

JEWISH AFFAIRS

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"Moral Clock Ticking for Bush"

By Lewis M. Moroze

Early in September the Bush for President Committee placed a Jewish New Year's advertisement in the Anglo-Jewish press highlighting amongst "our concerns": "Denunciation of Anti-Semitism" and "Acknowledgement that the tragedy of the Holocaust must never occur again."

Within a few days, Jerome Malek, a high level confidant of George Bush, a member of the Republican Campaign Committee who headed the Convention Committee, was forced by public pressure to resign. Malek, who served as a personnel chief on Nixon's staff, was forced to resign when it was revealed that he carried out President Nixon's instructions to flush out "the Jew cabal" in the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics.

During the Jewish New Year Holiday the Bush Campaign Committee had to face a second crisis — the revelation that six members of the Republican Ethnic Outreach Coalition serving the Bush for President campaign were fascists, former nazis and anti-Semites. The Bush Campaign Committee felt compelled to announce the resignation of all those named in the exposure.

In addition to Malek, these included Jerome Brentar, chair of the committee of Republican Party advisers to the country's ethnic communities. A Croatian-American, Brentar is active in groups that deny that the Holocaust every took place.

Others who were also forced to resign had ties with World War II and contemporary fascist groups.

Commenting on the exposure of Malek and his resignation, Mary McCrory, nationally syndicated columnist (in *The Record*, Bergen County, N.J., 1/15/88) finds it peculiar that William Safire, *NY Times* columnist, "himself a Jew," minimizes Malek's crime as merely that of "the sin of having received nutty memos in the Nixon White House." Safire, a former Nixon White House speech writer, and a Jewish American counterpart of the archconservative, William Buckley, finds no problem in absolving Malek and Nixon. Safire's class bias evidently takes precedence over any concern about the status and rights of Jews under anti-Semitic attack.

Mary McCrory found even more "shameful" and "astorishing" the stand of Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, excusing Malek's patent anti-Semitism. Foxman "absolved" Malek of "animus, bigotry or pre-

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justice" on ground that he was merely carrying out Nixon's orders. Abraham Foxman accepted Malek's defense that he was merely "carrying out the instructions of the individual who had some of these feelings."

For tactical reasons Malek and Bush concluded that Foxman's defense of Malek would not assuage Jewish Americans and other American voters so they arranged for Malek to resign from his post on the Republican National Committee. Bush then made it clear that it was a tactical maneuver when he praised Malek as "a most honorable man without a trace of bigotry." Hypocritically, Bush continued: "I condemn any vestiges of anti-Semitism, prejudice and bigotry and, I believe, so does Fred Malek." So the question remains then, "Why was Malek removed from his post?"

For his position on Malek, Foxman was sharply rebuked by Mary McCrory in a *Washington Post* article, Sept. 13, stating that she never thought she would see the day when the director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith would offer the Nuremberg defense in support of someone who committed an anti-Semitic act.

Foxman informed a battery of reporters of the Anglo-Jewish press concerned about his stand that his position was misinterpreted, stating: "I'm glad that Malek is out . . . What I said was that [Malek] was flawed and lacked courage, but I would not punish him for that."

Basically Foxman pursued the line of the leadership and not necessarily the membership of the B'nai B'rith. The ADL position, is that anti-Semitism primarily emanates from the left, that is the "new anti-Semitism," a position reflecting the class bias of the B'nai B'rith leadership.

In defense of Malek, Nixon and Bush, Foxman went into a tirade against the Rev. Jesse Jackson for his "Hymietown" remark of the 1984 for which the Rev. Jackson apologized. Foxman stated that "Malek is flawed but should I punish him for the rest of his life . . . what he did was not so horrendous." Foxman, revealing his political leanings in the election, continued: "I am not going to call Mr. Malek a bigot because someone on the other side wants to use it for political purposes."

However, reflecting the deep concern of the majority of Jewish Americans, responsible leaders like Albert Vorspan, executive vice-president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the largest of the religious denominations in the Jewish American community, sharply attacked Malek and severely criticized Bush for appointing Malek as deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Vorspan's position was echoed by Jewish congressmen. Referring to Malek, Congressman Barney Frank

stated: "The idea that he is not an anti-Semite himself but is only helping somebody else to be an anti-Semite doesn't make me feel better."

Congressman Charles E. Schumer asserted sharply: "The moral clock is ticking for the Bush campaign. Thinking people across the country are waiting to see how quickly he purges his campaign of anti-Semites, hatemongers and those who allowed them to have roles in the race for the White House."

Class interests took precedence over concern for the impact of anti-Semitism when the millionaire industrialist, Max Fisher, honorary chairman of the Bush campaign's National Jewish Campaign Committee, said about Malek: "There's not a bit of bias in him."

Smarting from the widening criticism of his position, Foxman felt compelled to level some criticism at the Bush Campaign Committee on the question of the anti-Semites and fascists who were forced out of the Republican Ethnic Outreach Committee. Foxman criticized the committee position that the five had resigned although the evidence against them was "not sufficient."

However, Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, took a more principled position charging that "These statements are obviously an attempt by Bush to mollify the Jewish community and the extremists in his own ranks."

It should be noted by people across the land and especially by New Yorkers, that the honorary head of the Republican Nationalities Commission, from which the fascists and anti-Semites had to resign, is US Senator Alfonse D'Amato. His only comment about this is that he is "deeply embarrassed."

Bush's lack of concern about anti-Semitism in the Reagan White House reveals itself in his silence about the fact that President Reagan recently appointed as his liaison to the Jewish community, Benjamin Waldman, press secretary to the neo-conservative anti-Semitic Evangelist Pat Robertson when he ran for the presidency.

Jewish Americans are now paying closer attention to the manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Bush campaign. At the recently held convention of the B'nai B'rith, whose leadership tilts towards Bush, the 1200 delegates from around the country gave greater applause to Dukakis and greeted him more warmly after he and Bush addressed them.

Conservative Anglo-Jewish papers are paying close attention to the existence of anti-Semites in the leadership of the Republican Party. It was this press that uncovered much of the truth. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, a worldwide news service, has concluded that

the overwhelming majority of the Jewish voters would support Dukakis. The estimate is worthy of note but reality will require much effort yet in voter registration campaigns and bringing voters to the polls to overcome voter disaffection with the candidates.

The recent exposure of the anti-Semites and nazis in the Republican leadership must be seen as a serious threat to the rights of our multi-national, multi-racial people and not alone to the Jewish Americans unless Bush is decisively defeated in the November elections.

There is yet time to mount an effective campaign by the all-people's coalitions to keep the anti-semites and their defenders out of the White House and the Congress.

GREETINGS TO JEWISH AFFAIRS
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(July through Sept. 21st)

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Jewish-Americans And The 1988 Elections

By Jon Weisberger

Since the beginning of the Presidential nomination campaigns last year, great attention has been paid to the role of Jewish-Americans in the elections of 1988. Most coverage has focused on two areas: the relationship between Jews and Afro-Americans, and the Middle East conflict, both usually raised in the context of the Jesse Jackson campaign. Yet most of what has been written is flawed, since it has been designed to reinforce set conviction and/or stereotypes, rather than to make an objective evaluation of Jewish-American thought patterns and actions. There has been a widespread unwillingness to look beyond the statements of a few self-appointed "spokesmen" (yes, *men!*) in order to understand the true shape of the Jewish community.

But such an evaluation must be made, in order to understand the role that Jewish-Americans can play in the 1988 elections. And it is precisely because of the superficial coverage that we must begin with a brief look at the structure of the Jewish population, current polls and survey data. Only then can we make projections which will be based on reality, rather than founded on an uncritical acceptance of the portrayal offered by the mass media and conservative Jewish community leaders.

Jewish-Americans In The 1980s

Though Jews make up only about 2.5% of the population, their concentration in major urban centers means that the Jewish vote can have a substantial impact in some critical areas. Almost half of all Jewish-Americans live in the corridor that extends from Boston to Washington, with populations ranging from 100,000 in Baltimore, to 300,000 in Philadelphia, to 1.7 million in downstate New York. Other major Jewish centers are around Los Angeles (600,000), Miami (360,000), Chicago (250,000), West Palm Beach (100,000), Cleveland and Detroit (75,000 each). Jewish-Americans account for close to 5% of the total population in Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, and over 10% in New York. (Figures are taken from the *American Jewish Yearbook*, American Jewish Committee, 1987).

Important changes in the socioeconomic status of Jews have taken place over the past 20 years. While data is hard to come by, a few general points can be made.

In the first place, there has been a dramatic decline in the number of Jews owning small businesses, an econo-

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mic category that once accounted for a great number of Jewish-Americans. There has also been a sizeable decline in the percentage of Jewish workers, except among the young. On the other hand, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of salaried professionals. What appears to be happening is that Jewish workers and small business owners at the upper end of the age scale are leaving the work force, while the Jewish-American between the ages of 35 and 65 are, to a large extent, professional and semiprofessional employees, rather than independent professionals. Younger Jews, meanwhile, are finding greater difficulty in obtaining advanced educations and the professional jobs their parents have held.

Secondly, the number of working Jewish women has risen dramatically. There is some evidence to indicate that the decline in the proportion of Jewish workers would be even greater (except, as noted, among the younger Jews), were it not for the growing number of Jewish women clerical workers and other office employees. Thus, the concerns of Jewish-American workers are, as with other groups of workers, increasingly becoming the concerns of women workers.

Finally, the Jewish-American population is an aging one, both because of a low birth rate among Jews and because of a decline in Jewish self-identification among younger Jews. There are growing numbers of older Jews, many of whom are deeply affected by changes in social insurance programs such as Medicare and Social Security. Indeed, a Seattle study in 1983 showed that almost half of single-person elderly Jewish households had an income of under \$7,000. For a significant number of Jewish-Americans, especially older workers and small business owners, retirement means a fall into poverty.

