

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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The November Elections

The seriousness with which the candidates of the two bourgeois parties take the concerns of Jewish Americans is revealed in their pledges to move the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. In this fashion they show contempt for the Jewish Americans as well as U.N. decisions internationalizing Jerusalem.

Jewish Americans, as well as all other Americans in the growing all people's front to oust Reagan and Reaganism are concerned about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and not in games to pay off the U.S. surrogate in the Middle East, the Likud ruling clique in Israel.

Jewish Americans, as well as all other Americans in the all people's front to oust Reagan and Reaganism are deeply concerned about all the issues involved in championing jobs, peace and freedom.

Of all the candidates of the two parties, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, alone, is struggling to bring about a program for which the rainbow coalition, as a component of the all people's front, is engaged in struggle.

The Reaganites in both parties are venting their spleen against the Rev. Jackson for his promotion of such a program and are using the Hitler technique of venomous racism to destroy him. Assisting in this attack are the Jewish American class brothers of the Reaganites.

As the campaign for the Presidency unfolds the truths expressed by Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the CPUSA and the Communist Party candidate for President, become more and more evident. Not only did Gus Hall refer to the elections as "an important arena of political struggle" but that "the electoral-political front has emerged as a most important form of mass struggle."

As the peoples of the entire planet intensify their efforts to save the peace, humanity and our very planet, Gus Hall reminds us that "The key element of Reagan's foreign policy is the big lie-evil empire communism." This is the justification for Reagan's world policy of imposing U.S. world hegemony.

Reagan and Reaganism are the font today of racism and chauvinism. Gus Hall and his Vice-Presidential candidate, Angela Davis, are the only candidates taking on and exposing the falsehoods of the Reagan Administration and, at the same time, promoting a basic program through struggle for full economic, political and social equality.

In the face of the structural crisis of capitalism, U.S. capitalism in particular, only Gus Hall and An-

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gela Davis confront the situation head on and promote through struggle real, practical solutions, such as "the public takeover of dying industries."

As we witness the election campaigning on a daily basis, it becomes painfully evident that the candidates engage in debaters' tricks and not in forthright discussions of the real issues. And so it will remain without the input from the Communist Party candidates. This has already been proven by the response of millions to the radio and television broadcasts by Gus Hall and Angela Davis, millions who are searching for real answers to the real issues.

A significant contribution can be made to the electoral struggle by guaranteeing that the Communist Party is placed on the ballot in your state. A rewarding experience can be had by petition gatherers — and I speak from personal experience. People are looking for ways of helping to oust Reagan and Reaganism.

A sure fire way to energize the people against Reagan and Reaganism is to distribute widely the Hall-Davis campaign material and the *Daily World*.

We urge our readers and supporters to extend themselves in the interest of world peace. We urge our readers and supporters to promote the candidates of the Communist Party which first raised the slogan, "People Before Profits," a slogan now accepted by the broadest sectors of the people. We urge, then, all-out support and effort to promote the candidacies of Gus Hall and Angela Davis for President and Vice President of the U.S. □

L.M.M.

Reaganomics and Families in New York City

We publish here excerpts from the study entitled: "Falling Through the Safety Net: A Study of the Impact of Human Service Cuts and Unemployment on New York City Families in 1982," conducted by the Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services in New York City, March 1983.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services, one of the largest voluntary non-profit agencies in the country, recently conducted a survey to ascertain the impact that cuts in the funding of public benefit programs and unemployment are having on New York

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City families.

The study was designed to answer the following questions:

- How many households received some form of public benefit assistance in 1982?
- How many households receiving assistance lost benefits or had them significantly reduced?
- What communities in New York City were hardest hit by unemployment and loss of public benefits?
- Which public benefits program was most often reduced?

In order to answer these questions, the Jewish Board conducted a one week survey of all clients seen in its network of 12 mental health clinics located throughout the five boroughs of New York City. A total of 1645 households were surveyed.

The significant findings included:

- One-third of all households receiving public benefits lost all or part of those benefits.
- Twelve percent of all households experienced job loss or reduction in work hours.
- Nineteen point six percent of all Black, 21.7 percent of all Hispanic, and 8.0 percent of all white clients were adversely affected by cuts in benefits.
- Households surveyed in New York City's working class and middle class neighborhoods are being severely affected by cuts in benefits.
- Food stamps were the public benefit most often eliminated.

These findings demonstrate that while minority groups — Blacks and Hispanics — continue to represent the segment of our society hardest hit by cuts in human service programs, middle to lower middle class families, who up till now have been able to sustain themselves financially, are beginning to fall through the safety net, creating a new group of poor in our communities.

THE SURVEY: BACKGROUND

One of the most frequently cited social policies of the 1980's has become the "safety net" concept, the idea that government will provide the services and programs needed to sustain those who really need help. In other words, if the safety net is indeed intact, no individual or family will lose benefits or entitlements that are necessary for survival.

As the largest voluntary agency of its kind in the country, the Jewish Board of Family and Children's Services is in a unique position to observe the day-to-day effectiveness — or ineffectiveness — of the safety net of the '80's. Employing more than 500 social service professionals who each year serve more than 40,000 clients in a wide variety of programs, JBFCs can provide a microcosm of what is happening both in other agencies throughout the city and to New Yorkers as a whole.

As human service budget reductions have gone into effect, JBFCs staff members have reported increasing evidence of frustration, worry, family disintegration and individual breakdown among their caseloads as the impact of public benefit losses and unemployment began to be felt.

Certain questions began to emerge, based on hundreds of experiences told to caseworkers throughout New York:

- Are people indeed falling through the safety net?
- What effects have unemployment and job reduction had on individuals and families?
- Are some parts of the city harder hit than others?

In order to answer these and other questions and to provide for the first time an accurate, statistical look at the impact of human service budget cuts on the people of New York, the Jewish Board undertook to survey the typical client caseload of the agency's network of twelve community-based mental health clinics. Located in the Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan and Staten Island, the clinics, known as the Madeleine Borg Counseling Services, serve a large, heterogeneous number of families from neighborhoods across the city. These families seek help from the agency for a wide variety of problems, most frequently for marital, parent-child or personal adjustment issues which impact on the quality of family life.

Who Was Surveyed

The direct-service providing staff of the JBFCs Clinics, primarily caseworkers, were asked to complete a survey of the households in their active caseload for the week of December 6, 1982. The surveys were all distributed and collected from the staff during the week beginning December 13, 1982. A total of 159 surveys were returned representing information about 1645 households. Of this number 79.2 percent were white, 12.1 percent Black, and 8.4 percent Hispanic.

Approximately 64 percent of the total caseload surveyed in this study *received no public benefits* in 1982. The remainder received some type of public benefit or entitlement as a family support.

What the Survey Examined

The survey was designed to statistically examine several basic trends in 1982:

- How many households received benefits from one or more public entitlement programs
- What percentage had been deprived of public entitlement programs
- Which sections of the city were hit hardest by public benefit cuts and/or job loss
- Which public benefit programs sustained the deepest cuts.

The public benefits programs covered by the survey were:

- AFDC and Home Relief
- SSI or SSD
- Medicaid
- Food Stamps
- Public Day Care
- Subsidized School Lunch

What the Survey Found

In summary, the JBFCs survey demonstrates that the impact of cuts in human services and the shrinking job market have indeed been significant.

Perhaps the single most devastating statistic documented was that almost one-third of those receiving some form of public benefits had recently lost those benefits. And more than 12 percent of households surveyed had experienced job loss and/or reduction of work hours in the past year — more than one-third higher than the city average.

The safety net is being strained even in the city's most disadvantaged low-income areas — one-third of households surveyed in these areas lost some or all aid. Furthermore, public benefit losses seem to be beginning to have what could become a devastating effect on the marginal family, the new poor — middle to lower-middle class families who were managing to survive with a little assistance, but who are now falling behind more each day. Their margin of safety appears to have been lost to them.

We do not know the long-range toll on families of cuts and unemployment. However, the anecdotal evidence, supported by the statistical data reported by the JBFCs staff, indicate that frustration and despair confront many, many of these families, just at the time that the resources to serve them are shrinking drastically. □

Jackson: A Man of the People

By Dr. Gene Grabiner

We publish below the speech, published in *The Challenger*, Buffalo, N.Y., delivered by Dr. Gene Grabiner at the Jackson Day Rally, Monday, March 26, 1984 at the Kleinhans Music Hall, Buffalo, New York.

I support Jesse Jackson. His is the most independent, peace-oriented, humanly-concerned and forward-looking of all presidential candidacies, Democratic or Republican, today. Reverend Jackson is a man of the people, all the people. And so was my cousin, the eminent American Rabbi, Dr. Judah Magnes.

After having been Rabbi at Temple Emanu-El in New York City, he emigrated to Palestine in 1922, where he said that the "main ally of the Jewish people" was the "Arab people." Judah Magnes founded and led the Ihud (Unity) Association, which struggled for a united Arab-Jewish Palestine. This goal of unity was Dr. Magnes' life work. Isn't unity Jesse Jackson's life work? Isn't that what the Rainbow Coalition is about?

It is, of course, obvious that the unity that Judah Magnes worked for has, at least for the moment, been defeated in Israel, with disastrous results. In fact, Israel had 191 percent inflation in 1983 and this inflation may go as high as 300 percent this year. This economic disaster may be explained by the role played by *military spending* in Israel. And, in this sense, and unless there is change that puts *people before profits*, Israel shows America its future. Militarism, in Israel or America, is economic disaster, national insecurity, public destruction and can lead to the death of humanity, to the death of the world. But, the spirit of Judah Magnes lives on in Israel. The spirit of unity is rising in Israel. There have been demonstrations of as many as a half-million people for peace in that country this past year.

And, the spirit of unity is alive in America. It lives in the Rainbow Coalition and in the other people's movements. What Judah Magnes fought for is what Jesse Jackson fights for. Jesse Jackson stood *with* the Jews in Skokie, Illinois and against the Nazis. Where were the other candidates *then*? Jesse Jackson has always struggled for all Americans, for all people.

I, as an American and a Jew, stand here today to give my support to my brother, Jesse Jackson, because his program really meets the needs of the people.

Building our Rainbow Coalition has been hard. And our coalition has grown through struggle, not
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Chicago Tribute to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

By Jack Kling

On Sunday, April 8, 1984, the Midwest Jewish Council sponsored the 41st Commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The Council was formed after the Second World War by a group of Jewish leaders headed by Herman Bush, a Chicago businessman, to pay tribute to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising that took place in 1943. They organized a large commemoration meeting and it became a yearly event. This action encouraged other groups to follow suit, so that commemoration meetings took place in a number of communities, synagogues and temples. Some were led by Zionist and Social Democratic groups. The Midwest Jewish Council worked for years to try to unify these meetings, but Zionist and Social Democratic leaders placed conditions that these meetings have an anti-Soviet, anti-Polish government and an anti-Arab slant. The Council would not agree to such demands.

In 1984 the Council's appeal said "Join us and light candles in remembrance of our six million Jewish and other martyrs. We confirm and resolve that a holocaust for any people, of any faith and race must never happen again."

It is in that spirit that more than 500 people attended this commemoration. The program and attendance reflected the scope and breadth of this meeting. The welcoming address was given by Rev. F. Burton Nelson, Professor of North Park College. It was followed by the singing of the National Anthem and the Hatikvah led by Cantor Pavel Slavensky. The invocation was given by Rabbi Herman Schaalman of Emanuel Congregation, Chairpersons were Zalman Emyanitoff, former President of the Jewish Cultural Clubs and Jane Ramsey, Executive Secretary, Jewish Council of Urban Affairs. There was a Candle Lighting Ceremony and the chanting of "El Mole Rachamin" by Pavel Slavensky, with the passing of the Legacy — Zolman Emyanitoff, Jane Ramsey in English and George Landman in Yiddish.

without it. But, that is only a reflection of American history. Yet, we will win through this fight and forge an irreversible unity of the multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious American people.

