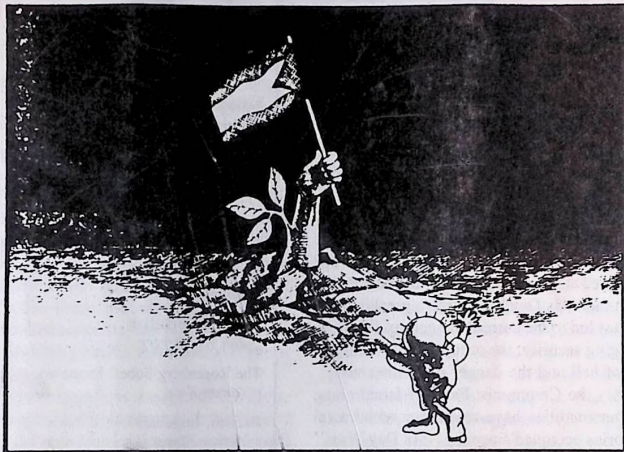


May/June 1988
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JEWISH AFFAIRS



Najj El-All and a typical example of his work.

Molten Illusions
Joseph Lipski

The Birth of Israel
Herbert Aptheker

Roots and Branches
Jon Weisberger

Sharing the Pain of Babi Yar
Fred Weir

The Rosenberg-Sobell Frame-up
Aaron Katz

**Festival of Jewish Culture in
Poland**
Sol Flapan

Lebanon, Israel and the US
Gordon Welty

N.Y. ISSN: 0021-6305

Molten Illusions

By Joseph Lipski

At the time of this writing four months have passed since the outbreak of the uprising in the Occupied Territories by the Palestinian population. During the course of the uprising many aspects have become clearer and many illusions have exploded as new facts make themselves evident.

We remember still the sharp discussions about the character of the "Six Day War" and about the question of whether Resolution 242 of the UN Security Council speaks about a withdrawal from *all* Occupied territories or merely from territories, thereby justifying the intention to leave in the hands of Israel not all but some of the territories.

In the flames of the Palestinian uprising the discussions around this question have been pushed aside apparently, leaving that to the historians.

The central question of the necessity for an early Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories has been placed on the agenda with all its vehemence. Broad circles have arrived at the conclusion that the occupation of territories in the "Six Day War" was a great disaster for Israel and has led to the current dangerous situation. Instead of bringing security, the occupation of lands has created a life of hell and the danger of another war.

For years only the Communist Party of Israel along with leading personalities have called for withdrawal from the territories occupied since the "Six Day War." But today such demands are raised in wider circles and in many universities.

These days, hundreds of lecturers and students of the religious Bar-Ilan University have appealed to the government to agree to withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. In many Kibbutzim, similar resolutions are being adopted and at large mass gatherings the necessity for the withdrawal from the territories is emphasized.

People are beginning to understand that abolishing the "Green Line" and holding on to the whole of "Eretz-Yisrael, (Biblical Israel), as promoted by the extreme right-wing circles, will change the nature of the Israeli States. Keeping in mind the one and one half million Palestinians in the Occupied territories and the 700,000 Israeli Arabs, such as a state might lose its Jewish character if all are granted full civil rights. Under such circumstances the Knesset might include 50 Arab and 70 Jewish deputies. 30% of the representatives in the Jerusalem municipality would be Palestinian with this proportion changing in favor of the Arabs over the course of

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years. From this stand-point ever widening reasonable circles demand a withdrawal from the Occupied Territories and call for the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel, to evolve from an international conference with the necessary guarantees for the preservation of peace with the Palestinians who refuse to live under the Israeli occupation. This is the signal from the present uprising.

The extremist right-wing circles have, obviously a different solution. They demand the denial of civil rights to the Palestinians, the strangulation of any and all opposition to the Israeli occupation and call for the mass deportation of Palestinians.

Unfortunately the Israeli Labor Party leader Yitzhak Rabin, as Minister of Defense, pursues an "iron fist" policy in order to strangle the Palestinian liberation struggle.

These days mass arrests are carried out among the Palestinians; heavy inhuman sanctions are imposed on the Palestinian population. Obviously, then, *Al-Hamishmar* is correct when it writes: "those who carry out this policy do not understand, that even if they place the entire population of the territories in prison, they cannot put an end to the Palestinian struggle for national liberation," 3/20/88. From the very beginning the Palestinians were called terrorists, but as time passes, it becomes clear to widening circles that a national struggle is taking place.

At the same time two questions are raised: "Will the Palestinian leaders agree to live in peace with the State of Israel and what is the approach of the organized Israeli Arab society toward the uprising by the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories?"

First, it is important to point out that all Arab States, as also the PLO leadership agree to sit side by side with Israel at an international conference to achieve peace with Israel within the 1967 borders.

Recently a series of meetings took place between Israeli and Palestinian personalities. One of the leaders of the "Peace Now" movement, Tsali Reshed, declared: "I am prepared, under certain conditions, to agree to a Palestinian State led by the PLO," *Yediot Aharanot*, 3/25/88. Continuing he said: "I do not want one and one half million Palestinians under our rule. . . . I want to return to a State of Israel with a clear Jewish majority. . . ."

Israelis cease to be afraid of a Palestinian State alongside Israel and they no longer refer to the PLO as a terrorist organization but rather regard them as a partner with whom we must negotiate. Indeed, there are in this organization different groups and there are also marginal

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groups outside the PLO who disagree with the position of the common program of the leadership of the PLO. However, in the Arab countries and in the PLO, reasonable forces who favor a political solution have gained the dominant position.

The organized Israeli Arab society naturally expresses its solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian People against the occupation. They do so because of their national identity as well as because many have close relatives there.

A tragic-comic situation has developed. The same right-wing circles who preach the abolition of the "Green Line of 1967," demand that the Israeli Arabs respect this line in their relations with the other Arabs, even with their close relatives who live across the line.

Malicious agitation has been unloosed against the organized Israeli Arabs who protest against the military operations against the Palestinian population in the Occupied Territories. These protests are characterized as an expression of disloyalty toward the State of Israel. Thus, the Communist Party of Israel is being accused of inciting the Israeli Arab population to become disloyal to the State of Israel.

Based on British mandatory law, Prime Minister Yotzhak Shamir has even closed the Arabic language daily of the Communist Party, *Al-Itihad*, for seven days from March 23rd until March 30th, the "Day of the Land," proclaimed as a day of solidarity with the Palestinian population, notwithstanding the practice of broad Jewish circles participating in this solidarity demonstration, including well-known and respected writers, cultural figures and social activists.

Broad Israeli circles have protested the closing of the newspaper which has published, especially in the most recent period, condemnation of isolated actions by elements in Israel who have thrown stones and hoisted Palestinian flags. "Our flag is the Israeli flag" asserted Tawfig Zayad, Mayor of Nazareth and Communist deputy in the Israeli Knesset.

The above and other actions are an expression of the failure of the policy pursued by the Israeli ruling circles. Commenting on the current scene the writer Yizhar Smilansky cries out: "Wake up, coffee-drinkers; do something to change the situation," *Davar*, 3/25/88, "because it is urgently necessary to change this policy."

On The Events in the Village of Beita

The events in the village of Beita, in the Occupied Territories are a serious turning point and an alarm signal in the developments flowing from the Palestinian upris-

ing in the Occupied Territories and in the life of Israel's society.

During the first months, the extreme right-wing colonialists of Kiryat Arba sounded an alarm that the inhabitants of the village of Beita attacked a group of Jewish children who were on an excursion in the neighborhood and that this assault caused the death of the 15 year old school girl, Tirza Porat and of two Arab villagers and caused injuries to other pupils in the group.

Hysterical cries called out for the immediate punishment of the villagers of Beita, for the demolition of the village and to have the village inhabitants driven away.

However, in the meantime, reports arrived, throwing more light on the events causing the tragic death of the school girl and of the two Palestinians. These reports revealed an entirely different picture.

It is assumed that even in normal times that each excursion into the area must be reported in advance to the proper authorities. It is common practice that excursions into specially disturbed areas be accompanied by an escort. It was, therefore, astonishing that the local escorts of that particular group of school children had decided to take an excursion into such a disturbed area, at such a moment of unrest, without reporting their plan to the proper authorities. Furthermore, it was revealed that both escorts who led the school children and who chose as the place of their trip those tense Arab villages, are well known in the Arab areas as "men with a past record as troublemakers in the neighborhood and one of them even has a criminal record," *Ha'Arezt*, 12/4/88. The very fact that these "escorts" appeared on the scene as leaders of the youth group has aroused unrest and concern in the village.

The investigation of the military revealed that the "escorts" of the group of 14-16 year old students chased away from the place where they sat down to rest an Arab shepherd who rushed to alarm the village. This episode already increased the tension. One of the two escorts started at once to shoot at the Arab youth who rushed to the scene of the incident, throwing stones. The shots that rang out killed a 14 year old Arab boy on the spot and later on another Arab young man. The escort was hit on the head by a stone and started to shoot in all directions. The military investigation reported that the 14 year old girl was killed by a bullet from the weapon in the hands of the escort. Yoel Marcus wrote in *Ha'Arezt*, 12/4/88, "If the Arab villagers wanted to kill the walkers, they could have done it. They had enough time to do it. Though an entire army occupies the territories, no Israeli armed forces appeared on the scene for over an hour."

Yoel Marcus writes further: "It turns out that there

were enough villagers who were determined not to permit the staging of a real pogrom. Arabs have shown more responsibility than the parents of the Israeli children who permitted the excursion." The entire press points out that some Arab women protected several girls among the group, including the daughter of Benny Katzover, the chief of the extremist right-wing anti-Arab agitators, who unleashed a wild slander campaign against the commanding Israeli officers as well as against the Arab population. This campaign included a demand to drive all Arabs out of the village.

Oded Lifshitz is correct when he writes: "If Benny Katzover and his companions, whose children were saved by the Arabs, would have a shred of morality and self-respect and something like simple human feelings, they would find a way to meet the Arabs who helped their children and would thank them personally and then afterwards, in public, thank them again." *Al Hamishmar*, 4/15/88.