The economic disasters of Reaganomics have, therefore, had a twofold impact on Jewish-Americans, as government cutbacks in social spending have hit both Jewish consumers of services (the elderly, working women with children) and Jewish professional and semiprofessional employees whose jobs are on the line when the government budgets are cut (teachers, social workers, etc.). This, the growing monopoly pressure on small business, and the "deprofessionalization" of a number of job categories, have had a serious effect on Jewish-American hopes for the future. The relatively independent social base of small business owners and self-and government-employed professionals is being increasingly narrowed, and Jewish-Americans are more and more subject to the same trends that affect other

Americans.

Jewish-American Voting Patterns

For most of the 20th century, Jewish-Americans have given their votes to Democratic Presidential candidates by large margins. The highest vote for a Republican was registered in 1956, when 40% of Jewish voters supported Eisenhower's reelection. Democratic votes have ranged from a low of 46% (Carter in 1980) to a high of 90% (Roosevelt in 1944, Johnson in 1964). It is interesting to note that when liberal or progressive third-party candidates have run, they have attracted Jewish voters (15% for Henry Wallace in 1948, the same for John Anderson in 1980); thus, a drop in Democratic votes has not always translated into increased support for Republicans.

This voting behavior has translated into a consistent Jewish "differential," a margin of difference between general electorate Democratic votes and Jewish Democratic votes, that has ranged from 18% to 36%. Below is a chart of Jewish-American Presidential voting from 1948 to 1984.

(19-)	48	52	56	60	64	68	72	76	80	84
Dem.	75%	64%	60%	82%	90%	81%	65%	72%	46%	66%
other	15%	(Wallace)							15%	(Anderson)
Rep.	10%	36%	40%	18%	10%	17%	35%	28%	39%	34%

Neo-conservative writers have spent much energy trying to prove that Jewish voting patterns have shifted to the right. But their case generally rests on use of the 1960 election as a baseline for calculation, and then arguing that the Jewish Republican vote grew significantly during the 1970s. This argument ignores earlier patterns established during the 1950s. One may with more justice argue that the Jewish Republican vote declined from its "normal" level during the 1960s, a period of social polarization and relatively clear alternatives, and essentially resumed its previous level during the 1970s and 80s. More importantly, as liberal Jewish writer Leonard Fein observes, Jewish voting does not take place in a vacuum. Jewish-American voters move in the same direction as the overall electorate, but in a "tilted" fashion, attenuated when the move is toward the Republican, exaggerated when it is toward the Democrat.

Data is scarcer on the state and local level, but the "differential" appears to apply here as well; between 1960 and 1980 it amounted to about 20%. In the 1986 Congressional elections, Democratic candidates received 52% of the general electorate's votes, while the Jewish vote for Democrats was 70%. Some examples can be seen in the following elections: Cranston (CA)—

51% general, 80% Jewish; Graham (FL)—55% general, 76% Jewish; Mark Green (NY)—42% general, 66% Jewish; Bradley (CA gubernatorial)—38% general, 63% Jewish. Finally, in 1987, when only 10% of white Catholics and 25% of white Protestants voted for Harold Washington in his mayoral reelection campaign, 48% of Jewish voters supported the mayor.

Leonard Fein captures the essence of Jewish-American voting behavior in this way:

“[I]f we look more closely, we learn that while Jews think Democrats are good, they think liberal Democrats are even better; in party primaries pitting a liberal Democrat against a centrist or conservative Democrat, it is almost invariably the liberal who wins the lion’s share of the Jewish vote. And when, as sometimes happens, an election pits a liberal Republican against a conservative Democrat, the Democratic share of the Jewish vote drops dramatically.” (*Where Are We?*, 1988, p. 230)

Jewish Americans And The Issues

The basic motivation for this voting behavior is the tendency of Jews to support progressive positions on issues, with the exception of the Middle East (about which more later). Jews consistently place themselves on the “liberal” or progressive wing of the political spectrum. In fact, despite the continued relative affluence of American Jews as a whole, this tendency has actually increased somewhat in recent years. Thus, this year, 41% of Jewish-American surveyed described themselves as “liberal” (up from 35% in 1984), while only 17% described themselves as “conservative” (down from 24% in 1984).

Where Jewish-American opinion has been separated out in issue-oriented polling, the results have generally been clear. In 1984, a poll of Jews showed 87% in favor of equal rights for gays and lesbians, 81% for government aid for abortions, 84% in favor of a nuclear freeze, and 70% in opposition to a moment of silent meditation in public schools. The same survey also reported 70% in favor of affirmative action (though whether the definition included numeric goals and time tables, and applied to education and/or hiring and/or promotion was not stated in the published results). This behavior holds true even as higher income levels, where one would expect more reactionary views to prevail. Thus, a 1984 study of Jewish Community “young leaders” (activists in mainstream organizations, 63% of whom held postgraduate degrees and 35% with family incomes greater than \$75,000 a year) showed them in favor of more government spending for education (83%), government aid for abortions (72%), more spending on welfare programs

(56%), more spending on health care for the poor (54%), and in favor of cuts in military spending (63%).

The reasons for these signs of continued liberal and progressive sentiment, even among sectors of the Jewish bourgeoisie, seem to be two-fold. In the first place, more Jewish-Americans see a pluralistic, diverse society in which equal opportunity and respect for minority rights are institutionalized, as a necessary condition for Jewish survival and well-being. Secondly, almost half of the 80% of Jews who said that being Jewish was “very important” in their own lives in a recent survey cited “a commitment to social equality” as being the trait most important to their Jewish identity; that is, continuing to identify as a Jew is important to them, and being committed to social equality is the defining feature of being Jewish. This is especially interesting because the survey made a conscientious effort to include “unaffiliated” Jews (those with no membership in a synagogue or Jewish community organization), an indication that these beliefs have been internalized, rather than being “playbacks” of regularly-heard messages from religious leaders of Jewish institutions.

Jewish-Americans And The Jackson Campaign

Given this general outline, the most important exception to the progressive pattern has been Jewish response to the candidacy of Jesse Jackson. In New York, Jackson was able to gain only about 9% of the Jewish vote, and no more than double that anywhere in the country. This poor showing can be attributed to the effectiveness of an extensive smear campaign against Jackson directed with great intensity at Jewish voters, and the inability of the campaign to develop a counter-strategy capable of neutralizing the slander and hostility in a clear way.

The assault on Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition rested on three bases—an attempt to stir up general racism among Jews, a focus on the so-called “Farrakhan question” and past insensitivity to Jewish concerns on Jackson’s part, and Jackson’s principled position on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Each of these three areas needs to be examined separately.

Certainly it should come as no surprise that the racism of the ruling class and its influence on white Americans finds a reflection among Jewish-Americans as well. Despite support given by Jews to the civil rights struggle, including the fight for affirmative action, racism continues to infect Jewish-Americans, and especially the leadership of some Jewish organizations, as well as some prominent Jews such as New York’s mayor, the loathsome Ed Koch. The dangerous concept that the struggle against racism has been won on the level of civil

rights has played a role in the Jewish Community, where the economic aspects of racist oppression have not always been clearly seen. Still, this can only be part of the answer, since Jewish-Americans have tended to be *more* supportive of Afro-American candidates in other elections not less so.

Part of the difference surely lies in the association with Jackson of Louis Farrakhan, strongly emphasized and overlaid by the media, but sometimes insufficiently rebutted by the Jackson campaign in 1984. The "Farrakhan factor" has played an important role in providing a cover for racism. His prominence in the coverage of the 1984 campaign, where he attempted to hijack the Jackson constituency for narrow, nationalist ends helped to "legitimize" the under current of racism that affects Jewish-American evaluations of Jesse Jackson. Some progressive Jews, who had openly denounced the racist anti-Arab raving of the Jewish fascist Meir Kahane, could not understand Jackson's refusal to denounce Farrakhan himself while condemning Farrakhan's ideas. Too, the "Hymietown" slur caused concern among Jewish-Americans, naturally sensitive to anti-Jewish stereotypes as a warning sign of potential anti-Semitism.

Once these concerns had been raised, it was easy for reactionary Jewish leaders to pound away at them, undermining the progressive position of Jews by incessantly reminding them of the weaknesses and problems that had been revealed, while ignoring Jackson's apology and concrete efforts to improve his relationship with Jewish-Americans. As Mike Hirsch and Lawrence Bush recently wrote, "[t]owards Jackson, however, many in the Jewish community have been suspiciously unforgiving, flinging scorn far beyond the justified reprobation that his gratuitous 1984 Hymietown remark warranted . . . despite Jackson's growth, many Jews count him as an enemy, even while they extend forgiveness to Christian fundamentalists and other truly dangerous character." ("Progressive Jews and the Jackson Campaign," in *Genesis 2*, Spring 1988, p.44). In the same article, Hirsch and Bush cite Al Vorspan, an important leader among Reform Jews, who points out that the focus on anti-Semitic attitudes among Black Americans serves to "justify disengagement and withdrawal from the social scene" (*ibid.*).

Though many progressive Jews worked in Jackson's campaign, and though Jewish-Americans for Jackson groups were formed in several cities, the Jackson campaign never developed an effective strategy to neutralize the hostility and regain the offensive in making a clear

appeal to Jewish-American voters. Ironically, some campaign strategists (and rank-and-filers as well) seemed to take the word of reactionary Jewish leaders that right wing Zionist ideology and antipathy toward Jackson and Blacks generally is too deeply rooted among Jewish-Americans to be successfully challenged. This was especially true with regard to the third facet of the attack of Jackson and the Rainbow—support for Palestinian self-determination.

