

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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the Great October Revolution**
Herbert Aptheker

American and Israeli Jews
Jon Weisberger

The Israeli Election Results
J. Lipski

**Visiting the Victims of
Mideast Violence**
James M. Wall

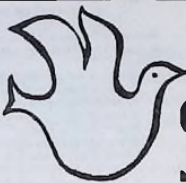
**Soviets Act Against Antisemitic
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**Poland Commemorates
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Nazi Antisemites and the Media

La Tierra Verde
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16th Annual Dinner

Jewish Affairs 16th Annual Dinner on October 2 was attended by some 300 supporters and raised almost \$7,000 in contributions.

The dinner's theme "For a People's Electoral Victory in 1988" was addressed by guest speaker, Charlene Mitchell, candidate for U.S. Senate from New York on the Independent Progressive Line, and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, editor of *Jewish Affairs*. Ms. Mitchell made it clear that her election bid was not only intended to expose the liberal pretensions of incumbent Senator Daniel Moynihan, but to help defeat George Bush's goal of four more years of Reaganism. Her independent campaign, she underscored, was helping to build an ongoing independent political movement that could defeat Mayor Koch's reelection in New York City and elect progressive candidates in other elections.

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I certify the statement made by me are correct and complete.

Alfred J. Kutzik Associate Editor

JEWISH AFFAIRS



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The Election of 1988

In House and Senate campaigns, in gubernatorial and in local campaigns and referenda, wherever some clarity of choice appeared between progressives and reactionaries, in almost every such case, the electorate rejected reaction. And independents, clearly left wing candidates — including Communists — did very much better, in almost all cases, than has been true in some 30 years.

On the presidential level, reaction won: it won through deception, racism and antisemitism. It won because of the big business character of the media and the consequent reactionary bias of that media.

Reaction won, too, because one half of the eligible voters did not vote — out of the 180 million, 90 million voted. This abstention from voting is a class-dominated function, the higher the income the greater percentage voting.

It is this latter fact that explains the apparent paradox: voting for Dukakis were 90% of the Blacks, 75% of the Hispanics, 63% of the Jews, 66% of union households and 51% of women. Nevertheless Bush received 54% of the votes cast. Why? Because vast proportions — over 65% of those with incomes below \$12,500 did **not** vote, while some 80% of the rich **did** vote.

So long as Dukakis went along with the nonsense of an absence of ideological differences, so long as he evaded Bush's demagoguery on liberalism, so long as he abstained from responding to attacks, so long as he did **not** emphasize substantive issues dividing the candidates — his lead after the conventions swiftly disappeared, apathy swelled, abstention was fostered. Dukakis' approach changed about two weeks before the election. The change at once eroded Bush's margin and began to renew voter interest. But the change came too late and as not sharp enough when it did come.

The lesson of the election is the need for greater grassroots organization, education, sharpening the progressive alternatives and perspective, concentrating on increasing registration, and, above all, on actual voter participation. **If only 55% of the electorate had voted last November rather than 50%, the Bush-Quayle ticket would have been defeated and one would have had on every level a significantly more progressive state apparatus in our country.**

That is the basic truth of 1988; most of the American population clearly prefers a progressive policy over a reactionary one. The need is to stimulate, motivate, educate, organize that majority so that it expresses its clear preference at the polls on every level.

The great experience of the Rainbow Coalition effort of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's remarkable primary campaign is that the potential for a massive progressive peoples' coalition, **capable of winning**, exists. In the struggles of the 101st Congress and in the 1990's that coalition can be and, we think, will be built. In the 1890's a massive peoples' crusade, the Populist movement, very nearly did gain national power. On the centenary of that historic effort it is certainly possible that a new massive populist effort — on a level appropriate for our time — can be formed.

That goal of transforming the level — quantitatively and qualitatively — of political activity in our country must be the concentration for lovers of humanity in the period immediately before us. **Renewed determination on the part of all progressives is the necessary and logical conclusion from the 1988 effort.**

H.A.

Palestinians Establish State

We warmly congratulate the Palestinian people upon the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. We welcome the decision of the Palestine National Council to endorse U.N. resolution 242 which recognizes the existence of Israel in "acknowledg(ing)...the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the (Middle East) area." We believe this applies to the new Palestinian state as well and that all progressive and fairminded U.S. citizens should press our government to abide by this resolution for which it voted by recognizing the Palestinian state. We support the Palestine National Council's call for an international peace conference under U.N. auspices with the participation of the PLO, Israel and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (see statement of the Communist Party USA on p.12).

U.S. Antisemitism

The significance of the half-dozen long-standing antisemites with Nazi and fascist connections who held positions in the Bush campaign until forced to resign and the fact that they have still not been criticized by Bush has largely been concealed by the establishment press. Progressives need to publicize the facts about this latest manifestation of official U.S. toleration of antisemitism and protection of Nazis since the late 1940's (see "Nazi Anti-Semites and the Media" in this issue).

Soviet Anti-Antisemitism

The unfounded decades-long campaign charging the U.S.S.R. with "official", i.e., government-sponsored,

antisemitism has always used as one of its "proofs" the fact that the Soviets have traditionally not separated off Soviet Jews from the far greater number of Soviet non-Jews killed by the Nazis, thereby not giving special recognition to the Jewish dead. A new "proof" of "official" Soviet antisemitism has been the antisemitic statements of the leaders of one of the over 30,000 Soviet non-governmental organizations organized in the last few years. Both theses "proofs" were disproved by the recent Soviet commemoration of the Jews who died at Babi Yar and action against the antisemitic organization, *Pamyat* (see the articles on these subjects in this issue).

Commemorating the Nazi Pogrom of 1938

We note with satisfaction that the 50th anniversary of the Nazi pogrom of November 9, 1938 against the Jews of Germany and Austria is being widely observed throughout the United States and other countries. We note with interest and respect that nowhere is this being observed more impressively than in the German Democratic Republic (in our last issue see "GDR Keeps Alive Memory of Jewish Victims of Nazism"). As in the GDR, we hope that this monstrous pogrom will in the future be called a pogrom and not "Kristallnacht," a term the Nazis coined to signify that the broken glass of the windows of synagogues and other Jewish institutions, Jewish-owned stores and Jewish homes, adorned Germany and Austria like crystal (see the letter to the *N.Y. Times* in this issue).

16th Annual Dinner (continued from p.2)

Dr. Aptheker spoke on "Jews and the 1988 Presidential Election." He noted that, in addition to open antisemites who held leading positions in the Bush campaign until forced to resign, Bush was himself covertly engaging in antisemitism by his attack on the term "liberal" since "the liberal tendency of the majority of the Jewish people is well-known." Dr. Aptheker also brought out that, although Jews constitute less than three percent of the U.S. population, their concentration in several key states and key cities made them important politically. He concluded with a call for Jews to recognize the great differences between Bush and Dukakis and vote for the latter for the good of the country and in their own interest. (Dr. Aptheker's address was later printed as a brochure and distributed throughout the country for use in the election campaign).

Dr. Aptheker also made some impassioned remarks on the Israeli-Palestinian situation, condemning the brutal Israeli suppression of the Palestinian resistance to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and calling for protests from U.S. Jews.

The event was chaired by *Jewish Affairs* managing

editor, Lewis Moroze, who spoke briefly but sympathetically on the demise of the progressive Yiddish-language newspaper, the *Morning Freiheit*. He announced the appointment of and introduced *Jewish Affairs'* new associate editor, Dr. Alfred J. Kutzik (see the following item). Among others on the dais, he also introduced Jarvis Tyner, chair of the N.Y. State Communist Party.

A program of Yiddish and Italian songs by baritone Frank Rossi was warmly received.

New Associate Editor

For readers who could not attend the annual dinner, managing editor Lewis Moroze's introduction of the new associate editor follows:

Jewish Affairs is pleased to announce that Dr. Alfred J. Kutzik has joined its staff as Associate Editor.

A former Jewish communal worker, Jewish educator and university professor, Dr. Kutzik has written extensively on Jewish life and culture. Several of the six books he has authored or co-authored and many of his articles deal with Jewish history, sociology and contemporary developments. Despite his outspoken secularist, progressive orientation, his books and dissertation are used in university Judaic studies programs, Jewish seminaries and schools of social work that train Jewish social workers. His articles have appeared in publications ranging from the *People's Daily World* and *Political Affairs* to the *Journal of Jewish Communal Service* and the *Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Studies*.

Dr. Kutzik has extensive first-hand knowledge of the Jewish community from having worked professionally in the Jewish community center and Jewish community relations fields in New York and New England. His experience in the field of Jewish education ranges from teaching children in religious and secular Jewish schools to teaching Jewish history at the Free Jewish University of the University of Pennsylvania and at the Baltimore Hebrew College.



Jewish Affairs
wishes all its
readers and
supporters a

Happy
Hannukah

On the 71st Anniversary of the Great October Revolution

By Herbert Aptheker

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 marked a new epoch in human history. For the first time, a State appeared dedicated to the effort to eliminate poverty, illiteracy, antisemitism, racism, male chauvinism, and all aspects of national oppression. It announced itself opposed to elitism; it affirmed its belief in the fundamental equality of all human beings. It is aimed at creating a society, based on these principles, in which creative, peaceful, humane living would become the norm.

The State grounded itself not on rule by the proper-tied—as had been characteristic of all previous societies—but rule by the producing masses, the workers and peasants, guarded by a new kind of armed force—an armed force of workers and peasants, officered by cadre devoted to these principles.

Its first acts, therefore, were geared to terminating the imperialist war which had eaten up millions of people, to confiscating land, banks, plants and means of transportation and communication. All these were placed in the collective possession of the workers and peasants, to be administered by their State and guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, embodied in the party embracing those principles.

Starting with these unprecedented commitments, within a vast and variegated land characterized by low economic development further diminished by over three years of war, the Leninist effort went forward.

Success here would have been extraordinary. But added to the above was the fact not only of a theological-national-technical base which was near-feudal; also to be overcome with the unmitigated hostility of all other States in the world. The ruling classes of those States immediately organized a malicious campaign of slander, a campaign of financial, commercial and industrial boycott, of serious sabotage, and of sustained military intervention taking the forms of direct invasion and of supplying forces for civil war by the vermin supporting the past.

While this went on, ultra-reaction was nurtured in the Baltic and Balkan countries and in Italy; it was greeted at once by imperialists like Churchill as the hope of "civilization." Reaction in all forms, including fascism, was financed and sustained by the world bourgeoisie. That class suppressed democracy, it sustained colonialism, it drenched India, China, Africa and Latin-America in blood.

Finally it crucified Spain, having given birth to and supported Hitlerism; it helped that monstrosity conquer

almost all Europe. It sustained Imperial Japan in its ravishment of Asia. All was forgiven, all was financed, all was supplied—with one condition: suppress Marxism-Leninism and smash its embodiment, the USSR.

