent article in the *Jerusalem Post* entitled, "The Politics of Philanthropy," we get a vivid picture of the elite that control the welfare fund campaigns and their constant bickering and juggling for power. The author of the article, Leon Hader, reports that most of the 210 communities who participated in the 1981 campaign "are organized in local federations headed by laymen, the 'gvirim' (the affluent), the prestigious leaders of the community. . . . Then comes the Big Sixteen, the 'political kitchen', where the representatives of the 16 largest communities in the country decide, behind the scenes, general policy guidelines for the allocation of funds. Finally, at the top, the Council of Jewish Federations, an umbrella organization headed by a well known national leader, recommends the policy guidelines for the allocation to the communities, and they are then discussed openly at an annual convention." Needless to say these "recommendations" of the top leadership prevail.

Apparently the American Jewish community federations follow the stifling structure of the Jewish "Kehiles" (organized communities) in the pale in Czarist Russia. There the wealthy dominated the scene as dispensers of charity. They had the final say in all community matters, and the people, especially the poor, had to abide by their will. The same pyramid of power is very much in evidence in the American Jewish community today. It is this stifling control that Jewish youth and Jewish progressives are currently combatting. That is the precise reason for the founding of New Jewish Agenda. The Jewish communities in our country are now in the process of being shaken out of their social and organizational Rip Van Winkle sleep.

Most of the CJF leaders are Zionists. So are the affluent and prominent persons at the top of the pyramid of Jewish power. They are oriented to allocating to Israel a primary share of the collected welfare funds. This vast

tions about the UJA and Israel expenditures on several counts. . . . I believe the UJA, as an institution, could be exerting a salutary effect on the Israeli government vis-a-vis peace."

Hadar cautions the UJA officials that American Jews are beginning to resent the "poor little Israel" image projected in their propaganda. He notes: "Some of the young leaders who visit Israel for the first time are struck by the difference between UJA propaganda portraying Israel as a poor and needy society." He quotes a young activist from New York who told him: "It's difficult for me to ask my community to cut the budget . . . and allocate more money to the UJA when I see the 'dolce vita' in Tel Aviv."

The struggles of the Jewish activists for a more equitable distribution of funds deserves the support of the liberal and progressive forces in the Jewish community. Rabbi Axelrod speaks for many concerned groups and individuals in criticizing the UJA fund raisers and opposing the stance of the Begin government. The domination of the Jewish elite must be challenged. The Jewish community must free itself of the power pyramid created by the establishment Jews and their surrogates.

New Jewish Agenda reports in its autumn 1981 newsletter that a task force on urban affairs has been established. One of the objectives of this task force is "to educate members and non-members on the ramifications (Reagan's) policies have for children, the elderly, the mentally and physically handicapped, the poor and the working poor."

These initiatives of New Jewish Agenda in response to the needs of the more than a million Jewish poor in our country can become an important step towards mitigating the problem.

Our multi-national, multi-racial working people savaged by Reaganomics must strengthen the people's coalitions combatting Reagan's foreign as well as his domestic policies. Combined, sustained struggle is the vehicle for bringing about a decisive change in the quality of life for the working poor and the middle sectors whose way of life has been undermined by Reaganomics. There can be no going it alone. A hurt to one is a hurt to all.

Phil Honor is a frequent contributor to Jewish Affairs. □

**GREETINGS
TO
JEWISH AFFAIRS

IN HONOR OF

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY
OF
LIBBY AND MORRIS DAVIS**

**In Memory of
My Beloved Husband and Friend
ALEX LAKER

He was a dedicated fighter against racism and anti-Semitism and a champion of peace and justice
Died Jan. 27, 1982
DORA LAKER**

**In Memory Of My Wife
CLAIRE
DAVID PERLMAN
and Family**

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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Dear Friends:

Glowing comments are still directed our way in tribute to our NINTH ANNUAL DINNER. An even richer political and cultural program is being planned for our 10TH ANNUAL DINNER to take place at the ROOSEVELT HOTEL in New York City, SUNDAY, JUNE 13 at 12:30 P.M.

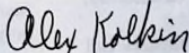
We are proud to announce that the 10TH ANNUAL DINNER will honor our indefatigable fighting editor, DR. HERBERT APTHEKER, whose outstanding seminal articles have enriched our pages since our founding and who has served as our editor for six years.

This year's celebration will be held at a time when Reagan's intransigent, provocative foreign policy, in line with which the Begin ruling clique threatens to unleash a war in the Middle East placing in jeopardy the very existence of Israel and world peace. At this same time we take serious note of the rapid deterioration of the quality of life at home and the intensification of racism and anti-Semitism, emanating from the Reagan White House itself.

Prominent speakers will join us in honoring Dr. Aptheker, and will address our dinner guests on the vital issues of the day with the aim of broadening and strengthening the people's upsurge against Reaganomics. Anna Paidoussi, whose voice and repertoire charmed us last year will again appear on our program with some surprise numbers.

To Guarantee that JEWISH AFFAIRS continues to bring clarity to our readers we are impelled to call upon you to continue your financial support, as inflation multiplies our production costs. As in the past we again call upon you to assist us in bringing about an overflow assemblage at our 10TH ANNUAL DINNER.

Comradely yours,



Alex Kolkin
For the Editorial Committee

Upsurge Against Reaganomics in Jewish Community

by Lewis Morose

The rising crescendo of mass fightback against the savage attacks of Reaganomics and Reaganism confirms the estimate made by Gus Hall in his report to the Central Committee of the CPUSA:

"Resistance to the policies of the Reagan Administration continue to build. As the impact of the cutbacks which have become the biggest takebacks in history takes hold, ever new sectors of the population are moving into the area of fightback."*

The 700 participants at the Founding Conference for a New Jewish Agenda representing an advanced sector of the organized Jewish community in the U.S., correctly anticipated the Reagan program even in December 1980 before he was sworn in. In the advisory resolutions approved at the Founding Conference, New Jewish Agenda called for: "good health care, adequate housing, full employment, safe neighborhoods, a protected and healthy living and working environment and decent education for all its citizens."

Noting the deterioration of the economy under the Carter Administration and in anticipation of Reagan's program New Jewish Agenda warned:

"The decline of the cities in which we live is a major problem. The destruction of social services, and increase in crime, the gentrification of neighborhoods

* Gus Hall's report is to be found in, "What The Reds Say Today," published by New Outlook, 239 West 23rd Street, NYC 10011, paperback, 50¢.

Continued from page 2

The rise of racism and anti-Semitism serves the provocative foreign policies of the Reagan Administration.

The Editorial Committee of Jewish Affairs calls upon our readers to honor the Warsaw Ghetto Martyrs by maximizing efforts to bring out hundreds of thousands in a cry for peace before the United Nations on Saturday, June 12.

Jewish Affairs will be participating in this historic call for world peace at its 10TH ANNUAL DINNER at the Roosevelt Hotel on Sunday, June 13 where we will honor the renowned scholar and peace advocate, our editor, Dr. Herbert Aptheker. □

and the resultant displacement of poor people, including poor Jews, had yielded fear, racism, and anti-Semitism. We intend to confront the issues through an emphasis on inter-group dialogue. The right to organize, now currently under attack, must be guaranteed to all workers. We support affirmative action programs to redress past inequities, and oppose the repeal of civil rights statutes."

To this day, New Jewish Agenda is a growing, fighting movement still offering progressive leadership to the Jewish community in the U.S. on the vital issues of the day but it is no longer alone in the struggle against Reaganomics in the Jewish community. The persistence of New Jewish Agenda in the search for a new direction in the Jewish community and the deteriorating quality of life for ever broader sectors of our multinational, multi racial people are bringing Jewish establishment organizations and leaders into the struggle.

The concern of the American Jewish Congress is revealed in an article in the Feb./March issue of *The Congress Monthly* by Henry Siegman, executive director of AJC. The article, "Reaganomics and Social Justice," is based on a speech delivered by Siegman at the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council's annual meeting in Houston, Texas.

At a recent four day plenum, The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) agreed with the charges of its Vice President, Albert Chernin that "Reagan policies aggravate and exacerbate America's most basic social ills" and called upon the American Jewish community "to respond with a new emphasis on domestic social and economic concerns."