A fundamental reason for the attack on Jackson was the need seen by imperialist and Zionist forces to block adoption by the Democrats of an approach to the Middle East conflict that would take into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in their national struggle. The focus here was an attempt to reinforce in Jewish-American eyes the link between anti-Semitic attitudes and expressions, and support for a just settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, one based on the rights of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to self-determination. Because Jewish-Americans have often been seen (both by conservative Jewish leaders, the mass media, and some forces on the left) as a single-minded, single-issue constituency, it is important to analyze the deep concern shown by Jewish-Americans for Israel, and new attitudes that are growing among Jews towards the Middle East conflict

Jewish-Americans And The Middle East

The first point to be made is to differentiate between Jewish-Americans and the pro-Israel lobby and political action committees (PACs). The PACs and the lobby mobilize a large amount of money, single-mindedly devoted to supporting the most hawkish candidates on Middle East issues. Many major donors, as well as supporters of the lobby (AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, is a lobby, and not a fund-raising PAC), are not Jewish, but see support for Israel as an investment in the role that Israel plays in supporting U.S. interests in the region. Most of the PAC money comes from a narrow donor base, with contributors giving hundreds of thousands, or even millions of dollars (and this is increasingly true of direct contribution to Israel as well). Further, the PACs have demonstrated little ability to mobilize Jewish voters in support of favored candidates when they are generally conservative or reactionary. This explains the tremendous effort made over the years to identify being "pro-Israel" with being liberal. PAC support of generally bad candidates appears to simply have the effect of reducing the Jewish

vote "differential" mentioned above, rather than actual-ly reversing Jewish voting patterns.

Secondly, the Palestinian uprising, the brutal Israeli response, and the tactical differences emerging within U.S. ruling circles and between the two main political blocs in Israel has led to some shifts in Jewish-American opinion on the Middle East. So too has the growing rejection in substance, if not in name, of Zionism on the part of many Jews. A study conducted at the end of March gives important evidence that a sizeable and growing portion of the Jewish population is rethinking Israeli policy, the U.S.-Israeli relationship, and their own connection to Israel.

The survey, conducted by the *Los Angeles Times*, noted that Jews are "evenly split" on whether criticism of Israel by Jews should be made public, with unaffiliated (58%) and younger (60%) Jews most clearly supporting the legitimacy of public criticism. Only 20% were in favor of increasing aid to Israel; 38% felt that "the recent treatment of Palestinians by the Israeli government" played a "very large" or "fairly large" part in determining their feelings about Israel. A surprising (and encouraging) 41% felt that there is an element of racism involved in the Israeli attitude towards Arabs.

On some critical issues, the results are also surprising and hopeful. 28% of Jews surveyed believe that Israel's "poor image" is attributable to unacceptable Israeli actions, while an additional 14% think it is the result of both unacceptable actions and bad public relations. 60% favor an international peace conference along the lines proposed by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. 65% said Israeli attitudes must change in order to bring peace in the Middle East. 27% said that the policies of Israel have, over the last several years, become less acceptable to them. 29% said that the U.S. should talk to the PLO. The same percentage supported a "homeland" for the Palestinians, with 45% favoring increased Palestinian autonomy.

Thus, a substantial constituency exists among Jewish-Americans for progressive Jewish organizations such as New Jewish Agenda and, more broadly, for forces such as the Rainbow Coalition which support the creation of an independent Palestinian state alongside Israel. There is increasing disenchantment with the brutal Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and with the increasingly obvious reactionary character of Israeli leadership. In a recent article, Henry Siegman, Executive Director of the American Jewish Congress, warned that Israeli political culture is increasingly "shaped by

principles of messianism, extreme nationalism and religious fundamentalism, "all traits rejected by most Jewish-Americans. Pointing to "potential alienation" from Israel of American and other Jews. Siegman said that "[t]he implications of that emerging political culture is one that the leaders of American Jewish Federations, of the United Jewish Appeal and, not least, of our cultural institutions would do well to ponder." ("The Future of Israel-Diaspora Relations," *Jewish Currents*, July-August 1988, p.15).

Needless to say, this process of reconsideration and growing independence from Zionist ideology will not complete itself overnight. One important sign of the limits of the changes that have taken place so far is the distinction which many Jews draw between the legitimacy of Jewish-American criticism of Israel (which they increasingly support), and the "suspect" nature of non-Jewish criticism, even when it is framed in identical terms. This attitude, which asserts a privileged role for Jewish-American in shaping U.S. policy toward Israel, goes far in explaining the unwillingness of Jewish-Americans to support Jackson, together with the reasons cited earlier. As a manifestation of chauvinism, it must be creatively and tenaciously fought, especially by left and progressive Jews.

Jewish-Americans And The Anti-Reaganite Coalition

To summarize, then, we can say that, while Jewish-Americans continue on the whole to support a close relationship between U.S. and Israel, and to show a high degree of support for and identification with Israel, there is a growing sector which is increasingly vocal in its opposition to the occupation, in support of a negotiated settlement with the PLO, and rethinking the ideological subservience to Israel which has characterized much of Jewish-American thinking in the past. Beyond the issue of the Middle East, Jewish-Americans continue, as they have been in the past, to be among the most consistent supporters of progressive, pro-people approaches to the problems that will confront the U.S. as it moves into the 1990s.

As the critical November, 1988 elections approach, then, it would be a foolish mistake to write off Jewish-Americans, and even the organized Jewish community as participants in the growing anti-Reaganite coalition. This is especially true because of the need not only to replace Reaganism in the White House, but to elect the strongest possible majority for jobs, peace and justice in the Congress. In the New York, California, New Jersey,

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Pennsylvania and Illinois arenas, among others, Jewish-Americans have an important role to play in opposing those who would carry on Reagan's policies in the absence of their chief.

Where Communists and other left or anti-monopoly candidates run, a clear and principled approach to U.S. policy in the Middle East must be taken. We can stress our support for a "two-state" (Israel and Palestine) solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, based upon the rights of both peoples to self-determination. Communist support for the existence of the state of Israel, not simply as a fact which must be acknowledged, but on the basis of self-determination of the Israeli Jewish people, ought to be made clear, as should our opposition to reactionary Arab regimes such as Jordan's and Saudi Arabia's. It is, of course, vital that our main focus must be on supporting an end to the Occupation and the fulfillment of Palestinian rights under the leadership of the PLO; indeed, we need to underline our support for all the forces of peace and progress in the region.

By showing an intelligent, realistic and fundamentally just approach to the Middle East issue, one which addresses the real needs of the region's peoples, we can maximize the demonstrated potential of Jewish-American voters to support independent and progressive candidates, by neutralizing the biggest area of concern blocking support from Jewish-Americans, and pointing the way to a better future for our country and for the world.

Jon Weisberger is a member of the CPUSA's Jewish Commission, and an activist in the Jewish community. He wishes to thank Bria Chakofsky, Mike Hirsch, Yossi Khen and Lew Moroze for their insights into the Jackson campaign and the Jewish community.

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devoted supporter of

Jewish Affairs

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Editor

Lewis M. Moroze
Managing Editor

The Israeli Elections

by J. Lipski

The last session of the 11th Knesset has come to a close and, in fact, the election campaign toward the 12th Knesset has already started. The 11th Knesset has not succeeded in persuading the Israeli government to conduct a policy that would bring peace nearer. Notwithstanding the many predictions and political crises, the Knesset has ended its cadence and the government of "national unity" also terminates its existence unharmed. One of the negative decisions adopted by the Knesset was a law that makes it possible to bring to court Israeli citizens who meet with Palestinian PLO activists. On the basis of this law, the authorities have put on trial four peace activists who were convicted for having held a public peace meeting with Palestinian leaders in Rumania.

Let us point out on this occasion, that the 11th Knesset, like its predecessors, has not succeeded in the ratification of the extremist clerical, reactionary law defining "Who is a Jew?", by which the entire monopoly of managing the daily life of the Israeli Jew—marriage, divorce, conversion—would have been ruled by the Israeli Rabbinate. This law would have deepened the rift with the majority of American Jewry who belong to the Reform religious denomination.

During the last session of the Knesset, resolutions were adopted to separate municipal elections from the elections to the Knesset. The Knesset has also adopted a very important decision from the moral point of view, that Knesset deputies must not have other occupations besides their parliamentary activities. This step will help to clean the atmosphere in the country, because there were Knesset members who used their position in the Knesset for their personal occupations. At the same time the Knesset rejected proposals to change the present democratic proportional representation election law.

As I indicated, the election campaign has already started. The parties have already elected the candidates who are to run on their respective lists. In previous years, the candidates were elected by the leadership of the parties. This time the election of the candidates took place at meetings of the central committees that are large forums with thousands of members. The elections in the big parties have become real festivals. Unfortunately, no political issues were raised during the campaign for electing the various party candidates who presented their candidacies for the Knesset. No debates took place on the burning questions of war and peace, on the uprising

of the Palestinians, on the grave economic situation. In both of the principal parties—the Labor Alignment and the Likud—the discussions had a personal or group character.

At this opportunity a series of quite characteristic phenomena have appeared. On the list of candidates of the Alignment, several personalities are included who are known as political “doves,” such as Liova Eliav, Nissim Zvili, Nayim Ramon—but at the same time one has to note the failure of a “dovish” personality like Abba Eban who calls for a political solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict. It is quite characteristic that the leading figure in the election campaign of the Alignment is Ezer Weizmann, whose attitude is prominently “dovish,” and who had directed the previous election campaign of the Likud . . .

However, some people in the Alignment were frightened by the “doveish” image that might be harmful to the party because of the growing “hawkish” atmosphere in the country. There are some big “hawks” in the Alignment list, like cabinet minister Nehamkin, who opposes any compromise, and even suggested placing as the top candidate of the Alignment Yitzhak Rabin who has gained sympathy among the right-wing circles because of his policy of oppression against the Palestinians. We have to admit that some opinion polls do not predict a success for the Alignment or foretell a balance with the Likud. Instead of presenting to the voters a clear peace program, the Alignment and Likud leaders conduct a discussion on who is more consistent in opposing negotiations with the Palestinian PLO and the withdrawal from the occupied territories and who rejects more consistently the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside the State of Israel . . .

The Alignment leaders have recently criticized Y. Shamir, because he suggested, during his visit in Rumania, granting autonomy to the Palestinian inhabitants. Y. Shamir denied these allegations sharply, criticizing the Alignment leaders for their readiness to withdraw from the occupied territories. The Likud leaders, on their part, are afraid of their competitors from the Right. “Hate-hiyah,” headed by Geulah Cohen, has published an appeal: “Break the Palestinian uprising now!” They criticize at the same time Yitzhak Rabin—for to them he is soft. They suggest a series of much stronger means of oppression, such as more deportations, more arrests, blowing up more houses, more shooting. . . . Will they succeed by these measures to end the uprising? And what is most important: Will they succeed thereby to end the hatred and bring friendship? . . .