They did nothing of the kind and, being blinded by anti-Arab hatred, they and other extreme right wingers inside the government unleashed a hysterical campaign demanding the taking of drastic measures against the whole Palestinian People. They even called for the removal of the military commanders claiming that they treat the Palestinians with too much leniency because they do not deport all Arabs and those from Beita in the first instance. It is important to bear in mind that since the beginning of the uprising 5000 Palestinians have been arrested and 1,300 detained according with administrative regulations. These Palestinians, in their majority, are political, social and cultural activists against whom no specific charges have been brought. All favored a political solution.

The seriousness of the situation lies in the fact that the government military authorities have capitulated in view of the campaign incited by the extremist right-wing circles flowing from the events in the village of Beita. Collective punishment is being meted out. 14 houses were demolished and entire families, including little children, were thrown into the street, including pregnant women, elderly people, six villagers of Beita were deported. The houses were blown up without waiting for the results of the investigation. The army admitted demolishing "by mistake" the house of a family who helped protect the school children. At the same time the extremist right-wing circles started a wild campaign of agitation against those forces in Israel proper who are demanding a more reasonable policy.

The respectable writer, Yizhar Smilansky, says right-

Continued on page 17

ROOTS AND BRANCHES

By Jon Weisberger

This article by Jon Weisberger, Jewish community leader and peace activist, is the first in a series of articles to appear regularly in our pages. They will probe significant trends and events, current issues and published articles of interest to the readers of *Jewish Affairs*.

ONE STATE OR TWO?

The Palestinian uprising seems to have finally broken through the web of bias, distortion, racism and outright denial of reality that has plagued Middle East coverage in the U.S. media for years. As a result, the Israeli-Palestinian-Arab conflict is finally being taken up by significantly larger sectors of the progressive movement. The heightened interest has, however, underlined the need to review some points that are essential if a just and lasting resolution to the conflict is to be found.

Much attention has been devoted in the progressive press, and justly so, to the inadequacy of plans such as the Shultz proposal, which would deny the full exercise of the Palestinian right to self-determination. But a recent ad in the *New York Times* (March 13, 1988), reveals that confusion about what constitutes a just settlement is not limited only to those who argue for some form of Palestinian "autonomy"; in this case, the confusion centers around the argument for the "dismantling" of Israel and its replacement by a "democratic, secular Palestine, where Jews and Arabs, Christians and Moslems, live together with equal rights and opportunities."

Such a proposal has its attractions for many progressives, not least because of the disgusting nature of the Occupation and the racist character of much of Israeli political discourse. Still, this approach is consistent neither with a concrete analysis of Middle East history nor with an objective, scientific approach to the question of national rights. It is, therefore, fundamentally a diversion from the road to peace, and grist for the mill of the Israeli rejectionists and their supporters.

The right of nations to self-determination is not a privilege arbitrarily granted, but a sovereign right that flows from the existence of those nations, formed "on the basis of objective economic, cultural and other factors. . . . The formation of nations . . . always has a definite socio-economic content." (G. Glezerman, *Classes and Nations*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, pp. 18, 23). This is the basis upon which the Palestinian people stand in their call for self-determination, and it is equally the basis on which the Israeli nation is entitled to national self-determination.

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(The essence of the conflict, as has been pointed out repeatedly by Palestinian spokespersons, has been the exercise of that right by only one of the two nations.)

The formation of an Israeli nation has been recognized by Communists around the world. In a penetrating analysis published the year before the 1967 War, Israeli Communist Party General Secretary Meir Vilner pointed out that in the period from the mid-1930s to 1940s, "the Jewish community in Palestine . . . passed from the stage of a national minority to that of a nation in the process of formation. . . ." (*The Palestinian Problem and the Israeli-Arab Dispute*, 1966, p. 12). Vilner demonstrated that the process was not simply one of an increase in numerical terms of the number of Jews living in Palestine, but of developments in the economic life of colonial Palestine, pointing to the growth and particular form of the Jewish sector of the Palestinian economy and to "growing contradictions between segments of the Jewish community (including a part of the bourgeoisie) and imperialism." (ibid).

Soviet scholar and foreign policy advisor Yevgeni Primakov was equally clear in 1978, writing that "[t]he Jewish—the larger—part of Israel's population lives on a single territory, and has a common economic life and a common language, Hebrew, which is the principle medium of communication in the country. . . . The psychological makeup of the Israeli nation is stamped with the imprint of the historical conditions of Israel's emergence, the incessant battle for territorial expansion and the conflict with the country's Arab national minority, which is discriminated against. . . . The emergence of the Israeli nation is an objective reality, and there is nothing to suggest that the process can be stopped. So calls to deprive the Israelis of their right to self-determination, including the right to their own state, are untenable and unhistorical." (*Anatomy of the Middle East Conflict*, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, pp. 114-15).

This objective process can, of course, be separated from the question of political power within the emergent nation. As Glezerman points out, "[d]uring the formation of nations within a bourgeois society the bourgeoisie is usually the first to become consolidated as a class while the proletariat consolidates later. That is why the consolidation of the proletariat as a class takes place within the already formed or still forming nations of a bourgeois society. The bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties take advantage of this to impose a 'unified' national ideology upon the proletariat." (op. cit., pp. 26-7). In the case of Israel, of course, that ideology was Zionism, which not only put forth an ideology of

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chauvinism and expansionism in order to perpetuate bourgeois domination, but facilitated the formation of the Israeli nation through the doctrine of "Jewish labor," furthering the creation of a distinct Jewish sector in the economy that became increasingly differentiated from the Arab economy.

The N.Y. *Times* ad is particularly problematic because it makes use of the atrocious relationship between Israel and South Africa, and the racist nature of the ruling Zionist circles in Israel to draw a false analogy between the situation in South Africa and Israel, arguing that a two-state solution in the Middle East is as unacceptable as a two-state solution would be in South Africa. This proposition utilizes the apartheid-like conditions of the Occupation, and the ongoing discrimination against Israeli Arabs, while ignoring crucial differences in the historical development of South Africa and Israel, most notably the existence of a single, highly-concentrated economy in South Africa in which Blacks and whites both participate. In this way the ad's authors confuse two different, though equally horrifying cases of oppression.

In fact, the two-state solution is the only one which meets the needs of the peoples of the Middle East. This is why Palestinian Communist Party Political Bureau member Naim Ashhab called in Moscow for a solution that "should be just and should guarantee [the Palestinian people] the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state on the West Bank with the Arab sector of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip included in it— alongside the existence of the State of Israel." (*Meeting of Representatives of the Parties and Movements Participating in the Celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution*, Novosti, Moscow, 1988, p. 428)

SAY WHAT?

Michael Lerner seems to have taken a dive into the sea of make-believe in the latest issue of *Tikkun* (May/June, 1988). The magazine has certainly had its bouts of irrelevance and folly in the past, along with a fair share of interesting and occasionally profound material, but the editorial "Israel at Forty" definitely marks a new and disturbing low.

Why? Well, in order to explain why "Zionism has been the national liberation struggle of the Jewish people," Lerner devotes a full fourth of his editorial to a ludicrous analogy in which "Northern whites" play the role of the Palestinian Arab people, while "blacks from the South" (note the lower case) stand in for "Jewish refugees"! Needless to say, after starting from this

"hypothetical scenario" Lerner digs himself into a nearly-bottomless pit; in the space of four paragraphs he manages to insult every party dragged into this silly attempt at squaring the circle. Lerner apparently has not studied any Zionist history; had he done so, he surely would have realized that Zionism predates the Holocaust, and that Zionist theory has never based its claim to "Eretz Yisroel" on the tragedy of the Holocaust. Indeed, in his own magazine, in the preceding issue (March/April, 1988), Lerner's chum Shimon Peres managed to conclude that the "central task for Jewish life in the 1940s" was not the rescue of European Jews but "for Israel to reach independence."

FRAUD, FAMINE AND FASCISM.

That's the title of a recently-published study of the Ukrainian genocide myth by Canadian trade unionist and journalist Douglas Tottle (Progress Books, Toronto, 1987). It's a fascinating debunking of the slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union alleging that the 1932-33 famine in the Ukraine was a deliberately planned genocide of Ukrainians by the Soviet government.

This campaign, begun in the 1930s by the Nazis and the Hearst press, was revived in the mid-1980s with the near-simultaneous release of the film "Harvest of Despair" and Robert Conquest's book *Harvest of Sorrow*. I can recall seeing the film on my local PBS affiliate several years ago, and Conquest's book can still be found in many of the mass market bookstores, having been issued as a trade paperback. Both, according to Tottle, are frauds, making use of photos that predate the period in question by some 10 years, extensive material from Nazi sources, and "eyewitness" accounts from Nazis and Ukrainian Nationalist collaborators.

Tottle hypothesizes that the revival of the famine-genocide campaign is part of the general Reaganite ultra-reactionary ideological drive to slander the Soviet Union, but adds an interesting twist in noting that Conquest book revises the alleged death figure upward from an earlier work. "Amid renewed investigations of East European war criminals in North America," he says, "diversionary works with death calculations approximating or surpassing Hitler's six million Jewish victims were required." And he underlines the connection with ample citations from the works of Ukrainian Nationalist authors, some of whom are used as sources by Conquest, which lay the responsibility for the "genocide" at the door of "Yid terrorists" and "Zionist Jews."

One of the most depressing items in Tottle's study is the involvement of Harvard University in this ongoing stew of anti-Sovietism and anti-Semitism.

DANGER: GLASNOST!

Those tricky Soviets—always scheming . . . at least, that seems to be the point of view of some Zionists. The word from the right-wing Soviet Jewry circles is that the Soviets have cleverly struck a blow against the emigration activists by—what? By letting them leave! Thus, Gideon Alon writes in *Ha'aretz* (October 5, 1987) that "they have, by releasing most of the leaders before a new leadership could have been settled in, created a vacuum which will not be filled for a long time." How's that for diabolical! As Boaz Evron replied in *Yediot Aharonot* four days later, "If that is so, then why don't they stop shouting: 'Let my people go'? . . . Even Alice would not have found her way around the 'Campaign for Soviet Jewry's' wonderland."

For Hadassah, though, things seem much clearer. In the May, 1988 issue of Hadassah Magazine, President Ruth Popkin lets us in on the real news: after the Moscow summit, "[t]he cuddly Russian bear . . . will bare its ugly fangs again as it rips into the nation's Jews in earnest." According to Popkin, Soviet Jews have "six months at most to escape the systematic, state-sanctioned persecution" of the Soviet Union."