"When Jewish community leaders discuss President Reagan's Economic Recovery Program, they sound worried," says Gail Naron Chalew in the March 1982 edition of the B'Nai B'Rith's *Jewish Monthly*. Continuing Chalew notes, "They are concerned about the elderly, the poor and single parent families who have been hurt by the recent reduction in government benefits."

Amongst the people interviewed by the *Jewish Monthly* was Mark Talisman, director of the Washington office of the Council of Jewish Federations. Talisman warned that "The real impact of the budget cuts is only beginning to be felt. David Liederman, director of government relations for the N.Y. Federation reports that government statistics reveal that almost 300,000 New York Jews live at or below the poverty level. Al Miller, executive director of New York's Federation Employment and Guidance Service, warns "The cur-

rent situation has all the makings of a catastrophe."

"Twenty thousand elderly Jews live in South Miami Beach alone. The Federation estimates that three quarters are poverty stricken," says Chalew. The article indicates that B'Nai B'Rith will have to cut back on some of its services because of decreased funding from the Federations.

In the face of all of these facts Chalew observes that "The picture is not totally bleak. Reaganomics may prove to be a boon in some ways to the Jewish community. Through intensive planning the Jewish federations are eliminating inefficient low-priority programs." (Read Phil Honor's article in this issue on Federation priorities).

Chalew reveals that "National Organizations such as B'Nai B'Rith, community relations agencies and religious organizations are mobilizing their resources to inform Congress of the adverse impact of the New Federalism."

Their session with Congress will never be fruitful if they accept Chalew's uncritical estimate of the new federalism. With his estimate they will be unable to propose a realistic program for adequate funding by the federal government of all vital services. Chalew says, "According to the philosophy of the New Federalism, the government must provide a strong national defense." the fraud of strong defense will not wipe out poverty but may very well wipe out all of humanity.

In a most recent position paper distributed by the New Jewish Agenda on: "Economic and Social Justice," we find the statement that "Agenda is committed to full civil rights and liberties, economic and social justice for all citizens of the U.S. The Reagan Administration's policies undermine these basic values and contradict our sense of the imperatives of Jewish history and tradition. We are presently drafting a comprehensive statement which addresses the many specific issues of urban and economic policy."

Included among the highlights of Henry Siegman's article in the *Congress Monthly* are the following:

"President Reagan promised that his budget would be equitable, that taxes would be cut across the board and that the truly needy would be protected by a safety net. In fact, none of these promises have been kept. . . . It is not economic necessity that serves as the central organizing principle of the Reagan Administration, but greed. . . . The challenge for liberals today is to reestablish the link between prosper-

ity and social justice. . . . The New Federalism, with its resentment of the poor, unconcerned about the needs of children, indifference to the aspirations of minorities and insensitivity to the elderly, has nothing to recommend it to the Jewish community. . . . (Federalism) is reaction, a solemnization of the marriage of economic wealth to political power."

Talking about the Reagan modifications in government and their significance Siegman charges that. "This modification, or more properly, reversal, consists mainly of lifting restrictions on business, while reducing or eliminating entirely government's role as protector of workers, consumers and minorities. It also involved a broad effort to roll back the network of laws and reforms that were put into place as a result of the Watergate scandals, the civil rights movement of the 60's and the environmental movement in the 70's.

- "So we find that under this new dispensation, the heads of the regulatory agencies are for the most part former employees or financial beneficiaries of the concerns whose activities they are supposed to police. On the other hand, appointees to agencies that guard individual rights have records of neutrality, or proven opposition to the missions of the agencies they direct.

- "The Justice Department and the White House are engaged in efforts to abolish or significantly weaken legislation governing ethics, conflicts of interest and financial disclosures, the Freedom of Information Act and the law authorizing special prosecutors to investigate criminal accusations against government officials.

- "Efforts are underway to weaken and revise the anti-trust and corporate bribery activity in the Justice Department and the Securities and Exchange Commission, and to wipe out the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Competition which protects small businesses from larger concerns.

- "Similar efforts are underway to abolish the populist orientation of a broad range of individual rights agencies, including the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Occupational Health and Safety Administration, the National Labor

Relations Board and the Legal Services Corporation.

- "The Administration's civil rights record is one of a deliberate undoing of basic gains in this area. The recent decision to sanction a little tax-exempt bigotry by private schools is only the latest example.

- "Stewardship of natural resources on Federal lands has been turned over to former employees of mining and timber companies, while environmental jobs have gone to advocates of lower water and air quality standards for industry.

"That my friends, is quite a record."

After further elaboration of Reagan's reverse Robin Hood approach of robbing the poor to give to the rich, Siegan states: "It seems to me that Jewish community relations, and most certainly the American Jewish Congress, is wedded to the concept of community — not to speak of justice — that is profoundly antithetical to the uncaring personal isolationism that is today celebrated in Washington. It has nothing in common with this Administration's pousse-cafe society, with its truly needy living off slops at the bottom, its vast middle surviving by slashing each other's throats, and for the few on top the gracious life, all taffeta and dinner jackets."

Moved by the direct impact of Reaganomics on the mass of the Jewish community in the U.S., the American Jewish Congress is reflecting grave concern about the current crisis and is capable of becoming an important component of the people's growing coalitions combatting Reaganism.

We would differ with their reliance on bankrupt Keynesian economics to bring social justice to our people. In combatting the Reagan program it will become crystal clear that victory will depend upon the building of an anti-monopoly program to turn our country around. However, for the American Jewish Congress Executive Director to remain singularly quiet about the U.S. military budget is self-defeating in the quest for social and economic justice at home and abroad. This same fatal weakness evidences itself in the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council position.

Both Jewish leaders are influenced by their Zionist ideological orientation and Zionist priorities. The net result of such a position revealed itself at the Jewish Community Relations Council of NY Congressional Briefing on Israel and the Budget Cuts sponsored by

the Jewish Community Relations Council of NY.

At this Briefing the President of the JCRC of NY opened the session devoting 99% of his remarks to the Zionist ideological position on Israel. The *only* remarks that had any reference to the budget cuts referred to the fact that the word for charity in Hebrew is *Tzedakah* which means justice.

U.S. Senators D'Amato and Moynihan and the U.S. Members of Congress demagogically took advantage of such an opening. They told the 200 leading Jews in the NY area what they wanted to hear about U.S. policy toward Israel and offered not one suggestion on how to restore one cent of the budget cuts. This despite the fact that the Jewish Philanthropies of New York revealed at that meeting that they suffered a loss of just short of \$10,000,000.

While the Jewish establishment organizations cling to their positions towards Israel, they refrain from attacking the swollen, war-provoking U.S. military budget, which is swallowing up essential funds for essential services.

As for Chernin's appraisal of Reaganomics, while welcoming his concerns, it is essential, at the same time to expose and condemn the crass racism expressed in his comments on the rise of crime and fear in our communities. He states that the deteriorating economy is "stirring Black-white hostility and possible anti-Semitism among Blacks."

Chernin is not unfamiliar with the lessons of the Holocaust as revealed at the Nuremberg Trials of the Nazi criminals. Clearly revealed was the fact that Nazi racism and anti-Semitism stemmed from the highest places in Germany. Chernin is not unfamiliar with the fact that anti-Semitism and racism spew right out of the White House and Congress as sharply revealed during the AWACs debate and on the question of affirmative action and segregated schools. He would place the blame on the victims.

Chernin is not unaware of what Rabbi Alexander Schindler had in mind when in an address before the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in Boston recently, the Rabbi warned that "the strategy of subtly threatening Jews with backlash if they don't keep their mouths shut is part of a larger pattern of rising anti-Semitism."

In furthering the current upsurge against Reaganomics let us keep in mind the admonition of our own Dr. Herbert Aptheker: "In the U.S., without Black-white unity, democracy is a sham and successful struggle against reaction is impossible." □

Skokie:

The continuing Struggle Against Racism and Anti-Semitism

Jay Schaffner

History never repeats itself is an old axiom that we have all heard at one time or another. The recent television movie, *Skokie*, the docu-drama while being bold, well written, directed and acted in the main, none-the-less attempts to repeat history, also to rewrite history. Once again, this time before a national viewing audience, posing the question whether or not fascists, racists, the Ku Klux Klan and the nazi party have a "right" to march in Skokie, or in any other city in our country.

