

JEWISH AFFAIRS

Sept/Oct 1985
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Tributes to Alex Kolkin

Mim Kelber

Henry Winston

Herbert Aptheker

Jack Kling

Ed Stark

Gertrude Decker

Simon Gerson

Lewis M. Moroze

A Jewish American Editor's Visit to the USSR

The Roots of Kahanism

Israel and South Africa, A Comparison

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At the Deep Roots of the Unique Phenomenon — The Salvation of the Bulgarian Jews

David Benvenisti

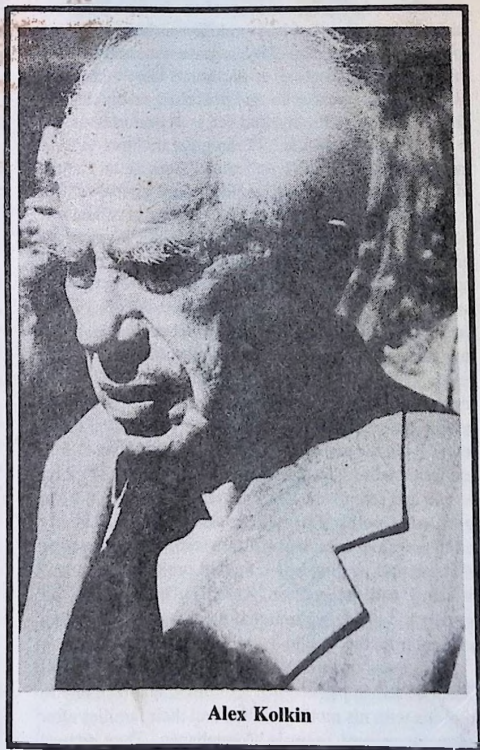
The 50th Anniversary of the USSR and the Jewish People

Hyman Lumer

Jews in the USSR Today! Questions and Answers

Avtandil Rukhadze

Stay the Course
Lillian K. Smith



Alex Kolkin

Alex Kolkin Memorial Service Addresses

The editorial board of *Jewish Affairs* is reprinting in the following section all the speeches at the memorial service for Alex Kolkin at the Riverside Memorial Chapel on August 21, 1985 as a tribute to a man who in a lifetime of struggle has made major contributions to the labor movement, to the national question, to work among the Jewish masses and to our magazine, *Jewish Affairs*.

About My Father

Address delivered by Mim Kelber, daughter of Alex Kolkin.

We had not expected to be back here so soon. My father had been ill and in pain for many years, but at 87 his mind was still clear and active, and all his energies centered on caring for his beloved Sonia, who died several weeks ago. All of last week he was busy attending to details, making plans for her gravestone and he even had a political meeting at his home last Wednesday night. We believe that he died peacefully in his sleep in the early hours of Friday, and that is a comfort to us.

My father was a son of the great tradition of 19th and 20th century Jewish radicalism, born in the ghettos of Europe and carried on by atheists and agnostics who believed not in an exclusive God of favoritism and retribution but in the power of human beings in our short time on earth to work together to change our lives and our world for the better.

His sympathies were with the poor, the oppressed, the victims of injustice, and for him that came to mean black people as well as whites, Palestinians as well as Jews. He thought there was something unseemly in acting out of narrow self-interest, either as an individual or as a people, and in the sacrificial spirit of so many Jews he put the cause of general humanity above family and personal claims and dedicated his life to working people and socialism. Until the end, he remained loyal to his early political beliefs and though I argued gently with him sometimes that he underestimated the power of irrationality, fanatical religious prejudices and selfishness, and, indeed, of American imperialism, he persisted in his conviction that there was an overriding political truth that would lead the people to socialism.

Alex was born in Vitebsk, the shtetl that Chagall immortalized in his magical paintings, and he came to America with his mother, sisters and their families after living for several years in Copenhagen. They arrived here on the eve of World War I, and settled in Philadel-

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Lewis M. Moroze,
Managing Editor

David Fried
Jack Kling
David Seltzer

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Tributes to Alex Kolkin	
<i>Mim Kelber</i>	2
<i>Henry Winston</i>	4
<i>Herbert Aptheker</i>	5
<i>Jack Kling</i>	5
<i>Ed Stark</i>	6
<i>Gertrude Decker</i>	6
<i>Simon Gerson</i>	7
<i>Lewis M. Moroze</i>	8
Stay the Course	
<i>Lillian K. Smith</i>	8
A Jewish American Editor's Visit to the USSR	
Israel and South Africa: A Comparison	
The Roots of Kahanism	
<i>Lewis M. Moroze</i>	9
At the Deep Roots of the Unique Phenomenon —	
The Salvation of Bulgarian Jews!	
<i>David Benvenisti</i>	12
The 50th Anniversary of the USSR and the Jewish People	
<i>Hyman Lumer</i>	17
Jews in the USSR Today!	
Questions and Answers	
<i>Avtandil Rukhadze</i>	19
Yiddish Section	
<i>David Seltzer</i>	24

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phia where when he was 19 he married my mother, who was a true heroine. My brother and I were born in Germantown, and spent our early childhood in a house that had been standing since the American Civil War, and was now on the edge of a black ghetto. My father had a tailor shop in the front of the house. Then, as always, he was a superb craftsman, a perfectionist in his work. But he was embarrassed at the thought that his socialist comrades might consider him a petty-bourgeois entrepreneur, and in the late twenties we moved to New York where he was a shopworker, a trade union organizer and an active Communist.

In the women's movement, we say the personal is political, but back then there were — as there always have been — idealistic men and women who submerged their own needs and feelings, and those of their families, to work for larger goals. My father left us to become a full-time union organizer here in New York and Chicago. He worked for five dollars a week and sometimes for nothing and there were times when he went hungry. He contracted tuberculosis — or consumption, as they called it then — but with his enormous vigor and will power, he recovered from that as he did from many illnesses, and he went on to become an outstanding leader of the ILGWU rank-and-file. My mother and brother bore the responsibility for supporting our small family, an experience not uncommon among "red diaper" babies, and we found our own distinctive paths to social activism.

My father's feelings for his children and grandchildren were deep and strong, and though he was constitutionally unable to express those feelings in words, he found many ways to show how much he cared for us. He had no formal education, but he was a man of taste and culture, who read widely, appreciated art and music, and set the highest standards for workmanship, especially in his craft of dressmaking. As in politics, he believed there was a right way to do things and a wrong way, and he did them his way — perfectly. We did a lot reminiscing in the past few years, and he told us how as a small boy in Vitebsk he would carry lunch to his brother, who worked in a tailoring establishment. Alex could not have been more than eight or nine, and it was not a short walk. He had to cross the river Dvina to get to the shop, and he made the long trip back and forth every day. After a while, he became an apprentice, and he spent the first two years just learning how to make buttonholes. In those days, he said, when you bought a dress or a suit, it had to last a lifetime. He never just glanced at a dress. He looked at the cut and fit, examined closely the hem and the seams, felt the material —

and passed judgement. I still remember the beautiful clothes he made for us when we were children and when I was a young woman. Later, he not only made dresses and Halloween costumes for my daughters, but he designed and sewed an elegant wool coat for our dog, who became the best-dressed poodle in the neighborhood.

I remember going with my brother in the 1930's to visit Alex at the headquarters of the Needle Trades Industrial Union on West 28th Street. There we met his comrade, Ben Gold, the leader of the furriers, and they showed us the typewriter Gold had picked up and thrown at an invading mob of thugs and gangsters who were trying to murder them. It was one of many battles in the struggle to rid the fur and garment industries of racketeers and mobsters, and men like Ben Gold, Irving Potash, my father and others risked their lives in that effort.

For a theoretical revolutionary, my father was among the most gentle, pacific and law-abiding men I have known, and he made responsibility a way of life. He always came an hour early to an appointment, voted in every election, paid his taxes, bills and party dues on time, and often received refunds because he had paid too much. But to fight off scabs and union-busters, to be arrested on a picketline was a badge of honor to him, and he won that honor many times.

My father had just finished reading Ben Gold's autobiography and I don't know whether he knew that Gold died recently in Florida. But I think many of here must feel that with the passing of these two men and others, with the death of Alex's wife Sonia, who also risked her life as a nurse in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, we are seeing the last of a remarkable generation of immigrant Americans whose commitment to their ideals and identification with the working class are part of the best traditions of radical America. They have left us a superb and still living legacy, one which we and our children are dedicated to continuing in our various ways.

Finally, I would like to thank the many friends and comrades in Alex's political family who have come here today to join us in honoring and mourning him. □

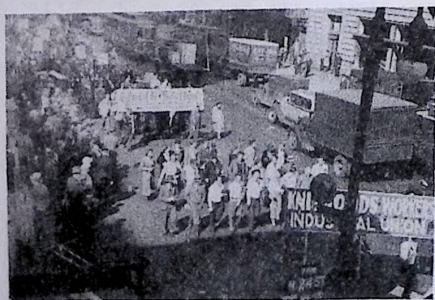
EVERY READER GET A READER



From left to right. Morris Davis, Gertrude Decker, Alex Kolkin, Israel and Ruth Kushner at a dinner in Warsaw commemorating the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.



From left to right Alex Kolkin, Gertrude Decker, Morris Davis, part of US delegation at Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial.



Alex Kolkin, center of front row in a May Day Parade.

Address of Henry Winston, National Chairman of Communist Party, U.S.A. at Memorial Services For Alex Kolkin.

You must know that to speak about the passing of Alex Kolkin is difficult. I can only say that the magnificent tributes delivered here this morning give you a picture of the greatness of Alex Kolkin.

True, Al and Mim, the inside family of Alex Kolkin, you have sustained a very great personal loss, but I can assure you that I, too, have sustained the loss of a most wonderful man, a great friend, a great comrade.

But today I speak for the Central Committee and the National Council of the Communist Party as well, who on this occasion wish to state that when the history of the working class is written, the name Alex Kolkin will loom large in that history. Alex Kolkin, we are proud to say, was one those great working class leaders who at the tender age of his 20's helped to found the Communist Party in the United States. He did so because the working class needed a party. He understood full well that the Republican Party and the Democratic Party were both parties of the monopolies, defending the interests of a class quite different from that of the working class, the oppressed, the poor. This country needed a party that could analyze events from the viewpoint of the working class and its interests. There were men and women who were needed to advance the views, to improve the position in the shops — wages, working conditions, democracy, and unionization. To make that possible men and women were needed who could push the fight to end the inequality of Black men and women in this country from the racist policies that were all-pervasive among the political leadership of the Democratic and Republican Parties. But men and women who could fight in such a way as to help shield our people from the dangers of a new world war, which he had foreseen at such a young and tender age because he understood that the class of the rich, the economic exploiters existed, and because war was a part of its being.