On a more hopeful note, Larry Cohler writes in the *Jewish World* (April 15, 1988) that "the American Soviet Jewry movement is facing a major organizational shakeup." According to Cohler, the Council of Jewish Federations is moving to throw its backing to either the National Conference on Soviet Jewry (NCSJ) or the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC). A decision is expected by September, at the latest.

The struggle is interesting because it pits an avowedly single-issue NCSJ, headed by Morris Abram, against a multi-issue umbrella NJCRAC which has deeper connections with Jewish communities around the country. Abram argues that "you can't have the second most important [Jewish] movement after Israel subservient to a multi-purpose group . . . If you mix it with . . . a whole list of other agenda items, it dilutes the cause."

NJCRAC, on the other hand, while continuing in general to follow the same anti-Soviet line, has shown some signs of a greater flexibility, quite possibly the result of indirect grassroots pressure from the clearly pro-detente Jewish community. NJCRAC's Joint Program Plan for 1987-88 includes as a strategic goal the "review [of] its position on a Moscow-based conference on human rights in the light of the coming year's experience . . .", and calls for "a careful and thoughtful process of re-examination . . . of longstanding fun-

damental positions that have guided its responses to the Soviet Union." The program also hints at a possible shift regarding the waiver provisions of the Jackson-Vanik and Stevenson Amendments, which link US-Soviet trade relations to Soviet internal affairs.

GOOD NEWS FROM AN UNLIKELY SOURCE.

A recent article in the Moonie magazine *Insight* (May 16, 1988), confirms once again the progressive tilt of Jewish voters. Citing a Los Angeles Times poll, the article notes that 41% of Jewish Americans categorized themselves as "liberal", compared to 18% of all Americans surveyed. Only 17% described themselves as "conservative" (as against 30% of the "all Americans" group), while 15% described themselves as "other." The article also reproduces the conclusions of a University of Michigan study that showed that the much-vaunted "rightward" swing of Jewish American voters appears to be a thing of the past, and that no Republican candidate for President since 1960 has gotten more than 40% of the Jewish vote (Reagan in 1980). In 1984, Reagan received only about 30% of the Jewish American vote, despite a multi-million dollar campaign promoting his candidacy to Jewish voters. "When you ask voters which party cares for you more as an individual, you find that the Republican Party still is not seen as really caring for Jews," says Chris Gersten, director of the National Jewish Coalition, the Republican Jewish front.

The prospects for 1988? According to Stephen M. Cohen, a sociologist at Queens College, "Reagan was fiscally, socially and culturally conservative and most Jews are not. Bush has succeeded in identifying with Reagan, which may be good for some parts of the country but terrible among Jews." □

IN MEMORIAM
MURIEL NEUBERGER
Outstanding Leader of
Women Strike for Peace
founder of
Jewish Affairs

Herbert Aptheker
Editor

Lewis Moroze
Managing Editor

The Rosenberg-Sobell Frame-Up America's "Dreyfus Affair"

By Aaron Katz

Thirty-five years after the tragic electrocutions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, June 19, 1953, an almost-official vindication of the Rosenbergs has been released by the most unlikely of sources. From THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROY COHN (assisted by Sidney Zion), from the corrupt and disbarred attorney, key assistant prosecutor in the Rosenberg case, comes this revelation on the front page of the New York Post, 2-16-88: ROY COHN and the ROSENBERGS Stunning Espose, Page four. There, a full-page article by Eric Pettman is headlined: NEW ROSENBERG TRIAL SHOCKER. The article discusses Judge Kaufman's "secret and regular" ex parte discussions with Cohn before and during the trial. It reveals that before the trial began, Kaufman assured Cohn he would sentence Julius to death. In a secret phone conversation during the trial, Cohn advised Kaufman to also sentence Ethel to death!

This "Alice in Wonderland" scenario, "first you hang the victim, then have the trial," does not meet with favor in the world's democracies. It did prevail, and over-rode world leaders' clemency appeals on the McCarthyism of the 1950s in the United States.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case has been aptly described as America's "DREYFUS AFFAIR." Why should this case of the 1950s continue to interest historians, poets playwrights and authors, legal scholars, philosophers and clergy leaders all over the world? Why is it of special concern to the Jewish people?

There are powerful similarities in France's Dreyfus Affair around the turn of the century, (1894-1906) and America's Rosenberg case at mid-century, (1950-1953). Both cases reveal the effects of the national hysteria during periods of heightened emotions, and they show the pitfalls to guard against if the public is to be protected. It concerns the Jewish people in particular, not only because of the Army and Church-supported anti-Semitism in the Dreyfus Affair, but also because of the reactions of several national American-Jewish organizations and leaders to exaggerated perceptions of anti-Semitism in the Rosenberg case.

Both cases involved incredible hysteria and injustice against Jewish victims. But while Captain Alfred Dreyfus, of the French Army General Staff, was selected as victim in an orgy of anti-Semitism, the Rosenbergs' selection and their Jewishness was more-

or-less incidental. Jewishness played a part, but the Rosenbergs became victims of America's orgy of McCarthyite anti-Communism, jeopardizing the entire American people. Communism included any number of "sins," that is, virtues, and if a person displayed any one of such qualities, he or she might be a "secret" Communist or an enemy agent. Was he "a bleeding heart liberal" who voiced sympathy for or tried to help the poor and the oppressed? Did he support equal rights for blacks and other minorities? Was he a fighter against anti-Semitism, an activist labor leader, a critic of capitalist greed, a peace-nik, a staunch trade-unionist? Did he favor nuclear disarmament? Was he a reader of Tolstoy or Dostoevsky, an intellectual, a lover of Russian music, an admirer of Roosevelt, an enemy of Roosevelt? All are suspect to the anti-Communism.

Some Jewish leaders and organizations, intimidated by and yielding to the McCarthyism of the period, determined to prove "Jewish loyalty" to the government. IN THE PROCESS OF DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT FROM WHAT THEY CONSIDERED FALSE AND EXAGGERATED CLAIMS OF ANTI-SEMITISM. THEY DEFENDED ALSO THE CRUELEST AND MOST GRIEVOUS VIOLATIONS OF JUSTICE, FAIR TRIAL, AND HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST MANY OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE. They attempted to stifle a dissent as the innocent Rosenbergs were electrocuted, and as the innocent Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30-years imprisonment.

The major difference between the Dreyfus and Rosenberg case has been alluded to, above: In "Dreyfus" the hysteria was primarily anti-Semitism; in "Rosenberg" primarily anti-Communist. Now let us deal with six astounding similarities, factors justifying the title, "America's Dreyfus Affair:"

1. The inordinate sentences.
2. Falsification and exaggeration of the charges.
3. The incredible government violations.
4. The absence of evidence and its astounding effect.
5. The cover-up.
6. The results of victory; the triumph of truth.

1. Both cases involved shocking and unprecedented sentences. Devil's Island, long in disuse as inhumane was restructured to accommodate its sole prisoner for life (had Dreyfus not been pardoned in 1899 and totally vindicated in 1906.) In the Rosenberg case, death sentences for espionage or conspiracy were unprecedented in peacetime, and in civil court history. It was particularly shocking where the charges were for helping a wartime ally; and further aggravated by executing a husband

and wife and orphaning two small children.

A favorite prosecution trick: When the evidence against the accused is scant or non-existent, a maximum sentence creates the illusion of guilt!

2. In "Dreyfus," the evidence rested on a handwritten 'bordereau' or summary of data being transferred to the German Military Attache, supposedly written by Dreyfus. The army alleged that such data could have destroyed France, and "the Jews" were to blame. When the High Court, in 1906, pointed to the real spy, Count Esterhazy, and threw out the case against Dreyfus, it noted that Esterhazy's data was worthless, with unimportant data in the public domain. In "Rosenberg," Judge Kaufman blamed them for "putting the A-bomb into the hands of the Russians," causing the war in Korea, "untold millions" of lost lives in the future, and "changing the course of history to the disadvantage of our country." That statement has been ridiculed throughout the scientific community, and by General Leslie Groves, Commander of the Atom-bomb project, who discussed the material allegedly passed in the Rosenberg case as "of minor value." "I would never say that publicly," he hastened to add, at the 1954 hearing in *THE MATTER OF J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER*. His statement was kept secret for 25 years, until released to the Rosenbergs' sons under their Freedom of Information Act lawsuit.

Such falsification is another favored trick of the prosecution. When it claims that "the very life of the country is at stake," few jurors will give defendants the benefit of the doubt to which they are entitled. That false claim "won" the case against Dreyfus, and it similarly "won" against the Rosenbergs.

3. Emile Zola and Georges Clemenceau first appealed for Dreyfus, though they believed him guilty. They fought for a new trial when they learned that War Minister Mercier, in violation of French law, had sent secret information to the courtmartial judges, to be read when they adjourned to consider their verdict. Without this unlawful interference—defendants had to be confronted with all evidence against them—an acquittal would have been assured. In the process of fighting for a new trial and witnessing the many government frauds, forgeries and perjuries, they learned the identity of the real spy and became convinced of Dreyfus' innocence. Similarly, American leaders who originally pleaded for clemency for the Rosenbergs on humane grounds, mainly because of the death sentences, began to note scores of flagrant violations by the FBI and Justice Department, by Judge Kaufman and the prosecutors, by the atomic myth involved in the charges, and by a clearly apparent

May/June

cover-up. They protested the Supreme Court's failure to review "THE CASE OF THE CENTURY," and they were supported by the strongly-expressed opinions of Appeals Court Justices Jerome Frank and Learned Hand, and Supreme Court Justices Frankfurter and Black and Douglas.

4. In "Dreyfus," aside from the contradictory handwriting testimony about the bordereau, there was only this added "evidence:" Major Henry, like Dreyfus on the General Staff, testified that "a gentleman of unimpeachable character and integrity once informed him that Dreyfus was a spy." Asked to name the "gentleman," Major Henry refused, saying that as an army officer he was honor-bound not to name his informant. Shortly thereafter, "the anonymous gentleman" was all that remained of the evidence, when it became public knowledge that Count Esterhazy, a Captain in the French army, had handwritten the incriminating bordereau. What was the army's reply when their case against Dreyfus was thus demolished? It was virtually identical with that of the Catholic Church and Drumont's anti-Semitic newspaper, *LA PAROLE LIBRE*: "Dreyfus is a Jew and has never repudiated his Jewishness, so he had to be guilty. If Esterhazy had written the bordereau, then he must have been paid by Dreyfus' Jewish money."