Danny Kaye gave a powerful performance as Max Feldman, a Skokie resident who as a survivor of the nazi concentration camps, finds himself thrust into the midst of struggle to prevent the attempted nazi march in 1978. While the *New York Times* felt Kaye's performance was one of "admirable restraint," one more familiar with the actual events in Skokie could feel the anger and hatred toward the very notion that outfits like the nazis should have any rights to spread their hatred, violence and genocide.

The movie, while attempting to portray the events of three years ago, is in reality a fictionalized account. Using "dramatic license," presenting a number of characters in one composite character, it ends up being rate with much "history" left out or glossed over.

Still, one must objectively view the movie seen by millions of viewers across the country. Many who watched the movie also form part of the sample audience of recent Harris and Gallop polls. In the recent surveys, it was reported that an increasingly large number of primary and secondary students in our public schools know nothing about World War II, Adolph Hitler, the nazis and the resulting genocide that they brought on the world.

Watching "*Skokie*," one would learn some of the havoc and murder perpetrated by the nazis against all peoples of the world, and that people today fight against any notion that these murderers and their followers have any "rights" to murder once again.

At the end of the movie, one would feel that there were no winners. The movie concludes that the nazis and their leader, Frank Collin, generated the publicity which they sought, while the American Civil Liberties Union,

the ACLU, stuck to their "principles," in defending the "right" of the nazis to march, and that those who opposed the march, were able to shift the march from a Chicago suburban community with a large Jewish population to a park in a working class neighborhood in Chicago. Marquette Park happens to physically separate two neighborhoods, one Black, the other kept all-white.

But such conclusions are not the case in reality. And it was this reality that was not presented in the TV movie.

Three years ago it was not just a question concerning residents of Skokie, but it was one on the minds of people throughout the country. The eyes of the world were on Skokie and the attempt of the racists, fascists and nazis to trample on the democratic rights and traditions for which the people of the United States have long fought and died for.

The movie does not reveal that the Skokie Village Board meets every Monday night. For months, progressive residents of Skokie, non Jewish as well as Jewish turned out in force to demand action against the nazi threat. It was this groundswell of community anger and support that prompted Skokie Mayor Albert Smith to direct the village attorney to draft legislation to prevent the nazis from marching in the village.

During the ensuing court fight, time was used to build the mass movement against the threatened nazi march. Again, this mass movement is not recognizable in the film. In fact it was the planned counter-march of over one hundred thousand which thwarted the nazi plans to march in Skokie. This massive effort by a cross-section of the entire Chicago-area population against nazism, racism and fascism was not shown.

Joining together with the people of Skokie were auto workers, steel workers, government employees and their unions, the various religious communities of Chicago, the Black community and countless civil rights organizations, and many others. As a result of this mass opposition to the nazis, Illinois Governor Thompson and U.S. Senator Charles Percy were compelled to commit themselves to join the planned march against racism and fascism. It was this planned mass action that kept the nazis from coming to Skokie.

The movie, sought to portray the struggle as one of a Jewish character only. The village leadership in Skokie was shown as responding only out of fear of being voted out of office by the large Jewish electorate.

Such was not the case at all. Over a period of many months, the community united around a position of struggle against the nazis. No doubt helpful was the fact that many in the village government in fact emerged out

of independent politics. Mayor Smith and other members of the Village Board were first elected on the old "Caucus" ticket, an independent political grouping that included Skokie residents who were active in the 1960's civil rights and peace movements.

Nowhere in the movie was mention made that the nazis and KKK are today, as they were in 1978, involved in illegal terrorist activities. In fact the attempted march by Collin and his rag-tag band was an attempt to rally and encourage further acts of violence against the Black population of Chicago, the working class and democratic movements, and the Jewish people.

The initial date set for the nazi march was April 20. The significance of this date was lost in the show. April 20 was the birthday of the master murderer of history, Adolph Hitler. In the audience watching the show, as in the real-life of Skokie and Chicago three years ago, were thousands who had lost relatives and friends in World War II. They are Black and white, Jewish and non-Jewish. They either served in the U.S. armed forces, or were the victims of the nazis, or those who resisted the nazi. In common they shared a resolve to combine in a world effort to cleanse the earth of Nazism.

It is deplorable that many can say that racist-fascist thugs have a "right" to parade with signs similar to those that accounted for the murder and maiming of 12 millions including 6 million Jews, millions of Poles, Slavs, Germans, and sons and daughters of Africa, and over 20 million citizens of the Soviet Union. Total losses of WW II were over 50 million.

"Never Again," was the cry of the anti-fascist resistance of World War II. From the docu-drama, one would think that it was that of the terrorist outfit of Jewish origin, the JDL, the Jewish Defense League. One would get the impression that it was the JDL, which next to the survivors of the concentration camps, led the fight against the nazis. Reality is something else entirely.

With the broad-based opposition to the nazis, an opposition that was rooted in the democratic traditions on which our country was founded, and the recognition that the nazis threatened both Jews and Blacks, there was little room for the JDL. The JDL sought and still seeks to counter-pose the struggle against racism with that against anti-Semitism. The JDL's course of action pits the Jewish people against all others, and isolates the Jewish community from common allies in the fight against reaction, fascism, racism and anti-Semitism.

The JDL carried out their own isolated marches and picket lines, but so did others, and on a much larger scale. The JDL heckled, as shown in the movie, but they

were soon over-shadowed by the tremendous coalition that developed. The JDL was literally run out of the community.

It was the left and progressive forces in general who were in the forefront of the constant struggle to broaden and expand the front of struggle against racism, anti-Semitism and fascism. In many ways it was those of the left, who along with the Jewish survivors organization that were the stalwarts of the long and successful fight.

It was the left that called for building an organized struggle which would play every form — legal, mass, peaceful, and when necessary, defensive. The left fought to broaden the movement, to include all victims and potential victims of the nazis. It was the progressives who advocated and linked the anti-nazi struggle of the Jewish people with the civil rights movement.

No mention was made of the first initial counter marches, organized by rank-and-file trade unionists. No, again the makers of the docu-drama pictured what they wanted to be seen, regardless of reality.

In this case, when everyone else has disowned Maoism, including many former Maoists, the movie pictures "a small band of Maoists" as the only non-Jewish opposition to the nazis in the early stages of the fight.

As a former resident of Skokie, I was never able to accept the quantitative number of skokie residents that was constantly increased in the media as to the size of the population that were survivors of the concentration camps. However, the size of the numbers is not the important point. The quantitative and qualitative suffering, hurt and anger is what is important.

However, I feel that the constant reference to Skokie, which does not have a majority Jewish population, em-

phasized that here are over 7,000 direct survivors, feeds the notion that it was and is a Jewish only struggle against the nazis. The notion is put forward that it was a struggle of survivors only. If one accepts this limited view, what is lost is the very real threat of the nazis against all of human-kind, and the very real and present threat against Black and other nationally oppressed people in our country and the working class as a whole.

Mrs. Feldman, as portrayed by Kim Hunter, was a travesty to all women, and especially to Jewish women. Using once again dramatic license, she was portrayed as weak and unable to cope with the problem posed by the threatened nazi march. No one can question the deep trauma which all survivors of the concentration camps face continuously, nor their attempts to build a new life in their newly adopted country. But being the only

Jewish woman depicted, the inference is that while some of the Jewish men rose up to fight against this new wave of nazism, the women, shown as being weaker, were unable to confront reality. In fact it was a woman who first brought the question to the Skokie Village Board.

Nothing could be further from the truth. While Sol Goldstein of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council was a leading spokesman, organizer and court petitioner in the anti-nazi struggle, the driving force in Skokie was another Jewish woman. Irma Gans, herself a survivor, was always at Village Board meetings, in the press and meeting with countless groups in Skokie and Chicago, organizing opposition to the nazis. Even a small reading of the Skokie and Chicago press would show this remarkable woman as a courageous fighter, for civil rights, a fighter for democracy for all. Such is the caliber of Jewish women, who long held the Jewish family unit together. This is the caliber of the Jewish community, which can trace its progressive traditions to the centuries-old struggle for democracy and against all forms of racial and national discrimination, against anti-Semitism.

The film ends with the notion that a deal was made to keep the nazis out of Skokie by allowing them to march in Marquette Park. No such deal was ever made! The City of Chicago authorities, fearing the massive counter-march of over 100,000, with buses coming from all parts of the country, dropped their opposition to the nazis marching in Chicago.