And so he understood that the problem of unity for our people at home on a platform of peace, anti-fascism and democracy and the economic advancement of the people required friendship with all the peoples of the world and, in the first place, with the people of Russia who singly were fighting to build a new life of socialism. To accomplish these tasks he knew that peace was a necessity.

History will show the far-sightedness of this man. Alex fought for the establishment of a united front to stop the fascists. He vigorously opposed the America

Firsters, the Liberty League, the Landons, the Father Coughlin's who pursued policies that assisted Hitler.

But the fight against fascism was one in which was involved the extermination of peoples — genocide, crematoria. That is and was the fiendishness of fascism.

This young worker made a contribution to one of the greatest fights in the history of all times — the fight for unity that succeeded in crushing the pro-fascists. Kolkin fought for truth; Kolkin was firm; Kolkin was not swayed by the demagogues, the hypocrites. And today we are living under conditions where the possibility remains to continue the fight. Alex Kolkin played a magnificent role in this fight.

Alex was a man of exceptional warmth, a man who was concerned with human beings and their welfare. What a pleasure it was to meet, to talk, to work with such a man.

Seeing him at work provides a lesson for us today, especially when the main danger before the world is that of a nuclear war where even more than the 50 million lives lost during the Second World War, but life in any form, human or otherwise, are at stake. We are confronted with that of a nuclear winter.

Kolkin taught us. He was an integral part of the struggle that anti-Communism, anti-Sovietism were the weapons of Reaganism.

To Hitler it was "living space." But what is it to Reagan? Is it not first-strike? Is it not the "evil empire?" And around this slogan lies the very existence of humanity.

The same is true of the people anywhere and everywhere fighting for liberty, for socialism, for liberation from imperialism, for self-determination and national independence.

Look at South Africa today. Look at Bitburg. Look at the military bases that are being established all around the world. In whose interests are these — the people or the military-industrial complex?

Alex Kolkin was a man who, we can truly say, lived and died as a staunch soldier. But Alex Kolkin lived not solely as an individual; Alex Kolkin lived for the working class which he helped to prepare for some of the greatest battles. He lived for Afro-Americans; he lived for all the oppressed men and women in the country, and he lived in the search for unity to guarantee that not a single life will be lost either by conventional military arms or nuclear arms. He left with us a legacy and we must live up to it and build a monument to him by helping to bring about peaceful co-existence, detente, developing the struggle for social progress in general and socialism, in particular, under conditions

of peace.

You heard a chronicle here of Alex' life — needle trades, garment workers, the furriers, the fight against goons - Lepke and Gurrah and all of these racketeers. Courage, firmness in the fight - such greatness will be recorded in history.

Alex will never die. The cause for which he lived and fought will triumph, and sooner than is expected. □

Message from Herbert Aptheker, Editor of Jewish Affairs.

Comrade Kolkin was the kind of person of whom Brecht wrote: "Always there in person on the line."

Whitman described his demeanor: Comrade Kolkin was positive and composed and knew no discouragement.

In the struggles of the last century Comrade Alex stood firm; knew the splendid goal of socialism; saw it spread over more than half the globe and contributed to that growth.

His life was dedicated to equality, peace and the emancipation of working women and men. It was a full life. As we mourn Alex's passing, we draw strength from the splendid example of selfless effectiveness which he left for those who carry on the immortal conflict. □

Message from Jack Kling, leader of Illinois Communist Party.

Alex Kolkin was a charter member of the CPUSA, a close co-worker of Gus Hall, Henry Winston and Hyman Lumer. He was one of the founders of *Jewish Affairs* and served as Chairman of the National Commission on Jewish Work of the Communist Party.

Alex Kolkin was a leader and activist in the needle trades. He was a staunch fighter against racism, anti-Semitism, chauvinism and Zionism and he struggled hard for a just peace in the Middle East and for American-Soviet friendship.

Alex Kolkin's death is a great blow to the CPUSA, the working class and the labor movement.

His contributions, as well as those of his beloved wife Sonia, will always be remembered and cherished. □

Remarks of Ed Stark, trade unionist and co-worker of Alex Kolkin in the garment industry.

Friends and Family of Alex Kolkin:

You have just heard the marvelous presentation by Alex's daughter. She was thorough in describing his life's work.

I met Alex after the organization, the establishment of the needle trades workers. I have known Alex a little over 50 years. I worked with Alex at the time that most of the industry was unorganized, actually disorganized because of inner struggles that were taking place in the ILGWU, with the expulsions of the left wing locals. We were forced to organize an independent industrial union of needle trades workers which included coat and suit operators, furriers, millinery workers and so on.

The biggest job was to start organizing. At that time, in some ways similar to the situation today, the bosses were taking advantage of the workers by cutting wages. All you heard from them was "production," and there was no union to protect the workers. Our fight, our job was to start organizing and striking.

I was then working with Alex in the organization department. During that period, unlike the situation today when workers are able to march and picket, we couldn't picket because as soon as a strike was called the boss obtained an injunction. As a result the police were constantly arresting us but we fought on. The bosses had to find ways to stop us since the injunctions and the police did not stop us. When they saw they couldn't succeed, they imported underworld strong arm men. Every day there was blood shed. Men were cut up, beaten and shot as well as arrested. There was constant fighting. This was a war.

Those who will write a history of the garment workers in the labor movement will have a great deal to say. They will find a great deal of militancy that took place in those years that brought about the organization of the industrial unions. This was one of the first industrial unions to be organized, even before the C.I.O.

I met with Alex many times on the picket lines and in making plans. Alex was a newcomer to New York at the time, having recently come from Philadelphia. He quickly became acquainted with the old time fighters in the ILGWU in New York. Alex was quickly accepted by the top leadership of Ben Gold, Irving Potash and others.

During that period the struggles for unemployment insurance were started. We were organizing the unemployed and marching to Washington. Alex was part of that fight. Today unemployment insurance is a known

fact. People who are laid off go to an unemployment insurance office to collect benefits. I am not saying that Alex did it by himself, but he was in the struggle from the beginning.

The struggle for social insurance and social security was another major struggle that Alex participated in and from which many millions of people today benefit. The Garment Workers were the first to establish the 40 hour week (at the time we had a 45 hour week). It took a six months general strike of cloakmakers and furriers to win the 40 hour week. The conservative AFL leadership was in a panic. It was the left led locals that carried the fight and won the establishment of the 40 hour week and a minimum wage.

These were the struggles Alex was involved in and the contributions that Alex and the rank and file of that period made.

I am here to pay my respects to Alex and the family for having a father such as Alex.

Remarks of Gertrude Decker, Vice-President of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Women's Clubs.

Dear Family, Comrades and Friends:

We come together again to bid a final farewell to another beloved comrade, Alex Kolkin, so soon after the loss of his beloved wife and comrade, Sonia.

Perhaps it will ease some of the pain to speak of Alex, to celebrate his long productive and progressive life at the same time we mourn his passing. Each of us has lost someone very special, but the world is a bit brighter and many people a lot happier because of Alex. He lived each day unselfishly — working and caring for and about others by being involved throughout the years in the many struggles for a better life for all — against racism, anti-Semitism and for peace, equality and justice. All who crossed his paths are indeed fortunate. Alex was a "vegveiser" — a leader who points the way — and with great foresight. Alex and the late Dr. Hyman Lumer founded *Jewish Affairs* magazine, and that is how we met.

In the beginning I was in awe of him, so impressed with his knowledge and abilities. At each executive meeting he let each person speak their mind, and of course there were differences of opinion, which were sometimes confusing. We then turned to Alex and when he spoke, we listened sharply. Calmly but firmly he pulled the strings together and put everything in its proper perspective. On occasion when he was curt and

sharp, it was for good reason. Alex was a great teacher and we learned much from him.

All too often appreciation of one's worth and contributions does not come until one's death. It's good that for Alex it was not so. In 1981 when *Jewish Affairs* honored him at its annual dinner, we had the opportunity to publicly express our appreciation, our admiration, respect and love for him and Sonia for their many years of service and devotion to the working class.

Alex was not just a "political person." He was a warm, loving and understanding human being — a loving and caring husband, a proud father and grandfather and a wonderful friend, strong and never complaining. We developed not only organizational and political ties but also strong and lasting personal ties. Alex was always ready to listen and to discuss all sorts of problems, including personal ones. We got a warm response, sound advice and help when needed. We enjoyed social gatherings at the Kolkin home and elsewhere. Sometimes we walked from the office to his home, just chatting about anything and everything. I loved listening to him especially when reminiscing about past experiences and travels. Each of us will cherish the memories of our own personal relationships and we will miss him very much. Therefore our greatest tribute to Alex is our pledge to carry on his work.

To his beloved children, his daughter Mim and son Al, their children and all the other members of the family, we extend our most heartfelt sympathy, condolences and love. We hope it brings some measure of comfort knowing how much we all care.

Our beloved Alex and Sonia, remembered always, will live in our hearts and minds forever. □

Remarks by Si Gerson, Chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Central to any understanding of Alex Kolkin was the fact he was a worker, a class-conscious worker, born in poverty and steeled in struggle.

His working class values, sharpened by theoretical understanding that he got from study of Marxism-Leninism, shaped his whole life, his politics and world outlook.

He was fierce in his devotion to those values. This devotion helped him in those bitter years when as a leader of the rank and file in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union he fought the employers and corruption in the trade union movement.

When he finally retired from his day-to-day union

activities he accepted one of the most difficult assignments in the Communist movement — a leadership role in the Party's Jewish Commission.

He knew well the struggle against anti-Semitism and national chauvinism. He was a staunch defender of Jewish culture. He defended the existence of Israel while at the same time seeking a genuine Middle East peace based on Arab-Jewish comity and self-determination for the Palestinian people. He constantly warned that Washington and especially the Reagan Administration were friends neither of the Israeli or the Arab masses.

This was no easy course, but Alex held to it with ideological firmness and tactical flexibility.

An essential element of his outlook was his deep understanding of the nature of racism. He constantly sought to strengthen the bonds of Black-Jewish unity. His sustaining vision was a socialist world where all races would dwell in peace and harmony, free of poverty, ignorance and disease.

These were the values he bequeathed to his children, Al and Mim, and his grandchildren, to whom we extend our profound condolences.