Unfortunately, still more extremist groups have emerged like “Tsomet,” “Moledet”—headed by former army officers who simply call for expelling from the country all Arabs by means of a “Transfer.” These groups compete with the racist Kahane. . . . At the same time, the religious parties have also become more extremist in addition to their religious fanaticism. They may also have an important impact on the elections to the 12th Knesset, that might become more extremist, more anti-Arab and result in a stronger trend for keeping the “Whole Land of Israel.”

However, at the same time it is also important to point to the growth of the forces of reason. Moshe Amirav, who called for talks with Palestinians and for establishing a Palestinian state, has been expelled from the extremist right-wing “Herut” central committee. The well-known head of the Gush Etzyon Yeshivah, Rabbi Yehuda Amital, founded a new religious party as a protest against the move of the religious parties toward the Right. This new party calls for a political solution, emphasizing that “the first command for Jews is the holiness of the people, not the holiness of the land,” which means not the “Whole Land of Israel.” Two religious groups—“Oz Leshalom” and “Netivot Shalom”—organized on Tisha Be'av a symposium of “soul-searching,” pointing out that it is vital to concentrate on political, not on a military conception. . . . The racist followers of Rabbi Kahane staged a counter-demonstration, shouting: “Oz Veshalom”—“Traitors with skullcaps.”

The “Peace Now” movement organized an impressive meeting with Palestinian activists of the occupied territories who pointed to the real and concrete possibilities of establishing peace. The parties of “Ratz,” “Mapam,” the Jewish-Arab “Haddash” list (with the Communists at its center) have strengthened their activities on the eve of the elections. Will they increase their strength in the 12th Knesset? And will they create a force, together with the doves of the Alignment and of other groups, to make a change in policy?

Some phenomena reflect such a trend. The Arab Knesset deputy of the Labour Party, Dahaushah, has left the Labour Party, because he disagreed with its present policy. He has formed a party of his own, demanding the establishment of a Palestinian state. Another Arab Knesset member, Mohammed Watad of Mapam, decided to join the Jewish-Arab Haddash list. He called for a vote for this list which points to a way toward peace and for Israeli consent for participation in an international conference under UN auspices. Many new voices are raised

in various circles that understand the dangers that threaten Israel if it keeps the occupied territories, if it wants to rule one and a half million Palestinians whose uprising has demonstrated their determined resistance against the occupation regime. In the course of the eight months since the outbreak of the Palestinian revolt, the illusionary widespread opinion, that the territories have strengthened Israel's security and that there is nobody with whom one can negotiate, have proved to be unfounded.

The Jewish-Arab peace forces are mobilizing their activists in the election campaign to show the historical possibilities leading toward a peace that is vital for Israel and for the Arab peoples. The atmosphere world-wide is against using military options and for solving problems by way of negotiations. The organized Israeli Arab population is an important bridge between Israel and the surrounding Arab peoples and the Palestinians for reaching an understanding and peace. From this point of view, the Jewish-Arab Haddash list (with the Communist Party at its center), supported by the majority of the Arab populaion and Jewish democratic forces who are against the occupation, is an important factor in the election campaign to the 12th Knesset.

Let us hope that in the elections to the 12th Knesset the forces of peace and democracy will become stronger and that they will succeed in persuading the new government, to be established after the elections, to use the new developments in the world, in the region and in the Arab countries, to take the only possible way of negotiations for establishing peace, securing Israel's existence, opening wide horizons for the upbuilding and development of the State of Israel in a region of peace and peaceful cooperation. □

J. Lipski is Israeli correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

**In Memory of
MANNY BROWNSTEIN**

*Fighter for Labor,
Peace and Socialism
Dedicated builder of*

Jewish Affairs

Paula Brownstein

The Nuclear Shadow: Israel's Atomic Arsenal

Reprinted from a brochure by
the U.S. Peace Council

One of the most dangerous aspects of Israeli policy since the 1960s has been the development of a nuclear weapons arsenal that makes it the world's sixth largest nuclear power—and the only one whose arsenal and production capacity operate outside of all nuclear arms control, non-proliferation and inspection agreements.

The roots of the program lie in a secret agreement signed with France in 1957, following two earlier agreements on nuclear energy cooperation with France and the United States. It is believed that the secret agreement involved the supply of a large reactor, built at Dimona in the northern Negev desert in the early 1960s, blueprints for a fuel reprocessing facility which allows the extraction of plutonium (the key ingredient in nuclear weapons), development support for the Jericho I guided missile (range 260 miles) and access to French nuclear weapons testing data.

Though an Israeli Committee for the Denuclearization of the Israeli-Arab Conflict was founded by scholars and scientists in 1961, the debate it provoked over the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East petered out in the period before the 1967 war in the face of continued denials by the government that it was producing nuclear weapons. Meanwhile, the nuclear weapons program continued, though at an apparently reduced level. Efforts were made, and almost certainly successfully, to acquire illicit weapons grade materials, most notably through the diversion of material from the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corporation in the early 1960s—a scenario characterized as the "most likely case" by the CIA in 1968.

Following the 1967 war, as pro-nuclear politicians moved into positions of power, the nuclear weapons program expanded. As non-proliferation expert Leonard Spector put it, "[t]hroughout the 1970s, Israel's development of a nuclear weapons capability, and U.S. acquiescence in it, became increasingly apparent." Still, the scale of the program was largely unknown, and widely underestimated. As recently as 1985, Spector wrote that Israel's nuclear arsenal consisted of "twenty, to twenty-five aircraft-deliverable weapons," and there seemed little reason to dispute that estimate.

On October 5, 1986, however, a front page story in the *Sunday Times* of London started the world with accurate, detailed revelations of an arsenal 10 times

bigger than had been estimated, and containing thermo-nuclear as well as "conventional" nuclear weapons. The story was based on extensive interviews with Mordechai Vanunu, a nuclear technician who had spent almost 10 years working at Dimona before leaving the country to wrestle with the ethical implications of his work.

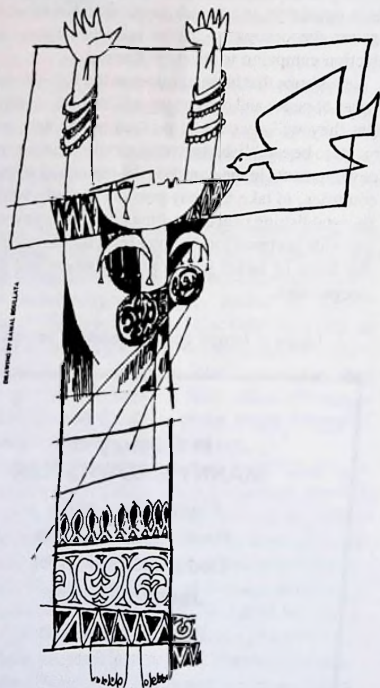
By the time the article appeared, however, Vanunu had been kidnapped by the Israeli secret service and taken back to Israel, where, almost a year later, he was tried in secret for espionage and treason. Though kept in solitary confinement, under constant surveillance, Vanunu managed to transmit an open letter in which he defended his action. "The power of civil disobedience is a mighty weapon . . .," he wrote, "because every government depends on the cooperation of individuals. An action like mine teaches citizens that their own reasoning . . . is no less important than that of the leaders. Don't follow them blindly in important and crucial issues such as nuclear weapons. . . . The day this volcano erupts there will be no way back for mankind." In March 1988, Vanunu was found guilty on all charges and sentenced to a lengthy term.

The Vanunu revelations proved highly embarrassing, not only to Israel but also to the United States, where the Reagan administration has formally opposed proliferation and the Congress has threatened sanctions against Pakistan, whose nuclear weapons program is dwarfed by that of Israel. Indeed, the stated policy of the administration and the Congress has been strong enough in threatening aid cutoffs to deter proliferation that the Israeli government has found it necessary to continue its policy of denial in the face of conclusive evidence of its possession of a large and deadly nuclear arsenal. In addition, it remained silent about recent reports that a Jericho II missile has been developed, capable of carrying a nuclear warhead of up to 750 kilograms, with a range of 400

In addition to the lethal Israeli arsenal, there have been reported attempts by a number of other countries in the region, including Libya and Iraq, to gain access to nuclear weapons. In light of the potential for a disastrous arms race in the region, and the existence of a nuclear arsenal outside of international controls or substantial domestic debate, the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East must be seen as a high priority for the international peace move-

American Jewish Attitudes Changing

American Jews are more willing than ever before to criticize the Israeli government, a nationwide survey by the American Jewish committee has found. 63% of the respondents rejected (only 22% agreed) the argument that criticism of Israel should be confined within the American Jewish "family" because public reproaches serve to help Israel's adversaries. In a 1983 survey, 57% felt that Jews should be free to criticize Israel, while 31% said they should not. Queens Sociology Professor Steven M. Cohen, who conducted both 1986 and 1983 surveys, attributed the increase to a growing skepticism of authority. The 40% of respondents who were "troubled by the policies of Israel" were also those who evinced a deep attachment to Israel. Jews less than 40 years old were somewhat less attached to Israel than older Jews, Orthodox Jews showed far stronger levels of attachment than Conservative or Reform Jews. □



ANTI SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

Selected Marxist Writings
Edited by Daniel Rubin

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

Religion in Socialist Poland

By Sol Flapan

Warsaw—"Socialism in Poland does not persecute religion," the headline in *Rzeczpospolita* the government daily newspaper.

"Believers want to actively participate in the building of a new Poland," declares the Roman Catholic daily *Słowo Powszechne*.

Both quotations introduce their respective readerships to an interview given the Soviet journal *Arguments and Facts* by Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Primate of the Roman Catholic church here. This *A and F* interview was the forerunner of similar features in such soviet publications as *Moscow News*, *New Times* and *Literaturnaya Gazeta* all widely read in the USSR and abroad. In the *A and F* interview the Cardinal summed up his impressions of current developments in the USSR; also church-state relations in Poland, and supplied the journal with some personal biographical notes.

Arguments and Facts first zeroed in on what's taking place here in Poland, on the "none too small number of religious Poles holding [Polish United Workers] party cards."