The hole dug for others almost swallowed France, Great Britain and the United States; and on the basis of the Left's efforts to unite against fascism and the might of the Soviet Union, finally a worldwide coalition against fascist aggression appeared.

Despite great hesitation by the bourgeois-democratic countries and given the nearly incredible heroism and prowess manifested by the peoples of the Soviet Union, fascism was crushed. The new direction taken in 1917 was saved; humanity was saved; and the *possibility* of the extension of the promise of 1917 appeared.

That possibility was implemented, to a considerable degree. Colonialism was significantly overcome, the empires of 1914 were gone, Socialism spread from the USSR to much of Europe and much of Africa, Asia and parts of Latin-America.

All this was accomplished, but the cost was enormous; not only in tens of millions undone by fascism, by resistance to colonial liberation, by antisemitic maniacs, by World War II; additional costs were the aberrations that appeared among the States and leaders in the center of this global transformation.

Questions of power, of nationalism, of human motivation, of remaking behavior—toward women, toward so-called minority peoples—all such matters were of transcendent difficulty, especially with the challenges alluded to above. The result often was failure, error and even criminal behavior. Errors of theory appeared, notably the idea that with socialism, class struggle intensified.

Problems of security were exaggerated, power fed upon itself and corrupted itself and unforgivable acts were committed. The acts were unforgivable in the eyes of Socialism; they never were of Socialism, but always contrary to it and terribly harmful to it. And the movement for correcting the aberrations—which has been under way for thirty years—came out of Socialism itself, out of the Communist Party itself.

Mikhail Gorbachev is a product of Socialism, of the Communist Party. The need and demand for openness and restructuring comes out of Socialism and the Communist Party. It came when World War II was won; when fascism was crushed; when colonialism was largely undone. It is part of the global process of creating peace in the world, of remaking the world's atmosphere and peoples.

As the twentieth century ends and a new century

Continued on p. 20

American and Israeli Jews

By Jon Weisberger

Demographic or Democratic Problem?

A disturbing note has crept into some of the Israeli and American Jewish peace camp's discussion of the Occupation—one which has its roots in a fundamental tenet of Zionism. Whether accidentally or by design, the growing use of the so-called "demographic argument" underlines a chauvinism that must eventually be faced, especially by American Jews and especially now, after the generally depressing results of the Israeli elections.

The demographic problem was concisely described two years ago by Yehoshafat Harkabi, former head of Israeli military intelligence and a prominent advocate of negotiations with the PLO within an international conference framework:

"[Continued occupation] will produce a grave demographic problem as the Arabs become a majority of its population. Israel will then be faced with a dilemma: if political rights are extended to [Palestinians in the Territories], then they together with the original Israeli Arabs will control the Knesset. Claiming equality, they may extend the Israeli Law of Return to all Palestinians.... A binational state will, by force, become predominantly Arab. If such political rights are refused, the Arabs will become restive, eventually leading to the 'Belfastization' of Israel...."

This internal political instability will discourage Jewish immigration.... Thus the demographic factor will undermine Zionism's *raison d'être*, as Jews will prefer to live placidly with their Christian neighbors in Europe and America...." (*Essays On Strategy And Diplomacy*, Number Seven, "The Fateful Choices Before Israel," Keck Center for International Strategic Studies, Winter, 1986-7).

This is the Israeli version of the argument; Harkabi stresses the harm that annexation without political rights would do to Jewish immigration and Israeli political stability. American Jews, on the other hand, often stress the destruction of Israeli democracy and the institutionalization of an Israeli apartheid that would be incapable of winning the sustained support of the American Jews.

It is clear that those who take this view of the consequences of the Occupation are, for the most part, advocates of an end to the Occupation and supporters of the creation of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. But their argument touches on two ugly points—first, the legitimacy of measures designed to maintain a Jewish majority in Israel, and secondly, concepts of the nature of a Jewish state that are inherently reactionary and anti-democratic.

The Israeli Arab writer Anton Shammas, in a pair of articles written this year for the *New York Review of Books*, has given us a pointed critique of the anomalies attendant upon the definition of Israel as a Jewish state. First among these is the legal absence of an Israeli "nationality;" while Israeli passports describe their bearers as "Israeli Citizens," nationality is given as "Jew" or "Arab." A law passed in 1985 by the Knesset allows for the disqualification in elections of any party found to negate "the existence of the State of Israel as the State of the Jewish people." And, of course, the Law of Return allows for any Jew the right to claim citizenship in Israel while consigning all non-Jews, and especially Palestinians, to a difficult and essentially impossible process of acquiring even the right to live in Israel, let alone citizenship.

The legislated inequality of rights ought to be disturbing to American Jews, who have often been content to think of Israel as "the Jewish state" without bothering to consider the differences between a state whose citizens are predominantly of one religion or nationality, and a state whose laws and institutions embody in some way the religious or national makeup of its citizens (or, even worse, of some hypothetical "extraterritorial people"). Survey data has consistently shown that American Jews are zealous in their defense of a secular, non-racial state in this country, perceptive enough to insist upon the separation of church and state over the offer of equal access to state institutions for the promulgation of religion; most Jews would prefer to see no religious symbols on government property than a menorah next to a manger. If such measures are necessary to preserve the equality of Jews in a mostly non-Jewish country such as ours, why are they less necessary for Arabs in a mostly Jewish country? How can we fight a fundamentalist attempt to legislate a "Christian America" while supporting, if only by failing to consider its implications, an Israel defined as "the State of the Jewish people?"

In a more recent article, Harkabi points out that "[h]ostility toward non-Jews has long been latent in Judaism. In the wake of certain events," he goes on, "it has now appeared in plain view." ("Orthodoxy: A Call For Change," in *Reconstructionist*, September, 1988). American Jews who have been concerned about the growing intolerance of Israeli Orthodox (i.e., state) religious authorities toward Reform and Conservative Judaism (embodied in the "Who is a Jew" controversy) do themselves no favor by restricting their criticism to intra-communal issues.

For American Jews, 44% of who believe that "Jewish values, as I understand them, lead me to be politically

liberal" (AJCommittee survey, 1988), and 50% of whom believe that "a commitment to social equality" is the characteristic most important to their Jewish identity (Los Angeles Times survey, 1988), equality for an Arab minority in a "Jewish state" is, as Arthur Hertzberg recently wrote, "a very real question."

New Wine in Old Bottles

Those who take the view that the Jewish-American community is stuck fast on support for the Occupation must be finding it harder and harder to ignore the changes that are occurring. Recent articles show that the Jewish right wing is being forced to concede ground on some of its most cherished positions regarding a settlement of the Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Thus, Aharon Megged writes in the October *Hadasah*, after a diatribe against the *intifadeh*, that "[t]he stubborn opposition—in the guise of a general consensus—to carrying out negotiations with PLO supporters or to including them in talks never made any sense.... we should be willing to talk to this enemy", while Amos Perlmutter, who denies the possibility of negotiating with the PLO, nevertheless calls for a unilateral Israel withdrawal from most of the Territories in the Fall, 1988 issue of *The National Interest*, published by "neo-conservative" Irving Kristol.

Such opinions are signs of an important process of differentiation that is increasingly distinguishing the American Jewish right wing from the Israeli. In fact it is becoming clearer than ever that all but the most virulent ultra-rightists among American Jews (i.e., Americans For a Safe Israel and their cronies) reject the annexationist sentiments of the Likud and its more right-wing partners. This rejection appears to be based upon a more hard-nosed, realistic attitude which understands the deep erosion of support for Israel that is undercutting the U.S. "blank check" policy of the past. This estimate of the importance of ending the Occupation is not based on moral considerations, much less support for national liberation or a desire to see a genuinely independent Israel; rather, it is a pragmatic recognition that the current situation cannot be sustained. Thus the message that the Occupation must end is overlaid by a variety of weaselly attempts to keep the initiative in Israel's hands through such devices as unilateral withdrawal from the least desirable portions of the Territories.

Jerusalem, Jerusalem

One of the thornier issues being debated among American and Israeli Jews is the status of Jerusalem, illegally annexed in its entirety by the Israelis shortly after the 1967 War. Even among activists who support the creation of a Palestinian state, there appears to be some

sentiment for retaining Israeli sovereignty over all of Jerusalem, based upon the emotional demand of a "united city" as the only means of guaranteeing Jewish access to holy places. Still, there are signs that this position is losing ground as reality sets in.

Yehezkel Landau, a leader of the Orthodox Zionist peace organization Oz ve-Shalom (Strength and Peace) says in the September *Reconstructionist* that he wants "to see some way to share Jerusalem...such as carving out part of East Jerusalem as extraterritorial, like Vatican City, in Rome." Menachem Brinker, interviewed in the Fall 1988 *Dissent*, foresees that "the Arab part of Jerusalem would go back to either a Palestinian-Jordanian federation or a Palestinian state," a position dismissed as unrealistic and politically marginal by the advocates of continued Israeli sovereignty.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the model "Israel-Palestine Peace Treaty" drafted by the Israeli and Palestinian Writers, Artists and Academics Committee Against the Occupation and for Peace and the Freedom to Create, and signed by over one hundred Palestinian, Israeli Arab and Israeli Jewish writers, intellectuals and artists, contains a point calling for a "demilitarized Jerusalem with open borders" to be recognized as the capital of both Israel and the State of Palestine to be created through such a treaty. Among the supporters of the statement, issued in June of this year, are Israelis Emil Habibi and Yoram Kaniuk, the co-chairs of the Committee, Amos Keinan, Yael Lotan, A.B. Yehoshua, Daliah Rabikowitz and the aforementioned Menachem Brinker.

Two notes about the Committee: first, several of the Palestinian signers have subsequently been put under administrative detention, and at least one, Taiseer Arouri, has been scheduled for expulsion on the grounds that he is an activist in the Palestinian Communist Party, a further sign that Occupation authorities are continuing to concentrate repression on precisely those Palestinians who are most disposed to a two-state solution. Secondly, Irving Howe, writing in the September 29 *New York Review of Books*, mentions the Committee with approval, but cannot bring himself to note that Emil Habibi is a leading Israeli Communist, editor of the Party's Arab-language daily *Al-Itihad*. Old habits, as they say, die hard.

Redbaiting and the Arab Vote

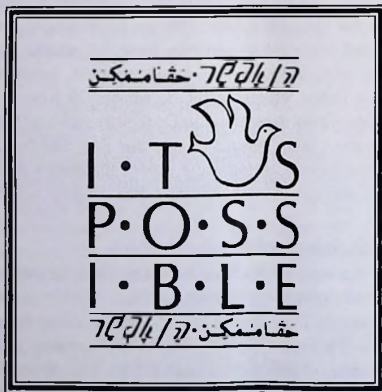
Preliminary results from the Israeli elections confirm the widespread support that continues to exist for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality among Israeli Arabs. The Front ("Hadash" is its Hebrew acronym) won a plurality of Israeli Arab votes (35%), with its nearest competitor the Peres-Rabin Labor Party with 17%. The

two great hopes of the anti-Communist left, Progressive List for Peace and Abdel Wahab Darawshe's Arab Democratic Party, won only 14% and 13% respectively. For the PLP, this represents a 30-plus percent decline from its 1984 22% of the Arab vote.