I do not know whether Alex ever read the Soviet author, Nikolai Ostrovski. I kind of suspect that he did and that he came across these words in Ostrovski's work, "*How the Steel Was Tempered.*" words to which Lew Moroze referred earlier.

"Man's dearest possession is life, and it is given to him to live but once. He must so live as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose, never know the searing shame of a mean and petty past, so that he can say: all my life, all my strength were given to the greatest cause in the world — the fight for the liberation of humanity."

Alex gave his all for that noble cause. For this we mourn his death even as we celebrate his life. □

SORRY!

The introductory paragraph to "Open Letter to Elie Wiesel," JA, 5/6, 1985, by oversight omitted to inform the readers that it was originally placed as an ad in the Chicago *Sentinel*. We apologize.

Remarks by Lew Moroze, Managing Editor of Jewish Affairs.

The much battered heart of our stalwart comrade and friend, Alex Kolkin, Jewish-American working class champion and leader suffered an irreparable blow with the passing of his wife and comrade, Sonia, but a few weeks ago.

We are gathered here today to pay our respects to Alex and to attempt a few words of solace to the family of Alex Koikín and to his comrades and friends by paying tribute to the rich and meaningful life lead by Alex Kolkin.

As we review Alex's life we are reminded of the Soviet author Ostrovski's observation: "Man's dearest possession is life and it is given to him to live but once. He must live so as to feel no torturing regrets for years without purpose; that dying he can say: 'All my life and all my strength were given to the finest causes in all the world — the fight for the liberation of mankind.'"

Alex Kolkin's heart stopped beating on Friday, August 16th. On Wednesday, August 14th, Alex participated in a meeting at which he discussed with great vigor that was his style the significance of the New York elections in the search for world peace, full employment and an end to racism and anti-Semitism.

Alex's presentation at the last meeting he was to attend was described by Dora Elson, a trade union activist and comrade of Alex in the following words: "Alex's presentation was as clear as the waters of a mountain stream revealing the pebbles, boulders, sand-bars, quiet pools and rapids along the way."

I am deeply indebted to Alex for guidance in my work. My own close association with Alex is a matter of some 41/2 years in my capacity as managing editor of *Jewish Affairs* and as his successor as Chairman of the Commission on Jewish Work of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

At the 9th Annual Jewish Affairs Dinner at which Alex Kolkin was the guest of honor, he reported that the founders of *Jewish Affairs* observed that as a result of the 1967 Six Day War in which Israel was militarily successful, that the nationalist feelings of Jewish people would be heightened, that nationalism would reach the extremes of chauvinism and racism with which the peoples of Israel are now plagued and that it would penetrate the ranks of Jewish-Americans also. It was just such profound thinking and foresight which brought forth 14 years ago the Anglo-Jewish bi-monthly, *Jewish Affairs*.

But Alex understood that chauvinistic nationalism would not have a permanent grip on Jewish-American

Page 8

He was alert to the new arising thoughts and positions amongst Jewish-Americans. In my first association with Alex, he asked me to cover the founding convention of the New Jewish Agenda in December of 1984. Alex sensed that NJA would play a significant role on the American scene and that it would grow in stature as well as in numbers.

Profoundly concerned about the fate of the State of Israel, Alex saw that its security lay only in peace with its Arab neighbors and in the granting of the Palestinian peoples right to nationhood. Towards these goals he helped found the Committee For a Just Peace in the Middle East and was its chairman for a number of years.

Alex was deeply angered by the canard of "Soviet anti-Semitism", observing that it was the Soviet Union that saved the Jewish people in Europe from Hitler's "final solution." He agreed with the words of Albert Einstein when he said that the world would never forget that it was the Soviet Union which saved the lives of 3,000,000 Jews in Rumania, Poland and the U.S.S.R. itself.

Alex, we will miss you but you strengthened us for the days ahead by your walking amongst us and working with us. □

Stay The Course

Stay the course,
Rider on a wooden horse!

Leader of a once proud nation,
Coursing to annihilation
All the world to its cremation!

Plow the MX Missile deep,
Death its final bounty reap
None the winning score shall keep.

Not a widow left to weep.
Stay the course!

Johnny has a paper gun.
Show the world who's Number One.
Melt the earth in one great blast!

Now — who is first, and who is last?

Stay the course!
Headless rider on a horse!

Lillian K. Smith is a reader of *Jewish Affairs*.

Jewish Affairs

A Jewish-American Editor's Visit to the USSR

By Lewis M. Moroz

J.I. Fishbein, editor of the Jewish-American Chicago-based weekly, *The Sentinel*, in reporting on the three week tour he and his wife took to the Soviet Union recently, makes a singular contribution to those in quest of more accurate information about the Soviet Union. His observations refute the charge of the USSR as a police state and expose the canard of "Soviet anti-Semitism." He was profoundly impressed with the deep going desire of the peoples of the USSR for world peace.

Responding to the interests and concerns of his readers, Fishbein reported in his three part article (August 15, 22, 29), that "we have been deluged with all kinds of queries . . . especially regarding the condition of Soviet Jewry. We have told everyone that we would do our best to present an objective report . . . because the answers are so complicated and often distorted by the best and most honest observers."

Taking the long view about the USSR, Fishbein observes that "No one can fully understand the planet on which we live, without visiting and seeing for one's self, how the people living in this one sixth of the earth's space carry on their daily lives, what they do, and how it affects the rest of us. Unfortunately with widespread unemployment and inflation coupled with widespread misinformation about the USSR as a "police state," many are denied the opportunity of visiting the USSR. Reliable reporting, therefore, serves a pressing need.

During their 20 days in the USSR the Fishbeins, travelling on their own and not with an organized group, traversed some 5,000 miles visiting Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Tbilisi, Baku and Leningrad. "We had every opportunity to ask questions and always received spontaneous, friendly answers. We should say that all of them were very knowledgeable, very patriotic, several were Jewish. We were warned by well-meaning friends that our rooms would be bugged, our luggage searched, . . . we would be followed by the KGB, and to be careful of every move. None of this happened. We went anywhere, any time we wanted to go; no one followed us."

"The experience of all other Americans we met — many, by the way, Jewish — all agreed that none of their fears had been justified."

In his bird's eye view of the USSR Fishbein

found, inter alia, that food is sufficient but there is a dearth of fruit and the kind of variety he sought; that medical care is free, schooling is free and public transportation is very cheap and that service in the restaurants is slow. Fishbein elaborates on the rich cultural life open to all in the USSR.

He engaged in polemics with Soviet citizens on the question of political freedom in the USSR. He debated and differed with the views expressed by the Soviet citizens who "heatedly and forcefully argue that they enjoy all of these (political freedoms)."

He came away feeling that the average Soviet citizen feels that "all the problems of a richer life would disappear if they only did not have to divert so much of their time, money and energy from every day needs to defense . . . the people's cry for peace is very deep and very sincere. No one beats the drums for war nor would they dare."

The third installment of Fishbein's report deals with the situation of Soviet Jewry. "Honesty compels us to report that of the many people we met . . . Jews as well as non-Jews, not one admitted they were aware of anti-Semitism," said Fishbein.

When he asked Soviet Jews, "Schlugt men du de Yidden?" (Do they attack Jews here? - L.M.M.), the spontaneous reply was 'Nein' (no). They appeared offended at the thought we would ask such a question. We concluded that they were telling the truth.

"There were many foreign Jews among the groups travelling in the Soviet Union during the time we were there. . . . We were able to exchange opinions with them. . . . We must report their conclusions correspond very closely to our own."

In response to inquiries about alleged "anti-Semitic cartoons and articles in the Soviet press" Fishbein was informed that "we must differentiate between anti-Zionism, their avowed enemy, and anti-Semitism, which they deny exists" in the USSR.

Discussing higher education for Jews in the USSR Fishbein noted that figures for 1976-1977 reveal that with a smaller Jewish population in the USSR than in Israel there is a higher percentage of Jewish youth in the Soviet colleges than in Israel.

Here we might note that early this year a report issued by UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated that the principle of racial and national equality has been carried out in practice at all stages of development of the USSR.

Fishbein conjectures that because the Soviets regard Israel as an ally of the West "and, therefore its enemy, there is reluctance to allow Jews into positions

of sensitivity."

A probing of the situation reveals that Jews are members of the Soviet Council of Ministers, comparable to our Cabinet. Venjamin Dymshits is Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Several thousand Jews are members of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the legislative bodies of the Union governments and Autonomous regions. Lev Volodarsky is Chief of the Central Statistical Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers. Alexander Chakovsky is editor of the prestigious *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Colonel-General David Dragunsky, twice honored with the title *Hero of the Soviet Union*, a Jew, was denied a visa by the US State Department to come to the U.S. to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the victory over fascism.

Fishbein expresses grave concern about what he characterizes as "a form of forced assimilation" by the Soviet authorities without substantiating his view. It is, of course, widely known that assimilation and the integration of the peoples of the USSR is proceeding voluntarily. There is more than ample evidence that, at the same time, there is the continued flowering of the national cultures of the many peoples of the USSR. The Soviets are fashioning a society of men and women who are internationalists.

Integration of cultures has been a process throughout the ages and not always imposed upon the peoples. The British, French, Dutch, Germans, Spanish, Portuguese and Belgians who settled our country evolved a new nation by voluntary integration of the nationalities that spawned it.

Ancient cultures that contributed to world civilization are still studied and revered for their contributions.

In the current period we note that the hopes of humanity for lasting world peace symbolized in the words of the Prophet Isaiah were cast in bronze by a Soviet sculptor and presented to the United Nations by the Soviet government and placed in the garden outside the UN.

The peoples throughout the world are now struggling to fashion a world which will promote and cherish that which is common and finest in the cultures of all peoples and then shall we "Turn our swords into pruning hooks and study war no more." □

Lewis M. Moroze is Managing Editor of *Jewish Affairs*.

"No!" To Starwars

Israel and South Africa A Comparism

It is widely known that Israeli ruling circles through the years have had close ties with apartheid South Africa, engaging in extensive trade violating the ban on trade imposed by the UN. The trade includes the sale of armaments employed against the South African liberation forces. Israel and South Africa are conducting joint efforts in developing nuclear armaments.

This relationship flows from the role that Israeli ruling circles have assumed as surrogates of US imperialism. Israel has the assigned task of being the northern anchor for US penetration of Africa while South Africa is the southern anchor.

