

JEWISH AFFAIRS

March/April 1988

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The Scourge of Reaganism**

Frank Chapman

The Occupation: Evil and Self-Defeating

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Peace in the Middle East

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**The Presidential Election and
the Middle East**

Lewis M. Moroze

Rose Russell: Reclaiming the Record

Michael Doran

No History of Poland Without Jews

Sol Flapan



Family Reunification

The number of Palestinians abroad who have been denied the right to rejoin their families in the West Bank is large, and the authorities have so far refused to release the criteria which they claim to apply in deciding who may enter and who may not.

RACIST AND ANTI-SEMITIC VIOLENCE, THE SCOURGE OF REAGANISM

By Frank Chapman

Since Ronald Wilson Reagan was elected President in 1980 over 300 people have been assaulted and murdered throughout the United States by racist and anti-semitic hate groups and vigilantes. The social savagery of Reaganism has always been applauded by klan, nazis and other fascist criminal elements so it is no accident that during Reagan's reign they have become more active. A President who would put a wreath on nazi graves at Bitburg can only be a source of encouragement and inspiration for racist killers, Jew-haters and anti-communists in our own country.

The National Council of Churches and the Center for Democratic Renewal just issued a report entitled: **THEY DON'T ALL WEAR SHEETS: A CHRONOLOGY OF RACIST AND FAR RIGHT VIOLENCE, 1980-1986.** The reason why this document is so important is that it is the only comprehensive, unofficial report issued thus far on racist, anti-semitic and bigoted motivated violence. The Uniform Crime Report issued by the FBI does not include racist and other bias-related crimes. In fact this is precisely why Congressman John Conyers (D.- MI) has introduced a bill (HR 3193) which mandates the Justice Department to monitor and report acts of racist and other bigoted motivated violence. At any rate this particular study points out that the Center for Democratic Renewal has documented nearly 3,000 acts of racist and bias motivated violence for the period 1980-1986.

Let us also hasten to mention that this study includes in the broader category of bias-motivated violence the bombing of abortion clinics, violence against progressive Vietnamese, Salvadorans, etc. perpetrated by anti-communist fanatics; and anti-Arab violence carried out by Zionist-terrorist groups. However, this study does not include information on officially perpetrated racist violence carried out by the police, the FBI, prison guards, immigration gents, etc. The disproportionate representation of Afro-Americans on death row and their execution while being denied due process of law is certainly a gross example of state sanctioned racist violence.

But even given the exception of state sanctioned racist violence the statistics presented in the above cited study

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The Occupation: Evil and Self-Defeating

By Herbert Aptheker

In a global population made almost numb by horror after horror — from Reagan's Central American policy to the savagery of the South African regime to the atrocities marking the Iraq-Iran slaughters — the criminal behavior of Israel towards the peoples in the Occupied Territories has been awful enough to arouse disgust. As these lines are written, the Shamir government announces the arrest of five hundred more Palestinian "suspects," and is engaged not only in leveling homes but also olive groves. The latest count of Palestinians shot to death by the IDF is given, by Israeli authorities, as one hundred. Several times that number have been wounded, let alone the scores who have had their bones crushed.

This policy has been so monstrous that it has broken the conspiracy of silence which marked the Jewish establishment figures and publications. A debate of decisive consequence is shaking the world and not least the Jewish population of the United States. Those who some two decades ago established the Committee for a Just Peace in the Mid-East and *Jewish Affairs* and cried out that Occupation is not only evil but also self-defeating, that a policy of war-preparing and war-making is a policy without vision and would be not only exhausting but futile — we find ourselves no longer so generally the object of vituperation, when not ignored.

Now the whole idea of enmity against the Palestinians, of denying their rights, not to speak of their existence, of making Israel a militaristic power, of tying Tel Aviv to the aggressive and regressive policies of Washington — this whole policy which was denounced here by a handful yesterday, is decried by hundreds of thousands today. This is true inside Israel, and by the world's population as a whole, including deepest disquiet among the millions of Jewish people in the United States.

The founding and growth of New Jewish Agenda is one evidence of this development; another is the founding and growth of the magazine *Tikkun*. Both of these were challenges to the dominant Jewish organizations and to the views of the Neo-Conservatives, especially the despicable Norman Podhoretz and his *Commentary*.

Tikkun, a well-edited and highly civilized journal, in contrast to *Commentary*, reflects the agony in the American Jewish community with its editorial in the March-April issue entitled, "The Occupation: Immoral and

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Stupid." Much of the six thousand words of this essay by the editor, Michael Lerner, is devoted to an exhortation of the immoral actions of the Tel Aviv government, actions which violate every tenet of prophetic Jewish teaching. With the exception of almost no mention of the use of live ammunition against unarmed civilians, Lerner's language is as severe as the condition requires.

Thus, he writes: "Stop the beatings, stop the breaking of bones, stop the night raids on people's homes, stop the use of food as a weapon of war, stop pretending that you can respond to an entire people's agony with guns and blows and power." Except for fascists inside and outside Israel (moral idiots like the JDL) only characters like Morris Abram and Henry Kissinger take exception to such denunciation and appeal.

* * *

When, however, Michael Lerner turns to proposals for what to do, rather than what not to do, questions arise. Thus, it is urged that "a demilitarized and politically neutral Palestinian state can be established." He suggests that such a Palestine's demilitarization is to be guaranteed by the United States and the Soviet Union and that Palestine would be required to "recognize Israel's right to intervene militarily" in order to assure Palestine's demilitarization. Israel and the United States and the Soviet Union would "create a unified force" to protect the fledgling Palestine from "Syria, Iraq, Iran or other hostile powers" — this apparently seriously proposed! And Israel itself is to have agreement from Washington for "the full power of American military might to defend Israel from attack." From *this* agreement the USSR is excluded!

This Palestinian state — consisting of the West Bank and Gaza and nothing else (contrary to UN Resolutions), thus neutralized and disarmed would be required to "renounce all claims to the rest of Palestine" and to "police" Palestinians who may reject such renunciation. Where is the Quisling to head such a "state"?

Further, who might negotiate to achieve this truncated and disarmed "state"? Only a group that "is willing to recognize Israel's right to exist" — but not merely to exist but to exist under the terms already affirmed as pre-conditions! And if there is no Palestinian "leadership" that will play along with this charade? Then, Israel "gains a great deal" for it has made a generous offer; apparently if the offer is rejected, matters are to continue as at present — without, Mr. Lerner surely hopes — the shooting of civilians and the breaking of prisoners' bones!

Mr. Lerner adds, after projecting this "solution",

that if Israel publicly commits itself to it, "it need not yield an inch of land until the demilitarization is firmly in place."

Lerner certainly is correct when he writes that "Israel is in deep jeopardy and that the occupation must end," but his program is not one that will end it. Lerner's proposal ignores repeated United Nations Resolutions, it all but ignores the PLO which is the voice of the Palestinian people. Further, the PLO has affirmed repeatedly that it accepts, in their entirety, all relevant UN Resolutions, and of course these recognize the right of all States in the area to exist.

Lerner's position puts the onus for the Occupation upon the occupied. While it berates the conduct of the Occupiers it does NOT denounce the policy of aggrandizement, aggression and dependency upon Washington and Washington's imperial purposes. The aggrieved are the Palestinian people; they must have not only justice but they should also have reparations — to the extent that murder and torture can ever be compensated!

The Palestinian people have the right to self-determination. That last word is SELF-determination. This requires an end to occupation; it requires negotiation with the PLO. It requires — given the understanding of self-determination which is at the heart of the United Nations, itself — an international conference with the participation of all interested Parties and States. The UN Resolutions on the Mid-East are bases for a just peace in that region. Nothing less will resolve the problem. Delay in resolving it is corroding Israel's vitals. Continued persistence in Occupation means catastrophe; it challenges Israel's very existence and endangers world peace.

That reality must be faced. Present Israeli-United States policy must be abandoned. Justice must be done, else peace is a sham. No people can be held in chains without persistent rebellion, the corruption of the enslavers, and a final explosion. No truth is more clearly written in the annals of history. The sooner the policy of justice is instituted, the sooner will Peace come. Then reconciliation will be possible, and the security of Israel be achieved.

If justice is done, the heavens will not fall; if justice is not done, evil will pile upon evil, crime upon crime — and disaster will be the result. □

Every Reader Get A Reader

Meir Vilner on Peace in the Middle East

We publish below two historic speeches delivered by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel. The first was delivered in Moscow at the celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The second was a speech delivered 12/16/87 in the Israeli Knesseth regarding the popular uprising of the Palestinian People in the Occupied Territories.

The USSR and World Peace

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me first on behalf of our delegation to express our gratitude to our Soviet friends for their initiative in summoning this representative gathering with the participation of such a large spectrum of ideological trends.

The perestroika, the glasnost, the democratisation in the Soviet Union have already started shaking the world. Even in Israel the effect of the anti-Soviet propaganda conducted 25 hours per day is diminishing. The attractiveness of socialism, of the Soviet Union, is increasing all over the world. This is a tremendous contribution by the CPSU to world peace as well as to the revolutionary process.

Our contemporary world is characterised, on the one hand, by the existence of a common interest of preserving world peace. On the other hand, contradicting interests exist between the exploited and the exploiters, between the peoples struggling for their national liberation and their oppressors, between the peoples and the fascist and racist dictatorships. And, last but not least, there are conflicting interests between capitalism and socialism. These conflicting interests will continue to exist. So will the struggles deriving from these contradictions.

Every success of the struggle for national liberation, democracy, social progress and socialism contributes to the struggle for peace. And, vice versa, every success of the struggle for ensuring peace is contributing to all other struggles. We face here a dialectical unity.

But the crucial problem of our time is to ensure peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems to prevent the greatest danger to all the classes, to all the peoples, to all humanity — the danger of total annihilation.