Against Rosenberg, the only evidence of atomic espionage or conspiracy came from Ethel Rosenberg's brother and his wife, David and Ruth Greenglass. Their testimony was undocumented and uncorroborated. David had been an army machinist, working at Los Alamos, at the A-bomb project. He was arrested by the FBI in June, 1950, charged with espionage and threatened with a death sentence if he didn't "cooperate." He "cooperated," making a deal with the prosecution whereby he would testify against his 'recruiters' in return for leniency for himself and freedom for his wife who confessed to having participated with him in espionage. The 'recruiters' he named were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, enemies from a failed business partnership. An intensive 9-month effort by the FBI to find some confirmation of the Greenglass charges ended with absolute zero, no corroboration of the Greenglass testimony. Would an American jury convict, without any confirmation?

Cohn and Saypol resolved that problems with their blatant lie in summation—too late to be exposed by the defense, and left unchallenged by the judge—asserting that witness Harry Gold had confirmed every word of the Greenglass testimony. Gold had corroborated nothing about the Rosenbergs, never mentioned them at the trial,

and had never heard of them before his arrest. His testimony corroborated Greenglass guilt but not Rosenberg's. That outright lie probably cost the lives of the Rosenbergs.

5: As proof of innocence mounted in the Dreyfus case, Army leaders compounded their original sin by massive forgeries and suborned perjuries. Many who opposed the frame-up were attacked as traitors; many lost their lives or their freedom; Dreyfusards lost their seats in the Chamber of Deputies; liberal voices were stifled. Zola, sentenced to prison following his J'ACCUSE, was forced to flee the country, continuing his effort for justice from England.

Similarly, in "Rosenberg," those who pointed to the dearth of evidence; to the unsupported nature, the contradictions, and the implausibility of the purchased Greenglass testimony; scientists who pointed to the atomic myth involved in the charges; and courageous legal scholars who dared to expose the Emperor as Naked, were all branded as dupes of agents or "fellow travelers." Judges who protested were threatened with impeachment or worse, and Members of Congress who were willing to talk to Rosenberg supporters—a handful, at most—made sure to leave their offices for the hallways or cafeterias, convinced that their offices were "bugged." The media refrained from voicing any doubts, even about the wild rhetoric of prosecutors Saypol and Cohn, of their trial judge-ally, Irving R. Kaufman, and about his inordinate and unprecedented death sentences. Only the Yiddish press and the Anglo-Jewish weeklies protested those sentences. Outside the country, however, just as in the Dreyfus Affair, the whole world protested.

6. We know what happened following Dreyfus' vindication. Jews were able, once again, to walk the streets in France without cringing, with their heads held high. Socialists like Jean Juarez and Leon Blum, and liberals were fully vindicated, no longer to be unseated and repudiated because of their Dreyfusard views. Clemenceau became the head of a succeeding government. The right to dissent was reinstated to its honored position.

Total vindication of the Rosenbergs will, of course, help save the Jewish people from unfounded slander. More important, it should mark the total repudiation of McCarthyism, restoration of the right to dissent, and returning our Bill of Rights to its proper exalted status. It should return a resident's right to be a Republican or a Communist, a Democrat or a Socialist, and still be accepted as an honored and loyal individual. It should mean the repeal of those laws and precedents enacted at

the height of McCarthyism, laws still on the books that run counter to our lofty traditions and principles—the Smith Act, the McCarran Acts and the conspiracy laws or their abuse. Therein lies the importance and the necessity of relentless efforts for total vindication.

THIS 35th ANNIVERSARY, with the startling Cohn exposures of the frame-up, must be the year when "the walls of Jericho come tumbling down," when letters to Congress will compel the appointment of a Congressional Commission of Inquiry into the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

On the anniversary day, Sunday, June 19, 1988, from 3 to 5:30 p.m., a Commemoration will take place at New York City's prestigious COMMUNITY CHURCH, 40 E. 35 St. It will be highlighted with the Premier of the Rosenberg cantata, WE ARE INNOCENT, by the well-known composer, Leonard Lehrman, based on the prison letters of Ethel and Julius. Two days earlier, Friday, June 17, from 12 to 2 p.m., there will be a demonstration at the U.S. Courthouse in Foley Square, where the infamous trial took place in 1951, and where the trial judge, Irving R. Kaufman, now sits on the Circuit Court. Will Kaufman's silence continue, following the Cohn confession of prosecution-judge collusion?

Your physical participation at these two events can make the difference. It will guarantee the reversal of America's Dreyfus Affair. □

Aaron Katz is director of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

In Memoriam

IZZY GELLER
Courageous, Selfless
Workingclass Leader
of

Paterson
Diane and Sophie Fitzgerald
Doris and Leon Grundfest

Racism, Imperialism and Peace

By Arthur Zipser

Below is reprinted a review of Dr. Herbert Aptheker's "Racism, Imperialism & Peace," published by Marxist Educational Press, Anthropology Department, The University of Minnesota, 215 Ford Hall, 224 Church Street, Southeast Minneapolis, Minnesota 5545. The review, written by Arthur Zipser first appeared in the People's Daily World, 5/6/88

When Herbert Aptheker's seminal work, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, was first published 45 years ago, there was no recognition in the halls of any white university of Afro-American history as a special discipline. Prior to Aptheker's work, written when he was in his 20s, Afro-American history essentially had been the field only of such Black historians as Carter Woodson, Charles Wesley, and W.E.B. Du Bois.

The white professors of American history, at best, were like William E. Woodward, biographer of Ulysses S. Grant. He said: "The Negro is lovable as a good-natured child . . ." They were, said Woodward, "the only people . . . that ever became free without any effort of their own."

Single-handedly, at first, Aptheker labored to raise the level of Black history writing and research above the abysmal level that Woodward and his colleagues had reached. He has done this through his own prolific work on such history.

Though banned from academic employment until late in his life by reason of his proclaimed Communist Party membership, he has always pointed out, to younger scholars and to his contemporaries in general, areas of research that cry for their involvement. Many have been guided by his counsel to produce important work. Meanwhile he keeps on producing important work himself.

Dr. Aptheker's latest book, issued late last year, is *Racism, Imperialism & Peace*. It is dedicated, meaningfully, "In memory of Henry Winston," the late chairman of the Communist Party.

The contents of this volume, except for a valuable Preface by its editors, Marvin J. Berlowitz and Carole E. Morgan, have appeared previously in various journals between 1970 and 1984. Most of them are from *Political Affairs*, theoretical journal of the Communist Party, USA.

The book, as the editors state, "brings together a representative sample of his [Aptheker's] continuing contributions to the writing of history, his penetrating critiques of current historiography, and his analysis of

the impact of racism and imperialism, both in history and at present.

"Throughout, the analysis is informed by Marxist theory, marked by a scathing indictment of racism and imperialism, and touched with a deep sense of humanism."

One of the most memorable of Aptheker's essays is his polemical piece "Heavenly Days in Dixie: or, The Time of Their Lives," which originally appeared in *Political Affairs* in two parts (June and July 1974). This sardonically titled piece is a critique of *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* by Fogel and Engerman. That volume, which was hailed as "the current 'sensation' in the publishing market," is shown by Aptheker to be "the most ardent defense of slavery published since 1854," and also "the sharpest attack upon the Abolitionist movement." "Heavenly Days" is the centerpiece of Part II, "Racism and Historiography," in the present volume.

Another important chapter is "W.E.B. Du Bois and Africa," a succinct and sympathetic biographical account of Dr. Du Bois's struggle against racism over his long lifetime and of how this was integrated with his interest in the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Africa.

The final chapter is a post mortem tribute to Dr. Du Bois, "a man of peace," who, in a last message before his death, wrote, "Peace will be my applause."

Racism, Imperialism & Peace in its 18 lively chapters weaves these three themes into their respective interrelationships. It is fascinating and readable in its militant scholarship. Its "friendly" prose makes it pleasant and useful reading for all enemies of racism. □

Arthur Zipser

Hold the Date

Sunday, October 2, 1988

Jewish Affairs
Dinner

Lebanon, Israel and the U.S.

by Gordon Welty

A delegation of the Lebanese Woman's Rights League (Ligue des droits de la femme Libanaise) visited Dayton, Ohio on April 17-18, 1988. [Their visit was just prior to the massive Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in early May.] They were sponsored by the Dayton Chapter of WREE. The League is a sister organization of WREE, through its affiliation with the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF). The delegation included Linda Matar, president of the League, and Zoya Jureidini, another member of the League.

The delegation appeared at several churches, and at Wright State University. The delegation and their message was enthusiastically received at each point. They have come to the U.S. to explain to the American people the current events in Lebanon, the suffering and struggles of the Lebanese people, and the nature of Israeli aggression and U.S. government intervention in Lebanon. They are asking the American people to press their elected representatives to implement UN Resolutions 425, 508, and 509 which call for Israel to withdraw from southern Lebanon.

The Current Situation in Lebanon

After fourteen years of war, the socio-economic system in Lebanon is in an advanced state of collapse. Poverty and hunger are spreading to the majority of the people. The economic infrastructure, severely damaged by war, is in a state of drastic disrepair. Beirut has lost, perhaps forever, its place as a link between western and Arab markets. The Lebanese middle class has virtually disappeared in the process. The national economy is paralyzed. government institutions such as seaports have come under control of local militias and bandit warlords.

The government's response to the deepening crisis has been wholly inadequate. Officially proposed solutions have been partial, nowhere approaching the root of the problem. The League argues that it is the regime itself which is exacerbating the crisis, seeking to conduct economic warfare against the people. The regime hopes to bring the people to their knees through deepening poverty and hunger. It thereby hopes to undermine the democratic tendencies which are developing in Lebanon.

The Struggle of the Lebanese People

Lebanon has undergone war for the past fourteen years, first the civil war which began in 1975, and then the war which followed the Israeli invasion in 1982.