A most revealing article written by Mark A. Bruzonsky in the *The Los Angeles Times* deals with the striking similarity between the Israeli ruling circles and those of apartheid South Africa. Mark A. Bruzonsky, a former Washington associate of the World Jewish Congress, is currently co-editor of *Security in the Middle East*, being published for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian Institution.

Bruzonsky refers to Prime Minister Shimon Peres condemnation of apartheid as "completely contrary to the very foundations on which Jewish life is based." Bruzonsky then continues by observing "But around the world today people who speak in one way and act in another have little credibility. Vigorous protest of apartheid while acquiescing in Israel's continuing campaign to intimidate the Palestinian people into submission is hypocrisy." The last sentence was a reference to many of the Jewish-American leaders who have participated in the anti-apartheid demonstrations in the US.

Bruzonsky reports that when he was attached to the UN and later while doing research at Princeton University, he was outraged by comparisons of South Africa and Israel. At the time said Bruzonsky, "I aggressively challenged comparisons of South Africa and Israel. Now I have to conclude that the similarities between the two outweigh the differences."

Bruzonsky observes that "Historically and culturally conditions in Israel and South Africa are replete with differences. . . . Here are the important points of similarity. In both cases, self-determination is being sought by a mistreated, oppressed, abused ethnic group. . . . Both governments are engaged in escalating militarism, intimidation and brutality. . . . Both oppressed groups have resorted to open challenge and increasing violence. . . . In both cases the potential for escalating conflict is growing."

Comparing the growing fight-back movement in South Africa with that in Israel, Burzonsky observes: "the results of Israel's policies are being reaped in a degenerating economy and descent toward anti-democratic attitudes germinating amid anti-Arab sentiment. . . . Emergency regulations left over from British mandate days, similar to those imposed in South Africa, are enforced by Israel in the occupied territories. . . . In an era of non-discrimination and secularism they are ideologically wedded to principles that many term racist."

Bruzonsky is pessimistic about the possibility of peaceful change in South Africa but concludes that an "acceptable solution" is possible in Israel — "Peaceful co-existence and mutual recognition of both peoples national rights." But Bruzonsky is correctly troubled by the "increasing attacks of Jewish settlers on the West Bank and rising Israeli support for extremists" which "are signs that time may be running out in the Middle East." □

The Roots of Kahanism

Meir Kahane and Kahanism have brought forcefully to the attention of the peoples of the world the grave dangers facing democracy in Israel. The scourge of racism has been brought to a new level in Israel.

Meir Kahane, U.S. born, exploiting his dual citizenship, CIA trained and nurtured, former head of the U.S. terrorist Jewish Defense League, currently an elected member of the Israeli Knesset representing his fascist Kach party, is, along with the ultra-right Tehiya party and the chauvinist-terrorist Gush Emunim fundamentalists, more and more taking to the streets spreading terror in Israel in a campaign to drive the Arab people out of Israel.

Kahanism is not a phenomenon without roots in the history of Israel. Kahanism is a current manifestation of and the culmination of policies adopted and pursued by the proponents of Palestine as the site for a Jewish state. Theodore Herzl and others promoted the concept that Palestine was the proper site because it was "a land without people for a people without land." The Zionist Max Nordau, deeply moved by this slogan, on his first visit to Palestine was shocked to find hundreds of thousands of Palestinians living there.

Kahanism cannot be divorced from the crass racism prompting the bloody attack on Arab men, women and children of Deir Yassin by Begin and Shamir. Nor can Kahanism be divorced from the arrogant denial by

Golda Meir that there is a Palestinian people. The massacres at Sabra and Shatilla are not to be divorced from Kahanism.

Kahanism reflects and parallels the position of the Israeli ruling circles, whether Labor or Likud, as revealed in the discriminatory anti-Arab legislation vis-a-vis employment, housing, schooling, ownership of land, social benefits, service in the army and in the legislation governing the conquered territories.

Kahanism parallels the position of the Labor and Likud leadership on the borders of Biblical Greater Israel.

Kahanism flourishes in the atmosphere generated by the "Unity Government" determined to resolve the grave economic crisis flowing from the unprovoked aggression in Lebanon, on the backs of the Israeli masses, both Jewish as well as Arab. To entrap the Jewish masses the "Unity Government" promotes the racist concept that Arabs must be replaced in their jobs by the Jewish unemployed and by strict enforcement of laws discriminating against the Arabs. The "Unity Government" deliberately divides the people spreading panic and fear. They howl hypocritically about Arab terrorism while tolerating and encouraging Jewish terrorism. The Unity Government feeds and supports Kahane's slogan: "They Must Go," referring to the Arabs both in Israel and in the conquered territories.

While Kahane was head of the Jewish Defense League in the United States, Jewish establishment leaders encouraged his physical attacks on the organization Breira of Jewish-American youth who called for an alternative policy to that of the ruling circles in Israel.

Kahanism is being sharply opposed in Israel. In many Kibbutzim and other local areas joint Jewish-Arab gatherings have taken place to condemn the anti-Arab attacks declaring that racism gravely threatens Israeli democracy and raising the banner: "**Do Not Say That You Didn't Know!**"

Scores of community leaders, cultural figures, writers and artists signed a public appeal in Israel calling for an end to the poisonous anti-Arab provocations and attacks declaring that this racist plague flows from the prolonged and determined occupation of the territories conquered in the 1967 war and from the continued occupation of Lebanon.

The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality is calling for the broadening of these movements, the strengthening of the unity of all the Jewish and Arab groupings combatting racism, and is calling for peace

(Continued on page 16)

At the Deep Roots of That Unique Phenomenon— The Salvation of the Bulgarian Jews!

The following is an address delivered by David Benvenisti, Senior Lecturer, and published in the Annual, 1984, Volume 19, of the Central Board of the Social, Cultural and Educational Association of Jews in the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria.

Dear Comrades:

We have already heard some reports and speeches on the salvation of the Bulgarian Jews. Now we have to get at the roots of that unique phenomenon in our history. Studying the reasons for the salvation of the Bulgarian Jews we must answer a question closely related to the major one. How can one account for the fact that the Bulgarian people remained alien to the racial theory? How did it come about that the Bulgarian fascist bourgeoisie could not poison the mind of the people with anti-Semitic feelings? How did it happen that the bourgeoisie could not achieve the results of the other countries?

Most probably there are a number of reasons and all of them are related to history of our people and the mentality of the Bulgarian.

The international, anti-racial attitude of the Bulgarian people proved a significant barrier to the infiltration of the anti-Semitic ideology in Bulgaria.

According to some experts on racism, racial prejudices and the attitudinal set of the people seem to be the theoretical basis substantiating the policy of racial discrimination. It is that policy of racial discrimination that opposes people to each other, that at the beginning separates people psychologically and later theoretically as well. It gives rise to hard feelings and even hatreds among the ethnic groups and these feelings are constantly stirred by the forces who stand to make profit from these animosities.

The exploitation of man by man, the private property of the means for production, the social-class contradictions provide, to a greater or lesser degree, the economic and social basis for racial discrimination, for the springing up of national hatreds in a given country. A lot of examples prove that in a society of antagonistic classes the ethnic stereotype is not the sum total of the real features of a group or a nation, but rather a product and a symptom of the existing social and political situation. A number of studies have shown that the ethnic stereotype is directly related to the concrete economic

conditions. The qualities regarded as negative when applied to a given national or ethnic group are estimated differently when revealed by other groups. The exploiting class will resort to any means to maintain its ruling position. It inevitably makes use of the differences among the peoples, among the national groups and thus promotes its class and political targets.

In Bulgaria, however, there were no favorable conditions that would transform the real or imaginary differences between the national groups — especially with regard to the Jews — into a set of hostile attitudes. To a different degree this is true of the attitude of the Bulgarians to the other national and ethnic groups.

1. To begin with, the Bulgarian people were a people that had suffered a lot and been through hell. They had lived under the Ottoman oppression for five centuries and had been harassed by the oppressors. The Bulgarian people had not turned their back on their history and still vividly remembered the abuse, the oppression and tyranny. Hence, it was only natural that the racial prejudice should be regarded as something hateful both by the common people and the intelligentsia. The mentality of the Bulgarian people regarded anti-Semitism as something alien, loathsome, unjust, something similar to the attitude the Bulgarians had suffered in the past. It is not by chance that the letter of protest, sent by the Writers Association with reference to the debates on the LPN (Law for the Protection of the Nation, which was designed to model Bulgaria after Nazi Germany) in the National Assembly, read: "The Bulgarian tribe was persecuted and massacred in the past. Our fathers remembered vividly the shameful oppression. And to quote the famous poet 'the weals from the flogging and the scars from the suffering' are still raw. Do we have to follow the example and start along a dangerous road renouncing our belief that we are a free and educated people."

The fascists were forced to give up their plans and had to realise that the Bulgarian people loathed racial discrimination and would never allow the deportation of their co-citizens — the Jews. The popular campaign in defense of the Jews surprised and puzzled the representatives of the Reich sent to Bulgaria. The anti-racial mentality of the Bulgarian people was boldly displayed. Hoffmann, the Police Attache at the German Legation in Sofia, wrote in his report (5th April, 1943) to the Chief Imperial Security Office of the Nazi Reich: "Those who are well acquainted with the conditions in this country must have in mind that as the time for the deportation of the Jews draws near, difficulties will spring up . . ." and further "The Jewish problem does

not exist in Bulgaria to the extent it is present in Germany" Beckerle reached the same conclusion and had to admit that the Jewish problem could not be solved in the same way as in other countries because of the anti-racial attitude of the Bulgarian people. It was not an accident that he wrote about the "mentality of the Bulgarian," "the lack of clarity in the ideological views" of the Bulgarian people. Taking this into account he said that if the German authorities exerted pressure as far as the deportation was concerned "they will get the opposite effect" and it would not be favorable for the Reich, etc.

Other foreign bourgeois representatives arrived at the same conclusion. Thus for example Undgren, the Swiss diplomat in Sofia said: "I have the impression that they are alien to hatred of the Jews and they regard the deportation and any other measure, taken against anybody on religious grounds only, as something quite illegal."

The inference is that fascism did not succeed in "enraging" the Bulgarian people, "that the bloodstained paw of fascism reached out for their barns and bodies but it failed to profane their souls, it failed to tarnish their militant ideas and human consciousness," to use a quote from the "*Rabotnichesko Delo*" newspaper, which is the Party organ.