It is time to rededicate the historic Jewish-Afro-American alliance for civil rights, for brotherhood and sisterhood, for democracy, for unity, for *ihud* (unity). This is what America is really all about. □

Gerry Revzin, an activist in various movements and Executive Secretary, Congress of Secular Organizations, spoke in Yiddish. A dramatic skit "They Fought Back" by Uri Suhl was presented.

The guest speaker was Charles R. Allen Jr., a well known writer, lecturer and scholar on Nazi war criminals. As a result of his 1963 work, "Nazi War Criminals Among Us" and his subsequent writings, he became known as an outstanding authority on Nazi war criminals shielded by the United States government and living in the United States. In 1978 he testified as an expert witness on Nazi war criminals before the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. Among the books he has written, published in more than a dozen languages throughout the world are: *Heusinger of the Fourth Reich; The Step by Step Resurgence of the German General Staff; Storm the Gates of Jericho; German Hands on the Nuclear Trigger; The Hitler Boom and Fascism; and Concentration Camp U.S.A.* He is a contributing editor of the *Churchman*.

The meeting ended with the singing of the Partisan Song, Zog Nit Keyn Mol As Du Geyst Dem Letzten Weg' (Don't ever say that you are going the last way.)

Mayor Harold Washington declared April 8th to the 29th as a Holocaust period, urging commemoration meetings paying tribute to the Warsaw Ghetto victims.

It was in this spirit that more than 500 people attended this meeting. The program and attendance reflected the scope and breadth. The meeting helped alarm the audience on the dangers facing us — the growth of reaction, fascism, Nazism and the K.K.K. The growth of this danger is world wide. The speakers pointed out not only the role of Nazis per se, but also the role of our government in shielding, financing and utilizing the Nazi war criminals. They were helped to escape punishment by being given protection not only in South American countries but also in our own country. The meeting expressed the need to further expose all Nazi criminals and press our government for their deportation to the countries where they are charged with war crimes.

The arrangements committee issued a booklet containing sponsors, supporters and greetings to the meeting. It would take too much space to list all supporters of the meeting. They include even some Zionist led organizations. I will list only some of the supporters. They include the City Committee of the Jewish Cultural Clubs, the Illinois Council of Emma Lazarus Jewish Women's Clubs, Jewish Council of Urban Affairs, the Chicago Chapter of New Jewish Agenda, Am Chii, Chicago Morning Freiheit Farvaltung, Hashemer Hat-

zair, Chicago Joint Board Fur, Leather and Luggage Union Local 45, Boilermakers — Blacksmith Local 1, Chicago Midwest Region of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Chicago District Council, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. These are only a few of the many sponsors.

As the people left the meeting, they were given papers and leaflets by various groups; these included the Daily World and a reprinting of the "Open Letter from Soviet Jews to the Jewish People of the United States on the need for a united struggle for Peace."

As I said earlier it was a very inspiring meeting. Credit for its success must be given to all officers and co-workers of the Midwest Jewish Council. But special mention must be made of Milton Herst, President of the Midwest Jewish Council, a local businessman, and an activist in the American Jewish Congress, who helped reach out to new and broader forces to support the meeting. Mention should also be made of George Landman, Treasurer of the Council, an active trade unionist in the ILGWU and delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor — who did an outstanding job for the meeting.

Without taking away the credits of the Council, we should recognize some problems and weaknesses it faced. The struggle against racism and anti-Semitism is not exclusively a Jewish problem. It is a problem for the entire community. The leadership of the Council has been aware of this, and to help meet this problem they have invited as speakers non-Jewish personalities hoping that this would attract many non-Jewish people to these meetings. Some of the speakers invited in the past included the Polish Ambassador, the former Governor of Maryland, Senator Wayne Morse, Charles Hayes of the Butcher Workman's union and now a Congressman. Mayor Washington spoke on the eve of his election as Mayor. This indeed is a welcome practice. But we must admit that while small numbers of non-Jewish people have been attracted to these meetings, they were indeed small. The problem is how to bring the grass roots people, especially the youth to these meetings. The solution of this problem cannot be left to the Midwest Jewish Council alone. The peace movement, as well as the community of non-Jewish organizations must become involved.

Some have thought of introducing a resolution in the Chicago City Council to have it declare a week in April as a special commemoration week, using the radio and television to speak to all Chicagoans. It has also been suggested that a real effort be made to convince the Board of Education to institute a special pro-

The Herbert Baum Group: The Resistance and History

By Ron Kent

"There is no final road. Fight on with all your strength to the last breath. The Warsaw Ghetto fighters carried these words to their hearts even as they fell under the fire of Nazi bullets, as they were buried in the wrecked bunkers, as they suffocated from poison gas, as they stood alone and forsaken amid the fallen walls and raging fires. Even in their most tragic moments, they believed that this was not the final road for their people; their fortitude and courage was the noblest expression of the partisan slogan, 'In struggle you will find the road to life.' Like the Biblical bush the spirit they embodied burned with their bullet-ridden corpses — but was not consumed. It lights our roads to the furthest reaches, an enduring symbol of moral strength for all times."

Thus the famous Holocaust and Resistance scholar Ber Mark concludes his classic history, *Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto* (New York: Schocken, 1975, p.197). But these words signify more than a conclusion: they represent a charge to all critically-thinking human beings to remember and teach the lessons of the Resistance to all peoples throughout the world. Yet in the U.S.A. too little is known of the heroic Jewish and non-Jewish Resistance comprised of Communists, Socialists, Left-Zionists, and unaffiliated men and women. In part this is due not only to an ignorance of our shared history and the lack of translations of existing anti-fascist tracts, but also to the occasionally crude and pseudo-sophisticated efforts of historians to create a cold-war atmosphere, wherein hatred, primitive anti-Communism and right-wing ideology abound. A hagiography based on the deity of cynicism is often substituted for a thorough analysis of the primary literature otherwise expected in historical scholarship, thus ignoring and making a narcissistic vitriolic mockery of the resisters' contributions. After first examining the contributions of two resisters, one man and one

gram in the schools dealing with racism and anti-Semitism. There may be other ideas — but reminding the people of the Holocaust and the need of a consistent struggle against all forms of racism and anti-Semitism is a problem all of us face. □

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woman, this article critically considers recent U.S. cold-war scholarship that has emerged regarding the Resistance and the role of Jews and non-Jews.

Bourgeois scholars have usually assigned one paragraph in their books to the resistance efforts of the Herbert Baum group, which consisted of German Jews and non-Jews, Communists and others who actively worked against German fascism within Germany. While the life of Herbert Baum surely is deserving of more than this article could convey, let us briefly examine his struggle against Nazi fascism.

Herbert Baum was born into a middle-class Jewish family on February 12, 1912 in Paznan, Poland. He later resided in Berlin, where in his teens he worked as an electrician and became involved in the working-class movement in the 1920's. It was in the German Jewish Youth Movement (a left-Zionist movement) that Herbert met Marianne Cohn, a nursery school teacher, whom he later married. Subsequently, they became familiar with Marxism-Leninism, and in 1931 Herbert Baum, and later Marianne, joined the Communist Youth Organization of Germany (KJVD).

In 1934 the KJVD underground organization worked with Baum to organize a Communist youth group in a Berlin neighborhood. In 1936 the Baums proceeded to contact many Jewish youth organizations still functioning under the Nazi regime. They struggled to organize Jewish workers, intellectuals, and others in the anti-fascist movement. Marianne Baum was instrumental in organizing non-Communist youth into Marxist literature groups, and later, together with Herbert, took an active part in the publication of two underground papers, *Der Ausweg* and *Der Weg zum Sieg*. The latter publications were aimed at military audiences and often exposed the lies of the German fascist government and its fascist publication *Das Reich*. (Source: *GDR Review*, August, 1982, pp. 34-35.)

It became increasingly difficult and dangerous for the Baums and others to carry out anti-fascist work within Germany. As noted by Ber Mark, between 1933 and 1944 the Hitler courts issued 32,500 death sentences for German resisters alone. This does not even include the deaths, starvations and torture deaths in the concentration camps. Contact with anti-fascist groups was especially difficult for Jews who were marked with a yellow star of David. Yet the Baum group continued to grow due to the efforts of Herbert and Marianne Baum and Sala and Martin Kochmann. They were especially successful in recruiting in the Siemens plant, organizing protest actions to strengthen the resolve

among Jewish and non-Jewish resisters. The Baum group distributed leaflets against the fascist regime, assisted victims of fascist attacks through mutual aid, prevented evacuations by organizing an underground system of forged documents, distributed food and provided safe havens in and outside of Berlin. Also active with the Baum group were two non-Jews, Irene Walter, German office worker, and stenographer friend Suzanne Wesse. Both women helped to type stencils for the hectograph in their homes. In addition, as documents became harder to secure, the Baum group carried out expropriations of money and art to finance their efforts.

The Baum group staged a major act of resistance on the occasion of an anti-Soviet Nazi exhibit, *The Soviet Paradise*. This exhibit, opening amidst great pomp and circumstance in May, 1942, was designed to show how backward the USSR supposedly was and also to divert attention away from the German losses at the Moscow front. On Monday evening, May 18, 1942, the Baum group, consisting of Herbert and Marianne Baum, Hans Joachim, Sala Kochmann, Gerd Meyer, Suzanne Wesse, and Irene Walter, planted explosives at the exhibit, resulting in its partial destruction. The German fascist newspapers failed to draw any printed attention to the incident but the event surely evoked more than passing notice in the underground circles of Berlin. Subsequently, on May 22, 1942, most of the members of the group were arrested, followed by the arrest of 100 Jews for every "terrorist" taken prisoner. A total of 500 Jews at random were arrested; one half were shot on the Berlin SS airfield and the others were deported to Sachsenhausen.

The arrests, however, did not deter the remaining members of the Baum group, comprised of Kochmann, Heinz Birnbaum, Hardel Heymann, Charlotte and Richard Holtzer. They continued their work until the next round of arrests. Only the Holtzers managed to escape to refuge in Hungary and survive the war. Their story appears in the work *Damit Deutschland lebe*, by Walter Schmidt (Berlin, 1959, pp. 311-313).

The Gestapo tortured Herbert Baum but he refused to talk. After initial beatings by the Nazis, he was taken to the Siemens plant and told to identify his comrades in the underground. Brought before his co-workers in the plant, he refused to betray a single worker. On June 11, 1942, the Gestapo informed the prosecution that Baum had committed suicide. However, there are primary accounts indicating that he was tortured to death.

By September, 1943, most of the Baum group,

along with a cooperating underground KPD (German Communist Party) group known as the Joachim Franke Group, were executed. In total 22 people died, including 18 Jewish anti-fascists, 3 German anti-fascists, and one French anti-fascist woman.

The work of the Baum group in the heart of Hitler's Germany is an enduring symbol and example of unity in struggle. In the GDR in the Weissensee Cemetery of Berlin, GDR, there is a monument to the Baum group listing all the fallen, accompanied by the words, "They fell in the struggle for peace and freedom."

In the annals of the anti-fascist Resistance inside Germany there are many unheralded women underground workers who risked their lives to smash the fascist war machine. Typically bourgeois scholars trivialize the contribution such women and men made by implying that they had little impact or that their gestures were isolated, futile, or "inflated beyond historical reality and sanctified" (Lucy Dawidowicz). Furthermore, bourgeois critics accuse socialist scholars of failing to evaluate "objectively." Hence they would prefer to conclude that Communist, Socialist, and Left-Zionist Resistance was immaterial and had little "impact" on the historical outcome of the struggle.