Hence the need, the imperative of new thinking. This is not only an objective necessity. It is an urgent imperative. There is a danger that the arms race will go out of control.

American imperialism has not stopped striving for military supremacy. It continues to act for the sake of tremendous profits for the military-industrial complex. Imperialism has not changed its nature. That's why it is so important and fateful to persist, intensify the struggle for the survival of mankind and for united action of all peace forces in every country and internationally.

The expected signing of the agreement for the destruction of medium- and short-range missiles and the prospects of new, more important, agreements for disarmament is proof that the struggle for disarmament and peace can win.

To our regret, I can't say that the Israeli ruling circles are very concerned or conscious of the danger to the very existence of mankind. We are doing our best to raise the understanding of the gravity of this crucial problem.

The Israeli Zionist ruling circles, notwithstanding certain differences between them, are far from new thinking. Their way of thinking is similar to that of the old colonialist thinking of the 19th century. They can behave so due to the military, financial and political assistance of the USA. Israel has concluded a strategic alliance with American imperialism and even joined the USA Star Wars plan. All this is absolutely contrary to the true interests of the Israeli people. The huge military expenditures affected badly the interests of the working people, deteriorated the health and education services.

In order to achieve peace Israel has to retreat from all the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese territories occupied since 1967; an independent Palestinian state should be established alongside Israel. Security can be ensured only by establishing peace.

We are struggling for the liquidation of the Middle East hotbed of war which endangers world peace, for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and stable peace in our region.

In the present international and regional conditions such a peace can be achieved only by common efforts, in the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties concerned, including Israel and the Palestinian Arab people, whose only legitimate representative is the PLO, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council.

We are struggling for respect of human rights. Indeed, this is one of our basic principles as Communists. Those in Israel speaking very loudly about human rights cruelly oppress the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and have closest relations with the South-African racist regime.

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No human rights exist in the occupied territories, but there are shootings of innocent people and demonstrators, collective punishment, tortures, robbing of Palestinian land and destroying houses. In Lebanon Palestinian refugee camps and villages are bombed by the Israeli aviation killing many civilians, women, children and men. We are struggling against all these and organising the broadest possible front.

I would like to point out that the opposition to the government's policy is growing. Many of the political positions of our party are now also shared by other political circles and are supported by public opinion. Some Zionist circles are beginning to understand the danger to Israel itself from the continuation of the policy of occupation and expansion.

On the other hand, the extremists are also gaining strength. The polarisation of Israeli society is increasing.

In conclusion I would like to say that it is not accidental that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the most devoted to the cause of peace. This derives from the humanistic communist ideology based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union are an expression of the vitality of our communist movement which proves that it represents in practice the socialist alternative to capitalism, which gives birth to wars. In conditions of peace all peoples will choose earlier or later the road to socialism, which means peace and prosperity for the whole society.

The Unbreakable Will of the Palestinian People

Mr. Chairman, Knesset members, a discussion is going on how to define what is happening now in the occupied territories. What is happening now is a popular uprising of the Palestinian people who are under this occupation for more than 20 years. Instead of drawing the self-evident conclusion to get out of the occupied territories, the government pursue a policy of intensifying the oppression, of murdering women and children, students and old people. This is a typical cruel colonialist racism.

Members of the Knesset, today is Chanuka, (Jewish feast). The sons of the Palestinian people, who fight for national liberation against the occupation, are the Maccabees of our time. . . .

We demand to stop immediately the massacre of the Palestinians in the occupied territories and adopt a policy of peace, by participating in an international peace con-

ference with the participation of all parties involved, including the P.L.O. and, of course, Israel.

Knesset members, everybody speaks about maintaining order. But those who fight the occupation, Palestinians as well as peace-loving Israelis, are for a just order. An occupation is no order. *The occupation itself is a breach of order, a violation of human rights and elementary national rights.*

And those who behave so, still dare to speak about human rights, how can you find individuals with such an insolence? After they do what the government does in the occupied territories, they dare to speak of human rights. What human rights, not to speak of national rights, have the Palestinian people in the occupied territories?

Michal Eytan (Likud): We are talking about the rights of blood, the rights of the blood you shed, you and your partners, by the terror. We are talking about the rights of blood.

Meir Vilner (Democratic Front): I thought that in your opinion only the Alignment sheds the blood. But you, the Likud, are responsible for the bloodshed of Israelis, of Palestinians and of Lebanese. You, the Likud, are mainly responsible and together with you is this Defence Minister, Rabin, who boasts that in three years he has deported three times more Palestinians than the Likud deported in seven years. He is like you.

But not only this. The situation has developed as a result of daily acts of oppression and humiliation. Will we not lose our human image, if we see, that day after day, people are maltreated, humiliated? Obviously, not everything is published. Blows are inflicted on all sides. Any colonialist hooligan can beat up an Arab teacher or doctor, and nothing is done about it.

My colleagues were on Saturday in the Balata camp. Shocked women told them how a group of borderguards were standing opposite the crying, complaining women and one of them took his sex organ out opposite the women and provoked those Moslem women. What is most horrible is, that not one of his colleagues in the borderguards told him: What are you doing, you are insane.

The police Minister said today, that the borderguards are alright. Is this alright?

Shevah Weiss (Alignment): It is degeneration.

Meir Vilner: It is degeneration, corruption, humiliating, abominable immorality. Read what happened during the searches. Everything was crashed, radio sets, television sets, dishes. Jews call it a pogrom and we become pogromists. This is the truth, evidently this is

what happens.

Unification of families — I have a whole list of cases of a wife separated from her husband, a husband from his wife, a father from his children, and in other places you talk about a unification of families.

And the tortures in the prisons. These days we got information. It is terrible what they are doing there. And this happens after the Landau Commission, and after they lied also to the Landau Commission. And all this is done by the Central Security Service, an institution of professional liars and torturers who admitted that they have lied to everybody for 16 years. That is what we look like.

A few days ago, resolutions were adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, which discussed the Palestinian problem. One of the resolutions calls for convening of an international conference for peace in the Middle East, with the participation of all parties involved: Israel, the P.L.O., the five permanent members of the Security Council. Only three member states voted against. This was not a surprise. Two are well known - Israel, the United States. And who is the third? Honduras. Why Honduras? Because Israel, on the request of the USA, is sending directly arms and experts for a war against the people of Nicaragua through Honduras, in cooperation with the Contras. That is why this trio opposed an international conference: Israel, the United States and Honduras.

This resolution said, that the P.L.O. is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. And what happens? There is also a resolution against the strategic alliance between Israel and the USA. And the resolution of the General Assembly says, that the arms shipments to Israel "encouraged Israel to continue its aggressive policy that seeks territorial expansion."

Another resolution was adopted that "the annexation of East Jerusalem is unlawful, null and void". But Mr. Murphy reprimanded Security Minister Rabin, who is presently in the United States, for the killings committed by the occupation forces in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. But at the same time, the US administration strengthens the supporters of the occupation and signs a new strategic agreement, and not everything it contains is reported to us, and the Knesset should know what Rabin has signed.

They will give Israel another 75 F-16 planes at the price of 2 billion dollars. What is the use of what Murphy says, when means are supplied to continue the occupation and to prepare a possible war and an existing threat against Syria. On one side, two billion dollars are spent

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for more aggressive weapons and on the other side cuts are made in the budgets for health and education, and the Finance Minister wants to cancel subsidies.

What does the provocation of Sharon in the Old City of Jerusalem mean? Evidently, this is an extraordinary provocation. And who does it? The same Sharon who is directly responsible for the 600 young Israelis who were killed in Lebanon, who is responsible for Sabra and Shatila and for other crimes against the Israeli, the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples.

This is the same Sharon, and I am quoting the "Davar" daily of 1st of January, 1986, that finally wrote, after the censor did not allow to publish it for years: "In the sixties, Sharon ordered an officer to prepare a plan for the deportation of the Arabs in trucks. He ordered a study on the number of trucks needed to expel the Arab population, including mixed Arab-Jewish couples out of Israel".

It is not only Sharon. It is Shamir who came there as Prime Minister and all this clique of opponents of peace, who could bring a disaster on the security and the future and existence of the State of Israel. By opposing them, we show not only solidarity with the Palestinian people and with the Lebanese people who fights against the occupation, we protect the people of Israel from catastrophe. Sharon and Shamir and everybody in the Alignment who go their way, might bring a disaster on the State of Israel in the first place.

The U.N. Assembly adopted last week, almost unanimously, a resolution against terror. Israel voted against the resolution that condemns the terror, because the resolution makes a difference between terror, which it condemns, and rightly so, and a struggle for national liberation. The resolution says: "Together with our opposition against terror, every people under occupation has also the right to fight for its national liberation."

Evidently, this is natural, it is nothing new. This is the opinion of the international community. But for some reason the delegation of Israel voted against the resolution of the U.N. General Assembly against terror.

I don't see everything black in Israel. The policy of the government is entirely black, it is anti-Israel, just as it is anti-Palestinian, anti-Lebanese and anti-Nicaraguan and in favor of the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

As a matter of fact, we, too, have a racist regime in the occupied territories and a policy of national discrimination also inside Israel directed against the Arab population. Let me quote Nissim Zvili (M.K. Labor party,

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I.B.). If a member of the Alignment like him would be consistent with what he is saying, he should join those forces who understand the disaster that can happen to Israel if the present policy continues.

He says in "Davar" of 11/27/87: *I don't want to live in a binational state and certainly not in an Apartheid state. Today we live in an Apartheid state. It is not only unpleasant to say so, but we rule another people for twenty years. We denied their basic human rights, whoever thinks that our people will hold out under these conditions for a long time, is wrong*".

Yes, it is true. But the conclusion should be clear. No force will strangle the Palestinian people. No force can strangle the fighter for national liberation.