2. The fact that the ethnic groups in Bulgaria did not differ substantially in their social structure from the Bulgarians is of some importance for the evolution of the internationalist mentality of the Bulgarian people. A racial stereotype can come into existence only when a minority appears to be a rival and competitor in the economic and social spheres of life. The more active the rival, the harder the feelings he can provoke in given social strata. Those national or ethnic groups that due to specific historical circumstances had been the most dangerous economic rivals during certain periods, had inspired the strongest and most deeply rooted prejudice.

Statistics reveal that the majority of the Bulgarian Jews had been hired workers, petty craftsmen, retailers, employees, etc, to quote Vassil Kolarov, and "earned their living working themselves to the bone." The Jewish boroughs of Yuch Bunar (Sofia) and Orta Mezari (Plovdiv), where the bulk of the Jewish population was centered, revealed to the Bulgarian the same poverty as the Bulgarian boroughs. The poverty was too obvious even for a chance passer-by. "Have you ever visited the borough of Yuch Bunar, have you ever passed along the Pozitano Street?" asked Lyuben Dyugmedjiev, the MP of the Party, at the debates on

Sept / Oct 1985

the LPN in the National Assembly. "Have you seen the squalid circumstances of their existence. . . ? Now, what is the fault of these poor Jews who comprise 95% of the Jewish population?"

In Beckerle's opinion — he was the most important representative of Nazi diplomacy in this country — one of the basic reasons for the failure of the deportation of the Bulgarian Jews was that: ". . . the Bulgarian cannot find such faults with the Jews that might justify any particular measures against them. Since the majority of the Bulgarian Jews belong to the craftsman trade and often work harder than the other workers, I think that the Bulgarian government is justified to regard the problem from a different point of view."

3. The culture and mentality of Bulgarian Jews are closely related to the culture and mentality of the Bulgarians and their country. Hence it is only natural that the Jews should regard Bulgaria as their homeland. There are numerous proofs that the Bulgarian Jews have long been incorporated in the Bulgarian people. Their concepts and feelings have always been the ones shared by the whole Bulgarian people. In the days of weal and woe, in the days of trials and achievements, the Jews have always been side by side with the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian Jew is imbued with the mentality, national yearnings and culture of the Bulgarian people. The Bulgarian Jews think in Bulgarian and speak in Bulgarian. They sing Bulgarian songs and tell Bulgarian stories. The native language of the Bulgarian Jews is Bulgarian. Their favorite authors are: Christo Botev, Ivan Vazov, Pencho Slaveykov, Elin Pelin, Peyu Yavorov, etc. — the favorite authors of the Bulgarians.

4. Another significant fact: the Jews have inhabited the Balkans for ages; they had participated in the struggles of the Bulgarian people; they had shared weal and woe with the Bulgarians. Ancient historical reports show that the Jews inhabited the present territories of Bulgaria even before the tribe of Asparukh came here. When the Bulgarians came to the Balkan peninsula and later when large groups of Jews settled here, the Bulgarians and Jews lived in friendly and neighborly relations. They lived in an atmosphere of mutual liking. That's why the eminent Bulgarian historian, Prof. Dr. Gavril Katarzov wrote: "The history of the Bulgarian Jews does not date back to the Middle Ages. Even before the Slavs reached the Danube the Jews had struck roots on Bulgarian land . . . There they lived through the great migration of the peoples and later their number increased by the newly-arrived settlers. In any case, the Jews can regard Bulgaria as their old homeland. So

Page 13

we should not look upon the Jews as foreigners nor should they stand off."

Owing to historical reasons the question about the homeland has never been a point for debates between Bulgarians and Jews. The Jews were born here, lived here, acquired their culture and had manifested strong and deeply rooted loyalty to every thing that was Bulgarian — land, language, fate. This population, without any reservations whatsoever, is a part of the Bulgarian people.

5. The attitude of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. The intelligentsia responded actively and vehemently against the anti-Semitic laws. The Bulgarian intelligentsia, contrary to the intelligentsia of many other countries did not have aristocratic origin. It was very close to the leanings of their people and this seems to be an explanation for the anti-racial views of the Bulgarian intelligentsia. Throughout the period of bourgeois rule the majority of the Bulgarian intelligentsia remained democratically-minded, close to the people and their yearnings. The same holds true for the period of the Nazi dictatorship.

The petitions and letters of protest sent by institutes and associations of the Bulgarian intellectuals emphatically stressed the point that the anti-Semitic laws ran contrary to the popular ideals; they maintained that the Jewish population in Bulgaria had suffered through the Middle Ages and through the ordeals of Ottoman oppression together with the Bulgarians, they had shared all their misery and pain and had never acted as traitors to the Bulgarians of Bulgaria.

6. The deeply democratic and international character of the Bulgarian National Liberation Movement was also a significant barrier to the infiltration of racism at home (Karavelov, Botev, Levsky). The democratic, patriotic and internationalist spirit of the Bulgarian revolutionaries influenced greatly the formation of the international stereotype of the Bulgarian public consciousness. The Bulgarian revolutionary movement had taken the right stand with regard to the other peoples inhabiting the Balkans; it respected the right of all peoples to live and develop along independent lines.

The humanistic spirit of our revolutionary democrats before the National Liberation served as a shield against the chauvinistic propaganda of the bourgeoisie taken up after the National Liberation. This spirit of humanism was an important factor in the international education of the Bulgarian people; and, in particular, it explained why the Bulgarian people remained alien to the racial theory in such a difficult period. When the Bulgarian people had once again to sit for their exam in

internationalism — when the country of Botev and Levsky was again trampled by oppressors — they passed the exam with an excellent grade. The outcry (letters, articles, statements, leaflets, broadcasts, etc.) against anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews was based on the fact that the LPN and the racist propaganda ran contrary to the legacy of Levsky and Botev. The German scientists (both from the FRG and GDR) have been puzzled by the vehement response of the ordinary Bulgarian working people against the LPN. The workers protested against the introduction of the racist laws stating that "the bill against the Jews. . . was not consistent with the legacy of our functionaries of the national revival." Since, however, we are well-acquainted with the anti-racial attitude of the Bulgarians, this response seems to be the most natural reaction, especially of the most class conscious part of our population — the working class people.

7. Racism did not strike roots in Bulgaria nor was the country swept by anti-Semitic movements due to another important factor, namely the Bulgarians were not so devout as other peoples. This was revealed clearly by the studies on the religious devotion of the Bulgarian population for the period between 1910-1962. Owing to a number of reasons as well as to the circumstances under which the Eastern Orthodox Church developed at home, this bourgeois superstructure — the church — was not made good use of by the bourgeoisie; it did not play such an important part in the spreading of anti-Semitic feelings, as the church in some other countries did; hence it could not use anti-Semitism as a means for psychological manipulation of the masses in support of the bourgeois society. (For example the Jews had been charged with offering human sacrifices to their God, and other similar accusations) On the other hand, some events in our history — the Ottoman oppression, the struggle to preserve the national awareness of the Bulgarians, etc. — had affected, one way or another, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. It passed through its different periods, turning right, turning left. These events had had their impact on a lot of the clergymen and the leading figures of the religious institutions. The enlightened clergy could not but take into account all these factors because "the mores of people," wrote Ivan Hadjiiski, the great expert on popular psychology, "were more Christian than the mores of those holding the Gospel and burning incense."

In the years of anti-Semitic persecution the Holy Synod and Bulgarian Orthodox Church had on their boards eminent figures (some of them of highly moral

character) who realised that the anti-Semitic policy contradicted the traditions of the Bulgarian people. They were well aware that such a line of policy could bring about commotions in the country and even culminate in rebellions, in other words, such a line of policy could be destructive to the church and the class capitalist character of the state. It was for that particular reason that the church expressed its indignation with the anti-Semitic persecutions and led its struggle against the introduction of the LPN, against all extreme measures against the Jews.

8. The anti-Semitic ideology could not penetrate in Bulgaria due to another important factor — the consistent internationalist character of the Bulgarian Communist Party. "The BCP", said George Dimitrov, "has never set any national restrictions for its members. The BCP has always been completely international in character." Even with the setting up of the Party, Dimitar Blagoev, George Kirkov and their associates had worked ardently for the international upbringing of the Bulgarian proletariat. They studied profoundly the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, revealed its class character and social-political functions and then denounced it even before it had poisoned the masses. The originators of socialism in Bulgaria deprived the reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie of their chance to sow the seeds of anti-Semitism.

The Party was extremely active during the period of the Nazi occupation of the country. It became the brightest and the bravest organizer and spokesman of the popular outcry against the anti-Semitic persecutions; it was the defender of the Jewish population. A number of top-secret reports of the Bulgarian Police sent to the official fascist government said that the underground party of the Bulgarian Communists was the most active champion against the anti-Semitic persecutions; that same party struggled vehemently in defense of the Jews and most of all against their deportation. The report went on stating that **the Bulgarian Communist Party was the major force that organized the movement in defense of the Jews.** Making use of the press, the air, leaflets, underground organization and other means of struggle, the BCP drew all progressive people to struggle against the racist laws. Consistently and daily the Party taught the people that anti-Semitism was harmful to the interests of the Bulgarians, that the grave-diggers of the Bulgarian people wanted to use it as a means to take the mind of the people off the real reasons for their plight.

The Party, being armed with this most humane of ideologies, could not but head the movement against

the most reactionary fascist ideology. The Bulgarian Jews were the ones to feel this best. The gratitude of the Jewish population to the BCP as a leader of this nationwide movement was revealed in the Jewish press in a number of articles published in the first weeks, months and years after the Victory of 9th September, 1944.

The conclusions that can be added to the general topic are that, in actual fact, fascism as well as anti-Semitism, could not gain a wide economic, social, political and ideological basis in Bulgaria. If we take into consideration the reverse that the German troops suffered on the front, the onset of the Soviet Army, the defeat of the German troops at Stalingrad, some peculiarities in the development of Bulgaria, etc., we then will be able to give a better explanation for that unique phenomenon in our history.

Hence, one is puzzled by the book of Vicki Tamir — an American author — in which she "proves (without providing any convincing arguments and in a rather malicious manner) that Bulgarian anti-Semitism was one of the most insidious varieties of the anti-Semitic feelings that swept the other countries." She was criticized in the American press by Prof. Frederick Chary (he was present at our Scientific Conference) and in the Bulgarian press by our historian, Ivan Ilchev. We must express our gratitude to Professor Chary (USA) and Prof. Wolf Oschlies (FRG) who had dwelt on the positive qualities of the Bulgarian people in their books devoted to the salvation of the Bulgarian Jews.