"Believers," replied Cardinal Glemp, "want to actively participate in the building of a new Poland. . . . At the same time some of them consider that they would be unable to fully contribute their strength and capabilities outside the Party. And the Party," according to the Cardinal, "needs active people. That's why it looks through its fingers at their religiosity."

As regards current church-state relations, the head of Roman Catholics here observed that "we are now entering an era of dialogue and cooperation," following what he described as "periods of difficulties."

And then the headline inspiring sentence: "Socialism which exists today in Poland does not persecute religion." And while there were times when the church in Poland was prohibited from building new churches Glemp recalled, "Today, however, the state meets the faithful halfway and does not interfere in such construction."

At this point *A and F* cited church data to the effect that in the past seven, eight years about 1,000 churches were built in Poland from donations by Poles most of whom the journal pointed out "are none too well off."

Church construction, explained the Cardinal, is not overly expensive as building monies are earmarked only for the purchase of materials. Actual building work is

done by the believers themselves "voluntarily and without remuneration."

The Cardinal's meetings with General Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the country and first secretary of the Polish United Workers [Communist] Party also interested *A and F*. Are these regular or something sporadic, asked the Soviet journal.

"We meet regularly," was the reply. And further: "I've had over twenty such meetings. Hence, we can define this as something permanent. Both Wojciech Jaruzelski and I assess these meetings as very effective and useful."

Cardinal Jozef Glemp then shared his impressions and views of current developments in the USSR, specifically his attitude towards the processes of *glasnost* [openness] and of *perestroika* [restructuring of sociopolitical and economic life].

"I believe this development is of international significance, and first of all in the area of ideology. I've read [Mikhail] Gorbachov's book *Perestroika and New Thinking*. I think *perestroika* opens up new vistas before humankind. In my understanding it signifies a final rejection of falsehoods, wrongdoing, treachery and myths."

The Christianity-in-Russia millennium related visit was the Polish Cardinal's second trip to the USSR. He was first there as a tourist back in 1976. That visit was recalled at length by Poland's Roman Catholic primate in a February 1987 interview for the Soviet weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in these words: "During my stay I was witness to a very high level of culture. . . . Not once did I ever experience an unfriendly attitude towards Poles." [*Jewish Affairs*, May/June 1987].

And in his *A and F* interview he also returned briefly to that "tourist trip . . . and the cordiality and hospitality of Soviet citizens."

Along this general line which abounds in lights and shadows too, sadly, Cardinal Glemp replied to a *Moscow News* question on opportunities and ways for promoting further rapprochement between the Soviet and Polish peoples in part. . . . "I can't speak competently about the political side of the process, since this is a matter for the state bodies of both countries. But we're striving for a genuine rapprochement because, although official relations between our countries remained on a very good level, the genuine feelings of the people, manifested in mutual relations, were not always as good. And what is officially recognized must be coordinated and synchronized with what people are actually feeling. First of all, we must treat each other like partners regard-

less of whether we're a big or small country so that everything is based on real equality. Then people will feel that it is all sincere. . . . Daring changes are occurring in the Soviet Union which are creating guarantees for the establishment of good relations between our two countries."

Summarizing his June 1988 visit to the USSR, Cardinal Glomp told *Arguments and Facts* that it gave him "unforgettable, wonderful impressions." □

Sol Flapan is the Polish correspondent of Jewish Affairs.

Talmudic Scholar Researches Judaica In the Soviet Union

This article originally appeared in the August issue of the *Canadian Jewish Outlook*.

JERUSALEM—Talmudic scholar Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz head of the Israel Institute for Talmudic Publications, announced that the USSR Academy of Sciences has agreed to collaborate with a team of Western scholars under his direction in examining "the vast treasures of Judaica" in the Soviet Union that have been closed to outsiders for 70 years. Some members of the team will stay in Russia "to form the basis of an institution to train a new generation of Soviet Jewish scholars and religious leaders. We can't over-estimate the importance of this development for the renewal of Jewish cultural and religious life there."

Rabbinical academies have not operated openly in Russia since the 1920s, he said, adding that "the Soviets may find it easier to connect this institution to the University of Moscow, instead of establishing it as an independent body." Rabbi Steinsaltz said that "it is estimated that there are several hundred thousand Jewish books, manuscripts and ethnological data—such as stories, folk tales, local histories and music in libraries in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities. These collections contain material that exists nowhere else, and some are of enormous value."

The team of scholars is to organize and record these materials using advanced computer technology so that they will be available for researchers all over the world. Institutions taking part in this project are the Bibliothèque de l'Alliance Israélite Française, Bodleian Library at Oxford, the British Library, Geneva University Library, the Israel National Library, the Royal Library at Copenhagen, the New York Public Library, the U.S. Library of Congress and the YIVO Institute. □

New Newsletter on Southern Africa

The first issue of the progressive quarterly newsletter, *Liberation!*, shows that it will fill a void in the news from southern Africa — not only South Africa and Namibia but the neighboring Front Line States (Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and the Bantustans inside South Africa (Lesotho and Swaziland). Sponsored by Friends of the ANC (African National Congress), SWAPO (Southwest Africa People's Organization) and the Front Line States, the editorial board includes Arnold Braithwaite, James Campell, Vicki Erenstein, Lennox Hinds, Deborah Jackson, Geoffrey Jacques, Rob Jones, Charlene Mitchell, Leora Mosston, Susan Ortega, Roberta Washington and Fadhilika Atiba-Weza.

The sponsors see *Liberation!* as "a response to the distortion and blackout of news concerning southern Africa." They plan to have *Liberation!* not only report events, but provide "analyses and opinions of the liberation movements and the Front Line States." As regards political objectives, they specify:

Liberation! will challenge the U.S. government to impose comprehensive sanctions against South Africa, to extend diplomatic recognition to Angola, to recognize the ANC and SWAPO as the authentic representatives of South Africa and Namibia, to help implement UN Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence and to give economic support to the Front Line States.

Viewing *Liberation!* as "a tool to help strengthen the growing movement in solidarity" with ANC, SWAPO and the Front Line States, the sponsors intend it to provide "information on local solidarity activities within the United States" and to itself "participate in local, national and international solidarity campaigns."

Judging from this first issue, *Liberation!* will live up to these ambitious aims. Its articles on South Africa, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, its interview with SWAPO's representative to the UN and biography of Nelson Mandela are highly informative. The brief items in its "From the Front" department complement the longer analytical articles. Presenting the actual wording of the 1978 UN resolution 435 requiring the withdrawal of South Africa from Namibia is very helpful for understanding and explaining that situation.

While every article to some extent incorporates *Liberation!*'s social and political action objectives, these are directly addressed in a major story on "Southern

Africa and the Elections" and a brief one on the Northeast Activists Conference Against Apartheid to take place in New Haven September 23-25, 1988. And an "Action Calendar" lists ten important dates in southern African history from August through December that readers are urged to commemorate.

The newsletter concludes with an appeal for support and subscriptions (at \$10 a year) to be mailed to *Liberation!* P.O. Box 3148, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11202. *Jewish Affairs* seconds the motion and welcomes *Liberation!* as a valuable addition to the small number of publications that progressives can not do without. We are pleased to see that our opinion is shared by Local 1199, Health Care and Hospital Workers, whose support helped put out this edition of *Liberation!*

Apartheid

By Henri Percikow

We stand breathless
As we admire flowers
Of every color
That grow in field and garden
What a harvest of delight!
Yet our beautiful human race
colored too with different shades
Nature's miracle of wonders
Are all condemned as inferior
To white
The selected color
Of human superiority
Chosen by racists through the ages
Their old weapon
To divide, conquer and plunder
What fratricide
What blood and tears
When Hitler selected the Aryans
As acceptable pure white
With the right to rule the world
A madness
That led to the holocaust.
And now in Pretoria's hell
The daily death toll of the slain
In the rising Black ghettos
Imbued with the spirit of Mandela
Tolls in our hearts
And cries for the right
With all people
To live and walk as equals
Upon the earth.

GDR Keeps Alive Memory of Jewish Victims of Nazism

These articles originally appeared in the July 15, 1988 issue of *Foreign Affairs Bulletin*.

An international press conference held in Berlin on 5 July 1988 was devoted to the 50th anniversary of the Nazi program against Jewish people and especially to the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue of Berlin."

State Secretary Kurt Löffler, who chaired the press conference, began by saying that important projects are being planned in all fields of public life to mark the 50th anniversary of the anti-Semitic massacre in November 1938. A great number of events are being prepared in keeping with the duty, which the GDR scrupulously fulfils, to honour the memory of the Jewish victims of Nazism and to keep it alive. He then gave the floor to the President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, Siegmund Rotstein.

The questions raised by representatives of the media following his address were also answered by Herbert Grünstein, who is a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters of the GDR; Dr. Klaus Gysi, State Secretary for Religious Affairs; Werner Kirchhoff, Vice-President of the National Council of the National Front; Dr. Peter Kirchner, Vice-President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR and Chairman of the Jewish Community of Berlin; Norbert Kulik, Secretary of the Free German Youth Central Council, and Dr. Hermann Simon, Deputy Chairman of the Jewish Community of Berlin.

Dr. Peter Kirchner explained the tasks and aims of the foundation "New Synagogue of Berlin-Centrum Judaicum." On the one hand, the centre is intended to keep alive the memory of the Jewish victims, he said. On the other hand, it is designed as a place of remembrance to study, document and pay tribute to the work of Jewish citizens in German history. The "Centrum Judaicum" will make it possible to show collections and exhibitions on the history of the Jews in general and on their life in this country, and it will be a place of prayer and worship for people of Jewish belief. It is intended to host national and international conferences. We hope for and expect, Dr. Peter Kirchner said, good and fruitful cooperation with other national and international Jewish bodies as well as with national and international institutions and individuals.

The foundation stone for the buildings in Oranienbur-
Jewish Affairs

ger Strasse 28-30 will be symbolically laid during the ceremony in next November. The activity of the foundation also includes care and maintenance of the graves in Europe's largest Jewish cemetery at Berlin-Weissensee.