Again history was not shown—the thousands who marched against the nazis in Marquette Park. Regrettably however, not all of the Jewish organizations and others who would have marched in Skokie came down to Marquette Park for the anti-nazi march there. But tens of thousands did—this unity in struggle against fascism and racism was not shown.

The question again must be asked, why Skokie? In the words of self-styled nazi gang leader Frank Collin, the march on Skokie was to have been a "grand march" to "show there is still hope for an all-white America." By marching through Skokie, with its large Jewish population, the nazis sought to pass themselves off to white youth throughout the country as "heroes." Instead of putting the responsibility for massive unemployment, school closings and the deterioration of our communities on the government, monopolies and the banks, where it belongs, the nazis, like Hitler, blame Communists, Blacks and Jews. The nazis were and are seeking to play on the liberal sentiments of our population, by trying to assert their "rights" to march and to brutalize Jewish

and Black people, workers and anyone who is for peace, jobs, democracy and equality.

The concept "legality" for thugs in nazi brownshirts and klan hoods, sanctioned by some in the pulpit of the so-called Moral majority parallels strongly what happened in Nazi Germany nearly 50 years ago. There the "small unimportant" Hitlerite nazis were nurtured by the industrialists and permitted to march in uniform against Jews, trade unionists, Socialists and Communists, all who cherished democracy. Later these brownshirts were handed power by a government unable to meet the needs of its people: for peace, against unemployment, inflation and racism.

The question is whose freedom needs to be defended. Is it the "right" of the nazis to advocate and carry out terror and race hatred and genocide, or the right of the majority of people in our country and the world to be free of this genocidal curse? *One cannot possible defend the rights of both — the "rights" of the nazis and the human rights of the rest of us, the victims of the nazis.*

Going back to the real struggle in Skokie, over the months and months of anti-nazi activity of various kinds, only one anti-nazi was arrested and the charges not dropped. One of the attempts of the Collin nazis to march occurred in Evanston, the suburb directly bordering Skokie. Anti-nazis united in a single demonstration

of resolve against the hated brownshirts. It was only natural that in the forefront of such an action would be Evanston's large Black community. No nazi was arrested for threatening physical abuse and murder, yet Carelton Grisson, a young Black man was arrested and charged with aggravated assault for allegedly throwing rocks against the nazis.

While the film "Skokie" makes no mention of this, the very real racism of our society existed in 1978 and still does, even more so. Evident of this is that only eight days prior to the showing of the film, Grisson was brought to trial, and given a suspended sentence in a work release program.

No charges were ever brought against the nazi racists, and charges against others arrested in the long struggle against the nazis were later dropped, but not so for this young Black man. What is needed is a flood of telegrams and petitions to the city and court authorities in Evanston, demanding that the sentence be dropped and his court record purged.

The "rebirth" of the hatred nazis cannot be isolated from U.S. monopoly capital's aim to retain power at the

"THE ETHNIC MYTH"

By Joseph Weber

"THE ETHNIC MYTH: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America," by Stephen Steinberg, Atheneum, New York, 277 pp., Hardcover, \$14.95.

Are you stumped by the rejoinder "The Jews made it. Why can't the Blacks?" Are you disturbed by the explanation that blames the disciplinary problems and failure in schools with large number of poor and minority students on the "cultural poverty" of the children's home background? Are you brought up short by the charges of "reverse racism" and "quotas"? Are you concerned about bilingual and bicultural education and the prospects of cultural pluralism in the United States?

If you are, you will find Professor Stephen Steinberg's "THE ETHNIC MYTH: Race, Ethnicity, and Class in America" a valuable arsenal. It is crammed with information, research, and perceptive analyses challenging many of the traditional attitudes and points of view current in the United States today about our minorities and ethnic groups.

Professor Steinberg rejects today's conventional sociological explanations that the reasons some groups made it and others haven't as based mainly on their cultural heritages. Instead, he uses what he calls a "class analysis" which in reality is nothing more than putting primary emphasis on the educational occupational background of the various groups. For him the decisive factor is the extent to which the immigrants were prepared to take advantage of the jobs and economic opportunities made available by a rapidly expanding industrial economy and hundreds of millions of acres of cheap gov-

ernment land. This approach is applied to three major problem areas. These are: how the ethnic diversity in the United States came about; the rates of upward mobility achieved by the various ethnic groups, and lastly, an analysis of racial and ethnic conflict.

An example of his method is his study of what he calls "The Jewish Horatio Alger Story." It is generally acknowledged that the rapidity and extent of the upward mobility of the Jewish immigrants is an outstanding example of ethnic success in American history.

The myth, says Steinberg, consists of the commonly ascribed reasons. As stated by Nathan Glazer they are, that the Jews, despite their poverty, came here with the right cultural values and middle-class outlook.

The reality, according to Steinberg, was that the Jewish immigrants would not have achieved their economic and social success had there not been a favorable historical conjunction. This was the meshing of the skills and abilities that the Jewish immigrants brought with them and the requirements of a rapidly expanding American economy.

While most people think of the Jewish immigrants as coming from the Shtetl, the fact is that large and increasing numbers came from the cities. Dr. Steinberg documents that they were employed in manufacturing, as artisans, in various services and in commerce. Because they were prohibited from owning land, unlike many other immigrants, they were not peasants.

As a result, while all immigrant wages were miserably low, the Jews got the better paying jobs. They, therefore, saw a realizable chance of getting ahead. Discipline, denial and planning for the future were encouraged by the hope and expectation that a better future could be achieved.

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expense of our multi-national, multi-racial workingclass and middle sectors. This accounts for the growth of the K.K.K. at this moment in U.S. history. Ominous, indeed, is the use of anti-Semitism by the White House and members of congress during the AWACs debate. In line with this approach was Ronald Reagan's dismissal of Arthur S. Fleming as chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for his principled devotion to the objective of "liberty and justice for all."

The lessons of Skokie are being learned despite efforts to distort its full meaning. Wide sectors of our people will agree wholeheartedly with the observation of Gus Hall in his report to the December meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA: "I think it appropriate here to

state the necessity of mobilizing concrete struggles against the reemergence of such groups as the KKK and Nazis, because we know that during periods of greater repression and reaction they become more active and a bigger threat. . . . These specific struggles must be placed in the context of the absolute necessity of fighting racism because it is unjust and immoral and because it is a weapon of the monopoly-Reagan offensive, because it is a necessary part of the struggle for people's unity, because it is prerequisite for workingclass unity and because it is a requirement in the united struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression and neocolonialism." □

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As summed up by Steinberg: "In terms of their European background, Jews were especially well equipped to take advantage of the opportunities they found in America. Had Jews immigrated to an industrial society without industrial skills, as did most other immigrants, their rich cultural heritage would have counted for little. . . . Thus, in large measure, Jewish success in America was a matter of historical timing. There was a fortuitous match between the experience and skills of the Jewish immigrants, on the one hand, and the manpower needs and opportunity structures on the other. It is this remarkable convergence of factors that resulted in an unusual record of success."

Another illustration of Steinberg's probing analysis is his examination of the widely accepted thesis that Jewish intellectualism and "passion for education" were the important, if not the most important, factors which made possible the Jew's quick climb out of poverty. A close examination of the available data leads him to the conclusion that Jewish economic success precedes and made possible the Jewish educational breakthrough, and not the reverse. Again, fortunately, the rise of the Jewish immigrant, by happenstance, coincided with the rapid expansion in the available secondary and higher educational opportunities.

Using the same line of reasoning, Dr. Steinberg does a masterful job of exposing the prevalent "culture of poverty" thesis. Just as the success achieved by the Jewish immigrant has been explained on the basis of their "good" cultural values, so the failure of other groups, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and the poor generally, to get out of the cycle of poverty have been laid at the door of their "bad" cultural values. In the latter case we are told, the cultural values actually militate against success. According to the culture of poverty approach, poverty is self-perpetuating. It is rooted in the culture, the behavior and deeply ingrained habits of the poor. In other words, poverty is caused by factors internal to the group, not by outside or external factors, i.e.; their environment or the society in which they live. To put it bluntly, the poor themselves are to blame for their poverty.