In one point I disagree with the previous speakers though I appreciate what they said. I don't think that the students, the schoolboys, the adults, the women, the Palestinian children who are fighting now against the occupation, for their honour, for their freedom—I don't think that they act out of despair. No, people surrender if they despair. They fight because they believe in victory of freedom. They believe that the occupation will come to its end.

Look what has happened now in the international arena, in the summit held in Washington. For the first time an agreement was reached on the liquidation of nuclear arms and missiles. This is only the beginning, in May a second summit meeting will take place in Moscow. In due course they will also discuss the solution of regional conflicts.

The U.S. administration, that is chiefly responsible for the bloodshed in the Middle East, cannot resist this process. It loses control of its economy. It loses the support of the people and even in the reactionary Arab countries. It will be forced to change its policy, otherwise the people will condemn it. The peoples will decide the final course of history, also in the Middle East. □

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There is no short cut, there can be no evasion of the granting of the right of national independence to the Palestinian People.

Jewish Americans and all American peace advocates can best succeed in securing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East by requesting of our members of the House, the Senate, President Reagan and all candidates for office to help secure the peace in the Middle East by expediting the call for an international conference under the aegis of the UN Security Council and to do so without delay. □

Arafat Speaks About Israel

By Sol Flapan

"It's a real revolution and it will last until the downfall of the Israeli occupation. . . . We fully appreciate the role of (Jewish) progressive and democratic forces in Israel. . . . We are most appreciative of the Polish stand on the Palestinians' just cause. . . ."

Those are the main points of an interview given Poland's national daily, *Trybuna Ludu*, by Yasser Arafat president of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In a talk with the paper's correspondent in the PLO's Tunis headquarters, Yasser Arafat described that "real revolution" in Israeli occupied Arab lands as having "embraced the broad masses of Palestinians — the youth and even children, workers and farmers, merchants and physicians, and women," the "entire society."

The PLO, however, has banned the use of arms, he said adding that the "Israeli policy of massacres and barbarity is countered by the PLO's policy of peace." And that, despite the 156 Palestinians killed, the over 5,000 injured, and the over 9,000 thrown into concentration camps (as of interview time in early March). All this and accompanying suffering notwithstanding and "regardless of bombs hurled at children and women, which is genocide after all," PLO proclaimed policy and behavior remains unchanged, Arafat told the daily of the Polish United Workers (communist) Party.

He branded the Shultz Plan as a menace to the Palestinians. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz claims he wants to resolve the Palestinian question "but how can he do that if he ignores the Palestinian leaders?" asked Arafat. It boils down to arresting and liquidating the Palestinian revolution, he charged. "He offers my people a new slavery, something in the shape of a South African bantustan" — a reference to so-called homelands but resembling more vast concentration camps or reservations.

Asked by *Trybuna Ludu* whether there are any socio-political forces in Israel upon which the PLO can depend now and in the future, the Palestinian leader replied in the affirmative. "There are certain groups, peace movements, progressive and democratic forces there which reject the policy of fire and sword waged by the Israeli militarist government," he remarked. "That movement is developing. But," he cautioned, "there is also the mushrooming of extremist fanatical groupings."

"We appreciate the role of those progressive and democratic forces and we are continuing to maintain

contact with them. We also appreciate the stand by a number of Jewish communities and prominent individuals in Europe and America in opposing Israeli policy."

As yet, Arafat does not see any support forthcoming from (Jewish) politicians in office, though he adds, "there are those who are beginning to make their appearance." Relevant examples according to Arafat are the mayor of Tel Aviv who has censured his party and the critical voices among Likud youth.

Winding down his talk with *Trybuna Ludu* Yasser Arafat underscored the PLO's appreciation for the determined stand by the Polish people, the Polish government and the country's political leadership on the Palestinians' just cause.

"We are certain," he said in conclusion, "that sooner or later this support by Poland and the other socialist countries, the Islamic states, the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America as well as the solidarity of all honest people in the world will make it possible for us to achieve our aims. We intend no harm to anyone. All we want is peace and a solution acceptable to all so that we all could live on our planet in peace."

Sol Flapan is Polish Correspondent of Jewish Affairs. Affairs.

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former Polish militia man of the pre-war period, Grinyevich, rescued the daughter of Ben Zion Villion. The list is not complete. The woman, Semashke Stanislava, had the sister of Marinov who now lives in Israel.

"In life truthful revelations are not one-sided but rather many-sided. Therefore, we must, in this regard, do all that is possible to see to it that all non-Jews, who risked their lives to save Jews, would never be forgotten. And they should, as is only proper, be remembered with respect and honor. Regretfully many of the rescuers and those rescued are no longer alive. Remaining alive are many of their close relatives: brothers, sisters, children, etc.

"We appeal to all those who have themselves lived through the occupation of Prodbrodz, including those family members, friends and acquaintances of those who have died, to, if at all possible, in the interest of fully recording what occurred reveal new facts about all who assisted the Jews. These facts must be made available to the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum in Jerusalem and/or the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

"We ask the Jewish press worldwide to pass on this appeal. With friendliest regards, Julius Levin." □

Jewish Affairs

Why the self-censorship?

By J. I. Fishbein

This article appeared originally in *The Sentinel*, 3/24/88.

Anyone really familiar with the inside workings of the organized Jewish community today, knows perfectly well that we are subject to a form of censorship no less real or effective than it would be if government controlled. No one tells us we must support Israel's current policy in the West Bank and Gaza but we all know that to do otherwise will bring down ferocious wrath upon our heads. The Establishment, with its enormous investment in maintaining the facade of Jewish unity can make it very uncomfortable for anyone or any institution — including the press — if it dares to stray from the path of giving carte blanche to anything Israel does.

That's the truth and there is no point denying it.

We all know that this uniformity doesn't really exist, either here or in Israel where public opinion is split right down the middle. Some 10,000 Israelis demonstrated this clearly as Shamir departed for America. The Israeli press is filled with dissent over his policies. Yet we American Jews are frankly too scared to open our mouths. We know if we do, we will be assailed by harsh voices and we prefer a safer harbor. So the facade goes on.

We would agree with this approach ourselves if it were in the best interests of Israel. The fact is that it is not. Any pediatrician will tell you that the worst thing you can do to a child is look the other way when he is doing something he shouldn't be doing. That's the certain guarantee of spoiling him. It also convinces the child you don't really love him because if you did you would want to help him rather than encourage his intransigence. The simple truth is that we are not helping Israel by pretending that the Shamir policy of guaranteed failure, if just left on its own, will eventually wear the Palestinians down and the current unrest will go away. That's plain foolishness. It isn't going to happen.

There is a problem in the occupied territories and it has to be faced and solved. That is not going to be easy — no one says it is — but it is real: We have to accept it or it will fester and grow worse.

It is not going to happen unless the real friends of Israel tear away the facade of false unity and open up a national debate on what must be done. It doesn't mean we don't care what happens to Israel; in fact, the opposite is true. We are the real defenders of the Jewish state,

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The Presidential Elections

and the Middle East

By Lewis M. Morose

As the crisis in Israel deepens and as the partners of the US- Israeli Strategic Military Alliance persist in their intransigent opposition to a UN sponsored International Conference, the candidates for the presidency in seeking victories in the coming primaries are reaching out for Jewish Voters, especially in New York State.

The broadening and deepening criticism of the policies of the Shamir-Peres national Unity Government by Jewish Americans, as well as by the peace constituencies, is either blocked out or not understood by the candidates still in the field, except for Jesse Jackson. The candidates accept the Zionist fostered position that Jewish Americans are in their overwhelming majority unquestioning supporters of Israeli policy.

This accounts for Nat Hentoff's sharp exposé of Senator Gore in the *Village Voice*, 4/12/88, entitled: "Senator Gore of Likud". Hentoff correctly charges that Gore takes the "insulting view that they (the Jews) all think alike, so give them what they want to hear." Too many candidates for Congress take the same position.

Jews for Jackson '88 included in their position paper Jesse Jackson's profound observation: "Israel at one level is an expression of international affirmative action, and given the historic negative action (millenia-old anti-Semitism) the international affirmative action was corrective surgery. However, surgery half done jeopardizes the patient. In this instance, not spending the same effort working out the Palestinian solution has left surgery half done. That's why we now have hostility forty years later as opposed to the peace that was the original vision." Jesse Jackson's view is singular amongst the candidates and most acceptable to all who seek peace and justice for the Palestinians, the Israelis and their Arab neighbors.

At the recent convention of the American Jewish Congress, Henry Siegman, executive director, observed that important elements of the Israeli Likud coalition "have publicly disparaged the importance they attach to democratic values and humanitarian consideration."

The AJC reaffirmed its call for an international conference. Said Siegman: "Not because this makes for good public relations but because only by ridding itself of the permanent occupation of nearly two million Palestinian Arabs will Israel survive physically and retain its democratic values and Jewish essence."

The candidates for the presidency should ponder

deeply the views of Jewish Americans, as they are and not as the candidates assume for tactical reasons.

Leading Jewish American figures such as Philip Klutznick, former U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Rabbis Arthur Hertzberg, Alexander Schindler, Marshall Meyer, Balfour Brickner, Leonard I. Beerman, Eugene Lipman, Arnold Jacob Wolf and many others, along with the famed legal expert on international law, Rita Hauser, amongst others are pressing for an international conference.

Thousands of Jewish Americans have signed ads, responding to appeals of the Sholom Achshav (Peace Now) Movement, other Israeli peace constituencies, and the appeals of Israeli intellectuals calling for support.

Jewish Americans in striving for a peaceful solution of the Israeli crisis, are banding together with Arab American organizations and leaders in joint appeals.

New Jewish Agenda, Americans for a Progressive Israel and the American Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition are mobilizing Americans across the land calling for an international conference including the PLO.

It is essential to note that hesitation and compromising on principle are reflected among some Jewish Americans still blinded by narrow nationalism in contradiction to the ethic espoused by famed Rabbi Hillel: "If I am not for me, then who will be, but if I am for myself alone, what manner of human am I?"