Answering a question asked by "Neues Deutschland", Siegmund Rotstein appreciated the fact that the GDR as a socialist country has preserved the anti-fascist traditions in a humanistic spirit. From the beginning of its existence it has declared war on fascism, racism and anti-Semitism. The Jewish communities have always enjoyed the care and the support which their state has given them in every regard. All this is evidence that the whole of society is taking a responsible part in the preparations for and the organization of the anniversary, he said.

This shows how the state upholds the humanistic legacy, how it honours the memory of the victims. "The fact that the initiative and the proposal for this have come from the Chairman of the Council of State, Erich Hon-ecker, is fresh proof that he feels it is his own duty and the duty of the state to see to it that we keep up the memory and, at the same time, raise a warning voice," Siegmund Rotstein stressed.

Norbert Kulik pointed out that the participation of the members of the socialist youth organization in the preparations for this anniversary was part of their initiative for the 40th anniversary of the GDR, one of the most important goals of that initiative being to increase young people's knowledge of the past, to deepen their understanding of the present time and thereby enable them to look to the future. Apart from the rally at Ravensbrück, events are to take place in Berlin and in other counties. Members of the Free German Youth are now taking charge of Jewish cemeteries and memorial sites in many GDR towns. Talks are being held on the participation of groups of young people under the Free German Youth Initiative in the reconstruction of the synagogue in Berlin.

Werner Kirchhoff told those present that the vice-president of the National Council, Manfred Grund, had been proposed as a member of the international committee. Many committees of the National Front have already transferred money to the accounts. In towns such as Dresden, Halle, Quedlinburg, Bützow and Weissenfels citizens have for years looked after Jewish memorials and cemeteries. Secretary Klaus Lenk reported on similar activities of members of the League of Culture. The general curator of the Institute of Monument Conservation, Dr. Peter Gorzlyk, and Prof. Kurt Pätzold of Humboldt University spoke about historical aspects and

aspects of monument conservation to be heeded in the reconstruction of the synagogue.

Asked about reparation payments by the GDR to Jewish citizens, Dr. Klaus Gysi drew the attention of the media to a statement of the GDR Foreign Ministry spokesman recently published which says that the GDR is ready to extend humanitarian aid to needy Jewish victims in other countries. Our attitude to reparation is a principled one, he went on to say, namely to ensure that such crimes as were committed by the Nazis must never repeat themselves.

It is self-evident and a fact recognized by the world that young people in the GDR are raised in a spirit of anti-fascism, humanism, peace and international understanding, Kurt Löffler declared. It is likewise recognized throughout the world that this state is also a fruit of the great and arduous effort made by young people at the side of the older generations. He pointed out that the GDR consistently turns against any acts of anti-Semitism.

Our society, which has eradicated such thinking and actions, regards such acts as abominable and is outraged by any, he said.

Remembrance in a spirit of common anti-fascist traditions

Speech by Siegmund Rotstein, President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR, at an international press conference in Berlin.

We are commemorating in the German Democratic Republic the 50th anniversary of the night of the Nazi pogrom in the spirit of our common anti-fascist traditions. This commemoration is also part of our society's many activities to give assistance to the life in our communities and to help preserve and cultivate the Jewish heritage.

This is so because the life, the work and the achievements of German Jews are inseparably connected with the history and the culture of our people, as this is everyday reality in the life of the GDR. But the memory of the atrocities that were committed during the Nazi pogrom 50 years ago calls to mind in its own particular way the call of our Jewish teaching: "Remember — Never forget!"

For the sake of life on this earth

We, who survived Nazi barbarity, gave the promise that we would do everything, acting jointly with all people of goodwill, so that fascism and genocide would never happen again.

Today the life of the whole of mankind is at stake. Therefore, it is from inner conviction that we regard this promise as a duty to ensure that war will forever be banished from the life of the peoples.

As President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR I am fully aware of the common ground and the identity of views we share with the state and society in these questions, which again became clear at the recent extremely fruitful meeting with the Chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker. We jointly fought against fascism, we jointly built our new society where anti-Semitism and hatred among nations have no places and where the struggle for peace is the highest maxim.

This is why we actively took part in the Meeting for Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones in Berlin. We, members of the Jewish communities, highly appreciate the sympathy shown and the homage paid by the whole of our society on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Nazi pogrom, which we are going to mark together with guests from all over the world.

Permit me, ladies and gentlemen, to say a few words about some important projects of ours.

The Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR will hold a central commemoration in the Deutsches Theater, which is bound up with the work of Max Reinhardt, in Berlin on 9 November. A great number of personalities from home and abroad have been invited to participate. Some foreign personalities who have promised to come are, for example: the Director of the American Jewish Committee, Eugene DuBow; the President of the Council of Jewish Religious Communities in Czechoslovakia, Bohumil Heller; the President of the Association of Jewish Communities in Greece, Joseph Lovinger; the President of the Association of Jewish Communities in Romania, Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen, and the Norwegian writer Eva Scheer.

Others will try to come, which pleases us very much.

From the talk I had with the GDR Head of State I know that they will, of course, also be guests of the Government of the German Democratic Republic. That day will end with a performance of "Nathan the Wise" by Lessing at the Deutsches Theater.

On 10 November, in the morning, wreaths will be laid at some memorials and centres of commemoration in the capital, where the Kaddish will be said.

A rally by the young generation

I have noted with interest that during the talk between Erich Honecker and Heinz Galinski the suggestion was made that wreaths be laid at memorials in the GDR capital, Berlin, and by fellow-Jews in Berlin (West).

As early as on 27 October 1988, young people will hold a rally at the national memorial site of Ravensbrück to reaffirm their determination to keep alive the anti-fascist legacy, to continue fulfilling this duty and to carry it into the future. One month prior to that date, on 28 September 1988, the National Council of the National Front, together with the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR and representatives of its eight communities, will remember the suffering, the courageous struggle and the victims of the barbarous crimes of Nazism.

An exhibition entitled "Teach them to remember," to be held in the Ephraim Palace in Berlin and subsequently in other towns too, will deal with the persecutions of the Jews by the Nazis and the doctrines underlying them. The exhibition's objective, shared by the whole society, is to encourage a thorough analysis of our history and to ensure that it will not fall into oblivion.

This was also the aim of scientific conferences that have been held or are being held, in whose activities the Academy of Sciences, the Society of Historians of the GDR, the League of Culture, the Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters and many others participate with great commitment. In many places new commemorative plaques and memorials will be set up, as, for example, in my native town, Karl-Marx-Stadt, to mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi pogrom.

Memory of a history of suffering

Cultural workers in this country will contribute in many ways of their own to this event. There will be musical and literary events, readings, lectures and reruns of outstanding films, as well as publication and republication of books. We should not forget to point out multiple projects to be carried out in our counties, districts, towns and villages, which will keep alive in a concrete way, with reference to local circumstances, the memory of the history of suffering, of the struggle for survival and for the joint new beginning and will lead to new joint activities.

As I announced some three weeks ago, I am calling today on the public to contribute to the reconstruction of "New Synagogue of Berlin" by becoming a member of an international committee set up for this purpose.

I am grateful to tell you that during the days of remembrance of the Nazi pogrom the symbolic act of the beginning of the reconstruction of the New Synagogue will take place in the presence of all our guests.

I am pleased that following the considerable sum contributed by the Chairman of the Council of State, Erich Honecker, to the foundation "New Synagogue of

Berlin — Centrum Judaicum." we have also received substantial sums from the GDR National Council of the National Front and the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, for example. I have also heard of a great number of donations from individuals.

APPEAL

by the President of the Association of Jewish Communities in the GDR

This year, Jewish people will remember the barbaric Nazi pogrom committed in Germany 50 years ago. Yet, it is not only people of Jewish faith, in fact the entire civilized world is looking back in retrospect. But it also looks ahead fully aware of the problems of the present. People are all linked by the hope for a future peaceful world where there is social justice and equality for all.

Those who feel committed to the lessons of history will act in the spirit of humanism and stand up against anti-Semitism, barbarism and war.

Fascism was crushed by the Anti-Hitler Coalition. Since the day of our liberation Jewish life has been able to thrive freely. Synagogues and community houses were reconstructed and consecrated.

Right in the heart of our country, the ruins of the "New Synagogue" in Berlin's Oranienburger Strasse stand as a stern reminder of the past. This place of worship was "the pride of the Jewish community in Berlin, but even more . . . it was a real gemstone in the city, one of the most remarkable creations of modern architecture and one of the most excellent building jobs" of the renowned architects Eduard Knoblauch and Friedrich August Stueler as the press reported on 5 September 1866 — one day after inauguration of the building.

For Jews of my generation, the greater part of those who survived being scattered all over the world, the synagogue was a place of prayer, a place of encounters, as well as a spiritual home. We have set ourselves the task of reconstructing the synagogue and turning it again into a place of remembrance, of encounters, of worship, a place of warning and a place of research through a foundation called "New Synagogue of Berlin-Centrum Judaicum." We do not only want to preserve that building, which is of outstanding importance in terms of German history. We want to fill it with life to rekindle the spirit which used to be at home there. This is meant not only for us, for those who survived fascist barbarity and who recall Jewish life in the past, it is meant at the same time for coming generations: Jews and people of different confession or world outlook alike.

We call for the creation of an international committee

of trustees, a body of sponsors, to promote worldwide the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue of Berlin." We, citizens of Jewish faith in the GDR, will render our contribution to the reconstruction of that outstanding witness to Jewish life and culture as part of history on German soil.

We are certain that the general public, indeed the entire population of the GDR, will participate in the realization of that historic undertaking.

We call upon all people of our faith everywhere in the world, the organizations and institutions of our brothers on all continents, in fact all those who are ready—on behalf of humanism, tolerance, peace and human dignity—to promote our great project which is reaching far into the future.

Everyone who contributes, thus siding with us, will be inscribed in a book of honour so that his or her name and the participation will be recorded for all times to come.

The committee of trustees will be open to everyone, regardless of age, confession or social standing, as well as to all institutions and organizations throughout the world wishing to add a distinctive contribution to the common endeavour.