Ericka von Brockdorff would serve to exemplify the courage of the Resistance and indeed serves as a continuing example of how resisters, even in isolated and small groups, had an impact on the defeat of fascism. She was born in Kolber, Germany, on April 24, 1911, into the family of a postal worker. In 1933, after witnessing the reign of terror of Nazism, Erika decided to join the Resistance inside Germany. Her anti-fascist sentiments were further developed by her study of Marxism-Leninism and encouraged by her marriage to Cay von Brockdorff; in 1935 he joined with her in the underground activities of the KPD. Even after the birth of her daughter Saskia, Ericka continued her underground work against the German fascists.

By 1941 Erika was active in the Schultze/Boysen/Harnack Resistance group, where she and Hans Coppi, a Communist, were placed in charge of the group's radio transmitter. The group was active as well in hiding resistance fighters who were parachuted over Germany and in conducting propaganda work inside German armament industries. Her activity in the latter efforts were facilitated by her job in the Reich Office of Labor Safety, where she worked jointly with her anti-fascist friend, Elisabeth Schumacher. Her group published an illegal paper, *Die innere Front*, which advocated resistance to the Nazi regime. It was in their work at the

Reich Office of Labor Safety that the two women were able to collect important material about the inner workings of the fascist state. They were able to radio important information to the USSR and to other resistance groups in occupied territories. It was this inside information communicated to the outside world that helped to shorten the war and save lives.

However, the nazis stepped up their efforts at decoding the important radio messages and tracking down the hidden transmitter run by this resistance group, which they called the *Red Orchestra*. Subsequently, after one member of the group was caught in Brussels, Hitler ordered a special commission to destroy the organization. The first wave of arrests occurred on August 31, 1942. Shortly thereafter, on September 16, 1942, Erika was arrested and sentenced on December 19, 1942 to ten years in prison. Her sentence was changed to the death penalty a short time later.

During the staged trial of Erika von Brockdorff, the German fascists attempted to cover up any publicity of the activity of the group, since several members were high officials in the state apparatus as well as in the military; additionally, civil servants, artists, and intellectuals holding a variety of political persuasions were involved. Even during her trial she was defiant. At one point in her trial the military judge threatened her with the statement, "Your laughter will soon turn to tears." She responded by stating, "Not as long as I see you." Erika continued to resist, singing songs and arias in her cell; as one co-prisoner Dr. Elfriede Paul recalled: "... I can still see her standing on her bed ... leaning her arms on the window and absordedly whistling her arias into the empty, echoing courtyard ... She went to her death without fear and in full awareness of the consequences of her actions" (*GDR Review*, March 1982, p. 35). Erika was executed on May 13, 1943. Before she died she smuggled a note to another woman prisoner which said, "If my blood is shed for many, bringing peace to my people, then it is shed readily."

Erika's blood was shed readily, but we must ask have recent Western studies recalled this and other struggles in their entirety or have they reached other conclusions? Unfortunately, certain Western pseudo-scholars have seized upon the Holocaust and the Resistance to launch a full-scale cold-war assault on the contributions of the Left, the people of the USSR, and the historical role played by Socialist and Communist movements in fighting fascism. Under the guise of a holier-than-thou plastic objectivity they have used the common anti-Soviet prejudices of the U.S. population

and the common innuendos associated with trite U.S. journalism to weave a clever web of lies and half-truths designed to convince an audience that Socialist and Communist historians fabricate events about the Resistance and therefore should not be taken seriously. By using an assumed shared value system of anti-Communism, a repetition of the bourgeois nationalist myths, an almost total neglect of primary research in socialist lands, and right-wing Zionist ideology, these historians have variously concocted a new low in publishing perfidy. Furthermore, the fact that such works are being carefully placed on the market in large numbers testifies to the importance the ruling class and publishing establishment place on rewriting history and influencing Jews and non-Jews in the cold-war crusade against the critical contributions of Left-Socialists and Marxists in the history of the resistance to fascism.

Lately, one of the authors being publicized greatly is Yehuda Bauer, whose latest book lists him at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He has written *The Chose Life: Jewish Resistance in the Holocaust*, published by the American Jewish Committee; *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978); and *A History of the Holocaust* (Franklin Watts, 1982). All three works are heavily laced with right-wing interpretations that rely on trivializing or distorting left-wing Socialist and Communist participation in the Resistance. For some sections of the above works one would have to write a book to respond to the series of psycho-linguistic and psycho-historical errors and inversion. For example, in his rather flip assumed anti-Sovietism evidenced in *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*, he claims that the Soviets felt that "... the defense of Jewish noncombatants in the forest was none of their business..." (76). By pretending to speak for all Soviet forces, all Soviet partisans, and all Soviet resisters including Jewish-Soviet resisters with such cold-war propoganda, Bauer exposes his lack of scholarship. However, Bauer is not content with such flights of historical fantasy and blundering. He compounds the above generalizations by charging that "... German Communists demanded of their Jewish comrades (that they) establish their own underground groups ..." (76). Bauer implies that German Communists, who died or were imprisoned to the tune of 150,000 in World War II out of a total of 300,000 before the war, did not want to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Jews and forced Jews into separate units. This is a total fabrication, since the Baum group, for example, enlisted Communist and Left-Zionist

Jews and non-Jews in the struggle and in fact was set up on Baum's (a Jewish Communist) initiative as a separate group from others, as earlier documented by Ber Mark in his essay, *The Herbert Baum Group: Jewish Resistance in Germany in the Years 1937-1942* (in Yuri Suhl's *They Fought Back*, New York: Crown, 1967, pp. 55-68). Bauer's attempt to denigrate the role of German Communists is a truly crude and banal slander, meant to inflame further suspicion and hatred for one of the largest resistance forces to nazism in the 1933-1945 period. Finally, in his latest book, *A History of the Holocaust*, Bauer retells the lie that in contemporary Soviet society the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (the fabrication of anti-Semitic slanders) has "... influence of considerable proportions ..." (45). He further shows his lack of scholarship when he states that "until the German attack on Russia in June, 1941, French Communists did not oppose the Nazis..." (275). It is well known to readers conversant in French history that the Communists were a leading force opposing the nazis in the 1930s and thereafter, along with left-wing Socialists. Readers who are interested in primary accounts on this fact may want to consult the archives or the excellent work in English by Maurice Thorez, *Son of the People* (New York: International, 1938), wherein the General Secretary of the French Communist Party clearly denounces nazism throughout (see especially Chapter Six for a brilliant analysis). Historians and people of good will should protest the puerile and totally false generalizations that appear in this cold-war work. This history comes close to being as banal a history as that written by Warren Lerner, entitled *A History of Socialism and Communism in Modern Times* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1982), wherein the history of Socialism is distorted and completely erroneous statements are made, such as "the war continued in the Far East but the Soviet Union was not involved in this area ..." (182). Obviously Lerner had not heard of the campaign against the Japanese Kwantung Army by the Soviet Red Army, in which over 40,000 Japanese and many Soviet soldiers died. (See the study by G. Deborin, *Secrets of the Second World War*, Moscow: Progress, 1972, pp. 260-265. Deborin bases his study on many primary documents.)

Similar tendencies, although in somewhat more subdued cynical form, are evidenced in the works of Lucy S. Dawidowicz. Her works, *The War Against the Jews 1833-1945* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1975), and *The Holocaust and the Historians* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1981), evoke the same ac-

rid and feverish anti-Communism which plagues most historians who do not attempt to use a broad range of primary documents from a range of countries, including Socialist countries, and instead substitute the use of psycho-historical innuendo and cold-war rhetoric.

Pious statements and pious quotes abound in Dawidowicz' works concerning the need for historians to tell the "truth" and look into *all primary sources for evidence*. Yet in her first book she attacks in a haughty, cynical manner the contribution of Soviet partisans, without evidencing primary research into Soviet or GDR archives. Although she did partially research some Polish archival sources, her interpretations are basically right-wing, as exemplified by her open attack on Emmanuel Ringleblum for his Left-leaning eyewitness accounts. Ringelblum, the heroic Holocaust scholar, wrote a number of important historical works while active in the Polish underground, and all readers should consult his work.

While Dawidowicz fully praises the work of bourgeois anti-Communist scholars (such as Gordon Craig and John R. Armstrong), she denounces the work of Ber Mark and concludes that Yuri Suhl presents the "orthodox" Communist position on the Resistance; Suhl, in fact, never states or claims any orthodoxy. We quickly learn to what god Dawidowicz pays orthodox homage, however, named Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who will be remembered for advocating a return of the USSR to the Russia of 1914, the Russia of the pogroms and exploitation by the Czar and "freedom-loving" capitalists.

More significantly Dawidowicz attempts to pervert the internationalist character of the Soviet Union in regard to the tragedy of Babi Yar. Here the Soviets are accused of not specifically naming each ethnic and national group murdered by the nazis. This, she suggests, did not sufficiently "memorialize the Jews" (84). Were the Jews not citizens like the others of Kiev? Were they not people, and in the bloodbath can anyone clearly identify who bled more, who suffered more, whose families grieved more, whose tears have more weight? Such charges are an insult to all who died and an insult to the memory of all the fallen. Twenty million Soviet persons died in World War II. Is that not enough to memorialize them to the world and all anti-fascist Jews and non-Jews?

Finally, Dawidowicz attempts to sloganize, name-call, and stereotype the Left. She accuses the Left of "excessive rhetoric" in condemning certain collaborationist *Judenrate* elements, without proof of what the

rhetoric was and what conditions led Jews and non-Jews to attack death-dealing collaborationist elements in the *Judenrate*. Honest scholars such as Ber Mark are labeled as "Stalinist," other authors are condemned without careful analysis, and even the "liberal" Kurt Vonnegut comes in for charges of guilt by association almost as a nazi. Nowhere is a thorough analysis of Left-wing Socialist or Communist literature assessed in an even-handed fashion. The archives of the GDR, Yugoslavia, Hungary, USSR, Romania, France, and a number of other countries are totally ignored, or, as in the case of Poland, dismissed as falsification. Even the German literature of the FRG on the Holocaust and Resistance is ignored and the author appears not even to be aware of the series of works published in German by the Pahl-Rugenstein Verlag or the newspaper *Die Tat* which was until recently published by survivors and resisters to fascism and is now published in the FRG as *Die deutsche Volkszeitung/die tat*. In essence, the author has not done her homework and has produced a cheap political cold-war diatribe denigrating Socialists, Communists, and Left-Zionists and the history they share in the Resistance.

What lessons can we learn from this recent ascendancy of cold-war pseudo-scholarship? First, we must remember that Socialists, Communists, and Left-Zionists in the Resistance were not all martyrs without faults. On the other hand, we must recognize their overall positive contribution to the Resistance against fascism, the shortening of World War II, and the saving of lives of all people, Jews and non-Jews.

Second, we must be on guard against cold-war scholarship in this field of Resistance history. Such history represents an attempt by the international bourgeoisie to claim the moral high ground for itself, while hiding its crimes against humanity, its complicity in aiding and funding the nazis, its activities in preparing the groundwork for the Holocaust and its continuing responsibility in funding nazis, such as Klaus Barbie, in so called "free, democratic" capitalist safety. The attack upon the leading forces of the Resistance testifies to the continuing need of the ruling class to rewrite history in order to win over Jewish and non-Jewish people in the anti-socialist crusade.