These results confirm that Israeli Arabs have rejected the vicious redbaiting campaign waged by the Progressive List, which spent much of its energy campaigning against the Hadash from as a "closet Zionist" group. PLP literature attacked Hadash candidate and Israeli Communist Party General Secretary Meir Wilner for having signed Israel's Declaration of Independence, while Islamic fundamentalist leaders in Israel indirectly endorsed the PLP by calling on their followers to vote against all parties (including the "atheistic" Hadash) except the PLP; some also dropped the Arab Democratic Party from the list of anti-endorsements. Nevertheless, the PLP's tactics backfired, especially in former strongholds such as Umm-el-Fahm, where Hadash received over 50% of the vote, demonstrating that Israeli Arab voters are increasingly immune to adventurist, petty-bourgeois nationalist appeals.

The result should give pause to the supporters of the PLP in the U.S., many of whom have sincerely supported the PLP as an Israeli Jewish-Arab formation whose program calls for a two-state solution. It should now be clear that, while the PLP's platform may be acceptable, its tactics are not, and that the strongest, most consistent voice for Jewish-Arab peace is that of the Democrat Front for Peace and Equality. □

Jon Weisberger is an activist in the Jewish community and a member of the Jewish Commission of the Communist Party USA.



The Israeli Election Results

by J. Lipski

The results of the elections to the 12th Knesset have caused disappointment and confusion in broad social circles in Israel because they have brought an increase in the political strength of the religious forces that take no active part in the fateful struggle between the camp of peace and the opponents of a peaceful solution, who support an "undivided land of Israel." The two big parties, the (Labor) Alignment and Likud, have lost votes. The Alignment faction has dropped from 44 to 39 Knesset deputies, the Likud from 41 to 40. The Alignment lost voters even allowing for the fact that in previous elections it had included Mapam, the left-wing party that participated in this election as an independent party and obtained three seats in the Knesset.

Some balance seems to have emerged between the two big parties. But this is only on the surface, because the political camp that supports an international peace conference on the Middle East has obtained 55 Knesset seats: the Alignment 39, Haddash 4, Ratz 5, Mapam 3, Shinui 2, the Progressives 1 and the entirely Arab party, Darawshe, 1—a total of 55 deputies. In reality, this is a strong bloc, but not strong enough to block the way toward the formation of a right-wing and clerical government.

The right-wing bloc on its own, numbers only 47 deputies: Likud 40, Hatechayah 3, Moledet 2, Tsomet 2—a total of 47. How is it that the right-wing camp without a majority can form a government? Because the clericals, i.e., the religious parties, have increased their strength from 12 deputies in the former Knesset to 18 in the present one. The religious parties take no active part in the struggle for peace or war: they only have religious demands. But at the same time they propose the Messianic extreme right-wing policy of an "undivided Eretz Israel."

What is the source of these trends in the clerical camp? It appears, that because of the absence of a peace initiative, an increasing number of people have started looking to God as the Savior of the World and thereby have given clerical circles an opportunity to develop and seize many positions in the government administration. The new trend of the clerical circles is a strong move to the extremist Right. This is borne out by the fact that the respected head of a yeshiva, Rabbi Yehuda Amital, who organized a party that ran in the election expressing not only religious demands but demands for a policy to prevent another war and establish peace, did not get a sufficient number of votes to have even one representative in the Knesset. Some clerical circles boycotted previous elections in the "Zionist state." This year, these

groups took an active part in the election and achieved a substantial increase of support for the religious parties, from 12 to 18 seats. Holding the balance of power, now they are in a position to decide the fate of the nation. The Lubavitcher Rebbe has played an important role in this process.

While the party of the open racist, Kahane, was disqualified, two openly racist parties still took part in the elections, headed by ex-army officers who frankly declared their anti-Arab positions and called for driving out the Palestinian Arab population by means of so-called "transfer." They also openly supported a more brutal oppression of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories and against Jewish democratic and peace forces. These two parties elected two deputies each to the Knesset.

The more powerful of the religious parties are calling for a new law defining "who is a Jew" according to the fundamentalist religious precepts that would turn Israel into a Homeini-like state. At the same time, there are now stronger forces inside the Knesset that reject any idea of an international conference, of peace negotiations with the Palestinians. This is a most serious danger that causes grave concern among broad Palestinian circles.

The concern is still greater because this strengthening of the extremist Right has occurred at a time when hopes are being voiced in the Palestinian camp that the peace forces would win the elections. Reflecting their mood of optimism, for the first time Palestinian circles abroad and in the occupied territories sharply condemned a terrorist attack (in which a mother and her three children on a bus were burned to death).

Most disappointing is the contradictory policy of the Alignment, declaring its readiness, on the one hand, to participate in a peace conference, but emphasizing at the same time its refusal to withdraw to the June '67 boundaries and to negotiate with the P.L.O. Together with the brutal policy of oppression of Alignment leader Rabin in the occupied territories, this has legitimized the policy of Likud, strengthened the right wing and boomeranged against the Alignment in the elections.

However, it is important to note, the notwithstanding the many-sided campaign of incitement against the Israel Communist Party and against the Jewish-Arab Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (Haddash) of which it is a part, Haddash again elected four representatives to the Knesset and received a higher number of votes than before. On the one hand, Haddash was defamed among the Jews as an Arab organization, on the other hand, the propaganda spread among the Arab population claimed that voting for Haddash meant electing Jewish representatives. Still, Haddash got much more Arab votes and

some increases in Jewish votes. It should be noted that a former Arab Knesset member of the Alignment organized a "purely Arab" party with which he hoped to win many Arab votes. This party only elected one representative with great difficulty. Also important is the growth of *Ratz*, the civil rights party, from 3 to 5 deputies, elected on the basis of a program for solving the Palestinian question. The anti-Communist Progressive List competing with Haddash elected only one Knesset member, instead of the two it had had. Regrettably, these peace parties did not succeed in establishing an electoral alliance.

It is hard to imagine that the coalition government of Likud and the Alignment can be restored. However, the new right-wing government will not operate in a vacuum. It will have to take into account developments in the world and in the region, as well as the Jewish-Arab forces for peace and democracy in Israel. The grave economic crisis will have its effect, the army of unemployed already numbering 100,000. The Palestinian uprising, going on for 11 months, will continue to exert great pressure for a peaceful solution. A big bloc of 55 deputies in the Knesset favors such a solution. They can form a strong opposition and mobilize broad public support against the steps planned by the new government of religious fundamentalists and supporters of an "undivided land of Israel," and they can work for a change in policy, in order to avoid a war, for a policy that will promote the yearned for Israel-Arab peace while maintaining democratic norms. □

J. Lipski is the Israel correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

OUR DEEPEST SYMPATHY
to

ESTHER CARROLL CUCA

on the death of your beloved
husband

TOM CUCA

We wish you a quick recovery
from your great loss.

Your friends in the Friendship Club

Ruth and Jack Altman

Manya Axelrod

Sonia Forman

Nat Furmansky

Jean and Berl Gittelman

Pearl Klein

Fannie Koltman

Dora Leiker

Ruche Schulman

Visiting the Victims of Mideast Violence

By James M. Wall

Hatem Al-Sissi, 15, was the first Palestinian shot to death in the *intifada* (uprising) which began December 8, 1987. Hatem, who lived in the Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, was killed during a demonstration—shot in the chest, according to records kept by the Data Base Project on Palestinian Human Rights.

Three months later, Hani Ibrahim Abu Hammam, 18, died from a bullet wound he received after being chased into the Mediterranean Sea a few hundred yards from his home in the Shatti refugee camp in Gaza. In the Data Bank records Hani is number 96 on a list that by early June of this year exceeded 225 names.

Hani's mother, Fatama, keeps a large color picture of her son in her home. When a group of us went to see her recently, she showed us the picture and then quietly began to cry. Her two daughters, Zeinab, 21, and Natjah, 20, sat beside her and did most of the talking.

They said that their father, Taysar, had been beaten to death by Israeli soldiers in 1973. The family had come to the camp in 1948 from the now-destroyed village of Jura, near Askelon, north of Gaza along the Mediterranean coast. In Jura they had been farmers, growing grapes and figs. Najah is now married and lives with her husband a few streets away. Zeinab lives with her mother, who is unable to work and is supported by a small pension.

On the night of March 18 of this year, the family recalls, there were demonstrations involving the local mosque. They say soldiers were beating children. Hani somehow ended up being chased into the sea. He couldn't swim. When he came back onto the beach he was shot. Bullets entered his heart and kidneys. Friends took him by car to a hospital, but he died en route. Fatama, who has diabetes and heart trouble, said she had worried about her son since the *intifada* began and had tried to keep him at home as much as possible. She did not believe he had any part in the demonstrations that preceded his death.

In a conversation a few days later I said something about Palestinians to an Israeli army major. He politely but firmly corrected me: "We refer to them as Arabs, not Palestinians."

But the family receiving visitors in a sparsely furnished house just a few hundred yards from where their son and brother died trying to get back onto dry land—this family is Palestinian. Yes, ethnically its members are Arab. But their national identity is Palestinian. Hani Ibrahim Abu Hammam is Number 96 on the West Bank Data list, but as I walked away from the home he was

fixed in my mind as yet another unnecessary victim of a political struggle that leaves people clutching their children's pictures, weeping silently.

Quickly detecting the presence of newsmen and photographers, small children gathered around us as we walked through dusty, debris-filled streets to a second house when survivors of yet another *intifada* death waited for us. The children pointed to arms they claimed had been beaten by soldiers; one pulled at my sleeve, demanding that I see his house where windows had been smashed. Others used both hands to flash victory signs for the cameras.

Khaled Hussein al-Najjar, 52, died from breathing tear gas. A canister was tossed into the room where we now sat, drinking hot tea in tall glasses, performing again that social ritual people in the Middle East insist upon even when the topic under discussion is anything but sociable. Labels on the canisters, my hosts told me, indicated that the tear gas was manufactured in Pennsylvania. Khaled, a fisherman, had stumbled toward fresh air, and made it 200 meters down the street before he died.

Hasan Mahmud Qa'oud, 21, also died from the effects of tear gas. Data Bank records indicate that he was hit by a canister on April 11 and died the next day. Hasan's mother says that on the night of April 11 tear-gas canisters were thrown from a low-flying helicopter. Hasan, who was studying to be a pharmacist, was one of more than 50 people taken to the hospital. Because of a two-day curfew at the Shatti camp, only ten people were allowed to attend his funeral.