This narrow nationalism is reflected in the resolution adopted by the American Jewish Congress. Its call for an international conference is seriously weakened by the formulation: "It is claimed that since most Palestinians within and without the territories consider the PLO their sole legitimate representative, the US and Israel have no choice but to admit the PLO as a valid negotiating partner. We believe that this argument is without merit."

There can be no secure future for the State of Israel, nor can the Middle East crisis be abated without the granting of the right of self determination to the Palestinian People, which can best be guaranteed by the UN.

The Shultz Plan, which deliberately skirts a UN sponsored international conference is nought but warmed over "Reagan Plan of 1982", the "autonomy plan", following the Camp David Accords. Here, it must be recalled what the then Prime Minister Begin meant by autonomy when he said "As for autonomy, the first time that the appointed authorities proclaimed an independent state that would be the last proclamation that would be made."

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The Naked Shame a poem written by **Richard Davidson**

"Revolt against tyranny is obedience to God."

In records we are a proud people,
From the beginning we have known the taste of pain,
Of fighting back against the roots of slavery and hob-nailed boot.

But what is this now in the crack of morning?
Are we no longer the victim but the pursuer?
What is happening in that country far away
and out of view?

The old woman looks up as we crash her door,
We grab her son by the bleeding walk.

The beatings start at nine-o'clock
And the terrible oaths spurring the morning air.
"We will stop their revolt," our commanders challenge.
"The Palestinians have no rights" the government de-
crees.

"We will not talk with the PLO scum", the TV reports
thunder.

And the land cries with the blood of human folk.

And you, miles away, you cannot hear the terrible cry,
the fist against the open mouth,

The club unleashed against the child's domain.
We who have come out of the jungles of tyranny,
We who have suffered the Holocaust madness,
We who have known the whip of rebuke

Now dare to hold that whip ourselves.
We and not all have put blinders on,
Have listened to the voices of ageing propaganda,
Have strangled truth in her naked bed,
And flung out epitaphs to the growling wind.

But there are demands to stop,
Our people are divided.

Paeans to peace still fill the air.

"Can they hear it," those in government?

The prime minister is a busy man,
The open wound slithers in the mideastern sun.

And you and I, here,

Who go our separate ways,

Who plough to work; take care of the kids; eat the
evening meal.

Trot to services on Friday night,
In the safe synagogue on the safe street.

Can we hear those cries?

Old men and kids?

Do we hear those cries?

Our people over there, tearing into skull and bone?

Jewish Affairs

Do we hear those cries?
Of people just like us?
Who want nothing more than this slice of land and
equality's breath.
Of what as generations we have always fought for,
And died because of.
And you safe and away
Are not really so safe and not really away.
But it's business, the clock on the wall demands.
The hand of the colonial arm hits hard,
It's business for labor and water rights,
Keep the Palestinians in their place.
And we who have known that expression, "Keep in
place,"
Should be the last to use it with hard bullets and the
outraged shout.
No, not all support the heavy boot,
Our people, some of them, remember well.
We will upturn this scourge of our own making,
We will get back to decency and care.
All of us must rise to this bloody hour,
That blends us dupes in the ruling class currency.
We, who lived through Auschwitz, can never condone
The pain and misery of the Gaza strip.
Can never condone the missing hand and the blackened
eye.
Then stop it. Demand to stop it!
You who are safe and far away,
Our generations must be the hope of humankind,
Not the battering ram of clanging banks.
In records, we are a loving people,
Let us end this killing hour,
Let roses bloom on the West Bank earth,
And a People rejoice, free and equal,
And no more sound the terror of our naked shame.

*Richard Davidson is a regular contributor to Jewish
Affairs.*

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not the phony, fearful advocates of "Do nothing; all will
be well."

Let's end this shameful self-censorship. Let's speak
our minds and hope that as always, Jews will find the
best solution, even if it doesn't suit the "machers" who
want to pretend we are mindless. They are the betrayers
of Israel's future, not those of us who are not afraid to
fight for peace, difficult as it may be. □

J. I. Fishbein is editor of The Sentinel of Chicago.

March/April

Hear O Israel By Henri Percikow

The world cringing
And in anger
Jewish people are shamed
Repulsed and protesting
The criminal activities
Committed day and night
Upon the men, women and children
Of the Palestinian people
All under the emblem
Of the Star of David
Upheld by the U.S.
The Israeli occupied
West Bank and Gaza Strip
That contain Arab towns and villages
Fill with Palestinian refugee camps
Are awakening as an oppressed people
Resisting the Israeli oppressor
And moving toward their
Independent Palestinian State
That no helmeted police or army
With all their brutal, savage and punitive
Curfews, beatings, killings can stop.
The flowering of the Palestinian Freedom struggle
Has come to bloom for its right to self-determination
Spreading its seed on fertile soil
For the pent-up hatred
Of the Israeli victims
Is only being galvanized by their oppressors.

Hear O Israel
Since your birth as a nation
You have cheated the Palestinian people
Of their rightful State
You have become the paid "gendarme"
For U.S. imperialism.

The Shamir, Rabin and Kahane zionists
That pursue aggressive nationalism, racism
With their "bone crushing" policies
Can only be equalled with Botha's South Africa
Winning the condemnation of world court opinion.
They are endangering the security and survival
Of Israel, that must remain
A sovereign nation
That only Peace can ensure
With the birth of the Palestinian nation
And the rejection of U.S. intrigues.
Henry Percikow is a working class poet.

Rose Russell: Reclaiming the Record

By Michael Doran

The glowing adjectives that described her were endless — selfless, dedicated, wise, warm, devoted, militant, untiring, brilliant — they go on and on. But to those who knew her and worked with her, they never really seemed to be enough.

The list of those who admired her and paid tribute to her trade union leadership was also endless. They included governors and legislators, union leaders and Nobel laureates, teachers and parents.

For several decades, she and the valiant union she led, the New York Teachers Union, were symbols of the fight for everything that was good and decent in our country's tradition — labor's struggle for a better standard of living, good schools that are worthy of our children, opposition to political witchhunting, an end to racism, a world at peace.

In the 23 years since her death, she has been all but blacked out of the official record as have so many other working class and progressive leaders in our country's history.

It's time to reclaim that record. And we know of no better occasion than this year's International Women's Day celebration to remember the name of Rose Russell.

Born of Jewish parents on New York's lower east side, a graduate in philosophy of the University of Michigan, a teacher of French in the New York City high schools, her name became in its time a symbol, inextricably interwoven with the Teachers Union.

In an age when it was regarded as "unprofessional" for teachers to call mass demonstrations or to mount picket lines at City Hall, the Board of Education, or the State Capitol in Albany, the Teachers Union pioneered these actions and built a trade union consciousness among educators. In the McCarthy madness of the 1950's, an age to which Lillian Hellman once referred as "the time of the toad," when hundreds were jailed and thousands lost their jobs for their political beliefs, the Teachers Union was one of the few organizations in the country that had the courage to stand up against the scourge. Its heroic stand helped to spearhead the fight-back that finally succeeded in stopping the most extensive political witchhunt this country had ever seen. And in that same period, when peace was a dirty word, the Teachers union fought for the education of children in a world free from the threat of war.

From 1944, when she assumed the position of the union's Legislative Representative until the union dis-

banded in 1964, itself a victim of the toll taken by the cold war years, there was not a battle on the front lines for education or civil liberties that did not have her's or her union's imprint.

In 1964, on the occasion of the union's disbanding, the noted labor historian and editor, Leo Huberman, summarized her role when he wrote, "Call the role of the AFL-CIO labor leaders in the United States in 1963. There will be some on the list who are militant and determined; some who are selfless and dedicated; some who are humanitarian and warm; some who are devoted and wise counselors to their membership. But no one combines all these qualities. Rose Russell does."

Pioneer educator Alexander Meiklejohn called her an "intelligent and gallant spirit which is utterly devoted to the teaching of freedom, while passionately hostile to all forces, all institutions, all persons who hinder or mutilate that teaching."

Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College and an outstanding scholar and civil liberties advocate said of her and the pioneering union she led, "There is no one who has given more political intelligence to the cause of New York City teachers in these past 20 years than Rose Russell. Everyone who cares about good education in the big cities is in her debt. Her militant campaigns for academic freedom, for racial integration, for equality of opportunity, and for teachers' salaries have always been more vigorous and more advanced in timing as well as in concept than anyone else's. A series of solid accomplishments in New York City, due to her and the Teachers Union, are now part of our heritage of improvements of the past and the forerunners of the improvements that are yet to come."

But perhaps the best summation of the impact of the Teachers Union and Rose Russell's personal credo were her own words on that occasion: "We are all what we are," she said, "because of each other. For ours has been an organization that grew out of the minds and hearts, the conscience and courage, the devotion and the sacrifice of hundreds of people — thousands, in the course of nearly half a century.

"The stormy history of the Teachers Union is the story of tumultuous struggles to make this school system of ours a place where teachers can teach in dignity and freedom and children can learn in equality and hope....

"We were accused of 'discrimination in reverse' when we demanded special provisions to improve the schools in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant as far back as the thirties and forties, and the necessary steps for integration later on.

"We were considered 'peculiar' for our exposure of bias and prejudice in textbooks and for our call for the employment of more Negro teachers, dating back to the forties and early fifties.

"We were scorned as 'unprofessional' for calling mass demonstrations and picketing."

And the best summation of her own credo was in the final passage of that speech:

"The fight will go on in many new ways — some easier, some harder. Many of the things the union initiated and fought for have already been won, in whole or in part. Others are, so to speak, on the order-of-the-day, where it is impossible to escape their clamorous existence.

"I believe there must be a complete overhaul of those false educational values that are based on a frantic race for grades, with super-specialized, speed-up training for a dehumanized elite, and a dead-end for the vast majority of our children.