Some of these internal factors are improvidence, living for today without thought for tomorrow, laziness, shiftlessness, lack of morals, criminality, etc. As Steinberg points out it is a list of all the common characteristics used to stereotype the poor. This is exactly what Moynihan propounded, in more scholarly language of course in his statement about the Blacks:

"Three centuries of injustice have brought about deep-seated structural distortions in the life of the

Negro American. At this point, the present tangle of pathology is capable of perpetuating itself without assistance from the white world. The cycle can be broken only if these distortions are set right."

The implications are starkly clear. Don't blame society and its institutional arrangements for poverty. The poor themselves are responsible for their poverty. The cure is not to waste money on creating jobs, raising wages, and other social programs, but to try to eliminate the structural "distortions" in the lives of the Blacks. A classic example of pointing a finger at the victim.

Professor Steinberg's summary at the end of this chapter is too good not to quote.

"There is intellectual perversity in the tendency to use the cultural responses of the poor as "explanations" of why they are poor. Generally speaking, groups do not get ahead or lag behind on the basis of their cultural values. Rather, they are born into a given station in life and adopt values that are consonant with their circumstances and their life chances. To the extent that lower class ethnics seem to live according to a different set of values, this is primarily a cultural manifestation of their being trapped in poverty. In the final analysis, the culture-of-poverty thesis — at least as it has been used by Banfield, Moynihan, and others — is nothing more than an intellectual smokescreen for our society's unwillingness or inability to wipe out unemployment and poverty."

Dr. Steinberg's comparison in today's ghettos and in the Jewish east side at the turn of the century should help put what is euphemistically referred to as the "social pathology" of the poor and minorities in perspective. His data remind us that in the east side Jewish delinquency and crime were so serious that for many years Jewish organizations joined in efforts to combat them. Jews, also, he points out, had their share of well-known gangsters. Prostitution reached serious proportions and there was a Jewish prostitute quarter. Jewish immigrant families also faced a severe problem of what was then called the "desertion evil." To help cope with this situation the *Jewish Daily Forward* regularly printed a "Gallery of Missing Husbands." Obviously ghetto "social pathologies" are related not to the ethnicity of its inhabitants but to the grinding poverty common to all ghettos.

Do ethnic differences, in and of themselves, lead inevitably to ethnic conflict? The generally accepted answer which Steinberg calls "the iron law of ethnicity" is that they do. It is based on what is assumed to be human nature and the internal dynamics of group exist

tence, whatever that means. Steinberg disagrees. His position is that the question cannot be answered solely on the basis of existing ethnic differences; that the decisive factors in any such conflict are the clash of the "class" interests of the various groups, such as competition for jobs, social status, etc.

"If there is an iron law of ethnicity," he writes, "it is that when ethnic groups are found in a hierarchy of power, wealth and status, then conflict is inevitable. However, where there is social, economic, and political parity among the constituent groups, ethnic conflict, when it occurs, tends to be at a low level and rarely spills over into violence."

While he cites conditions in Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Switzerland to support his formulation, he makes no reference to the experiences and developments in the Soviet Union with its very large number of nationalities and ethnic groups, a significant omission.

This leads to an analysis of what he refers to as "the historic conflict between Blacks and European immigrants who constituted alternative labor pools for Northern industry." He traces the beginnings of this conflict back to the end of the Civil War.

He raises two key questions. First, why didn't northern industry, which was just beginning its tremendous expansions, give jobs to the free Blacks instead of employing millions of immigrants? Second, why didn't the federal government which was practically giving away over a billion acres of virgin land to European settlers and the railroads, make any significant portion of these acres available to the free Blacks?

Briefly, Dr. Steinberg, claiming that racism per se (whatever that means) is not the explanation, hinges his answer on the crucial importance of abundant and cheap cotton to the manufacturing interests in the north. Textile manufacturing was not only the country's largest industry; it was also the sparkplug behind the development and growth of many other industries. To insure a cheap and adequate supply of its raw material, cotton, the northern capitalists, said Steinberg — created the framework within which the southern plantation owners were enabled to force the freed Blacks to go back to work on the plantations for low wages or as sharecroppers or tenant farmers. What is this but unadulterated racism?

After listening sympathetically to the reasons why many Jews feel threatened by the steps taken to implement affirmative action programs, Dr. Steinberg comes out unequivocally in support of affirmative action. His response to the argument that affirmative action under-

mines the merit system is that:

"The meritocracy benefited Jews because they had the economic and educational prerequisites to compete effectively for scarce places at all levels of higher education. However, other minorities who had to cope with the disabilities of economic disadvantage gained little from the elimination of overt discrimination. The cumulative disadvantages of the past, including inferior schooling, left them unprepared to compete on the same basis with members of more privileged groups. Consequently, the routine application of "objective" criteria resulted in a pattern of exclusion, or institutionalized racism, that vitiated the democratic claims of the merit system."

He draws a sharp distinction between affirmative action quotas and discriminatory restrictive quotas. The purpose of the affirmative action quotas is to "advance educational quality by extending education equality and opportunities to groups that have been historically excluded." The discriminatory quotas, the *numerus clausus*, however, were used for the diametrically opposite reason to keep Jewish students from Eastern Europe out of the higher schools. The former is a means of achieving a democratic goal; the latter, a device to maintain and reinforce a program of inequality and repression.

What should the Jewish community do? Steinberg leaves no doubt when he poses the alternative choices; Will the Jewish people "erect barriers behind them to protect their hard-won gains or will they continue their historic battle against privilege?"

The same reasoning applies with at least equal force to affirmative action programs in all other fields. While Dr. Steinberg's book should receive high marks for its quasi-seminal and iconoclastic approach to and analysis of the basic ethnic and racial issues in the United States today, there are a number of shortcomings and weaknesses. There is the glaring omission of any significant reference to the extensive theory, practice and experience of the Soviet Union which has more ethnic groups, and national minorities than any other country in the world. The loose and non-Marxist use of the term 'class' when he means social position based on income, education, and occupation leads to a totally inadequate treatment of the role of industrial and finance capitalism in promoting ethnic and racial conflicts. The lumping to-

gether of Blacks and other ethnic groups tends to blur the basic and crucial differences between the role played by racism and ethnic antagonisms.

וועטעראגען זיינען דערמארדעט געווארן און דער קעמפ איז סארבענט און פארניכטעט געווארן.
 דער וועטעראנען-באנום איז אבער שפעטער דאך געוואונען געווארן ווען פרעזידענט פרענקלין ד. רוועלס איז געוואונען געווארן נאכצוגעבן.
 אין אלע די קאמפן האבן די קאמוניסטן געשפילט א סירנדיקע ראָלע און פיל פון זיי האבן באַצאלט מיט זיי'ערע לעבנס. 23 אַרבעטער זיינען דערמארדעט געוואָרן אין די הונגעריע-מאַרשן יאָרן 1932-1929; הונדערטער זיינען צושלאַגן געוואָרן. אַרײַנגעזעצט אין טורמעס אָדער דעפּאָרטירט.
 דאָס איז געווען דער אָנהױב פֿון אײַטענשויער אַר-גאַנזאַציע צווישן די אַרבעטער-מאַסן, פֿון אַרגאַניזירן די אײַנדוסטריעלע טרעדיינגאַנס. נאַציאָנאַלע קעמפּערישע קאַלאַציעס. אין די ייִדישע טרעדיינגאַנס האָבן זיך אַנ-געזען די ייִדישע קאַמוניסטן אַלס פירער אין די גאַנץ-פּאַקן. פּאַרײַער, בײַ-אַרבעטער, סײַטסטערס, שפּײַ און אױסאַ, וועלכע האָבן געקעמפּט קעגן הונגער, ראַסיזם, אַנטיסעמיטיזם. קעגן קריג און פאַר שלום און פעלקער-פּרײַטשאַפֿט.

**קאָמוניסטישע פּאַרטיי רופֿט
 אויסעראַרדנטלעכע קאָנפּערענץ
 אין אַפֿריל אין מילוואַקיי**

אין פאַרבײַנדונג מיט דער מאַביליזאַציע פֿון די פּאַלקס-מאַסן אײַבערן לאַנד פאַר אַ מיליאָנאַנטן און ווירקנדיקן וויי-דערשטאַנד צו די שוידערלעכע עקאָנאָמישע שניטן פֿון דער רעגען-אַדמיניסטראַציע, האָט די אַמעריקאַנער קאָ-מוניסטישע פּאַרטיי אַרױסגעלאָזט אַ רוף פאַר אַן אויסער-אַרדנטלעכער קאָנפּערענץ פֿון אירע אַלע געגנטלעכע און אײַנדוסטריעלע אײַנהײטן אין מילוואַקיי, וויסקאָנסין, די טעג פֿון 23 ביזן 25 אַפּריל, 1982.
 עס וועלן פּאַרקומען ספּעציעלע, וואַרקעאַפּס צו באַטראַכטן מעטאָדן פֿון מאַביליזאַציע און אַרגאַניזאַציע אין די שפּעער און געגנטן.