Through their authority, knowledge, expertise and dedication the personalities serving on the committee of trustees will contribute to propagating in the world the importance of the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue of Berlin" and ensure its future commitment to the preservation and dissemination of past and future achievements of Jewish culture, art, literature and science.

Apart from the reconstruction of the "New Synagogue," we wish to participate in the maintenance and care of the cemetery in Berlin-Weissensee, the biggest Jewish cemetery in Europe, as well as other places connected with our history.

Let us be guided by the wisdom of our fathers: What counts is not words, but deeds.

In Memory of PAULA ALEXANDERSON

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“Blaming The Victims” A Review By Gerald Horne

Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens, eds., *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question* London-New York: Verso, 1988, 296 pgs.

We of the United States are not unfamiliar with the phenomenon of biased and distorted scholarship helping to set a reactionary political agenda. One need look no further than tomes on Reconstruction churned out by “scholars” at Columbia University some decades ago that led many to believe that even allowing Blacks to cast a simple ballot would plunge the South and the nation into disaster. Edward Said, member of the Palestine National Council and ironically a Columbia professor, and Christopher Hitchens, Washington correspondent for *The Nation*, have assembled this worthy collection which suggests that prostitution of scholarship has played a similar role in the Middle East.

As Rashid Khalidi points out (p. 207), certain factors have facilitated this process: “Over the past four decades, much source material for writing Palestinian history has been lost, destroyed, or incorporated into the state archives of Israel, where it is inaccessible to many Palestinian and Arab historians. The unsettled situation of the Palestinian people, whether under occupation or in the diaspora, has meant that other existing archives, research institutions and universities have been denied the stability, organized existence and peace of mind which are the prerequisites for their proper functioning.” But as Khalidi’s own example demonstrates—not to mention Emile Habiby, Tawfik Zayyad, Ghassan Kana-fani, Simcha Flapan, et al.—it is possible to produce sound scholarship on these issues without capitulating to the most retrograde Zionist pressures.

Unfortunately such integrity has not been the dominant force in U.S. intellectual circles. Exhibit A by way of explication has to be Joan Peters’ infamous *From Time Immemorial: The Origins of the Arab-Jewish Conflict Over Palestine*, published in the spring of 1984 by the Rupert Murdoch-controlled firm, Harper & Row. It carried the effusive endorsements of Barbara Tuchman, Saul Bellow, Elie Wiesel, Lucy Dawidowicz, Paul Cowan, Arthur Goldberg, Barbara Probst Solomon, et al. It was reviewed in awed and hushed tones in the usual places: *Commentary*, *The New Republic*, *Atlantic*, *Washington Post*, etc. It won the “prestigious” National Jewish Book Award. The only problem was that the book was a massive fraud.

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Peters argued that “most of the 1948 refugees were in reality people who had not come to Palestine until 1946 and who therefore cannot possibly be considered true inhabitants of Palestine from time immemorial.” (p.24) Thus, she sought to give credence to the old canard “for a land without a people, a people without a land.” Symptomatic of the bankruptcy of certain U.S. intellectual circles is that two students—Norman Finkelstein of Princeton and Bill Farrell of Columbia—led the charge here against Peters. As Finkelstein pithily put it, “First the evidence Peters adduces to document massive illegal Arab immigration into Palestine is almost entirely falsified. Second, the conclusions Peters draws for her demographic study of Palestine’s indigenous Arab population are not borne out by the data she presents. To confound the reader further, Peters resorts to plagiarism.” (p. 35) In a meticulously footnoted and cogent argument, he substantiates every charge.

It is often suggested that intellectual discourse on the Mid-East is less restricted in Israel than the U.S. The reception of Peters’ work does little to dislodge this notion. “The Labor Party daily, *Davar*, compared *From Time Immemorial* to Israel’s more lamentable past propaganda exercises; the liberal weekly, *Koteret Rashit*, published a detailed expose of the cover-up by the U.S. media; and the chair of the philosophy department at the Hebrew University, Avishai Margalit, denounced Peters’ ‘web of deceit.’” (p. 62) She received a similar reception in Britain where Prof. Albert Hourani’s trenchant words in *The Observer* were typical: “This is a ludicrous and worthless book and the only mildly interesting question it raises is why it comes with praise from...well-known American writers.” (p.28)

The answer to the professor’s question is fairly obvious: U.S. rulers see it as in their interest to block Palestinian statehood and back those arguments generally and those sectors within Israel and the U.S. specifically who serve this goal. Hitchens and Said allude to this: “Proportionate to its population Israel is the recipient of more U.S. aid than any foreign state in history. It is estimated that every Israeli citizen today is subsidized by the US at roughly \$1400 per annum; each member of the Israeli military is underwritten by the US at about \$9750 per year.” (p. 2)

Despite the more negative response to Peters in Israel, the impression should not be left that this state has been a paragon of unbiased intellectual inquiry. G.W. Bowersock shows (p. 181) how certain Israeli scholars have manipulated the ancient history of the region in a fashion that would cause even Peters to blush. The recurring notion of suggesting that broadcasts over Arab stations

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encouraged Palestinians to flee in 1948 have been prevalent there too.

This latter point raises one of the weaknesses of this book. Strictly speaking and despite the title, "scholarship" is not the only subject of this book—journalism is a similar concern. This is all well and good, however, given the expansion of subject matter, looking at the impact of fiction (e.g. the works of Leon Uris) and film would have been worthwhile. Noam Chomsky is wheeled out to give a lengthy critique of coverage of the U.S. press but per usual he piles fact upon fact with little analysis and an underlying anti-Sovietism (p.103) and an inevitable resultant pessimism. But even on the question of scholarship, this book could have benefited from detailed examination of the works of Bernard Lewis of Princeton, viewed by many as the leading scholar of the region though his main works have more than a whiff of anti-Arabism about them. Above all, Said and Hitchens should have probed further how this "scholarship" buttresses ruling circles in Washington and Tel Aviv.

Still, these criticisms do not eradicate the overall value of this work. The chapter "A Profile of the Palestinian People" is as useful a summary one can find nowadays and does not duck the issue of growing support for not only the PLO but the Israeli and Palestinian Communists as well. (p. 246, 250) Certainly this book merits a prominent place on the bookshelf of all concerned with justice and lasting peace in the region. □

Dr. Gerald Horne is chair of the Black Studies Department, University of California at Santa Barbara.

Greetings to Jewish Affairs

16th Annual Dinner

Continued from page 4

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ידישער קולטור, האָט פּובליקירט אינאיינעם מיטן מיניסטעריום, פינף בראַשרון וועגן דער באַדייטונג פון די יידישע ימים טובים. דעסלעבן אָפּערירט דער פּאַלקס-אנווערסיטעט פון ישראל און אַנדערע 13 קאָלעדזשן פונעם לאַנד, די מעגלעכקייט צו לערנען יידיש פון יונגטלעכע.

א יידיש יינגל, מואַיקאַלישער זשעני און אויסטראַליע

סידני, אויסטראַליע (איטא). — דאָס צען יאָריקער יידיש יינגל אַלעקס נעגרין, איז אַ שילער אין דער היגער עמנואל-שול. לעצטנס האָט ער דיריגירט אַ קאָנצערט פון דעם היגן סימפּאָנישן אַרקעסטער. דער קאָנצערט איז נישט געווען פון סתם פּאָפּולערע מוזיק, נאָר גראַד פון כּעטהאָוענס ניינטער סימפּאָניע. אין וועלכער עס האָט זיך אין באַטייליקט אַ כאָר.

אַלעקס נעגרין איז אַ פּיאַניסט און אַ זינגער. ער האָט זיך אַליין געהאַט פּאַרגעלייגט אַנצופירן מיט דעם קאָנצערט.

בלויז 132 פון 1592

אַרויסגעפּאַרענע סאָוועטישע יידן זיינען געקומען קיין ישראל

אין חודש יולי זיינען אַרויסגעפּאַרן פון סאָוועטן פּאַרבאנד 1,592 יידן. פון זיי זיינען אַריינגעקומען אין ישראל בלויז 132 יידן, ד"ה — אַז 92% פון די אַרויספּאַרנדיקע יידן פון סאָוועטן-פּאַרבאנד האָבן ניט געוואָלט קומען קיין ישראל.

פּאַלקלאַר-אַנסאַמבל "שלום" אין קיעוו

"שלום" רופט זיך אָן דער יידישער זעלבסטעטיקער פּאַלקלאַר אַנסאַמבל, וואָס איז אַרגאַניזירט געוואָרן ביים קלוב "ענערגיע" פון דער קיעווער אונטערנעמונג פון טערמאַנעצן. דער אַנסאַמבל פירט אויף מיט דערפּאָל פּאַרגראַמען פון יידישע פּאַלקס-לידער. ס'איז אינטערעסאַנט, אַז צום אַנסאַמבל געהערן אַ גאַנצע ריי יונגטלעכע. די קאָנצערטן פון אַנסאַמבל געניסן פון אַ גרויסע באַזוכערשאַפט.

נאַרמינירונגען פון יידישע קולטור-טוער און היסטאָריקער

אינאָם פּאַלאַק איז נאָמינירט געוואָרן אַלס פרעזידענט פון "דזשיש היסטאָריקל סאָסיעטי" פון בריטיש

קאָלומביע. איר פּאַטער איז געווען איינער פון די גרינדערס פונעם וואַכנטלעכן זשורנאַל "דזשיש וועסטערן כולעטין". וואָס דערשיינט שוין 54 יאָר אינאָם פּאַלאַק האָט געגרינדעט דעם טעמפל "שלום" און דעם יידישן נאַציאָנאַל-דראַט פון קאָנאַדע, וועמענס פרעזידענטן זי איז.

ד"ר דזשאָוזעף קאַרוש איז נאָמינירט געוואָרן אַלס פרעזידענט פונעם נאַציאָנאַלן קאָמיטעט פאַר יידיש-קולטור און קאָנאַדע. ער איז דער מחבר פון פיל שאַפּונגען, אַ מיטאַרבעטער פונעם זשורנאַל "דע דזשואיש אינגל", און אויך פּאַרלענגער פון פיל פובליקאַציעס. ער איז גלייכצייטיק דער פרעזידענט פון יידישער ביבליאָטעק און פון דער פּונדאַציע "י. סענאַל" פאַר יידישער קולטור.