"I believe that teachers must be well-prepared, well-paid, well-intentioned towards their pupils, and free from the pressures and prejudices of small minds, from whatever quarter they may come.

I believe that the world of tomorrow will be, because it must be, a world of equal opportunity for all.

"This is a tall order, in which we teachers can play a small but significant part. Above all, we must ourselves believe in this, and then teach the children of all races and colors to respect each other, to live together, learn together, play together, and enrich each others' lives thereby.

"But this world of tomorrow demands first of all that there be a world tomorrow. So you see, there is a lot to be done."

So spoke a woman for all seasons. And when the real history of this country is written and Rose Russell is no longer an "unperson" and children go to the kind of schools she envisioned, her name will be as memorable as Wordsworth envisioned for Touissant L'Overture, the great national liberation leader, when he wrote:

"There's not a breathing of the common wind that will forget thee." □

Michael Doran is a contributor to Jewish Affairs.

In Memory
of
Manny Brownstein
Paula Brownstein

March/April 1988

An Israeli Soldier Speaks

By Edith Segal

They taught us to shoot,
to quell resistance,
I hated to kill
even at a distance.

Now they've softened,
changed their commands:
"Beat them with clubs!"
"Break their hands!"

This I will not do!
This I despise!

Breaking their hands
I see their eyes!

An end to killing,
to beatings, to hate!
How can we do to others
what once was *our* fate?

Our leaders are misleaders
who bring us shame,
Desecrators, defamers,
of Israel's name!

We need leaders who will take
a Palestinian hand,
Together bring peace
to this troubled land!

Edith Segal

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Darwinism, translator of Charles Darwin's works and author of many papers on evolutionism; Leib Icchok Peres (1852-1915), one of the classics of modern Yiddish literature; Hanka Szapiro-Sawicka (1917-43), activist in the prewar revolutionary youth movement, during the Nazi occupation one of the organizers of the underground Polish Workers (communist) Party and its armed wing the People's Guard, arrested and murdered by the Nazis; not to mention names representing Jews as a community such as "Ghetto Heroes" or "Fighters of the Ghetto" and similar designations which grace public places in numerous cities and towns and smaller entities across the nation.

All of which confirm the truism pointed out at a recent seminar here held within the framework of preparing for the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising this April that "There is no history of Poland with the Jews and there is no history of the Jews without the Poles." □
Sol Flapan is the Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

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To All Surviving Jews of Prodbrodzh, Poland

The editors of *Jewish Affairs* received a request from our Polish correspondent, Sol Flapan, to publish an urgent appeal which originally appeared in the Yiddish weekly of Warsaw, Poland, *Folk-Shtimme* of January 22, 1988.

We publish this appeal and ask our readers to bring this appeal to the attention of Jewish American organizations as well as Anglo-Jewish newspapers calling upon them for assistance. All replies are to be forwarded to Jewish Affairs, 235 West 23rd Street, NYC 10011. The appeal follows:

"Dear Friends:

"In *Folk-Shtimme* I came across two articles written by H. Marinov. From these two articles we learn a great deal about the destruction of the Jewish community of Prodbrodz, a town not far from Vilna. The nazis and their followers wiped out the entire Jewish population, some three hundred families, between the months of July through October 1941.

"H. Marinov is deserving of special praise for his efforts in assembling a great deal of information regarding a number of Jews who remained alive.

"We are informed that tens of Prodbrodz Jewish families and a number of individuals were rescued thanks to the efforts of impoverished peasants, in the main Polish People, and other non-Jews.

"This does not account for many and yet, it accounts for very many, when one considers that each and every one of the rescuers placed his or her life and the lives of family members in great jeopardy.

"Visiting Prodbrodz last Spring I read a report, in the original, written in Yiddish. It was filled with praise and expressed the thanks of a group of Jews from Prodbrodz who were rescued with the help of the cultured figure, Wingravich, now a man on in years and still living in Brodbrodz. Among the signers appear close friends of mine: Boruch Blushinsky, Ben-Zion Vilyon, the Bratonsky brothers, Boruch and Gordon Shapiro, my mother, Mina Levin, who had for a few good years lived in Prodbrodz on Kaishunar Street where the above-mentioned were neighbors.

"Further to be noted here is the Priest Mitko, who, in his small hut outside of Prodbrodz, hid Jews. The peasant Losh saved Israel Bovorskis and his sister; the

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No History of Poland Without Jews No History of the Jews Without the Poles

By Sol Flapan

WARSAW — It was only the naming of a street. But it was the latest example of public acknowledgement and appreciation of the many generations long Jewish presence here in Poland.

In a recent street designation project one of 63 streets in newly erected residential districts in the Okiecia District of Warsaw has been named Abraham Jacob Shtern Street.

Abraham Jacob Shtern was born in 1762 in a Lublin province shtetl, eastern Poland. In his childhood and youth he studied the Talmud in a traditional Jewish upbringing.

But this did not satisfy his intellectual aspirations. It was general, secular knowledge and especially that of mechanics which attracted his scholarly attention.

He taught himself the profession and art of watchmaking, an intricate, delicate and micro-engineering type of occupation in his day. At the same time, he began to delve into the wonderful and infinite world of mathematics while working on and authoring some improvements in watch mechanisms.

The young thinker, tinker and researcher caught the eye of Count Stanislaw Staszic, the magnate of the region to which Shtern's hometown shtetl belonged. This prominent scholar, writer, cleric and leading figure in the social reform movement at that time brought his protege to Warsaw so that he could continue his study of mathematics. Here, the bright youth also broadened his general education mastering a number of foreign languages in the process.

In 1812 Shtern invented and constructed a calculating machine on which he could perform the four arithmetical functions — addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. After some further tinkering, Shtern's machine mastered the operation of fractions.

But, because of its complexity and clumsiness it was considered an impractical "thigamajig." Nevertheless, he was permitted to demonstrate his calculator at an 1815 session of the Royal Society of Friends of Knowledge, a former academy of sciences. Then, on the recommendation of his patron, Abraham Jacob Shtern was made a member of this prestigious assembly of the learned which voted in 1816 that he be granted an annu-

ty of 200 thalers.

A decade later, Shtern was made director of the Warsaw Rabbinical Seminary. But he couldn't cope with the inner school struggle between the Chassidim and the Assimilators over the curriculum. He pushed for the inclusion of a program of liberal, secular subjects in the regular rabbinical study schedule.

Abraham Jacob Shtern died in Warsaw in 1842 at the venerable age of 80, respected then and now by Poland's academia.

Warsaw's newly designated Abraham Jacob Shtern Street now joins the many other streets, avenues and other places named after famous Polish Jews who contributed progressive thought and labor to this nation's stormy history, her national liberation/social emancipation struggles, and impressive culture over the decades.

Thoroughfares and other public places and facilities have been named after Morchedai Anielewicz (1919-43), activist in the wartime anti-nazi Resistance, founder of the Anti-Fascist Bloc in 1942, commander of the Warsaw Ghetto's Jewish Fighting Organization who fell in the Ghetto Uprising in the spring of 1943; also, Naftala Botwin (1905-25), working class activist, member of the youth organization *Cukunft* — the Future in Yiddish, YCLer and Communist Party member, executed by the semi-fascist regime in 1925 for carrying out an underground order by shooting a police agent-provocateur who had fingered many workers to prison and torture; and Berk Joselewicz (1764-1809), merchant turned Polish army colonel who organized a Jewish light cavalry brigade in the 1794 uprising against foreign partition and occupation, falling in a battle with Austria one of the erstwhile occupation powers; Janusz Korczak (Henryk Goldszmit, 1878 or 79-1942), teacher, theoretician on education and upbringing of children, writer, public activist, physician, guardian of orphans and the creator here of a system in which orphanages were co-governed by the children and youth through elected assemblies and officers, especially famous for his Ghetto exploit of voluntarily accompanying his young charges to the nazi Treblinka death camp where some 700-thousand men, women and children were exterminated; Alfred Lampe (1900-43), prewar Communist Party leader and theoretician, member of the Poale Zion as an 18 year old joining the C.P. in 1922, co-organizer of the reborn Polish Peoples' Army in the Soviet Union during World War II; Josef Nusbaum-Hilarowicz (1859-1917), zoologist and propagator of

Continued from page 2

are nothing less than shocking. For example, from 1980 to 1986 this report states that there have been 301 cross burnings, 302 assaults, 121 murders, 145 shootings and 138 bombings as well as 1105 other cases of harassment and vandalism.

These facts alone clearly demonstrate that we are dealing with a gigantic problem of lawlessness which is generally ignored by the President and his "top cop" Edwin Meese III. This is ironic, to say the least, in a country which just within the last two years ratified the Genocide Covenants of the United Nations and poses itself as an international champion of human rights. The irony of this situation stems from the fact that white supremacists organizations (who represent a very small minority) are a power to be reckoned with precisely because they are granted a legitimate existence by our government. Therefore, a major task of our movement is to have these groups outlawed which is exactly what Article III of the Genocide Convention mandates.

In order to develop correct strategy and tactics for combating and bringing to an end racist and anti-semitic violence in our country we need to examine its underlying causes.

It is generally understood, particularly by victims of racist oppression, that racist violence is a vicious instrument of the status quo; it is one of the most brutal and savage means used by the oppressor to suppress the natural yearnings of the oppressed for freedom, dignity and equality. This is what Dr. Mary Frances Berry, who sits on the U.S. Commission for Civil Rights, was referring to when she pointed out that the federal government's response to demands for Afro-American equality "has always been token measures or assertions that no problem exists, if these failed and Black people persisted too vigorously, then force and suppression were used."