The Israel Defense Forces insists that the strong force is required to restore order among the Palestinians. As yet, no international agency has attempted to talk to the IDF or the Palestinian families to determine the accuracy of the latter's accounts. And I could find no evidence of any IDF officials seeking to corroborate claims of beatings and deaths. To the IDF this is a situation of war. Talk can come later.

Meanwhile, since the large demonstrations have subsided—the result, no doubt, of the army's heavy use of force—the IDF has begun a systematic campaign to force Palestinians to abide by occupation rules and regulations. During the night that we stayed in Gaza, troops patrolling the Jabalya refugee camp and the nearby village of Beit Hanun announced through bullhorns that all males over the age of 16 would be required to report the next day to a designated locations to secure new identification cards.

As part of the *intifada* some Palestinians have been refusing to pay taxes. But the Israelis have found a quick way to counter this tactic: they issued new ID cards only when proof of tax payment is presented. When we reached

the block in the town of Gaza where the cards were being issued, the line already contained an estimated 3,000 men and boys. By mid-morning the IDF decided that the line was too long, so another bullhorn message instructed camp residents to go home and return the next morning. Is it an international reality that bureaucracies fail to measure properly the scope of the demands they place on citizens? Or was this just a tactic to annoy the residents and keep them out of trouble? Perhaps it will take an international commission to make that determination as well.

Inside Ahli Arab hospital there was no reason to question the veracity of the people who told of being beaten. No less an authority than Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin had announced early in the *intifada* that beatings were to be administered to restore order.

These were the survivors. But it was hard to imagine that being beaten with gun-butts, sticks and fists or wounded by gunfire had pacified them. During the height of the mass demonstrations, one doctor told me, more than 75 patients a day were admitted to this hospital.

Nor is the violence limited to physical brutality, he said. Driving home from the hospital recently, the doctor remarked, he was stopped by Israeli soldiers who forced him out of his car and told him to clean up some smoldering tires left by demonstrators. When he protested that he was a doctor on his way home from the hospital, the soldiers were even more insistent that he join the clean-up detail.

The tension between Israeli occupier and the Palestinians under occupation is increasing, leaving the outside observer to wonder what sort of settlement will ever allow these two communities to coexist. The emotional damage visited upon an entire people under occupation is bound to be long-lasting, extending into future generations. No Palestinian can escape the impact of living under occupation, which Palestinian scholar Edward Said has described as "the forceful and brutal intervention in the lives of ordinary people by an outside force."

To get back to Jerusalem from Gaza I shared a taxi with six others. At the entrance to the Gaza Strip the taxi was stopped by an Israeli soldier, sitting by the side of the highway with a rifle in his lap. In Arabic he demanded ID papers from the men. When I tried to show him my American passport, he waved me away with a disdainful sweep of his hand. He was interested only in the three Palestinian men.

Once clear of the roadblock I began talking to the young woman in the middle seat who was the only other passenger who spoke English. Sameera, 19, told me that she was a nursing student in a Bir Zeit hospital. We

exchanged quick language lessons for most of the journey until suddenly a few miles south of the Latrun Valley turn, where some of the fiercest battles of the 1948 war took place, she turned to me and announced, "I was shooting in the leg." It was, I assured her, the only mistake in English grammar that she had made. We clarified the difference between "was shot" and "was shooting," and then she told me how she was shot.

She had been coming home from school earlier this year when guns were fired during a demonstration. A bullet had grazed her leg. Under the watchful eye of her mother, sitting beside her, she showed me a scar on her right leg. When the man sitting next to me realized what she was saying, he pointed to his right knee, which, he said, still contained an Israeli bullet. I thought he was asking me to push the knee to feel the bullet, which I proceeded to do. He grimaced in pain, and I realized to my dismay that I had misunderstood him; he only wanted to describe the trajectory of the bullet.

Doubting visitor can sometimes be too overt in seeking truth. I asked Sameera the Arabic work for "sorry," and used it. Within a few minutes we arrived at the Damascus Gate station in East Jerusalem and went our separate ways. Walking back to my hotel, I pondered the random survey I had just conducted. Six Palestinian passengers in one taxi, of whom two—33 per cent—had been shot during the *intifada*.

Will this population soon forget what it has suffered under occupation? Don't you believe it. □

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[By October 30, four months after the foregoing article was written, a total of 409 Palestinians had been killed in the *intifada* by Israeli soldiers or settlers and thousands injured.]

In loving memory of my mother

LINA LEVINE LEVINSON

Sophia

Time for an International Conference on the Middle East

(The following statement was issued on November 22, 1988 by the Board of the Communist Party, USA)

The Palestine National Council at its historic meeting in Algiers November 11-15, 1988, adopted a resolution accepting UN Resolutions 242 and 338 acknowledging and accepting the independence of the State of Israel behind secure borders.

The Palestine National Council statement is specific and just in relation to the territory to compose the Palestinian State: It calls for: "Israeli withdrawal from all the Palestinian and Arab territories that it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem."

The statement adopted by the National Council of the PLO opens the path to a safe, independent and secure Israel. The statement calls for the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the UN Security Council. The conference is to be attended by all the nations involved in the conflict in the Middle East including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The mandate of the conference is to hammer out and fashion a just and lasting peace among the nations in the troubled area.

The PNC statement already approved by many nations and peace constituencies in the US as well as world-wide is valid and realistic, placing the responsibility on the UN for fashioning a solution guaranteeing the future stability of the State of Israel alongside the State of Palestine.

Such a step would be a long step toward bringing stability and peace to the troubled area. This is all made possible by placing the responsibility for fashioning a solution into the hands of the United Nations in full consultation with all the countries concerned. The United Nations was born out of the fires of World War II at the behest of the victorious nations who defeated the fascists and who fashioned the international body to maintain the peace and to be the arbiter of disputes among nations threatening peace in any sector of the globe.

Today it is widely acknowledged that the combustibles in the Middle East crisis threaten to explode into a nuclear catastrophe with Israel in the possession of nuclear weaponry and being the strongest military power in the area.

US partnership with the State of Israel in the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance is in direct contradiction to the serious responsibilities assumed as a member of the UN Security Council to exert its fullest energies to maintain and further world peace.

Today, to implement UN Resolution 181 to bring about the establishment of a Palestinian State alongside the State of Israel, our people, the peace constituencies in particular need to step up demands upon the Reagan Administration to chart a course in consonance with and in support of worldwide efforts to resolve the Middle East crisis under the aegis of the UN.

The arrogant refusal of the Reagan Administration to talk with the PLO is a policy that can only undermine the peace process. The approval of the statement issued by the Palestine National Council by Jordan and Egypt signal the bankruptcy of the so-called "Shultz Peace Plan." It is essential that the Reagan Administration harken to and bolster the call of the Arab countries and the call of the many members of the European Community who recognize the right of the Palestinian People "to exercise fully their right of self-determination" and to join with the members of the European Community who have hailed the initiative of the Palestine National Council urging the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the UN on the Middle East.

The Reagan Administration can best carry out its responsibilities as a permanent member of the UN Security Council by taking steps to expedite the convening of an international conference on the Middle East under the aegis of the UN.

To pave the way toward the convening of such a conference calls for moving the recalcitrant leaders of the Israeli National Unity Government. The Reagan Administration must assume the responsibility of impressing the governmental leaders of Israel by halting all further military and financial aid to the State of Israel while Israel refuses to change course and participate in the UN peace process and while the Israeli government persists in drowning in blood the Palestinian independence movement in the Occupied Territories.

The historic resolution has removed the last excuse anyone can have not to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to their independent homeland. The decision of the Council to accept UN Resolution 242 and the right of Israel to its independence, within secure borders, has already stripped Israeli leaders and the United States of their rationales. They stand exposed as phony hypocrites. They have been covering up their policy of aggression, annexation and occupation behind demagoguery about Israel's right to exist.

The Palestine National Council's resolution is an act of national liberation, of self-determination. The world must make it a reality.

Peace in the Middle East though not simple to effect is within our grasp. Let us seize the moment. □

Soviets Act Against Antisemitic Organization

By Alfred J. Kutzik

Among the 30,000 or so non-governmental public organizations which have been established in the Soviet Union since the advent of the Gorbachev administration, one has been particularly problematical. Its official name is the Memory Russian National-Patriotic Front but it is usually called Memory or Pamyat in Russian.

Set up with objective of preserving and restoring Russian cultural monuments like historic buildings, statues, etc., the leadership of Pamyat was soon taken over by chauvinistic Russians who blamed the deterioration or destruction of such monuments and other problems of Soviet society not on Soviet authorities but on "non-Russians." And whenever the latter were identified by Pamyat spokesmen they turned out to be Jews.

Although speakers at meetings of Pamyat were careful not to use the terms "Jew(s)" or "Jewish," their intent was so transparent that the organization was widely criticized in the Soviet press for being anti-Semitic. Such criticism has appeared in the country's leading national newspapers, including Izvestia, Pravda and Komsomolskaya Pravda, the newspapers, respectively, of the Soviet government, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, as well as local newspapers like Moscow News and Leningradskaya Pravda.

Initially some of this criticism did not specify that antisemitism was being criticized, but chauvinism, anti-socialism or other ideologically politically unacceptable view. But lately Pamyat's anti-Semitism has been explicitly condemned. For example, the influential journal Sovyetskaya Kultura has stated: "We must not close our eyes to the remnants of anti-Semitism still surviving in everyday life in our country... One can still come across people who are inclined to blame errors in our economy, architecture and urban development on some malevolent spirit guided from outside." And on February 1, 1988 a major article in Pravda charged Pamyat with "attempting to stir up anti-Semitic attitudes in the Soviet people."

The strongest attack on Pamyat appeared in Izvestia on August 14, 1988 when it printed a lengthy critical letter by 59 staff members of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies and an 800-word equally critical comment on it. (It should be noted that the Leningrad chapter of Pamyat is its largest and most active and that the Institute of Oriental Studies includes Mideast scholars). Excerpts of the letter follow:

Staff members of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies gathered on July 11, 1988 to discuss the alarming situation that has come about in Leningrad in connection with the actions of an association that calls itself the Memory Russian National-Patriotic Front.

The members of this association meet every Thursday near Leningrad University and conduct chauvinistic and, in fact, antisocialist propaganda that insults the honor and dignity of Soviet people. The meetings are held in an atmosphere of the hysterical whipping up of hatred for non-Russian nationalities. The pronouncements of the Memory Front's ideologists resurrect theories of national purity and condemn marriages between members of different nationalities.

The statements of Memory's ideologists frequently remind one of the slogans of Nazism. In their mouths, the words "socialist patriotism" and "internationalism" often sound like something discreditable, and militant nationalism is presented as normal behavior...