In such cynically calculated publishing maneuvers, hopes of creating a charged atmosphere of mistrust, hatred, and scorn for all Socialist countries and their role in the Resistance became one more bulwark for the ideological domination of the working class, intellectuals, and youth by imperialism. By creating such

A War Criminal and a Patriot: The German-American Propaganda Battle in World War II

By Norman Markowitz

PBS's "World War II: The Propaganda Battle" (broadcast May 9th, Channel 13, 8-9 p.m.) could have been a brilliant show if its writers had done more of their homework, and its narrator, Bill Moyers, had been able to transcend the smug cold war assumptions about "totalitarianism" and "democracy" that provide the program with its framework. Contrasting early Nazi war documentaries with the first of the U.S. Armed Forces famed *Why We Fight* series, Moyers also interviews Fritz Hippler, Goebbel's film deputy, and Frank Capra, the distinguished Hollywood director whom General Marshall chose to supervise the *Why We Fight* series. Hippler, who commissioned the infamous anti-Semitic faction film *Jude Suss*, and produced the obscene documentary, *Die Ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew)*, literally a training film for killers) is now a well-dressed, prosperous resident of Berchtesgaden, where

cynical contempt and by falsely seeding the understandable desire for Jews and non-Jews to know their history, the pseudo-historians provide the fetid soil for anti-Communist, anti-Socialist hysteria and thereby aim to destroy the possibility for Jews and non-Jews to join in the unity of class struggle against the forces of imperialism in the present and future.

All people of good will, Jews and non-Jews, must not be conned by the intellectual arrogance and cleverly-worded capitalist apologia written by the scholars of cold war. Rather we should all take strength from the living examples of Herbert Baum and Erika Von Brockdorff and build working-class unity among Jews and non-Jews throughout the world. Although Herbert Baum and Erika von Brockdorff, along with many members of their Resistance groups, did not live to see the defeat of fascism, their efforts and the efforts of countless others in the Resistance were able to help save lives and to shorten the war and the Holocaust. No individual, whether worker or scholar, can cynically trivialize our homage to these fallen. This is not sentimentality or over-statement of any cause or ideology. It is the recognition to the immortals who paid with their lives in the struggle against fascism. □

Ron Kent is a trade unionist.

his former Fuhrer frolicked with Eva Braun and others during the war years.

Moyers doesn't ask Hippler anything about his postwar career — why and how this shabby war criminal escaped the gallows he so deserved by putting his talents to work for the cold warriors in occupied Germany. Indeed, it is Hippler, whom Moyers characterizes as a "bright young true believer," who refers to Nazi Germany as a "totalitarian state" rather than a fascist dictatorship which, through its media, glorified racism, militarism, and war. Moyers in the interview lets Hippler get away with murder (as the U.S. Occupation Forces and the Federal Republic of Germany did long ago) by allowing him to say about *The Eternal Jew* that the object of propaganda is to "simplify the complex," as if to suggest that the portrayal of Jews as disease carrying rats was merely a "simplification" of a generally accepted "Jewish problem." Lying to the end, Hippler agrees that it was "a film of hate, yes," but demurs that he and his comrades were only following orders, whatever they believed. In a final, outrageous expression of the national chauvinism that complemented racism as the foundation of German fascist ideology, Hippler comments that "the French people were much more anti-Semitic than the German people" and that his job was to build up German anti-Semitism.

If Moyers had a probing analytical framework, he might have looked at the steady stream of German documentaries accusing all anti-fascists of being agents of the Soviets (the D Day invasion, for example, was called by the Nazi press as taking place at Moscow's orders) and compared it to contemporary Reaganite propaganda. He might also have studied the attempt by the Nazis to define their war effort as an attempt to save the "West" from eastern barbarians and a "Judeo-Bolshevik" conspiracy (a Jewish head on a Mongol body was one of Hitler's characterizations of the Soviet Union). Indeed, he might have even compared the staged crowds greeting the German soldiers with flowers and water to the recent similar events in Grenada.

Instead, he uses the cold war framework of seeing fascism as an amorphous "totalitarian" dictatorship rather than as an open dictatorship for capitalism and imperialism, representing the most brutal and reactionary forces in the old society, in the service of monopoly capital. Thus, Moyers can denounce some of fascism's crimes without really understanding either its ideological or class content.

With Frank Capra, Moyers does much better; but, the credit goes to Capra, who sums up the achievements of the *Why We Fight Series* with the simple com-

ment "we showed them for what they were and they weren't pretty. They were mad dogs." By using the Nazi's own newsreels, which they had hoped would instill animal fear for their "master race" among the peoples of the world, Capra was able to contrast for American servicemen fascist bestiality as against an idealized America of freedom and democracy.

Unfortunately, Moyers only deals with the first of the *Why We Fight Series*, *Prelude to War*. He doesn't deal with the *Battle of Russia*, which was made to strengthen the Soviet-American alliance, only to be later attacked and repressed in the cold war period. Nor does he deal with the *Negro Soldier*, in which Blacks are portrayed, incredibly, as just another ethnic group (slavery is not even mentioned, the Civil War is passed over in a second, and the existence of segregation, including segregation in the army, is not acknowledged). It is a comment on the depth of racism in the U.S. that Capra had to fight against the military to produce this film, and regarded it sincerely as a victory against prejudice.

Nor does Moyers deal with *War Comes to America*, the final film of the series, in which there are echoes of the cold war to come in both its shift away from New Deal common man rhetoric in *Prelude to War*, and in its interpretation of the war as a geopolitical struggle between the Allies and the Axis to control the natural resources and the industrial centers of the world.

Yet, Capra's genuine patriotism and decent anti-fascism triumphs over both Hippler's smooth rationalizations and Moyers' pat and superficial cold war establishment commentary. As such, it helps to save the program, just as the men and women of Capra's generation joined with anti-fascists everywhere forty years ago to help save the world. □

Norman Markowitz is a Professor of History.



The Polish Jews in the first Army

By Sol Flapan

WARSAW — "The martyrology and extermination of Polish Jews in the country during the (nazi German) occupation has a rich literature — both historical and beautiful. (But) I haven't heard anyone devote even a few words to the fighting Jews — soldiers of the First Army. Why?"

This question was raised back in 1967 by Zbigniew Zaluski, eminent military historian in his book *Ticket to History*. Now, an initial attempt at relevant research has just been made by historian Szymon Datner in the Polish language columns of *Folks Shtime*, the bilingual weekly organ of the Social and Cultural Society of Jews in Poland.

True, much has been written here about the heroism of Jewish freedom-fighters in the Warsaw Ghetto and other ghettos. Generally known facts are recalled and ever new documentation is presented during the annual Warsaw Ghetto memorial services throughout April in commemoration of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on April 19, 1943. On the 40th jubilee year 1983 international scientific sessions were held here with the participation of scholars from Poland's academia and from other countries.

Also, research papers appear occasionally on Jewish participation in the Polish anti-nazi resistance movement. Like the work on "Jewish Guardsmen in the First Partisan (guerilla) Units of the People's Guard in the Rzeszow Region" (eastern Poland) which appeared in the Jan.-June 1982 issue of the Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute. The People's Guard, one of several patriotic underground fighting formations, was the armed wing of the clandestine Polish Workers' (Communist) Party.

What Zaluski had in mind, however, calls for deep digging research as well as academic and public recognition of Jewish participation in and contribution to the efforts of Poland's regular armed forces in the nation's anti-nazi war and liberation struggle. Perhaps the Szymon Datner-*Folks Shtime* initiative will inspire others. And the current three year period is especially auspicious as it marks three interconnected 40th anniversaries.

The first of these commemorated last year the founding of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Infantry Division by the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR in the summer of 1943. On October 12 of that year this new military formation armed, trained, clothed and fed by So-

viet comrades in arms waged its first battle against the hated nazis at a place called Lenino. In the course of the war, this Division developed into what eventually became the Polish People's Army. October 12 is "Army Day" here.

Secondly, this year marks the 40th anniversary of the proclamation (July 22) of the new, socialist oriented People's Poland on a tiny corner of land liberated by the advancing Soviet Army and units of the reborn Polish army which fought at its side right into Berlin in May 1945.

And precisely that V.E. Day, dramatically symbolized by the raising of the USSR's red flag and of Poland's white and red over the capital of the smashed Hitlerites' once vaunted "one thousand year" Third Reich, will be celebrated next year.

Taking up where military historian Zaluski left off, Professor Datner opened his study which began appearing in *Folks Shtime* last November by citing a still earlier edition (1978) of the Bulletin of the JHI that "... In the course of the past 400 years there was never such a military necessity, such a menacing situation to the borders and integrity of the Republic, a threat to her independence, a struggle to regain lost liberty in which Polish Jews did not participate shoulder to shoulder with their Polish comrades in arms ..."

This truth was raised to the nth power during the tragic period of the nazi German treacherous aggression against and ensuing genocidal occupation of this country.

The participation of Jews in the regular Polish Army was particularly numerous, observes Datner in his ongoing paper appearing in successive issues of *Folks Shtime* under the umbrella title "On the Field of Honor." *Of the nearly one million Poles under arms in September 1939 close to 100,000 were Jews in uniform.* Several thousand of them later served in the First and Second armies of the new People's Army.

"We observe their presence in the First and Second Polish Divisions on the Western Front in 1940," adds Datner, as well as in a number of other Polish formations; also in the Polish, Soviet and other resistance movements throughout nazi occupied Europe.

He enumerates dates, cites battles and lists names of Polish Jews who fought and died in the mighty anti-nazi effort of the peoples. His March 10th chapter is devoted to Captain Lucjan Szenwald, communist poet who fell in battle in 1944. In one of his verses recalled by Datner, Szenwald hails Polish-Soviet comradeship in arms when "... Pole and Russian shared the same mess kit ..."

On the 75th anniversary of Szenwald's birth (March 13) the armed forces daily *Zolnierz Wolnosci* printed a moving biography of this "citizen of embattled Poland, soldier, poet" whose "wartime fate landed him in the ranks of the Red Army ... He was one of the cofounders of the Kosciuszko Division and he volunteered for combat duty at Lenin for which he was awarded the Polish Cross of Valor and the Soviet Union's Order of the Red Banner."

Poignancy is added to Datner's research by reminiscences of Jewish soldiers like Private Chaim Linowicz, a veteran of the September 1939 battles.

Describing a fierce encounter with the nazis while fighting in a Soviet unit in September 1943, Linowicz recalls: "It began at dawn. Enemy planes roared overhead. Bombs were exploding all around us. A real hell. During one (dive bombing) swoop on us my machine gun buddy was killed. There was no time to mourn. Then they attacked us twice, to no avail. When they began to back off, the command was given 'Forward!' I was just a private and saw but a fragment of the whole bloody mess. When I charged, I feared death like everyone else. And yet I thought with relief — 'At last, now we are attacking the fascists. And we are headed westward.'"

Liberating Polish territory was often accompanied by dramatic, historic events, says Datner. Literally within hours of freeing the town of Chelm on the Polish-Soviet border, the Polish Committee of National Liberation proclaimed its July (22, 1944) Manifesto — a sort of combined Declaration of Independence and Bill of Rights in which, among other things, the Provisional Polish People's government pledged assistance in the rebuilding of a Jewish presence in the country.

As the Soviet and Polish armies drove back the Wehrmacht, nazi "Yellow Patch," "Star of David" and ghetto laws and what all this signified were consigned to oblivion. Normal life began anew.

Every name, date and place cited by Professor Szymon Datner is worthy of a separate research paper.

Similarly, a mini who's who of Jewish soldier-heroes has appeared in the Yiddish columns of *Folks Shitime*. There is Corporal Fishman, an artillery reconnaissance man who wormed his way into still nazi-occupied Warsaw from whence he directed Polish cannon fire by radio. Discovered by the fascists, he fought them off as long as possible and then blew himself up together with his radio with a grenade.

Then there is Lieutenant Bergelson who single-handedly destroyed four nazi Tiger tanks in the Battle of Warsaw in January 1945. And tankman Witenberg,

Captain Rozenberg, Lieutenant Erlich and others.