Holding the club of repression over the heads of Black people has more than one purpose. The militarists and the reactionary big business that Reagan represents know full well that liberty is indivisible; they know that a blow struck for liberty for Afro-Americans is also for labor, all oppressed peoples and an enduring peace. So the increased violence against the Afro-American people goes hand and hand with the increased repression directed against labor, Puerto Rican fighters for independence, Chicanos, Native Americans, Arab-Americans, Asians, the Peace movement, women, youth, etc. The objective of this repression is to break the will of the peoples' resistance to militarism and social injustice. And in this regard it is not only perpe-

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trated by vigilantes and racist hate groups but also by various agencies and agents of the state.

When Bernard Goetz gunned down four unarmed youth he was hailed as a hero by the ultra right and the sirens of law and order. His picture was posted in a number of police precincts with the caption "Bernie for Mayor." The reason behind such action is clear: Goetz did outside the law what racist cops under the cover of the law do all the time. Also Goetz was defended by New York Senator D'Amato, Mayor Koch and President Reagan on the grounds that people are fed-up with crime (and particularly Afro-American criminals) who "too often enjoy the protection of the law while victims have no rights."

This is not only a question of some government officials expressing their private racist opinions but a rather obvious reflection of existing racist policies on the part of the government. The present racist policies of government at all levels is covered up by pious pronouncements that we now live in a color blind society. The central issue according to the Reaganites is not what color you are but whether or not you are a law-abiding citizen. So if a disproportionate number of Afro-Americans are in prison then it is because they are committing more crimes. To be sure the image presented here is that an "underclass" of Afro-American criminals dominate the ghettos and constitute a formidable threat to the very security of the nation.

The denial that racism, particularly in its institutionalized forms, exist while at the same time building up repressive institutions such as prisons, police, etc. is the two-faced policy of this Administration which has both incited and justified racist violence at the same time.

Racism does exist and part of the reason for its continued existence has precisely to do with the kind of tokenism referred to by Dr. Berry above. When institutions of government and those private institutions that come under the direct control of the monopolies continue to pursue racist policies then they must be ultimately held responsible for the crime of racist violence.

The lie we are told is that racism exists because of "increased polarization between white and black people." White people of various ethnic backgrounds and people of color simply do not get along, we are told. What does one out of every three Afro-Americans living in poverty and below poverty have to do with "racial polarization?" What does the fact that 43 percent of the Puerto Rican population lives in poverty have to do with "racial polarization"? The oppression of the Afro-American people and other people of color is the result

of policies that benefit a small rich, white minority and the very notion of "racial polarization" conceals this fact.

How does "racial polarization" explain the fact that 40 percent of the white voters in the democratic party primary in Michigan voted for Rev. Jackson? Obviously the Jackson campaign is a testament to the growing unity between black and white and all the colors of the rainbow. It is this unity which frightens the racist policy makers of the ruling class and that is why they have to figure out how to constantly assault it with smear campaigns, outright lies and violence.

Jackson's success is our success. Now we know that there is a democratic, non-racist majority in our country that can be mobilized for a new direction in government policy, for an end to racist violence and the quick apprehension and punishment of racist criminals.

This is already beginning to happen here in New York where we have created a broad coalition called New Yorkers for Racial and Social Justice which will work for the passage of laws that will outlaw racist violence. □ Frank Chapman is Executive Director of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

Contributors to Jewish Affairs

In view of heightened responsibilities during the election period and the crisis in Israel we are grateful to our contributors and anxiously await the contributions of our readers still planning to respond.

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

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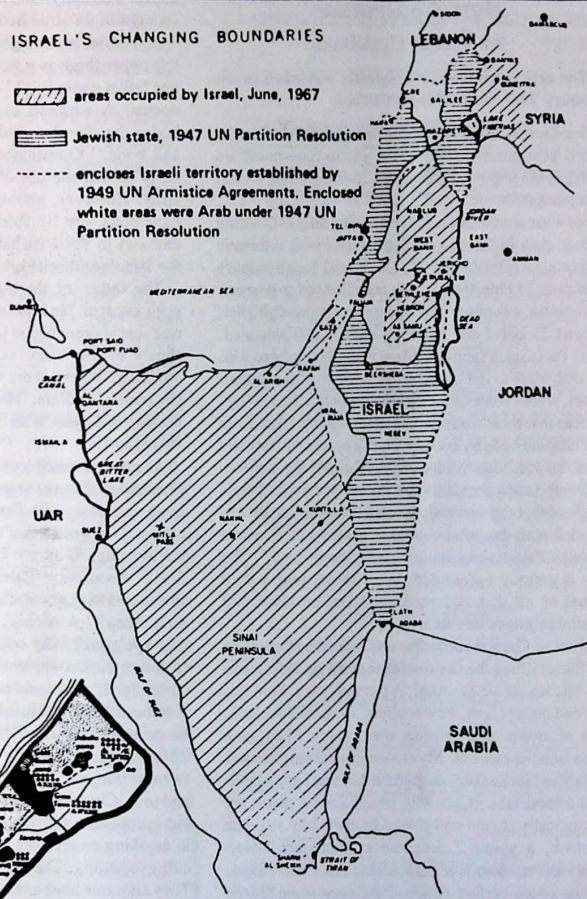
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

ISRAEL'S CHANGING BOUNDARIES

-  areas occupied by Israel, June, 1967
-  Jewish state, 1947 UN Partition Resolution
-  encloses Israeli territory established by 1949 UN Armistice Agreements. Enclosed white areas were Arab under 1947 UN Partition Resolution



THE GAZA STRIP



- | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|-------------------------|
|  | UNRWA camp |  | Sand dunes |
|  | UNRWA school |  | Road |
|  | UNRWA office |  | Barbed wire |
|  | UNRWA shelter |  | International boundary |
|  | UNRWA health center |  | Administrative boundary |
|  | UNRWA clinic |  | UNRWA camp perimeter |

How Appropriate

By Victor Cygielman

The article below was originally published in the January 1988 issue of *New Outlook*.

Ben-Gurion used to tell his fellow ministers in the Israeli government: "What the *goyim* (non-Jews) are saying is not important. What the Jews are doing — that is important."

So, what are the Jews in Israel doing lately? Quelling civilian riots in the occupied territories with automatic weapons. On December 23, the official Israeli balance sheet read: 21 Palestinian civilians killed and an unspecified number wounded. The real figures are much higher: At least 35 killed and between 300 and 400 wounded. Many Palestinian families do not bring their injured sons and daughters to the hospital. They call doctors to their homes, where some of the seriously wounded die. Why? For fear that their wounded relatives will be taken from their hospital beds by Israeli security agents and brought to the Ansvar 2 detention camp for questioning. I checked. Several such incidents had indeed occurred. Others are afraid that the seriously wounded would be transferred to Israeli hospitals, where, rumor has it, some wounded Palestinians have "mysteriously died." The story is entirely unfounded, but it shows how a deep distrust of all that is Israeli has taken possession of Palestinian minds and hearts.

I went to Gaza. From afar, one immediately notices dark fumes filling the sky over this sprawling Palestinian city. The streets are deserted. A general strike. Few cars go in and out of Gaza. Few soldiers. At each roadblock, made of stones and flaming tires, angry Palestinian youths stop the rare car. My credentials are suspiciously checked and rechecked, despite the fact that I am travelling in a local taxi. (Cars with Israeli license plates are systematically stoned and chased from the city.) At one roadblock, a young Palestinian explains that Israeli security agents who look like Arabs, dress like Arabs, and who speak perfect Arabic, have been using Gazan taxi cabs to infiltrate "our ranks."

At the army checkpoint before entering Gaza, an Israeli reserve captain, skullcap on his head, asks why we are going into that "hellhouse." Our reply, that we want to see what is happening and hear what the Palestinians have to say, elicits the following remark: "Don't you know that it is written, 'Thou shalt not believe a goy, even when he's remained in his grave for 40 years?'"

At Shifa, Gaza's main hospital, all is quiet when we

arrive. Suddenly, one after the other, four wounded are brought in on stretchers. Among them is a girl of nine with a bullet in her right hip, a young man of 22, whose left upper thigh is a mangled open wound. How could one bullet cause this? "It's a dum dum bullet," says the doctor. A surgeon explains: "After penetrating the body, the dum dum bullet explodes, smashing muscle and bone." Questioned later, the military spokesman flatly denied the use of dum dum bullets by the Israeli army. However, photographs taken of similar injuries have been sent by Palestinian doctors to the Egyptian embassy in Tel Aviv asking the Egyptians to plead with the Israeli authorities to stop using them.

The father of the injured young man unexpectedly grips my arm. He leads me to a battered Peugeot car. The rear seat is drenched in blood. "Where is America?" he shouts to the black sky. He shakes me: "Where is America? Where is the world?" In front of the hospital, six Israeli soldiers, 18-year-old kids, helmeted, guns drawn, red-eyed with fatigue, tense, are waiting for stones to fly.

At another roadblock, a man of 30 or so, speaking fluent English, asks to join us. Hassan, the father of two, is an engineer. His first sentence: "When I leave in morning for work I don't know if I'll find my children in the evening. Why are Israeli soldiers killing our children?" I counter: "Palestinian youngsters are throwing stones and Molotov cocktails at Israeli cars and soldiers, aren't they?" A silence. He looks squarely at me: "But why use guns? Why open fire on unarmed youngsters? In South Korea students battled the local police with stones for 45 days, and not a single student was killed." Another silence. "How long do you think a people can be occupied, be ruled by foreigners, and keep quiet? Three years, five years, ten years? This is already the twenty-first year of Israel's military rule, and we see no end to it. Our youngsters under 20 have known nothing but occupation. We have no rights whatsoever. No say in anything concerning our own lives. The Israelis decide everything. They don't ask us to say 'no' or 'yes.' They take our land and tell the world they want peace. They imprison and kill our young people and tell the world they want peace." An old man, chewing on his pita, slowly approaches our taxi: "The Jews say to us, go away. I was born here, as was my father and his father's father. We've been here for generations. Where should we go? The Arabs don't want us. The Europeans don't want us. The Americans don't want us. Where, tell me, where shall I go?"