Dear Comrades:

In one of the darkest periods in the history of the Bulgarian people — the period of the fascist dictatorship — our people did remain alien to racism and anti-Semitic propaganda and, what's more, under the guidance of the Bulgarian Communist Party led an ardent struggle for the salvation of the Bulgarian Jews from the clutches of death.

In token of our great respect and gratitude to the noble feat of the Bulgarian people, the Jewish population of Bulgaria sent a special delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1946 where they could defend the interests of Bulgaria. The spokesmen for the delegates openly declared that the Bulgarian Jews were indebted to the Bulgarian people for their salvation. The Bulgarian Jews insisted that no special clause should be put in the peace treaty with reference to their protection. In fact no such clause was written down in the treaty, whereas such a clause was inserted into the peace treaties of other countries that had been German allies.

That was an international acknowledgment of the contribution of the Bulgarian people to the salvation of the Bulgarian Jews. It was a recognition of the democratic and humane spirit of the Bulgarian and an explanation of the deepest roots of that unique phenomenon.



Georgi Dimitrov

"During the grim and infamous fascist regime our people did not allow extermination of their fellow-citizens — the Jews. As universally admitted, Bulgaria was the only country under the fascist rule where the lives of the Jews were saved from the brutal hands of the Hitlerite butchers and cannibals. This binds our brother-Jews to eternal gratitude to the noble and democratic Bulgarian people and their National Front." □

**The Strategic
Weapon of
Reagan's
Nuclear
Terrorism:
Anti-Sovietism,
Anti-Communism**



(Continued from page 11)

as absolutely essential to block the path of the Kahane fascist, racist, chauvinist forces in Israel.

Those concerned about the threat to democracy in Israel can no longer close their eyes to the support given by some Jewish-Americans and the Christian Fundamentalists in their fund raising ventures for Kahane, who takes advantage of his dual citizenship to raise funds here.

We in the United States can deliver a blow to Kahanism by intensifying efforts to bring about an international conference for peace in the Middle East under the aegis of the UN with the US and the USSR as co-chair and with participation of all countries in the area so inclined, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. □

LMM

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The 50th Anniversary of the USSR and the Jewish People

By Hyman Lumer

In honor of the 68th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, we reprint an article by the late Dr. Hyman Lumer from the December 1972-January 1973 issue of Jewish Affairs, delivered at the First Annual Jewish Affairs dinner at which he was the guest of honor.

As a guest of honor one hears many kind things said about oneself. And I will not deny that it is pleasant to hear them. But I want to suggest that the real guest of honor here today is not myself but this modest and unpretentious publication — *Jewish Affairs*. It is primarily our devotion to this magazine, our concern for its continued growth and influence, that has brought us together on this occasion, which we expect will be the first of many such occasions.

Jewish Affairs was born of struggle. It is a product of the long-standing battle we have been waging for a Marxist-Leninist, internationalist approach to the Jewish question in all its aspects, of the battle against those Jewish leaders who have abandoned this path and who are today wandering deeper and deeper into the opportunist bog of bourgeois nationalism and Zionism, seeking to take with them the publications and institutions that Jewish Communists and progressives have labored many long years to build. *Jewish Affairs* is an outgrowth of the fight against the poisonous influences of Zionism among the Jewish people, against the virulent anti-Sovietism and racism to which it gives rise.

The magazine, which began as a newsletter, is now in its third year of publication. As the attendance at this dinner indicates, it has won a place for itself, and our purpose today is to expand and improve it, and to multiply its readership many times.

This gathering takes place on the eve of a most momentous event — the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was established at a conference in Moscow on December 30, 1922. The formation of the USSR constitutes a magnificent achievement, unique in human history. Here was born a new kind of state — a multi-national state formed by the voluntary union of nations coming together on a basis of complete equality. From this union there has developed, in the years which followed, a wholly new kind of community, which Leonid Brezhnev describes in these words: "A new historical community of people, the Soviet people, took shape in our

country during the years of socialist construction. New, harmonious relations, relations of friendship and cooperation, were formed between the classes and social groups, nations and nationalities in joint labor, in the struggle for socialism, and in the battles fought in defense of socialism."

From the "prisonhouse of nations" which was tsarist Russia, there has developed a state in which more than 100 nations and nationalities live in complete equality and harmony and are marching together toward the goal of communism. Here is a shining example for all mankind, a glorious living proof that socialism does indeed hold the solution of the national question, that the abolition of capitalist exploitation creates the conditions for the ending of national oppression.

The basis for this tremendous achievement is the Leninist policy on the national question, a policy based on adherence to the principle of working-class internationalism and rejection of the divisive ideology of bourgeois nationalism. Lenin fought for a class approach to the national question, for the unity of the workers of all nationalities against the common capitalist exploiter. He called for a united struggle against all national oppression, as being destructive of that unity. It was this policy which won for the Bolsheviks the united support of the oppressed peoples of tsarist Russia. It was this policy which made possible the victory of the socialist revolution and later the establishment of the USSR.

Among the national groups liberated by the October Revolution were the Jewish people, who were in tsarist Russia among the most bitterly persecuted of all peoples. The change in their status from the days of the ghetto and the pogrom is truly among the most remarkable accomplishments of Soviet power. Today Soviet Jews live on a plane of full equality with all other Soviet citizens, an equality which is not enjoyed by Jews in any capitalist country. They may live where they please and are free to enter any occupation or profession. Anti-Semitism in word and deed is outlawed.

With the establishment of the USSR a Jewish autonomous region was set up in Birobidjan for those Jews who might wish to build their own communal life. But few Soviet Jews have chosen this path. The overwhelming majority have elected to become a part of the Soviet people, living and working among them.

And not least, the world must never be allowed to forget that the Soviet government saved countless Jewish lives by removing Jews from the path of the Hitlerite invaders. Soviet Jews have certainly not forgotten this and are profoundly grateful.

In a word, in the socialist Soviet Union the Jewish question has been fully solved — a fact which it is most important for us to shout from the rooftops on this 50th anniversary of the USSR.

Zionism, which preaches that anti-Semitism is eternal and incurable, and which calls for segregation of Jews as the only solution, is profoundly and bitterly hostile to socialism and particularly to the Soviet Union. The world Zionist movement has long devoted itself to a slanderous campaign purporting to show that anti-Semitism is no less rife in the socialist world than under capitalism — indeed, that it is much worse under socialism.

Today this campaign has reached unbelievable depths of vilification, slander and outright fabrication. The fantastic anti-Soviet inventions are brazenly peddled as the truth by supposedly “respectable” and even reputedly “liberal” Jewish organizations. Literally, anything goes which can serve as a club with which to beat the Soviet Union.

Thus, the current issue of *Congress Bi-Weekly*, organ of the American Jewish Congress, has on its back cover an ad entitled “Women, It’s Up to You.” It continues: “All of you. All over New York. Now is the time to join the fight for freedom being waged by 3 million Jews who need all the help they can get. Some have been imprisoned. Others have been beaten. And now, still others are literally being ransomed off for their freedom.” The ad is signed by “Women’s Pledge to Free Them Now.” An article in the same issue makes the scurrilous charge that Soviet Jews who apply for visas to go to Israel are subjected to political trials, mockeries of justice in which they receive long prison sentences for such things as innocent, even casual expressions of opinion dug up from the past.

That these charges are all blatant falsehoods can be easily ascertained by any honest examination. Yet they are persistently circulated by Zionist leaders who must certainly know that they are untrue.

Or to take another example, the Jewish Community Council of Madison, Wisconsin, in a recent newsletter, reprinted from another Jewish publication what was alleged to be a facsimile of an internal passport which Soviet Jews are required to carry. The so-called “facsimile” has at the top the words “Birth Certificate” in Russian. There follows a hammer-and-sickle emblem, and under it — in English, no less — the words “Internal Passport.” And there appears below the apparently rubber-stamped word “Jew” — also in English.

It takes no expert to recognize this as a crude forgery

coined by an ignoramus. But when an outraged reader protested its appearance the editor replied that, well, maybe it should not have been labeled a facsimile, but it was a depiction of the truth just the same. And undoubtedly this “facsimile” continues to be reproduced in other Jewish publications throughout the country.

To climax this despicable offensive, the leading Jewish organizations have now lined up with the notorious hawk, Senator Henry Jackson, to oppose the opening up of U.S.-Soviet trade relations until the Soviet exit tax is repealed. And now, we learn, a boycott of Pepsi-Cola (though not of non-union lettuce) is being organized!

The 50th anniversary of the USSR should be the occasion for us to redouble our efforts to expose and defeat this vicious campaign, whose real purpose is not to help Soviet Jews — who plainly need no such “help” — but to attack and undermine the Soviet Union. We must bend every effort to bring to the Jewish people — to all the people of our country — the truth about the Soviet Jews and the lessons to be drawn from the Soviet experience for the U.S. Jews. This is a key responsibility for us all. □

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Jews in the USSR Today! Questions and Answers

By Avtandil Rukhadze

Soviet embassies in some Western countries, Soviet government and public organizations and news agencies, specifically the Novosti Press Agency, often receive letters from foreign citizens requesting them to answer questions on the position of Soviet Jews and various aspects of their life.

Q. There is a definite difference between Jews by birth and Jews by religion. Are such distinctions found in the Soviet Union?

A. A brief historical reference is needed here. In tsarist Russia, which was justly called the "prison of nations," Jews were among the most oppressed and discriminated of the religious and ethnic minorities. The Great October Revolution of 1917 proclaimed equality for all the peoples of Russia. The new Soviet state completely abolished the tsarist laws related to Jews, such as the Jewish Pale or percentage rates for admission into educational establishments, and it instituted their right to engage in farming.

At the same time in late 1917 and early 1918 decrees were passed, on Lenin's initiative, on the separation of the church from the state. For the first time in history Jews, as well as other nationalities regarded as religious or religious-ethnic groups in old Russia, received the legal status of a nationality irrespective of their faith, religious or atheistic convictions. It is thus nationality, not religion, that officially determines a person's belonging to Jewry.

Q. As is known, Zionism is rejected in the Soviet Union. It is not clear, however, when a Jew ceases to be simply a Jew and becomes a Zionist. Where does that line of demarcation pass in the Soviet Union?

A. The way the question is posed is rather symptomatic. It is obviously prompted by the Zionist propaganda stereotype that every Jew is allegedly a Zionist or at least shares Zionist views.