In a report to the National Council in 1945, Commander of the Polish armed forces (now Marshal, retired) Michal Rola-Zimierski said, "Jewish soldiers and officers are fighting self-sacrificingly and heroically against the occupant. They are fearless, heroic fighters for Poland's liberation ..."

Later, in a letter to Jewish ex-combatants after liberation he wrote "... Convinced that through struggle they will triumph over death, those Jews who took arms in hand hoisted high aloft the banner of human dignity ... Jewish partisans and soldiers of the People's Army, such gallants as Colonel Alef, Major Temtshin, Major Margoles, as well as the never to be forgotten Nyuta Tileboim, Hanka Shapiro and Major Skotnitski who fell in uneven battle ... confirm that the Jewish people may be proud of their heroic sons and daughters. The Polish people will not forget the Jewish heroes in the struggle for Poland's freedom."

And Wanda Wasilewska, writer, communist activist and one of the inspirers, founders and leaders of the Union of Polish Patriots in the USSR had this to say right after the Kosciuszko Division's baptism of fire: "With blood and heroism the Jews in our Division displayed their patriotism and attachment to Poland."

Closer to us in time, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski told Parliament on January 25, 1982 "... Polish citizens professing different religious beliefs and of different nationalities took part in the struggle for national liberation and for Poland's statehood."

That is an indelible part of Poland's history, said General Jaruzelski who is also First Secretary of the Polish United Workers (communist) Party. "We value and respect the contributions of the national minorities to our life and culture. We want all who live in Poland to enjoy to the full opportunities at developing their identity and permanent place in the structure of present day Poland."

Like their Polish compatriots, so Polish Jews over the years have accepted and adopted the old Polish democratic-revolutionary slogan "For Your and Our Freedom." □

Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

**Every Reader
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In Birobidzhan: All Peoples are Good Neighbors

By Lev Shapiro

We reprint below from Soviet Life an interview with Lev Shapiro, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CPSU Regional Committee and Deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. This year Birobidzhan celebrates its 50th Anniversary.

Lev Shapiro was born in 1927 in the township of Seredina-Buda in the Ukraine. He dreamed of becoming an engineer, and when he finished high school, he entered the Institute of Steel and Alloys in Moscow. When he graduated, he asked to be sent to the Amurstal Steel Mill in the Soviet Far East, which badly needed specialists at that time. Shapiro worked for over 18 years at the plant, first in his field and then as secretary of the factory's Communist Party Committee.

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region, May 7, 1984, Lev Shapiro, who is the recipient of government orders and medals, was interviewed by Soviet Life correspondent Yevgeni Bugayenko.

Bugayenko: Please describe briefly how your autonomous region came into being and why it was decided to establish a Jewish Autonomous Region in the Far East, on the banks of the Amur.

Shapiro: On May 7, 1934, the Presidium of the USSR Central Committee passed a resolution on establishing a Jewish Autonomous Region, with all the rights envisaged by Soviet legislation for autonomous regions that are part of the Russian Federation.

Soon after, in a conversation with a delegation of Jewish pressworkers, Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee, said: "You ask me why the Jewish Autonomous Region has been organized? The question arose long ago of where to organize such a Jewish region, and I instructed the Konzet (the committee for the provision of land for Jewish working people — Ed.) to find a place where all the necessary political, climatic and natural conditions would exist. And, really, Birobidzhan has everything ... The reconstitution of Birobidzhan as a region is the result of the wish of the Jewish masses."

The Jewish Autonomous Region is the first state of Jewish working people in modern history. The government's decision to establish the JAR was consistent with its nationalities policy, a policy of equal rights and self-determination for all Soviet people.

May/June 1984

There were many problems. One of them was that for the creation of statehood, you need territory. Of course, there could be no question of driving one nationality out of a particular area to provide statehood for another. The government chose a different course. It allotted unoccupied fertile lands which were yet to be developed. In those years young people went to the Far East to build Komsomoisk-on-Amur. Other industrial centers were also being set up. It was in this context that Jewish families came here to create an autonomous region for themselves.

The first trains with settlers went east in 1928. Yet the decision to establish the JAR came only in 1934, that is, six years later. Party and state leaders wanted to first test in practice whether Jewish families would really want to go to the Far East to create their own autonomous region. And they saw that the move was right: Thousands embraced the decision of the Soviet government with enormous enthusiasm.

Just listen to what, for example, Rafail Gershberg, one of the Birobidzhan pioneers recounts today:

"My wife and I were young. We weren't afraid of difficulties and decided to give it a try. Our first impressions were great. The nature here is even more beautiful than where we lived in the Ukraine. We went to the Roiter Oktyabr Collective Farm and received a very hearty welcome. We were given a house and a cow and were helped to get started in our new life. We never regretted that we came here. The members of the farm worked together like one family. We believed that our village would grow beautiful and that the collective farm would become rich. And that's what happened."

Not only did the Soviet government pass a decree on the JAR, it materially buttressed its decision by granting settlers financial aid for expenses incurred in starting out in a new place, allocating machinery, equipment and building materials for them sending experienced specialists to help. Along with Jewish families, Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians — everybody who wanted to — also came.

It was not the aim of the Soviet government to create an isolated area for one ethnic group. International unity brought the people together who came to develop Birobidzhan, and they are still living and working here together.

Bugayenko: Please say a few words about what the region's economy is like today.

Shapiro: We have 50 different factories, and new ones are going up every year. The construction industry is expanding. Factories here are producing lime-and-sand bricks, reinforced concrete elements and prefabri-

cated housing panels.

Birobidzhan, the regional center where 75,000 people live, can also be called the light industry center of the Far East. Large factories producing stockings, shoes, clothing, knitwear and boots are located here. Our leading enterprise is Dalsemash, which turns out self-propelled caterpillar combines for the harvesting of grain, soybeans and corn.

The headquarters of the farm machinery design bureau for the Eastern Siberia area and the Far East are also in Birobidzhan.

The workers settlement Teploozyorsk, where the largest cement factory in the Far East is located, keeps expanding, and the miners settlement of Khingansk is now on the region's map. There is also a big tin-extracting plant here.

Considerable iron ore deposits have been found in the region. There is also a Siberian salmon-breeding farm near Teploozyorsk.

The region's agriculture is represented by 36 large highly mechanized state farms, two collective farms, a mechanized poultry farm, an experimental agricultural station and a land-reclamation agency. Jews were not allowed to be farmers before the Socialist Revolution. Now the Soviet state allocates significant funds for strengthening the material-technical base of our agricultural sector. In three years of the current five-year plan alone it spent over 100 million rubles for this purpose.

The successes that the people of the Jewish Autonomous Region have achieved in production growth would have been impossible without economic ties with other areas of the country. We supply our manufactured products to the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and foreign countries and receive materials from the Kabardin-Balkar, Buryat and Tatar Autonomous Republics, Latvia, Georgia and Uzbekistan.

Bugayenko: In Birobidzhan I saw a playbill saying that the Freilich Ensemble is giving a concert today. Are there other art groups too in the region?

Shapiro: Of course. We have the Jewish People's Theater, whose productions are all in Yiddish. Its repertoire includes *Mazltov (Congratulations)*, and *The Doctor* by Shalom Aleichem, and the works of modern Jewish playwrights.

The Russian Peoples Theater is also popular. Its cast is made up of both Russian and Jewish actors. In addition to these two theaters in Birobidzhan, there is an amateur drama group in the village of Amurzet.

The Birobidzhan City Palace of Culture and dozens of other community centers have excellent amateur

art groups. One of the most popular is the amateur ensemble of violinists.

Our youngest professional group, the Birobidzhan Chamber Music Orchestra has already been on tours abroad. By the way, a fine new building is being constructed for this theater and will be ready in time for the anniversary celebrations.

The region publishes the Russian language *Birobidzhanskaya Zvezda* and the Yiddish language *Birobidzhan Stern*. Radio Birobidzhan broadcasts both in Yiddish and Russian. The works of Jewish writers are published in Khabarovsk and Moscow. A colorful Yiddish ABC book was published recently.

More than 70 nationalities live in our region. When I visited the U.S. as a member of a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet and also when I met with foreign delegations in our country, I was invariably asked: How do you succeed in maintaining the unity of so many nationalities within a comparatively small region? I explained that we don't have to "maintain" it. Unity and good-neighborliness underlie our way of life. We do not have divisions of people into rich and poor, into the powerful and the oppressed. The nutrient on which racial and national prejudice thrives simply does not exist in the Soviet Union.

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The Israeli Terrorists and Their Abettors

By Meir Vilner

This article is based upon a speech delivered in the Israeli Knesset on January 31, 1984 by Meir Vilner, M.K. and general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel.

On Sunday this week, two and a half years after the establishment of the Surveillance Commission, headed by the Deputy Attorney, lawyer Yehudit Karp, and one and a half years after the Report had been presented to the Minister of Justice and to the Attorney-General, the Karp Report was tabled to the government.

The terrorist actions in the occupied territories against Arab citizens and houses of worship and places holy to Christianity and Islam, which lately have been carried out, add special topicality to the Karp Report.

The explosives which were planted in the Al-Aksa and Dome of the Rock mosques on Friday night (January 27) were a most serious terroristic act. We must ask ourselves: What would have happened if the terrorists had succeeded in blowing up the Al-Aksa mosque, which is one of the most holy places for hundreds of millions of Muslims?

Those who planted the grenades and placed explosives had a political aim. By an unprecedented explosion of that sort they wanted to provoke among the inhabitants of the West Bank and in the Arab and Muslim world an outbreak of anger, which would be used as a pretext for implementing a plan for expelling the Palestinian people from the West Bank, from their homeland. Reference is to a plan whose existence was several years ago revealed by Aharon Yariv, (a former chief of the Israeli army intelligence).

The planned explosion was liable to be used also as a pretext for certain circles, to declare a special state of emergency within the State of Israel.

The attempt at blowing up the mosques in Jerusalem, just as other terroristic actions, was carried out by a terroristic underground movement, which is motivated by nationalist and fanatic-religious attitudes. Historical experience has proved that extremist nationalism and religious fanaticism are liable, under certain circumstances (occupation, oppression, the war in Lebanon, grave socio-economic and moral crisis) to lead to

the seizure of power by a fascist dictatorship.

Who Stands Behind Them?

Government circles and political circles in the Knesset try to underestimate the severity of the problem. They deny the existence of an organized terroristic underground and claim that it is only a question of several madmen. But at least several actions of terror were carried out in a most professional form, and simultaneously at various places. Without operative military skill, it was impossible at all to carry out these actions of terror.

Consider the attempt on the lives of the mayors (in the occupied West Bank — IB), which was carried out in a clearly professional way, with attention given to the smallest detail and the use of army vehicles. The same goes to the massacre in the Islamic College in Hebron.

Those who play the innocent, must be reminded of what two persons, who in the past served as heads of the Security Service, said: One of them, Isser Harel, said as follows: "Begin prevented the adoption of certain steps which would have enabled to deal with the Jewish underground as should be done. It is possible that the Security Service wanted to take measures against Jewish underground organizations, but the government did not permit them to do so."

The second one, Ahitov, said that the colonial settlements constitute "an incubator for the breeding of terror" and added "Those who have now turned to the path of terror possess a good operative level. Their conspirative behavior seems to be faultless and the political environment, which is close to them, provides cover."

The planning, the organization and the carrying out of terroristic acts and the fact that their perpetrators are not brought to justice, all these lead to the conclusion that somebody stands behind the terrorists, somebody from the military and political establishment.