Upon my return to Israel, I hear the army spokesman

האָבן געפונען בריוו פון שלום-עליכם צום דאָקטאָר פּישיין. אין זיינע דערינערוגען, האָט שלום-עליכם געשריבן, אַז סוף 1905 איז ער פאַרפּאָלגט געוואָרן דורך די צאַרישע מאַכט-אַרגאַנען פאַר זיינע "קראַמאַלע" ווערק. אין דער נאַטיץ גיט זיך איבער, אַז מען האָט אויסגעפונען דאָס הויז, אין וועלכן שלום-עליכם האָט געוואוינט אַ געוויסע צייט. דאָס הויז ווערט איצט רעסטאָרירט און ס'וועט איינגעריכטעט ווערן אַן אַנדעקנאַטאָר.

געשאַפן ליכהאַכער קרייז פון יידישע קולטור אין ווילנע

אין "כיראַבידזשאַנער שטערן" — (3.1.88) גיט זיך איבער וועגן דעם, אַז: "אין ווילנע איז פאַרגעקומען אַ גרינדונג — פאַרזאַמלונג פון דער איניציאַטיוו-גרופע ענטוויאַסטן פון דער יידישער קולטור". אַז: "פאַרשטייער פון דער יידישער אינטעליגענץ האָבן גערעדט וועגן אויפשטעלן דעם פּונאַנדערעלאָזטן אין 1949 מלוכהסן יידישן מחיי פון דער ליטווישער ס.ס.ר. ס'איז אונטערגעשטראַכן געוואָרן. אַז: "ס'איז נויטיק צונויפשטעלן אַ פּול צעטל פון די פאַרהיטע דענקמעלער, וואָס זיינען פאַרבונדן מיט דער יידישער געשיכטע און קולטור".

"עס וואָלט געווען געוואונטשן, אַז ענלעכע אָונטן זאָלן אַפּטער פאַרקומען אין טשערנאָוויץ. אונטערגעשריבן ח. ראָענטאַל.

שלום-עליכם נייע געזאַמלטע ווערק

ש. רובין גיט איבער אין "כיראַבידזשאַנער שטערן" (17.1.88) וועגן דעם, אַז דער מאַסקווער פאַרלאַג "כּוּדאַזשנסטוועננאַיאַ ליטעראַטוראַ" איז צוגעטראָטן אַרויסצוגעבן זעקס בענדער פון שלום-עליכם ווערק און צווישן זיי נייע געזאַמלטע ווערק. ש. רובין גיט איבער, אַז ער האָט באַקומען פון שלום-עליכם אייניקל, כּעלאַ קאַפּאַמאַן, 200 בריוו פון איר זיידן, וואָס מען וועט דאַרפן דעשיפּריוון. עס זיינען אויך פאַראַן צוויי טויזנט בריוו פון שלום-עליכם געשריבן אין רוסיש, צוגעבנדיק, אַז די דאָזיקע בריוו זיינען פאַראַן אין בית שלום-עליכם אין חל-אַביב, אונטערשטרייכנדיק, אַז: "דאָס דערשיינען פון די בריוו אין דער רוסישער שפּראַך אין פּסס"ר אינעם היימלאַנד פון שרייבער, וואָלט געווען גאַנץ נוצלעך" — האָט דערקלערט ש. כּעלענדיק.

ר. גריגאָריעו גיט צו אין פאַרבינדונג דערמיט, אַז אין היסטאָרישן מחיי אין לוואָוו זיינען געפונען געוואָרן אומבאַוואוסטע זייטלעך פון דער באַגראַפיע פון שלום-עליכם. די מיטאַרבעטער פון היסטאָרישן מחיי אין לוואָוו

announcing: "It has been relatively quiet today in Gaza."

One day before, Ariel Sharon inaugurated his new home in the heart of Jerusalem's Muslim Quarter. Under the heavy protection of 300 Israeli policemen, he put a light to his Chanukah lamp, applauded by Prime Minister Shamir, former Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren, and other dignitaries. Thus, he piously commemorated the battle for freedom of another people — the Jews — against foreign rule. How appropriate.

In Memoriam
Izzy Geller

In Memory
of
Sid Ravden
Herbert Hyson

Jewish Affairs

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Convene a UN Conference
For Peace in the Middle East

האָבן געמאַלדן, אַז זיי וועלן זיך אַפּזאָגן צו דינען אויף די אַקאָפּטירטע שטחים, וועלכער איז פּאַרזווילטיג געוואָרן צו 28 טעג אַרעסט אין דער מיליטערישער הַפּיסה. מיר באַגרייפן אַלע די אין ישראל, וועלכע פּעדערן צו מאַכן אַ סוף צו דער אַקאָפּאַציע און צו ועצן זיך צום פּאַרהאַנדלונג פּיש אין די אַרמאַניאַציעס פּון אַ אינטערנאַציאָנאַלע קאָנפּערענץ און מיטן אַנטילל פּון די לעגאַטימע פּאַרשטייער פּון פּאַלעסטינער פּאַלקס.

כאַצענדיק זיך צו דער רעגירונגס-פּאַליטיק זאָגט זיך אין דער ווענדונג פּיש די סאָוועטישע אַרגאַניאַציעס, אַז: די ישראלדיקע אַנפּירונג דאַרף סוף-סוף פּאַרשטיין, אַז ס'איז ניט פּאַראַן און ס'קען ניט זיין קיין מיליטערישע לייזונג פּאַרן פּאַלעסטינער פּראָבלעם. צי איז די דאָזיקע

אַנפּירונג ניט כּוח צו לערנען פּון דער דערפּאַרונג פּון דער פּאַרגאַנגענהייט? צי מיינט זי ערנסט אַז דורך דער פּאַרמיטלונג פּון אַן אַיזערנע האַנט וועט זי קענען צווינגען אַ גאַנצן פּאַלק זיך אַפּצוואַגן פּון זיינע יסודותדיקע נאַציאָנאַלע רעכט — אויף זיין רעכט אַליין צו באַשטימען זיין גורל?

צום פּון דער ווענדונג אַפּעלירן די 7 סאָוועטישע געזעלשאַפּטלעכע אַרגאַניאַציעס צו טאָן אַלץ, כּבּדי עס זאל זיך מער ניט פּאַרגיסן קיין כּלום פּון אומשולדיקע קרבנות, אונטערשטרייכנדיק, אַז די סאָוועטישע רעגירונג באַצייט זיך אין דער זעלבער מאַס צו אַלע פעלקער, צום ישראל-פּאַלק און צום פּאַלעסטינער-פּאַלק.

פּון יידישן קולטור לעבן אין סאָוועטן פּאַרבאַנד

פּון יוד-לאַמעד

ישראל זשורנאַליסט און קאָלומניסט פּון דער צייט-שריפט "דער וועג"

געהאַפּן די זינגערס ביים צוויפּטשטעלן די "אַנטלאַגעיִע פּון פּאַעזיע און פּראָזע פּון יידן אין ליטע".

יידישער שעפּערישער אָונט אין טשערנאָוויץ

אין "כּיראַבידזשאַנער שטערן" — (10.1.88) ווערט איבערגעגעבן אַז: "אנווערע ליינער טיילן מיט פּון טשערנאָוויץ" וועגן "יוסף בורגס שעפּערישער אָונט, אַז: "אינעם טשערנאָוויצער קלוב אויסטאַגראַף" איז פּאַראַנטוואָרטלעכער סעקרעטאַר פּון ליינער מיטן סאָוועטישן-יידישן שרייבער יוסף בורג. דער אָונט האָט איינגעדאַרנט די אַרטיקע שרייבער אַרגאַניאַציע. געפּירט האָט אים דער פּאַראַנטוואָרטלעכער סעקרעטאַר פּון דער טשערנאָוויצער שרייבער אַרגאַניאַציע וואַסילי פּאַלואַראַטשני, וועלכער האָט אַפּגעמערקט יוסף בורגס פּאַרדינסטן אין דער יידישע ליטעראַטור."

עס זיינען אַרטיגסערטען אויפן אָונט דער רעזשיסער משה לאיעוו, דער דאָצענט פּון טשערנאָוויצער אוניווערסיטעט בראַסלאַוסקי, די געוועזענע אונטערדלער פינקעל און אַנדערע. יוסף בורג האָט אין זיין וואָרט באַדאַנקט די באַגריסער. דער קאַרעספּאַנדענט גיט צו, אַז:

פּון עברית אויף דער ליטווישער שפּראַך

אזוי ליטעט די כּרייטע נאָטיץ פּון ש. רוכין וועגן דעם (אין "כּיראַבידזשאַנער שטערן" 3.1.88) אַז: "דעם ראַמאַן אויף דער כּיבלישער טעמע "אהבת ציון" פּון גרונטלייגער פּון דער עברית-ליטעראַטור אברהם מאַפּו (1808 — 1867) האָט צום ערשטן מאַל איבערגעזעצט אויף דער ליטווישער שפּראַך דער פּערזיקאַריקער פּעדאַגאָג פּון פּילאַזאַפּיע, דיכטער מאַרק זינגער, וועלכער לעבט אין קאָנאָס. מיט דעם דאָזיקן ראַמאַן וועט זיך פּענענען די "אַנטלאַגעיִע פּון פּאַעזיע און פּראָזע פּון יידן אין ליטע" אין צוויי כּענדער. וואָס ס'האָט צונויפּגעשטעלט דער יונגערער כּרודער פּון דיכטער, דער דרייסיקאַריקער עמאַנועליס זינגער. די אויסגאַבע אין דער ליטווישער שפּראַך גרייט צו דער גרעסטער אין ליטע פּאַרלאַג "וואַגא" ("בכּאראַדע"). די כּריידער זינגערס ועצן פּאַר די לאַנגע טראַדיציע פּון דער יידישער ליטעראַטור אין ליטע.