It is especially alarming that Memory's activists bring schoolchildren to its meetings in an organized fashion. A teacher at Leningrad State University's Boarding School No. 45 not only makes "disclosures" at meeting of the society but also is accustoming children to its ideas.

Attempts are being made to put moral pressure on Soviet Jewish citizens, first of all figures in culture, the arts and education, as well as active figures in *perestroika* who belong to other nationalities. To this end, lists of surnames are being printed and made public, sometimes with the menacing addition: "We know where they live." In written appeals and oral statements, open calls for violence are made—"We must know our enemies by sight" and "It's time to shift to guerrilla actions..."

The actions of the leaders of the Memory Front are a violation of Art. 36 of the USSR Constitution, which prohibits the preaching of national or racial discord, and of Art. 74 of the Russian Republic Criminal Code [which specifies penalties for violating the equal rights of nationalities and races—Trans.]. The activity of the leaders of the aforementioned organization are sharply at variance with the resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference "On Openness [glasnost], "which says straightforwardly: "It is impermissible to use openness to damage the interest of the Soviet state or of society or the rights of the individual or to preach war and violence, racism, or national and religious intolerance."

We deem it necessary to ask the USSR Prosecutor General to take urgent measures: to bring the charges provided for by the law for fanning national discord against persons speaking in the name of the Memory Russian National-Patriotic Front....

We call upon the public at large to express its attitude toward the activity of the representatives of the Memory Front who are fanning national enmity.

We demand that it be made clear why Leningrad's Party and Soviet agencies are not publicly expressing their attitude toward the activity of the Memory Front and why Leningrad's mass news media are taking an unconcerned position....

Excerpts from Izvestia's editorial comment follow:

From the Editor.—The letter published above is by no means the only appeal to Izvestia from Leningraders who are alarmed by the activity, stepped up in the past few months, of those who count themselves members of the Memory National-Patriotic Front. . . .

Now these alarming reports have been joined by the voices of scholars from the Institute of Oriental Studies, who have disclosed the import of the calls issued by Memory.

The editors showed the letter from staff members of the Leningrad Division of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Oriental Studies to A. A. Belkin, assistant professor in Leningrad State university's department of public law. Here are his comments:

"There is no doubt that the facts set forth in the letter indicate violations of the USSR Constitution, and not only of Art. 36, which forbids the preaching of national discord. In point of fact, they are also at variance with the goals codified in Art. 50 of the Constitution, which establishes political freedoms, including freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. In this sense, the question that the letter poses about legal liability for this kind of preaching seems to me completely valid and correct"....

Today, when society is still feeling the tension of the recent dramatic events in Nagorno-Karabakh and certain other regions—events that have shown to what calamities any aggravation of the national question can lead—it is difficult to assess the stepped-up activity of the Memory society as anything but provocative and socially dangerous. It not only complicates national relations, it also gives the opponents of *perestroika* a trump card to play in expatiating on the harmfulness of openness and democratic transformations and in attracting unsophisticated people to their side.

How did it happen that, despite the obvious indignation of Leningraders, Memory's ideologists have been given the opportunity to conduct their propaganda there without hindrance? Did the "front" have permission to hold rallies in the Rumyantsev Gardens? V.M. Borisov, First Vice-Chairman of Leningrad's Vasilyevsky Island Borough Soviet Executive Committee, said in response to the editor's inquiry that at one time Memory had been given this permission, which borough authorities were forced to agree to after receiving a telephone call from the province Party committee. The public's protest did reach the borough Soviet executive committee, of course.

According to Borisov, on Wednesday, Aug. 10, representatives of Memory were given official notification that any further rallies in the Rumyantsev Gardens were banned, although they protested, of course, declaring that they would gather in the gardens the next day anyway. In the future, Memory's leaders added, they intend to move their gatherings and rallies to historic Palace Square. This means that the so-called "national-patriotic front" has no intention of surrendering its positions.

Despite the ban, on Thursday evening Memory did try again to hold a rally in the Rumyantsev Gardens. The police prevented this, but the crowd didn't break up for long—signatures were collected on a petition for the official registration of the "front" and leaflets were read aloud.

Leningradskaya Pravda reported this. The newspaper printed a selection of letters condemning the nationalistic utterance of the "front".... Judging from the latest rally, neither the public's protests, the local authorities' bans nor the violations of legality are disturbing or stopping the leaders of the newly hatched "front."

Such media criticism and government action have not only alerted the Soviet public to the anti-Semitic, anti-socialist nature of Pamyat but resulted in a split within the organization. Those members of Pamyat who are opposed to the chauvinistic leadership in the Leningrad and certain other branches have begun to meet on their own. Although not enough information is available to the present writer to determine whether it has been undertaken by democratic or undemocratic elements within the Moscow branch, in that city certain Pamyat members recently filed a suit to take legal action against those charging them with being antisemitic.

Whether Pamyat is cleansed of its undemocratic elements by a combination of criticism from outside and the action of its democratic members or whether it will be put out of business by the government, it is clear that Pamyat will not be expounding antisemitism much longer. It should be clear that the reason why Pamyat have been able to do so until now is the inexperience of the Soviets in dealing with the unprecedented development—for the USSR—of non-governmental organizations during a time when the policy of *glasnost* prevented the government and the Party from suppressing views they disagree with.

While it may not be so clear, it is actually a good thing that the antisemitic pus of the diseased minds of a fringe group in Soviet society has come to the surface in Pamyat so that it could be recognized and remedied. The widespread, intense public criticism of Pamyat has done much to help the Soviet people and their government understand that, in the words of Soyetskaya Kultura, "We must not close our eyes to the remnants of antisemitism still surviving in everyday life in our country."

Soviet Union Commemorates Jews at Babi Yar

The 47th anniversary of the Nazi murder of 35,000 Jews of Kiev at the ravine outside that city called Babi Yar was commemorated at a mass meeting in Moscow on September 25th sponsored by the Soviet government. The sponsors of the event were the official Soviet Anti-Zionist Committee and the unofficial Society for Friendship and Relations with Israel.

About 500 people assembled at the gates of Moscow's Vostryakov Cemetery for 1 1/2 hours listened to speakers

Continued on p. 20

Poland Commerates Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

By Sol Flapan

The 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising is being commemorated here this entire year. The main celebrations were concentrated in the Memorial Month of April.

There have been the usual public meetings, concerts, and stage programs and TV features. Also an outpouring of Ghetto-related and Jewish-oriented publications. But this time Warsaw, the annual host of such events, was also the venue of a two-day International Conference on the Struggle and Martyrology of Jews and Poles During the Nazi German Occupation (1939-1945). The prestigious program took place on April 14 and 15. It launched weeklong memorial services attended by Varsovians as well as several thousand visitors from across Poland and from a score of other countries.

Among the highlights of this commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto victims and heroic fighters were a Saturday noon synagogue service, a music-and-poetry evening entitled "Song of a Murdered People;" awarding still another group of Poles who had risked their lives and those of their families sheltering Jews during the Holocaust by the prestigious Yad Vashem (of Jerusalem) Righteous Among Nations Medal; solemn flower laying ceremonies at the Monument to the Warsaw Ghetto Heroes and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on April 19, the actual anniversary date of the outbreak of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

All these events and more recalled in panoramic terms the foredoomed to failure armed resistance by a handful of ill-armed, half-starved and disease-ridden Jewish men, women and children against the armed-to-the-teeth cruel conquerors and savage occupiers of almost all Europe.

Polish historians and public figures Prof. Kazimierz Sobczak and Prof. Kazimierz Kakol read papers on "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and the Background of the Polish Resistance Movement" and on "The Polish Government in Exile and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising," while scholars Ruth Sakowska and Marian Fuks of the Warsaw-based Jewish Historical Institute presented papers entitled "Silhouettes of Activists of the Jewish Fighting Organization" and "Polish Assistance to Jews During and After the Fall of the Ghetto Uprising." A number of scholars from Poland, Israel and elsewhere spoke on the Ghetto as recorded in diaries of Jews and Poles.

All this, supplemented by pre- and post-anniversary media coverage, was truly awe-inspiring. Especially moving were the personal recollections by rank-and-file

anti-fascists about their comrades-in-arms, stories about real flesh-and-blood people whose names deserve to be emblazoned in gold letters in the History of Humanity.

One of those was given his due in a recent issue of *Folks Shtime*, the bilingual weekly newspaper of the Socio-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland. The paper carried a story about "one of those who upheld the dignity of the dying Ghetto."

On May 30, 1942 three young men met in what had been a small cafe in the Ghetto with an envoy from beyond the (nazi-erected) Wall. They were checking out some important matters, the smuggling into the Ghetto of arms and ammunition and the secreting out to the so-called "aryan side" of a small printing press. Suddenly the Gestapo appeared arresting all four. They were taken to the notorious Pawiak Prison, built in Czarist times back in the 1820s. The three Ghetto youth were activists of the Anti-Fascist Front and main figure of this particular story was Pinkus Kartin (alias Andrzej Schmidt) who was responsible for the Front's military preparations.

Beatings. Torture. But not a word out of Kartin who sealed his lips forever by committing suicide. His mutilated body was later identified by comrades while burying the dead in June 1942 in a common grave in the Jewish cemetery.

The number four man at the cafe meeting, named Kisielew, turned out to be a German agent who was sentenced to death by the underground Polish Workers Party, the forerunner of the present day Polish United Workers (Communist) Party, and executed. Though Pinkus Kartin/Andrzej Schmidt died ten months before the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, he was a part of that Jewish/Polish liberation struggle. And much more.

In Spain Kartin graduated a crash officers' training course. After being seriously wounded in April 1938 in a battle near Lerida, he was evacuated to France where he joined up with a group of Polish communists. Then came a tortuous journey to the Soviet Union, where in December 1941, he met with some leading Polish communists and founders of the Polish Workers Party (PWP). Together with these patriots he was dispatched through the raging Soviet-German front to nazi-occupied Poland.

In February 1942 he was assigned by the PWP to organize a Party group in the Ghetto as well as to set up an Anti-Fascist Front there. Together with Jozef Lewartowski (Finkelstein) and Adam Meretik (Cimerman), Kartin conducted talks with Mordechaj Anielewicz of the Hashomer Hatzair, the future commander of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, with Adolf Berman of the Left Poale Zion and others.

An Anti-Fascist Front was set up towards the end of

February 1942 with military leadership charged to Kartin, Anielewicz and Mordechai Tenenbaum. The People's Army, the armed wing of the PWP, and the Home Army, underground military force of the Emigre Government in London, actively assisted in this. Kartin began training military instructors starting with five who became a force of 100 in the course of two months. Two weeks before his arrest, the first number of a Kartin-edited flyer newspaper *Der Ruf* (The Call) appeared in the Ghetto carrying the program of the Anti-Fascist Front. Kartin was then a young man of 28 years, nine of which he had devoted to working class struggles in the ranks of the pre-war Polish Communist Party in his native land, in Spain and in France.