The facts which are included in the Karp Report only strengthen this conclusion. In the Report it is stated that "Jews are suspected of carrying out severe criminal acts in the (occupied) territories — including acts of murder, attempt at murder, shots fired at Arabs, stealing arms, arson and hurling hand grenades — were not detained by the police and not brought to trial; and this was so because of the intervention from 'above' — among others of senior army officers — who impeded the policy in carrying out investigations of those actions" (according to "Yediot Ahronot," February 3, 1984).

In a number of cases, in which inhabitants of the

West Bank were murdered by colonial settlers, including by the head of one of the settlements, the police received an instruction not to carry out detentions, or the investigation file was transferred to the military police and the person was not detained. In the Karp Report it was also mentioned that the colonial settlers erect obstacles in face of the carrying out of investigations. And it is known that in the colonial settlements there are vast quantities of arms — both registered and unregistered — and that the settlers exchange among themselves weapons, in order to prevent the identity of those who had fired shots.

The lack of treatment, the severe deficiencies in the investigations against colonial settlers, the cover given them by authorities — all these testify to a basic political conception which attempts to rely on terror against Arabs, in order to achieve their goals.

Tear Up By Their Roots

The Likud governments and the security agencies which are controlled by them did not only fail to take steps for capturing the Jewish terrorists and expose their organizations, but they themselves have in practice, created the conditions which enabled the establishment of such underground movements and the carrying out of such unprecedented acts of terror. Moreover, the occupation authorities persecute the victims of the terror. This was the attitude towards the mayors in the West Bank, whose legs had been severed. They were subsequently removed from their office. And now they are prevented to move freely or to go abroad for medical treatment.

The terrorist underground is liable to undermine the foundations of Israeli society. If they will not be extracted from their roots, the nationalist and fanatic religious underground movements are liable to act also among the Jewish population, and the murder of Emil Grunzweig is an alarm signal.

The terrorist underground is liable to imperil our very existence here. Therefore we need a government which will not provide political support to the acts of terror but will act against the terror. Therefore it is important to topple, as early as possible, the Shamir government, which provides cover to terror, that causes victims and endangers the State of Israel, and to establish a new government which will conduct a new policy. □

Jewish Americans and the Israeli Terrorists

By Mark A. Bruzonsky

This article originally appeared in the Los Angeles Times, May 2, 1984.

As an American Jew, I am emotionally tortured by the reaction — rather, the non-reaction — to what happened after four Palestinian teenagers hijacked an Israeli bus two weeks ago. I don't know which to condemn more vigorously: Israeli brutality or American Jewish complicity by silence.

The facts, as related by witnesses and Israeli and American reporters so far, are spare: The four youths were indeed reckless in taking the bus, but acted with restraint during the long hours when Israeli officials pretended to negotiate.

At no point did the Palestinians harm anyone on the bus — hardly the manner of "brutal terrorists." Yet Israeli soldiers stormed the bus, killing one passenger and at least two of the Palestinians. One — perhaps both — of the other two was taken away alive; photographs (yet to be published because of Israeli censorship) show him with no apparent serious injuries. Within hours, the Israelis applied their policy of collective punishment, destroying the hijackers' family homes in Gaza. A short time later the authorities reported that all four were dead.

In an interview on American television, Defense Minister Moshe Arens attempted to cover up the incident. But, after some determined press coverage, Arens was forced to retreat and set up a commission of inquiry (which was intended to be a secret). Yet he was at the scene; surely he knows, and is to be held responsible for, what took place.

It's awful enough that this is what Israel has become, and what Israelis are prepared to tolerate. But when American Jewish organizations — including a number that are devoted to human rights and international law, such as B'nai B'rith International and the World Jewish Congress — accept such conduct, when they insist on looking the other way and making excuses, when they blind their eyes to this hatred and blood-thirstiness coming from "our" side, then surely we are all implicated, unless we cry out in anguish and protest in disgust.

What would have been the reaction of American Jewish organizations if the homes of Jewish families, whose sons were captured fighting for Israel, were razed? What would have been the reaction of these organizations if an Israeli pilot had been captured alive

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and unhurt by Syria during the last war, and then killed in cold blood? What would have been the reaction decades ago if family homes had been bulldozed by the British in retaliation for the actions of Jewish "freedom fighters?" What would have been the reaction today if any of the Israeli prisoners held by the Palestine Liberation Organization were to be executed?

This double standard has gone too far. American Jews, and the organizations that claim to represent them, cannot stand idly by while such outrages as the Gaza "incident" take place, and then expect their protests to be considered fair and reasonable when they question Palestinian or Arab conduct. American Jews and their organizations cannot claim to be dedicated to civil rights and human decency and yet stand by when major Israeli personalities call Palestinians "cockroaches" and Israelis then act on that analogy. These organizations cannot stand by while preparations are made to disinherit the remaining Palestinians in what the world considers occupied territories. They cannot do this and expect thoughtful Arabs to be "moderate" and "recognize" Israel, and trust in the good will of either Jews or the United States.

Jews around the world have just celebrated another Passover. But how can we honestly participate in a ceremony commemorating our own people's oppression thousands of years ago, while our own people practice similar oppression today with the approval (or at least the acquiescence) of almost all the organizations that claim to speak in our name?

The events of the past weeks are only an example of what is taking place with increasing frequency in Israel: an acidic racism and militarism that is corrupting the soul of our people, destroying the integrity of our heritage and our modern institutions and threatening the fabric of American society as the Jewish community here increasingly isolates and stigmatizes itself.

We cannot continue to oppose even meek American attempts to lessen Middle East tension without the difficult subject of "dual loyalty" arising, and without raising questions about who we are. We cannot, issue after issue, side with the government of Israel against the norms of our heritage and the policies of our country, without losing our dignity, corrupting our self-respect and abusing our standing when it is our turn to call on others to protect our own rights.

There will be many more terrorist incidents in the coming weeks and years. Palestinians feel that they no longer have any choice. This "new reality" is beginning to be widely accepted even in moderate and traditionally pro-American Arab circles.

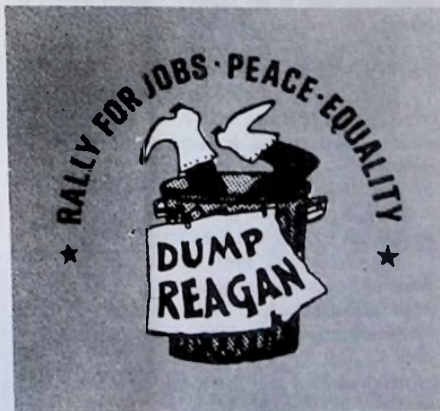
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If we are not rational about the likely new wave of terrorist incidents, what will be taking place is likely to achieve the purpose of the most uncompromising elements among us: to break most ongoing contact among the various sides, and to perpetuate the conflict between Jews and Arabs until Israel's eventual destruction, a Middle East nuclear war or even a world conflagration.

In the process we can expect anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish postures to grow, which could prove dangerous to the continual integration of American Jews into our own society. Unless thoughtful American Jews reassess their values, and begin to challenge those in Israel who are responsible for what has taken place, as well as those "leaders" of American Jewry who have lost the ability to distinguish right from wrong, all of us will be forced to choose sides as the moderate institutions and personalities collapse into impotence, irresolution and confusion.

Some American Jews and some American Jewish organizations have claimed all along that they are different — that they are fair, that they are not simply apologists for Israel or cowards in the face of community pressures. Where are they? □

Mark A. Bruzonsky, who for six years was Washington associate of the World Jewish Congress, is a consultant on Middle East affairs.



Danger of New Imperialist Aggression in the Middle East

By Tawfig Toubi

The article below was originally published in New Perspectives, journal of the World Peace Council, February 1984.

Appearing cynically as peacemakers, the U.S. occupation forces with other NATO forces have converted Lebanon into a U.S.-Israeli condominium. It has become a new base for aggression and for promoting U.S. global strategic plans against the Soviet Union, against world peace.

With a U.S. armada concentrated off the shores of Lebanon — 30 warships, three aircraft carriers, 300 war planes — President Reagan has been openly threatening Syria with so-called punitive measures. The U.S. ruling circles are openly coordinating plans with the Israeli government for the latter to undertake a military operation against Syria on behalf of the United States. It is no secret that the White House is pushing Israel to launch a new war against Syria in order to change the balance of forces in favor of the U.S. regional and global strategy.

The correspondent of Davar newspaper in the USA, Priol, disclosed in a report (November 13, 1983) that the visit of U.S. Under Secretary of State Eagleberger to Israel at that time was intended to persuade Israeli leaders that an "Israeli military operation on behalf of the USA will be not only in the Israeli military interest but also in the strategic political interest of bringing the two countries, Israel and the USA, nearer in a way which was not the case in the past. Further, Israel would benefit out of it with very small risks."

Israeli leaders have not rejected the idea but they want the USA to have a more direct military involvement in it and not just its backing from behind the scenes.

The US government is openly increasing its bribes to the Israeli government in order to carry out the dirty adventurous work for the United States in the region.

On November 12, 1983, the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives approved increased military aid to Israel to the tune of 1.7 billion dollars, half of it will be a free grant and the remainder will be in the form of a long term loan. Over and above this, Israel has received from the USA direct economic grants amounting to 950 million dollars. The U.S. also granted Israel's request that 550 million dollars be assigned for the development of the Israeli Lavie war

plane. All this is being done when the U.S. has diminished its aid to other countries.

The plans for aggression against Syria are part and parcel of the U.S.-Israeli strategy for promoting U.S. world domination, against the peoples' independence in the Middle East, Africa and Central America.

At the same time, the Israeli occupants in the West Bank and Gaza strip, taking advantage of the present situation, are intensifying their repressive measures in these occupied territories. The iron fist of the Israeli military and the brutal attacks of the colonial settlers aim at breaking the will and spirit of the Palestinian people.

The University of Bethlehem was closed for two months (November-December 1983), with the Israeli army shooting and killing and wounding some people in Tulkarm in West Bank in November 1983. Refugee camps in the occupied territories are under constant curfew with Israeli colonial settlers, disguised as Arabs, carrying out armed attacks against them. Atrocities are also committed against political prisoners, as was the case with women political prisoners in Ramleh prison.

I visited this prison with other members of our Parliament in November 1983, 15 days after an attack was made with gas against women political prisoners in their cells. There are political prisoners who have been kept in their cells for five months, for 23 hours daily.

Despite these atrocities, the determination of the Palestinian people to stand up against the occupation is unbreakable, and they have been carrying on the struggle through strikes, demonstrations and mass protest.

The forces of peace in Israel see as an urgent and historic task to mobilize and unite all efforts in Israel in order to prevent a new Israeli adventure against Syria, in the service of the USA, and to bring about Israeli withdrawal from the whole of Lebanon, to stop the brutal, repressive and colonial measures against the Palestine Arab people in the occupied territories.

Israeli Zionist ruling circles are trying to come out from the present impasse and from the deepening economic and social crisis, which was evident also in the resignation of the Begin government, by a new aggression. They hope to achieve thereby what they failed to do by their aggression in Lebanon in 1982. But the people in Israel now realize that the only outcome of a new adventure will be new tragedies, new sacrifices, new debacles, and new obstacles in the way of peace. That is why no week passes without action by Israeli soldiers refusing to serve in Lebanon, by parents demonstrating for the return of their boys home, and by masses of people to end the occupation.

געמינט, אז מיר זיינען אין בראד, אדער אין לעמבערג, די אייגענע יידן, די אייגענע ווייבער, די אייגענע געוואלדן, דאס אייגענע מיטל, וואס אדערט, נישט מער דער טומל מיטן הארמידער און דא א סך גרעסער, און דער רעש איז שטארקער, היליכקער, אויך די מויערן זיינען העכער, א סך העכער, זעקס עטאזשן איז א געלעכטער, סאראן הייזער פון צוואנציג עטאזשן, און פון צוואנציג, און פון דרייסיק, און פון פערציג, און נאך העכער...