The struggle which is continuing in Lebanon is not mainly a sectarian struggle, according to the League. The Lebanese civil war, which began fourteen years ago, was in essence a struggle between bourgeois elements which included members of the several sects, and working class elements which also included members of the several sects. Thus the League understands the civil war to have been a form of class struggle. This was, of course, a particularly violent form.

As is well known, Syria was invited into Lebanon to help resolve the civil war. Syria responded and did provide assistance to the Lebanese people, out of a sense of Arab solidarity and internationalism. The League points out that the very elements in Lebanese political life who criticize Syria's presence in Lebanon were the most vociferous in extending the invitation to Syria in the first place.

When asked about the allegations of "terrorism" which are frequently cast against the Lebanese people by the U.S. media, the League responded that it has always taken a firm stand against acts such as kidnapping, assassination, etc. A most serious instance of an act of this sort was the assassination of Prime Minister Rashid Karamah a year ago in an attempt to disrupt the movement toward Arab unity in Lebanon.

These acts have been perpetrated by reactionary forces which are thereby defaming the struggle for justice and self-determination of the Lebanese people. These acts should also not be blown out of perspective, as they usually are by the U.S. media. More people have been killed in acts of violence in a major U.S. city such as New York or Los Angeles during the past fourteen years, than have died in all the acts in Lebanon since 1975 which the U.S. media has labelled "terrorist." And in comparison to the tens of thousands of Lebanese who died as a result of Israeli military actions, these numbers also pale in significance.

It must also be recalled that there are many acts which are not labelled "terrorist" by the U.S. media, but which are intended to terrorize a people or a group of people into political submission. Many such acts have been committed by the armed forces of Israel. There were many examples of such Israeli acts which were committed against West Bank youth who were demonstrating against the occupation of their land, during the first months of 1982. In part, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 was a response to these demonstrations and the failure of Israeli terrorism to squelch them.

During Israel's 1982 invasion, tremendous destruction was visited upon the peoples of southern Lebanon,

Sidon, Tyre, and Beirut. The Israeli military forces waged an unremitting assault upon the civilian population under the pretext that it intended to "decapitate" the PLO, and put an end forever to the national aspirations of the Palestinians on the West Bank and elsewhere. But the Israeli armed forces had other, specifically Lebanese goals as well. One was the Zionist goal of expansion of Israeli territory northward to the Litani River in southern Lebanon. Another was to sponsor sectarian groups who would keep Lebanon destabilized through a continuation of civil war. And the invasion was timed just before the Lebanese presidential elections to enable Israel to dictate the outcome of that election. Thus the Israeli goal was to demolish both the national unity of the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, and the national unity of the Lebanese people, represented by the National Movement.

The Lebanese people began almost at once to resist the Israeli occupation forces. By September 1982, the Lebanese National Resistance Front began its operations in Beirut. Lebanese women played a significant role in this resistance movement, and a number of these women were martyred to the cause of national liberation. The Front's resistance and successful operations took their toll on the Israeli armed forces. Public opinion within Israel began to turn against the occupation of Lebanon as the casualty rates of the Israeli armed forces rose. Then the Israeli occupation forces began to retreat, to their current status where they occupy approximately twenty percent of southern Lebanon. [Of course this status is subject to change in light of the May 1988 Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon.]

Along with this continuing occupation, Israel poses other and no less serious threats to Lebanese security, both in terms of military attacks such as the recent one at Kafareman village in southern Lebanon, and in terms of Israel's support of sectarian violence. An example of this is the continuing support Israel provides to the "South Lebanese Army" of the late Saad Haddad, now led by Lahad. Furthermore, Israel continues to hold some 1000 Lebanese—including women—as virtual hostages in the Khyam prison camp, and other prison camps, in southern Lebanon. It has been well documented by international relief agencies that the Israelis practice the most brutal torture and inhumanities against these hostages.

There is a final point to be stressed about the heroic struggle of the Lebanese National Resistance Front against Israeli occupation. Before this struggle, many in the western media sought to project an image of the invincibility of the Israeli armed forces. The Lebanese *May/June*

struggle, conducted against great odds, proved the falsity of this image of invincibility. This struggle has provided a great model for subsequent—and no less heroic—struggles of oppressed peoples against Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Suffering of the Lebanese People

The suffering of the Lebanese people has been enormous. The inflation rate exceeded 300% last year, rising from 25% in 1984, to 70% in 1985, to 162% in 1986. Wage increases last year were at best in the neighborhood of 75%. Thus there has been a continuing decline in the working class standard of living in Lebanon. As a result of the civil war and the devastation wrought by the Israeli invasion, Lebanon has been unable to produce the subsistence goods needed by its people. Lebanon currently imports about 85% of its consumer goods, so the foreign exchange rate is critical. The Lebanese Pound (L.L.) exchanged against the U.S. dollar at about 5.5 L.L./dollar.

The living conditions of the Lebanese people have deteriorated sharply. The minimum wage level is now 8500 L.L. per month, while two and a half pounds of meat costs 1700 L.L. The majority of children in Lebanon have seriously inadequate nutrition. The most basic foodstuffs are in short supply, or are priced beyond the means of the average Lebanese family. One of the first consequences of inadequate nutrition is increased health problems. Lebanese children are also deficient in health care. The majority of families cannot afford to pay for medication, even if it were available.

The League points out that there is a serious inadequacy of other public services, such as education. Many schools have been occupied by refugees whose housing was destroyed by the Israeli invasion. There is not enough classroom space in public schools for all the Lebanese children. Meanwhile, tuition has been rising sharply in the private schools. As a result, the majority of families cannot provide for their children's education. The children are now leaving school before graduation to earn a living, to help contribute to the family income.

The Role of the U.S. Government

The U.S. government has actively supported Israel, all the while having the understanding that Israel was violating human rights in Lebanon. This active U.S. support has taken the form of moral and material support. It provides moral support for Israel's violations of human rights every time the United States vetoes U.N. Security Council resolutions which express the interests of the Lebanese people. It provides material support so long as it continues to supply Israel with anti-personnel

The Birth of Israel

By Herbert Aptheker

weapons, vacuum bombs, napalm, etc. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that the Israel armed forces will put these weapons to offensive use against civilian populations in Lebanon—and thereby violate both human rights and American law. Thus the League concludes that the U.S. government is implicated in human rights violations in Lebanon.

The U.S. government has continued to violate the rights of self-determination of the Lebanese people. The shuttle diplomacy of U.S. Secretary of State Schultz between Lebanon, Syria and Israel during early 1988 was designed to ensure that the United States would be able to influence the upcoming presidential elections in Lebanon. Such tactics represent unwarranted and altogether unacceptable interventions in the internal affairs of a sovereign country. In this respect as in others, the League concludes that the U.S. government is still denying the Lebanese people the fundamental right of national self-determination.

Finally, the U.S. government has pressured Lebanon's neighbors to submit to U.S. conditions regarding Israel. Such pressure is further evidence of U.S. imperialist intervention in the Middle East.

The American people must demand of their elected representatives that UN Resolutions 425, 508, and 509 be implemented immediately. These resolutions call for Israel to withdraw from southern Lebanon. [These resolutions become even more urgent in light of the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon in early May. Israeli tanks, armored personnel carriers and thousands of Israeli troops, supported by helicopter gun ships and jet aircraft, swarmed into southern Lebanon on May 2 on a massive 'search and destroy' mission. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir stated that this was "a usual action of securing the area." The Israeli forces moved within several miles of Syrian military positions in the Bekka Valley. According to U.N. peacekeeping officials in the area, the Israeli forces—in keeping with what has become its usual practice—sealed off Lebanese villages, and then commenced house-to-house searches to take civilian hostages. U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar called for the immediate withdrawal of the invasion forces and stated that "this further violation of Lebanese sovereignty is deplored." Americans must always bear in mind that these reckless adventures of the Zionist militarists are only possible with continued U.S. government support—military, financial and political support.]

Gordon Welty is a professor of sociology who teaches courses on the Middle East at Wright State University.

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A book of decisive importance for an understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian situation is that by the late Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (Pantheon Books, N. Y., 1987, 277 pp., \$18.95). The credentials of the author are very impressive: Simha Flapan, born in Poland in 1911, emigrated to Palestine in 1930. He was founder and chief editor of the helpful Mid-East monthly *New Outlook*, and founder-director of both the Israeli-Arab Institute and the Israeli Peace Research Institute. He has been a Fellow at Harvard and an Associate of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. From 1954 to 1981 he was National Secretary of Israel's Mapam Party, and for years was Director of that Party's Arab Affairs department.

The present work was conceived as the first of a two-volume effort which would analyze Israel's conduct of foreign affairs from the beginning to the present; alas, while working on volume two, Mr. Flapan died, in Tel Aviv in April, 1987. But we do have this volume and that alone is a splendid monument to Simha Flapan's fruitful life.

The work examines seven "myths" widely propagated by leading Zionist organizations and personalities and fervently believed by millions of people, non-Jews included. The author does not spare himself, noting from time to time in this book that, prior to the thorough examination of the sources that characterize it, he had also believed several of these myths. It may be added that at intervals, Flapan credits the heroic Communist Party of Israel with correct analysis.

These distortions go to the root of the Israeli-Palestinian question. They include the idea that the Zionist movement accepted the original United Nations partition and consequently planned for peaceful development. Both components of this basic idea are proven to be false. Conversely, the insistence by Israeli leadership that the Arabs as a whole rejected the original partition and planned and launched war also is so partial as to be erroneous.

The Zionist insistence that the Palestinians voluntarily fled their homes and villages, planning reconquest, is altogether untrue. On the contrary, they were forcibly removed from their ancestral homeland and, in many cases, this was done with extreme brutality, sometimes marked by atrocities. The idea that there was Arab unity in the effort to expel the Jewish people from Palestine also is shown to be false; important divisions on this

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matter existed among an Arab leadership which, from the beginning, manifested profound class and ideological divergencies.

This Arab disunity and the existence of a desire for peaceful settlement among significant components of the Arab leadership and population refute the idea that it was an Arab invasion that made the first war inevitable. Related to this is the nonsense of a "defenseless" Israel which "miraculously" defeated an Arab Goliath. On the contrary, Flapan proves that the Israeli forces actually outnumbered the combined forces of the Arabs, that destiny afflicted the latter, and that the weaponry possessed by the Israeli forces (thanks especially to Czech supplies) was far superior to that held by the Arab groups. In connection with the original UN action creating (it was thought) two states of Israel and Palestine, Flapan records the decisive contribution of the USSR and of Gromyko personally.