Soldier, publicist, activist, a co-organizer of the anti-Nazi resistance movement, he did not live to see the fruit of his self-sacrificing toil, the heroic battle of the Warsaw Ghetto, says the *Folks Shtime* story authored by Mieczyslaw Broniatowski, "a comrade-in-arms of Kartin in the battles of Spain." Pinkus Kartin was posthumously awarded Poland's highest decorations for valor. □

Sol Flapan is the Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

On the Nazi Pogrom of Nov. 9-10, 1938

The following letter was sent to the *N.Y. Times* on November 12, 1988 by our associate editor, A.J. Kutzik:

The *Times* is to be commended for the extensive coverage it has given the 50th anniversary of the Nazi pogrom in Germany and Austria of November 9-10, 1938.

Your reports on the commemorative events, interviews and op-ed pieces from a number of those who lived through the horror and your editorial of November 9 have done much to inform readers of what happened and to create or strengthen their resolve that such a thing never be allowed to happen again. However, the factuality of some of the information is questionable as is the use of the generally-accepted term for the pogrom, *Kristallnacht*.

As the November 9 article by Peter Steinfels brings out, historians do not support the view (expressed in stories of October 30 and November 7) that the 1938 pogrom "began the Holocaust." While scores of Jews were killed at that time, the mass murder of Jews did not become Nazi policy until mid-1941 when the Soviet Union was invaded. Until then Nazi policy towards the Jews of Germany and Austria continued to be one of persecution and forced emigration.

The 1938 pogrom was an anomaly. It was not carried

out by "the regime" (editorial) but was an unauthorized power play by Goebbels without the knowledge of Hitler and Goering. The uncontrolled orgy of vandalism, burning, beating and killing by Nazi party (SA) activists followed by mass arrests of Jews by the police and the SS caused revulsion throughout the world and in Germany. The authoritative analysis of Raul Hilberg concludes: "The entire German bureaucracy, including most party leaders, reacted to the Goebbels pogrom with a feeling of annoyance and vexation....The November pogrom was the last occasion for violence against Jews in German streets."

Since the pogrom was a brief departure from the Third Reich's long-standing policy and practice towards Jews, it did not (as several stories and your editorial assert) reveal to the world the Holocaust to come. Even the Jews of Germany did not consider it a "prelude to genocide" (editorial), so it is unwarranted to assert that it was "the moment when no German could any longer claim ignorance of what the Nazis intended" (October 28) and that for non-Germans as well it "marked the end of any lingering illusion about the inclinations or intentions of the Nazis" (November 8).

The foregoing in no way absolves those governments, including ours, that before and after November 9-10, 1938 refused to provide a haven for the viciously persecuted Jews of Germany whose lives few then believed to be in danger.

The term *Kristallnacht*, used to denote the pogrom in every item that has appeared in the *Times* (and other media) also demands correction. Usually mistranslated as "the night of broken glass" (November 1; editorial; November 11), we were given the correct translation when told that "the shattered glass on the streets of German cities was to give the night its name 'Crystal Night'" (October 30). But why Crystal Night (*Kristallnacht*) and not Glass Night (*Glasnacht*)?

Walter Goodman's review of two *Kristallnacht* TV programs (November 5) comes close to the truth when he perceptively notes: "Crystal Night was the sardonic name Germans gave to the nationwide two-day pogrom ordered by Joseph Goebbels." Ari Goldman's report of November 1 comes closer when he writes "what the Nazis came to call *Kristallnacht*, the night of broken glass."

The truth is that Goebbels' and the Nazis sharp defeat due to the unfavorable German and worldwide reaction to the pogrom was blunted by a propaganda victory through promotion by the Nazis and adoption by practically everyone else of the term *Kristallnacht*—which can have

Continued on p. 20

NAZI ANTISEMITES AND THE MEDIA

The following two articles are reprinted with permission from recent issues of the newsletter of FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting).

The GOP—Nazi Connection

On September 8, 1988, *Washington Jewish Week* (with a circulation of 20,000) disclosed that Vice President George Bush had appointed an ethnic coalition for his campaign that included a number of outspoken anti-Semites with Nazi and fascist affiliations. The article prompted the resignation of six leaders of the GOP's ethnic outreach division. Although the resignations were widely reported, few major media investigated the actual charges or explored their implications.

The *New York Times*, in particular, downplayed the significance of the Nazi-GOP connection, burying the news that six Republican ethnic leaders had quit the campaign on page 24 of the D-Section (9-13-88) under the headline, "A Decisive Baker Puts His Mark on Bush Race." The article by Gerald M. Boyd treated the resignation of the discredited ethnic officials less as a scandal than as evidence of Jim Baker's "authority" in running the Bush campaign.

Unlike most media, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* featured a series of investigative pieces which documented the Nazi link. A front page lead story (9-10-88) detailed the sordid past of men like Florian Galdau, the national chairman of Rumanians for Bush, who defended convicted war criminal Valerian Trifa; Radi Slavoff, co-chairman of Bulgarians for Bush, who arranged a 1983 event in Washington honored Austin App, author of several texts denying the existence of the Holocaust; Phillip Guarino, chairman of the Italian-American National Republican Federation, who belonged to a neofascist masonic lodge implicated in terrorist attacks in Italy and Latin America; Bohdan Fedorak, vice chairman of Ukrainians for Bush, who was also a leader of a Nazi collaborationist organization involved in anti-Polish and anti-Jewish wartime pogroms; and Croatian fascist Jer-

ome Brentar, cochairman of the GOP ethnic coalition, who acknowledged that as an International Refugee Organization officer he helped hundreds of Nazis emigrate to the US after World War II. Brentar was the principal financial backer for the defense of convicted war criminal John Demjanjuk.

A spokesperson for Vice President Bush dismissed the charges against the six ethnic leaders as "politically inspired garbage," claiming that the GOP looked into the allegations and "was unable to substantiate them" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 9-13-88). Most media printed this denial unchallenged.

A follow-up story in the *Inquirer* (9-18-88) summarized the finding of a recent report by Russ Bellant, titled *The Old Nazis, the New Right and the Reagan Administration: The Role of Domestic Fascist Networks in the Republican Party and Their Effect on US Cold War Politics*. Published by the Cambridge-based Political Research Associates, the report shows how the Bush campaign's ethnic outreach program is rooted in a pro-Nazi emigre network dating back to the late 1940s. The GOP's ethnic leaders were among thousands of extremists from Eastern Europe who were welcomed by the US government during the Cold War because of their vociferous anti-communism.

Boosted by CIA subsidies, these "captive nations" exiles succeeded in creating a genuine power base on the far right of the American political landscape. According to Bellant, some are still active in the Bush campaign. But this doesn't seem to bother the US media, which are more interested in Bush's repeated invocation of the Pledge of Allegiance as a campaign issue than in those GOP leaders who pledge their allegiance to other flags.

The New York Times and the Nazis Among Us

The US media have never fully acknowledged the fact that American intelligence agencies—particularly the CIA—systematically recruited, protected and utilized thousands of active Nazis and collaborators in Europe after World War II. This ghoulish foreign policy venture is the subject of a new book by Christopher Simpson called *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson).

Simpson's book was reviewed in the *New York Times*

Sunday Book Review (4-8-88) by Serge Schmemmann, who previously served as a *Times* correspondent in Moscow and is now bureau chief in Bonn. The title of the review—"Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor, Your Nazi Scientists"—is deceptive, for the book doesn't focus on Dr. Werner von Braun and other German scientists who emigrated to the US. A more appropriate title would have read: "Give Us Your Tired, Your Poor, Your Nazi Spies."

Although he doesn't dispute Simpson's documenta-

tion (the book contains 65 pages of footnotes with references to declassified government reports), Schmemmann charges *Blowback* with "blurring the distinction between the means and the end" and "smearing anti-Communism with the taint of nazism." Schmemmann's review amounted to a subtle apology for the Nazi recruitment effort; "The vacillation of the US between mission and morality in its behavior abroad must often seem confusing....But confusing as this ambivalent behavior may seem, it is likely to continue as long as America remains an insular and idealistic superpower intimately engaged in every corner of the globe."

Perhaps the *Times Book Review* editors were unaware when they allowed Schmemmann to analyze *Blowback* that his father, Rev. Aleksandr Schmemmann, was deeply implicated in some of the CIA/Nazi propagandist operations discussed and criticized at length in Simpson's book. Father Schmemmann, an Orthodox Christian theo-

gian and rightwing political activist, gave weekly sermons on the CIA's *Radio Liberation* (staffed largely by former Nazi collaborators) for more than thirty years (*NYT Biographical Service*, 12/83).

Father Schmemmann's longtime colleague and political ally, Bishop Valerian Trifa, was deported from the US in 1984 after US courts found him guilty of instigating fascist pogroms in Rumania during the war. The Orthodox Church of America(OCA), of which Fr. Schmemmann was a principal player, denounced Trifa's critics as Communist dupes. OCA has long sought to legitimize former Nazi collaborators now in the US. Serge Schmemmann was once co-editor of *Concern*, the journal of OCA's education commission.

Ethical questions are raised by the *Times'* selection of a reviewer whose immediate family participated in programs examined in *Blowback* without acknowledging the potential conflict of interest. □

La Tierra Verde (For Lolita Lebron)

By Henri Percikow

Island of paradise
Where the gringo under the blue
Roots El Fangito's hell's decay
Vandalizing the green green
The lament of the people soars
Wailing through the palm trees
The young have an early bloom
Then wilt under the furrows
Of steel claws
That leave grooves upon their limbs
As blood reddens the surrounding waters.

Heartless the yankee dollar gods
Blessing their muzzled freedom
Freedom to polish the yankee boot
Kneading with iron fist a gentle people
Depriving young lovers of their stars
In the silent Caribbean night
Where a vow and kiss is short lived
In the U.S. mill of debauchery.

And yet from every tear and sob
Notes are woven by poets
Into songs of freedom
Strummed and sung by brothers and sisters
In San Juan and Lares
Where they find haven

Under every roof of worker and peasant
Soon their crescendo will rise
Gathering in the storm
The unspent thunder
Of the Pueblo.



“Armed And Dangerous”

A Review by Gerald Horne

James Coates, **Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalists Right**, New York: Noonday Press Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1987, \$8.95 paper, 294pp.

Since the coming to power of the Reagan Administration, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission—coincidentally enough—has noted a dramatic increase in instances of serious anti-Semitic violence such as synagogue bombings, cemetery desecrations and physical attacks. In 1979, when record keeping started, the agency found 49 such crimes. In 1984, the USCRC recorded 705 and in 1985, 638. The Justice Department estimates that U.S. citizens now own roughly 40 million revolvers and more than 100,000 registered machine guns. Estimated of unregistered machine guns run as high as 500,000. Our youth are being educated and prepared to perpetuate this culture. The Center for Defense Information found that war toy sales soared by more than 600% between 1982 and 1986, to over \$1 billion annually.