When in the spring of 1983, the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion was formed to combat racism, national discrimination, anti-Semitism, apartheid and other forms of national suppression, Zionist propaganda described this as a "new Soviet anti-Semitic act." As we can see, Zionism is identified with the interest of Jews, and the sign of equality is put between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

It is well known, however, that there are Jews who

are Zionist or advocates of Zionism and there are Jews who are not Zionists and even opponents of Zionism. It would be recalled that not only the USSR has an anti-Zionist public organization but some Western countries, too, have actively functioning **anti-Zionist Jewish organizations**. This means that there is a clear line of demarcation between Jews who advocate Zionism and Jews who oppose it.

As far as Soviet Jews are concerned, the overwhelming majority of them reject Zionism, although there are some persons who have been influenced by Zionist ideology. Many of them have left for Israel for they found themselves in profound isolation in Soviet society.

Q. Does the USSR have many religious Jews? Are there synagogues, for instance, in Moscow? Do they observe the rites and festivals stipulated by the Jewish religious canons?

A. No registration of citizens according to their religion is conducted in the USSR. For this reason, it is possible to form an opinion about the spread of religion among the Jewish population only from sociological surveys and from the attendance at synagogues. This data shows that the synagogues are regularly attended by only 2 to 7% of the Jews (the figures vary from city to city) and are mostly older persons.

Nowadays 120 synagogues function in practically all large Soviet cities. Most of them have ritual mikvah baths, matzo bakeries, poultry cutting places; they sell kosher food and ritual objects (talliths, mezuzahs, etc.) and observe the rites of bar mitzvah, huppah kiddushin and others. Every year Jewish festivals (the Passover, Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashonah and others) are celebrated. It is interesting to note that many Jewish non-believers who honor national tradition celebrate these festivals, too.

Q. Is it allowed to learn the Jewish language in the Soviet Union? Is it taught at synagogues, as in the West?

A. To begin with, which Jewish language is meant? In the Soviet Union Yiddish is considered the national language of the overwhelming majority of Jews. In this language the monthly literary and political magazine *Sovietish Heimland* (*Soviet Homeland*) is published, as well as the daily *Birobidjaner Stern*, and the Jewish literary Year Book; dozens of books by Jewish classical authors (Mendele Moicher Sforim, Sholom Aleichem) and numerous Soviet Jewish writers are regularly published in the Soviet Union.

Yiddish is taught at some schools. For this purpose a colorful primer was released in large editions in 1983.

The *Sovietish Heimland* has a special section for those who learn Yiddish independently. In 1984 a Jewish-Russian dictionary was published for the first time; it includes 40,000 entries and a grammar section to make learning easier.

Q. What is the policy of Soviet authorities towards the Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel?

A. The Soviet Union has neither a social nor a political basis for emigration. It lacks unemployment or poverty. The Soviet people are constitutionally guaranteed vital social and political rights. The Leninist nationality policy ensures progressive development for all nations and ethnic groups. For this reason, the overwhelming majority of applications for emigration from the USSR are connected with the applicant's wish to rejoin their families. Naturally, the bigger part of such applications are submitted by persons of Jewish nationality whose families were disunited during World War II and the Nazi occupation. Only a small portion of them leave the USSR for religious or other reasons.

During the post-war period (since 1945) 260,000 persons of Jewish nationality have left the USSR for Israel (and before it was formed, to Palestine), which amounts to 95% of the total number of those who applied for emigration.

The fact that a person has applied for emigration does not, as a rule, affect his social status or position at work, the insignificant exception being the applicants employed in the defense industry or in secret research. In such cases these persons can be released from work in coordination with trade unions and in accordance with the Labor Code. They are offered less responsible jobs. But such persons usually change their place of work themselves before they apply for emigration. There is a shortage of manpower in the Soviet Union and it is no problem to change a job.

The number of those wishing to leave for Israel has noticeably declined over the past years. For instance, in Lithuania, one of the Soviet Baltic republics where traditionally a considerable number of Jews live, not a single such application has been submitted since the beginning of this year. Soviet authorities explain the reduction in such applications by the fact that the process of family re-unification has on the whole been completed.

Israeli officials note with bitterness that more than half of the Jews leaving the Soviet Union for Israel change their mind as soon as they cross the Soviet border and go to other countries.

The true reasons for the reduction of the number of immigrants in Israel are quite obvious: the Israeli lead-

er's aggressive policy which robs Israeli citizens of security and creates a permanent threat of war; the grave economic situation inside the country; the very high cost of living; the unprecedented inflation and taxes. In other words, the Israelis are constantly haunted by fear, instability and insecurity. □

Avtandil Rukhadze is a writer for the Novosti Press Agency.

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A contribution in the amount of \$120.00 credited to our poet Edith Beck was, in fact, a contribution from Edith Beck and also Muriel Rothblatt, Philip Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. Polsky, Mr. and Mrs. Weinstock, Clara Rosen, Mr. and Mrs. Berry, all devoted supporters of Jewish Affairs.

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FREE NELSON MANDELA



Dear Mr. President,

We, the undersigned, petition you to make a public appeal in the name of human rights, to free Nelson Mandela. The leader of the African National Congress (the national liberation movement recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity) remains imprisoned after 24 years of a life sentence. By most estimates, Mandela would be elected president of a free South Africa.

Dozens of heads of state and the United Nations have asked for the freedom of this great leader. As president of a country with enormous investments in and dealings with the South African apartheid regime, your voice would carry tremendous weight on this matter.

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די ראָל פֿון "פֿאַרווערטס" און אב. קאהאַן

אב. קאהאַן, רעדאַקטאָר פֿון "פֿאַרווערטס", האָט געזוכט מאַכן צו גאַרנישט די באַלשעוויטישע רעוואָלוציע. "איך האָב געקענט לענינען". האָט זיך קאהאַן באַרימט "ווען יענער איז אַרומגעגאַנגען אין צעריסענע הויזן, און טראַציקי איז אַ פֿלודעראַק און ס'וועט גאַרנישט זיין פֿון זיי".

עס האָבן אָבער אַנגעהויבן אַנקומען גינסטיקע באַריכטן פֿון רוסלאַנד. ס'איז געקומען דער באַרימטער זשורנאַליסט, דזשאַן ריד, וועלכער האָט בייגעוואוינט די באַלשעוויטישע רעוואָלוציע. רידס פֿרוי, די שרייבערין לואיז באַריענט, אויך לינקאַלן סטעפענס און אַמערע באַוואוסטע זשורנאַליסט האָבן דערציילט דעם אמת וועגן רוסלאַנד.

לינקאַלן סטעפענס האָט געזאָגט אין אַן ענטפֿער צו בערנאַרד באַרדן: "איך האָב געזען די צוקונפֿט — און זי אַרבעט". דאָס אַלץ האָט געהאַט אַ ווירונג. אין מאי, 1918, האָט זיך שוין באַוויזן אַן אַרטיקל אין "פֿאַרווערטס" אונטערן "קעפל": "די באַלשעוויטיקע זיינען אַלאַריט". אין אַנהויב פֿונעם אַרטיקל זאָגט זיך: "דער טייוול איז נישט אַזוי שרעקלעך, ווי מען שטעלט אים פֿאַר. פֿאַרשיידענע ידיעות פֿון רוסלאַנד וואַרפֿן גאַר אַן אַמערע ליכט אויף וואָס עס קומט פֿאַר אין רוסלאַנד". דער אַרטיקל זאָגט ווייטער, אַז עס איז נישט ריכטיק, אַז דאָרט איז נישט קיין אַרדענונג, א. א. וו. פֿון פּאַטאַגראַד איז אַנגעקומען אַ דעפֿעשע, וואו עס ווערט דערציילט, אַז די באַלשעוויטיקע האָבן אין מאַסקווע אויפגעשטעלט אַ סטאַטוע פֿון קאַרל מאַרקס, און אַז מען האָט דאָרט געפֿייערט מיט גרויס פֿאַראַד דעם ערטשן מאַי און קאַרל מאַרקס הונדערטסטן געבורטסטאָג.

קאהאַן איז געוואָרן באַגייסטערט, און דעם 17טן מאי, 1918, האָט ער אין "פֿאַרווערטס" אַפּגעדרוקט אַן אַרטיקל אונטער אַ קעפל: "דערלעבט". ער שרייבט וועגן דעם מאַנזעמענט פֿון קאַרל מאַרקס, מיט אַ טאָג שפּעטער, דעם 18טן מאי, 1918, איז פֿאַרגעקומען דער גרויסער קבלת־פנים פֿאַר דזשאַן ריד אין קאַרנעי גאַל. אב. קאהאַן איז געוועסן אויך דער פּלאַטפֿארמע און האָט אַפּלאַדירט רידס אויספירלעכן באַריכט. דערנאָך האָט קאהאַן אַנגעשריבן אַ באַגייסטערטן אַרטיקל אין "פֿאַרווערטס".

ב. וואַלדעק, וועלכער איז יענעם יאָר, אַ דאָק דער רעוואָלוציאַנערער שטימונג פֿון די יידישע מאַסן, וואָס די רעוואָלוציע אין רוסלאַנד האָט אַרויסגערופֿן, דערוויילט געוואָרן אַלס אַלדערמאַן (מיטגליד פֿון שטאַט־ראַט פֿון ניו־יאָרק). האָט שטיידיק די באַלשעוויטיקע.

זיי האָבן פֿאַרשפּרייט ליגנס, אַז די באַלשעוויטיקע האָבן דערמאַרדעט דעם באַרימטן סאַציאַליסט פּלעכאַטוו, דעם אַנאַרכיסט פּעטער קראַפּאַטקי; די רעוואָלוציאַנערין, וואָס איז געווען באַוואוסט אונטערן נאָמען "באַבשאַק" ברעשאַקאָוסקיאַ", פּלעכאַטוו און קראַפּאַטקי האָבן אַליין אַפּגעלייקט די ליגנס און פֿאַראַמט די ליגנער, און די "באַבשאַק" איז געקומען אַ לעבעדיקע קיין אַמעריקע. די ליגנ־פֿאַבריקאַנטן האָבן דאָן פֿאַרשפּרייט נייע ליגנס.

די אינטערוויע

די פֿאַראייניקטע שטאַטן צוזאַמען מיט אַמערע קאָפּטאַליסטישע לענדער האָבן אַריינגעשיקט באַוואָפֿנטע אַרמייען אין טיילן פֿון רוסלאַנד, כלומרשט אונטערן אויסרייד פֿון "באַפֿרייען טשעכאָסלאַוואַקישע געפֿאַנגענע", און געפֿירט אַ מלחמה קעגן דער סאָוועטן־מאַכט.