Finally, Flapan demonstrates the falsity of the idea that "Israel has always sought peace, but no Arab leader has responded." The truth is that Zionist leadership planned and used force from the beginning; that repeated feelers for a peaceful settlement from several Arab leaders were summarily rejected.

Through war, Israel was created and through war it has expanded. Now—to anticipate the logic of Flapan's book—Israel is trapped by its policy of blood and iron, of expansion and occupation. A reversal of that policy, with its dependence on Washington, is the only course that can assure the existence of Israel in accordance with UN Resolutions.

I have simply outlined the Flapan book; its nearly three hundred pages reflect profound personal experience and prolonged research by an internationally recognized scholar.

No one who wants to understand the Palestinian-Israeli question can afford not to study Flapan's work. It is to be hoped that Flapan's labor on volume two was sufficiently advanced at the time of his death that other hands can complete it and make it available to us all. Meanwhile, proper respect to Simha Flapan can be shown by those of us who remain by dedicating ourselves to seeking the justice and the peace to which he gave his life.

Every Reader Gets A Reader

Sharing the Pain of Babi Yar

By Fred Weir

This article by Fred Weir, Moscow correspondent of *The Canadian Tribune*, first appeared in the *Tribune* on May 16, 1988. It was published below in abbreviated form.

Kiev, Ukraine—Something unprecedented and extremely hopeful took place here last week.

On May 5, nine delegates of the Canadian United Jewish People's Order (UJPO), most of them holocaust survivors, marched together with Russians, Ukrainians, and members of Kiev's religious Jewish community to the base of one of the most painful, emotion-charged and controversial memorials of the nazi rampage across Europe: the monument at Babi Yar.

Together they made brief speeches of remembrance, laid a wreath, and read Yevgeny Yevtushenko's shattering poem, *Babi Yar*, in English, Yiddish and Russian. Finally the Canadian group sang, in Yiddish, a battle-song from the Warsaw ghetto uprising, *Zog Nit Keinmol*—Never say you've walked the final road. . . .

Such a ceremony has never occurred before at Babi Yar, and the fact it happened now is both a tribute to changing attitudes within the Soviet Union and to the quiet persistence of an extraordinary group of Canadians.

"We were in Poland to take part in the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising," says David Abramowitz, National President of the UJPO. "We knew of Babi Yar and were intent to come here and honor all those who suffered and died in this place. In its way, it is a monument of equal importance with the Warsaw ghetto."

Babi Yar is the name of the ravine within the city limits of Kiev where, between 1941 and 1943, the nazis murdered and dumped the bodies of over 100,000 people. The majority of the victims were Jewish—perhaps as many as 70,000—but many nationalities, including Russians and Ukrainians, were also among the dead.

It is fair to say that Ukrainian authorities were not enthusiastic when the UJPO plan to hold an explicitly Jewish ceremony at Babi Yar was first put to them. Complicated politics have swirled around the nazi genocide site since the end of the war, including charges from the West and Israel that Ukrainians are and remain anti-Semitic, and counter-charges that ideological opponents of the USSR are attempting to divide Soviet victims of nazism against each other.

For almost three decades no monument stood at Babi

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Yar, a shame that Yevtushenko lambasted in his poem. Then, in the early 1970s, the city of Kiev erected a powerful and moving sculpture on the site. The accompanying plaque records the number of victims, describing them as "citizens of the Ukraine," and makes no special mention of the Jews.

Whenever the subject of Babi Yar comes up, Ukrainians are quick—perhaps too quick—to point out that "Not only Jews are buried there, but people of many nationalities." This has struck many Jews as insensitive, as if it were an effort to submerge, or deny Jewish identity, long-standing Jewish presence in the region, and the special anguish of an entire people singled out by the nazis for total extermination.

Zionists charge that the underlying reason for the Ukrainian attitude is anti-Semitism, and they have sought to turn Babi Yar into a militant symbol of the impossibility of Jews ever being able to realize their aspirations within the context of Soviet life.

The truth would appear to be far more complex and considerably less malignant. Soviet scholars now concede that some degree of anti-Semitism remains a background factor in Soviet life, and that Jewish culture and language are at a very low ebb. Jewish religious and cultural institutions suffered badly during the Stalinist anti-religion campaigns of the 1930s, though these were not directed specifically against the Jews. Anti-Semitism appeared in official policy only during the last years of Stalin, when Jewish doctors and intellectuals were accused of various fanciful conspiracies.

A far more important factor than any real or imagined anti-Semitism is the Soviet-nationalities policy over the past several decades, which has largely ignored the cultural and linguistic rights of minorities living outside of consolidated national territories. Jews are among the most dispersed of Soviet peoples, and this has left them countrywide in a situation a bit like that of Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh. Over the years very many Jews have voluntarily assimilated into surrounding nationalities, a significant number have emigrated, but many clearly wish to stay and strengthen their identity as Soviet Jews.

New winds are blowing. Kiev, for instance, has had only one synagogue for decades, but has recently acquired a new Jewish theatre and cultural centre. There are other straws in the wind. Ukrainian authorities are listening and acting in new ways.

They listened to the Canadian UJPO group, and gradually turned from skeptics to sponsors of the planned ceremony.

"We wanted to make clear that we came with sympathy in our hearts for all those who perished at the hands

of the nazis," says Abramowitz. "But we are Jews, and we also wanted to recognize the contribution and suffering of Jews as Jews."

"It was very important to us to be able to join together with Soviets of different nationalities in this, for all suffered in common," he says. "Moreover, many of our members are alive today because the Soviet Union saved them from the nazis. The number of Jews who were pulled from the jaws of death by the Red Army is not well-known or appreciated in Canada. One reason for our coming here was to thank the Soviet people for this."

For some members of the Canadian group at Babi Yar, this was no abstraction.

Miriam Fishbane was born in Dubno, in the western Ukraine, and recalls that when the nazis attacked, Soviet troops opened the borders and urged people to flee east. Miriam walked all the way to Kuibyshev, on the Volga river. Most of her family was not so lucky: "The nazis took them to an open pit and shot them, just like what happened at Babi Yar," she says. "I am the only one who is left, and I am remembering today for all of them."

Toby Flam's story is similar. She walked from Lodz to Samarkand, near the border of Afghanistan. Though she was Polish, the Soviets gave her documents that enabled her to sleep and eat in collective farms along the way.

Regina Balogh, a Polish Jew, fled to the Soviet-occupied western Ukraine in 1939 to escape the nazi deluge. The Soviets deported her to Siberia, and she spent a hard year in a transit camp before being permitted to settle down for the duration in Central Asia. "I went hungry sometimes, but so did all the Russians," she remembers. "They are very kind people, and I wish the best for them."

Helen Zisman was seized by the nazis in Poland, and spent most of the war in a women's concentration camp in Germany near Leipzig. As war's end neared, in 1945, the nazis took her along with 6,000 prisoners from the camp—Helen weighed just 20 kilos by then, she remembers—and threw them into the Elbe River.

"Of the 6,000 women, just 300 of us survived," she said, "and only because Red Army soldiers suddenly appeared and came scrambling down the river bank to pull us out. Now, being here at Babi Yar, and hearing the Russian language being spoken around me, I can only think of that Russian soldier who pulled me out of the water. He was saying, *Vui svobodni*—"You're free, you're free . . ."

Last week this special group of Canadians joined

together with Soviets to remember the common agony of all nazi victims, and to make the world a little bit warmer, a little more understanding, a little more united place.

There was no mistaking the critical moment of that ceremony. Everyone present visibly went rigid under the electrifying impact of the final verse of Yevtushenko's poem:

*There is no Jewish blood in mine,
But I am adamantly hated by all anti-Semites
as if I were a Jew.*

That is why I am a true Soviet.

Continued from page 4

ly in his "Painful Pages"—"For what reason were the houses in the villages of Beitza blown up? If the reasons necessitated the action, why were the people not brought to court so that justice could be shown? If the demolition of houses was carried out solely because of the agitation, what is being done to deal with Jewish agitators and those Jews who preach hostile acts? Is it enough to be an Arab? Are there no intelligent people among us; are there no human beings among us? The sages of deportation are no sages and those who order houses to be blown up are no humans." *Davar*, 4/15/88. Serious warnings are being voiced by reasonable circles against the rise of the extreme right-wing.

The question is asked that if the talk about peace with the neighboring Arab states and with the neighboring Palestinian People is meant to be serious, "is this the way to promote the opening of negotiations for the establishment of peace?" The events in the village of Beitza have shown more clearly the serious danger for the Jewish State presented by the extremist right-wing circles who declare that the only road is that of using a "strong arm"—a path that can only lead to more victims and also, more tragically to a more deadly war than any of those experienced to date. An encouraging sign, therefore, is the mounting number of voices of reason calling for a policy of peace. □

J. Lipski is Israeli correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

**EVERY READER
GET A READER**

Festival of Jewish Culture in Poland

by Sol Flapan

WARSAW—Poland's southern jewel of Krakow is hosting a Festival of Jewish Culture this year.

There will be a treasure trove of historical landmarks. The Jagiellonian University which was opened in 1364, for example, Krakow was liberated intact on January 19, 1945 thanks to the skillful generalship of Soviet Marshal Ivan Konev. Refraining from the use of artillery, Konev's speed, maneuvering and suddenness freed Krakow which had already been mined by the nazi Germans who were prepared to blow the place to smithereens.

This ancient seat of Polish statehood, culture, art and academia and, at one time, also a major center of Jewish life is currently paying homage to what became over the centuries an integral part of the Polish experience. An experience which was holocausted during the Hitlerite genocidal occupation of Poland in World War II.

This two part "Judaica Festival" was launched in early May with an extended seminar by Krakow scholars in the fields of literature, theatrical and cinematic arts, ethnography, painting and the graphic arts. Films on and about Jewish themes in the pre- and postwar periods will supplement papers delivered and ensuing discussion.

Part two of the Festival has been planned for October. It will be a review of foreign motion pictures dealing with the Jewish theme. An exhibition "Polish Jews" organized by Dr. Marek Rostworowski, curator of Krakow's National Museum, will be yet another facet in recalling a culture which lent to, borrowed from and mixed with the host Polish culture in the course of a near millennium.