די פּאַלגנדיקע "וואַרקשאַפּס" וועלן פּאַרקומען:

- 1 אַרגאַניזירן אין שעפּער און קאַמיני-טיזם קעגן דעם רעגען עקאָנאָמישן קריזיס;
- 2 אַרגאַניזירן דעם קאַמף פאַר שלום אין פאַרבײַנדונג מיט דעם רעגען עקאָנאָמישן קריזיס;
- 3 אַרגאַניזירן די אַנטי-רעגען וואַל-קאַמפּן אין נאָוועמבער 1982;
- 4 אַרגאַניזירן די קאַמפּן קעגן דער נײַער כּוואַלעע פֿון רעגענעם ראַסיזם.

דער רוף פֿון דער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי

אין זיין באַריכט צום צענטראַל קאַמיטעט פֿון דער קאַמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי אין דעצעמבער 1981 האָט גאָט האָל, דער גענעראַל-סעקרעטאַר, אַרױסגעבראַכט דעם פּאַלגנדיקן רוף צו מאַביליזאַציע און צוויקשלאַגן די אַנ-גריסן פֿון רעגענענאַטיקס:

... עס ווייזן זיך ענערנדיקע שטימונגען צווישן די רעגן און פיל אין פאַרשיידענע שייכטן פֿון דער אַרבעטער-פּרעשרשאַפֿט. אין פיל פּלעצער קומען אויף דיסקוסיעס און רעזאָ-לוציעס וועגן דער נויטווענדיקייט פֿון אַ קעמפּ-טענדיקן אַרבעטערקלאַס געווער — ווי דער גענעראַל סערייק ...
 ... אונזער שטונדע פֿון אַט די רינאַמישע אַקציעס מוז פּאַרבייבענען דעם נייעם שייכט

History is replete with examples that lasting victories in the many struggles against racism were won because of the persistence of Blacks for their rights and the support of those whites who recognize that a hurt to one is a hurt to all.

The treatment of the 1968 school decentralization strike and the ensuing Jewish-Black polarization is totally inadequate. The issues, tactics and results were too significant to be disposed of in less than six lines of print.

It is unfortunate that Professor Steinberg's discussion of the controversy over the melting pot versus the cul-

tural pluralistic approach to the ideal American society makes no mention of the potential role of truly bilingual, bicultural education. After all how can the various ethnic groups successfully maintain their identity if their children can speak only English and, in addition, are woefully ignorant of their ethnic cultural background. However, these criticisms notwithstanding, Professor Steinberg's "The Ethnic Myth, Race, Ethnicity and Class in America" should be read and spread. Put it high on your priority list of material to be read. □

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איבערצואקסן ווי בלאַטערס און שמוץ-קופעס און פּוּטע
הויפט און פּאַרלאָנענע ווייט-געלעך און לאַנקעס.
דאָס פּאַפּולערסטע לידל איז געווען: „ברודער, קענט
אפשר אנאָנקען אַ דאָס? אַרבעטלאָזע מיט הויפּט פּעל-
שטעלנס זיינען אויפגעקומען אויף די גאַסן-ראַגן.

קאָמוניסטישע פּאַרטיי רופט מאַבלייזירן די מאַסן

די קאָמוניסטישע פּאַרטיי, וועלכע האָט נאָך מיט אַ יאָר
פּריער געוואָרט וועגן אַנקומענדיקן עקאָנאָמישן קריזיס,
האָט אָנגעהויבן אָרגאַניזירן די אַרבעטלאָזע אונטער די
לאָזונגען: „לאָז זיך ניט אויסהונגען! — קעמפט! און
אַרבעט אָדער שכירות!“

אַרבעטנדיק צוזאַמען מיט דער טרעיד יוניאָן עדיי-
קעטינגאַל ליג, האָט די פּאַרטיי געהאַלטן אָרגאַניזירן די
ערשטע רייקע נאַציאָנאַלע דעמאָנסטראַציעס קעגן הויז-
גער און אַרבעטלאָזיקייט. דעם 6טן מערץ 1930. איבער
אַ מיליאָן מענער און פּרויען האָבן אָנטייל גענומען איבערן
גאַנצן לאַנד: 50 טויזנט אין שיקאַגאָ; 100 טויזנט אין
דעטרויט; 50 טויזנט אין מיטסבורג, און 110 טויזנט אין
ניו יאָרק. די פּאַליציי האָט ברוטאַל אַטאַקירט פּיל דע-
מאָנסטראַציעס. אין ניו יאָרק האָט מען אַרעסטירט וויליאַם
ז. פּאַסטער, איוראַעל אַמטער, ראַבערט מאַיער און הערי
רעימאַנד — די קאָמוניסטישע פירער פון דער דעמאָ-
סטראַציע.

דעם 4טן יולי 1930 ביי אַ ספּעציעלער קאָנווענשאָן
אין שיקאַגאָ, איז אָרגאַניזירט געוואָרן דער נאַציאָנאַלער
אַרבעטלאָזער קאָנסיל. אַרבעטלאָזע קאָנסילס זיינען אויפ-
געקומען אין פּיל שטעט מיט אַ סך שוואַרצע
אַרבעטער, וואָס האָבן געשפּילט אַ מיליאָנעס ראלע
אין לאַקאַלע קאַמפּן.

טויזנטער האָבן אָנטייל גענומען אין לאַקאַלע הונגער-
מאַרשן, פּאַרשפּרייטן מלוניבלעטלעך, פּיקעטן, דעלעגאַ-
ציעס צו שטאַטישע אָדמיניסטראַציעס און פּעטיציעס. דער
קאָנגרעס אָנגעפירט פון באַרימטע קאָמוניסטישע פירער,
וואָס האָבן געפּאָדערט אַרבעטלאָזע פּאַרייערונג, באַדליקע
הילף — אַרבעט אויף שטאַטישע קאָנסטרוקציעס לויט
יוניאָן שכירות, שפּיי פאַר קינדער, אַ סוף צו דיסקרי-
מינאַציע ביי דער אַרבעט און אַ סוף צו אַרױסטעלן טע-
נענטס אויף די גאַסן.

עס האָט אויסגעבראַכן אַ מגפּה פון שניידן שכירות
און די טרעדייטיגיאַנס האָבן פּאַרצייכנט אַ גרויסן פּאַרלווט
אין מיטגלידענשאַפט. אין אַרמסטן פונקט פון דער
דערפּטישע זיינען 17 מיליאָן מענטשן געוואָרן אַרבעטלאָז.
אַ זעקסטל פון דער גאַנצער באַפֿעלקערונג איז אַריינגע-
וואָרפן געוואָרן אין אַ כראַנישן צושטאַנד פון נויט. די
שוואַרצע באַפֿעלקערונג איז געווען פון די ערשטע צו
דערפירן דעם קלאָפּ פון עקאָנאָמישן קריזיס.

דעם קאַפיטאַליזם איז געווען אוממעגלעך צו פאַר-
קלענערן דעם טראַגיקן וואָס איז געפאַלן אַמשווערסטן אויף

די לויזן-אַרבעטער. בלויז אַ קליינער פּלוס פון צדקה-הילף
איז אויסגעטיילט געוואָרן פון וואַילעטיקע אָרגאַניזאַ-
ציעס, קירכן, סינאַגאָגעס און פּרויוואַטע מענטשן. אַבער
ווייט ניט גענוג.

הונגער-נויט האָט זיך פאַרשפּרייט פון איין ברעג
לאַנד צום צווייטן; אין די קיילן-מינען פון קענטאַקי,
די קאָנטעסילדער פון דעם דרום, די שטאַל-געגנטן פון
מיטל-וועסט און די אַרימע געביטן פון די גרעסערע שטעט.