די יידישע קולטור אין ליטע פּאַרמאַגט אַ רייכע ירושה. אין דער כּיכער פּאַלאַטע פּון ליטע ווערן פּאַהירט 50 טויזנט כּיכער אויף יידיש און עברית. דאָס איז איינע פּון די רייכטע זאַמלונגען פּון אַזאַ מין אין מזרח-אײראָפּע. זי האָט

סאָוועטישע ווענדונג צו דעמאָקראַטישע נוחות אין ישראל

[איבערגעדרוקט פון תל־אביבער צייטונג "דער וועג" 26/1/88]

קאָמף אין ישראל האָט אויסגעפילט אַ וויכטיקע ראַלע אינעם דרוק, וואָס זי האָט אָנגעוואונדן, אַז די מאַכט־אַרגאַנען זאָלן צושטימען דורכצופירן אַן אויספאַרשונג וועגן די געשעענישן אין סאַבראַ און שאַטילאַ און צום אַרויסציען די מערהייט אָקופאַציע־כוחות פון לבנון.

אין המשך פון דער ווענדונג דריקט זיך אויס אָנערקענונג פאַר די פּראַטעסט־אַקציעס אין ישראל קעגן דער אונטערדריקונג אויף די שטחים.

אין סאָוועטן־פאַראַנד ווייסט מען אויך, אַז שרין איצט הויבן אויף ניט ווייניק ישראלים זייער שטימע פון פּראַטעסט קעגן דער פּאָליטיק פון אַן אייזערנע האַנט קעגן דער אונטערדריקונג, קעגן גירושים מיט כוח, קעגן קאַלעקטיווע שטראַפן אויף די אָקופירטע געביטן. די סאָוועטישע געזעלשאַפטלעכקייט שאַצט זייער אָפּ די שטעלונג פון די, וועלכע האָבן גענומען אַן אַקטיוו אַנטייל אין די דעמאָנסטראַציעס און מיטינגען פון דער באַוועגונג "שלום איצט" און פון דער באַוועגונג "גענוג צו דער אָקופאַציע" און "פאַר אַ ישראל־פּאַלעסטינער שלום איצט" אין תל־אביב און אין ירושלים; די אַרויסטרעטונגען פון אינטעלעקטואַלן און קולטור־טוער קעגן באַשלוס צו פאַרטרייבן אַראַבישע פּערזענלעכקייטן; די געשעענישן אין "טאָג פון שלום" (21סטן דעצעמבער 1987); די פּראַטעסט־פּיקעטען פון סטודענטן ביים הויז פון שמיא אין ירושלים, וואָס זיינען מיט כוח צעטריבן געוואָרן דורך דער פּאַליציי.

מיר דריקן אויס אונזער סאָלידאַריטעט מיט עופר כסיף, וועלכער האָט בעסער געוואָלט גיין אין דער מיליטערישער תפיסה, ווי דינען אויף די אָקופירטע געביטן; מיט די 160 זעלנער און אָפיצירן רעזערוויסטן, וועלכע האָבן אונטערגעשריבן אַ פעטיציע, אַז "סי־איז פאַראַן אַ גרענעץ", אין וועלכע זיי האָבן דערקלערט וועגן זייער אָפּזאָג צו דינען אויסער דער גרינער ליניע; און מיט טשאַרלס לאַנצער איינער פון די 66 גימנאַזיסטן (שמיניסטן), וועלכע

7 סאָוועטישע געזעלשאַפטלעכע אַרגאַניזאַציעס האָבן פאַרעפנטלעכט דעם 15טן יאַנואַר 1988 אַ ווענדונג צו די דעמאָקראַטישע כוחות אין ישראל. די 7 אַרגאַניזאַציעס — דער פאַרבאַנד פון געזעלשאַפטן פאַר פּריינדשאַפט און קולטור־באַציונגען מיט אויסלאַנד; דער שלום־קאַמיטעט; דער קאַמיטעט פאַר סאָלידאַריטעט מיט די לענדער פון אַזיע און אַפריקע; דער פּרייען־קאַמיטעט; דער קאַמיטעט פון יוגנט־אַרגאַניזאַציעס, דער שרייבער־פאַרבאַנד און דער זשורנאַליסטן־פאַרבאַנד.

אין זייער ווענדונג דערקלערן די האַויקע אַרגאַניזאַציעס:

"ס'ווערט ווידער פאַרגאַסן בלוט אויף די אַראַבישע אָקופירטע געביטן, ס'שטאַרבן ווידער און ס'ווערן פאַרוואונדעט פּרייען און קינדער. די ישראל־רעגירונג פירט אַ פּאָליטיק פון אַן "אייזערנע פּויסט" אין באַצוג צו די פּאַלעסטינער און פּרוווט מיט כוח פון וואָס צו אונטערדריקן די נאַטירלעכע שטרעבונג צו לעבן אין שלום אויף זייער באַרן, רעאַליזירנדיק די ניט־דעקלאַמירבאַרע רעכט צו זעלבסט־באַשטימונג און צום אויפשטעלן זייער מדינה".

די סאָוועטישע געזעלשאַפטלעכקייט, שטרייכט זיך אונטער אין דער ווענדונג קען ניט בלייבן גלייכגילטיק צו דעם, וואָס ס'קומט פאַר אין דער מערבדיקער גדה, אין עזה־פּאַס און אין מזרח־ירושלים.

זי שאַצט אָפּ אַז ס'איז לעבנסוויכטיק צו איבערצייגן די ישראלדיקע רעגירנדיקע קרייזן, אַז זי "זאָל אַפּשטעלן דעם גוואַלט און אַרויפגיין אויפן וועג פון קאַלעקטיוו זוכן הסכמדיקע קעגנזייטיקע אָפּמאַכן".

די סאָוועטישע אַרגאַניזאַציעס דערמאָנען אין זייער ווענדונג דעם איינפלוס פון דער ישראלדיקער עפנטלעכער מיינונג אין דער לבנון־מלחמה.

"מיר ווייסן, אַז די ישראלדיקע געזעלשאַפטלעכקייט איז אַ כוח אין איר לאַנד, מיט וועלבן די מאַכט־אַרגאַנען מוזן זיך רעכענען. דער עקסטרעמדיקער געזעלשאַפטלעכער

וידרשע ענינים

פון אַש אַ נייער פלאַם

פון דוד סעלצער

19-טער אפריל, 1943

עס וועט אייביקייט געדענקען דעם וואַרשעווער אויפשטאַנד
און די וועלט ניט פאַרגעסן יענעם בלוטיקן רעוואָלט,
ווען אַ פּאַלק, איינגעצאַמט און געפירט צו דער שחיטה,
האַט אויף געבויעגע קני מער שטאַרבן ניט געוואָלט.

ערב פסח האָט היטלער באַפוילן צעשטויכן די געטאַג
און ניט נעמען זאָל מער ווי אַ טאָג און אַ טאַכט,
נאָר די יידן צעקלאַפט האָבן די נאַצי־משחיתים
און דרייסיק טעג און נעכט געצויגן די שלאַכט.
געפלעפט און דערשטוינט זיינען הענקער געוואָרן,
ווען געקומען זיי זיינען פּאַרטיליקן דעם ייד
און געטראָפן אויף מויערן העלדישע קעמפער,
וואָס גייען אַנטקעגן מיט געווער און מיט ליד.
געקריצט האָט דער "פּרער" מיט שוימיקע ציינער
און געביסן אין צאָרן די נעגל ביז בלוט:

"דאַגערוועטער, ווי וואָגן דאָס יידן אַנטקעגן זיך שטעלן
און ווייזן די פעלקער אַ ביישפּיל פון מוט!"

און געקלאַפט האָט זיין פּויסט איבער טיש פול מיט מאַפעס,
און געציטערט פאַר שרעק האָט זיין שטאַב גענעראַלן,
ביז וואָנזין פאַרגאַסן מיט גאַל האָט די אויגן
און אין פיבער פון ספּאַזמעס ער איז אומגעפאַלן.

עס ווערט אייביקייט געדענקען דעם וואַרשעווער אויפשטאַנד
און די וועלט ניט פאַרגעסן יענעם בלוטיקן רעוואָלט,
ווען אַ פּאַלק, איינגעצאַמט און געפירט צו דער שחיטה,
האַט אויף געבויעגע קני מער שטאַרבן ניט געוואָלט.

דער טליענדיקער, אַש

פון זעקס מיליאָנען,

דער שייטערדיקער שטויב

פון מאַסן־קברים,

זיי טראָגן זיך אַרום

אין הויכע ספּערן,

און וואו נאָר אויף דער ערד

זיי קומען אָן —

זיי בליען אויף

ווי פּרישער טוי

און גליען אין דער טאַכט

ווי נייע שטערן.

דער מאַרטירער־אַנגסט

פון דבקות־דיקע זאָקנים,

דער נשמה־קעלעמענדיקער לעש

פון קינדערישע טרערן —

זיי קאָן דער שייטער

קיינמאָל נישט פאַרברענען.

דער פּריסיק גליט

מיט נייע בראַנדן,

די האַלאָוועשקע צישעט

מיט וויי־זכרון —

פון אַש די זעמדלעך ערד

אין נייעם שייטער זיך דערקענען.

דער שונא האָט מיט גיר

די מאַמע־ערד צעשטויבט,

און זעמדלעך ווייט צעבלאָזן,

דעם טאַטנס היימיש ליכט

און קינדערשן געלעכטער

אויף טויט פאַרלאַשן.

נאָר לעבן־ווייט ברענגט צוריק

די זעמדלעך שוואַרצן שטויב,

די זערנעס פּרוכט און גראַזן,

די פּונקען ליכט און פּרייד

אין נייעם קינדערשן געלעכטער

און טאַטע־מאַמעדיגן לשון.