According to *Folks Shtime*, the bilingual weekly newspaper of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland, the Krakow chapter of the Society is deeply involved in advising and assisting the exhibition organizers. *Folks Shtime* has appealed to its Yiddish and Polish language readers to write in and share their views on this latest of examples of upgrading the history of the Jewish profile here.

Meanwhile back in mid-March Krakovians had a foretaste of the Judaica Festival with an exciting staging of a Polish language version of the Yiddish classic *The Dybbuk* by Szymon Anski (Shloime Zajnwel Rapaport, 1863-1920). A dybbuk in Jewish lore is an evil spirit or the soul of a dead person residing in and controlling the actions of the body of a living individual which can be expelled only by a religious rite.

Anski's "the Dybbuk" is not a late night mystery thriller. It's rather more of philosophical mysticism of Good versus Evil.

In a caption under a picture of a scene from the Krakow presentation Warsaw's unaffiliated daily Zycie Warszawy characterizes "The Dybbuk" as "one of the masterpieces of Jewish drama." Earlier, in a pre-premiere article this popular newspaper with a national readership went one step further hailing "The Dybbuk" as "one of the masterpieces of world literature."

The work was translated by Ernest Bryll and directed by Andrzej Wajda of stage and screen fame.

Significant in all this is that Jewish culture and history in Poland cauterized by the nazi criminals is of late being more and more recalled, reviewed and restudied by Poles. Gaining ever more currency and acceptance is the fact that Judaica, the religious and the secular, is an integral part of Poland's socio-national fabric.

And though yesteryear's Jewish community is no more, the few Jews who have survived the nazi Shoah/ Holocaust/ and those who stood firm in face of some postwar insensitivities, misunderstandings and even wrongdoings as well as present day official and grassroots Poland are striving at reilluminating that Jewish past which is also Poland's.

Sol Flapan is Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

Jewish Affairs

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**Convene a UN Conference
For Peace in the Middle East**

The Carousel

by Henri Percikow

The summer sunlight
Filtered down upon
The barbed wire fence
Cleaving the Lodz Ghetto for Jews
From the outside world
Where a kermesse had been set-up
With a main attraction
A merry-go-round
With white wooden horses
Upon which Gentile children
Sat with joy
While its music flowed into the Ghetto
And swallowed like a heavenly tonic
By the captive Jewish children
Who were drawn daily to
This new world of enchantment
That had briefly opened for them a happy sight.
They stood distant, in fear
Of the armed nazi sentries
But with eyes and hearts longing
For the turning carousel
Unknown was music in their captivity
Where only hunger and death stalked
They stood like small emaciated ghosts
Gaping hungrily and saddened
At this fantasy world
They could not reach
For the Yellow Star of David
Worn on their little backs
Made the distinction
Between life and death
Between Jewish and Gentile children
Both innocent of the nazi scourge
Of the "final solution."

**Jewish Affairs Pamphlet
"Saving Soviet Jewry"
by
Florence Fox**

25¢ per copy

Dear Reader:

As one who has been in the front ranks calling for a permanent peace in the Middle East, you are fully aware of the position of the editors and readers of *Jewish Affairs*, since its first issue in 1970, calling for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

In our first issue we published a statement of the CPUSA, stating: "The primary source of the war danger is the continuing expansionist policies which led to the Israeli aggression in 1967."

In Vol 1, No. 2, we wrote: "For the people of this country the task is to oppose the continued arming of Israel . . . and to demand that our government press instead for acceptance of withdrawal" from Israeli occupied territory.

To continue to spread this peace message, is becoming financially a heavy burden in light of increasing publication and mailing costs.

Our ANNUAL DINNER this year will take place on Sunday, October 2, 1988. We call upon you again for your financial support now by arranging forums, house gatherings, etc. to mobilize for a peaceful solution of the Middle East Crisis and to raise funds to keep *Jewish Affairs* going during this critical period.

As in past, we know that we can rely upon you to respond.

the Editors

Contributions to Fund Appeal April 1 thru May 31st

Abe & Anna Blank	\$ 1,000.00	Isaac Schwartz	5.00
Nina Firestone	9.00	Edward Stark	160.00
Anna Friedman	5.00	Charlotte Sinovoi	4.00
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ANTI SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

Selected Marxist Writings
Edited by Daniel Rubin

Includes writings by Lenin, Henry Winston, Gus Hall, Herbert Aptheker Hyman Lumer and Lewis M. Moroze. Published by International Publishers, \$5.95. For J.A. readers \$5.00 including postage.

באמבארדירונג פון שטעטל דורך די יודנער מיליטערישע איינהייטן איז די באפעלקערונג ארומגעכאפט געווארן דורך א פאניק און מאטל האט באווירן צו בארואיקן די געמיטער, ווען אריינגעדורנגענע דיווערסאנטן, וועלכע זענען דערהרגעט געווארן און ס'זענען געווען עטלעכע ווייטיקלעכע קרבנות, איז די באפעלקערונג ארומגעכאפט געווארן דורך א היסטעריע און פיל האבן זיך געגרייט צו פארלאזן די שטאט, אויב די ישראל-ארמיי וועט נישט כאשטימען מיליטערישע איינהייטן אויף צו באשיצן די איינוואוינער.

אין דעם דאזיקן שווערן מאָמענט פון אַן אַלגעמיינע היסטעריע, וואָס האָט געדראָט מיט אַ צוואַמגעבראָך פון דער גאַנצער כּינאַציסטיקער אויפבוֹר־אַרבעט אין דאָזיקן גרענעץ־שטעטל האָט דער קאַמאַנדיר מאָטל חמיר באַווירן איבערצושטייגן זיך אַליין, ער באַשטייבט מיט פּשטות, ווי אזוי ער האָט אין דעם דאָזיקן איבערבוֹר־מאַמענט באַווירן אַריינצוברענגען דעם געדאַנק וועגן זייערע אייגענע פּליכטן זיך צו פּאַרטיידיקן.

שוֹר־קעלערן זיינען פּאַרוואַנדלט געוואָרן אין קלובן פאַר יונגט, וואָס איז אויך געווען אַ וויכטיקע זאַך, ווייל די יונגט האָט איצט באַקומען גוט איינגעדאַרנטע קלובן, וואו זיי האָבן געקענט פאַרברענגען און איבער וועלכע זיי האָבן באַקומען די אויפזיכט. לאָמיר דערביי צוגעבן, אַז דערמיט האָט ער אויך באַווירן אַפּצושוואַכן ביז אַ מינימום פאַרברעכנטום ביי דער יונגט, וואָס האָט אָנגעהויבן אָננעמען ערנסטע פאַרמען.

אין זיין בוך דערצייילט, מאָטל, ווי אזוי ער האָט באַווירן דורכצוברעכן איינגעשטעלטע מנהגים און פּאַראַורטיילן, אַז די מענער זענען די פּאַקטישע דעה־זאַגער און באלעבאַטים סיי אין דער פּאַמיליע און סיי אין געזעלשאַפטלעכן לעבן. אַ הויכער קאַמאַנדיר האָט געפרעגט מאָטלען, אַז ער

זאָל אים אויפֿקלערן, ווי אזוי ער האָט באַווירן אַלס אשכּנזי אַ קיבוּצניק אַ "מערז"־טוער, געווינענע אזא שטאַרקן צוטריו ביי דער ספּירדישער באַפעלקערונג.

דאָס אינפּלאַנצן אין די הערצער פון די איינוואוינער די איבערצייגונג, דעם גלויבן, אַז ווי זענען כּוּח צו באַשיצן זייער ישוב איז אַ וויכטיקע דערגרייכונג פון קאַמאַנדיר מרדכי חמיר וועלכע האָט דערמיט באַווירן אין די איינוואוינער ענטוויזאַס און גלויבן, וואָס איז געווען אַ טייל פון זיין אייגענעם "איך" וואָס קומט אַפּילו צום כּולטן אויסדרוק אין דאָזיקן איינדרוקספּולן בוך וועגן "שוב אויף דער קאַנפּאַרטאַצע־ליניע".

ס'וואָלט זיך אָבער געוואָלט ווינטשן סיי דעם מחבר און סיי די איינוואוינער פון שטעטל, אַז מען זאָל שוין ווערן דורכגעדרונגען מיט גלויבן אין דער מעגלעכקייט ניט בלויז פון פּאַרטיידיקן זיך, נאָר אין דער מיטאַרבעט צו דערגרייכן שלום מיט די אַראַבישע שכּנותדיקע מדינות און דאָס געשעפּנס פון דער געפּאַר פון נאָך אַ מלחמה זאָל ענדלעך באַזייטיקט ווערן. איך וועל זיך אַנשליסן צו די וואונטשן פון קאַמאַנדיר פון מיין כּרודער מאָטל חמיר, וועלכער שרייבט, "יונע זעלנער, היינט בין איך געוואָרן 65 יאָר (ער איז שוין 69 יאָר) און איך ווינטש אייך אַלעמען, אַז איר זאָלט זוכה זיין צו דערגרייכן מיין עלטער, און אַז איר זאָלט מאַרשירן און דראַפּען זיך און קריכן אויפן באַרג גלבוּע, אזוי ווי איך היינט". דאָס איז זיכער מעגלעך, ווען מיר וועלן האָבן שלום וועגן דעם דאַרף מען טראַכטן טאָג און נאַכט, איך וויל האָפּן, אַז דעם צווייטן בוך, וואָס מרדכי וועט שרייבן וועט ער אויך באַרירן די אַלגעמיינע געזעלשאַפטלעכע, עקאָנאָמישע קולטור־פּראַבלעמען פון שטעטל און איך וויל אויך גלייכן, אַז דער מחבר וועט אונז אויך באַווירן צו שילדערן דאָס לעבן און אַנטוויקלונגען פון שטעטל אין באַרינגונגען פון אַ דערגרייכטן שלום.

HOLD THE DATE!

The editors of *Jewish Affairs* are proud to announce that the 16th Annual Jewish Affairs dinner dedicated to a "People's Electoral Victory" in November will take place Sunday, October 2, 1988 at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City at 12:30 P.M.