דער ערשטער נאַציאָנאַלער הונגער-מאַרש

דער ערשטער נאַציאָנאַלער הונגער-מאַרש קיין וואָ-
שינגטאָן, אָרגאַניזירט דורך די „נאַיאַמפּלאַיד קאָנסילס“
איז פּאַרגעקומען דעם 7טן דעצעמבער 1931. טראַמפּלענדיק
צופּוס קיין וואַשינגטאָן איז יענעם קאַלסן טאָג, האָבן
אַריינגעמאַרשירט 1.675 דעלעגאַטן, וועלכע האָבן פאַר-
טראָגן די אַרימשאַפּט פון לאַנד, די אַרבעטלאָזע, די
שוואַרצע און אַנדערע נאַציאָנאַלע מינדערהייטן.

זיי האָבן פרובירט פאַרברענגען זייערע פּאַדערונגען
פאַרן סענאַט, אַבער מען האָט זיי פאַרשטעלט דעם וועג.
דעם זעלבן ווידערשטאַנד האָבן זיי געקראָגן ביים ווייסן
הויז. דער מאַרש האָט אַבער אויפּערודערט דאָס לאַנד
און דעם געוויסן פון פּאַק, די אָנטשלאַסנקייט פון די
אַרבעטלאָזע צו געווינען זייערע פּאַדערונגען האָט אָפּגע-
שטימט יעדן טאָג.

אַ יאָר שפּעטער, דעם 6טן דעצעמבער 1932, איז
פּאַרגעקומען דער צווייטער נאַציאָנאַלער הונגער-מאַרש.
דאָס מאל מיט איבער 3.000 דעלעגאַטן.

ווידעראַמאל זיינען זיי אָפּגעצוימט געוואָרן דורך
באַריקאַדן, אַבער דער פּראָטעסט-צאָרן איבערן לאַנד האָט
געצוואונגען די וואַשינגטאָנער אָדמיניסטראַציע אויפּצו-
נעמען די מאַרשירערס באַשולדיקונגען און באַטראַכטן
זייערע פּעטיציעס פאַר אַן אַרבעטלאָזער קאַמפּענסאַציע-
בייל, וועלכער איז געשטימט געוואָרן פון צענדליקער מי-
ליאָנען בירגער איבערן לאַנד.

אין יולי 1932, האָבן 25 טויזנט מלחמה-וועטעראַנען
פון ערשטן וועלט-קריג דורכגעפירט דעם באַרימטן „באָ-
נוס-מאַרש“ קיין וואַשינגטאָן צו פּאַדערן דינסט-אַפּאַל און
פּאַרגרייבונגן. זייערע פּלאַקאַטן האָבן גערופּן: „העלדן און
1917 — באַוטס“ אין 1932. איינער פון זייערע נאַציאָ-
נאַלע פירער איז געווען פּיעטער קאַשאַני, אַ קאָמוניסטי-
שער פירער, וועלכער איז דערווילט געוואָרן אַלס ניו-
יאָרקער שטאַט-קאָנסילמאַן מיט 10 יאָר שפּעטער.

די פּאַרוסיגענע געצעלטן-קאַלאַציע פון די באַנוס-
מאַרשירער אויף די אָנאַקאַטיאָ פּעלטס, אויסער וואַשינג-
טאָן זיינען באַפּאַלן געוואָרן פון דער אַמעריקאַנער אַרמיי
אונטער דער קאַמאַנדע פון גענעראַל דאַגלעס מעקאַרטור
און זיין געהילף מאַיאָר דוואַיט אייזענהאַוער. די באַנוס-
מאַרשירער זיינען אַרויסגעטריבן געוואָרן פון וואַשינגטאָן
מיט טרענד-גאַן און פּייער-באַמבעס און באַגענעטן. צוויי

פון ראסיס. פאר אַגריקולטורעלע און פאַרם-אַרבעטער
אוי רעגיענאַמיקס" אַ גרויסער קלאַפּ. פאַרם-אַיינאַמעס
זיינען געפאַלן צו אַ נידערדיקן פּונקט אין 48 יאָר. אַ גרויסע
צאל פאַרם-אַרבעטער האָבן פאַרלוירן זייערע שטעלעס
און לעבן אויף מינימאַלער סאַציאַלער הילף.

אַרעמשאַפט צווישן יידישע עלטערע בירגער

לויט אַ באַריכט. דער סטאַטוס פון יידישע עלטערע
פון גרויסער ניו יאָרק, וואָס אין האָב געקראָגן פון דער
אַרגאַניזאַציע, דוסאַסאַ — (יידישע אַסאַציאַציע פון באַ-
דינגס פאַר די עלטערע) האָב אין אַרױסגענומען פיל
צײַערן. עס ווערט אַנגעגעבן, אַז פון אַן אַלגעמײנער
יידישער באַפעלקערונג פון איבער צוויי מיליאָן זײַנען די
עלטערע אַרױמע אַרױם 263 טויזנט.
זינט 1968 האָט די ניו יאָרקער יידישע קאָמיניטי
באַשאַפן אַ נעץ פון מער ווי 60 קאָמיניטי טירױוס אַפּײַטעס
וואָס באַדינען אײַנצלע און זייערע פאַמיליעס. די אַפּײַלי-
אירטע צווייגן געפֿינען זיך אין אַלע באַראָס פון ניו יאָרק.
די ניו יאָרקער טיטי האַלינג אויטאָריטי באַריכטעט, אַז
אין די 200 רױיקע הייער-פּראַיעקטן געפֿינען זיך אַרױם
64 טויזנט יידישע עלטערע בירגער וואָס קױבן שטיצע
פון יידישע הילף-אַרגאַניזאַציעס.

איבערן גאַנצן לאַנד געפֿינען זיך אַרױם אַ דריטל
מיליאָן יידישע עלטערע בירגער, וואָס ווערן געהאַלפן פון
סאַציאַלע אַגענטורן און אידישע פּילאַנטראָפּישע אַרגאַ-
ניזאַציעס.

רעגיענאַמיקס" דערלאַנגט קלעפּ יידישע אַרעמשאַפט אין לאַנג איילאַנד און באַראָ פּאַרק

אין אַ ספּעציעלן באַריכט אין דער. לאַנג איילאַנד
דזשוואַס וואָרד" פון לעצטן דעצעמבער, דערווייטן מיר
זיך, אַז רעגיענאַמיקס-שניטן וועלן פיל שטיקן די
טויזנטער יידישע עלטערע און נויטיילינדיקע וואָס ווערן
באַדינט פון די 130 אַגענטורן פון דער פּענדעראַציע פון
יידישע פּילאַנטראָפּיעס.

עס זיינען פאַראַן אַרױם 650 טויזנט אידן אין נעסאַו
און סאַטאַק קאָנטסי. איבער 21 מיליאָן דאָלאַר אין שטיצע
וועט אָפּגעשניטן ווערן. דאָס נעמט נאָך ניט אַרױן אין
דער רעכענונג דאָס אַפּשניידן פון שפּײַד-מאַרקעס וואָס
וועט טרעפן די זייער אַרעמע עלטערע און די קליינע
קינדער.

אין דער ברוקלינער יידישער באַראָ פּאַרק האָט דער
קאָנסיל פון יידישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס פּראָטעסטירט קעגן
דער אַפּשאַמונג פון דער אַפּטיילונג וואָס האָט ביז איצט
געהאַלפן מיט שפּײַד-מאַרקעס 1.500 יידישע סאַמיליעס
אין ניוט.
עס איז קיין פּראָגע ניט. אַז איבערן גאַנצן לאַנד איז

די ציפער פון נויטיילינדיקע יידישע פאַמיליעס פיל מאַל
אויפּיל ווי אין די ניו יאָרקער געגנטן.
רעגנענס פּראָגראַם וועט אַפּשניידן שפּײַד-מאַרקעס פון
נויטיילינדיקע פּאַרעס, אַפּאַלעס פון שול-קינדער, הלוואות
פאַר אַרױמע סטודענטן און אַפּהאַקן די פאַרדינסט 13 וואָכן
אַרבעטלאָז-סאַרויכערונג.