Worst of all, since Reagan entered the White House there has been a significant growth in the number of ultra-right wing, racist and fascist organizations. The “whiff of fascism” that some have detected in recent Republican Conventions becomes a stench when one begins examining the tortured paths of groups like the Aryan Brotherhood, the Posse Comitatus, the Identity Church, etc. In fact, there is some overlap—at least ideologically—among them. In this gripping, well-written expose, James Coates shows how the ideas of Jerry Falwell, Jimmy Swaggart, Hal Lindsey (author of the best-selling *The Late Great Planet Earth*), et al. are not that far from those of the above-mentioned ultra-rightists: “Revelation tells them clearly that before the Apocalypse can be played out, 144,000 Jews must be converted to Christ. The tribulation can begin only in Israel, where the Antichrist is to appear. Likewise, the final battle between Gog and Magog must happen in Israel.” Though Menachem Begin himself gave him a medal, Falwell has complained that Jews are “spiritually blind and desperately in need of their Messiah and Saviour.” The Identity Church in particular echoes these views and the ultra-rightists generally share an idea that the U.S. is presently dominated by ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government), which means that synagogues must be attacked and Jews must be killed.

It was the fate of Denver talk show Alan Berg to find this lesson out the hard way. His brand of “shock radio” constantly baited and attacked the armed right. They retaliated by murdering him. But murder is just one of their many tactics. “Counterfeiting schemes, terrorist

bombings, masterful loan fraud operations, and thousands of federal firearms and explosives violation” are also part of their stock in trade. Prominent in this coterie of armed bandits is the Order. Robbing banks has been their forte. Within a few months in 1984 they obtained more than \$4 million that not only was spread around the country to like-minded groups but also went for the purchase of more weapons and explosives.

In 1985 researchers from the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith listed 14 neo-Nazi groupings ranging from the American Nazi Party to the Universal Order to the American White Nationalist Party. This fractiousness has been abated somewhat with the rise of the Identity Church, which serves as something of a religious umbrella for them to flock under. Their anti-Jewish theology is too convoluted to recount here but suffice it to say that they “find the hidden hand of ‘the Jew’ in human history from the time the Babylonian Talmud was written” (p. 87). Jews are blamed for the death of Jesus, the Black Plague, socialism, the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank, etc. Their sexism is daunting as well. The role of women “is to serve as planting ground for the ‘white seed’ so their warrior husbands can propagate the race before they raise their swords against ZOG. Plural marriages are encouraged so that a warrior can plant many seeds before risking his life” (p. 79).

But according to Coates, the “largest single element of the Survival Right now operating” is the Posse Comitatus: “Paranoically secretive...and recruited largely by word of mouth, the Posse typically exists as cells made up of seven white males along with their families in a given area who operate independent of any national leadership” (p.111). They are a reprise of the right-wing Minutemen who scarred the national landscape in the early 1960s. They maintain close ties to affluent “doctor, dentists, chiropractors and...lawyers” (p. 113). Their most recent brush with national headlines was occasioned when they had a full-scale shoot-out—that might better be described as a military engagement—with the authorities in Arkansas.

This conflict with the authorities has not ever been the sole tendency. For example, the Posse in Nebraska not only involved local business leaders and farmers susceptible to a message blaming their problems on “Jewish bankers” but also prosecutors and other officers of the law. Perhaps this is why the fact that they have routinely recruited by kidnapping hitch-hikers and children has not received more attention (p.139).

Perhaps the ugliest and most vicious of all the outrages involving these elements was the murder of Charles Goldmark of the state of Washington. He was killed

because it was mistakenly assumed that he had some connection to the Communist Party and was a Jew because he had a "Jewish sounding" surname (pp. 161, 164).

These groups have utilized new technologies: home video cassettes for recruiting, computers and electronic mail, cable t.v., etc. This may help to explain why a poll taken early in 1986 by the Louis Harris organization revealed "disturbing evidence that the conspiracy theories" about "Jewish bankers" was widely believed in the farm belt areas of Iowa and Nebraska. For example, Harris found that a 45% plurality of people over 65 endorsed the statement that Jewish bankers were behind farm woes, as did 44% plurality of people who never finished high school" (p. 197).

Though this is a book worth reading, the author does not provide the necessary context for a full understanding of this phenomenon. The economic crisis of capitalism, not to mention the socio-political system that allows these groups to proliferate is nowhere mentioned. Nor does he suggest how to arrest the development and growth of the armed fascist wing. Certainly, education and organizing in unions, synagogues, churches, neighborhoods, barrios, everywhere, is a necessary precondition to insure that no more Alan Bergs and Charles Goldmarks are murdered and no more Reagans are allowed to get into a position where they can provide convenient cover for the growth of "armed and dangerous" fascist-minded elements. □

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Babi Yar (continued from p. 14)

including Gen. David Dragunsky, head of the Anti-Zionist Committee, and Valery Sherbaum, secretary of the Friendship Society, as well as members of the USSR's Supreme Soviet. They spoke from the back of a truck on whose side were pictures of concentration camp prisoners, piles of corpses and people hanging from gallows.

The event concluded with a rabbi chanting El Moleh Rakhaim, the Hebrew prayer for the dead.

Government sponsorship and participation in what the Associated Press described as a "rally to commemorate the Nazi massacre of Jews at...Babi Yar" contradicts the charge that the Soviet Union refuses to recognize the Nazis' special genocidal measures taken against Jews. This is not contradicted by the fact that all 200,000 Soviet citizens killed and buried by the Nazis at Babi Yar, including at least 150,000 non-Jews, are memorialized by the magnificent monument that has been erected there.

A.J.K.

October Revolution (continued from p. 5)

dawns, a new world is coming into being. It is a new world that is being created—one devoid of armaments and wars, of national oppression, of the subordination of women, of the glorification of the rich. Coming into being is a world without hunger, without illiteracy, without slums. A world of art and poetry, a world of beauty and harmony—that is what will mark the twenty-first century.

Such is the world in the offing, if this generation sees it through. The possibility of a human epoch lies in front of us. This vista, this great opening, this dream of all peoples for millennia now is before us.

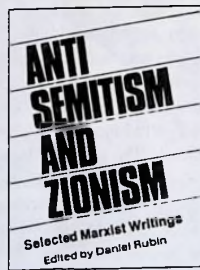
That this possibility exists, rests, in the first place, on the granite foundation of the Bolshevik Revolution. We hail the mighty and refreshed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on this its 71st birthday.

Many years ago, W.E.B. Du Bois greeted the USSR as "the most hopeful country in the world." It remains so—more so, now that it has found the will and the strength to renew itself, to refresh itself and to give vigor to the progressive forces in the world. □

Nazi Pogrom (continued from p. 16)

no other meaning than that the shattered window glass of synagogues, Jewish institutions, businesses and homes adorned the streets of the *Third Reich* like crystal. This is why East Germans and scholars like Hilberg never use the Nazi euphemism *Kristallnacht*. Understanding its origin and meaning, no anti-Nazi should. □

Dr. Kutzik is the author of articles on the Holocaust and has served as consultant on Holocaust Studies for the Baltimore public schools.



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

גרייט זיך צו קומען קיין שטערנאוויץ אויף עטלעכע קאנצערטן פון אידישן פאלקלאר.

געשאפן אין לעמבערג געזעלשאפט פון ליבהאבער פון אידישן קולטור

ווי עס גיט איבער א. ליוען אין "כיראבידזשאנער שטערן" (2.8.88) איז אין לעמבערג געשאפן געווארן א געזעלשאפט פון ליבהאבער פון דער אידישער שפראך אין קולטור אויף שלום עליכם נאמען. די געזעלשאפט איז געשאפן געווארן אין לאקאל פון לעמבערגער שרייבער פאריין. אין דער באראטונג פון דער איניציאטיוו-גרופע האבן זיך באטייליקט 20 פערזאן. אין דער באראטונג האט אויך אנטהאלטן גענומען א פארשטייער פון דער לעמבערגער אפטיילונג פון אוקראינישן פאנד פון קולטור אין פון לעמבערגער שרייבער פאריין.

א. ליוען מאכט רעביי אויפמערקזאם, אז דער עלטערער דור, וואס קען נאך אידיש וועט ניט זיין בכוח געמען אויף זיך די שווערע אויפגאבע. דארף מען שטעלן דעם טראפ אויף דער יוגנט, וואס קען ניט קיין אידיש. די

דאזיקע פראגע איז באהאנדלט געווארן אויף דער באראטונג. א. ליוען באמערקט דערביי, אז: "דאס איז א זיכערער סימן, אז אלע פונקטן זיינען נאך ניט אויסגעלאשן און מען דארף זיי צעבלאזן ווי ווייט מעגלעך, וואס העלער און ליכטיקער." לאמיר זיי וואונטשן דערפאלג און זייער געבענטשטער טעטיקייט.

דאס שלום-עליכם הויז וועט פארהייט ווערן

ווי באוואוסט האבן די קיעווער מאכט-ארגאניזאציען געהאט באשלאסן אין די ראמען פון בריענדערונגען אראפזוארפן דאס הויז נמ. 5 אויף דער קראסטנאמיסקא. דאס הויז אין וועלכן שלום עליכם האט געוואוינט פיל יארן. דער באשלוס פון קיעווער שטאט-ראט האט ארויסגערופן אלגעמיינע פראטעסטן. דער "כיראבידזשאנער שטערן" האט אויך פראטעסטירט קעגן דעם, ווי סיגיס איבער די צייטונג (24.7.88) האט זי באקומען אן ענטפער פון מיניסטארן-ראט פון דער אוקראינישער ס.ס.ר., אז ס'איז באשלאסן געווארן צו ענדערן דעם פראיעקט און ניט אראפצווארפן דאס הויז אין וועלכן שלום-עליכם האט געוואוינט אין די יארן 1897 — 1904.

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(א פּאָפּולער פּאָלקס-ליד)

שפילט אַ פּריילעכס! שפילט אַ פּריילעכס!
אין דער ראָד אַרײַן געשווינד,
אַלע פּאָלעס און פּאַטשיילעס,
ווי די זעלען אויפן ווינט!
פּיִלדען, פּלייטן, קאַנטראַ-באַסן,
זאָלן טאַנצן אַלע גאַסן,
זאָלן דונערן טרומייטן,
און די גרינסן אויף די בייטן,
זאָלן זאָפּטיק זיין און גוט,
פּיִלדען, פּלייטן, ניט גערוט!
ווי געשמאַקטן הויכע זאַנגען,
שפילט אַ פּריילעכס!
מיידלעך! יונגען!