פאליטיק פון "שלוס פארן פרייז פון טעריטאריעס".
מען זעט אין. אַז אויפן 2040סטן יאָרטאָג איז דרינגענדיק
ניטווענדיק צו מאַכן אַ ראַדיקאַלע ווענדונג אין דער
גאַנצער ביראָיאַצטיקער פּאָליטיק. ווייל מיר שטייען פאַר אַ
גורליקע כּריה, אָדער דאָס איינאַלטן "גאַנץ אַרץ
ישראל", וואָס באַדייט צו לעבן אין אַ גיהנום. וואָס קען
זיכער דערפירן צו נאָך אַ מלחמה. אָדער אַפּאָגן זיך פון
דער געפאַר פּולער לאַסט פון די אַקופּירטע געביטן מיט אַן

50 יאָר קיבוץ תּל-יוסף

פון יוסף ליפסקי

אַנדערלאַכן מיליאַניקער באַפעלקערונג, וואָס וויל ניט די
אַקופּאַציע, וואָס עפנט אַ וועג פון גאַראַנטירן די זיכערהייט
און שלומדיקע אַנטוויקלונג. אין שמוּלומדיקער
קאָאָפּעראַציע מיט די אַראַבישע שכנותדיקע מדינות און
מיט דער פּאַלעסטינער מדינה. דאָס איז מעגלעך צו
דערייַכן און עפנט נייע ליכטיקע פּערספעקטיוון פאַר
מדינת ישראל. זאָל דאָס 40סטע יאָר וועגן דאָס 1טע יאָר
פון שלום.

איך האָב באַזוכט דעם קיבוץ תּל-יוסף צוליב עטלעכע
מאָטיוון. קודם-כל האָב איך געוואָלט באַזוכן דעם ברודער
און שוועסטער און זייערע פּאַמיליעס. די טעג איז געוואָרן
50 יאָר, ווען מייע עלטערן, מייע דריי ינגסטע ברודער
זענען געקומען אין ישראל און זיך גלייך באַזעצט אין
קיבוץ תּל-יוסף, אין עמק יזרעאל. אָנדערע צוויי ברודער
און צוויי שוועסטער זענען פּריער געקומען אין לאַנד. אין
שוועסטער איז געקומען אין 1935.

איך בין גלייך אָנגעקומען אין קיבוץ אוועק אויפן ביח
הקברות פון קיבוץ, כּכדי צו שטיין אַ מינוט שווייגן ביים
קבר פון דער מאַמען, וועלכע האָט געלעבט אין קיבוץ 18
יאָר. איך האָב אוועקגעלייגט אַ צווייגל ביי דער מצבה פון
דער מאַמען. דערנאָך האָב איך אויך אוועקגעלייגט אַ
בלעטל ביים קבר פון עלטסטן ברודער, שלמה, וועלכער
איז געקומען אין לאַנד אין 1921 און געלעבט ביזן לעצטן
טאָג אין קיבוץ. פונדאָרען בין איך צוגעגאַנגען אין אַ זייער
שווער געמיט צום מיליטערישן טייל פון בית הקברות, אויף
וועלכן ס'איז אויך פּאַראַן די מצבה פון זון פון מיין
ברודער, יצחקלה, וועלכער איז געפּאָלן אין דער יום-כּפור
מלחמה. ס'שנייט ביים האַרצן די מצבות פון יונגע
19 — 20 — 21 יאָריקע קינדער, וועמענס לעבנס זענען
אַזוי יונג פּאַרשניטן געוואָרן. יעדעס מאָל שטעלט זיך די
ווייטיקלעכע פּראַגע אַלץ שאַפּער: צי האָט מען דאָס
געקאָנט פּאַרמיידין? צי זענען די דאָזיקע קברות געווען אַ
ניטווענדיקייט, כּכדי צו פּאַרטיידיקן די מדינה.

דער דאָזיקער יונגער ריכטן האָט איבערגעלאָזט זייער אַ
שווערע וואונד אין לעבן פון מיין ברודער מרדכי, מאָטל,
אין גלייב, אַז דאָס איז געווען אייער פון די הויפט-מאָטיוון
פּאַרוואָס ער האָט זיך אָפּגעגעבן מיט אַזוי פיל געטרייקייט.

מיט אַזוי פיל ענערגיע, מיט אַזוי פיל נשמה און ליבע דער
אַרבעט אין דעם נאָענטן גרענעץ-שטעטל בית-שאַן. מיין
ברודער מאָטל האָט באַקומען די אויפגאַבע צו זאָרגן וועגן
דער ציווילער פּאַרטיידיקונג פון שטעטל. דאָס איז געווען
סײַ אַ פּאַראַנטוואָרטלעכע און סײַ זייער אַ קאָמפּליצירטע
אויפגאַבע, ווייל דער ווייט גרעסטער טייל איינוואוינער
שטאַמען פון אַראַבישע לענדער, וועלכע האָבן זייערע
ספּעציפישע מנהגים און אַרט לעבן, וועלכע האָבן זיך
ערשט אָנגעהויבן איינאַרדענען און זענען געווען זייער
פילבאַר און פול מיט אומרו צוליב דעם, וואָס זיי לעבן סך-
הכל געצילטע קילאָמעטער פון דער גרענעץ.

פאַר דער 6טן יאָרגיקער מלחמה האָט דער קאָמאַנדיר פון
דער ציווילער פּאַרטיידיקונג (מאָטס) פּאַראַרדנט צו גראַבן
שוין-גראַבנס אין אַ שכחיקן טאָג. די איינוואוינער האָבן
זיך געקווענגלט: גראַבן אין שבת? דער אַרטיקער רב האָט
אַבער געזען זיין צושטימונג, אַז פיקוח נפש וזחה את
השבת, וועגן זיין אַרבעט אין די זייער שווערע באַדינגונגען
פון אַ גרענעץ-שטעטל מיט אַ צוריקגעשטאַנענער
באַפעלקערונג דערצילטע פּאַרטיידיקע (וועלכע האָט
געענדערט דעם נאָמען ליפסקי אויף חמיר) אין זיין בוך.
וואָס איז דערשינען "דער ישוב אויף דער קאָמפּאַנטאַציע
ליניע". דער קאָמאַנדיר פון דער ציווילער פּאַרטיידיקונג
וועלכער האָט לעצטנס באַקומען די ראַנגע פון אַ גענעראַל
רעזעריאל אין זייער אַ אינטערעסאַנטער פּאַרם וועגן דער
גויסער ענערגיע, וואָס ער האָט דורכגעפירט ביי די
איינוואוינער אין גאַנצן אופן פון טראַכטן, פון אויפנעמען
די פּראַבלעמען פון דעם נייעם פּאַטערלאַנד, אין וועלכן זיי
האָבן זיך אָנגעהויבן איינברענגן, שאַפּנדיק ביי זיי דאָס
געפיל, אַז דאָס איז זייער לאַנד. ביי דער ערשטער

יידישע ענינים

ישראל זשורנאליסט יוסף ליפסקי צוגאסט אין אמעריקע

כיי דער פארוואלונג אונטער דער פארויצערשאפט פון
לואיס מאָראָ. פאָרוואַלטונגס רעדאַקטאָר פון "יידישע
ענינים" האָט דער חבר יוסף ליפסקי מיטאַרבעטער פון דער
חל-אַביכער ציטונג "דער וועג" און קאַרעספּאָנדענט פון
עטלעכע יידישע פּראָגרעסיווע אויסגאַבעס אין אויסלאַנד
איבערגעגעבן וועגן די לעצטע געשעענישן אין ישראל.
דער גאַסט האָט אָנגעוויזן אויף די ערנסטע געפאַרן פאַר
ישראל פון פּאַרזעצן מיט דער אַקופּאַציע וואָס קען
דערפירן צו נאָך אַ מלחמה.

דערביי האָט דער גאַסט אָנגעוויזן אויף דעם וואַקס פון
די ישראל-אַראַבישע כּוחות וואָס קעמפּן פאַר אַ פּאַליטיק
וואָס קען דערפירן צו אַ גענאַרטן שלום.

נאָך דער שיינער און רירנדיקער רעדע. זיינען פון עולם
געשטעלט געוואָרן פּראָגן און יוסף ליפסקי האָט
געענטפּערט און אַפּעלירט פאַר שלום און פּריינטשאַפט
צווישן אַמעריקע און סאָוועטן פּאַרבאַנד.

מיר דרוקן דאָ איבער צוויי זייער וויכטיקע אַרטיקלן
געשריבן פון חבר יוסף ליפסקי אין געדרוקט און די צייט
שריפטן פון ישראל און איבערגעדרוקט אין פול יידישע
ציטירפטן איבער דער וועלט:



דער ישראל זשורנאליסט יוסף ליפסקי און זיין פרוי חיה
האָבן באַזוכט אין חודש מאָי, 1988 בראָזיל. אַרגענטינע
און די פּאַראַייניקטע שטאַטן.

בשעת זיין אָנוועזנהייט אין ניו יאָרק האָט די רעדאַקציע
"יידישע ענינים" און יידישע קאָמיסיע פון דער
אַמעריקאַנער קאָמוניסטישע פּאַרטיי אַראַנזשירט אַן
אויפנאַמע פאַר זיי, מיטוואָך דעם 25סטן מאָי, אין דער
געביידע פון דער באַוועגונג אויף 235 וועסט 23טע גאַס,
מאַנהעטן.

40 יאָר מדינת ישראל

פון יוסף ליפסקי

באַפעלקערונג אויף די אַקופּירטע געביטן. מיט פיל
אַנערקענונג הייבט מען אַרויס דעם העלדישן קאַמף פון די
וואַרשעווער געטאַקעמפער קעגן אכזריותדיקן נאַצישן
אַקופּאַנט. וואָס האָט זיך געגרייט אומצוברענגען דאָס
יידישע פּאָלק. זייער העלדישער קאַמף האָט דאָך געלייט

ס'איז בפירוש ניט קיין צופאַל, אַז מיר פייערן דעם
40סטן יאָרטאָג פון מדינת ישראל ניט בלויז אויפן ראַנד און
כמעט גלייכצייטיק. מיטן אַפּמערקן דעם 45סטן יאָרטאָג
פון וואַרשעווער רומפולן געטאַ-אויפּשטאַנד, נאָך אויך אין
אַנבליק פון דעם רעוואַלט פון דער פּאַלעסטינער