ווער עס האט נישט געזען די ניו־יארקער סטריט — דער האט גאר קיין שיינס נישט געזען, וואס געפינט איר נישט אויף דער סטריט? יידן האנדלען, ווייבער זיצן און שמועסן, קינדער אין די וועגעלעך שלאפן, "קערעדוועט" הייסן דא די וועגעלעך, אלע קערעדוועט האבן איין פנים, דא, אויף דער סטריט, האדעוועט מען די קליינע עוסהלעך מיט מילך פון קליינע פלעשעלעך, גרעסערע קינדער שפילן זיך, און שפילן שפילט מען זיך מיט טוינטערליי שפיי לערייען: מיט קנעפלעך, מיט רעדלעך, אין באל, אין וועגלעך, אין שליטעלעך און אין "סקייטס", דאס איז א מין זאך אויף פיר רעדלעך, צוגעבונדן צו די פיס, און אויף דעם רעדלט מען, מען קאן טויב ווערן פון דעם געפילדער, וואס די קינדער הויבן אויף אויף דער סטריט...

איר לאזט זיך אראפ דורך טרעפ, ווי אין א קעלער ארייך, און איר לויפט אונטער דער ערד מיט אזא אימפעט, און עס שווינדלט אכן אין די אויגן, דאס ווערט שוין אנגע רופן ביי זיי "צאבהיי"...

דעם גאנצן וועג, וואס מיר זיינען געפארן אויפן "עלי" ווייטער און אויפן "צאבהיי", האבן אונדערע לייט, די מאנסבילן מיט די וויבער, געהאלטן אין איין רעדן, איר זאג רעדן, אבער ניט אמת, ווער קאן רעדן אויפן "עלי ווייטער" אדער אויפן "צאבהיי"? אז דער רעש, מיטן געפילדער, מיטן גראנער פון די רעדער, מיטן גרילצן פון די רעלטן, מיטן קלינגען פון די פענצטער מאכן אביך טויב, איר אליין הערט נישט אנער קול, איר מוזט שרייען איינס צום אנדערן ווי בעת איר רעדט צו א טויבן... — — —

6.

אלצדינג אויף דער וועלט האט אן עק, געקומען א סוף צו אונדזער אריינפאר אין ניו־יארק, מיר זיינען שוין אויף דער גאס, דא הייסט עס "סטריט", ווען איך זאל נישט וויסן, אז מיר זיינען אין אמעריקע, וואלט איך זיכער

When Prime Minister Shamir visited the Israeli troops in South Lebanon in November 1983, an Israeli soldier had the courage to speak on behalf of his colleagues and declare: "We feel here like the Germans in Europe during the Second World War."

More people in Israel are beginning to understand that it is only when Israel withdraws completely from the West Bank and the Gaza strip occupied in June 1967, only when the Palestinian people enjoy self-determination and constitute their own independent state alongside Israel, when the Palestinian refugees eventually are enabled to exercise their right for repatriation according to UN resolutions, when U.S. imperialism stops its aggressive activities in our region, then and only then security and peace will reign in the Middle East in the interest of the Palestinian, Israeli and all peoples of the region.

An essential step for our region to advance towards peace is the calling of an international conference with the participation of the USSR and the USA and all parties involved, including the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

The peace forces must all be in the global struggle together, together we shall win. □

Tawfig Toubi is a member of the Israeli Knesset and a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council.

May/June 1984

To our Subscribers and Readers:

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the you for making the 12th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner an overwhelming success.

We are most heartened by the congratulatory comments made in person and by phone. We are fully conscious of the fact that it is your continuing and wholehearted support that brings us from success to success. We pledge to continue our efforts to merit your support and to make our contribution to the all people's front to oust Reagan and Reaganism.

The addresses delivered at the dinner and a complete list of the contributors will be published in the July/August issue.

The Editorial Committee

זיינען מיר? מיר זיינען געבליכן צו, להבדיל, קאטע. און אז מען פירט אריין, דארף מען דאס באטראכטן ... מען וועט אונדז ברענגען אין אזא ארט, וואס מען רופט דאס "עליס איילאנד". דארט וועט מען אונדז פארן שפארן ווי די קעלבלעך אין א שטאל ביז אונדזערע פריינט און באקאנטע וועלן זיך אמאל דערמאנען קומען אונדז אראפגעמען ...

3

מען האט אונדז געבראכט צו פירן אויף עליס איילאנד ...

דורך א לאנגער בריק מיט טירעלעך ביי די זייטן זיינען מיר דורכגעגאנגען איינצוקויפן. אויף יעדן טריט האט אונדז אפגעשטעלט אן אנדער אַנשטיקעניש מיט א קעפל, באַקוקט, באַטראַכט, באַזוכט, באַטראַכט, פריער פון לאַצדינג האַט מען מיט אַ וויס פאַפּירל אונדז איבערגע-קערט די ברעמען אויף דער לינקער זייט, באַטראַכט די אויגן, דערנאָך די איבעריקע אַבריים, און יעדער באַזונדער שטעלט אוועק אויף אַיך אַ צייכן מיט פעס אַ קריידל און טוט אַיך אַ ווייז מיט דער האַנט, וואוּהין איר זאָלט גיין — רעכטס אָדער לינקס. דערנאָך זיינען מיר ערשט אַריין אין אַ גרויסער שטוב, און ערשט דאַרט האָבן מיר זיך אָפּגעוואַכט איינס דאָס אַנדערע, ביז דעמאָלט זיינען מיר צעשראָקן זיינען מיר געווען, ווי די קעלבלעך, ווען מען פירט צו דער שחיטה ...

אַז מיר זיינען דורכגעגאנגען די שבעה מדורים גהינם פון די אַקטיוויטיס, האָט מען אונדז אַ פרעג געגעבן, ווע-מען האָבן מיר אין אַמעריקע? ...

טאָמער איר קאַרג די אייגענע צרות, יסורים און פּיין, האָט אונדז גאַט באַשערט פרעמדע צרות אויף עליס איילאנד. טאָמער איר קאַרג געווען די טרען, וואָס מײן מאַמע האָט פאַרגאַסן פון זינט מײן טאַטע איז געשטאַרבן און פון זינט מיר שלעפּען זיך אַרום איבער דער וועלט ביז צו היינטיקן טאַג, באַדאַרף זי איצטער וויינען און טרען גיסן אויף די אומגליקן, וואָס מיר זעען אין אַן אַט-אָדאַע אויף עליס איילאנד, אַלע מינוט שיקט איר גאַט צו אַ נײַעם חורבן, די מאַמע נעמט זיך יעדע זאָך צום האַרצן, זי רעכטט ליה הענט, זי באַהאַלט דאָס פנים און וויינט זיך אייס שטי-לערהיים ... — און ווי אַווי זאָל מען גיט וויינען, אַז עס זעט פאַר זיך אַווי פּיל אומגליקן? אַווי פּיל טרען? אַ ים מיט טרען? ...

4

אויב איר זיינט קיינמאל גיט געפארן אויפן ים, אויב איר זיינט קיינמאל גיט געווען צען טעג מיט צען נעכט אויפן וואַסער, אויב איר זיינט קיינמאל גיט געווען גע-פאנגען אויפן עליס איילאנד און האט גיט אנגעזען זיך

און גיט אנגעזען זיך מיט צרות, יסורים און פּיין, און גיט געפאָרן זיך איינעם ים פון טרען, און גיט אַרויסגע-קוקט, מען זאָל איר קומען אויסווייזן — אויב איר האָט דאָס אַלציינג אַליין נישט פאַרוכט אויף אייערע אייגענע פּלייצעס, וועט איר גיט פּילן דעם טעם, וואָס הייסט שטיין מיט ביידע פּיס אויף דער ערד, ווען איר זאָל גיט שעמען זיך פאַר לייטן, וואָלט איר אַנדערגעפאַלן אויף דער ערד און וואָלט זיך איבערגעקוליעט דריי מאָל מיטן קאַפּ אַראָפּ און מיט די פּיס אַרויף, אַווי גוט און ליכטיק און פּריילעך אויפן האַרצן איז מיר געווען, אַז איר האָב דערפּילט, אַז איר שטיי מיט ביידע פּיס אויף דער טריקעניש ... נאָר מיר האַלטן נאָך דערווייל פון פאַרנט, ביי דער "פּערירי" ...

די "פּערירי" דאָס איז אַזא מין שײף, אָדער אַ פאַראַם אָנעלכער, וואָס מען קאָן אַייבערפאַרן אויף אים מיט פּערד און וואָגן און מיט האַק און פּאַק, די "פּערירי" איז גענוג ברייט און לאַנג, אַז איר און מײן חבר מענדל זאָלן קאָנען זיך נעמען פאַר די הענט און שפּאַצירן אין דער לענג און אין דער ברייט ... אַז מיר האָבן דערזען טרעפּ, זיינען מיר אַרויף אויפן צווייטן שטאַק פון דער "פּערירי", און פון דאַרטן האָבן מיר דערזען אַ מוראַטע הויכע אַבי זערנע פּיגור פון פעס אַ נקבה וואָס זעט אויס ווי אַן אַם ... מיר האָבן קיין צייט גיט געהאַט אַפּילו רעכט צו באַקוקן די זאָיקע פּיגור ...

נאָך עטלעכע מינוט, און מיר זיינען אין נײַיאַרק ... מיר קוקן זיך איין אין דער שטאַט, וואָס וואַקסט פאַר אונדזערע אויגן און באַווייזט זיך אַלע וויילע נענטער, אַך! וואָס פאַר אַ שטאַט! אַך, וואָסערע הויכע הייזער! קלויס! טרעס, גיט קיין הייזער! און פענצטער! טויזנט פענצ-טער! ...

טראַרדאָן טאַררערעאַרן טאַך טאַך טאַך! טאַך! דײַן דײַן דײַן גלײַן גלאַן! הײהא! הײהא! הײהא! דײַדוד דײַדוד! פּי-יו! אײ-אײ-אײ-אײ-אײ-אײ! און ווידעראַמאַל — טראַך טאַררערעאַרן טאַך טאַך טאַך! — אַט דאָס זיינען געווען די קולות מיט די גוואַלדן, וואָס מיר האָבן דעהערט אין דער ערשטער מינוט, אַז מיר זיינען אַנגעקומען קיין נײַ-יאַרק ... מיר האָבן דערפּילט, אַז מיר שטייען מיט ביידע פּיס אויף דער ערד, און דעם רעכטן אַמעריקע.

5

דער אַריינפאַר אין שטאַט נײַיאַרק איז שרעקלעך, דאָס פאַרן אליין איז נאָך גיט אַווי גוואַלדיק, ווי דאָס איבערזעצן זיך פון איין וואַגאָן איינעם אַנדערן, איר האָט זיך נאָר-וואָס אַריינגעזעצט — אַהא! איר פּליט שוין, ווי די אַדלעכע, אין דער הויך, איבער אַ לאַנגער שמאַלער בריק אויף צו דערהרגעט ווערן, ווערט דאָס אַנגערופן ביי זיי "עליווייער", מײנט איר, אַז איר זיינט שוין פאַרטיק? האָט צייט אַביסל, איר קריכט אַרויסעט פונעם "עליוויי-טער", און איר זעצט זיך איבער אין אַן אַנדער וואַגאָן און

מזל טוב, מיר זיינען שוין אין אמעריקע!

(פראמענטן פון, מאַטל פייסי רעכ חזנם אין אמעריקע)

דאך גאט געשוואוירן, אז קיין מבול וועט ער שוין מער
ניט ברענגען קיינמאל אויף דער ערד ...
קריעת ים־סוף, ס'איז קריעת ים־סוף! ...