יידישער געזעלשאַפטלעכער פירער וואָרנט וועגן נויטיילינדיקע

אַלבערט טשערנין, עקזעקוטיוו וויצע-פּאַרזיצער פון
גאַנצאַנאַלן יידישן קאָמיניטי ריליעיאָנס אַדוואָזאָרי
קאָנסיל, האָט ביים יערלעכן פּלענעס פון דער אַרגאַני-
זאַציע, וואָס האָט אַנגעהאַט 4 טעג, שאָרף קריטיקירט
די אַדמיניסטראַציע פון ראַנאַלד רעגענע פאַר אירע פּאַ-
ליסיס וואָס פּאַרעווערן און פאַרביטערן אַמעריקעס פּונ-
דאַמענטאַלע סאַציאַלע קאָאָרדינאַטן און גערופן אַנזעהויבן
אַרגאַניזירן אַן עפּעקט וון ווידערשטאַנד צו אַט די פּאַליסיס.
טשערנין האָט אונטערזעכטראַכן די עקאָנאָמישע און
סאַציאַלע באַדינגונגען וואָס טרעפן מיליאָנען אַמעריקאַנער
וואָס לעבן אין — אַדער כמעט אין — אַרעמשאַפט און
נויט און מיליאָנען וואָס וועלן דערגרייכן צו דעם צושטאַנד
אין דעם קומענדיקן יאָר.

טשערנין האָט אַרױסגעבראַכט פאַקטן פון ספּעדיאַלע
שניטן פון נויטיקע סאַציאַלע פּאַראַמאַטערן און נאָך שאָר-
פּערע דערוואַרטע שניטן אין די קומענדיקע דריי יאָר.
אַלבערט טשערנין האָט באַשולדיקט אַז: די טאוונטסטע
מאַסע פון שאָרפע שניטן וועט פּאַלן אויף די אַרבעטנדיקע
אַרױמע!

דער וואַל-סטריט קראַך מיט 50 יאָר צוריק

אין אַקטאָבער 1929 האָט דער וואַל-סטריט קעגאַ-
מישער קראַך, אַלס רעזולטאַט פון דער גרויסער אינפּלאַ-
ציע, אַרױנגעוואָרפן אונזער לאַנד אין דעם שוידערלעכ-
סטן עקאָנאָמישן חורבן אין דער געשיכטע.

די אינדוסטריעס האָבן אויפּגעהערט פונקציאָנירן;
פאַבריקן זיינען פאַרמאַכט געוואָרן; באַנקן האָבן גע-
שלאָסן זייערע טירן און אַרבעטער זיינען אַרױסגעוואָרפן
געוואָרן אויף די גאַסן. הונגער און נויט האָט אַרומגעכאַפּט
דאָס לאַנד. אין 1933 האָט דר אַרבעטלאָזיקייט דערגרייכט
אַרױם 18 מיליאָן.

פאַרמערס און אַגריקולטור-אַרבעטער האָבן פאַרלוירן
זייערע פאַרמס און אַרבעט. טענענעס זיינען אַרױסגעוועזען
געוואָרן מיט סאַמיליעס און בעבעכעס אויף טראַטאָרן
פאַר נישט צאַלן דירע-געלט. ברויט-שערענגעס (ברעד-
לאַיטס) און ביליקע סופּ-קיכן זיינען אויפּגעקומען אין
אַלע שטעט. חורבן-ביידלעך פון פאַפּיר, שמאַטעס, בלעך
און קאַרטאָן — וועלכע מען האָט אַנגערופן "האַווערווילט"
אויסן נאָמען פון פרעוידענט הערבערט הוואַוער — זיינען

ווֹדִישַׁע עֲנִינִים

דער וואַקסנדיקער עקאָנאָמישער קריזיס
דערמאָנט די גרויסע דעפרעסיע מיט 50 יאָר צוריק

גרויסע אַרבעטלאָזיקייט, אַרעמשאַפּט און נויט צווינגט
מאַסן־ווידערשטאַנד דער „רעגיענאַמיקס“

פון דוד סעלצער

אזא צושטאַנד פאַרשאַרפט דעם קריזיס און ברענגט
צו די מאַסן נויטליינדיקע הונגער, אַרעמשאַפּט, באַנקראַט,
זעלבטשטאָרד, מערדעריי, דראַגס און אַנדערע סאַציאַלע
און מאַרעלישע פאַרדאַרבנקייטן.

גרויסע נויט צווישן שוואַרצע און
אַנדערע מינאָריטעטן

אַרבעטלאָזיקייט צווישן אַפֿראָאַמעריקאַנער און איי-
בער 17 פּראָצענט און צווישן די שוואַרצע יוגנט אַרום
45 פּראָצענט אין פאַרגלייך מיט 21 פּראָצענט צווישן אַלע
יונגטלעכע.

צווישן די עלטערע בירגער האָט „רעגיענאַמיקס“
געמאַכט אַן אמתן חורבן. די אַרעמע און עלטערע לייזן
פון מאַנגל אין מעדיצינישער באַהאַנדלונג, קליינעם איינ-
קונפט, ניט ענגע טראַנספּאָרטאַציע, הונגער, געמיינע און
קליינע צימערן, עוויקציע און היימלאָזיקייט.

אַט די פּראָבלעמען זיינען נאָך שאַרפער צווישן על-
טערע פּרויען — ווייל עס זיינען פאַראַן צוויי מאַל אַוויפּיל
פּרויען ווי מענער צווישן די וואָס זיינען עלטער ווי 65
יאָר. עלטערע פּרויען זיינען אַריים אין דער מערהייט,
מיט אַ מינימאַלן איינקונפט פאַר וויסע פּרויען און נאָך
אַ קלענערן איינקונפט פאַר שוואַרצע פּרויען. פּרויען
בכלל און הויפּטן פון גרויסע פאַמיליעס בפרט קענען
קוים אריינהאַלטן דאָס לעבן אין די פאַמיליעס.

די נייע דראַונגען צו סאַציאַלער פאַרזיכערונג און
פּעדעראַלע סובסידיעס פאַר היימען און רענטס פאַרשאַפּן
די עלטערע בירגער גרויס עגמח נפש.

פאַר די שוואַרצע און אַנדערע אונטערדריקטע פעל-
קער מיינט „רעגיענאַמיקס“ אונטערדריקונג מיט אַ צוגאַב

מיר געפינען זיך איצט אין אַ קלעם פון אַ זייער
ערנסטן עקאָנאָמישן קריזיס זייט דער גרויסער דעפרעסיע
אין די דרייסיקער יאָרן.

פאַר מיליאָנען אַרבעטלאָזע און היימלאָזע איבערן
לאַנד האָט די לאַגע שוין דערגרייכט אַ געפערלעכען נויט-
צושטאַנד. די שוידערלעכע שנייען און פרעסט היינטיקן
ווינטער האָבן אויך אויסגעמאַטערט און דערפריירן ביז
טויט הונדערטער פאַמיליעס אין הייזער אָן וואַרעמקייט,
וואָס די גייציקע לענדלאַרדס האָבן אָפּגעשניטן און פיל
פון זיי אַרויסגעשטעלט אין גאַס אַריין.

אין פיל געגנטן אין די גרויסע שטעט וואוינען טויזני-
טער היימלאָזע מענער און פרויען וואָס וואַלגערן זיך הונ-
דערקע און קראַנקע אין די באַרסטאַנציעס, רואינירטע
שטאָטישע געביידעס און טוליען זיך צו די אַריינגענג פון
קאַמערציעלע וואַרעמע געביידעס.

איבער 12 פּראָצענט אַרבעטלאָזע
איבערן לאַנד

די אַרבעטלאָזיקייט האָט ביז איצט דערגרייכט איבער
12 פּראָצענט פון דער אַרבעטס־קראַפט. אין דער ציפער
גייט נישט אַריין די מיליאָנען וועלכע זיינען בלויז צייט-
ווייליק אָפּגלייגט געוואָרן — וועמענס לעבנס־מעגלעכ-
קייט זיינען „פאַרפריירן געוואָרן“ פאַר אַ צייט.

די לעצטע ציפערן פון דער רעגירונגס־ביוראָ אין
וואַשינגטאָן גיבן צו, אַז 21 און אַ האַלב מיליאָן אַרבעטער
זיינען געווען אַרבעטלאָז פאַר אַ צייט אין די לעצטע
חדשים. מיליאָנען אַרבעטלאָזע האָבן שוין אויסגעשעפּט
זייערע אַרבעטלאָזע בענעפיטן און מיליאָנען האָבן שוין
דערגרייכט אַ צושטאַנד פון פאַרצווייפלונג.