עס זיינען דאָן אין רוסלאַנד פֿאַרגעקומען קאַנטר־רעוואָלוציאַנערע אויפשטאַנדן, אַנגעפֿירט פֿון די צאַרישע גענעראַלן דעניקי, קלאַטשאַק און ווראַנגעל, וועמענס אַרמייען עס זיינען אויסגעשטאַט געוואָרן מיט וואַרפֿן דורך די פֿאַראייניקטע שטאַטן און אַמערע לענדער.

זיי יונגע אַרבעט־רעפּובליק איז געווען אַרומגערינגלט דורך אַ בלאַקאַד, וואָס האָט נישט דערליכט אַריינצוברענגען וועלכע עס איז הילף צו דער סאָוועטן־מאַכט. די פֿאַרגעטסיווע מאַסן אין אַמעריקע האָבן געפֿירט אַ גרויסן קאַמף קעגן דער בלאַקאַדע און קעגן דער הילף צו די קאַנטר־רעוואָלוציאַנערן.

אינעם פֿון די היגע פּאַפּולערסטע פֿריינט פֿון סאָוועטן־פֿאַרבאַדט איז געווען דער יונגער פֿייאַיקער און ענערגישער ראַבאַי יהודה־לייב מאַנעס. ער איז געווען פֿון די פֿירער פֿון קאַנדידאַטע אַזעט לטובֿה דעם סאָוועטן־פֿאַרבאַדט.

מאַנעס האָט אויפגעטרומעט די פֿאַרוואַמטע אויף אַ מאַסן־מיטינג אין דעם אַלטן מעדיסאָן סקווער גאַרדן, וואו ער האָט געפֿאַדערט, אַז אַמעריקע זאָל אָפּשטעלן די מלחמה קעגן דער יונגער רוסישער אַרבעטער רעפּובליק, אָפּשאַפֿן די בלאַקאַדע, און אַנטשאַט דעם שיקן שפּייז צו העלפֿן די הונגעריקע אין רוסלאַנד.

דער עולם האָט זיך אויסגעהויבן פֿון די ערטער און שטורמיש אַפּלאַדירט דעם רעדנער.

די שונאים פֿון דער סאָוועטן־מאַכט האָבן געלייגט האַכעפּונג אויף די קאַנטר־רעוואָלוציאַנערע מעשים און פּוועוואַיינס פֿון די צאַרישע גענעראַלן.

אין דער צייט, ווען דעניקינס אַרמייען האָבן מאַרשירט איבער רוסלאַנד און פֿאַרנומען שטעט, האָט אַ שרייבער אין "טאָג" אַפּגעדרוקט אַ סעריע אַרטיקלען אונטער אַ קעפל: "דער סוף פֿון די באַלשעוויטיקע". ער האָט געזוכט צו באַווייזן מיט אַלערליי פּילפּולים, פֿאַרוואַס די באַלשעוויטיקע "האָבן געמוזט" אונטערגיין...

די ווירקונג פון אַקטאַבער-רעוואָלוציע אויף די אמעריקאַנער יידישע פּאָלקס-מאַסן

פון ס.ד. לעווין

סאַמע סוף פון זיין לעבן. עס איז אָפּגעשאַצט געוואָרן די ראל פון לעוויןע ווי אַ היסטאָריקער און באַשרייבער פון די אַרבעטער-קאַמפּן אין אמעריקע.

עס זיינען אויפגעטראָטן ארט שידלס אין נאָמען פון "דעליע וואַרלד", ס. גוריסאָן אין נאָמען פון דער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי. און אברהם ווייס אין נאָמען פון דער יידישער סעקציע אין איר צייט-שריפט "דזשאַזש אַפּערס".

מיר דרוקן דאָ איבער אַ פּאַרקירצטן קאַפיטל פון ס.ד. לעוויןס בוך "קאַפיטלען פון מיין לעבן". וואָס גיט אַן אינטערעסאַנטן איבערבליק פון יענער צייט.

ס.ד. לעווין איז געווען אַ טשאַרטער-מיטגליד פון דער אמעריקאַנער קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי און איינער פון די גרינדער פון דער יידישער צייטונג "מאַרגן-פּרייהייט".

דעם 4טן יאַנואַר 1978 איז פּאַרגעקומען די לויה נאָך אים, ער איז געשטאַרבן אין עלטער פון 93 יאָר. עטלעכע הונדערט מענטשן זיינען געקומען צו זיין לויה.

דער רעדאַקטאָר פון דער "מאַרגן-פּרייהייט", פ. נאָוויק, האָט געגעבן אַן אַפּשאַצונג פון ס.ד. לעווין — איינעם פון די גרינדער פון דער צייטונג, אַקטיווער בויער און מיטאַרבעטער אירער ביזן

די רעוואָלוציע אין רוסלאַנד

אַבער די נייעסן, וואָס קומען פון רוסלאַנד כאַלד נאָך דער מערץ-רעוואָלוציע, שטעלן ניט צופרידן. מען קריגט גרוסן פון אַ ווילדער סעפּעקולאַציע אויפן חשבון פון די נויטן פון די מאַסן. אייניקע ווערן רייך, און די מאַסן ליידן. און די מלחמה ווערט ניט אָפּגעשטעלט.

"דאָס איז ניט די אמתע רעוואָלוציע". האָבן געפילט די סאָציאַליסטישע מאַסן אין אמעריקע. כאַטש אַ גרויסער טייל פון די "גדולים", די פירער פון דער סאָציאַליסטישער באַוועגונג, האָבן דאָס ניט איינגעזען.

די נייעס וועגן דער אַקטאַבער-רעוואָלוציע עס איז געקומען די פריילעכע נייעס פון דער אַקטאַבער-רעוואָלוציע — 7טן נאָוועמבער, 1917, אויף דעם נייעם קאַלענדאַר. די נאָלשעוויקעס האָבן איבערגענומען די מאַכט אין רוסלאַנד. אַ נייער מאַניפעסט איז אַרויסגעלאָזט געוואָרן: אַ סוף צו דער מלחמה! לאַנד צו די פּויערס! די גאַנצע מאַכט צו די סאָוועטן!"

די פּראַגרעסיווע מאַסן אין אמעריקע האָבן כאַלד פאַרשטאַנען, וואָס דאָס מיינט, און באַגרייט די גרויסע איבערקערניש. אייניקע סאָציאַליסטישע פירער האָבן זי ניט געוואָלט אָנערקענען.

די אמעריקאַנער רעאַקצאַנערע צייטונגען האָבן גענומען מאַלן די נייע רעגירונג פון רוסלאַנד אין די שרעקלעכסטע פאַרבן. זיי האָבן געהעצט: "די נייע הערשער פון רוסלאַנד זיינען קאַנבאַלן, זיי נאַציאָנאַליזירן פּווערן, זיי דערמאַרדן יעדן אינטעליגענט, יעדן מענטש מיט אַ ווייסן קאַלנער".

אַנהויב מערץ 1917 די וועלט-מלחמה, וואָס זיך אָנגעהויבן אין 1914, איז אָנגעגאַנגען. די מלחמה-קרובות זיינען גרויס אין צאָל, און עס נעמט ניט קיין סוף. פּאַנאַמען אויף יידן אין די מלחמה-געגענטן אין פּאַרשיידענע שטעט פון רוסלאַנד און פּוילן. אמעריקע גרייט זיך אַריינצוטערעטן אין דער בלוטיקער מלחמה. די לופט איז פול מיט קרגס-פּראָפּאַגאַנדע. די אַמוניציע-פאַבריקאַנטן און די "פּראָפּעסיאָנעלע פּאַטריאָטן" העצן אויף, אַלע כליים. אַ פּיכערדאַפּטע צוגרייטונג צו מלחמה גייט אָן.

סאָציאַליסטישע און ראַדיקאַלע עלעמענטן אין אמעריקע פירן דורך פּאַרואַמלונגען, דעמאָנסטראַציעס קעגן מלחמה. זיי ווערן פאַרשרייען פון די מלחמה-העצער. די וועלט-לאַגע איז טרויעריק.

מיטאַמאָל — עקסטראַ! עקסטראַ!
די גאַס איז פול מיט אויסגעשרייען פון צייטונגס-פּאַרקריפּער: "עקסטראַ! דער צאָר האָט אָפּגעדאַנקט". "צאָר נאַקאַלאַ, זעלבסטהערשער פון רוסלאַנד, האָט זיך אָפּגעזאָגט פון זיין טראָן!"

אַ פּרייד האָט אַרומגענומען אַלע פּריינט פון פּרייהייט און פּרייד — ענדלעך איז געקומען אַ סוף — האָבן זיי זיך געפּרייט — אַ סוף צו די צרות, צו אונטערדריקונג, צו פּאַנאַמען אויף יידן; אַ סוף צו דער מלחמה.

ווי אַנדערש קאָן דאָס זיין? — האָבן מיר זיך געטראַכט — מען האָט דאָך צוליב דעם אַראָפּגעוואָרפן דעם צאָר. די אַפּגענוגען זיינען גרויס.

ווירשע ענינים

געפאלן א פאלקס-מענטש און טוער

(געווידמעט דעם אַנדענק פון אַלעקס קאַלקין)

פון דוד סעלצער

געפאלן א פאלקס-מענטש און טוער
אין אויסגעהויכט מיאיקן אַטעם
און שיינעם געוועב פון דעם קאַלענטיוו
געפלאַצט האָט אַ גאַלדענער פּאַדעם.

געוועזן איז ער נאָענט ווי אייגענער גליד,
ווי זער חלום פון אייגענער ברוסט,
און כל זמן געשטאַנען איז ער אינדערמיט
האַט קיינער פון מידיקייט געוואוסט.

געקומען די נאָענטסטע און ליכסטע
און שטייען מיט קעפּ איינגעכויגן.
דער ריס ער ווירברירט אין יעדן האַרץ
דער צער ער ווייטיקט אין אויגן.

היינט דערקענט מען באַפּליגלטן אַנשטרענג,
דעם באַגער פון פאַרמאָסטענעם אַטעם
און סקניפּן זיך פּעדעם און צאַפּל פון ריס
און פאַרוועבן דעם חכרשן פּאַדעם.

און אייביקן געוועב פון דעם קאַלעקטיוו
עס העפּטן זיך פּעדעם מיליאָנען.
און צווישאַן די שטאַרלן פון העלן געמעל
עס פינקלט זיין ליכטיקער נאָמען.