... וויפל צייט דאס קריעת ים־סוף האט גענומען?
א טאג, צוויי און אפשר אלע דרע — דאס ווייס איך ניט ...
איך ווייס גאר איין זאך, אז מיר האבן זיך אויפגעפאכט
איז געווען א פרייד צו לעבן אויף דער וועלט. דער הימל
איז געווארן רייך, ווי גינגאלד, דאס וואסער — ווי א גלאז.
דער "פרייז אלבערט" איז געלאפן אן אויסגעצוואנגענער,
אן אויסגעפוצטער, געשיטן מיט די רעדער דאס וואסער,
געפיענט, געברויזט און געשפריצט אויף אלע זייטן, די
פאסאזשירן האבן אויפגעלעבט. מען איז ארויס אין דרויסן
אלע, גרויס קליין, אויף דער ווארעמער זון, אויף דער
שיינער ליכטיקער וועלט. עמעצער האט ארויסגעלאזט א
פונדערווייטן האט דאס אויסגעזען ווי א פלעק, א געלע,
גרויסע פלייאמע, די פלייאמע ווערט אלע מאל גרעסער
און ברייטער. מען זעט שוין שיפן פון דער ווייטן — אן
א שיער שיפן מיט הייער, דינע זעגל־בויער, גיך זיינען
פארגעסן געווארן אלע צרות. די פאסאזשירן האבן זיך
אלע אנגעזען יום־טובדיק, די ווייבער האבן זיך אויס־
געפוצט ...

... מען האט שוין געהאלטן אט־אט ביים צופארן צו
דעם ברעג פון אמעריקע. עס איז געווארן א ליכט אין די
אויגן און גיט אויפן פארצן, פונקט אזוי האבן זיך באַ
דארפט פילן די יידן נאכן קריעת ים־סוף, עס האט זיך
געלוסט זאגן שירה.

שלום עליכם דיר, קאלאמבוס! זיי געגריסט, דו
פרייע מדינה! דו גאלדענע, גילקלעכע מלוכה!

מיטאמאל איז געווארן א בהלה, דריטע קלאס פאפ־
זשירן, בעט מען זאלן מוחל זיין אראפ אונטן אן זייערע
שטייגעלעך, צוריק פארגעמען זייערע ערשטער, פריער מיט
גוטן, דערנאך מיט בייזן, ווער עס אנטלע זיך נישט צו
גיין, כאפט א סטוסאק פון הינטן. אלע זיינען דא, יונג
און אלט, יידן און ווייבער און קינדער, גוים, סערקן,
ציגיינער, ס'איז א דערשיקעניש, די טיר האט מען גע־
שלאסן, א קייט האט מען אויפגעהאנגען אן אייזערנע ...
לאזט זיך אויס א מעשה, אז מיר זיינען שוין געקומען,
געקומען קיין אמעריקע, נאר וואס דען? די פאסאזשירן
פון ערשטער און צווייטער קלאס האט מען אראפגעלאזט
דורך א לאנגן לייטער מיט אפשר הונדערט טיפּע ...
נו, און וואס וועט זיין מיט אונדו? מיר זיינען דאך

שוין אין אמעריקע!
ניט פאר אונדו געדאכט! ... וואס זיינען מיר? ווער

1.

... אז מיר זיינען ארויף אויף דער שיף "פרייז אל־
בערט", איז דווקא געווען גוט און מיין ... מיר האבן
קיינמאל ניט געהאט אזא קווארטיר ווי איצט, א וואסער־
סטוב, א דריי־גארניקע שטוב איסן וואסער ... שטעלט
אייך פאר — איר ויצט, דאכט זיך, איז שטוב, אדער איר
שפאצירט ארום, די הענט אין די קעשענעס, און — איר
פארט! איר קסט און — איר פארט! איר טרינקט און —
איר פארט! היינט די מענטשן, וואס איר זעט זיך אן!
א וועלט מיט מענטשן, א גאנצע שטאט פארט מיט אבך,
און מחמת אלע פארן אויף איין שיף און אלע פארן אין
איין ארט אריין, קיין אמעריקע — באקענט איר זיך מיט
אלעמען און אלע באקענען זיך מיט אייך, און איר ווערט
געוואר אין איין טאג אזוי פיל זאכן, וואס אין אן אנדער
ארט וואלט איר עס ניט דערגאנגען אין א יאר ...

"פרייז אלבערט" איז גענוג גרויס און שייך, שטיי־
ערנע סרעפ, מעצענע פארענטשעט, שטאל און אפזן וואו
מען טוט זיך א ריר, היינט "מענטשן", איך מיין די באדי־
נער, מען רופט זיי "סטיוארדס" און "גורסעס", היינט
מאטראסן — אזוי זיך רוחות, לויפן ארום היין און הער ...
אייזן חסרון האט דער "פרייז אלבערט", מען איר אונדו
ניט אומזעטוס זיין, קוים ווילן מיר געבן א קוק־אריין אביסל
ווייטער פון צווייטנדעק, וואו מיר פארן, אזוי שטייבט מען
אונדו דורך, טאקע די מאטראסן גופא, גרויסע רשעים ...
קיין חטאט קיך איז אויף "פרייז אלבערט" נישט פאראן,
לעבן מיר די גאנצע צייט פון קארטאפל — "פעטיטעס"
רופט מען עס דא, און ברויט מען מען אונדו לרוב, און
טיי אן צוקער אלע טאג ...

2.

דער ים האט זיך צעבייזערט מיט סכנות, די
כוואליעס האבן זיך אויפגעהויבן העכער פון דער שיף,
געווארפן דעם "פרייז אלבערט" ווי עפעס א שפענדל, א
שפילכל, די מאטראסן האבן גענומען לויפן אהין און
אהער, ווי די פארשטעטע מיין, די סטיוארדס האבן זיך צו־
געהאלטן ביי די פארענטשעט, די פאסאזשירן זיינען גע־
גאנצען חטאט ביי די ווענט און געפאלן כמעט אויף יעדן
טריט, מיטאמאל האט געגעבן א גאס א שלאקס רעגן,
דונערן האבן זיך געטראגן איינס נאך דאס אנדערע, גאט
פארט אויף אן דער רייטוואגן, אום יום־כיפור גאר! ... איין
בלויז נאכן אנדערן בלייבט אויף א רגע דעם שווארצן
געדיכטן הימל, דער "פרייז אלבערט" קרעכצט, שאקלט
זיך אהין און אהער, ארויף און אראפ, און דער רעגן
שטייסט, וואס איז דאס? א מבול אויף דער וועלט? האט

יידישע ענינים

125 יאָר שלום עליכם

שלום-עליכם

געבוירן דעם 2טן מערץ, 1859
געקומען קיין אַמעריקע אין 1914
געשטארבן דעם 13טן מאי, 1916



צו שלום-עליכמס 125טן געבורטסטאָג

פון אַרן ווערגעליס (מאַסקווע)

ניט איינהאַלטן די טרער פון מיטליד צו די דערנדיקער־
טע און באַליידיקטע; וואָס קאַנקרעטער עס איז בײַ אים
דער נאַציאָנאַלער פרט. אַלץ ברייטער איז די אינטערנאַ-
ציאָנאַלע פאַראַלעלמינערונג. דער אַלגעמלעכער רעזאָ-
נאַנס.

שלום-עליכם איז געקומען צו זיין 125טן געבורטס-
טאָג ווי אַ קאָנסטיטוציאָנאַלער בירגער פונעם סאַציאַליס-
טישן סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד. אַ צוגעשריבענער ניט בלויז אויף
די שטאַט־גאַסן אין פּערעיאַסלעוו, קיעוו, אַדעס, ביראַ-
בידזשאַן, קאַראַסטעוו, טשערנאָוויץ, וועלכע טראָגן זיין
נאַמען, נאָר אויך ווי אַ שפּערישער מיטגליד פון סאָ-
וועטישע וואָרטן־מיסטערס. קאַנקרעט — פון דער יידישער
סאָוועטישער שרייבער־מישפּחה. מיר זאָגן מיט אַ באַזונ-
דערן גרונט פאַר דעם: ער איז אַנדערער, און פונקט
אַזוי ווי מענדעלע מוכרס־פּערס אין געווען זיין „זיידע“.
אַזוי איז ער אַינע פאַר דער היינטיקער גענעראַציע
יידישע שריפטשטעלער אין אַנדזער לאַנד דער עכטער
שפּערישער און אידיאישער פאַרגייער. דער ליטעראַ-
רישער „זיידע“.

זיין שאַפּונג איז פאַר אַנדזער איצטיקער ליטעראַטור
אַ שול פון רעאַליזם און סאַציאַלער צילגעווענדטקייט. מיר
לערנען זיך בײַ אים, וויאַזוי שטעלן די ליטעראַטור צו
דינסט די פּאַלקס־אינטערעסן, דערנענטערן זי מאַקסימאַל
צו די פּראַבלעמען, וואָס וועלן אויך אין די ווייטערע
מאַרגנס. אין איין־און־צוואַנציגסטן יאָרהונדערט, פאַרהיטן
זייער איפּויריקונג און זייער באַלערעוודיקייט פאַר די
אויפּנעמער פון אַנדזער ליטעראַטור, פאַר די לייענער
פון שלום־עליכמען.

שלום־עליכם איז געקומען צו זיין 125טן געבורטס-
טאָג ווי אַנדזערער אַ מיטציטלער — דער אויטאָר פון
ווערק, וועלכע זיינען אַקטועל אויך איצט. אין די אַנציקער
יאָרן פונעם צוואַנציגסטן יאָרהונדערט.
זיינע געשטאַלטן זיינען היינט אַקטועל דערפאַר, ווייל
זיי לערנען אונד, מענטשן פון די אַנציקער, אַז די תּחוּם־
המושּבדיקע אויסקומעניש פונעם יידישן פּאַלק האָט גע-
מוזט פאַרשווינדן און טאָר שוין מער קיינמאַל זיך ניט
אומקערן, און און אין רוסלאַנד — אין אַנדזער היים —
זיינען אין די פּינצטערע צאַרישע צייטן געווען געטרייע
פאַריבנדטע פון די אונטערדיקטע יידישע מאַסן אין
זייער קאַמף פאַר אַ ווירדיק לעבן — דאָס פּשוטע רוסישע.
אוקראַינישע און אַנדערע פעלקער פונעם לאַנד, די כּוחות
פון דער אַנקומענדיקער רעוואַלוציע.

מען קאָן און מען דאַרף ריידן וועגן שלום־עליכמען
ווי וועגן אַ גרויסן סאַציאַלן פאַרשער פון דער פּאַלקס־
נשמה. אַ ליידנשאַפטלעכן זינגער פון פּראַגרעס און פעל-
קער־פּריינטשאַפּט.

שלום־עליכם איז אין אַ סך הינוכטן אוניקאַל. וואָס
מער ער דרינגט אַרײַן אין די שטיגערישע, עקאָנאָמישע,
שפּראַכלעכע, פּסיכאָלאָגישע טיפּיקייטן פון זיין אייגן פּאַלק,
אַלץ פאַרײַטענדלעכער און היימישער ווערט ער בײַ אַנ-
דערע פּאַקער; וואָס ווייטער ער גייט אַפּ אין דער גע-
שיכטע, אַלץ מער נייטיקט זיך דער לייענער אין זיין
שאַפּונג. בײַ פאַרשטיין און אַפּשאַצן די פאַראַנגענהייט
אינעם געראַנגל פאַר באַוואַרענען די צוקונפּט; וואָס הע-
כער עס קלינגט זיין קלוגער, גוט־אַרציקער געלעכטער.
אַלץ גרעסער ווערט דער קרייז פון מענטשן, וועלכע קאַנען