ס'איז אַ לעבן דאָ פּאַרפּלאַנצט,
אויב געזונגען, איז געזונגען,
אויב געטאַנצט, זאָל זיין געטאַנצט!

איבער בערג און איבער וועגן
פּאַרט אַ מונטערע די געגנט,
מיט דער שיף און מיטן באָן,
איבער הויכן פון כינגאַן,

איבער טייכן, איבער קרוטשעס
הילכן נעמען אויף דער וועלט.

פּאַשקאַוו, ראָדע און אַבלוטשיע,
לאַנדאַקאָ און ביראַפעלד!

טאַנצן שניטער, טאַנצן זייער,
פּיאַנערן, רויט-אַרמייער!

טאַנצט אַ מיידל פון וואָלין,
מיט אַ בחור פון פּאַלטאַווע;
אַלע פעלדער זיינען גריין,
אַלע וועלדער קוטשעראַווע!

ראָהאַטשאַווער און אַדעסער!
זאָל די ראָד נאָך ווערן גרעסער!
ווען סע טאַנצן די טשערקאַסער,

אַ בריוו צו קאלינינען

(אידיש-סאָוועטיש פּאָלקס-ליד)

פון די שיינע סטעפעס
פּרעכטיקע און גרינע,
שיק איך דיר אַ בריוועלע,
טייערער קאלינין.

ס'איז מיין שול אַ גאַרטן
און די שילער — בלומען,
בעט דער גאַנצער גאַרטן —
זאָלסט אַהערצו קומען.

קומען אויף די סטעפעס,
גרינע און פּאַרוויטע —
דאָ, וואו די קאָלווירטן
בליאָקיע זיך שפּרייטן.
ס'איז מיין שול...

דאָ וואו אין דער לופטן
לידער שיינע שוועבן,
וואו די פעלקער פרייע —
בויען אַ ניי לעבן.
ס'איז מיין שול...

קעגן גאָלד פו זון

(אידיש-סאָוועטישע פּאָלק ליד)

* * *

קעגן גאָלד פון זון גייט אויף מיין גאָלד פון ווייצן,

קעגן גאָלד פון זון גייט אויף מיין גאָלדן גליק.

נייע האַראַיאַנטן רופן מיך און רייצן,

נייע לידער זינג איך, — אידישער מוזשיק.

גייט די אַרבעט פּריילעך פון גאַנצפּרי ביז אָוונט,

זון — איז מיין הודאַק; און פעלד איז מיין פּאַבריק.

נעכטן, שכנים ווייטע — היינט, שוין אזוי נאַענט,

אוקראַינער פּויער, אידישער מוזשיק.

אידיש קולטור-קלובן אין סאָוועטן-פאַרבאַנד

איבערגעדרוקט פון "דער וועג", סעפטעמבער 9, 1988

א אידישער טעאָטער אין קיעוו

ווי ס'גייט זיך איבער אין "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" (3.8.88) איז אין דער הויפט־שטאָט פון אוקראַינע נאָרוואָס געשאַפן געוואָרן אַ נייער שעפּערישער קאָלעקטיוו, אַ קיעווער אידישע טעאָטער סטודיאָ "מזל טוב", ווי ס'האָט מיטגעטיילט דער אָנפירער פון ניי געשאַפענעם טעאָטער געאָרגי מעלסקי, וועלכער איז באַקענט, אַלס איינער פון די גרינדער פון דער ביראָבידזשאַנער שאַרגרופע "פּריילערס". ס'ווערט פּלאַנירט אויסצוטילן פאַרן קיעווער אידישן טעאָטער אַ באַשטענדיקע טעאָטער אין ראַיאָן פון פּאָדאָל. דער קאָלעקטיוו טרעט שוין צו צו זיין ערשטער אַכעט צום אויפירן זי. שנייער אַקונס מוויקאָלישן ספּעקטאַקל "פּריילעכס", וואָס ס'האָט געשטעלט אין 1945 שלמה מיכאַלעס אין זיין טרופע.

ל. שקאַליניק האָט באַזוכט פּש"א

דער שעפּ־רעדאַקטאָר פון "ביראָבידזשאַנען שטערן", ל. שקאַליניק האָט באַזוכט די פאַראייניקטע שטאַטן אין דער זעלבענציע פון סאָוועטישן קאָמיטעט פון פּעריטידיקן דעם שלום. די זעלבענציע האָט באַזוכט די שטאַטן קאַליפּאָרניע, קאַלאָראַדאָ, מישיגען, ווי אויך וואַשינגטאָן, ניי־יאָרק, דעטראַיט און אַנדערע. ל. שקאַליניק האָט איבערגעגעבן וועגן זיינע איינדרוקן פון באַזוך אויף אַ פרעסע־קאָנפּערענץ אין דער רעדאַקציע פון "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן".

אידיש אין טאַשקענט

אין "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" (פון 31.7.88) ווערט איבערגעגעבן, אַז: "דער געשאַפענער נייער קאָאָפּעראַטיוו "וויסן" ביים טאַשקענטער הויז פון קענטענישן האָט געמאַלדן וועגן שאַפן אַ גרופע אויף צו דערלערנען אידיש. דער פּאַרזיער פון קאָאָפּעראַטיוו י. קאַנטאר האָט אויף דער פּראָגע וועגן דעם געענטפּערט, אַז: "צום אַלעס ערשטן דאַרף מען וויסן, אַז אין טאַשקענט לעבן עטלעכע צענדליק טייונט אידן און בלויז עטלעכע הונדערט פון זיי ווייסן גוט זייער מאַמע לשון. די שפּראַך איז ניט בלויז אַ

מיטל פון קאָנטאַקטן, נאָר אויך אַ מעגלעכקייט זיך צו באַהעפּטן צו די אַצרות פון דער אידישער ליטעראַרישער קולטור".

ס. קאַוונער, וועלכער גייט איבער די דאָזיקע ידיעה שטרייכט אונטער, אַז ס'שאַפן זיך אין טאַשקענט נאָך גרופן פאַר דערלערנען אידיש.

אויף דער זעלבער זייט פון "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" (31.7.88) גייט איבער וועלוול בעלינקער אַ רעפּאָרטזש מיט גרויסע אותיות: "פאַר אייך שפּראַך־ליב־האַבער — אויף אַ לימוד פון אידיש". דער קאָרעספּאָנענט דערציילט, אַז ער האָט באַגעגענט אין גאַס אַ יינגלע מיט וועלכן ער האָט גערעדט אידיש און אַז ער האָט באַזוכט דעם קינדער־קאַמבינאַנט נומ. 15 פון געגנטלעכן צענטער אין ביראָבידזשאַן, בייזענדיק אַ לעקציע פון אידיש. צוזאַמען מיטן קאָרעספּאָנענט איז אויפן לימוד פון אידיש בייגעווען חיים ביידער, דער שטעל־פּאַרטערטער פון הויפט־רעדאַקטאָר פון "סאָוועטיש היימלאַנד". דער גאַסט האָט פּאַרגעלייגט פאַר די קינדער אַ מעשהלע פון זיין ניי ביכל, פּאַר דאָרף איינקויפן דערשיינען.

לאַמיר צוגעבן אַז די קינדער אין קלאַס זיינען ניט בלויז אידישע, אַז ביי זייער וייט לערנען זיך קינדער פון רוסישע אין קאַרעאַנער, וואָס שטערט ניט, אַז זיי זאָלן זיך לערנען פאַר אַ קלאַס אידיש.

דער צופאַל האָט געוואָלט, אַז דעם זעלבן טאָג, ווען כ'שרייב די נאָטויץ גייט איבער דער "על המשמר" — (23.3.88) וועגן דעם, אַז: שילער פון ניט אידן לערנען אידיש אין בראַזיל..."

"טעג פון אידישער קולטור אין אמורסק"

א. יאַרמאַקאָו, דער מיטגליד פון דער קאָאָפּעראַטיוו "קוונ" גייט איבער אין "ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" וועגן די אַרויסרעטונגען פון די אידישע קאָאָפּעראַטיוו אין ביראָבידזשאַנער און סיי אין אמורסק ("ביראָבידזשאַנער שטערן" 17.7.88).

פון שטערנאָוויץ גייט איבער ט. שקלאווער אַז: "מען וואָרט אויף דיר "פּריילעכס", די אידישע מוויקאָלישע טרופע, וואָס

(הַטָּר פון זייט 21)

יידישע ענינים

היסטאָרישע ענדערונגען אין סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד

איבערגעדרוקט פון "דער וועג" אויגוסט 30, 1988.
צייטשריפט פון ישראל קאָמוניסטישער פּאַרטיי

אויף דער 17טער סעסיע פון פעלענוס פון צ"ק פון מק"י וואָס איז פאַרגעקומען דעם 8טן אויגוסט 1988 האָט דער צ"ק אונטערגעשטראַכן די היסטאָרישע וויכטיקייט פון די רעוואַלוציאָנערע ענדערונגען, וואָס קומען פאַר אין סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד. די פערנסטראַיקאָ נעמט אָן אַן אַלץ ברייטערן שוואַנג. די דעמאָקראַטיזאַציע, די גלאַסנאָסט, די רעפּאַרמעס אריפן עקאָנאָמישן געביט, דאָס צואייילן די לייזונג פון געזעלשאַפטלעכע פּראָבלעמען, די רעפּאַרם אריפן פּאָליטישן געביט און צום סוף די קאָנסעקווענטע און געבענטשטע מיט אינציאָטיוון שלום־פּאָליטיק אין איינקלאַנג מיטן פּרינציפּ פון נייעם אופן טראַכטן — שטאַרקן דעם צווינגס־כח פון סאָציאַליזם, געבן אַ קאָלאַסאַלן ביישטייער דעם קאָמפּ פון די פעלקער פאַר שלום, פאַר פּרייהייט און פאַר סאָציאַלן פּראָגרעס.

די זעלבסט־באַניינג פון סאָציאַליסטישן רעזשים אין סאָוועטן־פאַרבאַנד מיט דער אינציאָטיוו פון קפּס"פּ באַווייזט, אַז די פאַרקריפּלונגען, וואָס זיינען געווען אין דער פאַרגאַנגענהייט אין סתירה צום וועזן פון סאָציאַליזם וואָס ליקווידירט די עקספּלאַטאַציע פון מענטש דורך מענטש, וואָס פאַרטיידיקט די גאַנצע מענטשהייט קעגן אַן אַטאָם־קעטאַסטראַפּע, מאַכנדיק אַ סוף צו דער פּלאַג פון דער אַרבעטסלואַזיקייט, וואָס גיט אַלעמען סאָציאַלע זיכערהייט, הייבנדיק דעם קולטור און מאַראַלישן ניוואַ פון דער געזעלשאַפט און פון פּרט.