סטרייק פון אַראַבישע מוניציפּאַליטעטן

אין 45 אַראַבישע מוניציפּאַליטעטן אין ישראל זיינען געשלאָסן געוואָרן די מוניציפּאַליטעטן, דעמאָנסטרירנדיק אין ירושלים קעגן דער רעגירונגס-פּאַליטיק פון דיסקרימינירן דעם אַראַבישן סעקטאָר.

די פירער פון די אַראַבישע מוניציפּאַליטעטן האָבן פּראָטעסטירט קעגן ניט אויספירן די צוואַנגן צו דעקן זייערע דעפיציטן און קעגן איינוואַרפן הייזער, וועלכע זיינען געבויט געוואָרן אָן אַ דערלויבעניש. ווי באַוואוסט באַשטעטיקט ניט די רעגירונג בויאונגס-פּראָיעקטן אין אַראַבישן סעקטאָר.

געהאַרד ריגנער באַלוינט מיטן ערן-לעגיאָן

מיט פּאַרגעניגן האָבן מיר באַקומען די ידיעה, אַז דער פרעזידענט פון דער פּראַנצויזישער רעפּובליק, פּראַנסואַ מיטעראַן, האָט דעקאַרירט ד"ר געהאַרד ריגנער, קאָ-פרעזידענט פונעם וועלט-קאָנגרעס, מיטן טיטל "קאָואַלער פון ערן-לעגיאָן".

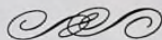
ד"ר געהאַרד ריגנער, וועלכער איז געווען אינאיינעם מיט ד"ר נחום גאַלדמאַן זינט דעם גרינדן פון דעם יידישן וועלט-קאָנגרעס, אין 1936, האָט זיך געפונען אין גענף בעת דער מלחמה (ער וואוינט אויך צו היינט צו טאָג דארט). איז ער געווען דער ערשטער, וואָס האָט געמאַלדן קיין וואַשינגטאָן און לאַנדאָן וועגן דעם פּלאַן פון דער "ענדלייוונג" און וועגן דעם אויסראַטן די יידן אין מורח-איראָפּע דורך די נאַציסטן.

אונדזער לעבן ווערט באַנייט

(פון ביריאָטיש)

די באַלשעוויסטשע מאַכט האָט געזיגט,
כיִוועל דער ערשטער אַרײַן אין קאַלכאַז.
עס בליען בלעטער אויף די צווייגן,
די ביימער האָבן זיך באַנייט.
די מענטשן האָבן זיך פאַראייניקט,
אונדזער לעבן ווערט באַנייט.

בלוי און רויטע כּערג
דאָס געלע בלימעלע באַצירן.
דאָס שיינע מיידל
טוט אין אווירנגלעך זין צירן.
באַרגיקער וואַלד — דער בעסטער,
פון אים כּיבוי אַ הויז זיך אין גראַז.



ייִדישע-נייעס פון איבער דער וועלט

דעם נאָמען "האַנט אין האַנט פאַר גערעכטיקייט" די איז
איינגעאַרדנט געוואָרן דורך דעם אַמעריקאַנער-
ישראלדיקן קאָמיטעט אין וואַשינגטאָן. צו באַערן דעם
אַנדענק פון ד"ר מאָרטין לויטער קינג.

אַ כינעזישע דעלעגאַציע אין כאַבאַראָווסק

דעם 11 יוני איז קיין כאַבאַראָווסק געקומען אַ
דעלעגאַציע פון דער כינעזישער פּראָווינץ ליאַנמיין בראש
מיטן שטעלפּאַרטערטער פּונעם גובערנאַטאַר. פּאַרזיצער
פונעם פּראָווינציאַלן קאָמיטעט פון אויסערן-עקאָנאָמישע
פאַרבינדונגען טשושען סילין.
די כינעזישע דעלעגאַציע האָט אויפגענומען דער
פּאַרזיצער פון כאַבאַראָווסקער קאַנט אויספירקאַס נ.נ.
דאַגילויק. ער האָט אינפאַרמירט די געסט וועגן די
עקאָנאָמישע פאַרבינדונגען פון קאַנט מיט די
אויסלענדישע פּאַרטיאַרן, וועגן די גריסע מעגלעכקייטן
צוליב איינשטעלן און אַנטוויקלען פאַרשיידנאַרטיקע
אויסערהאַנדלס-קאָנטאַקטן צווישן דעם כאַבאַראָווסקער
קאַנט און דער פּראָווינץ פון כינע.

ייִדיש אין 40 ישראל-שולן

מרכי דיניץ, הויפּט-אינספּעקטאָר פאַר ייִדיש אין
מיניסטעריום פאַר חינוך און שול-וועזן פון ישראל, האָט
געמאַלדן דעם אַלגעמיינען ראַט פאַר ייִדיש, אַז אין דעם
לעך-יאָר, וועט ייִדיש איבערגעגעבן ווערן אין 40 מלוכה-
שולן, אַלס אַ אַבליגאַטאָרישע קעגנשטאַנד.
יחזק קאַרן, פרעזידענט פון וועלט ראַט פאַר ייִדיש אין

ישראל דעלעגאַציע פון אַרבעטער אין ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד

אויף דער איינלאַדונג פון די סאָוועטישע פּראָפ.
פאַריינען איז דעם 3.7 אַרויסגעפאַרן אַן אַרבעטער
דעלעגאַציע אויף אַ באַזוך אין ראַטן-פאַרבאַנד.

צו דער דעלעגאַציע געהערן: בנימין גונן — דער
פּאַרזיצער פון דער חדיש פּראַקציע אין הסתדרות
(אַנפירער פון דער דעלעגאַציע); יהושע פּרץ — מיטגליד
פון ראַט פון די פּאַרט-אַרבעטער אין אשדוד; ג'מיל אַביר-
ראַם, פּאַרשטייער פון חר"ש אין הסתדרות; אַלבערט זגורי,
סעקרעטאַר פון ועד הפועל אין דער בלעכענע פּירלעס
פּאַבריק אין פּחתיקה; נתן שנדרל, סעקרעטאַר פון ועד
פון די אַרבעטער פון דער החכוף-פּאַבריק אין חיפה, און
יחזק עובדיה, מיטגליד פון סעקרעטאַריאַט פון אַרבעטער-
ראַט פון דימונה.

מאַרטין-לוטער קינג אויסשטעלונג אין ישראל

ירושלים (איטא). — אַן אויסשטעלונג צום אַנדענק פון
ד.ר. מאָרטין לויטער קינג האָט זיך מיט אַ צייט צוריק
געעפנט אין היגן אינטערנאַציאָנאַלן קולטור-צענטער פון
יוגנט אין די ראַמען פון באַערן דעם 20טן יאָרטאָג פון
דערמאַרדעטן פירער פון דער מענטשן-רעכט באַוועגונג
אין אַמעריקע.

די אויסשטעלונג איז אַ טייל פון די פייערונגען לכבד
דעם 40טן יוביליי פון דער מדינה. די אויסשטעלונג טראַגט

וידוע ענינים

די אָקטאָבער רעוואָלוציע אין געזאַנג פון סאָוועטישע פעלקער

א לידער־קראַנץ פון סאָוועטישן פֿאַלקלאָר

ייִדיש פון דוד סעלצער

גאַלדענע אוקראַינע

(פון אוקראַיניש)

גאַלדענע אוקראַינע,
לאַנד מיינס מיט אַ שפע ברויט.
פֿאַר דיין קיום האָט דאָס פֿאַלק
בלוט פֿאַרגאַסן און געליטן נויט.
זאָל זיין, ניט איין מאָל דיך געטראָטן
האַבן שונאס טאַנק און פֿערד;
זאָל זיין, פֿילצאָליק דיינע זין
געפֿאַלענע באַשיצנדיק דיין ערד —

נאָר נישט געלונגען איז די וויסטע פיינט
איבער דיר צו קייכן;
מיר האָבן זיי דערטרונקען
אין שוואַרצן ים און דיינע טייכן.

און אַצינד מיין לאַנד באַפֿרייטע,
ביסט אָנגעטאָן און בונטע קווייטן.
און מיט טראַקטאָרן צעאַקערט
ברייטע פעלדער, לאַנקעס, בייטן.

מיט גערעטענישן גרויסע
איז באַרימט דין אויפגעריכטע נויט.
גאַלדענע אוקראַינע,
לאַנד מיינס מיט אַ שפע ברויט.

אַרויס אין פעלד

דאָס גאַנצע פֿאַלק

(פון מאַלאַדאוויש)

גרינע בלעטער, פֿרוכטן גאַלד,
אַרויס אין פעלד דאָס גאַנצע פֿאַלק.

אַרויס אויף ערד דער אייגענער.
פֿאַר פֿריצים מער נישט קיין געבויגענער.

באַטראַקן ווילן מיר נישט זיין,
פֿאַר די גבירים שפּאַנען זיך נישט איין.
רייכע האָבן אונדזער שווייס געזויפט,
בייווער ווי סאַראַנטש אויף סטעפעס לויפט.
אַרויס אין פעלד דאָס גאַנצע פֿאַלק.

אויף יענער זייט באַרג

ביי דער קרעניצע

(פון ווייסרוסיש)

אויף יענער זייט באַרג ביי דער קרעניצע,
וואו עס פינקלען די וואַסערלעך טראַפּנס,
נאַכגעגאַנגען איז דער מאַלאַטילקע
אַ יונגע מיידל בינדנדיק סנאַפעס.

אוי, געבונדן האָט זי און געזונגען,
אַז ס'איז גוט צו לעבן אויף דער וועלט.
אויב ערלעך מען טוט נאָר די אַרבעט,
אויב פון אייגענער פֿראַצע מען קוועלט.

און אין ענטפֿער גערוישט האָבן ברויטן,
און פון זאָנגען געזונגען האָט ברויט:
אַז דאָס קאַלכאָזישע רייכע לעבן
שטראַמט פֿריידיק צו איטלעכנס הויז.